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Graffiti and urban art as political participation in the process of touristification in Lisbon: A psychosocial analysis

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Master in Psychology of Intercultural Relations

Supervisor:

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CIS-IUL - ISCTE Lisbon University Institute

June, 2021



CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
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Resumo

O presente estudo teve como objetivo analisar graffiti e arte urbana como práticas sociopolíticas para contestar e/ou para promover a turistificação (Sequera & Nofre, 2018) a acontecer em Lisboa, e processos e impactos psicossociais associados. Tais práticas foram interpretadas como representações sociais (Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1972), representando problemas sociais através de imagens, símbolos e metáforas e revelando processos psicossociais associados, como de apego e identidade de lugar. Através de uma etnografia errante (Tróí & Batel, 2020) foram recolhidas 19 imagens de graffiti e arte urbana formal (i.e. legal) e informal (i.e. ilegal), detalhadas numa tabela etnográfica. Posteriormente realizou-se a Análise Retórica Visual de todos os dados que consistiu, primeiro, numa Análise Temática e depois numa Análise Pragmática do Discurso (Batel & Castro, 2018). Dois temas relevantes emergiram da Análise Temática: “turistificação” e “crise habitacional em Portugal”, e um conjunto de subtemas associados.

Verificou-se que, apesar de ambos os temas surgirem muito associados, especialmente quanto à escala do problema, quanto à sua relação com o apego ao lugar e significados simbólicos, a quem e que processos são responsáveis, e à justiça social e direitos, algumas diferenças foram identificadas. O tema da “turistificação” surge mais associado à identidade nacional, enquanto que a “crise habitacional em Portugal” surge mais associada à responsabilização do governo nacional e governos locais.

Os resultados são discutidos com vista ao contributo deste trabalho para um alargamento das conceções de participação política e para a compreensão dos processos psicossociais associados à turistificação no âmbito da Psicologia Ambiental, Política e Sociocultural.

Palavras-Chave: Turistificação, Graffiti e Arte Urbana, Teoria das Representações Sociais, Análise Retórica Visual, Participação Política, Relações Pessoa-Lugar

Abstract

The present study aims to analyse graffiti and urban art as sociopolitical practices to contest and/or to promote touristification (Sequera & Nofre, 2018) happening in Lisbon. Such practices were interpreted as social representations (Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1972), representing social problems through images, symbols and metaphors and revealing associated psychosocial processes, such as of place attachment and place identity. Through a wandering ethnography (Tróí & Batel, 2020) 19 images of formal (i.e. legal) and informal (i.e. illegal) graffiti and urban art were collected and detailed on an ethnographic table. Later a Visual Rhetoric Analysis was conducted of the data which consisted, first, on a Thematic Analysis and then a Pragmatic Discourse Analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018). Two relevant themes emerged from the Thematic Analysis: “touristification” and “habitational crisis in Portugal”, and a set of associated subthemes. We also verified that despite both themes emerging very associated, especially on the scale of the problem, their link to place attachment and symbolic meanings, to whom and which processes are responsible, and to social justice and rights, some differences were identified. The theme of “touristification” is more associated with national identity whereas the “habitational crisis in Portugal” is more associated with the responsibility of the national government and local governments.

The results are discussed aiming to contribute to an enlargement of the conceptions of political participation and to the understanding of psychosocial processes associated with touristification in the scope of Political, Environmental and Sociocultural Psychology.

Key words: Touristification, Graffiti and Urban Art, Theory of Social Representations, Visual Rhetoric Analysis, Political Participation, People-Place Relations

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Introduction

Due to the exponential growth of tourism in Lisbon in the last decade (Mendes, 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2020), central urban neighbourhoods were transformed into tourism commodities (del Romero Renau, 2018; Muselaers, 2017; Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020; Outón, 2019; Sequera & Nofre, 2018) creating material, economic and social effects that persist even after the COVID-19 Pandemic (Santos, 2020).

This process of touristification lead to the (in)direct physical and psychological displacement of dwellers, resulting in feelings of place alienation, powerlessness and meaninglessness (Díaz-Parra & Jover, 2021; Seeman, 1959) and the loss of the right to live in the historic centre (i.e. the right to the city – see Harvey, 2003; 2008; Lefebvre, 1968; 1974).

At a psychosocial level, this psychological displacement takes ramifications for people-place relations, specifically on place attachment (Bailey, Devine-Wright & Batel, 2016; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Di Masso, Dixon & Durrheim, 2014; Inalhan & Finch, 2004; Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2013) and place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000), in the form of emotional, affective and psychological negative consequences (Valli, 2015).

