Advertising Space

– illustrating the spatial impact of urban outdoor advertising

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Abstract

Advertising is a phenomenon that shapes the image of many urban spaces today and has done so for the past two hundred years at least. Its impact has been described both academically and in the work of artists. In this paper I observe the impact of outdoor advertising on space through a series of photography walks. My own experience is reinforced by a short historical overview of the history of outdoor advertising since the 1800s, also chronicling the critique of outdoor advertising on urban space of the last decade. I then appropriate and analyse a selection of illustration methods that deal with outdoor advertising: Larissa Fassler's artwork *Regent Street/Regent's Park (Dickens thought it looked like a racetrack)*, *City Wipeout* by Pasi Kolhonen, *DELETE!* by Christoph Steinbrener and Rainer Dempf, *Hidden Town* by Gregor Graf and *They Live* by John Carpenter. The appropriation of these methods implies that I reproduce them, applied on locations in Stockholm in Sweden, to get a deeper understanding of the processes used. This study shows that each of the studied methods supplies its own angle on the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space, sometimes complementary to the arguments found in the critique. This paper concludes with a discussion on the strengths of each of the illustration methods, with a focus on discussing the spatial impact. I show that the texts and images studied are tools that when used in conjunction with each other can cover more facets of how outdoor advertising impacts urban spaces.

Introduction

Background

Advertising in public spaces is something most of us have personally experienced, and though we are reminded of advertising every day, there is still a need for more discussion about its influence on urban space. In *Townscape* from 1961, Gordon Cullen described outdoor advertising as being "ignored by the town-planner [...] And yet of all things, this is the most characteristic, and, potentially, the most valuable, contribution of the twentieth century to urban scenery."

Outdoor messages are often described as pervasive; they are everywhere and have become a part of the fabric of the city. But the amount of advertising differs, what would Times Square in New York or the Shibuya Crossing in Tokyo be without advertising? What would Venice be with more of it? Iconic spaces around the world are sometimes defined by their great amount of advertising.

Advertising, through its text and imagery, grabs the attention of passers-by differently than signless trees and building walls. The spatial dimension of architecture is a unique quality that may be affected, possibly diminished, by these messages. As a potential and often present element of the rich palette of a city, it is important to study how advertising impacts the spatial structure of urban rooms.

The way we see and discuss advertising and the urban scenery is affected both by what is written about it and through its depictions. By studying word and image in parallel it is possible to explore how the academic and the artistic correspond. For outdoor advertising this is about studying both the arguments *and* the illustrations that have been used to describe the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space.

Hypothesis

For the purpose of this paper I start with an assumption: there is a lot of outdoor advertising and it has a negative effect on space. The notion that symbols and signs disrupt a space is based on a historic view of the importance of space in architecture. In 1972 Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour wrote in *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* about the view of space conveyed by theorists of modern architecture. They described this historical notion of space as something that is affected negatively by symbols and text: "This architecture of styles and signs is antispatial; it is an architecture of communication over space" (1972 p. 8). Using the Las Vegas strip as an example the authors attempt to nuance this view by looking at signs and symbols as a potential benefit to society.

Objectives

In this paper my aim is to find out how outdoor advertising affects space, by using several different methods for studying the impact of advertising on public space as well as first hand observations.

Questions

This paper will examine a set of questions. My main question is:

- How are urban outdoor areas affected spatially by advertising?

To get a historical perspective on outdoor advertising a historical overview is included, based on a literature study.

- How have views on outdoor advertising changed historically?

Finally, the last question deals with comparing the critique of outdoor advertising with the studied methods, with an emphasis on the SPATIAL ASPECT.

- How is the view on the influence of outdoor advertising on public space reflected in the illustration methods?

Method

In this paper I investigate the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space. The text centres around my own experience of outdoor advertising gained from a set of photography walks in Stockholm. As background to understand its impact, I review the history of outdoor advertising, give an overview of its impact on public space as expressed in current academic literature and examine contemporary illustrations showing the impact of advertising on public space. In this way I am able to draw conclusions about the state of the debate on the impact of advertising on public space both from text and illustration sources as well as my own experience walking around the city.

      The study of contemporary, primarily academic, literature on outdoor advertising was done to get a historical overview of outdoor advertising and to find theoretical angles discussing its impact on public space. I then compare the arguments of its impact with the set of illustrations. A particular objective will be my own method development with the appropriation of the selected illustration methods, combined with a documentation of my own process of appropriation. The analysis focuses on how the illustrations show the spatial

impact of outdoor advertising as well as how the illustrations reflect other arguments found in the literature study.

The search terms used for the literature study have been "outdoor advertising" and "out-of-home advertising", these being the two most widely used terms to describe advertising in public spaces. In my writing I exclusively use the former term. The primary search was done via the Web of Science online database, but sources are also a result of library searches, newspaper articles found during the study period, literature from prior courses and sources referenced in the material found.

The search was meant to include several kinds of outdoor advertising: billboards, street furniture, video screens, stickers on vehicles and other temporary forms like publicity stunts. Though the search was broad, the resulting texts primarily focus on the impact of poster and billboard advertising. The intent has not been to look in detail at the actual content of the advertisements. Spaces with advertising services used both for civic information campaigns and commercial advertising are considered as places with outdoor advertising. Other forms of outdoor media, such as graffiti, have been excluded from the study.

The studied time period is from the 1800s onward, though outdoor advertising certainly existed before this date. The literature found is written from 1960 and onwards though most of it is written after the year 2000. The authors cited are exclusively based in Western countries with an Anglo-Saxon perspective dominating. As a result of my search criteria many of the sources cited have a critical stance to advertising with fewer of them representing other perspectives.

As far as I know the kind of indexed databases available for academic work are not available for artwork. This is a shortcoming. The search for illustration methods was done using the search term 'advertising' on two blogs that I regularly visit, A Daily Dose of Architecture (Hill 2012) and BLDGBLOG (Manaugh 2012). These blogs are multidisciplinary and topics include art, landscape architecture, architecture and design. This enabled me to get a broader source of methods, with illustrations done by people of many professions. I also used my personal knowledge of methods and asked my peers. The search has resulted in five illustration methods.

There are several criteria for the choice of illustration methods. One of the main ideas of the method has to deal with advertising in relation to public spaces. It should also be possible to experience these spaces from a pedestrian perspective. The study did not include outdoor advertising outside of pedestrian city centres. I exclude artistic works in which advertising is not a main focus or in which the perspective is from a specific means of transportation like the car. I make no other distinction and have replicated all the methods I have found that match these criteria.

The methods found are by people from and/or working in countries in Northern Europe or North America: Austria, Canada, Finland, Germany and USA. This is not a deliberate delimitation but one that is probably a result of the language of the search phrases. Naturally it largely limits the extent of the study to having a 'Western' perspective

and as such will not give a comprehensive picture.

I compare the different methods for illustrating the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space. After having identified the five methods that other people have previously developed I then applied all of the methods on a chosen location in Stockholm. Since the resulting images are based on Stockholm in Sweden, the particular circumstances of a Northern European city will naturally influence the results. By using the same two photographs as a basis for all of the illustration methods I can more easily compare the methods since the locations are always the same.

My analysis of the illustration methods is based on the methods themselves as I have found them and on the results and the understanding I have gained in making my own illustrations (to 'appropriate' means 'to make one's own'). Appropriating and replicating the methods will hopefully give a more in depth understanding of the benefits and shortcomings of the different techniques. My intention is to replicate the resulting images, not repeating the exact steps the artists used to make them. As an example, I digitally cover up street signs in a picture rather than covering up actual street signs with yellow fabric. This is both a matter of resources and a way of focusing on the analysis of the images. In preparation for taking the photographs I have also taken walks around Malmö and Stockholm that I have described as part of my research process.

Historical overview

This is a condensed history of outdoor advertising from the 1800s and onwards. The aim is to give a general overview of the evolution of the medium over time, as well as the evolution of the critique towards it. I have also included a brief account of certain artists' work that in some way comment on advertising.

Figure 1. In the first photograph of a human being – taken in 1830 at the Boulevard du Temple in Paris by Louis Daguerre – you can see painted advertisements on building walls in the background (if you look closely).

1800s

Outdoor advertising is not a new phenomenon. Outdoor signs for local businesses have been shaping the look of ancient cities in Rome, Greece and Egypt, albeit at a small scale. It was during the 1800s that the amount of outdoor advertising increased considerably. That was partly thanks to advances in lithographic and printing presses which enabled mass production of posters, resulting in lots of advertisements in the streets during the 1800s (Cronin 2006 p. 616). These advances mirrored the increased industrialisation and mass production of the rest of society. As cities have grown and population numbers increased

the relative amount of outdoor advertising has stayed quite constant. It is thanks to cities with lots of people, and lots of eyes, that advertising becomes worthwhile. Advertisements in the 1800s were not only posters on walls, they were also in the shape of personally distributed handbills or painted directly onto buildings, and some of them were illuminated or projected onto walls. Urban life could be lively, with lots of people moving about the streets, some of them flaunting wares or handing out leaflets. Posters were put up wherever there was space to put them, sometimes with chaotic results when advertisements were replaced within hours of being put up (Taylor & Chang 1995 p. 287). Advertisements other than the outdoor kind were not as common in the 1800s as they are today. In fact, Bernstein argues that advertising as a medium was 'born' outdoors (1997 p. 23).

