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## grafiti - dragocjen urbani fenomen

## graffiti - a precious urban phenomenon

RAZGOVOR

S FEDOROM KRITOVCEM

INTERVIEW

WITH FEDOR KRITOVAC

7. MOJ TATA JE GEJ - Strojarska ulica, desno od Zagrebačke banke

*Textualna intervencija na jumbo plakatu.*

*Primijećeno je više sličnih poruka u raznim dijelovima grada, napisanih tijekom ljeta 2004., uoči zagrebačke gay-pride.*

MY PAPA IS GAY - Strojarska Street

*A textual intervention on a jumbo poster, to the right of the building of Zagrebačka Bank in the Strojarska Street. A number of similar messages could be observed in various parts of town. They were written during the summer of 2004, immediately before the gay-pride parade in Zagreb.*

*Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska*

▼ Prostor definiran izgrađenim okolišem obavijen je brojnim slojevima i nakupinama vizualnog materijala različita karaktera. Uz punine i otvore ploha pročelja i slikovitost samih događanja koje javni gradski prostor udomi, važnu ulogu u doživljaju vizualne stvarnosti igra čitav niz grafičkih i svjetlosnih elemenata: od sustava prometne signalizacije do danas dominantnih, hipertrofiranih slika oglašavačkih kampanja. U tom suvremenom i spektakularnom urbanom blještavilu metropolisa svoj paralelni svijet žive i grafiti, otisci pojedinaca i grupa koji su osjetili potrebu ili bili provocirani ostaviti trag na koži grada.

Ono što grafite odjeljuje od ostalih vizualnih elemenata gradskog pejzaža jest njihova autentičnost, izvornost geste koja varira od prozaičnog ostavljanja traga do domišljatih i višeznačnih poruka ili pak likovno upečatljivih slika. Za razliku od tehnički i oblikovno sofisticiranog propagandnog materijala koji guta vizualni okoliš, grafiti su u organskijem, izravnijem odnosu prema podlozi na koju su nanoseni. Dok je *advertising* naglašeno autonoman i funkcionira u prostornoj matrici programiranoj i usađenoj u urbanu strukturu s točno određenim planom i zahvaljujući složenoj infrastrukturi (*billboards, city lights...*), grafiti su spontani i u tradicionalnijem suzvučju s materijalnom kvalitetom urbanog.

Na grafite se može gledati sa simpatijom, pa čak i s nostalgijom za vremenima u kojima urbani pejzaž nije bio toliko zagušen preobiljem zavodljivih slika, nego su tek šare na zidovima izazivale egzaltaciju.

Oblici u kojima se pojavljuju grafiti su brojni pa nije jednostavno izvesti neku egzaktnu ili jednoznačnu klasifikaciju. Grafiti se svakako mogu podijeliti na one kojima je primarna namjera odaslati verbalnu poruku, zadržavajući se na razini pismovnih slogova, i na one koji imaju ambiciju likovne ekspresije. Dok su prvi sveprisutni, najrazličitijih mjerila i podložni vječitom negodovanju, drugi su u ambicioznijim primjerima poprimili status cijenjene vještine, postajući neizbježan dio urbane ikonografije. S fenomenološkog stajališta pak, arheologija graffiti mnogo govori o društvenim datostima. *Mapping* i sondiranje mjesta i intenziteta intervencija grafitima pruža podatan materijal za urbanu sociologiju i komunikologiju, ispitujući urbane rituale i drugačije vidove označavanja i građenja karaktera prostora.

Pogled na grafite daje stvarnosni uvid u život grada i živote građana jer taj medij

● Space defined by architecturally developed environment is enveloped by numerous layers and clusters of visual material of various characters. In addition to the solids and openings of façade surfaces and the vividness of the very events that occur in the public space of the city, a whole series of graphic and light elements plays an important role in experiencing the visual reality: they range from traffic signalization to the hypertrophied images of media campaigns that are so dominant today. In this contemporary and spectacular urban glamour of the metropolis, graffiti, prints of individuals and groups who felt a need or were provoked to leave their traces on the skin of the city live in their parallel world.

What distinguishes graffiti from other visual elements of cityscapes is their authenticity, originality of the gesture that varies from prosaic traces just left there, to inventive and multiple-meaning messages, or, alternatively, artistically impressive images. In contrast to technically and formally sophisticated advertising material that devours the visual surroundings, graffiti relate more organically, more directly to the background on which they are painted. While advertising is distinctly autonomous and works in a space matrix that is programmed and implanted into the urban structure, following a deliberate plan and using a complex infrastructure (*billboards, city lights...*), graffiti are spontaneous and work within a more traditional harmony with the material quality of the urban.

One can regard graffiti with benevolence, even feeling nostalgic about the times when urban landscapes were not swamped by a superabundance of seductive images, and these scribbles on the walls were all what was needed to provoke excitement.

