

Street Art and Walkability: Perspectives from Berlin

An investigation into the effects of street art on walkability and its components.



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Abstract

Street art's place in the urban fabric is a new conundrum for planners, as we are beginning to see that the role of the citizen in the making of places can be important. This is shown in the rise of schools of thought such as Tactical Urbanism. As it is often a part of the pathways we take in urban mobility, it becomes an interesting question whether or not this affects walkability, one of Europe's current biggest trends in recent years. This bachelor's thesis investigates street art both in the form of graffiti tags and murals, and how they affect Berlin's residents and locals alike during their days living the pedestrian life. Randomly sampled surveys and a series of interviews were used to study this in the context of Berlin, one of the world's most famous cities for street art culture, which were subjected to statistical and coding analysis respectively. The results show that the addition of street art in general can positively contribute to urban pedestrian pathways, though there is a clear distinction where graffiti is much less wanted than murals. Proper measures need to be taken to ensure that this art is also well-appreciated by the public that beholds it, interacts well with the space it inhabits, and is, preferably dense and colorful as opposed to sporadic and patchy.

Keywords: street art, walkability, Berlin, surveys, interviews

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I. Introduction

Street art is an often misunderstood form of expression, fittingly much like its artists. It serves as an unconventional yet provocative medium to invoke deep sentiments in its beholders. This can include both murals and graffiti, which are often put in the same category but very different in both the means and intention of execution. The former is defined as a work of art, often commissioned, that portrays a certain clear political or social message featuring complex, meticulously planned patterns, whereas the latter is often based on scribbled words and letters with more spontaneous (and sometimes illegal) execution and is more directly expressive. Both can involve individual artists or larger groups, though it is more likely complex murals involve more people as it is often a bigger effort. As these people may have no connection to planning authorities or local public administration, it is likely for these works to be labeled as vandalism and a destruction of the city's aesthetics. However, understanding these acts as a "DIY intervention", as is the case in the school of Tactical Urbanism, can lead us to a more open and cooperative stance on street art. "How do we regulate street art?", then becomes, "how can we best utilize street art to better the urban environment, balancing both the interests of the artists and beholders?"

The academic understanding of street art, in its various forms, and its place in the city is in its relative infancy, and an especially interesting yet critically underexplored facet of it is its effect on how people get around: their feelings about and choices made when walking. The subjective measure of the quality of a street's walking experience can be summarized in the umbrella term "walkability". Compared to traditional visitor attractions, street art has the special characteristic of being both expansive in nature and located in public paths, which means tourists that come to visit it share the same space as the regular commuter. These two groups interacting, both with different intended uses of the street, may improve or deteriorate each other's experiences. There may even be a difference to how these two groups perceive the effects of street art on walkability. On the other hand, street art has been shown in some studies to contribute to factors which themselves play a role in making streets more walkable (Kolçak & Kaya Erol, 2022; Schwartz, 2022). Further questions also then emerge: "Do people slow down for street art?" and "How much does street art contribute to the public perception of a street?", for instance.

Berlin is a city renowned throughout the world for its street art culture. This unique context then lends itself well as a case to be analyzed, as a city so dominated by street art's presence both currently and historically has many experiences and lessons to learn from. With the results of this study, it is hoped that policy designers and decision makers alike will be more informed as to the effects of street art on urban mobility, thus being able to utilize the art medium as not only a contributor to place attachment and the protection of cultural heritage (Boffi et al., 2023), but also as a possible promoter for sustainable urban mobility due to its ability to make slow modes of transport, and therefore walking, more attractive to choose. This understanding should come from both lived experiences and broader data on satisfaction, in order to create a context-sensitive and comprehensive understanding of street art as a planning intervention.

II. Research Problem

The main objective of this thesis is to answer the following research question: “What are the effects of street art on the walkability of streets in Berlin?” Several questions can be answered to draw out further details, namely:

- In what way do people’s perceptions of a street’s walkability change due to the addition of street art?
- What differences can be seen in the effects that different types of street art have on walkability?
- How do residents and locals see street art differently in Berlin’s streets?
- How has Berlin’s specific context influenced street art’s effects throughout the city?

III. Theoretical Framework

3.1 Street Art

Street art is defined as any form of artistic expression that is accessible in a public space (Tate, n.d.). **Murals** are differentiated from the illegal **graffiti** vandalism in the sense that they are, first and foremost, created without the infringement of the legal rights of another, despite both belonging to the category of street art. Murals also usually come in the form of detailed, large-scale works of visual art that are accessible to the general public and serve a broader purpose than the simple “tagging” that most illegal graffiti works are known for. The most observable difference is what the art piece contributes to the street it calls home. The uses of street art are manyfold, from keeping streets safer by encouraging drivers to slow down and pedestrians to be more alert (Schwartz, 2022) to being able to protect cultural heritage and promote place attachment through the preservation of social and cultural history (Boffi et al. 2023). Murals aim to improve and pull together, whereas graffiti vandalism often damages the environment it exists in.

