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The right to stay: Exploring graffiti and street art as political representations against touristification in Lisbon

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Tourism has increased significantly in Southern European cities, with it radically altering central urban neighborhoods and communities' lives into tourism commodities that often lead to the (in)direct physical and psychological displacement of dwellers. Whereas social sciences' research has already started to give voice to the psychosocial impacts of this touristification problem, not much attention has yet been paid to how individuals and communities attempt to contest it. Graffiti and street art are forms of political participation that have been traditionally neglected as communicative and citizenship practices by Political and Social Psychology. In this paper, we will contribute to this research agenda by considering graffiti and street art as representational projects, that reflect, propose and negotiate meanings in the public sphere. Through a wandering ethnography, 19 images of ilegal and legal graffiti and street art that directly or indirectly referred to tourism were collected during 2018-2019 in Lisbon historic touristified neighborhoods. The images were then analyzed using Pragmatic Discourse Analysis. Analyses revealed two main themes, on 'Contesting Touristification' and 'Discussing the housing crisis' and a set of associated subthemes. These reveal that meanings of place as community and as a right, and the relations between touristification, the housing crisis and social justice, are brought to the public space through graffiti and street art by resorting to culturally relevant symbols and associated identities. This research shows graffiti and street art as ways of re-presenting

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touristification and the housing crisis in Lisbon that contribute to politicizing these issues in Portugal.

Keywords: touristification; graffiti and street art; political representation; Lisbon, Portugal

INTRODUCTION

In the last decades, tourism gentrification – or touristification – has increased significantly in Southern European cities (Cocola-Gant et al., 2020). Mainly as an economic rebound strategy for the 2008 financial crisis aftermath, Lisbon and other southern European cities fostered tourism growth (Mendes, 2018). Particularly in Lisbon, Portugal, this recent wave of tourism may be explained by several different factors, but of main importance here are State policies and campaigns that created conditions for increasing foreign real-estate investment and a non-habitual residents programme (Santos et al., 2020); deregulation of the private rental market with the New Urban Lease Law of 2012; and with it the rapid expansion of the short-term rental market (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021) - or the *Aibnbisation* of the city (Sequera & Nofre, 2020). In turn, these processes have radically altered urban neighborhoods and communities' lives, especially those of historical central neighborhoods in Lisbon, turning them into tourism commodities, often leading to the (in)direct physical and psychological displacement of dwellers (Sequera & Nofre, 2018).

Whereas social sciences' research has already started to give voice to the psychosocial impacts of this problem (Tarditti et al., 2022; Boager & Castro, 2022; Cocola-Gant, 2023), not much attention has yet been paid to how individuals and communities attempt to contest it. It is relevant then to analyze forms of political participation that can bring tourism as a problem to the public space, and open spaces of discussion that do not include only those directly affected by it – displaced dwellers – but also other citizens, including tourists themselves. Graffiti and street art are, since their incept, forms of political participation (Awad, 2020), inherently public and a reclamation of the public space as commons (McAuliffe, 2012; Thévenot, 2014), that have been neglected as communicative and citizenship practices by Political and Social Psychology, and more generally in their relation to touristification. In this paper, we will contribute to this research agenda by exploring how touristification in Lisbon is re-presented through graffiti and street art as explicit political forms of social representation that, through images and symbols, reveal the social, cultural and political imaginaries (Arruda, 2014) that shape representations.

Graffiti and street art as political participation

Public spaces are the natural arena of citizenship (Di Masso, 2012) and graffiti and street art[1] a materialization of the public space's potential to be politicized and to give voice to counter-hegemonic and marginalized ideas and groups[2] (Arriagada, 2012; Diógenes, 2015; de Tróia & Batel, 2020). Graffiti and street art as communication through writing and drawing images on walls has a history as long as humanity's (Cercleaux, 2022). Contemporary graffiti and street art is often located as originating in the 1970's in the USA as a reaction to the marginalization of poor, black and Latinx groups to the periphery of New York City, following public policies for the urban regeneration and economic growth of the center of the city (Dickinson, 2008). But graffiti and street art have been globally used across history as reflections of and resistance to colonial and neoliberal capitalist systems and structures of violence and oppression (Ryan, 2016): from *pichação* as a resistance movement against the Brazilian dictatorship of the late 1960's (Larruscahim, 2014); to indigenous graffiti in occupied territories in Canada (Smith, 2017); to symbols of resistance and revolution in the Arab uprisings (Awad & Wagoner, 2020). As such, we can say that "graffiti speaks to the ways positionality – one's race, class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, etc. – can determine how one's creative labor is interpreted" (Dickinson, 2008, p. 37), this is, its practice is shaped by one's positioning within societal structures. But, as such, graffiti can also work to uncover structural forms of violence and oppression, often presented by other voices and media as neutral 'social processes' or 'economic measures', and that are, through graffiti and street art, reclaimed as contested, political issues (Ryan, 2016).