Although there are cases where the changes caused by touristification are also positively seen (see Ribeiro, 2021), the majority of social sciences' research on the psychosocial impacts and factors associated with touristification have demonstrated and focused on its negative territorial, social, community and psychological consequences (Chamusca et al., 2019; Fernández-Tabales, 2019; Guizi, Breda & Costa, 2020; Liberato & Silva, 2020; Mínguez, Piñeira & Fernández-Tabales, 2019; Woo, Kim H. & Kim Y. G., 2021).

These consequences often contribute to the political subjugation of city residents, even though there are successful cases of direct collective actions against the negative impacts of touristification (see Reis, 2021). However, there are also other forms of political participation in the city, inherently public and a reclamation of the public space since their incept, that have been more neglected as citizenship practices by Political, Environmental and Community Psychology in general and particularly in their relation to new urban change processes such as touristification - graffiti and urban art. This will be the focus of this thesis.

Producing graffiti (i.e. form of writing produced by the use of spray paint and marker pens) and urban art (i.e. collage, stencilling, posters, stickers, throwing-up,

pasting-up of drawings, air-brushing, installations) (Ross, 2016) have been for long conceived as political resistance instruments expressing social struggles by other social sciences and humanities (Arriagada, 2012; Hanauer, 2004; 2011; Lima, 2018; Obeng, 2000; Waldner, 2013), and as relevant to study as they invade urban spaces overwriting official speech and symbols (Palmer, 2017), and are therefore a way of expressing citizens' representations, values and demands.

In Portugal, urban graffiti has marked important historical moments such as the Carnation Revolution in 1974 (Campos, 2009; Diógenes, 2015) and after the financial crisis of 2008-2009 (Navisual, 2017).

Therefore, this dissertation presents a psychosocial and political analysis of the role of graffiti and urban art on the process of touristification in Lisbon. As such, it aims to understand if and how graffiti and urban art reflect the process of touristification happening in Lisbon and its consequences, namely in relation to impacts for people-place relations; if they are used to promote and/or to resist touristification; and also if and how are graffiti and urban art used for the politicization of place attachments and identities.

In the following section (Chapter I) we will, first, explain the context of gentrification and touristification happening in Lisbon. Then we will present the theoretical framework that is the background of this thesis, and which articulates inputs from Environmental and Community Psychology on the psychosocial processes associated with people-place relations: with proposals from Social and Political Psychology on political participation, namely in the public space, as citizenship practices. Finally, we will frame and discuss graffiti and urban art as Social Representations.

Then, on Chapter III, we will provide a short summary of the context and the theoretical framework, together with the research questions and goals that guide this dissertation.

Chapter I

Context

1.1 Gentrification and Touristification in Lisbon

In November 2019, Fernando Medina, the Lisbon's City Mayor expressed that the tourism in the city of Lisbon had helped fight unemployment and it resulted in larger employment dynamics although he also highlighted that Lisbon suffered a severe problem of housing access which affects all social classes. (Lisboa, 2019).

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, Lisbon and many southern European cities were experiencing a tourism growth (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2019) mainly as an economic rebound of the financial crisis aftermath. This recent wave of tourism in the biggest cities of southern Europe may be explained by different factors, one of the main ones being the geopolitical instability in tourist destinations such as the Maghreb, Egypt and Tunisia (Castanho, 2017; Braune, 2017; Dias, 2010; Galito, 2019; Mendes, 2017). Additional reasons for the exponential touristification of the historic centre of Lisbon are (a) the increased usage by property owners of online platforms such as Booking.com, Airbnb, Windu, Homeaway, etc.; (b) cheaper international flights to Lisbon and other Portuguese cities from low-cost companies; (c) a growing tendency for cultural and historical city tourism focused on historical neighbourhoods, seen as allowing more urban authenticity and a local experience as a tourist; (d) the lack of hotels in the city centre; and (e) the investment of millions of euros on advertising campaigns affirming Lisbon as a cosmopolitan city with a rich heritage (Mendes, 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2019).

These factors created then touristification in Lisbon, with touristification as the process by which central urban areas are transformed functionally into consumption places for tourism and tourists (Sequera & Nofre, 2018) this is, it is the process by which economic activities and traditional uses are replaced by activities and uses related to tourism (Outón, 2019). Furthermore, it could be defined as the resulting state in which a certain place is transformed into a tourism commodity itself (del Romero Renau, 2018). It is a complex process in which various stakeholders interfere transforming and (re)creating a territory for the attraction of tourists, making it an item of consumption for tourists (Muselaers, 2017; Ojeda & Kieffer, 2020). In turn, this process creates material, economic and social effects that persist even after tourism decreases, as is now evident with the COVID-19 Pandemic and the closing of hospitality services that were mostly

dedicated to tourists (Baum & Hai, 2020; Gössling, Scott & Hall, 2020; Gursoy & Chi, 2020).