From studying the many ways street art has been utilized in public policy, Guinard & Molina (2018) have found that a common mistake lies within the oftentimes elitist and exclusive nature of typical urban policy. The authors, taking *Dismaland* in England’s Weston-super-mare as a case study, found that the interests of the artist and that of the urban stakeholder regularly clash, causing a warp in the real effects and therefore an event that “disconnect(ed) itself from its surroundings and from the community”. The exhibition was attended by international visitors and social media influencers, giving the exhibition a sort of exclusive atmosphere. This is precisely contrary to the primary function of street art in the first place, which was to “create an event open to the inhabitants living nearby.” Effective street art policies must ensure that its implementations do not end up hindering the citizens’ participation it was designed to support. In this manner, not only can the artist benefit from their message being sent to the intended audience, but also make street art as a form itself more accessible to the public.

Regulations for street art come in different forms across the globe. The US, arguably the birthplace of modern graffiti culture, has laws which can protect the intellectual property of street art, provided they are done abiding by the rules of the game (Bonadio, 2019), while Germany extends these laws even to illegal works (Mimler, 2019). These regulations are expressions of

the status quo regarding each country's general understanding of the role of street art as much as they could be determinants of how street art is treated by their governments.

3.2 Street Art as a Visitor Attraction

A **visitor attraction (VA)** is defined as “permanent resource[s], either natural or man-made, which [are] developed and managed for the primary purpose of attracting visitors” (Hu & Wall, 2005, p. 619). The term “visitor attraction” itself is preferred over others such as “tourist attraction” because the scope of the impacts of street art studied here extend to both day-visiting locals and overnight tourists. They are additionally able to “operate in a much broader sense, as agents of change, social enablers and major income generators” (Leask, 2008). Street art, while usually considered temporary art, can be treated as a visitor attraction as it has been found to have the capability to attract tourism (Kolçak & Kaya Erol, 2021). In the case of Berlin, they can be considered even more so given the city's status as a hub for street art. The significant presence of tourists in the city makes accounting for the difference between the tourist's and local's perspective important. There could be a lot of differences in the way street art affects them as well, thus making visitor attraction management an essential part of utilizing street art in the most beneficial way possible for the city's streets: not necessarily to attract as many visitors as possible, but in a sense that tourism must be controlled so as to not interfere with daily commuters' lives or replace the place's identity.

Street art is also inherently public in nature, even more so than traditional art-related visitor attractions such as museums. Without the need for an entry cost, or even the need to go to a certain location in Berlin's context, street art's effects on the public can be more easily studied by simply asking members of the public their opinions.

3.3 Tactical Urbanism

As a response to today's often-sluggish planning practices, **tactical urbanism** attempts to improve the urban fabric to maximum effect with the lowest cost (and therefore risk) possible (Alekseevaa et al., 2020). It employs DIY methodologies and grassroots initiatives to achieve local goals and, most importantly, sets realistic targets for change. This is done through achieving change at the social level, something that can be said is present in street art culture.

The management of street art is strongly tied to this concept: Berlin's publicly accessible walls that are free for the public to paint on and interact with, for instance, simply provides an empty canvas and thus release for the creatively pent-up public. Creative outlets such as these have proven extremely beneficial to developing a sense of community, place attachment, and aesthetic values in areas that may be otherwise lacking in these departments.

Taking the case of Rio Cruzeiro, street art as a form of tactical urbanism has the capability to pull communities out of poverty, rebuild the neighborhood image, and even shift societal perspectives (World Habitat, 2018). This is what we want to observe in Berlin as well: the roles that street art plays for the city's people, focused on the bottom-up perspective. From the understanding we have of the roles street art can play, we then understand how to regulate or promote different aspects or forms of street art to enhance its improving effects while minimizing its undesirable ones.

Chang (2020) highlights 2 main methods of the legalization of street art: the “legislative” approach of moving artists away from illegal to approved works and the “creative” approach of

decriminalizing street art to fully utilize what they describe as “urban cool”. In Berlin, the general direction of policy would lean towards the former legislative approach, with the appearance of public graffiti walls attempting to decrease the rate of still-illegal graffiti vandalism.

3.4 Walkability on the Street

There are 4 factors that influence **walkability**: attractiveness, comfort, safety, and accessibility (Ortega et al., 2021). Street art obviously aims to contribute to attractiveness, but Schwartz (2022) also finds that asphalt art (street art done on asphalt roads) contributes to safety for pedestrians in his US-based study. Comfort and accessibility have also been found to positively increase with the presence of street art in another study (Kolçak & Kaya Erol, 2022). The same study, however, finds that there may be some negative effects of street art in other contexts, including insecurity, perceptions of amoral practices, and visual pollution. What factors can contribute to avoiding these failures can also be investigated in this study.

Given the different destinations and activities undertaken by tourists, it would also make sense to divide what walkability means for either the tourist or the local. A Malaysian study (Ujang & Muslim, 2015) found evidence showing that, for tourists, walking experience has more to do with place image than the quality of the street itself. The authors further stated that “the meaning of the place rooted from (...) history and culture need to be strongly translated in the physical elements for the visitors to have a memorable walking experience in the city, thus increase [sic] attachment to those places.” This gives the expectation that tourists should find streets with street art more walkable, as they aim to increase aesthetic value. On the other hand, the general definitions of walkability can be applied to local pedestrians, since they are not usually at the location to experience the physical culture or history of the area.

3.5 Conceptual Model

The study takes the independent variable of the presence or absence of street art and examines its relationship with the dependent variable of walkability. As street art theoretically improves walkability, these streets should have some measurable difference in walking experience, which this study aims to measure. Tourist behaviors theoretically vary significantly from the local, and so a distinction is made between tourist and local survey participants. The distinction between murals and graffiti is also made, as there may be a difference in how they are perceived. Using the lens of Tactical Urbanism, policy recommendations regarding street art encouragement and regulation are formulated.