However, graffiti and street art have not been exempted of the commodification processes of the neoliberal city (Harvey, 2006; Zukin, 2009). As part of the 'creative city' industry and even of touristification processes (Campos & Sequeira, 2020), governments and local authorities have been legitimizing and appropriating certain forms of street art through

[1] We are here using 'Graffiti and Street art' as a "flexible and permeable category, consisting of various expressive formats, involving separate techniques (stencil, paste-up, stickers, spray painting, reverse graffiti etc.), pictorial expressions and urban aesthetic traditions (graffiti, street art, muralism, culture jamming etc.), that are primarily focused on the urban public space" (Campos & Sequeira, 2020, p.183), with graffiti covering less pictorial driven interventions (e.g., tags, text writing,…) and street art more pictorial driven interventions (Fernandes, 2021). Still, throughout the paper we mostly refer to graffiti and street art together. However, we do recognize that they are different phenomena with diverse histories (Campos, 2017), but given that these are not the focus of this paper, we do not delve into them.

[2] This is not to say that, as expressions of meanings, and as further discussed below, graffiti and street art cannot also reify hegemonic discourses and contribute to oppression (see Gagliardi, 2020), but historically they have acted as means to subvert and contest State policies and oppressive regimes and to voice marginalized positionalities, given their anonymous and illegal nature.

'legal urban art' spaces across cities, with the latter often seen as incommensurable with illegal, subcultural graffiti and street art (Merrill, 2015), that resist commodification. We here follow Pavoni's (2019) contention that it might be unproductive to focus on these dichotomies – legal/illegal, institutional/independent – and instead, by acknowledging the structural and normative power of the urban space and of the State power-resistance relations that constitute it as a whole, consider that graffiti and street art in their multiple forms are not necessarily "neither a decorative veneer nor an enchanting disruption to dramatic processes of urbanization: it is rather a field in which these processes are made visible, experienceable, and thus called into question" (p. 51). As such, graffiti and street art should be considered as forms of everyday political participation and resistance, that have historically engaged with, discussed and contested contemporary socio-environmental problems (Teo, 2017; de Trói & Batel, 2020), but that can, in certain contexts. also contribute to reproducing and reifying certain discourses and related inequalities (e.g., such as gendered and hetero-normative ones – see Sequeira, 2018; Pabón-Colón, 2018; Pinto, 2020).

Although graffiti and street art are then forms of political participation in the public sphere (Baker, 2015), Social and Political Psychology have not often conceptualized and empirically examined them as such (but see Baker, 2015; Awad et al., 2017). This can be related with the illegal character of graffiti and street art and mainstream Social Psychology's resistance to ally with counter-normative groups and practices (Fox et al., 2009; see also Ross et al., 2017). In a related way, historically, Social and Political Psychology have been dominated by non-critical, individualist and cognitivist approaches to psychosocial processes and associated methods, and graffiti and street art, as forms of 'behaviour', are not amenable to those methods and associated ontologies, which do not consider individuals as agentic meaning-makers nor the promotion of social justice as an important aim for science (Batel & Castro, 2018; Andreouli, 2019; Bastos, 2023). As such, recognizing and analyzing graffiti and street art as political participation from a Social and Political Psychology perspective, demands the adoption of an epistemological approach within these academic fields that does recognize individuals as reflexive; that conceives meaning-making as socially co-constructed and happening at individual, contextual and cultural/institutional levels; and graffiti and street art as psychosocial processes of interest to understand for contributing to social change and justice. This is to what we will turn next, to discuss how the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 2008/1961; Howarth, 2006; Batel & Castro, 2018) might be useful to examine graffiti and street art through a psychosocial lens as political representation.

A Social Representations approach to graffiti and street art as political representation

The Theory of Social Representations (TRS) has always been interested in the relation between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic ideas and practices, or between stability and change (Moscovici, 2008/1961; Wagner, 1998; Castro, 2015) even if it is with its critical turn (Phoenix et al., 2017; Batel & Castro, 2018) that it more fully starts to explore how social re-presenting is shaped by, but also able to contest, power relations and structures, and the contexts, meanings and communicative processes through which that happens. Through this lens, practices like graffiti and street are to be seen as an enactment of the representing process as political, as a struggle over meaning (Andreouli, 2019), which, by its spatialization (Fine et al., 2000), makes these struggles public, including to authorities and the society at large (Awad et al., 2017). As such, graffiti and street art are, like other communicative practices, enactments of representational projects (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999; Foster, 2003) which are constituted by and constitutive of representations that are simultaneously anchored at and speak to the societal/cultural level, the contextual level and the individual-group level (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Awad & Wagoner, 2020; Buhagiar & Sammut, 2020)[3].

However, research on social representations has not often engaged with street art and graffiti as re-presentation processes, and only more recently it has started to focus more on the role of visual materials and communication in re-presentations (e.g., Martikainen & Sakki, 2021; but see Arruda, 2014; De Rosa & Farr, 2001). This renewed interest in images and visual materials departs from the idea that "visuals can activate, express and disseminate social representation" (Martikainen & Sakki, 2021, p. 471). Protest symbols, particularly, like those often created through graffiti and street art as political re-presentation, can convey the feelings and meanings of groups on social issues (Awad & Wagoner, 2020), and through that act as creative forms of resistance or of fostering social change (Awad et al., 2017).

For the present research, we focus then on analyzing graffiti and street art as communicative political practices - or representational projects (Foster, 2003) - that reflect ongoing struggles over meaning and contribute to create and negotiate counter-/hegemonic meanings in the public sphere. We will next present the method used to collect graffiti and street art on touristification in Lisbon.

[3] In this paper our main interest is not on analyzing how social representations are developed as socio-psychological outcomes, based on anchoring and objectification (Duveen, 1993), in graffiti and street art; but instead to understand how graffiti and street art can be used as means of re-presentation, as communication that allows new, and namely counter-hegemonic meanings, to be presented in the public space, and hegemonic meanings re-presented, contested and discussed – or as representational projects, as proposed next.