First critique

As the amount of advertising increased it also started to affect the look of cities, as signless spaces became permeated with symbols and texts. Looking at advertising in terms of its aesthetic impact was typical in the 1800s. Iveson regards the notion of advertising, primarily based on its aesthetic impact, as part of a "ceremonial view" of space, where cities were regarded as having "a civilising influence" on the population (Iveson 2012 p. 159). When advertising was first criticised it was in light of it being a threat to the city as a monument of civilisation (ibid.). According to Iveson the very architecture of the city was a sign of its cultural advancement and trading and advertising goods was considered a disruption. Taylor and Chang mention increased littering around billboards and objectionable, burlesque posters as sparking some of the first critique of outdoor advertising (1995 p. 289).

1900s

The aesthetic issues and the sometimes chaotic replacement of advertisements led to associations being formed at the beginning of the 20th century (Taylor & Chang 1995 p. 287). These advertising associations were founded to combat some of the problems surrounding advertisements (ibid.). The results of the associations was not only an increasing self-regulation of the outdoor media market but also a standardisation of advertisement sizes, specifically of the so called 'poster size' (Taylor & Chang 1995). Although already started in the 1800s, the greater consolidation of the market during the 1900s meant that advertisers could buy advertisements that could be shown outside of the local region (ibid.).

During the two world wars in the first half of the century advertising locations were also used for public service messages (OAAA 2013). Some forms of advertising introduced in the 1800s became more widespread. The use of electricity to light up advertisements was more common (Clear Channel 2013). After the Second World War neon lights could be used more extensively once blackouts set in place during the war were no longer in effect. There

was a characteristic peak period with significant use of neon signs lighting up the nightscape in the late 40s (Holmberg 2007 p. 12).

With the first mass production of personal cars at the beginning of the century there was an increase of outdoor advertising along roadsides. Billboards became larger. "Posters became bigger to shout louder [...] but also to be seen at speed." (Bernstein 1997 p. 118). Though the size of billboards increased to be seen from cars at speed at first, bigger billboards have since moved into city centres as well. Billboards started being considered a traffic safety hazard. The connection between mobility and advertising is strong, with advertising often being placed where the greatest amount of people can see it, both in city centres and along highways. Cronin has studied the practises of outdoor advertising agencies and suggests that the primary interest of the advertising industry is in the amount of people that see an advertisement rather that the location being in a city specifically (Cronin 2008 p. 2737).

Figure 2. A photograph taken in 1896 from today's Stureplan in Stockholm looking westward along Lutternsgatan, currently Kungsgatan. There are large billboards and shop signs.

When cars became more common and mass production in general started affecting society to a greater extent the changes were also reflected in the arts. Many artists have worked with making advertisements, but some also comment on advertising in their work. Andy Warhol is perhaps the most famous artist of the pop art movement that started in the 50's. Amongst other things Warhol's work can be seen as a comment on mass production. Warhol made repeated copies of images next to each other, often using imagery from advertisements. Ed Ruscha was also associated with pop art. Ruscha did some landscape photography from a car's perspective in *Every Building on the Sunset Strip* and he also worked with typography from famous brands (Ruscha 1966). As part of the new realism movement, a complement to pop art, Jacques Villeglé and Raymond Hains worked with the textures and colours of advertisements rather than their texts (Villeglé & Hains 1960). The 'décollage' technique is a method where layers of advertisements on a canvas are used as an outset, then patches are stripped away to expose the underlying layers.

Advertisements were initially mostly local to the region but are nowadays showing international brands (Iveson 2012 p. 151). Holmberg makes a distinction between local and regional advertisements (Holmberg 2007). Local shop signs are in close proximity to the location of a store, whereas regional ones advertise businesses that exists on a regional, national or international scale. According to Iveson, the number of companies in control of the outdoor advertising market is quite small, with a few international businesses dominating (Iveson 2012 p. 153). Bernstein suggests that outdoor advertisements have become an especially good way for a company to show that it has an international presence (Bernstein 1997 p. 207).

The critique of advertising has evolved to become more than a question of aesthetics. Contemporary academic studies often deal with the alcohol, tobacco and food content of advertising in relation to gender, children, obesity, black people and black neighbourhoods. The *content* of advertisements is often in focus and Iveson suggests that the *form* of advertising has been studied less (Iveson 2012 p. 152).

Cullen considered advertising as possibly the most significant 20th century contribution to urban scenery. In *Townscape* Cullen gives his view of the main objections against 'outdoor publicity': it doesn't fit in, there is no choice not to see it, it's bad taste and it's distracting (Cullen pp. 151–154 1961). Cullen tries to disprove these objections saying that outdoor advertising is part of city life, there is nowhere else to put it, the tastes of the public is bad anyways and it's an exaggeration to call it distracting (ibid.). The distraction in this case is about the risk for negatively affecting traffic safety.

Regulation

Nowadays the locations for advertising are generally under formal regulation (Cronin 2006 p. 617). There is often a distinction between legal and illegal advertising. David Bernstein mentions the increased opposition to "visual pollution" as a reason for the increased

regulation (Bernstein p. 214). Taylor and Chang consider the aesthetic impact as being the longest living critique of outdoor advertising (1995 p. 296). In São Paulo, outdoor advertisements were heavily regulated to "reduce visual pollution" in 2007 (Iveson 2012 p. 160). São Paulo's Clean City Law deals with visual pollution and pollution of the water, sound and air (Tuvhag 2012). The ban deals specifically with illegal billboard advertisements, street furniture like bus shelters and benches still display advertisements under a contract with the city.

Economic reasons and the advent of public-private partnerships also play a part in the regulation of advertising. As Bernstein points out, to be able to advertise, "the outdoor industry [now] provides receptacles for litter, the collection of spare batteries [...]" (Bernstein p. 214). It has become common for advertisers to subsidise public facilities as in the case with São Paulo (Cronin 2006 p. 617). These agreements are known as public-private partnerships and are used to finance several kinds of urban infrastructure (Cronin 2008 p. 2747; Iveson 2012 p. 156). Iveson puts the public-private partnerships in a political context, and considers them to be a part of a contemporary move towards a neoliberal ideology (Iveson 2012 p. 156). To Iveson, regulation is more than just deciding where advertising should and should not be allowed. Regulation is now a means of control where "media companies [need] to protect their media against vandalism and alteration, and to commodify the places with the highest exposure to purchasing, and then monopolising access to, those places." (Iveson 2012 p. 157). So though regulation was perhaps initially a way to protect places *from* advertising, it is now a way to protect the places *with* advertising. It is, in Iveson's words, a way of monetising space. Advertising regulation touches on questions of ownership and control of the city and the right to urban space. Iveson's main argument against outdoor advertising is that it is not accessible: "The aesthetic integrity of the urban public realm has been of most concern, rather than its democratic accessibility" (ibid.). One argument is that advertisements exert power over space, where only some are able to pay for this space. Iveson is very critical of how these spaces are controlled. "Outdoor advertisers and urban authorities have become partners in regulating and restricting the use of urban public spaces as media." (Iveson 2012 p. 162) Iveson's main statement is that this monopolisation needs to be thwarted to give way to non-commercial interests (Iveson 2012 p. 165).

Although advertising is criticized for being intrusive and overwhelming its effectiveness is questioned. Cronin says numbers cannot back up that outdoor advertising works (Cronin 2008). Wilson says that "Consumers often lack motivation and opportunity to process advertising in outdoor environments because they are usually involved in another task such as walking or driving." (Wilson 2011 p. 930). Bob Vieira da Costa, of the Nova SB advertising agency in Brazil, considered that the amount of outdoor advertising prior to the ban in São Paulo had become such a mess of messages that it was no longer effective for communication (Tuvhag 2012). Cronin suggests that "advertisements in city spaces are rarely 'read' coherently as texts" (Cronin 2006 p. 617). Advertising companies spend a lot of time trying to find arguments about the impact of advertising but ultimately fail in proving

its effects (Cronin 2006). "It seems that people moving around the city rarely distinguish individual advertisements from those of other campaigns and rarely 'read' the advertisement in a classic sense." (Cronin 2006 p. 626) Cronin says that the great amount of advertisements in the city blurs all these messages and creates a "blasé" attitude towards the texts.

A recent study by the Swedish organisation Sveriges Annonsörer sheds some light on the effectiveness of outdoor advertising. It is an organisation, owned by a few hundred Swedish companies, that considers advertising an integral and important part of society and wants to spread that view. According to the study, people in general in Sweden are more sceptical of advertisements in 2012 than in 2005 (Sveriges Annonsörer 2012b). As for outdoor advertising it is the kind of advertising that the greatest amount of people have no specific opinion about, with 52% of the people asked saying they neither like or dislike outdoor billboards. Judging by the indifferent attitude displayed in the study, Cronin's idea of a blasé attitude towards outdoor advertisements gets some support.

Figure 3. Cars have shaped both the streets and advertising of the city. Intersection between Kungsgatan and Sveavägen in Stockholm, 1964.

2000s

Iveson suggests that some forms of outdoor advertising have been used significantly more in the last decade, with advertisements no longer only on billboards, but on vehicles and on

screens too (Iveson 2012 p. 151). Cronin describes how the 1800s had many of these forms of advertising as well (Cronin 2006 p. 617). There are greater similarities between then and now than could be expected.

Just as some forms of outdoor advertising only started being widely used during the 1900s so has the adoption of some advertisement forms, introduced in the late 1900s, only gained speed after the year 2000. Many advertisements nowadays are made to be easily and rapidly replaceable, partly because of the continued use of standardised sizes and formats for advertisements. The use of digital displays is the biggest recent change for the outdoor advertising media with more digital advertising infrastructure being installed globally (OAAA 2013). The use of digital displays further increases the speed at which advertisements can be replaced (Clear Channel 2013). For example, Stockholm municipality is putting up new digital displays together with some of the major outdoor media companies internationally, JC Decaux and Clear Channel, to make exchanging advertisements faster and cheaper (Jennische 2012). Digital displays also means an altered impact of outdoor advertising on the surroundings and a potential increase of the amount of 'noise' in the city (Freedman 2009).