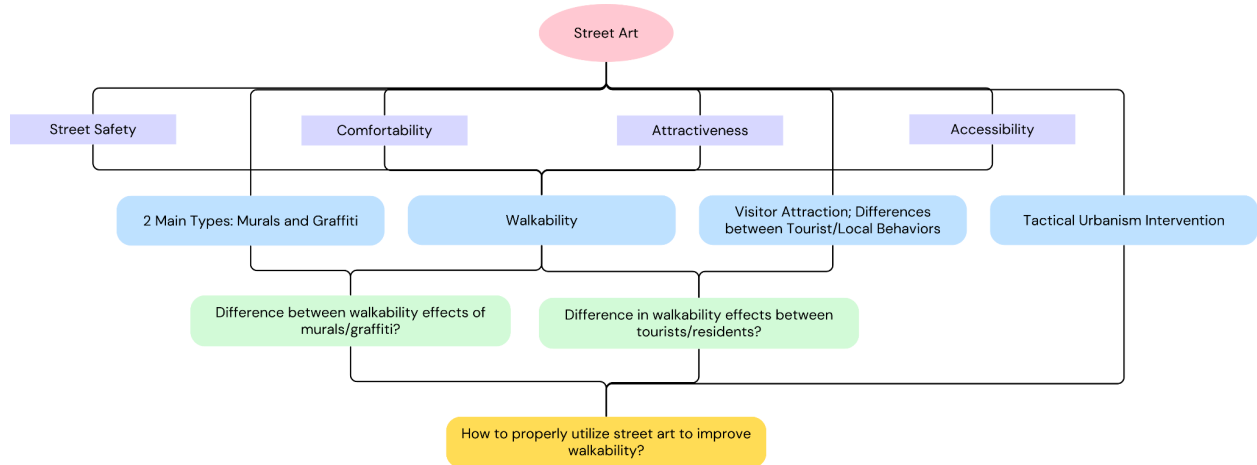


Diagram 1: Concept Map (Author, 2024)

3.6 Expectations

Expectation 1: Murals will have an overall more positive effect on walkability than graffiti.

Expectation 2: Residents may have a more negative perception of street art than tourists.

Expectation 3: Berlin's relative acceptance and good protection of street art intellectual property rights overall increases the potential for street art to have an impact on walkability.

General Expectations: Street art contributes positively to walkability.

IV. Methodology

4.1 Data Collection Process

The study gathers both quantitative and qualitative data, firstly through surveys conducted in several Berlin streets and public spaces, asking questions especially on what they feel street art adds or could further add to the street. 43 total surveys were collected for this section of the study. The process was done with a team of 4 people as a part of the STONIE (Sustainable Transformation of Neighborhoods in Europe) program. Hence, the survey was conducted contemporarily with other mobility-related studies in a combined, sectioned-out survey throughout the period of 29 April - 5 May. This data collection was done through asking random bystanders and passersby in the Zoologischer Garten Station, Bülowstraße, Fritz-Schloß Park, and Alexanderplatz to fill in a short Google Forms document accessible through a QR code displayed on the researchers' phones. The section relating to this study inquired the following:

- Accessibility of a certain street
- Comfort of a certain street
- Safety of a certain street
- Attractiveness of a certain street

- All of the above, given the addition of more street art
- Residence Status (local/tourist)

To understand the change that street art brings to walkability, the perceived walkability of streets all around Berlin as well as its 4 components were measured. Therefore we see not only the change in walkability, but also the components that directly contribute to it, in the case that street art does not significantly contribute to walkability directly, but instead to one of its related attributes. The specific structure of the survey questions are shown in Appendix A.

Furthermore, 7 semi-structured interviews of 4-16 minutes in length were also conducted in person, gathering more detailed narratives from the people in the area. Through this, it was hoped to gain insight into questions unanswerable in the short-form surveys, such as “why is this specific bit of art bad/good for the street”. These were done using the same questions answered on the surveys, interjected with probing questions at interesting points according to the researcher’s own discretion. Later, these recorded interviews were transcribed and coded for further analysis.

The two data collection methodologies aim to solve the central and secondary questions in two ways: quantified perceptions and coding analysis. Qualitative methods were chosen over quantitative methods due to the difficulty in quantifying street art quality objectively, at least with the information from studies that have been conducted to this point. While studying street art colors, volume, or style could be examples of these quantifications, this is ultimately in the hand of the creators to decide, and not policy makers. Collecting data through surveys and interviews provides, ironically, the most objective data we could get on street art’s effects towards the city’s walkability, as both are ultimately personal experiences. Quantitative analysis of the survey, on one hand, provides general conclusions about the population’s view on street art’s effects on walkability, while qualitative analysis breaks down individual viewpoints on the subject and shows the variety of discourse that is present within Berlin about street art.

4.2 Ethical Considerations

The biggest ethical concerns for the methodology used are data breaches and data traceability. The former concern was addressed by restricting access to all survey results and minimizing questions about traceable information such as names, gender, etc. from both the survey and interview process.