METHOD

To identify and collect graffiti and street art that discussed tourism in Lisbon we adopted as a data collection methodology a wandering ethnography (Careri, 2017; Bridger, 2010). This involved wandering around the main streets, squares and alleyways of the most touristified neighborhoods in Lisbon, namely Alfama, Bairro Alto, Castelo, Madragoa and Mouraria – see Figures 1 and 2. This also included some streets that have outdoor public spaces where graffiti and street art are legal, namely the Street Art Gallery at Elevador da Glória in Bairro Alto.

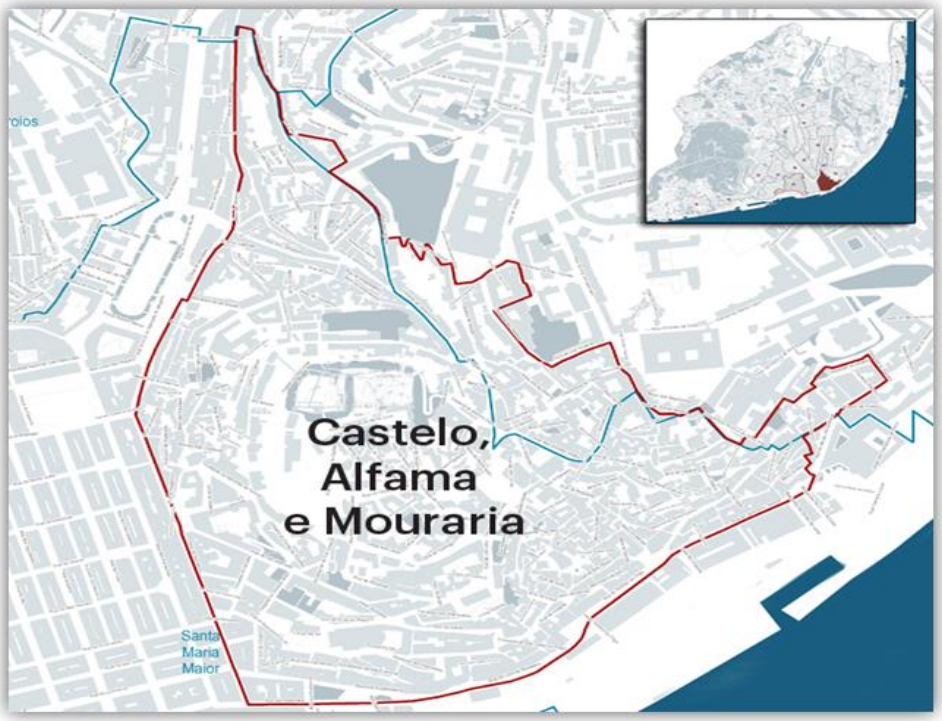

Figure 1. Castelo, Alfama and Mouraria's neighbourhoods (Francisco, 2018)

Figure 2. Bairro Alto and Madragoa's neighbourhoods (Francisco, 2018)

The same streets and pathways were visited twice, in two different periods in 2018-2019, with 10 months in between, in order to check if the collected graffiti and street art in the first period were still there, and also if any new ones had showed up and specifically in response to the previously existing ones. All those graffiti and street art instances that seemed to relate somehow with tourism and associated impacts, antecedents and phenomena (e.g., housing, economic crisis, gentrification,…) were collected. This resulted in a set of 19 images of, mostly, illegal but also legal graffiti and street art that directly or indirectly referred to tourism. From the collected data (n=19), 2 are images, 12 are written messages and 5 are a mixture of images and written text. 17 are illegal and 2 are legal. From the illegal pieces, 10 have tourism/touristification as a central and explicit theme. From the legal pieces, 1 has tourism/touristification as a central/explicit theme. Regarding the neighbourhoods, 3 images were collected in Alfama, 5 in Graça, 8 in Mouraria, 2 in Madragoa and 1 in Castelo. All were placed in high visibility areas for those who lived there and for those who were visiting the city. No differences or specific patterns were identified by the authors between these different categories – visual vs. written, legal vs. illegal, explicit vs. implicit – and as such they will not be focused in the analyses presented below. In fact, something common, namely across visual and written graffiti and street art, was that they all tended to use figurative, metaphorical language – either visual or written – to convey certain meanings.

The images were analyzed using pragmatic discourse analysis (PDA) as proposed by Batel & Castro (2018). The first stage involves a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to examine the main themes (or contents) of the analysed visual or textual data; and the second step involves a rhetorical discursive analysis (Billig, 1995; Di Masso et al., 2011), to examine the format and function of the themes/content identified during the first step. Following this procedure, through the first step of the PDA we developed the thematic map presented in Figure 3. This resulted from both a deductive and inductive thematic analysis – for instance, themes and subthemes like 'contesting touristification' and 'airbnb as cause for touristification' were defined before the analysis, based on the literature review; whereas some other themes and subthemes, like 'discussing the housing crisis' and 'other negative consequences of the housing crisis are the disappearance of traditional services and businesses', were inductively identified, based on the analysis of the specific graffiti and street art we collected. Then, in the second step of the PDA, the analysis focused on how and for what those themes and subthemes were presented through the graffiti and street art. In each of the analysed graffiti/street art, we examined concretely how and what for they were using e.g., capitalism as a culprit of the housing crisis and touristification, and especially how that was done in relation with other themes and subthemes. As such, we were able to analyse both the contents and the functions (Batel & Castro, 2018) of social representing touristification.