Since the 1990s, local urban revitalization strategies aimed to attract international tourism and global real estate investment in Lisbon (Barata-Salgueiro, Mendes & Guimarães, 2017) but it is after the capital crisis of 2008 that we start witnessing a progression on the attraction on both tourism and foreign investment, as a response to the recession (Mendes, 2018).

Touristification in Lisbon has resulted in people becoming financially dependent on the sector and because of it, people became directly (they could not afford the higher rents) or indirectly (because of changes in the neighbourhood's atmosphere such as crowdedness, invasion of privacy and noise pollution) displaced (Muselaers, 2017). Residents moved out because the tourism-led transformation of the neighbourhood made everyday life increasingly difficult (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2019).

The displacement of the indigenous population by transforming the neighbourhood for the socially privileged is known as gentrification (Sequera & Nofre, 2019). Gentrification is a social process where strategies are used to reclaim urban centres for the middle and upper classes whereas the population of a lower socio-economic status is replaced (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019). Coined by Glass (1964) and known as "embourgeoisement" (Smith, 1996), gentrification explains the process of urban transformation through which deteriorated spaces are recovered and resident dwellers are replaced (Outón, 2019).

A period of disinvestment commonly precedes gentrification, the expansion of peripheral neighbourhoods leads to a devaluation of urban centres with the proliferation of abandoned buildings (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2019). Between 1981 and 2011 the Lisbon historical centre suffered a decrease of -58% of population, as a result of the growing motorisation of Portuguese society, the modernisation of lifestyles and the rapid expansion of local housing on the outskirts of Lisbon (Sequera & Nofre, 2019).

In 2008, Lisbon had 4.600 vacant buildings (Público, 2008) whereas in 2020 the number of unoccupied buildings dropped to 2.970 (Rito, 2020) mainly due to processes of gentrification and touristification happening in the city centre. Rehabilitation of unoccupied buildings took place due to tourism, but the rents escalated exponentially multiplying the expulsion of vulnerable inhabitants and the closure of historical shops, through evictions and displacement (Mendes, 2017). In 2018, non-residents bought more than 4.000 real estate in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Diário de Notícias, 2019).

Tourism gentrification, a concept coined by Gotham (2005), therefore, explains better what is happening in Lisbon. It is the transformation of popular and historical neighbourhoods in the city centre to consumption and touristic sites, while the expansion of recreation functions as well as touristic accommodations starts to gradually replace the traditional permanent housing functions and local commerce, exacerbating displacement and residential segregation, and preventing the population with low socio-economic status to have access to housing in those areas (Mendes, 2017). Tourism gentrification describes a series of events in which a city's facilities and tourist attractions move comparatively wealthy people from other countries to relocate there while forcing the comparatively poor original inhabitants to leave, resulting in a city transformed into a place of consumption (Um & Yoon, 2020).

1.1.1 Antecedents of Touristification

On the aftermath of the 2008-2009 capital crisis, the Portuguese State signed a Memorandum of Economic and Financial Policies, also known as Troika's Plan, with the International Monetary Fund (FMI), the European Commission and the European Central Bank, aimed to balance public accounts and increase competitiveness in Portugal, as a necessary condition for the loan of about 80 billion euros (Mendes, 2017).

The Memorandum led the Portuguese government to embrace tourism and urban rehabilitation as priority sectors to bridle the impacts on the economy and society. Both national and local administrations established a range of legislative initiatives to appeal to transnational real estate investment and new wealthy residents to the country (Sequera & Nofre, 2019).

The document resulted in attractive structural reforms for international investors such as the New Urban Lease Regime (NRAU – *Novo Regime de Arrendamento Urbano*), the Golden Visa Program and the Tax Regime for Non-Habitual Residents (Mendes, 2017). Such reforms were proposed within the PSD-CDS government led by Passos Coelho.

The Decree-Law no. 31 of 14th of August 2012 founded the new law of urban lease (NRAU), which came into effect in November 2012. It imposes a rent update mechanism which provides unaffordable values to many residents without establishing adequate and necessary social support, affecting mainly families with low socio-economic status, especially in the Lisbon historical centre (Mendes, 2017).

The Golden Visa program, from 2012, is a rapid way for foreign investors from extra European Union countries to obtain a valid residency authorization in Portugal. It is an easy way for the wealthy to get free access to the Schengen countries. They only must invest in real estate established in the law, to qualify to obtain the authorization. While promoting extraordinary tax advantages and creating new forms of financial, neoliberal, citizenship (Santos, Castro & Guerra, 2020), it also promotes the development of diverse touristic housing formats, with investors seeing an opportunity to obtain revenue on their real estate assets (Mendes, 2017).