As for personal data collected in the survey, status in Berlin (tourist / local) and a street containing street art which the respondent regularly passes by were asked for, with the possibility of providing no answer if uncomfortable. No names or photos of the participants were collected, ensuring the data cannot be traced back to them.

4.3 Data Analysis Process

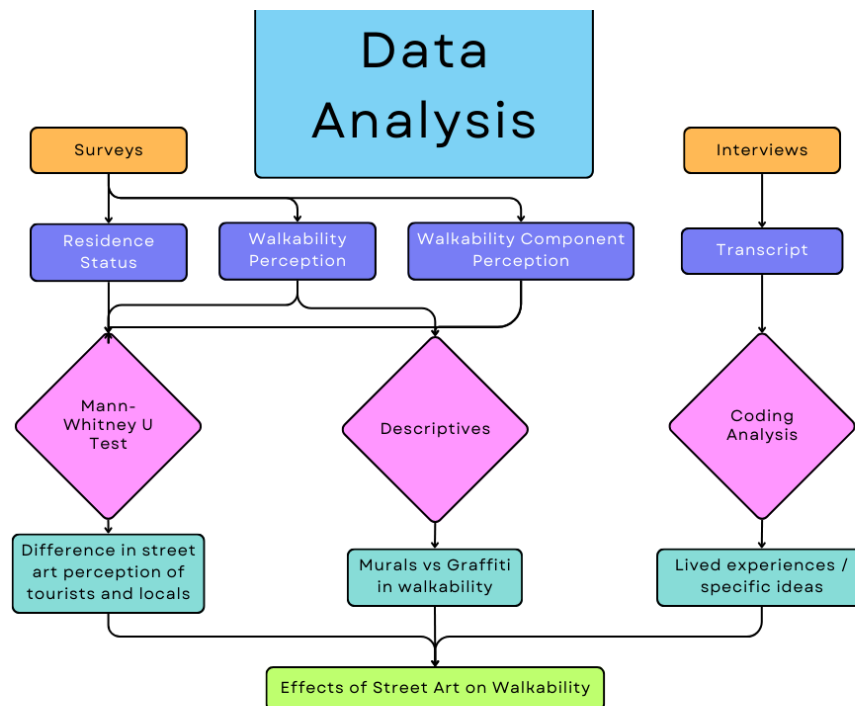


Diagram 2: Data Analysis Chart (Author, 2024)

This analysis of the collected quantitative data was first done comparatively between the tourist and resident responses, in order to look for differences in this factor for both population groups. The dataset was run through a Mann-Whitney U-Test in order to assess whether there is a significant difference between the street art perceptions of tourist and local respondents. Other parts of the survey were analyzed through descriptive statistics (pie charts, graphs, etc.), especially the statistics comparing the perception of the respondents towards murals vs. graffiti. What the effect of adding street art is on a street generally is also asked; whether this addition will improve, deteriorate, or have no effect on walkability or its 4 factors.

The interviews were analyzed through mixed-method coding, using a mixture of both deductive and in-vivo coding. Quotations that gave more context, provided interesting connections to literature, or related to plausible policy directions for the future, were also taken note of and further discussed.