ANALYSES

The analyses revealed two main themes, one on 'Contesting Touristification' and the other on 'Discussing the housing crisis', and a set of associated subthemes, that emerged from certain codes, as shown in the thematic map below (Figure 3).

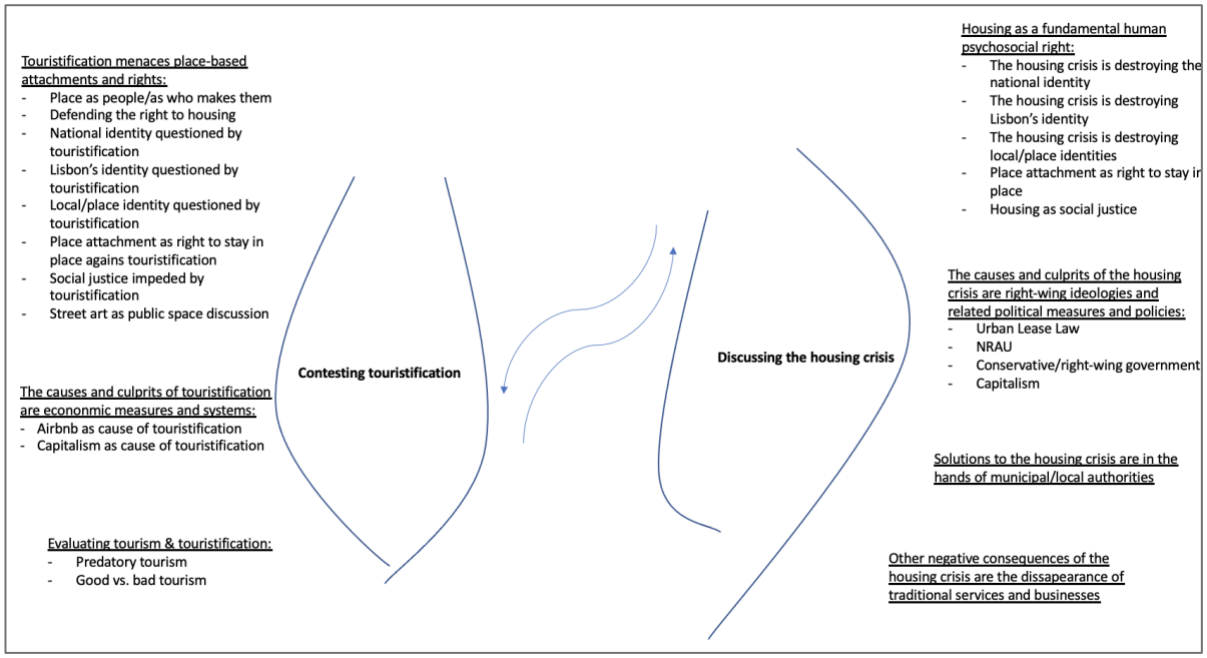

Figure 3. Thematic Map that resulted from the analyzed graffiti and street art

Regarding the theme on 'Contesting Touristification', subthemes included 'touristification menaces place-based attachments and rights', 'the causes and culprits of touristification are economic measures and systems' and 'evaluating tourism and touristification'. In turn, the theme on 'Discussing the housing crisis', was present through the themes 'housing as a fundamental psychosocial right', 'the causes and culprits of the housing crisis are right-wing ideologies and related political measures and policies, 'solutions to the housing crisis are in the hands of municipal/local authorities', and 'other negative consequences of the housing crisis are the disappearance of traditional services and businesses'.

This pattern of the themes and subthemes identified in the collected graffiti and street art already highlights an important finding, which is that both the contestation of touristification and the housing crisis do not seem to be 'parochialised' (DeVerteuil, 2013), in other words, focused only on the local level and on preserving local 'essentialised' identities (Lewicka et al., 2023), but instead, and as we will further illustrate below, both issues are discussed in a multi-scalar, relational way, recognizing and highlighting their implications from the local to the national levels, and even at the global level, by identifying capitalism as the key culprit transversal to both issues. This might be strategic politically to highlight that these problems affect us all and not only specific neighborhoods in the historic center of Lisbon which, in turn, may be effective to recruit other citizens to contest touristification (Batel & Castro, 2015) and

namely by linking it to the housing crisis in Portugal. This is well illustrated in the first graffiti below [Image #1].

Image #1

This illegal graffiti was created by transforming the Lisbon's city symbol (Image #2 - an historical ship with two crows, which, in the logo based on the historical tale that originated it, are meant to protect the saint protector of Lisbon) into a ship with one of the crows leaving with its luggage, and the ship's mast reading "4rent" (i.e. for rent).

