Painting the walls: visual interventions in public space of the outskirts of Buenos Aires

Pintando los muros: intervenciones visuales en el espacio público de la periferia de Buenos Aires

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Abstract

The present work is the result of the first stage of research on the field of visual culture of intervention in the public space, in the Buenos Aires conurbano. The descriptive exploratory study is framed in the case of the municipality of La Matanza, where a plurality of visual manifestations are observed through which various agents try to be represented in the space: the street is the place of a territorial / spatial conflict and the walls the place in which a dispute manifests itself in the plane of images, through manipulation, accumulation and superposition of visual cues. We propose the notion of visual capital to focus on the strategies and tactics of visibility carried out by the different social actors in the dispute over the power of the street as a place, and thus be able to carry out an initial classification of these practices.

Keywords

Murals, graffiti, urban imaginaries, visual communication, periphery.

Resumen

El presente trabajo es resultado de la primera etapa de investigación sobre el campo de la cultura visual de intervención en el espacio publico, en el conurbano bonaerense. El estudio exploratorio descriptivo se enmarca en el caso del municipio de la Matanza, donde se observa una pluralidad de manifestaciones visuales a través de las cuales diversos agentes procuran hacerse representar en el espacio: la calle es el lugar de un conflicto territorial/espacial y los muros el lugar en el cual una disputa se manifiesta en el plano de las imágenes, a través de la manipulación, la acumulación y la superposición de indicios visuales. Proponemos la noción de capital visual para enfocar las estrategias y tácticas de visibilidad llevadas adelante por los diferentes actores sociales en la disputa de poder de la calle como lugar, y poder realizar asi una clasificacion inicial de estas practicas.

Palabras clave

Murales, graffiti, imaginarios urbanos, comunicacion visual, periferia.

1. Introduction

In the Republic of Argentina, with a return to democracy in 1983, there was a resurgence and development of varying, previously forbidden, artistic and political practices in public spaces. With a wide variety of artworks, authors and techniques, as well as new forms of art and public communication, stencil, urban, and graffiti art, gigantography and other interventions of every nature began to make an appearance in city streets. These practices, inferior to the established and hegemonic "world of art" (Danto, 1997) and proving themselves increasingly distant and attractive to general audiences, find their place in what some theorists dub "popular art" (Escobar, 2014). In this sense one can visualize these interventions as artistic practice and discourse that appropriates the city for the production and reproduction of alternative social discourse (Reguillo, 1998). The experiences seek to re-appropriate urban space, while simultaneously transgress in public space (Reguillo, 2000). The chosen forms of re-appropriation, driven by a sense of "I have something to say", express themselves through artistic impression (some textual, others solely pictorial, based on different techniques) installed as discourse on topics such as the current institutional hierarchy, consumer trends, the use made of cities, and a symbolic meaning of life.

Art as a vehicle of expression in the peripheral areas of the city equate with the opportunity to either personally or collectively speak of what is happening, what hurts, what thrills, and what must be denounced. The essence of the outlying neighborhoods is the heterogeneity of its people and practices, a life that knows no pause. It is where the masses move: the neighborhood, churches, the corner stops, club, and school. The present text therefore is a first approach to exploring and describing these types of practices on the walls in Matanza, and an initial classification of said practices.

2. Methodological Framework

To analyze visual interventions on the walls of the district of Matanza the researchers used a qualitative, exploratory and descriptive approach. Exploratory studies on few occasions constitute a result in and of themselves, they "generally determine trends, identify potential relationships between variables, and set the "tone" of later more rigorous research" (Danhke & Fernandez, 1989). The present case represents the first approaches toward visual interventions in the district of Matanza. In this manner the goal is to generate knowledge such that it may support further research into the topic. The study also follows descriptive logic in the sense that it "looks to pinpoint the properties that people, groups, communities consider important, or any other phenomena subject to analysis" (Danhke en Hernandez, Fernandez & Baptista, 1991: 60). Researchers turned to in situ observation and in-depth interviews with authors of the various interventions observed in the district. In situ visits made it possible to witness the interventions in spatial and territorial concretion, all of which were photographed for later classification and analysis. The interviews contributed to understanding first hand the expression invading the urban space in question. The research focuses on a sample of 100 photographs of visual interventions given life of the walls of the district of Matanza, in the first semester of 2017.