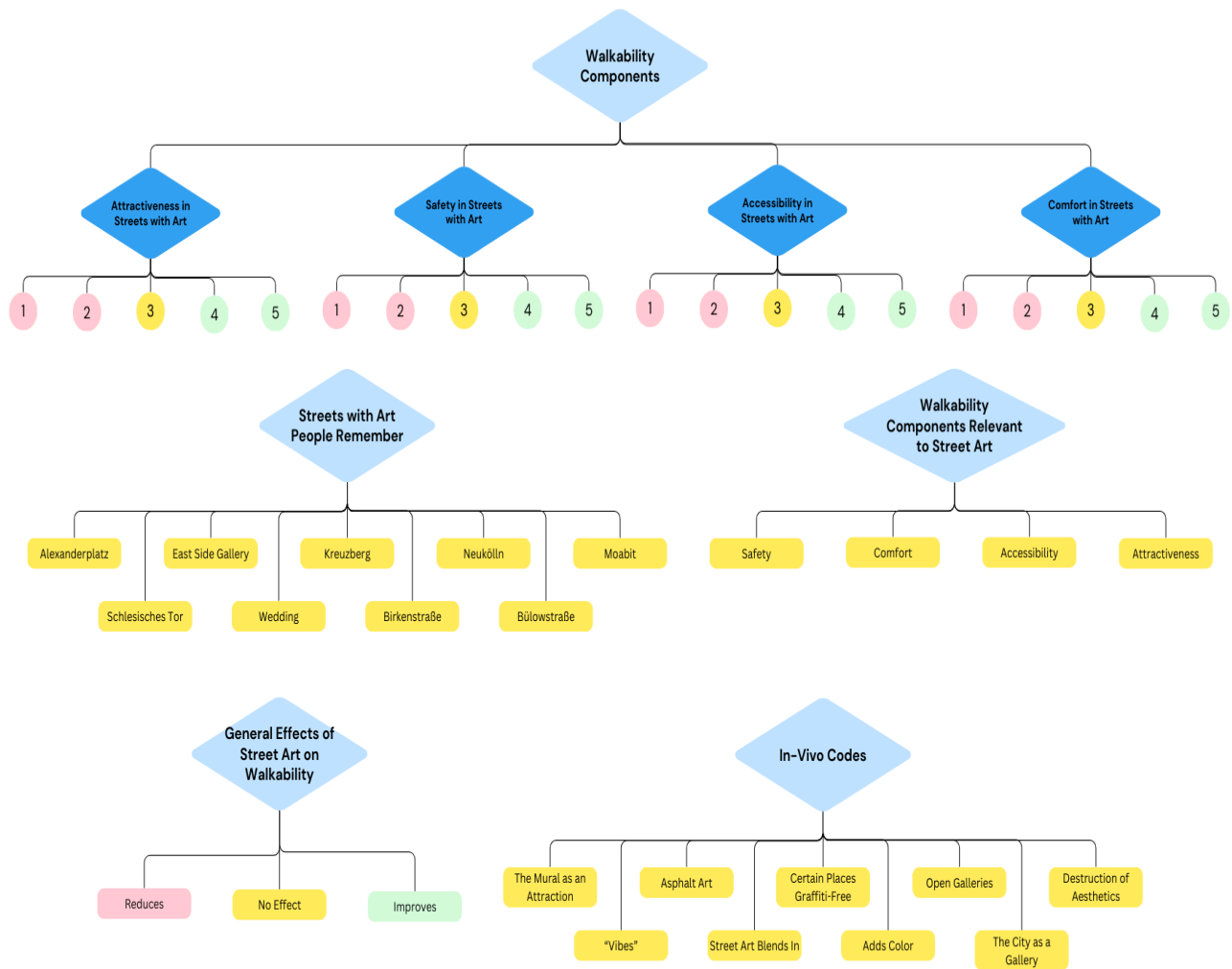


Diagram 3: Coding Tree (Author, 2024)

4.4 Limitations

Since approximately half of the survey respondents and all of the interviewees were recruited by non-German speakers, it is reasonable to suspect that the data may be biased towards certain groups of the population. Without assuming too much, this would at least exclude non-English-speaking members of the public. As is mostly the case in non-native-English-speaking countries, these may include the elderly, who also tend to have more conservative views on issues. While the impact of political views and age on how street art is perceived goes beyond the scope of this specific study, it is important to keep in mind while drawing conclusions from this data.

V. Discussion

5.1 General Effects of Street Art on Walkability

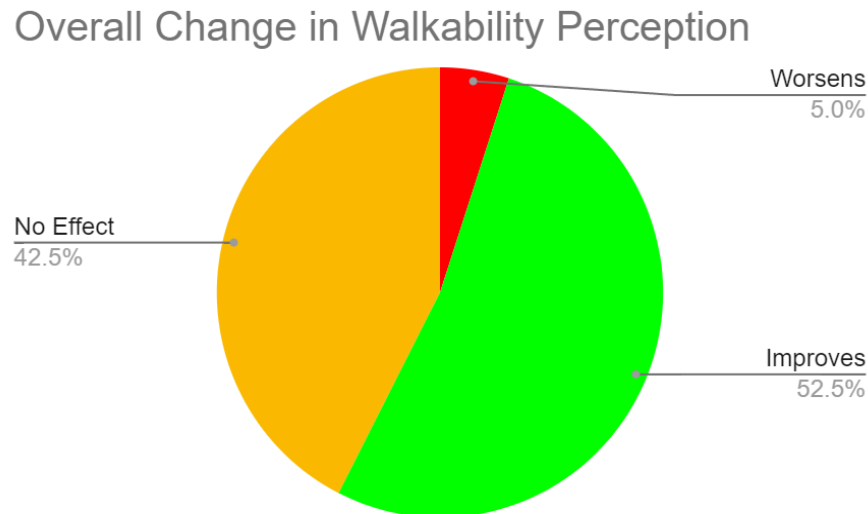


Diagram 4: Overall perception of street art's effects on walkability (n=40)

In general, most respondents think the presence of street art improves the walkability as opposed to streets without them, while a majority of the rest think there is no significant difference caused. Only 5% of respondents think that street art would damage walkability. This increase/decrease in walkability is difficult to interpret directly as it is an intangible concept, but a good approximation is pedestrian satisfaction of a certain road. With an increase in walkability, therefore, we would expect to see happier pedestrians and, to some extent, more of them, with the inverse being true for a decrease.

The interviewees all had more complex responses to the issue, though none said that street art was downright bad for walkability. A trend in interviewees with mixed sentiments was that it depended on where the street art was placed. One of the tourists had a problem with sporadic street art; they were of the opinion that it should be zoned or contained in certain areas. A resident had issues with street art, especially graffiti tags, being placed in mainly residential areas and suburbs, where they deemed it "obnoxious". They also made the point that street art should be in public spaces where people interact and meet, which both the artist, as they get more eyes on their work, and the people, as they get to do their activities in a more vibrant, colorful environment. From this, it can be concluded that the effects of street art on the street relies a lot on spatial factors on a higher level than the street itself. Building function, density of street art in the area, and neighborhood function all have been stated to affect this.

Otherwise, what the street art itself looks like or tries to convey also changes its effects on walkability. Despite the shared general finding with Boffi et al. (2023), the reasoning for tags being bad for walkability in Berlin has nothing to do with perceived crime or safety in the area. This is especially true for the residents, some of which feel that the cause was that tags with no obvious message can feel exclusive to the general public. However, if they are at least colorful

and contain interesting shapes, they can still contribute to a more colorful and vibrant environment which is more pleasant to walk in.