Graffiti appear in numerous shapes, and consequently it is not easy to infer an exact or unequivocal classification. But, that being said, graffiti could form two groups: the primary purpose of the first group is to send a verbal message, staying on the level of lettering, and graffiti in the second group express artistic ambition. While the former are omnipresent, in various proportions, and subjected to perpetual disapproval, the latter have, in their more ambitious instances, acquired a status of a revered skill and become an inevitable part of urban iconography. In



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nije moderiran apsolutno nikakvim estetskim ili kulturološkim normama. U tom je smislu on neposredovan reprezentant društvene stvarnosti i dotiče se svega: banalnosti svakodnevice, političkog negodovanja, individualnih i kolektivnih identiteta... Vjerojatno je točno da grafiti uglavnom odražavaju aspiracije onih socijalnih grupa koje nisu u prilici ili nisu zainteresirane za konvencionalnije vidove ekspresije jer ih privlače protest, uzbuđenje i avanturizam. U većini primjera grafiti su bliži "hedonizmu asfalta", nego osviještenom *bottom-up* aktivizmu civilnoga društva. Bez sumnje, grafiti unose i određenu dozu brutalnosti ili pak neosjetljivosti za konvencionalnu urednost. Vjerojatno i zbog toga poput revolta bujaju na mjestima koja su sama po sebi osobito brutalna i lišena svake doze humanosti pa je apriorno društveno stigmatiziranje grafita kao vandalskog čina svojevrsni društveni cinizam.

Grafiti u ovom trenutku predstavljaju dobro formiran medij koji nije dovoljno kompleksno teorijski istražen i još ga se promišlja kao opće mjesto. Fedor Kritovac, dugogodišnji kartograf zagrebačke urbanosti, pa tako i grafita, inzistira upravo na njihovom fenomenološkom aspektu, naglašavajući da se nikako ne radi o marginalnoj ili supkulturnoj praksi, već je u prvom redu riječ o svakodnevici uličnog života, o urbanom procesu koji slijedi vlastite zakonitosti. Mogućnosti kreativne interpretacije grafita Kritovac je prikazao i u izložbi "Drugi grafiti" u Knjižnici S.S. Kranjčevića u Zapoljskoj ulici u travnju 2004., gdje je kolažiranjem fotografija grafita i novinskih reprodukcija različitih dizajnerskih artefakata doveo u vezu ta dva medija ukazujući na paralele između "marginalne" i "etablirane" kulture.

■ ■ Godinama se bavite različitim urbanim fenomenima, među kojima su i grafiti. Odakle zanimanje za načine uličnog izražavanja koji predstavljaju vid urbanosti, zanimljiv sa sociološkog stanovišta, kao i zbog posebne tipologije autorskog izričaja?

Radi se o urbanom, a ne isključivo likovnom fenomenu koji posjeduje specifične zakonitosti, kao što ih posjeduju i drugi mediji, od knjige do interneta. Čudi me načelno prihvaćena generalizacija grafita, jer treba razlikovati barem tri kategorije, odnosno razlike među tipologijama. Prvo su grafiti koji su to samo uvjetno.

addition, from a phenomenological standpoint, archaeology of graffiti says a lot about social givens. Mapping and probing of places and intensities of graffiti interventions offers a pliable material for urban sociology and communicology, examining urban rituals and different aspects of signifying and building a specific character of space.

Looking at graffiti, we gain a reality insight into the life of the city and into the lives of its citizens, because this medium is not moderated by any esthetic or cultural norms at all. In this sense, it is an unmediated representative of social reality and it touches everything: banality of everyday life, political protest, individual and collective identities... It is probably true that graffiti mostly reflect the aspirations of social groups that are not able or have no interest for more conventional aspects of expression, because they are drawn to protest, excitement and adventurism. In most cases, the graffiti are closer to the "asphalt hedonism" than to the raised-conscientiousness, bottom-up activism of the civil society. No doubt, graffiti also bring in a certain dose of brutality or insensitivity for conventional tidiness. Probably because of this, they thrive like revolt in places that are by their own nature exceptionally brutal and devoid of any trace of humanity; consequently, the a priori social stigmatization of graffiti as vandal acts amounts to a kind of social cynicism.

In this moment, graffiti represent a well-formed medium that is still not researched in all its complexity, and it is still thought of in a commonplace way. Fedor Kritovac, the long-standing cartographer of Zagreb urbanity, including graffiti, for many years, especially affirms their phenomenological aspect, insisting that we are not dealing with marginal or subcultural praxes, but primarily with everyday life on the street, an urban process that follows its own laws. Kritovac has shown possibilities for creative interpretation of graffiti in his exhibition "The other graffiti" in S. S. Kranjčević Library in Zapoljska Street, April 2004, when he used collages of graffiti photographs and newspaper reproductions of various designer artifacts to connect these two media and to show some parallels between "marginal" and "established" culture.