Image #2

This is a strong visual metaphor that represents Lisbon's identity and uses related symbols to discuss touristification and the housing crisis in Lisbon, by using the ship as a symbol of Lisbon's housing and the crows as its residents and defenders who are being expelled, therefore

clearly presenting place identities and senses of belonging as being menaced by these new mobilities and associated changes (Di Masso et al., 2019). The '4ren' sign, written with a skull, also uses a pirate's ship imaginary in a way that seems to suggest that tourism, namely in the shape of short-term rentals, is robbing and pillaging Lisbon. This act of transforming previous images into new productions and new meanings, of performing identities in a counter-hegemonic, politicised way, highlights, first, the dialogical co-construction of meaning-making about these new, contested, social objects, and how the public space is, by excellence, one of the key communication arenas to do that – this subversive use of essentialised, hegemonic, identity symbols (Batel et al., 2015) to contest tourism and its impacts, is clearly made through a conversation with the Other, from authorities and the State (as the main defenders of a Portuguese nation and Lisbon identity), to other citizens and also tourists, for whom these symbols of a traditional and essentialised Portuguese identity will be familiar through several devices of mass tourism, such as travel guides, TV and travel agencies' advertisements, tourist tours, etc.

Secondly, this graffiti highlights how this re-presenting of meanings of national and local identities can be said to politicise tourism and housing in Lisbon, precisely because contrarily to what has been prevalent through traditional media communication and official and institutional discourses (Boager & Castro, 2022), it does not present tourism as neutral or even as uncontestably positive to the economic growth of the country. Instead, the graffiti and street art that we have analysed accumulate and re-present different counter-hegemonic meanings through which to think about housing and tourism in Lisbon, opening the possibility for different voices and dialogues in the public space (Awad, 2020). This highlights the capacity of graffiti and street art, as often anonymous and illegal public space interventions, to openly discuss, without any normative discursive or material limits, relevant social problems and to give voice to those often left marginalised in related discussions, as also evident in the analysed graffiti presented below.

The dispossessions created by over-tourism are also brought to the fore in one of the few legal graffiti and street art examples that we collected and that discussed these issues [Image #3].

Image #3

The dogs seem to represent touristification/tourists, which are playing with and/or eating the identity of Lisbon, as if it was a toy or a piece of food, represented here, as traditionally and in many tourism adverts and postcards of Lisbon, by the city's old yellow trams. This seems to be further accentuated by the trams' losing its traditional lively yellow colour and becoming black and white (i.e. dead). This might also be a hint at the fact that these yellow trams, and especially some of the ones that have routes very close to where this panel was painted in Bairro Alto, have been for the last years – except for the Covid-19 related travel restrictions period – unavailable as a means of transport to residents in Lisbon, given that they are constantly packed with tourists. However, they have historically been important ways of transport in Lisbon's historic neighbourhoods, which suffer from a structural lack of public transports, similarly to the Greater Lisbon area (Moreira, 2018). In this way, the role of tourism as it is happening in Lisbon is brought to the fore and its role in challenging and even erasing place identities and livelihoods recognised.

In turn, some of the graffiti and street art collected in the context of this research focused only or more explicitly on discussing the housing crisis, such as the example below [Image #4].

Image #4

Represented in this paste-up is Assunção Cristas, the political leader for the conservative catholic right-wing party CDS-PP from 2016 to 2020. She was the main responsible during the Passos Coelho - Troika government (2011-15) for the new regime and law for the rents that also came to be popularly known as the 'Cristas Law' given that it is one of the main causes of the liberalization of the housing market in Portugal and consequent housing violence with people being expelled from their houses and having to move out of their neighbourhoods. This paste-up, placed in still another abandoned and empty residential building in Mouraria, with her image saying "Oops!", is very powerful in highlighting the impacts of that law that Assunção Cristas pushed forward and its consequences in not only expelling people from their houses but also in leaving the city with buildings abandoned and closed. This is made clearer by the drawing in her jumper (even if this is not very visible in the photograph) of a person leaving a house, with their head down and the luggage on their hand.

This paste-up again reveals that graffiti and street art can be very powerful ways of re-presenting meanings of place as community and as a right, and the direct relations between macro-level politics and everyday lives, and, namely, the contradictions caused by capitalism

at the intersections of those two levels. These contradictions of capitalism are again very clear in the graffiti below [Image #5].