3. Theoretical Framework

There aren't many publications on visual interventions on peripheral community walls. Although there are a few sources on graffiti and muralism in the city of Buenos Aires, like that of Gomez Auino (2009) which consists of a publication of murals and artistic intervention; Gandara (2015) takes a semiotic approach to the graffiti in Buenos Aires; and Ruiz (2008) publishes an English edition of numerous photographs with their respective context. In the case of the outskirts of Buenos Aires the situation is not the same. On this line of research we can reference the book edited by Universidad Nacional de Lanus Non-conventional Visual Communication in the Southern Peripheries of Buenos Aires (Pedroza et al., 2014), homonymous research conducted from the year 2010 to 2012, and a compilation of texts named Walls of the Peripheries (Banga, Biaggini, Luciani <6 Murua, 2018); a collection of essays from different authors on the artistic use of walls in said territory.

3.1 Paint the walls

Humans have painted and etched art onto walls since prehistoric times (Gubern, 1999). Writing political proclamations and complaints on walls is a practice of ancestral origin that can be traced back to the Roman Empire, with popular satire against the powers that be on Roman walls (Kozak, 2004). Walls have always been a stage for communication in public space.

As Armando Silva-Tellez states, studies on *graffiti* and urban art serve as the theoretical and methodological basis of what today is used to analyze urban imaginaries (Silva-Tellez, 2006). That is why, although the first theoretical research stems from authors that work in the field such as Claudia Kozak and Armando Silva-Tellez, the search for artists and intervened walls in the district of Matanza was first explored and described before establishing an initial classification.

3.2. The District of Matanza

The Metropolitan area of Buenos Aires is one of the largest urban settlements in the world and consists of the City of Buenos Aires, and the districts that surround it in the Province of Buenos Aires of the Republic of Argentina. Among them the district of Matanza stands our for its demographic density and industrial potential with 325.72 km2 of land surface and a population of approximately 1,755,816 residents according to the census of 2010. Located in the east of Greater Buenos Aires, La Matanza is the only peripheral district that forms part of all three of the cordons surrounding the city. The first settlements date back to the second half of the XIX century, but the vast space was occupied in accelerated urbanization spanning a little over 50 years, and as a result one can say that, save in three locales where there are still large as yet undeveloped swathes of land, the rest of the population display occupation patterns in a single footprint with population densities ranging from 3,000 to 8,000 inhabitants per km2, attributing the space with truly urban characteristics.

The use of walls for visual intervention in the district of La Matanza can be traced back to the first political propaganda painted on walls, or posters promoting one party or another. In the sixties this form of painted expression would become part of a subgenre: party associated press on walls that, faced with censure from governing entities sought to reach its audience in some form or fashion.

Figure 1. The Vega Family Store, La Matanza, circa 1935. Notice the poster stuck on the front announcing a *show* by the Bandoneonist Antonio Maggio).



The subgenre evolved until it became the default communications methods used by militant political groups. The groups charged with painting the walls had a system: one vehicle, the driver and the campana¹, the "painters" all performed in the dark of night.

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Figure 2. Villa Insuperable. Walls painted with political slogans. Early 1970s.

Soure: Photo Fito Correa.

However, the implementation of neoliberal policies, which led to social disruption, gave origin to a multiplicity of resistance measures. Among them, the reappearance of artistic and cultural collectives that began merging with established organizations involved in social class power struggles. In the face of exacerbated individualistic tendencies and desperation, new ways to produce these interventions arose, with varying proposals that stemmed from group or collective efforts, and the socialization of the practices with other actors, artists being incorporated into these mergers. These practices were not limited to just the topic of discourse, but rather were related to the manner in which they were produced (individually or collectively) and where the intervention took place (public space, institutional space etc.), the materiality of the artwork and their circulation. For Russo (2005) collective artistic practices in street interventions are a proposal for active participation, consist of a critique of institutionalization, and field in which social and artistic movements were mutually supportive.