● ● You have been studying various urban phenomena for years, including





Eksplisitni su i zapravo imaju izravnu poruku. Možemo ih nazvati poetskim grafitima koji su, rečeno starim rječnikom, parole. Za njih nije ni važno ni karakteristično jesu li izvedeni sprejem ili na neki drugi način (ranije kistom i šablonom), jer za njih nije najvažnija gesta rukom, već želja da budu živa gesta. Takvi su grafiti polemički i njih se poriče, mijenja, križa, nadograđuje itd.

Druga kategorija grafita je možda antropološki određiva potrebom i željom za ostavljanjem traga, urezivanjem, šaranjem kredom po pločniku itd. Ta se dimenzija grafita iznova generira i stalno je prisutna, a pridružuje joj se ekspresivna kategorija koja ima i narcisoidnu i opsesivnu izražajnu notu. Radi se o kaligrafskim grafitima, srodnima s ponavljanjem potpisa i nekim drugim formulacijama, a koji zapravo ostavljaju dojam beskonačne repetitive identiteta.

Treća je ona skupina koja ulazi u artistske sfere. Kod nje se mogu razlikovati grafiti koji su bliski figuraciji, pop artu, stripu ili stilizaciji tekstualnih obrazaca. Mogu proizlaziti i iz kriptografije koja pokazuje prisutnost željene hermetičnosti grafita: naime, ne treba i ne smije se znati što je autor htio reći. Takvi se grafiti javljaju kao simbol za poseban krug pripadnika scene.

Zanimljiva su mjesta na kojima se grafiti pojavljuju. S jedne strane, čini se da gotovo nema mjesta koje ne bi bilo izazovno kao područje praznine. U tom smislu je za grafite gotovo svejedno na čemu su izvedeni. S druge strane, to nije nimalo svejedno, jer se grafiti rade namjerno. Možemo reći kako za grafite ne postoje intaktna područja, što bi bilo zanimljivo za jednu sociološku analizu.

■ ■ U Zagrebu postoje prostori, odnosno plohe koje su atraktivne za intervenciju, kao i one manje atraktivne. Čini se kao da postoji određena doza egzibicionizma i želje da se intervenira upravo tamo gdje će grafiti najjače komunicirati.

Složio bih se, pod pretpostavkom da ne osuđujemo riječ egzibicionizam.

■ ■ Ne, jer se radi o fenomenu.

Ono što govori tomu u prilog je pojavljivanje grafita na mjestima na kojima pretpostavljamo neke oblike alpinizma pri izvedbi grafita. Nema mjesta na koje ne možemo doći i nešto napraviti, a treba uzeti u obzir i vremensku komponentu

graffiti. What is the origin of this interest for the ways of street expression that represent an aspect of urbanity, which is interesting from a sociological standpoint, as well as because of a special typology of authorial idiom?

It is an urban, not exclusively visual phenomenon, which possesses its specific laws; the same can be said of other media, from book to Internet. I am puzzled by the usually accepted generalization of graffiti, because one should distinguish between at least three categories, or differences in the typologies. The first category comprises of graffiti that can be called graffiti only tentatively; they are explicit and actually have a direct message. We could call them poetic graffiti that are, if we use old vocabulary, slogans. For them, it is not important or characteristic if they are spray-painted or in some other way - in earlier time, brush and template were used - because what is the most important for them is not hand gesture, but a wish to be a live gesture. This kind of graffiti is polemic, and they are being denied, changed, crossed through, written over, etc.

The second category of graffiti can be anthropologically determined as a need and a wish to leave some trace, to incise, to doodle with a chalk on the pavement, etc. This dimension of graffiti is being repeatedly generated and it is constantly present, followed by an expressive category that has a narcissistic and obsessive note of expression. These are calligraphic graffiti, akin to the repetition of signatures and some other formulations, which actually leave an impression of endless repetition of identity.

The third category enters the spheres of art. Within it, one can distinguish graffiti that are close to figuration, pop art, comic strips or stylization of textual forms. They can originate also from cryptography, which shows a presence of a hermetic quality of graffiti that is being sought: namely, it is not needed or allowed to know what the author meant. This kind of graffiti appears as a symbol for a special circle of participants in the scene.