The Tax Regime for Non-Habitual Residents (RHN – *Regime fiscal para os Residentes Não Habituais*), from 2009, presents fiscal advantages to those who apply for fiscal residency in Portugal. This regime is an important step to transform Portugal into an offshore country for residents who receive non-resident qualified revenue. It has attracted especially French and Scandinavian foreigners and resulted in investments in the real estate sector, for the most part in the city centre (Mendes, 2017; Lasalle, 2015).

All these reforms resulted in the displacement of marginalized low-income dwellers who saw no other solution than to leave the neighbourhoods they've always lived in and merchants losing their historic shops to be transformed into trendy ones.

Furthermore, residents experienced landlords' practices as a form of harassment, which led to a sense of helplessness and frustration (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2019).

In the next chapter we will precisely discuss in a more in-depth way, the psychosocial impacts and processes that can be created by and associated with touristification.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

2.1 Psychosocial Processes: People-Place Relations

As previously described, touristification implies the functional change of an area, a neighbourhood and/or city - it begins being catered for tourists, with all the services and changes to the physical design of the area that might imply. Additionally, it also brings changes in the social configuration of these territories, given that that functional change most often implies the displacement of the previous residents.

This displacement can be physical, implying the relocation of previous residents to new areas where they can afford the rents and the prices for consuming goods and services in their neighbourhoods, given the increase in prices caused by touristification as explained before; but it can also cause psychological displacement, given that touristification not only causes physical and functional changes in the territories that can provoke feelings of displacement (e.g. this is no longer my neighbourhood) in the residents that are able to stay, but also because the social composition of the territories change, with previous neighbours, friends and family members having to leave.

As such, not only former residents of those territories often become alienated from their local places, but place alienation, as the feeling of displacement or inability to develop a sense of belonging towards one's current community, is also felt and experienced by those residents that stay in the local places. This notion of place alienation departs from the Marxist notion of alienation in the production process where the object created is alien to the subject who produces it (Díaz-Parra & Jover, 2021) and although it is not the same thing as displacement, these two concepts relate to each other.

Alienation refers to conflicts and contradictions in the relation between individuals and society that results in limited freedom for social interaction. From this individual perspective, the withdrawal from local public life takes place because the personal and social aspects of residents' identity are irreconcilable (Buchenker, 2009).

When the historical neighbourhoods of Alfama, Mouraria, Bairro Alto, Graça, Madragoa and Castelo were transformed for tourism, transforming houses for short rental places and local commerce being sold to bigger companies, residents experienced feelings of place alienation such as powerlessness (i.e. expectations that have to do with the individual's sense of influence over socio-political events) and meaninglessness (i.e.

individual's sense of understanding the events on which she/he is engaged) (Seeman, 1959).

Residents lost the right to everyday life in the historic centre and became alienated from their local spaces (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020). Those spaces were places where people used to interact and to encounter each other thus constructing a sense of place and meaning (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2020). While tourism transformed those central neighbourhoods, residents became alienated to the city they produced and transformed - therefore while tourists seek to witness a "real" and "authentic" neighbourhood and city with its natives and local commerce, the reality is that they are no longer there. The result is inauthenticity as the result of the production of places for mass consumption (Sanguin, 1981).

As Lefebvre (see Lefebvre, 1968; 1974) has mentioned, tourism-oriented urban economies that successfully commodify the urban space, destroy some of the elements, such as community and authenticity, that initially attracted new residents and visitors. "The never-ending transformation of urban space that is required for capital expansion translates into a non-appropriable place" (Díaz-Parra & Jover, 2021, p. 22).

Because of the alienation, people lose their right to the city. The right to the city is the right to access what exists and to be able to construct it, but to do so we need active democratic participation that requires that we roll back the huge wave of privatization that has been the hymn of a destructive neoliberalism (Harvey, 2003). We are witnessing the right to the city falling into the hands of private or quasi-private interests, it is confined in the hands of a small political and economic elite who are in the position to shape the city after their desire (Harvey, 2008).

In turn, and as hinted at above, this brings several consequences for individuals and communities in these elite-ruled, privatised and touristified cities and their neighbourhoods. These consequences are then not only related with social (in)justice - it is the more vulnerable and socio-economically deprived residents that are normally physically displaced/relocated - but also, and relatedly, happen at a psychosocial level - such as with psychological displacement. This psychological displacement can have consequences for people-place relations, namely for place attachment, and specifically by making people to feel alienated from the place where they live and/or from places in general (see Bailey et al., 2016).

Place attachment is an emotional bond with a specific place (Manzo & Divine-Wright, 2020). It is discursively constructed as individuals, together, formulate the everyday meanings of person-in-place relationships (Di Masso et al., 2014). It is associated with the co-construction of affective ties to local environments and it is a result of the commitment that individuals have to their neighbourhood and neighbours through institutional ties, involvement, social contacts, and positive feelings (Brown, 1992). Place identity in turn is a collective construction, produced and modified through discourse and communication, that allows people to make sense of their locatedness (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000), and that, as such, is closely associated with place attachment.