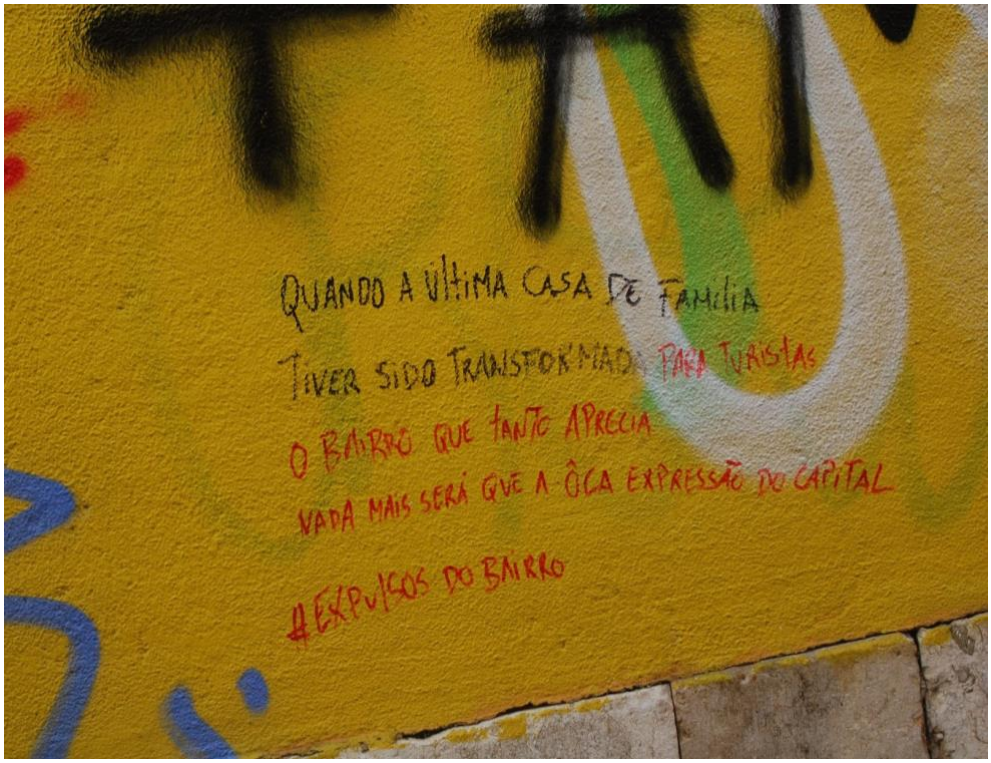

Image #5

This graffiti highlights the relationality between the loss of what has traditionally been seen as the normative minimal unit of a societal existence in contemporary societies – the family house ("casa de família") – and the globalised capitalist systems and processes that provoke it. This graffiti reads: "When the last family house is transformed for tourists, the neighbourhood you appreciate so much will be nothing more than an empty expression of capital. #expelledfromtheneighbourhood)". Through this text, it clearly links the political-economic system that we live in as societies, with its lived experiences of expulsion from one's own home and neighbourhood. As such, it also highlights the paradoxes of capitalism, or its creative destruction cycles (Tonts & Greive, 2022) - capitalism allows and promotes touristification and the associated privatized and only for-profit housing market, but, through that, also empties the neighbourhoods and their 'authenticity', which is what tourists are seeking for and want to experience (Zukin, 2009), and thus what allows the rental and real estate markets to grow and make profit.

Additionally, this graffiti also brings into attention the fact that impactful transformations are happening even architectonically, given that in the last years there has been a progressive transformation of 'family houses' as apartments with several rooms, into smaller

apartments with single rooms directed to short term rentals (Gago, 2018). Similarly, another collected graffiti [Image #6] reads "The Portuguese house has been rented to tourists. Amália Rodrigues". This sentence refers to a fado song, called "A casa Portuguesa/The Portuguese house", from 1953, sang originally by the well-known Portuguese fado singer Amália Rodrigues. The title and lyrics of this song reified a key ideology of the Portuguese dictatorship (1926-1974) and of fado as a key instrument of it, the myth of the Portuguese identity as made of an honorable and content poverty[4] (Rosas, 2001; Raposo & Rodrigues, 2013).

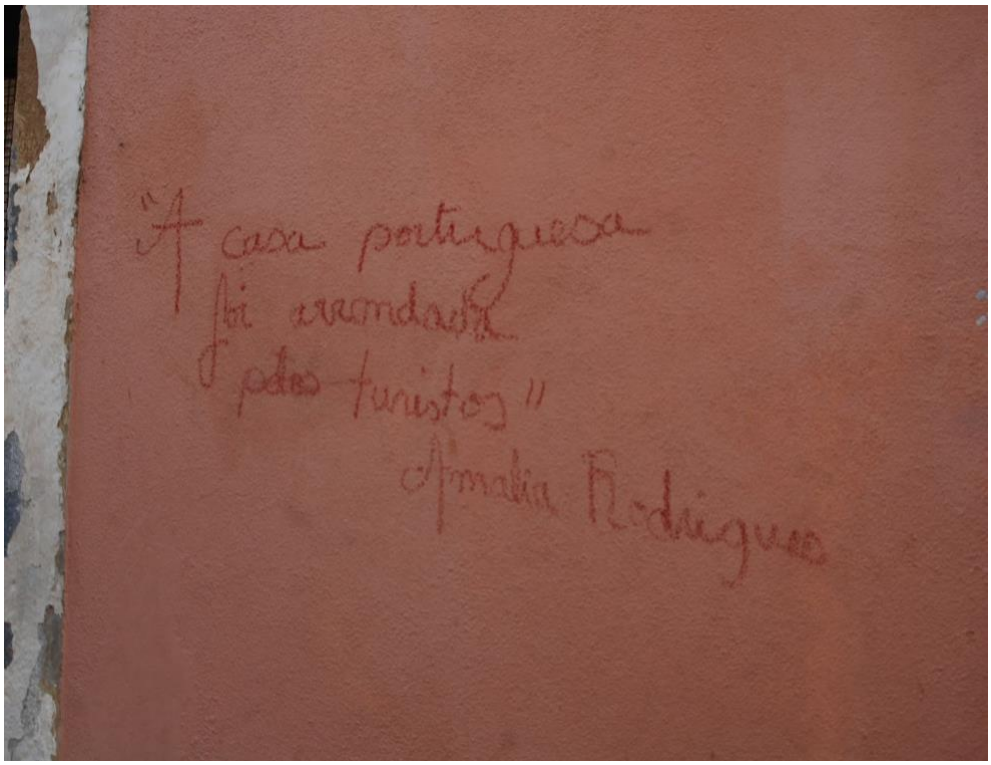

Image #6

In this graffiti, the author pretends that Amália Rodrigues herself has sung instead that even the poor Portuguese house, a core part of the Portuguese identity, has already been rented for tourists. This highlights how these graffiti and street art make use of cultural symbols and resources, strongly associated with a 'Portuguese identity', to contest the consequences of touristification and the housing crisis. This graffiti is a clear example of how that 'Portuguese identity' is here performed in a counter-hegemonic way, in order to help politicizing the