The very places where graffiti as such appear are interesting. On the one hand, it seems that there is almost no place that would not pose a challenge to fill a void. In this sense, it almost does not matter on which surface a graffito is drawn. On the other hand, it is not irrelevant at all,

9. OTVORITE SEFOVE NAHRANITE GLADNE - Kaptol 22, zid ograde Hrvatske biskupske konferencije

OPEN THE SAFEBOXES FEED THE HUNGRY - Kaptol 22, the wall of Croatian Episcopal Conference

Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska



izvođenja grafita. Prisutan je čar trenutka, skrivanje, a zatim uspjeh u izvedbi onoga što se željelo, i to do kraja. S druge strane, postoje mjesta koja su već stekla reputaciju, kao Varšavska i Križanićeva. U pravilu su to prostori oko škola. Znači, javljaju se mjesta preventivnog neutraliziranja subverzije, kad grad ili vlast određuju mjesto gdje se smiju ili baš trebaju raditi grafiti, poput rotora kod Savskog gaja, mjesta gdje su svake godine grafiteri pozvani da tamo rade. Nedavno im je dodijeljena i središnja ploha Kvaternikova trga. Mogu tako funkcionirati i dodijeljena i "osvojena" mjesta, samo mislim da ih je dobro razlikovati.

■ ■ Čini se da postoji određena vrsta povijesne evolucije grafita, a isto tako i jačanje grafičarske scene jednim dijelom pod utjecajem američke scene vezane uz hip-hop glazbu. Postoji snažan import te vrste estetike koja je vjerojatno danas i postala sinonim za grafite kao neku vrstu ulične umjetnosti?

Da, mislim da je prisutnost globalizacije bitna. Ako gledamo prigradske vlakove, čini se da nema veće razlike između zagrebačkog, berlinskog i njujorškog vlaka. Uz pitanje životnosti, htio bih reći da su grafiti svjedoci vremena. To se najbolje može vidjeti u novozagrebačkim pothodnicima koji su svjedoci promjena. Pothodnik bi se mogao doimati bezvremenskim, ali baš grafiti u njega unose dimenziju aktualnosti i suvremenosti. U Zagrebu je dosad djelovalo sigurno 5-6 generacija grafitera. Nadam se da su njihovi radovi pohranjeni na fotografijama, jer bi trebalo voditi brigu o tim slojevima koji nestaju.

■ ■ Grafiti su i medij izražavanja javnosti, poput lakmus-papira koji registrira ono što, uvjetno rečeno, prosječni građani misle.

Da, a spomenimo i poziv na opredjeljivanje jeste li za ili protiv grafita. Često se na tu temu na radiju ili novinama provode ankete, koje na neprimjeren način generaliziraju pojavu. Zanimljiva je i jedna druga vrsta generalizacije, a to je imputirano stvaranje raspoloženja. Naime, teško je kod nekih situacija odrediti je li onima koji izvode grafite izvedbeno mjesto potpuno nevažno ili ga odabiru s namjerom provociranja... Prilikom reagiranja javnosti razlikujemo dvije situacije. Jedna je politička dimenzija - prihvaća se ili se pak odbija sadržaj onoga što se čita, a druga je estet-

because graffiti are deliberately done. We could say that there are no intact areas for graffiti, and this would make an interesting issue for a sociological analysis.

● ● In Zagreb, there are spaces, or surfaces that are attractive for an intervention, as well as those less so. It seems that there is a certain dose of exhibitionism and wish to intervene at the very places where graffiti would reach the strongest communication.

I would agree, provided that we do not condemn the word exhibitionism.

● ● No, because it is a phenomenon.

What speaks for it is graffiti appearing in places which can presumably be reached only using some forms of alpinism. There is no place where we could not come and do something, and we should also take into account the temporal component of doing graffiti. There is some kind of magic of the moment, and then the complete success in achieving what was intended. On the other hand, there are places that had already attained a reputation, like Varšavska Street and Križanićeva Street. In principle, these spaces are in the vicinity of schools. Then, there are also some places intended to preemptively neutralize subversion, selected by the city administration as places where graffiti may, or should be done; for example, such place is the Rotor near Savski gaj, where graffiti artists are being invited to work on a yearly basis, or the recently allotted central surface of Kvaternik Square. Both the allotted and the "gained" placed can function in this way, but I think it is advised to differentiate between them.

● ● It seems that there is a certain kind of historical evolution of graffiti, as well as a strengthening of the graffiti scene, partly influenced by the American scene related to hip-hop music. There is a strong import of this kind of esthetics, which has today become synonymous with graffiti as a kind of street art?

Yes, I think that the presence of globalization is important. If we look at commuter trains, it seems there is no substantial difference between trains in Zagreb area and Berlin U-bahn or New York metro. In addition to the issue of vividness, I would like to say that graffiti are signs of the times. This is best to be seen in pedes-

10. HENDRIX - željeznički zeleni most preko Save  
Grafit datira negdje iz prve polovice osamdesetih. Prilikom renoviranja mosta oko 2000. godine, grafit nestaje pod novom bojom, da bi nedugo potom bio obnovljen. Autori, inače mladići iz Zapruđa, opravdano vraćaju spomen na lik i djelo velikana rock-'n'rolla, i to na mjesto koje dolikuje njegovoj veličini: most kao simbol spajanja, razmjene i blizine, željezan, dugovječan i snažan.