In Environmental and Community Psychology literature place attachment is usually defined as multifaceted including the key aspects of people-place bonding involving behaviour, affect and cognition (Quingjiu & Maliki, 2013) and has three components: (1) place dependence (does the place satisfy functional needs? - e.g. does it have restaurants that dwellers like and can afford meals there?) (2) social ties – a sense of community, solidarity, and social cohesion and (3) place identity – if the neighbourhood contributes to defining one's identity and for one's well-being. Place attachment is then the multi-dimensional experience of feeling attached and belonging to a place, and the appropriation of space via involvement with the local area (Inalhan & Finch, 2004).

When considering that people that live in a given place might feel very attached to it, the displacement from the community can translate into physical (relocation) or psychological (estrangement to the place due to its disruption) consequences. It can entail widespread grief, mourning, feelings of injustice, anger, resentment, and a profound sense of loss resulting in a powerful source of distress (Atkinson, 2015; Fried, 2000). The loss of a place may mean a loss of part of one's identity, one's self and sense of self by ensuing disorientation, nostalgia, and alienation (Fullilove, 1996; Mazumdar, 1992).

According to Valli (2015) emotional, affective, and psychological reactions were displayed by long-time residents in touristified neighbourhoods, triggered when encountering newcomers. When residents see these new people around, they tend to feel uncomfortable because they become more aware of themselves and of the changes occurring in the place. As such, these encounters often bring up feelings of exclusion, resentment, frustration, relative deprivation, and anger because they reveal power relations and associated vulnerabilities (Valli, 2015). However, this is not always the case. According to Ribeiro (2021) who conducted walking interviews with residents of a

touristified neighbourhood in Lisbon (Madragoa), there are discrepancies on the views of older people compared to the views of the youngest. The youth were more prone to the change and saw touristification as a good thing or something positive, whereas older people were more opposed to it.

Although there are cases where these changes are positively seen, most of the research on the psychosocial impacts and factors associated with gentrification and touristification have demonstrated and focused on their negative consequences (Chamusca et al., 2019; Guizi, Breda & Costa., 2020; Mínguez, Piñeira & Fernández-Tabales, 2019; Liberato & Silva, 2020; Woo, Kim H. & Kim Y. G., 2021). Additionally, and as detailed below, the data collected for this thesis also mainly focused on contesting touristification and on its associated negative impacts.

In fact, a deep sense of loss is one of the main feelings being reported by displaced residents when being dislocated from areas that one had lived for long periods of time. Due to the intense competition in the rental market one also deals with generalised anxiety (Atkinson et al., 2011).

There are five types of displacement described by Marcuse (1985): direct displacement, last-resident displacement, chain-displacement, exclusionary displacement, and displacement pressure; and those are likely to affect mental health through several pathways (Fussell & Lowe, 2014).

Direct displacement can be the displacement of a household from the unit that the resident currently occupies or when the landlord raises the rent beyond the occupants' ability to pay and forces them to move out. It may result from neighbourhood changes from deterioration of the individual building or of neighbourhood services, and in most cases the two types of direct displacement happen simultaneously (Marcuse, 1985).

Another type of displacement is "last-resident displacement" and it considers only the last resident of that unit as displaced. However, another household may have occupied that unit earlier and may have been forced to move at an earlier stage in the physical decline of the building or an earlier rent increase. This type of displacement is called "chain-displacement" (Marcuse, 1985).

In turn, "exclusionary displacement" refers to housing differences in a neighbourhood before and after a certain period, compared to changes in the city as a whole. It occurs when any resident is not permitted to move into lodging by a change in conditions that affects the residency or its immediate surroundings and that is beyond the

resident's ability to control or prevent. It happens when the dweller is not able to meet the imposed conditions of occupancy and makes occupancy impossible or unaffordable (Butler, Hamnett & Ramsden, 2013; Marcuse, 1985; Slater, 2012; Walks, Hawes & Simone, 2021).

Finally, “displacement pressure” affects more than those actually displaced. When a family sees the dramatic changes in the neighbourhood, their friends leaving, when local commerce changes and transportation patterns and support services are modified, the area becomes less and less liveable. Families living under these conditions might move as quickly as they can, rather than wait for the unpreventable (Marcuse, 1985; Preis et al., 2020; Slater, 2012).

Feeling “othered”, which entails a shifted sense of place and belonging, is a crucial component of displacement, fundamental when trying to understand the psychosocial impacts of touristification, because this is a process which reflects intersecting structural power dynamics (Valli, 2015).