Artists have kept on working with advertising. (Much of the art related to advertising has been left out of my study because of my delimitation.) Advertising and mobility is connected in the work of Mark Vinci who cuts billboards into pieces, then puts them back together into new patterns (Vinci 2012). These patterns, built up of thin stripes of billboard and offset, give the impression of going past billboards very quickly in a car, so fast that you are only seeing stripes of colour and light. I chose not to include Vinci's work in my choice of illustration methods since it's dealing with a car driver's perspective on advertising. Barbara Kruger has worked with advertisement text. She is most know for the slogan "I shop therefore I am", which was meant as a comment on consumerism (Kruger 1987). Jenny Holzer has made billboard displays and night time projections of text on buildings in public spaces, messages that are displayed in a similar way and with similar techniques as advertisements (Holzer 2012). Mark Bradford is a contemporary artist working with décollage technique explained earlier (Bradford 2012). Many artists have backgrounds in commercial art, particularly photographers. Photography is an art form that is becoming more exposed to the public nowadays and similar studies of advertising have been made in that medium, exemplified by Edward Burtynsky's *Breezewood* , see the section about my Photography walk (2012).

Spatial impact

The impact of outdoor advertising on space is closely related to how it impacts the people in a space. Both Cronin and Iveson say that in contrast with some other forms of advertising you cannot turn off outdoor advertising (Cronin 2006 p. 629; Iveson 2012 p. 155). This can be an advantage for the advertiser, Bernstein writes about people who face outdoor

advertising: "their defences are down [...] There is not time to switch off, change channels or turn away" (Bernstein 1997 p. 115). The advertisements need to interrupt or they will go unnoticed. For example, a bigger advertisement is used to get more attention amongst all the outdoor messages and to be heard through the 'noise' the graphic artist making an advertisement needs to be able to "evoke surprise" (Bernstein p. 28–32). The disruption caused by the advertisement is what the takes the viewer from experiencing the space per se to engaging with the symbols and texts that make up an advertising message.

Another critique of outdoor advertising is that it has a homogenising impact on space. Brands provide familiarity but also make cities around the world more familiar and homogeneous (Cronin 2006 p. 623). The 'branding' of cities is relevant in this context, since advertising can both work for and against the brand of a city. In the case of São Paulo which has become famous for being advertising free, putting up advertising could work against the advertisement-free-city brand, whereas in other places advertising can work to the benefit of the city brand, showing that the city is international and an active area for commerce.

Figure 4. Delightful neon on Kungsgatan seen from Regeringsgatan, Stockholm, 1944. Note that the photograph is taken from the same angle as the first photograph used for my appropriations (as seen in Figure 15).

Although traffic safety is regarded by Cullen as an issue that has ceased being relevant, it is perhaps becoming more relevant once again with the introduction of more and more digital displays. The Stockholm chief of traffic considers traffic safety an important

aspect to consider with more digital displays in use (Jennische 2012). Holmberg mentions the pedestrian safety aspect when advertisement signs are put up in the middle of streets and in front of crossings, where they can hinder accessibility for pedestrians (Holmberg 2007 p. 47).

Cullen also mentioned how advertising has created a new night time landscape and thus a need for its careful zoning (pp. 151–154 1961). Digital screens and colourful lighting can cause light pollution, but can also be enchanting. Recently, representatives of the youth wing of the Swedish green party wrote an opinion piece in one of the larger newspapers where they brought up the impact of outdoor advertising on mental illness and environmental degradation (Lindgren, Carlsson & Lidström 2013).

Next to his drawings Cullen mentions some positive aspects of advertising: at Broadway the advertising is vulgar (probably meant in its classical sense of being of common people's taste) and vital, in other cases it can have an "intricacy of colour and form which can be delightful" (pp. 151–154 1961). Bernstein similarly writes that advertising can "enliven the street scene, decorate an otherwise drab environment" (Bernstein 1997 p. 22). Holmberg suggests that during night time illuminated advertising gives a sense of security by giving the impression of a present and living city around the clock (Holmberg 2007 p. 48).

The industrialisation of Western countries enabled mass production of posters and advertisements that started affecting the look of the cityscape during the 1800s. With the introduction of the car outdoor advertisements grew in size. Both moving advertisements and bigger signs have become more common.

Advertising can give rise to homogeneous urban spaces, where brands make cities look familiar wherever in the world you are. Outdoor advertisements increasingly display international brands. That is enabled by international media companies, that are in control of this aspect of the image of the city. Advertising can lead to pollution, visual noise and light pollution at night. Its effects on traffic safety have been debated in the past and may be debated yet again with the introduction of digital screens. Concerns about traffic safety, the aesthetic impact and visual pollution together with outdoor media companies moving to control advertising has also led to increased regulation. There is currently a discourse relating advertising to power and the right to space, access to expression in public spaces and the economic benefits of public-private partnerships.

Outdoor advertising is said to be ill fitting of the urban landscape and citizens have no choice but to see it. It may interrupt and try to grab the attention of passers by, but some question if it really manages to make a meaningful impact on its viewers. At the same time it can be an integral part of city life and its rhythms, peaking around travelling and commercial nodes in the city. Outdoor advertising also reflect the vitality of a city, and can be a delight to behold.

Illustrations of advertising

To get a broader notion of the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space I have studied the work of contemporary artists and their depictions of outdoor advertising. The illustration methods I have selected reflect the delimitations I set up in my method: the works are focused on signs and advertising and deal with public spaces that can be accessed as a pedestrian.

Regent Street/Regent's Park (Dickens thought it looked like a racetrack)

This mapping study was made by the Canadian artist Larissa Fassler, who lives and works in Berlin. The project is an example of several similar studies dealing with the city that have been part of a Berlin exhibition between 2009 and 2010, called Walking in Place (September 2012). This specific image shows a top down view of Regent Street with the streets outlined in grey on a white background like a plan. Painted versions of signs and advertisements are superimposed along the streets, extending far from the streets themselves and giving a graphical impression of the varying amount of signs along the street.
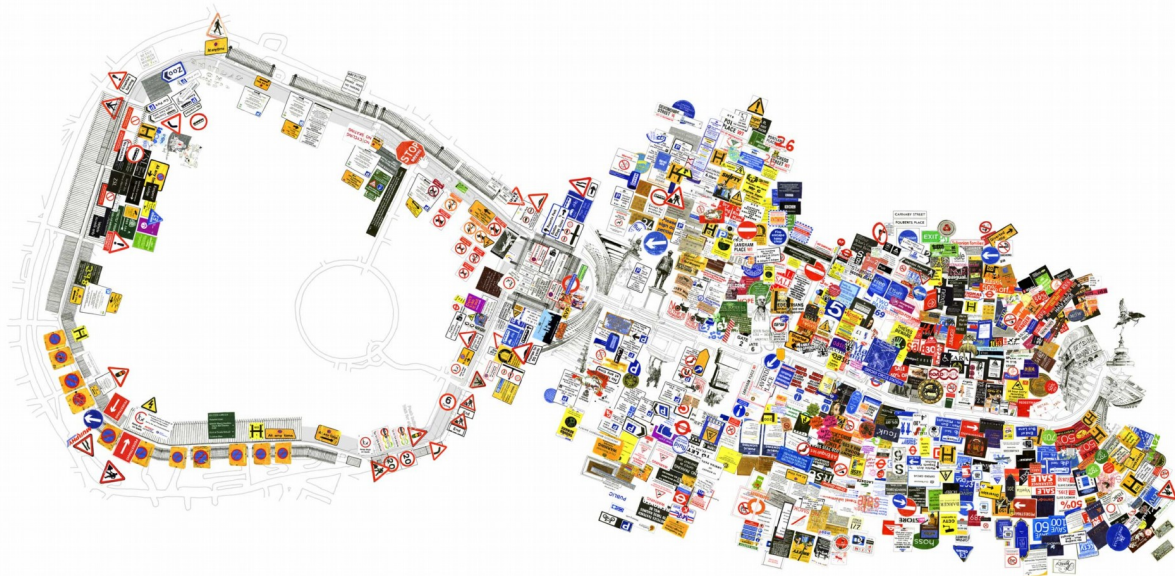

Figure 5. *Regent Street/Regent's Park (Dickens thought it looked like a racetrack)*, 2009.

City Wipeout

City Wipeout was a digital installation where the viewer could use a digital eraser to remove the city from a photograph, leaving only the advertisements behind. The project was the result of the Finnish architect Pasi Kolhonen's master thesis. Kolhonen wanted to show the amount of text and images that people are exposed to from day to day. The project can be viewed online on the website of the Finnish Cultural Institute in New York (2000). The project website shows sets of two photographs, one showing the original photograph, the other showing the photograph with all of the city 'wiped out'. Each set of photographs shows a single distinct location, taken from a pedestrian point of view.

Figure 6. On top showing with city and on the bottom without city.

DELETE!

DELETE! is an art project done jointly by the Austrian artists Christoph Steinbrener and Rainer Dempf in their collaborative art group known as Steinbrener/Dempf. Described as "Delettering the public space" it was a 2005 art installation where the signs and advertisements in a street were covered up and replaced by yellow masking. It was done on location along the Neubaugasse in Vienna.

The project was documented in a series of photographs of the street that can be viewed on the artist duo's web page (Dempf & Steinbrener 2012). These photographs show the Neubaugasse from several different angles partly during the set up of the installation but mostly showing how it looked once it was complete. Photographs have been taken both from pedestrian height and a few storeys up.