HENDRIX - the green railway bridge across the Sava

This graffiti dates from the first half of the 80s. When the bridge was renovated around the year 2000, the graffiti disappeared under the paint, but was soon restored. Its authors, some young men from Zapruđe, justly remind us of the personality and achievements of this great rock'n'roll musician, and they have chosen a place that fits his greatness: bridge as the symbol of contact, exchange, and closeness, made of steel, durable, and strong.  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska



ska dimenzija kada ljudi govore o grafitima smatrajući ih ružnima, odnosno nečim što nagrdjuje i uništava grad. Usudio bih se reći da postoji jedna vrsta reakcije koja doista proizlazi iz prihvaćanja estetskih obrazaca, a ima reakcija koje proizlaze čak i iz zavisti. Doista, pojedinim grafitima moglo bi se pozavidjeti: "Tako nešto ne bih sročio, ne bih se usudio napisati i ne bih znao tako lijepo izvesti." Upravo zbog divljenja i zavisti javlja se nezadovoljstvo, želja za brisanjem...

Uz to, zanimljiva je "estetika brisanja" koja se proteže od oblikovanja *high-tech* podloge na kojoj se grafite uopće ne može izvesti, do guljenja i čišćenja. U biti najzanimljivije, što je i parafaraza jednog grafita, jest premazivanje. Sam način negiranja tog elementa takvim "estetskim" potezom jest zanimljiv znak.

■ ■ Ta gesta prebojavanja ne doprinosi povećanju urednosti, jer opet govorimo o intervenciji na intervenciju, koja je i dalje vidljiva, pa je proturječna želji za postizanjem lijepog.

Ne samo to. Ne možemo mimoći ni vrlo osjetljiv pravni aspekt, a to je pravo zaštitite posjeda, vlasništva i prava korisnika. Zašto ljudi koji, npr. ručaju u pučkoj kuhinji u Branimirovoj ulici, moraju biti prostorno zatvoreni grafitima? Oni imaju pravo, kao i svi drugi, protestirati i željeti nesmetano vidjeti i prema unutra i prema van, a ne boraviti u toj krletci grafita. No brisanje je nešto drugo. Možemo pretpostaviti i neobične slučajeve. Zamislite situaciju da stanari jedne zgrade kažu: "Sretni smo što imamo grafite - ne slažemo se što je netko bez našeg pristanka intervenirao." Mislim da se to još nije dogodilo.

■ ■ Je li moguće da će se to početi događati s obzirom na to da su grafiti postali toliko snažan dio javnog gradskog prostora? Gotovo je nezamislivo vidjeti grad bez grafita. S druge strane, za tradicionalnu građansku kulturu su snažno vezani fetiši kolektivne ujednačenosti, urednosti, pa onda i represije prema nenadziranim i spontanom otiscima u vizualnom okruženju.

Dolazimo do jednog pitanja gdje je doista teško bez kulturoloških i socioloških uvida procijeniti situaciju. Sigurno je da će se i u užem smislu u grafiterskoj kulturi događati neke promjene i da će doći do određenih prevrednovanja: gdje i kada se

trian underpasses of New Zagreb, which are the testaments of change. An underpass might leave an impression of timelessness, but graffiti is what brings a dimension of actuality and contemporariness. In Zagreb, five or six generations of graffiti artists must have been working until now. I hope that their works are saved in photographs, because we should take care about these vanishing layers.

● ● Graffiti is also a medium of public expression, like litmus paper that tells what average citizens think, conditionally speaking.

Yes, and let us also mention the call to take sides, are you all for graffiti or against them. Polls are often being made with this question, which generalize the issue in an inadequate way. Another kind of generalization is also interesting, and that is inducing the attitudes. Namely, in some situations it is difficult to determine if the graffiti creators think that the place of creation is completely unimportant, or they rather select it as to provoke. In public reactions, we distinguish two situations. The first has a political dimension, whether the public accepts or rejects the contents of what is being read, and the second dimension is esthetical, when people speak of graffiti as something ugly, something that defiles and ruins the city. I would dare say that there is a type of reaction that stems from accepting some esthetic forms, and there are also reactions that are based on envy. Actually, some graffiti can be envied: "I couldn't put in words something like this, I wouldn't dare to write it and I couldn't draw it so nicely." Admiration and envy are the very reasons for frustration, a wish to erase it...

Furthermore, what is also interesting is the "esthetics of erasing", which spans from using a high-tech surface that prevents every attempt to leave a trace on it, to erasing the graffiti. But the most interesting is painting over. This very manner of negating this element by an "esthetic" gesture of this kind is an interesting sign.