In turn, these different psychosocial consequences all contribute to the political subjugation of city residents, often making them feel apathetic and powerless in the face of these changes (even because communities get scattered) therefore disempowering them from participating in the city and fighting actively for the right to it.

However, there are also some cases of people being able to feel empowered and one example in Lisbon is three women from Mouraria who are known as the *Gaulesas*. They received a letter, in 2016, to get evicted from their homes and decided to fight together against that decision. They went to Santa Maria Mayor Parish Council, they went to Lisbon's City Council and everywhere where they could be heard, including the social media. They succeeded to renew their contract to stay in the neighbourhood for the next 5 years and since then they never stopped fighting against the evictions in the neighbourhood (Reis, 2021).

Nevertheless, besides this type of more direct collective action, there are also other forms of action and contestation in the city and for the right to the city that have so far been more ignored by Environmental, Community and Political Psychology and also in the study of the impacts of touristification, which is graffiti and urban art.

The majority of people who stay in gentrified and touristified neighbourhoods might not make use of this type of political participation to contest the touristification process, nevertheless some people with specific types of social capital and related habitus (e.g. younger - but see the example of Luísa Cortesão, that began to make street art in

Lisbon when she was 61 years old -, more frequent social media users and users of the public space - Bettencourt, Dixon & Castro, 2019) are more and more creating and using graffiti and urban art as forms of political participation and contestation (Stedman, 2002), namely in claiming the right to the city (Trói & Batel., 2020). This is going to be the focus of the current dissertation.

2.2 Political Processes: Citizenship Practices

As Edward Said (1993, p. 7) said “Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. That struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings”.

The act of making graffiti and urban art goes beyond diverting or aesthetic matters but it can act also as a political resistance tool (Lima, 2018).

“Graffiti is a medium through which political unmentionables are mentioned without the writer attracting any political or social sanctions” (Obeng, 2000, p. 337), due to its anonymous character it is used to inform, to resist, to contest and to manifest counter hegemonic ideas.

Public spaces are the natural arena of citizenship (Di Masso, 2012). The mural as a public space is constituted as a scenery of political struggle, where the confrontation of classes is expressed in a symbolic way in the discourse, and intersected more and more with the confrontation of other hegemonic discourses and associated structural inequalities, such as in relation to gender and LGBTQIA+ inequalities and related silencing in the public sphere (e.g. Trói & Batel, 2020). Graffiti and urban art are expressions of social struggles and they serve to manifest or to express concrete realities (Arriagada, 2012).

As such, forms of graffiti and urban art should be considered a form of political participation. To engage in graffiti writing is often triggered by feeling interdict from the political process or that institutionalized politics will not bring about change (Waldner & Dobratz, 2013).

Although graffiti and urban art are a form of political participation they have not often been studied by Social Psychology as such, which has so far focused instead on understanding people’s participation in social movements and collective action and their potential psychosocial predictors and impacts or institutional forms of participation, such

as in public consultations or participatory budgeting (e.g. Batel & Castro, 2015; Becker & Tausch, 2015; Santos, Batel & Gonçalves, 2019). Graffiti and urban art are simultaneously direct action/collective action and an individual's citizenship action in the public sphere, reclaiming the right to the city which results in an expanded conception of political participation in Social and Political Psychology.

Political graffiti contains ideas or values designed to influence public opinion, policy, or government decision making by providing an entrée into the public discourse of ideas that are ignored by other media, providing an individual with the opportunity to publicly voice controversial ideas (Waldner & Dobratz, 2013) and it offers marginal groups the possibility of expressing themselves publicly (Hanauer, 2004).

Graffiti and urban art are then an expressive resistance tactic that challenges power relations and has the potential to foster political consciousness, they are omnipresent invading urban spaces and overwriting official speech and symbols, and work as potent creative forms of recovering space, building counter publics, challenging structures of exclusion and oppression and making an absent object, subject or idea visible (Awad, 2020; Palmer, 2017).

But how do we know for certain what message did the author want to transmit? Due to the anonymous character of graffiti there is no way to know for certain. However, the message is political irrespective of the writer's intent if the viewer interprets it as such. Nowadays the visual image has become a transformative tool in the hands of different producers and viewers resulting in perceivers of an image to also be re-producers and co-producers of those images - the meanings are no longer ascribed to the producer but it's open to the ways the viewers perceives, interprets and appropriates – or re-presents - it (Awad, 2020).

There are differences in purpose and communicative content of political graffiti and urban art which range from explicitly political with a spectrum of satirical, metaphoric, allegorical, and imaginative (Palmer, 2017). Even so, they have a special role to play as a publicly accessible discourse expressing positions that interact and counter other messages in the public sphere (Hanauer, 2011).