Figure 7. Advertisements covered in yellow. Neubaugasse, Vienna, Austria.

Hidden town

The Hidden town art project by Austrian artist Gregor Graf (2008). In a set of twelve images – from London, Warsaw and Linz – advertisements and signs, including street signs and markings in the roads have been removed by retouching the original photographs. In an accompanying text the artist writes that although the images themselves may seem alien at first, the photo-manipulation reveals obstructed architecture and clarifies the underlying system of rooms and spaces. There is one retouched photograph for each place. The photographs have all been taken from a pedestrian point of view.

Figure 8. Linz, situation 4, 2004.

They Live

In John Carpenter's 1988 horror comedy film *They Live*, mind controlling radio waves are broadcast to the population, intended to mask the presence of aliens. It is only with a special pair of sun glasses that the real world is exposed, showing the true faces of the aliens and revealing their mind controlling technology. The glasses also expose the subliminal messages of advertising. As the protagonist, Nada, walks around the city with glasses on, billboards, shop signs and magazines all become colourless with only a few bold words on a white background. A billboard advertisement for computers is replaced by a message to "OBEY" and a billboard with that at first says "come to the ... CARIBBEAN" showing a woman in a bathing suit lying on a beach is instead showing "MARRY AND REPRODUCE".

The amount of visible advertising is highlighted when it is all replaced by the much more obviously propagandistic messages. Of all the methods found this one seems to be the most overtly critical of advertising. The subtle 'encouraging' advertising messages are exposed as being blunt 'propaganda' of obeying, consuming and conforming.

With Nada moving around the city, you get to see the impact of advertising from many angles, mostly from his point of view. Some shots are taken from the side and do not reflect the exact point of view of Nada, some are taken from much higher up and show a greater part of the city.

Figure 9. An overhead view of the city.

Photography walks

To get an impression of the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space, I made several walks to get to know the subject first hand. During the walks I recorded my thoughts and I also took photographs to use as the basis for my own illustrations. The following section is an account of the steps taken to prepare for the appropriation of the illustration methods, focusing on my own reflections.

When setting out into the city with my camera I wanted the photographed places to be recognisable to anyone familiar with the city. So I focused on visiting squares and streets near the city centres. These public places also had to be accessible to pedestrians. I walked around in both Malmö and Stockholm in Sweden, though my final photographs were taken in Stockholm. None of the illustration methods deal with the night time impact of outdoor advertising and I did not take any night time walks myself.

During my first walk in Malmö I found that – to my surprise – there was not as much advertising as I had expected! My impression was that there was more advertising in the city centre, where lots of people pass through, and in the periphery at highway entrances into the city. Compared to more residential areas there seemed to be slightly more advertising around the entrances to the old city centre as well. It made me wonder if there are more opportunities for advertising in mixed cities, with commercial and residential areas woven together, since large tracts of Malmö are purely residential with little advertising on display.
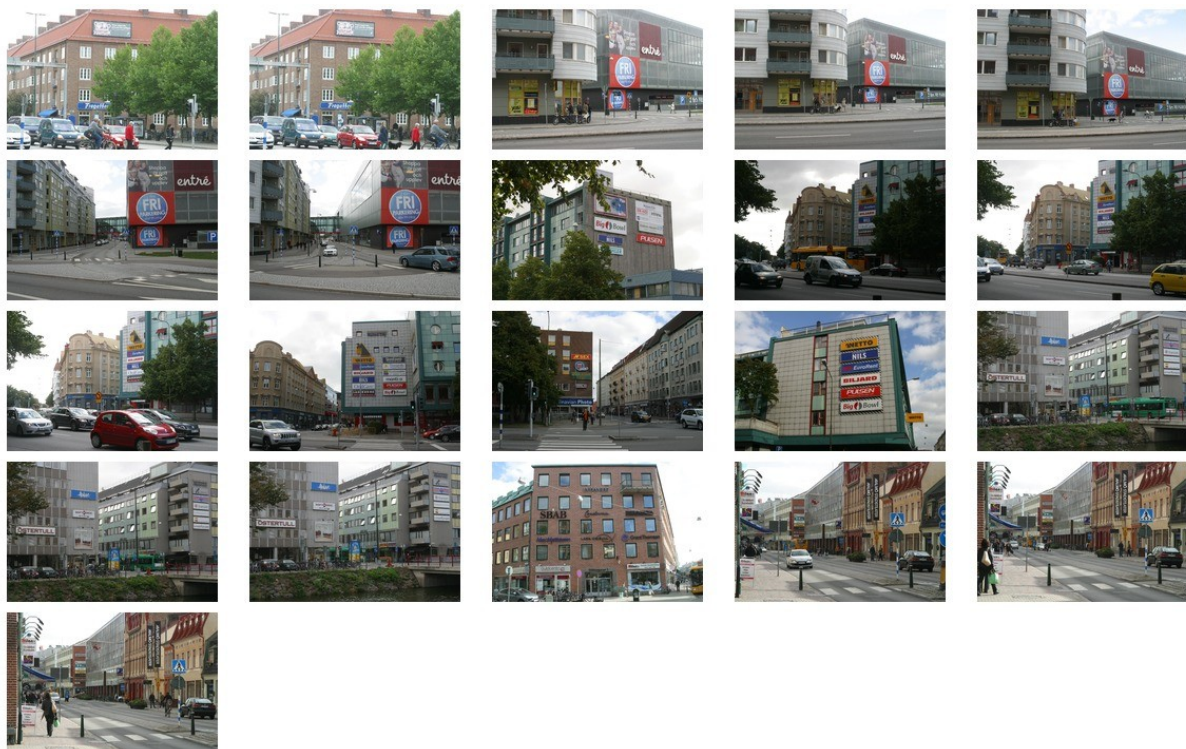

Figure 10. First walk, Malmö.

Questions about my choice of delimitation were apparent after a while. Perhaps most of all with the three recently opened underground metro stations in Malmö. These have been deliberately decorated to be advertisement free. Some of the stations are half outdoor, half indoor public spaces. This exposes the limitation of the term outdoor advertising and cast new light on the use of the term 'out-of-home advertising' more commonly used in the United States. To me it seemed that advertising in public spaces concerns many more places than advertising in outdoor spaces.

Walking around the city with my camera was a process similar to a walk that Anne Cronin described in a photo essay reflecting on outdoor advertising (Cronin 2011). During the walk she discovered the city and its advertising with and through the camera lens. And just like she did, I encountered a set of questions: what do I see and how am I seeing urban spaces? It doesn't take long for me to encounter the subjective nature of photography.

Countless photographers have photographed advertising, sometimes fitting as much advertising as possible into the frame, sometimes with other effects in mind. One really clear example of a photograph that manages to cram countless brands and signs into a single image, surely taken from a very specific angle and with a specific lens to achieve this, is Edward Burtynsky's photograph *Breezewood* (2008). It was taken as part of a photography series on transportation and motor culture. To show the subjective nature of photography I have included photograph sheets for each walk. Figure 13 and 14 show the pictures I chose as a basis for my illustrations circled in red. Next to each of them are versions of the images that I rejected.

During my second walk, this time in Stockholm, I realised the plethora of different kinds of advertisements: posters, billboards, moving images on digital screens, a significant amount of advertising on cars and buses in the street. Trying to capture it all in one shot immediately felt as if I was distorting reality with my image. If I managed to cram it all in, like a condensed snapshot of that moment in time, it was not really representative of all the moments before and after. Perhaps the image on its own is not an adequate means to represent my perception of the place and the amount of advertising present. For every photograph filled with advertisements, there is another untaken photograph just to the side, where there is much less advertising.
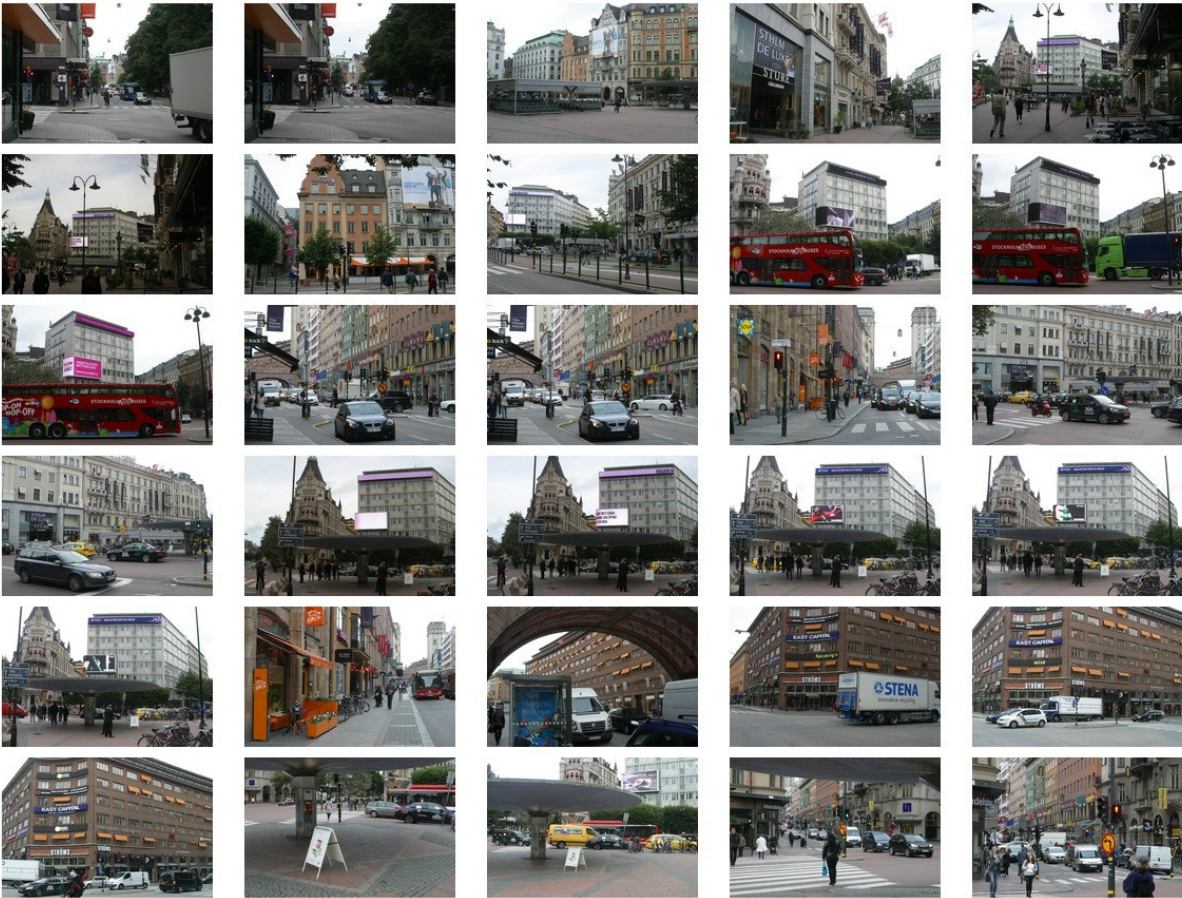