In this manner the walls become an alternative space for expression: "The street (...) is the alternative and subversive form for mass media communication" (Baudrillard, 1972). In this space the immediate nature of exchange makes the distances between issuer/receiver an aspect of mutual interest due to spontaneous dialogue. For Baudrillard (1980) the city, which in its origins concentrated the efforts of physical labor, is today the industry of symbols and signs, where the State establishes the semantics with which it controls collective space; and its rhetoric establishes its right to power. "The postmodern State is, therefore, a semiocracy; however, using Baudrillard's terminology (*Simulacres et simulation*) the State manages inane signs that simulate ineffective meaning" (Gabbay, 2013). In this sense, if the key to the State's control of society lies in signs, visual interventions on walls look to destabilize, deconstruct and denounce semantic simulation.

4. First classification of visual interventions

According to the first analysis of these walls, and taking into account the origin of the form of communication (if it originates with the artist, communicator, or if its commissioned), we can classify said interventions into two categories: (a) Painted walls created by the authors from who the idea first originates; (b) Painted walls created on request or commission.

Although this first classification is useful when attempting to understand social processes that lead to the painting of these walls, we nonetheless create a second category centered on their usage by actors that visually communicate on walls, actors in the following genres: muralism, *stencils*, *graffiti* (where authors are considered communicators), for the fallen (murals requested by family and friends of the youthful deceased), and a further two themed categories that although they fall under the general category of muralism, are noteworthy for how frequently they are used: educational muralism, and Malvinas.

4.1 Muralism

Quinto, Rocio Toppetti, Daniel Taccone, Caldara (originally from Ciudadela but very active in the area), Julian Crigna, Ariel Calo, Andres Fuschetto, Pablo Ramirez Arnol (today living in India) and Hector "el negro" Contreras to name a few. Despite not being able to find the historical origins of the practice in study area (an element that will be broached in future studies), we can mention that the Argentinian, visual artist Juan Carlas Castagnino – who together with A. Berni, L. Silimbergo and the Mexican Siqueiros painted the mural "Plastic Army" at the Villa of Natalia Botana, and is a pioneer for Argentinian muralism – lived in La Matanza for a considerable part of his life and where he had a studio from which he taught and painted (Biaggini, 2014).

The murals singled out in this analysis have a second meaning for their local neighborhoods. The murals in question cease to represent divisionary borders to become platforms for discourse consisting of images, text and color. But to use a wall as a platform is in itself a form of discourse. This is the reasoning that reaffirms public art as a communicative process within the scenario. The walls chosen for this study are located in areas of public transit: in front of plazas, train stations, public buildings, schools or simply streets and avenues with a lot of traffic.

Figure 3. The muralist Santiago Vilas at the club Querandies in Ciudad Evita.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

One of the most important muralists in the district, not only for his career but also the sheer volume of work, is Santiago Vilas. His calling for visual arts began in primary school where, given the quality of his drawings, his poor behavior was somewhat mitigated by art projects requested by his teachers. In his neighborhood he meets Pedro Casarino, a fellow Tapiales resident, who was in charge of building the stage and scenography for the local theater group, and who had studied at the Art School Manuel Belgrano. This is where Santiago comes into contact with true artistic training. His militant political activities within the peronist movement, and his family's working class origins markedly influence his work. Since the return to democracy the murals painted by Santiago and his collective Zaguan al Sur can be seen at train stations, official buildings, prisons, neighborhoods, clubs and schools.

His iconography represents elements of popular culture (bread, the sun, workers hands, football, the flag, indigenous peoples etc.) as well as root popular culture: Evita, Rodolfo Kusch, Scalabrini Ortiz, Arturo Jauretche among others. Within the context of the current Argentinian government (2015 - 2019), characterized by the implementation of neoliberal politics and economic cutbacks in the budget for health and education, added to marked labor market flexibility and the subsequent loss of rights for the population, a phenomena that has already triggered marches and complaints from the most vulnerable social sectors, Santiago's work began to alternate between murals on different public walls and what he calls "militant rags". The new style consists of creating "mobile" murals painted on fabric (rags) to be transported and displayed at the varying marches decrying politics and social unrest in place since 2015. The new stage is a new interpretation of public space, and faced with a definable need creates a manner in which to take artistic discourse to the streets, and make it mobile. In this sense, discourse ceases to be static, and "marches" with protesters with manifest complaints.

Figure 4. Mural by Lucas Quinto and Ariel Calo, Saint Justus.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

Figure 5. Mural by Julian Crigna, Villa Celina-



Source: Photo taken by the author.