But, what do we consider as graffiti and urban art?

Neves (2017) defines graffiti and urban art through their typology: pre-formal typology that comprehends subcultural graffiti and non-commissioned street art (i.e. illegal) and formal typology that is the institutionalized one (i.e. legal).

Graffiti is a form of writing produced by the use of spray paint and marker pens, it is unofficial, informal and, frequently, illegal; while urban or street art emerged in the late 1990s at the intersection between graffiti subculture and art market, adding new techniques (e.g. collage, stencilling, posters, stickers, throwing-up, pasting-up of drawings, air-brushing, installations) (Pavoni, Yiannis & Campos, in press). Besides, the context of urban art is associated with an idea of local authenticity. In this way, they provide activities of a more exceptional nature around less tourist territories (Campos & Sequeira, 2020).

To write or to paint on the walls in a non-authorized way is an ancient practice. Stones and walls of different materials have been appropriated by different people, groups and institutions with diverse objectives, functions, and powers throughout history (Campos, 2009). For example, young artists thoroughly transformed the political meaning of the Berlin Wall by the time of its destruction through an array of painted images (Ferrell, 1995) and during the 1960s, poetic and ideological statements were created on the walls of European cities, contesting against the political systems (Furtado, 2007).

In Portugal, urban graffiti marked the Carnation Revolution, in 1974. According to Diógenes (2015), Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, one of the main strategists of the April captain's movement, revealed that his idea in this attempt was to make an early military action, for having seen a graffiti about the 1st of May in Lisbon that said: "The First of May is Red". After the Revolution, the walls were painted with visual narratives appealing to the socialist revolution (Campos, 2009).

After the capital crisis of 2008-2009 and with the presence of the so-called Troika and FMI, a period of great austerity, salary cuts and unemployment arose. When interviewed by Navisual (2017) Ricardo Campos concluded that in that period lots of political graffiti and political murals appeared.

The wall is democratic, it doesn't exclude anyone nor any idea. Everything is possible and everything can be communicated (Pennachim, 2003). The graffiti and urban art in Lisbon are more than a form of expression and a form of communication, they are – or can be - a form of eloquent participation where fears and protests are shared (Diógenes, 2015).

2.3 Graffiti and Urban Art as Social Representations

Graffiti and urban art have one undeniable characteristic, they are highly visual. Furthermore, it is more than just a visual experience; location, timing, the influence of social, political, and cultural events are all factors that need to be considered while analysing graffiti and urban art (Lynn & Lea, 2005). As such, they can be considered as reflecting and shaping larger societal and cultural discourses or social representations.

As proposed by Moscovici (1984, 1988, 2001) social representations might be seen as “theories”, “networks of ideas”, metaphors and images. They are significations that are made up out of emotions, attitudes, and judgements, and they fill our minds and political discourses and determine our world views and reactions to social events, objects, and phenomena. Social representations are the processes of collective meaning uniting groups and they arise through social interaction and communication between them (Höijer, 2011).

According to Castro & Batel (2008), communication is constitutive of representations and it develops at three levels: societal (media communication, incorporated in institutions and cultural practices), contextual (where co-present individuals discuss and enact divergent - or convergent - views) (Howarth, 2006) and at the individual level (communication present in internal debate). The co-construction of social representations in the relation between ego-alter-object (Moscovici, 1972) through written, verbal, corporeal or visual communication - as it happens with graffiti and urban art - happens then and is reflected and expressed at those different levels - societal, contextual and individual - and it is also through these processes that individuals, groups and societies promote social change and/or resist it.

An analysis of individuals’ and groups’ representations of certain social issues and objects implies then to examine the meanings they attribute to those, through which communicative devices they express them, and with what functions. It is relevant then to analyse the content, format, and function of (visual) discourse and communication (Batel & Castro, 2018).

The theory of social representations proposes two basic communicative processes or mechanisms that bring forth social representations: anchoring and objectification (Höijer, 2010). Anchoring and objectification are products of discursive interaction and communication, reflecting the broader ideological and social functions of representation (image/signification) (Byford, 2002).

Anchoring aims to transform strange ideas into ordinary, familiar images, to set them in a familiar context; it makes the unknown known by bringing it into a well-known sphere of earlier social representations so that we may compare and interpret it. Anchoring means classifying and naming something (Hakoköngäs, 2016). Objectification makes the unknown known by transforming it into something concrete that we can perceive and experience with our senses, it is the materialization of abstract ideas by representing them as concrete phenomena existing in the physical world (Höijer, 2010). Objectification may take the form of a symbol, a metaphor, a figure or a graffiti and urban art piece, as visual images can work as tools of objectifying (Hakoköngäs & Sakki, 2016)

Besides, according to Höijer (2010) we can talk about emotional anchoring and objectification, and they refer to communicative processes by which a new phenomenon is attached to well-known positive or negative emotions such as happiness and fear. These mechanisms can be embedded in language, photos, graffiti and urban art.