● ● This gesture of painting over does not enhance tidiness, because it is an intervention to an intervention, which is still visible, and it is contrary to the wish to achieve something beautiful.

Not only this. We cannot leave out a very sensitive legal problem, namely the

11. BITAK JE DOBITAK - sjeveroistočna strana zelenog željezničkog mosta preko Save.

BEING IS WINNING - north-eastern side of the green railway bridge across the Sava.  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska

BRACO DIDERI UJEDINITE PLUĆA



D.P.C.



intervenira, gdje apstinira, a da to ne bude samo rezultat izričite zabrane.

Za razliku od situacije u pothodnicima, u kojima su grafiti znakovi promjena i dinamičnosti, oni znaju ostati kao svojevrstan teret nepromjena. Stvarno je teško, bez obzira na to kakvi su, pomiriti se s njihovim trajanjem jer oduzimaju mogućnost neke/nečije druge promjene. Dimenzija građanske urednosti i kulturnosti je dimenzija neutralnosti, koju treba i valja cijeliti i poštovati. Kada je ona oduzeta i obuzeta nečijim individualitetom, koji zapravo ne dopušta niti neutralnost, niti daljnje promjene, dolazi do neugodne situacije. Takve okolnosti ne omogućuju prepoznavanje pozadine grafičarske scene na kojoj se stalno zbivaju promjene.

■ ■ Različite umjetničke scene, spomenimo ponovno njujoršku scenu 80-ih godina, iznjedrile su umjetnike poput Keitha Harringa, Kennija Scharfa, Petera Saula i djelomično Jean-Michel Basquiata, koji su počeli svoju karijeru upravo rišući grafite na cesti. Slijedilo je seljenje estetike grafita u galeriju. Nedavno ste ostvarili projekt koji je po karakteru drugačiji, a opet se radi o transpoziciji grafita u galeriju.

Seljenje ne samo u galerije, nego i na druga mjesta - restorane, interijere, kazalište... Osjetio sam jedan morfološki, zajednički znak u dijelu grafita u njihovom dodiru s dizajnom, modom, medijskim situacijama. Bilo je zanimljivo vidjeti gdje prestaju grafiti, a počinje neka druga struktura, predmet. Može se govoriti o hibridima. Lokalni identiteti su izuzetno važni. BBB grafiti se moglo naći na otoku Susku, svugdje... Jedna supkulturna grupacija putuje, ostavlja svoj trag. Drugo su pak lokalni grafiti, vezani uz obilježavanje mjesta lokalne identifikacije i njegova potvrđivanje u urbanom nomadizmu.

■ ■ Tako je. Tim više što pojedine supkulturne skupine izgrađuju poseban vizualni identitet koji koriste da bi obilježile prisustvo bilo u svojem, bilo u nečijem tuđem prostoru, pa dizajniraju piktograme, odabiru boju prepoznavanja... Što je veća supkulturna skupina ili ako je povezana s nečim što već posjeduje određeni vizualni identitet, onda se on transponira i dalje preraduje za potrebe grafita. Karikirano, gotovo da bi se mogla zamisliti situacija u kojoj se u knjigu grafičkih standarda vizualnog identiteta nogometnog kluba

right to protect one's possession, property and right of enjoyment. For instance, why the people who use public kitchen in Branimirova Street have to be spatially closed by graffiti? They have a right, as everybody else does, to protest and to see inward and outward, and not to sit in this graffiti cage. But, erasing is another matter. We can presuppose some unusual situations. Let us consider a situation when residents of a building say: "We are happy that we have graffiti - we disagree with the fact that somebody intervened without asking us." I think that this still did not happen.

● ● Is it possible that this will start to happen, if graffiti have become such a strong part of public city space? It is almost inconceivable to see a city without graffiti. On the other hand, the traditional bourgeois culture is strongly characterized by fetishes of collective evenness, tidiness, and consequently, of repression of the unsupervised and spontaneous imprints in the visual surroundings.

This leads us to a question that is difficult to assess without some cultural and sociological insights. It is inevitable that some changes will occur in the graffiti culture and that some re-evaluations will take place: where and when to intervene, where to abstain, without succumbing to a direct ban.

Contrary to the underpasses, where graffiti testify to the changes and dynamism, they sometimes stay as burdens of unchange. It is really difficult, no matter to their quality, to reconcile with their duration, because they prevent the possibility of somebody other's change. The dimension of bourgeois tidiness and cultivatedness is a dimension of neutrality, which deserves to be appreciated and respected. When this is denied and infused with somebody's individuality that really does not allow for neutrality or further change, an unpleasant situation is being formed. These circumstances also do not allow recognizing the background of the graffiti scene, which is constantly in process of change.