Art that interacts with the space it is in can also be very visually appealing, according to a resident in Moabit. Here is a quote from them:

“The nature themes can also be translated in graffiti. So this nature, let's call it nature graffiti. In our nature and also here in the park is a kind of nature vibe, it's... yeah, it's cool. Let's say urban connection or something- something like this maybe.”

The Moabit neighborhood contains several green spaces and parks, and the interview took place in one of these: the Fritz-Schloß Park. This is most likely why the subject came up in the interview. However, none of these so-called “nature graffiti” were found in the park nor in the other visited sites in general, so there is no good representation of what this interviewee was referring to. Art’s interaction with its surroundings in general, though, was also mentioned in another interview, this time with a tourist at the Fernsehturm next to the Alexanderplatz station. They had this to say about how street art should be utilized:

“If they're (street art) done gorgeously, if you're doing them for a specific building, and if it stands out for the name of the building, it is (fine). And it stands out, and it just shows the history of it, fair enough.”

This interviewee in particular had relatively strong feelings against sporadic and random street art, especially in big public areas, and this quote shows how they thought street art should be: pieces that enhance a building’s character and help it stand out, especially in the sense that its cultural or historical values are given a spotlight. Image 1 shows an example of sporadic street art in Berlin. With respect to Chang’s (2020) categorizations of street art legalization, this would only be achievable with the legislative approach, as decriminalization would only lead to more sporadic works.



Image 1: Street art found in Bülowstraße, Tempelhof-Schöneberg, Berlin (Author, 2024)

For an interviewee who has lived in Berlin their whole life, they felt that street art in Berlin also had a nostalgic effect, since the areas that these works existed in were usually older areas. This relates to the place attachment that Boffi et al. (2023) found in their study could come about as a result of street art, which in turn can increase the accessibility and comfort of these streets. Another resident stated,

“I think street art is more the symptoms of other things going around in the city...,”

showing that it can also reveal to its beholders deeper truths within the city, often related to political or historical commentary. The Moabit resident also echoes this point, stating that street art can be thought-provoking and inclusive in this way.

5.2 Tourists vs. Residents

Based on the survey data on the perception of streets with street art, a comparison was made between the respondents who identified with the “resident” group and those that identified in the “tourist” group. Instead of generally asking for a rating of walkability, it was broken down into its 4 components and rated individually.

| Mann-Whitney U Test | W | p | Result |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|------------------------|
| Safety | 140.5 | 1 | Alternative Hypothesis |
| Comfort | 140.5 | 0.857 | Alternative Hypothesis |
| Attractiveness | 123.5 | 0.5848 | Alternative Hypothesis |
| Accessibility | 94.5 | 0.145 | Alternative Hypothesis |

Table 1: Mann Whitney U Test Results (Author, 2024)

The above table shows the results of Mann-Whitney U Tests comparing the ratings given by tourists against that of Berlin residents for streets decorated with street art. The p-values obtained from the tests, taking the critical value of $p > 0.05$ for all components, imply that we cannot reject the null hypothesis. Therefore, we cannot prove, with this data set, that any of the components of walkability are viewed differently between tourists and locals.

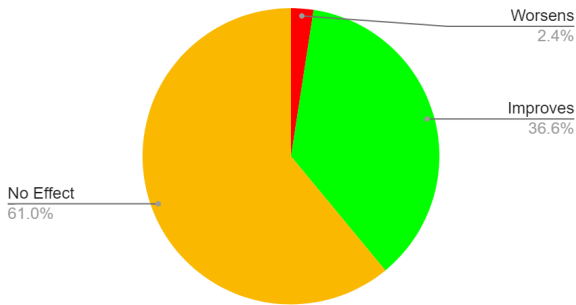
Even with the use of a non-parametric alternative test, the results did not show evidence for a significant difference between the two groups. There is thus doubt that this finding would have changed even with a parametric alternative in use.

In the interviews, however, residents tended to perceive street art more as a part of the “background” or, in other words, individual murals or tags were not really perceived apart from the whole street-art-covered wall, with the exception of especially large murals that span entire

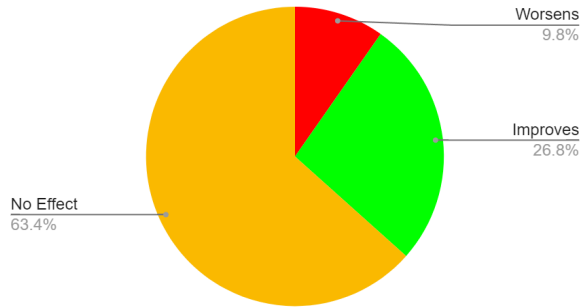
buildings. This made it more difficult for residents to recall a specific street with street art, and so a lot of them could really only mention the neighborhoods they saw a lot of street art in. Overall, this means that even for residents, a lot of the street art in Berlin serves little more than an auxiliary aesthetic purpose when not particularly in focus.