Figure 11. Second walk, Stockholm.

After passing through the busy central business area of Stockholm, none of my images alone could illustrate my own feeling of the amount of advertising I had just passed. I felt overwhelmed by the amount of advertising, but none of the pictures could show the compounded 'weight' of mentally registering all of the advertisements. Two of the illustration methods studied stand out in this respect: the film *They Live* and the map by Larissa Fassler both show something that feels closer to experiencing an urban space. The map does not show what you see, but perhaps better represents how the space felt. *They Live* gives a feeling that is close to actually moving through a city, since the film follows the protagonist as he moves through a city.

During my third walk I started thinking about how it seems that historical advertisements are seen as something positive and are often preserved. I also thought about the difference between advertisements that are mounted on top of façades versus those that are slotted into elements of the buildings.

Figure 12. Third walk, Malmö.

During the fourth walk my eyes were drawn to the less common types of advertising such as publicity stunts. There was a temporary VIP bar built on top of the Royal Opera House in Stockholm in the name of a large refrigerator company. I also found that comparing advertising to other elements in the street scene was almost absurd. To me, the traffic around me was a much greater distraction! A real danger that takes up a significant amount of street space.
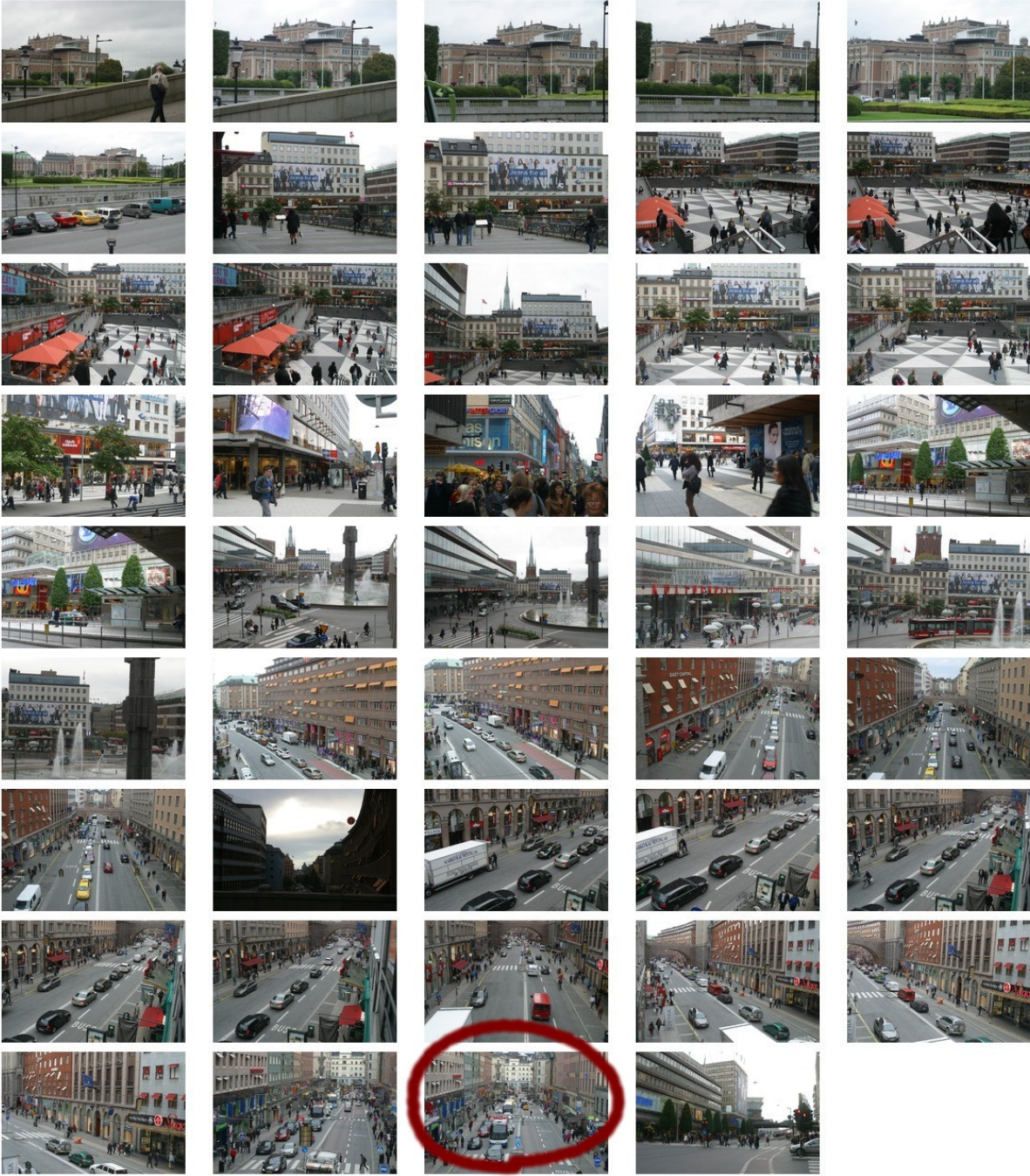

Figure 13. Fourth walk, Stockholm.

At this point I also started thinking about how I was aiming my camera in respect to the

space. I needed to get a good shot that would show both the advertisements and the space they were in. With either one missing I would not be able to show the impact of advertising on urban space.

As I took the fifth walk I became aware of the rapidly changing nature of advertisements. All of a sudden there was a new publicity stunt at Stureplan, colourful lights in a small tent filled with screens and speakers, and a new billboard had been put up, twice as large as the biggest one had been the day before. This was a great showcase of what Cronin describes as the cyclical nature of advertising (Cronin 2006 p. 615).
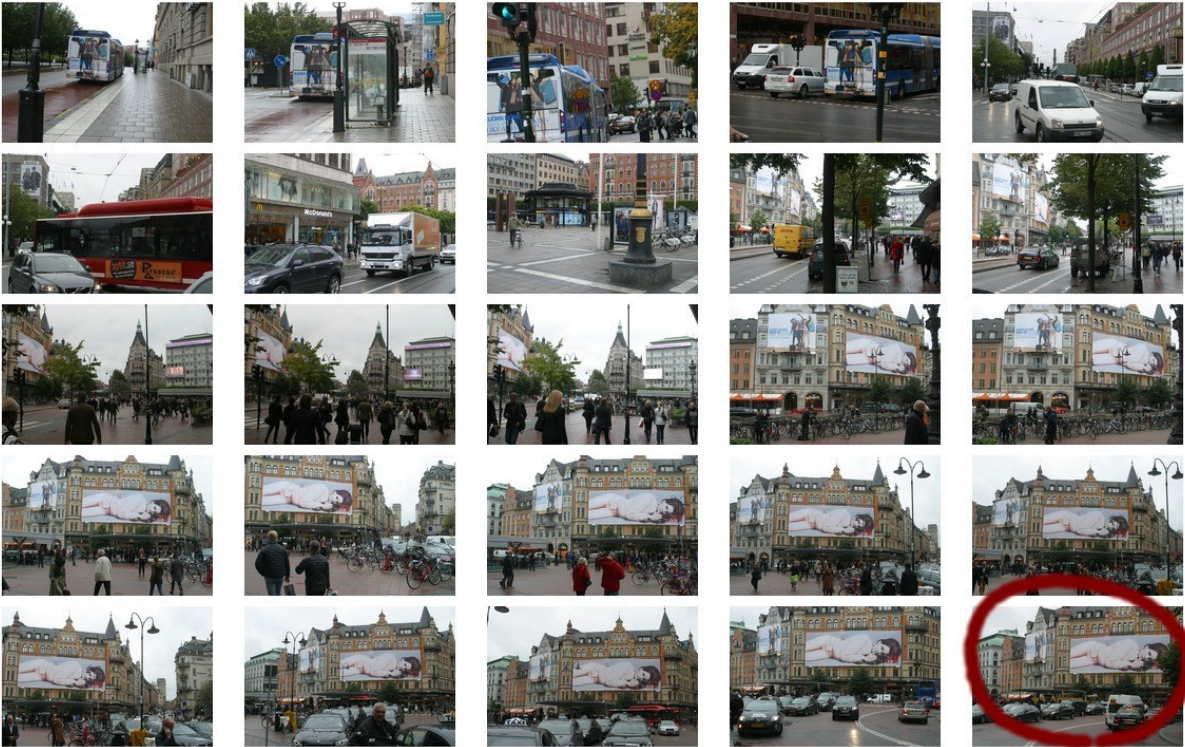
Figure 14. Fifth walk, Stockholm.