● ● Various art scenes - let us mention again the New York scene of the 1980s - have spawned artist like Keith Haring, Kenny Scharf, Peter Saul and, partially, Jean-Michel Basquiat, who started their careers doing nothing else but drawing

12. BRAČO ĐIDERI UJEDINITE PLUČA - Ulica Jurja Žerjavića

BROTHERS IN POT, UNITE YOUR LUNGS - Jurja Žerjavića Street

Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska



može uprogramirati aplikacija na zidu u obliku grafita.

S jedne strane je riječ o spontanosti, a s druge strane o profesionalizaciji i organiziranom nastanku grafita. U Zagrebu se silna energija ulaže u simplifikacije fenomena grafita. Sve je naizgled toliko jasno da to ne treba istraživati. U prvom su planu programi brisanja grafita, a ne podrške i apeli za fantazije. Zagreb u tome nije izuzetak. I drugdje postoje snažne inicijative konačne eliminacije grafita. No, graffiti ne mogu nestati. Oni će uvijek naći mjesto svog oživljavanja. Međutim, može se izgubiti intenzitet i profilacija kulturološkog i urbanološkog interesa kod kojeg se zapravo u grafitima prepoznaju, otkrivaju i rješavaju druge dimenzije urbane kvalitete.

■ ■ Grafiti su nekada bili mjesta sučeljavanja konvencionalne građanske kulture i mladenačke buntovničke kulture ili kontrakulture. To je sfera neprestane sociološke i simptomatske kolizije, no, pitanje je je li i danas prisutna na taj način?

Ja bih to relativizirao. Dio njih pristaje na uvrštavanje u supkulturno područje jer im to pruža određenu autonomnost. S druge strane, taj supkulturni egzil i izdvojenost ne ostaju supkulturni, već se transformiraju i ugrađuju u ono što smatramo normalnim bogatstvom kulture. Ne znam koliko je opravdano ustrajati na tezi o grafitima kao o nečem marginalnom, supkulturnom i specifičnom, jer oni prodiru, protežu se, profiliraju, dohvaćaju. Mnogi mladi ljudi prihvaćaju takav obrazac, ali se istodobno neće svi pripadnici starije generacije nužno naći s druge strane. Mlade generacije će se češće usredotočiti na konvencionalne znakove i obilježja u grafiterskoj interpretaciji negoli što će biti spremne stvoriti neku likovno potentniju metaforu.

■ ■ Postoji li neka relacija i preklapanje između ekspresivnosti grafita i sve snažnijeg ulazanja drugog vizualnog materijala u javne gradske prostora? Pritom mislim prvenstveno na reklame, plakatiranje u svim oblicima, koje postaje sve intenzivnije.

To je jedna vrlo zanimljiva, provokativna tema, no isto tako meni samom zagonetka. Na njima nema grafitnih intervencija, ili su one rijetke. Radi li se o kontroli službenih plakatnih prostora ili o nekoj vrsti njihova uvažavanja, ne znam, no dogodile su se i kreativne intervencije na promotivnim plakatima određenih tvrtki.

graffiti on the road. What followed was moving the esthetics of graffiti to galleries. You have recently made a project that had a different character, but it was still transposing graffiti to galleries.

Moving not only to galleries but to other places, too - restaurants, interiors, theaters... In some graffiti, I felt a morphological, common sign in their contact with design, fashion, media situations... It was interesting to see where graffiti stops, and some other structure or object begins. We could talk about hybrids. Local identities are exceptionally essential. You could find BBB graffiti even on the island of Susak, everywhere... A subcultural group travels and leaves its mark. Then again, local graffiti are something else; they are tied to marking places of local identification and its affirmation in urban nomadism.

● ● That is true. Even more so, considering that particular subcultural groups develop a special visual identity that they use to mark their presence in theirs or in somebody other's space, and they design icons, they pick a color of recognition... If a subcultural group is big, or connected to something that already possessed a certain visual identity, the identity is being transposed and further processed to accommodate the graffiti. If you allow, one could almost imagine a situation in which a wall application in graffiti form could be added to the list of graphic signs of a football club.

On the one hand, we can talk about spontaneity, and from the other, about professionalization and organized creation of graffiti. In Zagreb, a lot of energy is being invested as to simplify the graffiti phenomenon. Apparently, everything is so obvious that no research is needed. At the forefront are the programs of erasing the graffiti, not ones of support and appealing to fantasy. Zagreb is no exception in this. Strong initiatives to finally eliminate graffiti exist in other places, too... But, graffiti cannot disappear; they will always find a place to resurface. However, what could be lost is the intensity and profiling of culturological and urbanological interest, within which, graffiti help to recognize, reveal and resolve other dimensions of urban quality.