5.3 Graffiti vs Murals

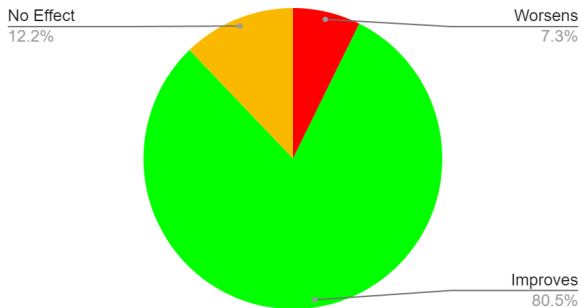
Potential Mural Attractiveness



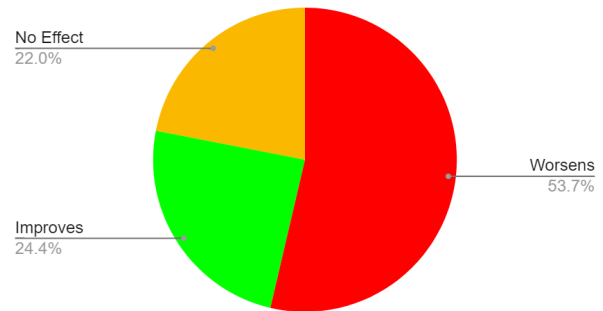
Potential Graffiti Attractiveness



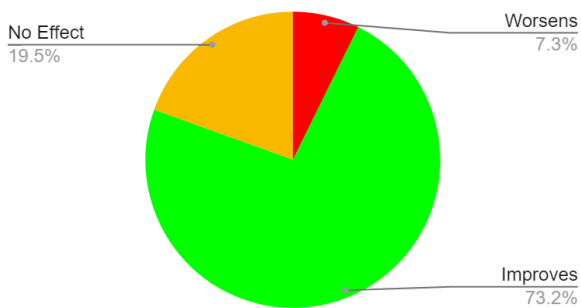
Potential Mural Accessibility



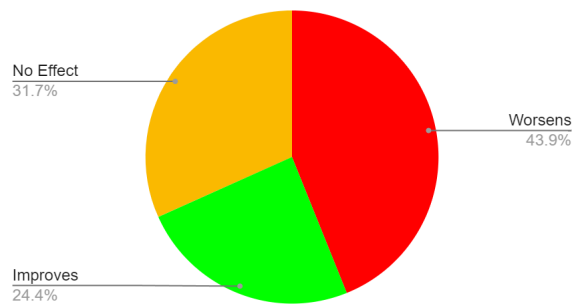
Potential Graffiti Accessibility



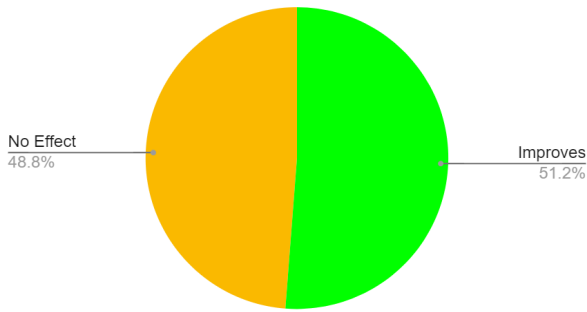
Potential Mural Comfort



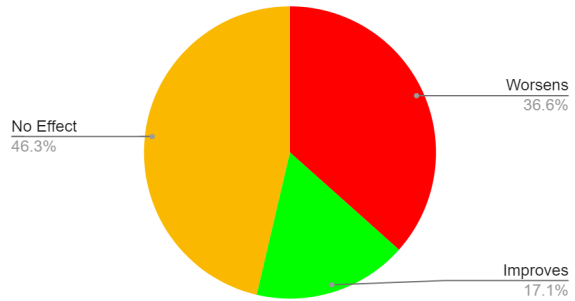
Potential Graffiti Comfort



Potential Mural Safety



Potential Graffiti Safety



Diagrams 5-12: Pie Charts Comparing Effects of Murals/Graffiti Being Added (n=41) (Author, 2024)

The diagrams 5-12 all show that we can make the general conclusion that graffiti is perceived more negatively than murals. The addition of murals seems to be mostly seen as an improving factor for safety, comfort, and accessibility, whereas the same for graffiti is perceived to deteriorate those factors. Unexpectedly, the attractiveness of the street seems to be unaffected given the addition of either graffiti or street art. This is despite the fact that attractiveness was the most-answered factor when asking for street art relevance, seen in diagram 13. Two things of note for this diagram: the selected options were not independent of each other, allowing for respondents to select all of the options, none of the options, or some of the options; as there were a total of 43 respondents, the shown numbers in diagram 13 can also be taken as a fraction of 43. For further clarification, the amounts from left to right are 32, 7, 13, and 10.

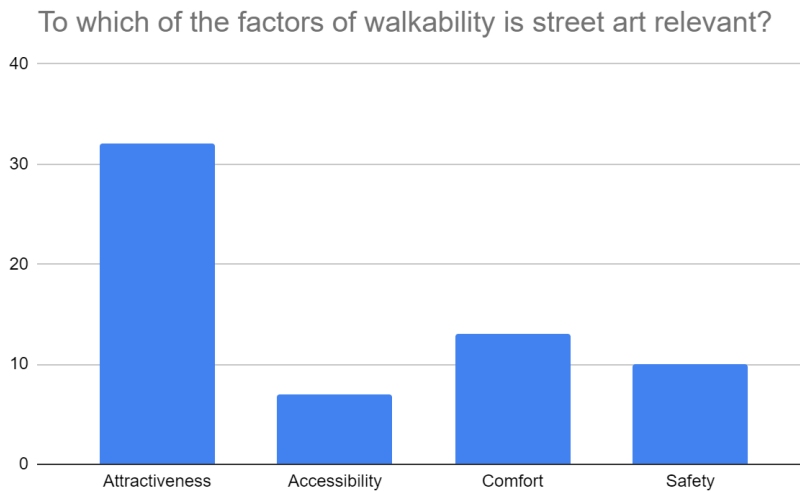


Diagram 13: Bar Chart for Walkability Factor Relevance (n=43) (Author, 2024)