By making these walks I could get my own idea of how outdoor advertising affects its surroundings. I became aware of the amount of advertising in the streets: there was much less than I thought. It could sometimes feel like there was a lot of advertising around me. What I felt was the combined weight of what I had seen over a period of time, rather than what was present in any single space I was in. By taking my own photographs I also realised how subjective photography can be, how a small shift of perspective can give a totally different picture. After these days of walking around the city I found that the 'noise' and distraction of advertising was minimal compared to the real noises from traffic and the sounds of people moving about and the constant attention needed to move safely about the streets.

The final photographs were taken in close proximity of each other. Both are part of a small area of Stockholm, stretching from Regeringsgatan to Stureplan. This stretch of Kungsgatan together with Stureplan is my study area and it is here that advertisements are mapped as part of the 1ˢᵗ appropriation based on Fassler's mapping method. In this way, all the appropriations deal with the same area, with the mapping study also acting as an overview of them all. You can see the exact shooting locations of the photographs by looking at the map in the 1ˢᵗ appropriation.

Figure 15. Kungsgatan, Stockholm. Looking east from atop the bridge on Regeringsgatan.

Figure 16. Stureplan. Kungsgatan is just off to the right in the direction of the traffic in the right hand lane.

Analysis

In this section I will analyse the results of appropriating the illustration methods as well as describe the process used in creating them. Thanks to the arguments found as part of the literature study I have a theoretical foundation from which to analyse the resulting images. Some of these arguments complement the images, so that the images are in support of the ideas expressed, whereas others do not. I have focused on describing those arguments that complement the images.

Doing the analysis on the basis of appropriations of the illustration methods was inspired by the work of appropriation artists such as Sherrie Levine and Marcel Duchamp. Like them I have taken liberties in the faithfulness of the reproduction of the originals to be able to do a personal investigation of the methods. I am not replicating the exact steps taken by the artist or installations themselves but focusing instead on reproducing the final images in the way I see fit.

1st appropriation

This method is based on Larissa Fassler's work *Regent Street/Regent's Park (Dickens thought it looked like a racetrack).* My appropriation displays many of the advertisements along the street on a map. This is the only method that does not use the two photographs from Stureplan and Kungsgatan as a basis. I have shown on the map where these other photographs were taken. I made the illustration by photographing the façades along the street, then cutting out the advertisements and pasting them onto an outline of the street structure.

Advertisements are usually installed vertically in the street but have been turned horizontally on the map. The advertisements are also scaled up. The size taken up by the advertisements is in fact greatly exaggerated. When I think of how much space something takes up I mostly think of space on the horizontal plane. Translating the vertical space into the horizontal plane distorts the actual space taken up, but may also help in illustrating the space taken up. What is lost in the distortion is perhaps gained in the understanding of the amount of space used.

This method is especially good for showing the perceived amount of advertising, which can be greater than just what is seen in a single photo. When you move through a space you register a lot of advertising that remains in your mind although it may not be visible at the time. The greatest strength of the illustration method is that it works like a mental map. It can be compared with the work on mental maps that Kevin Lynch did in *The Image of the City*, even if it is not using exactly the same principles (Lynch 1960).

The method explorers the impact that advertising can have on the viewer. Not necessarily as single advertisements but as a mass altogether. If your experience of an urban space is affected by the amount of advertising as a whole in this way, either as a burden or a pleasant element, it may affect the way you experience the space as a whole as well.

Of the arguments brought up in the current debate I think this method especially touches upon some of the issues. Viewing the image can be a way of exploring the weight of advertising on the viewer, whether it can be turned off and whether it is effective or not. Is this the way advertising is experienced or can you decide not to register any of it mentally? The map in itself is a patchwork of colours and shapes that definitely shows the vitality and variation that advertising can bring to the streetscape.

Figure 17. 1st appropriation. Kungsgatan to Stureplan.

2nd appropriation

This appropriation was based on *City Wipeout* by Pasi Kolhonen. I masked out everything except the advertisements and presented the cut-outs next to the photographs. Although not presented interactively this method is probably the one where the resulting images ended up being the most similar to the original method I modelled them on. Granted, being able to experience the erasing of the city in the original artwork would probably give a deeper interactive understanding.

In a way this is an antithesis of the work by Dempf and Steinbrener, at least in name. If their work is about 'deleting' the advertisements this one is about deleting the city. Although you can hint at the city once it has been deleted, especially in Kungsgatan, where the remaining advertisements create a perspective effect, the result is a fairly abstract picture with advertisements floating in space.

The immediate effect of 'turning off' the city instead of the advertising is seeing how the advertising is singled out as an element. By 'deleting' the city the advertisements are highlighted. The image makes me see how many advertisements there are that are trying to grab my attention, and since the city is erased the advertisements really do seem to be very effective. But the effect also works the other way around by looking back at the original photograph of the city. After seeing the cut-outs the original photographs make the advertisements mostly look really well merged with the texture of the city.

So paradoxically with this method I experience both how many advertisements there are and simultaneously what an integral part of the urban landscape they are and how they fit in with the image of the city. Though the cut-outs are visually striking I am not sure that they really show the impact of advertising on the city space itself. Since the content of the images is quite prominent the impact of advertising on the viewer is much clearer.
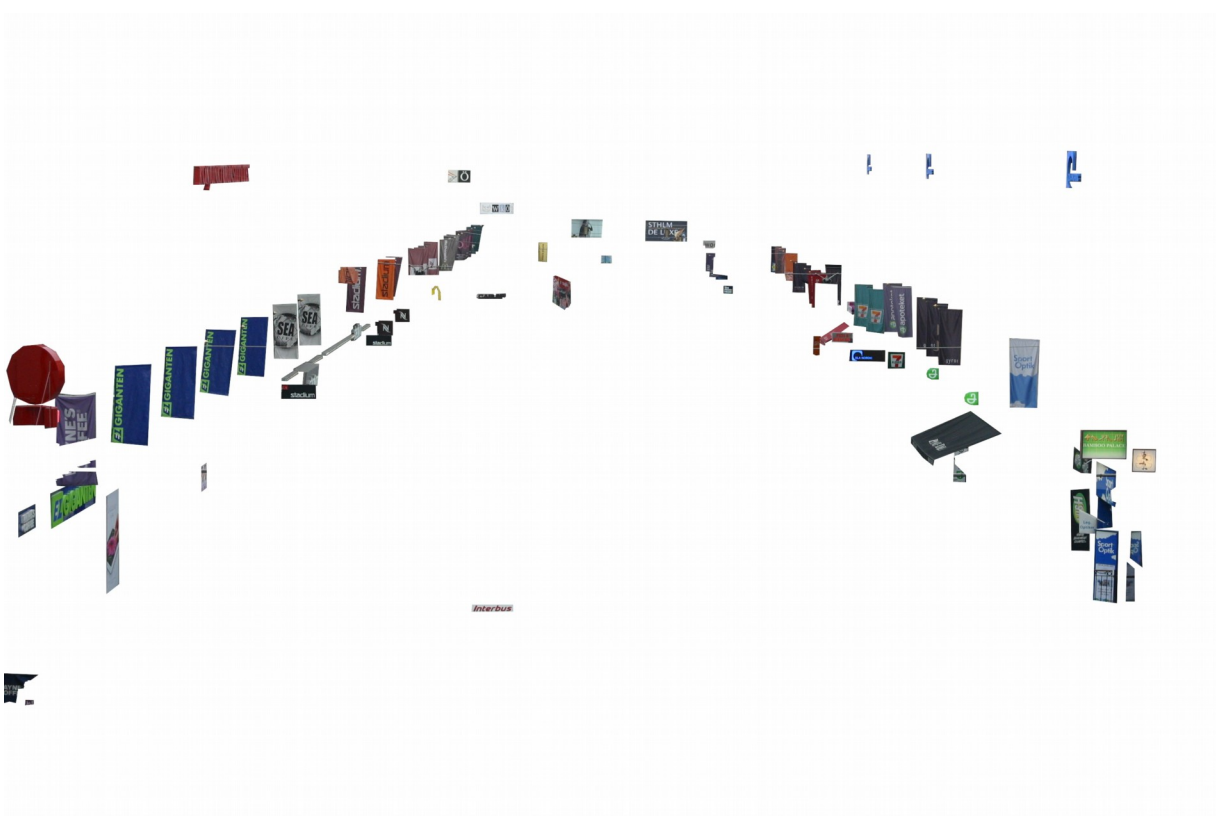
Figure 18. 2nd appropriation – Kungsgatan, Stockholm.

Figure 19. 2nd appropriation – Stureplan, Stockholm.

3rd appropriation

Although the title of Dempf and Steinbrener's original project is DELETE! I found that, as I worked on my own photographs, the process itself felt more akin to covering up the advertisements rather than deleting them. I was reminded of the 'Wrapping of the Reichstag' by the artists Christo and Jeanne-Claude, a project where the whole exterior of the Reichstag building in Berlin was wrapped in cloth (2012).