[4] Part of the lyrics of the song is as follows "In a Portuguese house bread and wine sits well at the table, and if someone humbly knocks at the door, sits at the table with us. This frankness suits well and people don't deny it. The joy of poverty is in this great wealth, of giving and being content - *Numa casa portuguesa fica bem / Pão e vinho sobre a mesa / E se à porta humildemente bate alguém / Senta-se à mesa com a gente / Fica bem essa franqueza, fica bem / Que o povo nunca a desmente / A alegria da pobreza está nesta grande riqueza / De dar e ficar contente*

discussion around tourism and housing, by highlighting how touristification is also questioning cultural meanings and memories, both symbolically and materially, with the social, architectonical and urban transformations created by touristification to 'the Portuguese house' (Díaz-Parra & Jover, 2021). This is further accentuated in the graffiti below [Image #7].

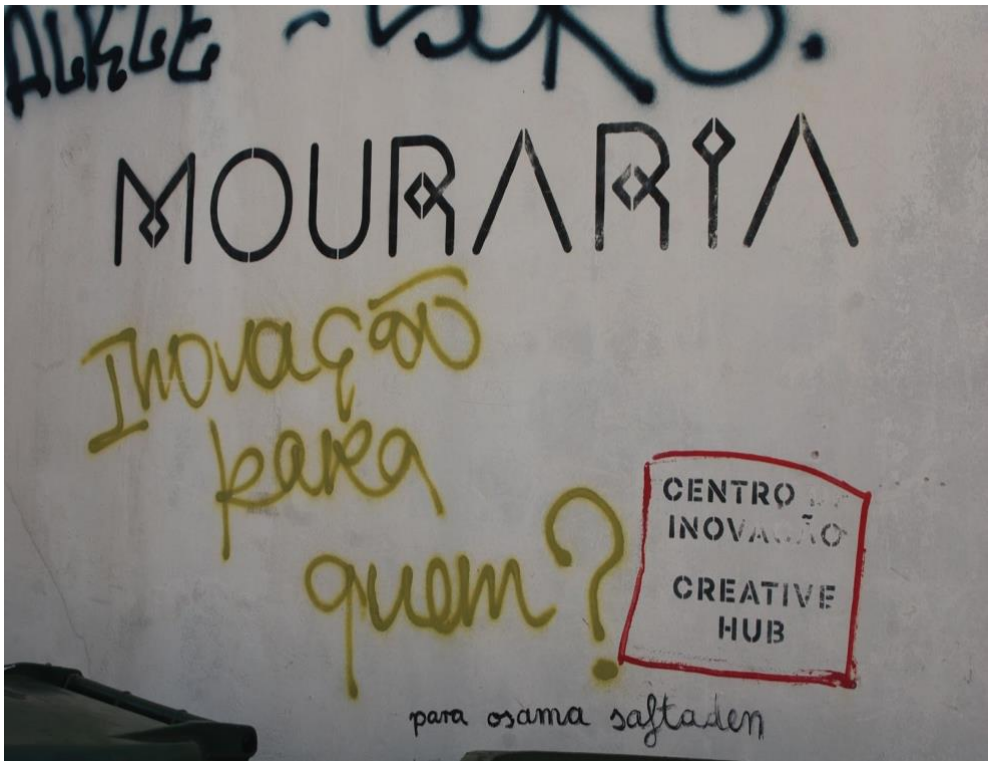

Image #7

This graffiti, found in a wall in Mouraria where the labelling of the recently created 'Creative Hub of Mouraria' (in Portuguese translated as 'Innovation Center') is present and highlighted in red, writes in yellow "*Inovação para quem?* - Innovation for whom?". The graffiti brings to attention and discussion the purposes that recent urban transformations serve, like this 'creative hub' and others that have been created across Lisbon in recent years, and which have been pointed out as fostering gentrification and contributing to the same socio-territorial displacements and exclusions as touristification (Yagci & Nunes da Silva, 2021). By asking this question the graffiti highlights how some voices are being included in these functional place changes - those of gentrifiers and tourists - and others are being excluded - those of current residents of the neighbourhood. This exclusionary character of over-tourism is very present in an installation also found in Mouraria, presented in the image below:

Image #8

This is a montage using different materials and cultural symbols to claim for diverse rights and demands related to housing and associated issues in Lisbon's Mouraria neighbourhood. This installation was created and put up around Christmas 2018, and uses a Santa Claus puppet with nine written wishes/requests around it that state: "we want a fair government", "accessible rents and more housing for our neighbourhoods", "we don't want to leave our neighbourhoods", "we wish that all [political] parties spoke about the urban lease law", "we don't want more short rents in Mouraria", "we want the traditional shops back to our neighbourhood" and "we want Dr. Manuel Salgado [city councillor for Urbanism and Urban Rehabilitation for Lisbon at the time] and Dr. Medina [Lisbon's Mayor at the time] to fulfil our biggest wish". This installation indirectly contests touristification and politicises tourism in Lisbon and related policies by exposing several consequences related to it and that need discussion, specifically with local authorities, as Santa Claus is here equated to Manuel Salgado and Medina, main representatives of the Lisbon's city council. Place attachment ("we don´t want to leave our neighbourhoods", "we want the traditional shops back in our neighbourhood" – Batel et al., 2015) is here mobilised not only to protect people's own senses of place belonging and of a good life, but mostly to accentuate the lack of rights associated with housing policies in Lisbon/Portugal and how these are above all issues of social justice ("we want a fair government"). This example clearly highlights how the right to housing and to place, which is here claimed, is

simultaneously presented as a basic need and right and a matter of social justice, and, in a related way, key to a sense of self and community. Finally, there was one graffiti through which the public discussion around what is tourism, over-tourism and its consequences, was even more explicit, as shown below [Image #9].