There are a few possible explanations for this finding, taking into account the results of the interviews. A recurring theme in the interviewees' responses, especially the residents', was the previously-mentioned "blending in" of street art into the background. This implies Berlin as a city already has street art as a part of its character, which makes additional occurrences of both murals and graffiti inconsequential to the overall attractiveness of the streets. However, the

already-existing street art in Berlin does still contribute a lot to the aesthetics of the city, adding “colors” or “shapes” that make the city more “vibrant”.

Accessibility and comfort both show polarizing perceptions between murals and graffiti, which hint that these are the greatest dividing factors when it comes to the different effects of the two street art types on walkability. Comfort was said to be impacted positively by murals due to increases in a feeling of safety or simply the vibrance and “life” that comes about. Graffiti is especially harmful to comfort in tighter, claustrophobic space, where it may instill feelings of unease. Accessibility was only discussed in one interview, where it was talked about in the context of murals being able to act as attractions, drawing people to it. Several others corroborated this sentiment, having different effects on each respondent. 2 mentioned being uncomfortable with the crowds, while 2 others mentioned that it might make neighborhoods safer and even more comfortable. This mention of the function of attraction agrees with the study by Kolçak & Kaya Erol (2021). Regarding this attraction property of murals, one of the residents had an interesting quote,

“...that part of the town where it's just hugely popularized by tourists can lose the character that it had, like, a few years ago...”

which points out an existing conflict-of-interest between the residents and tourists in the city. While tourists gain accessibility and comfort through popular street art attracting more tourists, some residents could feel that their local activities are threatened by this.

Despite roughly half of the survey respondents not feeling any effect at all from both forms of street art on their safety in the street, the interviews did show a few stronger opinions, including a concern about feelings of unsafety at night. Murals were found to instead have the ability to increase feelings of safety and comfort, given they have a commonly understandable, positive message; even something as simple as “slow down!” or “keep calm,” helps with keeping a positive mindset, according to one interviewee.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has found that in general, street art contributes positively to walkability in Berlin, though measures need to be taken to regulate what appears and where in order to minimize the negative effects. There are no significant differences found between the views of tourists and residents on street art's effects toward walkability directly, though the way they enjoy it differs. This difference even leads to conflicts of interests that must be properly navigated to ensure both parties are content with the status quo. Street art can therefore still learn from visitor attraction management strategies to strengthen its tourist-attracting aspects while ensuring the preservation of local culture and activities. In terms of graffiti and murals, the latter was found to have much more positive effects on all 4 aspects of walkability, which may advocate against the proliferation of graffiti in Berlin's streets.

Policies to regulate street art should focus on ensuring the street art that decorates Berlin's streets serves to improve walkability for as many people as possible. This can be done through the principles of tactical urbanism, which are by encouraging and prioritizing citizen participation in the implementation process. What defines walkability-improving street art,

according to the results, are as follows: meaningful and inclusive to the general public, interacts with its environment positively, as well as densely packed and clustered.

For planners intending to utilize the medium of street art as a tool to enrich the pedestrian life of a city, the findings show that street art, especially in the form of murals, have the capacity to create more attractive spaces to walk in. However, graffiti can lead certain people to feel less comfortable, safe, or a loss of access in a social sense when walking. A key concept here is the importance of context and the space around the work, and not necessarily the art in itself. In a dark tunnel under a bridge, for example, the presence of graffiti could turn people away, whereas the same sight in a well-lit, crowded nightlife district would likely be more liked by people. On a smaller scale, street art could also be used to highlight buildings and certain characteristics of it.

For the general academia, a possible further avenue for study could be in identifying common characteristics of well-perceived street art and potentially even in the quantification of such characteristics. Searching for further case studies in other street art hotspots such as cities in Mexico, the birthplace of the Muralism movement, could provide more insight into how street art can interact with the environments it inhabits in different ways.

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Appendix A

Survey Questions / Interview Guide

1. While touring around/commuting here in Berlin, do you pass any streets decorated by street art such as murals or graffiti?
2. If yes,
 - a. What was the name of the street?
 - b. On a scale of 1-5, how safe would you say the street felt to walk in?
 - c. On a scale of 1-5, how comfortable were you walking down this street?
 - d. On a scale of 1-5, how attractive did you find this street?
 - e. On a scale of 1-5, how accessible did you find this street?
 - f. Which of the above indicators do you feel are strongly affected by street art?
3. If no,
 - a. What was the last street you walked on?
 - b. How do you think the addition of murals or graffiti would affect the street's:
 - i. comfort? (very negative - negative - no effect - positive - very positive)
 - ii. attractiveness? (very negative - negative - no effect - positive - very positive)
 - iii. accessibility? (very negative - negative - no effect - positive - very positive)
 - iv. safety? (very negative - negative - no effect - positive - very positive)
4. Do you feel that streets without street art are more or less walkable than streets with street art?