In my process of recreating the effect of the original method I masked out the advertisements in the photographs and filled the area with a yellow paint. The motifs of the advertisements are covered up and a bright yellow completely replaces them. I believe it is the effect of deleting the messages and images, the 'delettering' of the images, that was meant by the title in the original project.

This method, like some of the other methods, shows the impact of advertisements by exaggerating them. When the contents of the images are removed the advertisements stand out as a whole. The effect to me is twofold. On the one hand it gives an exaggerated effect of the spatial impact of the advertisements as a whole. More attention is given to the advertisements, since they are highlighted in the image. On the other hand, the messages of the advertisements are removed, in this case bringing more attention to how the lack of messages may affect the viewer. The effect of removing the messages is something the original artists emphasized in their description of their work, but something I did not think of. The strong yellow colour overpowered any feeling that the space would have become calmer without advertising messages. This is an apt way of showing the ineffectiveness of advertising, perhaps it would not make such a big difference if it was all a yellow blur.

Whether the bright colouring makes the advertisements more ill fitting or whether it shows how advertisements give a sense of vitality to the space is debatable. To me this is really a method that is dealing more with the impact on the viewer rather than on the space. The yellow colour is so striking that it almost becomes a question of how a completely different 'yellow aesthetic' would impact the urban space.

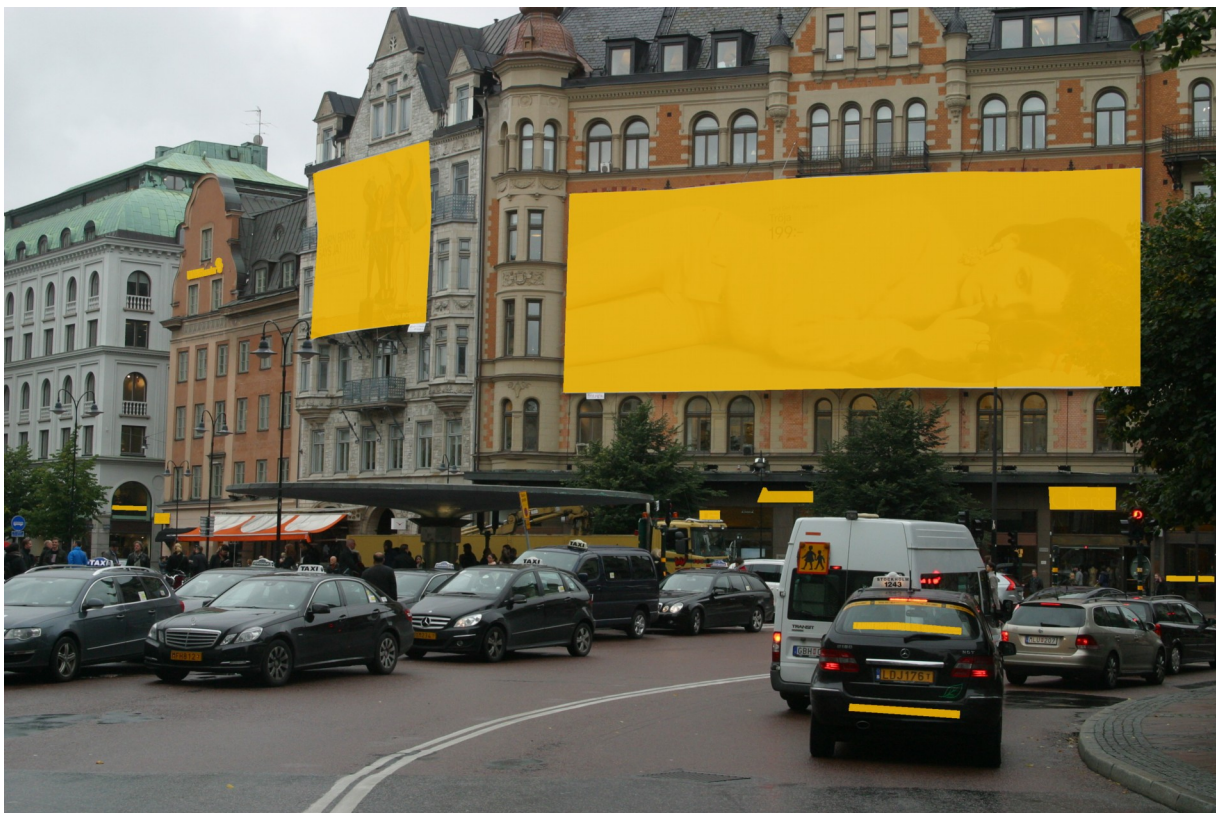Figure 20. 3rd appropriation – Kungsgatan, Stockholm.

Figure 21. 3rd appropriation – Stureplan, Stockholm.

4th appropriation

This appropriation is based on Gregor Graf's Hidden town project. Graf's retouching process seems to have smeared some of the finer detail of the photographs so that the surface colours become more prominent rather than their textures. I am reminded of the work of Edward Hopper, especially the use of plain coloured surfaces, in which a lot of detail also seems to be stripped away. I think the lighting of Graf's pictures is also reminiscent of the characteristic lighting in Hopper's paintings.

For my appropriation I only removed the advertisements and recoloured signs and flags to no longer show the brands. Luckily, some of the more prominent advertisements had been removed on a second visit, revealing the façades underneath. I simply shot the photos from the same angles again and could easily edit the exposed façades into the original photographs.

Comparing the original photographs and the retouched photographs there is an apparent change. Graf's project was not presented with the original untouched photographs to compare with. Because I have both before and after images you can decide which image to start with in viewing them. If you go in reverse and start looking at the retouched image you can get an impression of the impact of adding advertisements to a space that has none. With or without comparison I think the images show that advertisements have a visual impact on the space they are in.

The retouched photos give a reference for deciding whether the specific advertisements fit in with the urban space around. You can imagine what it would be like if advertisements in the street could be turned off.

The removal of the advertisements is both an act of removing colours and shapes and an act of uncovering a set of other colours and shapes made up of the underlying architecture. Which of these spaces that is more vital is up to the viewer. Some of the advertisements obscure a lot of architecture, like those on Stureplan, whereas the flags along Kungsgatan are additions that only obscure architecture from certain angles. Though the bigger façade advertisements obscure more, they are not altering the underlying shape of the urban space, or 'room'. The flags that stick out from the façades, however, make the space feel more decorated in a structural sense.

This is perhaps the method that most deserves to be described as having had the advertisements deleted, because in retouching and exposing the underlying architecture it really does expose the 'hidden town'.

Figure 22. 4th appropriation – Kungsgatan, Stockholm.

Figure 23. 4th appropriation – Stureplan, Stockholm.

5th appropriation

This is a method based on the film *They Live*. Popular culture and the science fiction genre in particular is rich in depictions of advertising. *They Live* is only one of many films where outdoor advertising plays a role, though in most other cases it only plays a minor one. There are films like *Blade Runner* (1982) and *Minority Report* (2002) that have some set pieces dominated by advertising. In video games one example is *Mirror's Edge* (2008), set on the rooftops of a futuristic city where all the buildings are rendered in white and advertisements stand out because they are brightly coloured.

For my appropriation of this method I added subliminal messages from *They Live* to all the advertisements in the photographs. Since I did not shoot a film version, it makes my result different from the original. A primary benefit of the film is being able to show the motion through the room. This is a bit like the mapping study, but this time the impact of the advertisements are not shown in a combined map but rather by being able to experience the actual travelling through the streets and seeing all the signs one after the other.

The focus of this method is really on the impact of the advertisements on the viewer rather than the space, in the film the main protagonist Nada gets a headache from seeing them all exposed. These advertisements certainly are effective. In contrast to the other methods it is not the form of advertisements that is exaggerated in this one but rather the messages contained in the advertisements. The intention is to expose the subliminal messages by writing the messages in plain text, since text can be very direct.

Text and image certainly affect us differently. An example of the impact text can have is mentioned in Mark Haddon's book *The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time*, which inspired me to write about this subject in the first place (2003 p. 208). There is a section in the book where the protagonist, with an unspecified disorder similar to autism, enters the main hall of Paddington station in London and registers all the signs in the room:

> "Sweet Pastries Heathrow Airport Check-In Here *Bagel Factory* EAT *excellence and taste* YO! sushi Stationlink Buses W H Smith MEZZANINE Heathrow Express Clinique First Class Lounge FULLERS easyCar.com *The Mad Bishop* and Bear Public House Fuller's London Pride Dixons Our Price Paddington Bear at Paddington Station Tickets Taxis Toilets First Aid Eastbourne Terrace ███ington Way Out Praed Street The Lawn Q Here Please Upper Crust Sainsbury's Local ①Information GREAT WESTERN FIRST ℗ [...]"

The overwhelming amount of information is exhausting. Though everyone is perhaps not as sensitive to it as the boy in the book, the messages can still make an impact on the viewer.

In *They Live* and in my appropriation, replacing the advertisements with very direct and authoritarian messages is also a very direct critique of advertising, as well as money and capitalism. Of all the methods this one takes the strongest explicit stand against advertising.

Some may disregard this method because it is taken from what could be considered a B-movie. But the method has surprising depth, it is comparatively holistic, advertising is not only presented as an aesthetic concern but also as a question of power and of who exerts control over the city. At the same time, by letting the protagonist move through the city, it gives a fairly in depth view of the experience of being subjected to advertisements over time.

Figure 24. 5th appropriation – Kungsgatan, Stockholm.

Figure 25. 5th appropriation – Stureplan, Stockholm.

Discussion

This section is a general discussion of the paper. A focused synthesis can be found in the next part, where I present my conclusions.