4.2. Remembering the fallen

The protagonists of social art are the men and women that live and paint their personal histories (Saul, 1972). For these social actors muralism becomes a medium for documenting history in which their stories are known and acknowledged. Painted walls remember, keep memories alive that will not be relegated to the past. One of the elements that forms part of this historical record are the murals painted in dedication to the youthful deceased; adolescents from the local neighborhoods that died at the hands of the police, the majority by accident or tragedy. These murals, consisting in a close-up view of the deceased, a commemorative phrase and their name, are placed in symbolic locations for passersby. It could the "corner" on which they passed much of their time or where they met with friends, or on a wall in a central location to that neighborhood. Luciani explains:

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Death, understood as a social and cultural phenomenon, finds a home in the murals painted in posthumous homage to the deceased, and through which are displayed religious beliefs, ritual practice and representations revolving around ideas of youth, death, crime, injustice and oblivion that combine in material and symbolic dimensions. The portraits found in these locations depicting the deceased young man or woman are offered as a magical substitute for physical absence (en Banga et al., 2018).

These types of murals are commissioned and paid for by family or friends of the deceased and executed by varying artists that offer this type of service. Among the most noteworthy we can name Victor Marley from Villa Celina, and Mauricio Pepey "Uasen" from the Gonzalez Catan neighborhood.

Figure 6. Neighborhood 22nd of January. La Matanza. Author: Manny.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

One of the events that led to the reconfiguration of these types of practices was the Republica de Cormañon Nightclub fire. On the 30th of December 2004, a live music venue was burnt down. The Venue, called "República Cromañón" was located in the neighborhood Once (City of Buenos Aires) and managed by the businessman Omar Chaban. That night the rock band Callejeros was on stage, the majority of whose members were from La Matanza. The fire took the lives of 194 people, and left at least another 1,432 wounded, many of them locals. The tragedy had a definite and concrete effect on the area in which images of the fallen began to appear on the corners of Villa Celina, Villa Madero and Gonzalez Catan, among other neighborhoods. Figure 7. Neighborhood Puerta de Hierro. La Matanza.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

Figure 8. Mural painted on the walls of the Vicente Lopez neighborhood in Villa Celina by the Popular Movement La Dignidad, in honor of their militant member Dario Julian, known as "Iki", murdered in 2017. Author: Lorena Itati Galarza.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

4.3. Murals and education

The class folder or notebook is a privileged space for writing in the educational process. But pedagogical modifications implemented since the late XIX century put the student at the center of interest. With this shift new spaces for symbolic production began to appear, which, unlike the first, walked the path of collective identity (Beltran, 2014). Painting a mural on the walls of the school or neighborhood is an inclusive artistic activity where adolescents and children claim a space where they spend many hours of their lives. The images and their stories are authentic in their execution, and beyond the beauty of their colors and shapes, they lend themselves to a multidisciplinary interpretation, and constitute a form of expression.

This process of intercultural dialogue encompasses representative value in developing integration, identity and social protagonism of the adolescent boys and girls at school. In this context, the General School Administration proposed painting murals of the May revolution, a special celebration that year due to the bicentennial anniversary of the republic on the 25th of May 2010. Workshops were set up allowing teachers from different schools to learn new techniques, including modern artwork such as mosaics. The proposal had a multiplying effect on muralism projects in and by schools throughout the entire district.

Figure 9. Mural at school 9 Villa Madero.



Source: Photo Mariano Ducrey

4.4. Walls and Malvinas

The war of the Malvinas Islands and its protagonists are another source of material that oft repeats itself on the walls of La Matanza. Many projects (the majority of them school projects) commemorate the event and those involved. Although many of those that fought and died in the war were from the district (Juan Rava, Sergio Medina, Ricardo Sanchez among others), the standout soldier is Julio Cao, who volunteered to go out to the islands. His likeness (and elements associated with him such as the famous letter he sent to his students, or the white smock which he wore at work) was central to many of the murals throughout the territory. We found these representations painted into the murals at the train station Belgrano Sur (the Laferrere station, painted by Santiago Vilas), in the murals found at school number 129 in Gonzalez Catan, number 38 at Villa Madero, and in Lucas Quito's mural "La Matanza's Heroes" at the club Defensores de Junin (2016) among others.