● ● Graffiti used to be places of confronting conventional bourgeois culture with youth, rebel culture, or countercul-

13. BODY LANGUAGE NAJBOLJE KUŽE PEDERI - križanje Ulice Jurja Haulika i Ulice Antuna Mihanovića  
Grafit je izveden iz govora aktualnog premijera.  
FAGGOTS DIG BODY LANGUAGE BEST - the crossing of Jurja Haulika Street and Antuna Mihanovića Street  
This graffiti is paraphrasing a sentence from the speech of the current Prime Minister.  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska



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14. POWER OF AFRO - Trnjanska ulica  
Jako stari grafit.

POWER OF AFRO - Trnjanska Street  
This is a very old graffito.  
Foto / photo: Jovan Kliska

ture. This is the sphere of constant sociological and symptomatic collision, but is it still today present in this way?

I would like to relativize this. A part of them agrees to be situated within the subcultural area, because this offers them certain autonomy. From the other side, this subcultural exile and isolation do not remain subcultural, but they transform and incorporate into what we see as normal cultural heritage. I don't know how justified it is to insist on a thesis that graffiti are something marginal, subcultural and specific, because they penetrate, stretch, reach... Many young people accept such a model, but that does not mean that all members of older generation will necessarily end up on the other side. Younger generations will more often focus on conventional signs and characteristics in graffiti artists' interpretations than they will be ready to create a visually more potent atmosphere.

● ● Is there a relation or overlapping of graffiti's expressivity and ever stronger entering of other visual material into public city spaces? What I have in mind are advertisements before all, putting up posters in all their aspects, which becomes ever more intensive.

This is an interesting, provocative subject, but it is also a mystery to me. There are no graffiti interventions on these advertisements, or very rarely. Is it because of the legal control of the official spaces dedicated to posters, or is it some kind of respecting them, I don't know, but some creative interventions did happen on promotional posters by certain companies. These interventions often show remarkable wit, and actually exceed the message that was considered top-notch from a marketing standpoint.

● ● Could we assume that the intensity of graffiti presence followed the intensity of advertising? Could we think of a kind of parallelism between the development in advertising and the frequency of graffiti appearing and their esthetics?

I think we could, to which I would add the alternative poster scene, related to the alternative places in Zagreb and in other places. There is also advertising that people post in bus stops, billboards, etc.

To su često duhovite intervencije koje su zapravo nadmašile poruku koja se smatra marketinški vrhunskom.

■ ■ Možemo li pretpostaviti da je intenzitet prisutnosti grafita pratio intenzitet reklama? Možemo li razmišljati o nekoj vrsti paralelizma između razvoja oglašavanja i učestalosti pojavljivanja grafita i njihove estetike?

Mislim da možemo, uz što bih pridodao i alternativnu plakatnu scenu, vezanu uz alternativna mjesta u Zagrebu i drugdje. Postoji i oglašavanje koje ljudi u vlastitoj režiji postavljaju na stajalištima, oglasnim stupovima...

■ ■ Suvremena kritika karakterizira grafite kao specifičan umjetnički oblik, poput stripa. Čini mi se da inzistiranjem na čvrstim okvirima medija nestaje slojevitost komponente urbanog fenomena i da ta simplifikacija može navesti na krivi put. Slažete li se s tim?

Uvijek se postava grafita može izdvojiti iz svog konteksta i o njoj se može pričati zasebno. Moja iskustva, vezana uz Zagreb posljednjih tridesetak godina, pokazuju da je zauzimanje koje isključuje njihovu urbanost zapravo osiromašenje. Dosada je govor o grafitima bio nužno vezan uz zgradu, stube, ulicu, zid, napuštenu tvornicu... Vidjet ćemo kada će se pojaviti prvi grafiti na novim neboderima. Ne treba upasti u napast prejednostavno ih shvatiti i odbaciti, poništiti i uništiti. Svi su ti izrazi, i konvencionalni i nekonvencionalni, pa i oni u "najgoroj" varijanti, dragocjeni kao urbani fenomeni. ▼

● ● Contemporary criticism characterizes graffiti as a specific art form, not unlike comic strip. It seems to me that by insisting on rigid media frames, the multi-layered quality of urban phenomenon component is lost and this simplification can be misleading. Do you agree?

You can always isolate the graffiti post from its context and talk about it separately. My experiences in Zagreb during the last three decades show that the promoting that excludes their urbanity is really equal to their reduction. Until now, graffiti has been talked about only in the context of buildings, stairs, streets, walls, abandoned facilities... We will see when the first graffiti on the new high-rise buildings is about to appear. One should not succumb to temptation to take them lightly and reject them, to nullify and destroy them. All these expressions, both conventional and unconventional, even in their worst forms, are precious as urban phenomena. ●

prijevod / translation: Goran Vujasinović

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