The literature I have studied is mostly focused on billboard and street furniture advertising, possibly because advertisement locations which are controlled by outdoor media companies make up the majority of the outdoor advertising sector. Local advertising for shops is considered to be another kind of signage. The focus on these types of advertising is also reflected in the illustration methods studied, though many of the methods studied do not only deal with advertising but with signs of all kinds, even traffic signs. Advertisements on digital screens, advertisements on cars and more unique and temporary advertising have not been studied as much yet. They can be considered less tangible and that could mean that they are especially important to study.

The way that advertising has evolved in the past two hundred years is a direct reflection of the greater historical changes during that time. Advertising reflects the advent of electricity and the personal car and a society based on mass production. Advertising and brands are in direct relation to globalisation and the growth of international companies acting around the world. At its roots the homogenisation of cities is not caused by the same advertising and brands being over the world, it is caused by companies and businesses expanding to become international corporations with their businesses and operations all over the world. They have taken their brands and advertising with them.

The arguments in the current debate about outdoor advertising reflect the times as well. I agree with Taylor and Chang when they say that the aesthetic issue has been the most long living (1995). The other arguments about the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space are often connected in some way to the aesthetics. Whether it has been about a de-civilising influence of advertising, night time pollution or they way it can enliven the streets, many of them deal with advertising as a visual concern at its base. Even the aspects of the ownership of space is related to the ownership and power over the image of the city.

Not being able to turn off outdoor advertising was another of the main arguments against advertising that I found. In your private home, in the mailbox and on your computer, there are ways to block advertising from reaching you. But it is not possible to block advertisements in public space. There is clearly a difference in how public and private space is treated, who has the power to control it and how we decide about the place of advertising in the city.

The amount of physical space that something takes up, its size, is a basic measure of its power or dominance. You could argue that an advertisement exerts power over the space that it is in. That power reflects the power of those who afforded to put up the advertisement. It is a reflection of the powerful. It could be seen as a democratic problem or a sign of inequality, a problem that both Holmberg and Iveson suggest should be alleviated by making more public expression possible (Holmberg 2007; Iveson 2012).

When doing the appropriations I realized the amount of space taken up by traffic. It dwarfs the space taken up by advertising. In my walks I especially noted the size of the streets, often used only by parked cars. As I have shown there is a strong connection between transportation and advertising. A lot of outdoor advertising gathers around transit points. Since traffic safety has been a recurring question for outdoor advertising I wonder if my impression that pedestrian safety has taken the back seat is a sign that the car still has a lot of power in the city.

On the other hand and in contrast with the above, I realized there was not as much advertising as I thought during my walks. As I was trying to catch it on camera I was confronted with the subjectiveness of photography. This is described in my photography walk and the reason why I have shown all the photographs I took. I think the difference between the perception of advertising and its representations is important to remember especially since images can have a great influence on the way you think of a space. The representations and images of the city can be important for how we 'see' it.

As I appropriated the illustration methods that I had found I repeated the motions, not striving to be perfect. That meant that I left some aspects of the originals unexplored. I only scratched the surface of the methods since some of them were originally presented quite differently. There was the interactive erasing of the city in *City Wipeout* and the 'moving' pictures in the film *They Live. DELETE!* was very well documented with lots of photographs exploring the transformed streets from many different angles. Such an in depth exploration of the space in question is something that gives a better understanding of the spatial impact of the project rather than the few photographs I based my appropriations on.

The illustrations can easily be used to highlight certain aspects or arguments brought up in the current debate. The illustrations also supply other perspectives not found in the current debate. The 1st appropriation based on *Regent Street/Regent's Park (Dickens thought it looked like a racetrack)* works great like a mental map of the area. In *City Wipeout* advertisements seem very well integrated into the city in comparison to them being cut out. *DELETE!* provides a good technique for exploring space from many different angles. *Hidden town* gives a great idea about the spatial impacts of advertising since you can see the same space with and without advertising. *They Live* shows in moving images how it is to move through a space affected by advertising. Each of the illustration methods provides its own angle and together they fill in a larger part of the 'whole'.

Conclusions

In my initial hypothesis I assumed that there is a lot of outdoor advertising with a great impact on space. I have found that outdoor advertising is not as 'antispatial' as I thought. Signs and symbols have an impact on space, but not as much as I had expected. As I mentioned in my hypothesis, Venturi et al valued commercial architecture and tried to raise the status of space constructed with symbols rather than forms (Venturi, Scott Brown &

Izenour 1972). I have found that the spatial experience is more affected by the people in it, how fast we travel and by what means, especially if by foot or by car. I also assumed that the impact of advertising was negative. Thanks to arguments brought up in my literature study as well as my own experience whilst walking around I have found that outdoor advertising can in fact enliven a space and enrich it with vitality.

The photography walks also made me aware of the subjective nature of photography and the power I had in choosing what was shown in each frame. The understanding of this subjective nature also extended to the studied illustrations as well as my own appropriated illustrations.

Most of these photographs and illustrations failed to illustrate the actual experience of space. Larissa Fassler's mapping study gets closer to illustrating the mental impact of advertising. Her map and my appropriation deal with the experience of advertising over time and through different spaces. These maps are in the same vein as the kind of mapping James Corner describes as *drift* mapping, mental mapping techniques recording walks and "the shifting character or urban experience", exemplified in the work of situationists like Guy Debord (Corner 1999 p.231-235).

How well these illustrations capture the experience of space ultimately points to the difference between the actual world around us and the representations of it. In *The Production of Space* Henri Lefebvre makes the difference between the representations of space and representational space, space as directly lived (Lefebvre 1974). The illustrations and photographs of this paper are representations of space that do not manage to show the actual *representational* space.

Key to getting closer to a more complete representation of space is using several methods. When it comes to describing changes to a space, and the impact that outdoor advertising has on it, one picture does not accurately convey the experience of walking through that space. The dynamic nature of a space is better explored with a set of methods used in parallel, that complement each other.

The academic and artistic discourses expose different ways that advertising impacts space. Of the illustration methods studied the *Hidden Town* project shows the spatial effect of advertising on urban space very well whereas Larissa Fassler's mapping study is like a mental map and exposes how advertising is experienced as a whole over time. A film like *They Live* gives a strong notion of movement through space. The illustration methods seldom reflect exactly the notions found in the academic debate, rather I found that the two strengthen each other.

Interdisciplinary work, combining the artistic with the academic, shows that looking from different angles gives results that are more holistic. In this paper, reproducing the methods and bringing them together is a method in itself. Combining the methods gives more angles of the same subject. Each subjective angle, part of a greater triangulation that brings the representations and images a little closer to reflecting the complexity of the spaces themselves. Or as it was written in Pier Paolo Pasolini's interpretation of *A Thousand and One Nights*: "Truth lies not in one dream but in many."

Future research

Since my own opinion of outdoor advertising deepened significantly throughout the study, I have come to wonder what other people really think of outdoor advertisements. There is a lack of studying how people feel about outdoor advertising, and this gap could be reduced by doing interviews with people in the street. Presenting them with before and after images, asking about their opinions but also if they see some advantages and disadvantages.

In conjunction with this you could also do some quantitative measurements, such as looking at the scale of advertisements in comparison with the size of the space they are in and the speed of movement of the people and traffic. When I set out to do this study I was hoping for some straightforward studies like the ones Jan Gehl have done. In this way you could investigate the impact of advertisements on feelings of intimacy and start looking more in detail on both private and public spaces.

However, as a more direct result of investigating the methods I think the first step to take the project further would be a deeper study with more photographs of a certain place, but only picking one of the methods out of the four based on the two street view photographs. The point would be to illustrate the impact from many more angles. This would hopefully give you a better feeling for how the space, or room, is affected. You could pick the method that I think best shows the impact on space, the 4th appropriation based on Gregor Grafs work. The method would then be applied to several photos, a panorama and close ups, perhaps a series of interrelated images like Cullen's 'serial vision'. This would be done in combination with plan drawings like the 1st appropriation inspired by Larissa Fassler's work or even with a film. This combination of methods is something I have already started with this paper, but it could be taken further and be refined to focus on the method best suited to show the impact of outdoor advertising on urban space.

City streets are affected spatially by other factors that make a much larger impact than outdoor advertising. It would be interesting to study the impact of traffic, using illustrations like those studied in this paper.

Acknowledgements

Figures

Unless noted, all figures by the author. Every care has been taken to trace copyright holders for images.

1. Boulevard du Temple by Louis Daguerre. Licence: Public domain.

2. Lutternsgatan västerut från Biblioteksgatan by Unknown. http://www.stockholmskallan.se/Soksida/Post/?nid=6069 Licence: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.5/se/

3. Nattbild från Kungsgatan 1964 by Håkan Trapp. http://www.stockholmskallan.se/Soksida/Post/?nid=27578 License: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.5/se/

4. Kungsgatan österut mot Stureplan i mörker med neonskyltar. Tv. ligger Kungsgatan 18 och 14. T.h. 19 och 17 by Åke Thomssen. http://www.stockholmskallan.se/Soksida/Post/?nid=27214 License: http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.5/se/

5. *Regent Street/Regent's Park (Dickens thought it looked like a racetrack)*, 2009 by Larissa Fassler. http://www.larissafassler.com/regent.html

6. Houston St and Ateneuminkuja by Pasi Kolhonen. http://www.saumadesign.net/Kolhonen.htm

7. Delete by Rainer Dempf. http://www.steinbrener-dempf.com/delete/

8. *Linz, 2004, situation 4* by Gregor Graf. http://www.gregorgraf.net/warschau.html

9. Still image from the film *They Live.*

10–16. By the author.

17–25. Edited/manipulated photographs. By the author.

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