Image #9

Here it is interesting to see that there was a public discussion about what is touristification and exactly what is there to contest. Someone wrote in this wall “Enough tourism!”, which, by being written in English, seems to suggest that it is catered also for tourists themselves. Then someone else seems to have added some words so that the message now reads “Not enough good tourism!”, which seems to want to contest the idea that all tourism is bad, and to propose that the problem with touristification in Lisbon is instead that there is not enough ‘good’ tourism. What this good tourism looks like and what differences would it have to the current situation is left undiscussed, but this ‘simple’ public discussion on the meanings of touristification is again crucial to politicise tourism and to bring awareness to the need for everyone to critically think about it. This again highlights clearly how graffiti and urban art can be used not only as a one-way form of political participation and re-presentation, but also allow for and even promote the direct and in-situ public discussion and negotiation of which futures should be collectively aimed for and constructed (Glăveanu, 2018). All in all, the collected and analyzed graffiti and street art, by resorting to culturally relevant symbols and associated positionings and by politicizing them, through contesting touristification and linking it to broader political-economic actors and systems, allow citizens to have their relations with the city to be recognized (Amer, 2020).

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Graffitti and street art, as forms of communication and political participation, have been largely neglected by Social, Community and Political Psychology, including research using Social Representations Theory, despite the theory's focus on the study of change and resistance through examining communication and ideology (Moscovici, 1998; Batel & Castro, 2018). Here we have shown how – particularly illegal - graffiti and street art are relevant political resistance instruments expressing social struggles and overwriting official speeches and symbols (Arriagada, 2012; Teo, 2017). The analysed themes co-constitute social re-presentations of tourism and housing in Portugal, by contesting hegemonic meanings and proposing new, counter-hegemonic ones, still in the making, which, through graffiti and street art, are being presented and negotiated in the public sphere. The graffiti and street art do this in a way that politicises tourism and housing by bringing diverse meanings to public awareness, when often other communication fora just reify official, hegemonic, narratives (Boager & Castro, 2022).

By interpreting graffiti and urban art as part of social re-presenting processes that link the individual and group to policy and institutional processes (Batel & Castro, 2018; Howarth, 2006), this research aimed to understand what the role of these practices on the process of touristification happening in Lisbon and on the related housing crisis was. We have seen that the collected graffiti and street art were able to re-present issues of place identity and belongingness as struggles over social justice and the right to a house and to a community, and to link these with political-economic processes that go from the implementation of policies and urban planning at the local/city level, to national neoliberal policies and global capitalist processes. As such, this work also contributes to social representation scholarship, by not only showing how graffiti and street art are important means of communication for analysing social re-presentation – or social imaginary (Arruda, 2014) -, but mainly by highlighting the relevance of further analysing social representations as inherently political and thus the continued importance of understanding what can social representations do (Howarth, 2006) , both as hegemonic meanings and, as here analysed, counter-hegemonic ones.

As such, the present work is innovative and relevant not only because it has analysed a type of discourse and communication - graffiti and urban art - that has been largely neglected so far by Social Psychology, as pointed out before, but also has shown how such practices should be conceived as forms of citizenship (Andreouli, 2019) and political participation. Graffiti and street art are communication forms with socio-psychological significance and the

capacity to propose, discuss and reclaim rights, and address associated social justice issues. Indeed, this work has shown many examples of how people have creatively found ways to reclaim space in the city by inscribing their voice in its walls, through not only written words, sentences, drawings and paste-ups, but also through very creative and politically charged installations.

In fact, a key finding and insight of the present research is that within this touristification context, the right to housing is represented not only as the right to live in a house as bricks and mortar, but mainly as the right to place, discursively and imagetically constructed as a web of emotional attachments and the right to belong. This brings to the fore the lived experiences of capitalism's need for the creative destruction (Tonts & Greive, 2002), in this case, of Lisbon and other Southern European cities. Through this creative destruction, the authenticity of these historic and economically deprived cities, which are being commodified exclusively for tourism-economic growth, needs to be destroyed in this process.

Importantly, the right to belong defended in the analysed graffiti and street art never seemed to be claimed in association with exclusionary and discriminatory practices to other ethnic-racialized groups or with nationalistic ideas, therefore following more the ethos of a positive parochialism (Devine-Wright, Smith & Batel, 2019). As such, the present work also contributes to literature on people-place relations in general by showing how place identities and attachments are discursively constructed and negotiated (Di Masso et al., 2011) and used to protect and negotiate certain rights, that go beyond basic needs' conceptions of human rights to encompass other, more symbolic, cultural and emotional dimensions of those, such as the right to a place, a neighbourhood, a community and not only a house as bricks and mortar - or the right to care.

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