Figure 10. Mural at School N° 129, González Catan. Work performed by teachers and directed by V. Gomez.



Source: Photo E. Gonzalez.

Figure 11. G. de Laferrere Station. Author: Santiago Vilas.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

4.5. Hip Hop and Graffiti

The arrival of postindustrial society in the second half of the XX century brought about considera-

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ble and notorious change to established social practices. Collective bonds were weakened, and public space was lost as a place for social gathering, among other changes. In the capital cities of Argentina, and in particular the Metropolitan Region of Buenos Aires, this period was marked by a lack of concern for creating public space. These are replaced by shopping malls, recreational and sports centers, theme parks etc. (Perahia, 2007). Discourse and practices all over the world speak of alienation and fragmentation (Garcia-Delgado & Ruiz, 2013). In this context the first signs of modern graffiti make their appearance in France in May of 1968, and in New York in subway stations and marginal neighborhoods during the 70s (Kozak, 2004). These initial paintings first started with graffiti taggers. At first the only important thing was to tag as much as possible; the more tags and graffiti you had, the more popular you were. The essence of it was to be seen or get up. It didn't matter if it was a train, wall or blind. The goal was that your tags be repeated and be seen the most. In New York toward the end of the sixties and early seventies, a few adolescents from marginal neighborhoods (though not always) began to circulate throughout the entire city, writing their names or aliases with the number of the street they lived on. These inscriptions were personal signatures (or in slang, tags) (Kozak, 2004).

When a series of American movies came out in Argentina, specifically Breakdance (1983), Breakdance 2 (1984) and Beat Street (1984), the cultural practice in the US known as Hip Hop found a home in our country (Semen en Zraga & Ronconi, 2017). Soon the four elements of Hip Hop (rap, DJs, breakdance and graffiti) were taken up by a large number of adolescents as their own means for establishing an identity and expressing themselves. In particular several practitioners (Mike Dee, Roma and Frost in Moron, Dj Franky and Dj Bart in La Matanza and others) began to appear on the west side of Buenos Aires. They began to organize informal gatherings in their attempts to adopt these new practices (Alvarez-Nuñez, 2007). The new artists were organized into groups that called themselves crews, which became full immersed in the elements of Hip Hop. Socially, belonging to these collectives helped define and configure personal identity. In other words, the wider their networks, relations and interactions with other groups or people, the stronger their identities. As a result, being part of a *Crew*, sharing the complex cultural symbology that functions as the identifying hallmark of a given group, meant sharing a language, and technique.

Graffiti in particular would serve as the go to method for marking territory in the diverse neighborhoods in the district and helped recreate the collective imaginaries used to call attention to themselves, provoke society and instigate a change in attitude. However, since their very beginnings they have managed to go through a form of semantic evolution. As of the XXI century, the design and use of words has been gradually exchanged for icons.

In this manner many groups vent their ideals, dreams and frustrations through the inscriptions they leave on the walls of their neighborhoods, words that express resistance, dispute and transgression. According to Tella:

Graffiti – an adaptation of the Italian term for "drawing" – is a representation of identities that offers intense political, cultural and social content, and a significant capacity for expression through color, icons and symbols. As such, the youth of the time look to mark the limits of their territory, change the physiognomy of a given location, and force others to acknowledge where they belong, pressing the populace through their mechanisms and logic (2012).

This leads us to the large number of *graffiti artists* and *Crews* found in La Matanza: Vandalos (who were active in the mid-90s), NWK (active in the first decade of the XXI century), and the current Dorrego Style (in Gonzalez Cata), Chiko Lokos Crew (in Laferrere), ULK (in Madero), el Ocho, Jebus, Neoxs and Judaz among others.

This is how, in the district of La Matanza, we can clearly identify Matias Ezequiel Escobar from Villa Madero, known under his pseudonym "Cu4tro", a rapper and graffiti artist from the ULK Crew; a young man whose mark is recognized beyond the conurbation around Buenos Aires (Ortelli, 2004). In 2018 the documentary *Estilo Libre* by filmmakers Javier and Juan Zevallos was released, telling the life and tales of the work of Cu4tro.

Figure 12. The graffiti artist Cu4tro seated in front of one of his tags.



Source: Photo taken by the author.

Figure 13. The graffiti artist Ocho (8) in front of one of his tags



Source: Photo taken by the author.

4.6. Stencils in urban art

The use of *stencils* in public space is part of a general trend in urban interventions that despite making an appearance in the late stages of the XX century became far more important in the wake of the political and financial crisis in Argentina in late 2001. Massive social protest triggered a slew of diverse modes of expression that took the walls as their stage. The stencil is a technique first used in the nineties in many different urban locations around the world by anonymous authors (Banksy in London, or Mr.

Hoffman in Madrid), becoming the category of communicational devices that invaded public space in Buenos Aires and the surrounding conurbation from the year 2000 onward. Technically it is a cutout template, made from acetate sheeting or x-ray sheeting, allowing the artist, after placing the template on the wall, to apply a layer of aerosol paint to then simply withdraw the template and leave an image. It is low resource technology, but does require specific skills and knowledge. In order to leave a legible formal message implies prior planning, considering the limitations of the medium in which the artist can only produce high contrast images.

Figure 14. Stencil used on the walls of Secondary School N° 158, likeness of the artist Alfredo Zapata.



Source: Author Gerardo Sanchez.

In the district of La Matanza an example would be a stencil of the phrase "We are all Villa Celina", which began to appear on walls of that neighborhood left by a group of social militants that sought greater integration of settlers of diverse origins. The *stencil* of the likeness of the local artist Alfredo Zapata was used to paint the walls of the Secondary School 158 whose faculty were fighting to name the school after him (a request that was denied).

One of those faces, perhaps the most emblematic, transcended the walls of the neighborhood. Luciano Arruga, a 16-year-old boy detained and tortured by the police, and whose body went missing from 2009 to 2014, became a symbol for civil unrest, social protest, his face became the stencil that spread to walls all over the country.

4.8. When walls become an eyesore

The walls in public spaces are also spaces in dispute. Beyond the inherent territoriality of each wall (both political groups and Graffiti Crews understand which are potential walls and which are not) there are crossovers and censorship. There are notorious cases of walls that have been covered, censured or subject to some form of blockade preventing them from happening. Among the most well-known there the mural located across from the Teaching and Technical Higher Institute N° 105 in Ciudad Evita; a mural created by local artists for the 41st anniversary of the civil-military coup, on which disagreeing parties painted "no" in front of the phrase "son 30,000 desaparecidos" (to read 'there aren't 30,000 missing detainees'), to which they added another phrase which read "son 8 mil. Operación Independencia" (meaning 'there are 8 thousand. Operation Independence') (Diario Popular, 2017). The message comes inserted in heated debate on the number of detainees that went missing the last dictatorship.

Along similar lines there were those that tried to cover the mural dedicated to the Heroes of the Malvinas Islands, located at school number 38 (December 2016) by a group of anonymous protesters that claimed to be a part of the Nation's Ministry of Education. The police were duly notified and a report was filed.

In the neighborhood Gonzalez Catan, a group of artists painted a mural depicting cases of trigger-happy shootings. Police pressure led to part of the mural being covered over. **Figure 15.** Mural in the Gonzalez Catan neighborhood denouncing "Trigger-happy killings". It must have been covered to due pressure from affected parties.



Source: Anonymous photo.

5. Conclusion

The study attempted to create an initial classification of the visual interventions on walls in the district of La Matanza. In the midst of the XXI century in which traditional institutions have steadily lost a significant portion of the hegemonic potential that characterized them up until the second half of the XX century, a certain vacuum in legitimate representation has arisen becoming one of the central issues preventing opportunity for collective encounter. The loss has led several groups of urban artists and actors to intervene in public space, searching for alternative representation for socially valid meaning in their respective territories. The mechanism behind the re-appropriation of public space is a communicative act that circulates said meaning as discourse that calls for the transformation of traditional spaces; the re-appropriation of walls for the purpose of a new representative function in these spaces. The mechanism is given sufficient recognition to be considered a legitimate form of communication. These contemporary manifestations, materially speaking *graffiti*, murals, *stencils* etc. are always communicative and entice viewers to gaze upon them. They demand a certain amount of attention from society in general; creating a contradiction generated by the appearance of these paintings in the spaces where they are made, in other words, the intervention of urban culture in the physical space of the city.

Notas

1. "Campana" or bell, person in charge of giving warning of the arrival of the police or other dangers.

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