When we are constructing meanings about something new (e.g. touristification), we tend to use these two mechanisms to make sense of the changes, we anchor new objects in past representations or familiar experiences and then we objectify them, making sense of the new objects through given images.

By sharing, contesting and negotiating different representations about a given object, different groups - such as dwellers, gentrifiers, artists, graffitiers, and urban developers - can also propose and try to negotiate different attitudes and, sometimes, contradictory ideas (Moscovici, 2015), trying to define what the city is, how it is practised, who belongs to it and who doesn't and who has the right to it.

The empirical analysis of graffiti and street art in this project departed then from the epistemological assumption that the visual images, symbols, metaphors and discourses constructed by and contained in graffiti and street art as a social, political and artistic practice are part and parcel of social representations - or the social re-presenting - of the issues and objects they engage with.

Chapter III

Main Goals and Research Questions

Before moving on to Chapter IV (Methodology) it is pertinent to give a brief summary of the context and the theoretical framework, which are the pillars of the current dissertation and shape the methodology used and the analysis of the data that will be presented next.

As we have seen, the Troika's Plan, signed by the Portuguese State, the International Monetary Fund, the European Commission and the European Central Bank, resulted in legislative initiatives to appeal to transnational real estate investment and new wealthy residents to come to Portugal. Structural reforms such as NRAU (*Novo Regime de Arrendamento Urbano* - New Urban Rental Regime), Golden Visa Program and the Tax Regime for Non-Habitual Residents, came to light.

As a result, Lisbon experienced a tourism growth in the last decade and low-cost flights; short-term rental websites such as Airbnb; the turn to tourism focused on urban authenticity and local experience; the lack of hotels in the city centre and an investment on propaganda selling Lisbon as a cosmopolitan city with rich heritage as a strategy to address the economic crisis, were all specific factors that contributed to the development of the touristification of the city.

Touristification, a process where central urban areas are transformed into consumption places and tourism sites, results in traditional economic activities and uses being replaced by activities and uses related to tourism, in people becoming financially dependent on the tourism sector and people getting (in)directly displaced from their houses and neighbourhoods.

This context created physical and psychological displacement to happen to many residents in Lisbon's historic central neighbourhoods. According to the literature (see Atkinson, 2015; Atkinson et al., 2011; Bailey et al., 2016; Buchenker, 2009; Parra & Jover, 2020; Díaz-Parra & Jover, 2021; Fried, 2000; Fullilove, 1996; Fussel & Lowe, 2014; Mazumdar, 1992; Seeman, 1959), touristification often promotes an inability to develop a sense of belonging towards one's community resulting in limited freedom for social interaction, and feelings of powerlessness and meaninglessness, grief, mourning, injustice, anger, resentment, sense of loss, loss of one's identity, one's self and sense of self, exclusion, frustration, nostalgia, and alienation as people feel like they lost the right to access the city and to build it. Their place attachment (i.e. emotional bond with a specific place through institutional ties, involvement, social contacts) and their place

identity (i.e. collective construction, produced and modified through discourse and communication, that allows people to make sense of their locatedness) are threatened and affected.

As such, these psychosocial consequences contribute to the political subjugation of city residents, making them often feel apathetic and powerless in the face of these changes, disempowering them from participating in the city and fighting actively for the right to the city. However, there are some forms of expression and communication that have not been much explored by Social and Political Psychology as forms of political participation, like graffiti and urban art, but that should be considered as they are inherently about reclaiming the public space and contesting the power dynamics that shape who has the right to the city (Tróí & Batel, 2020). Therefore, in this current work we understand graffiti and urban art as political resistance tools, and citizenship practices, used to inform, to resist, to contest and to manifest counter hegemonic ideas, and the mural as a public space, constituted as a scenery of political struggles. As such, these practices are relevant to analyse in their relation to touristification and to explore associated psychosocial processes. Graffiti and urban art are expressive resistance tactics that challenge power relations and have the potential to foster political consciousness, while invading urban spaces and overwriting official speech and symbols, and work as potent creative forms of recovering space, building counter publics and challenging structures of exclusion and oppression.

By graffiti we refer to a pre-formal typology, made with spray paint and marker pens on walls, doors, etc., which is unofficial and illegal. Urban art, a formal typology, arises in the late 1990's with the intersection of graffiti with the art market and makes use of different techniques such as collage, stencilling, posters, stickers, throw-ups, paste-ups, airbrushing and installations.

Consequently, the present dissertation aims to analyse graffiti and urban art as socio-political practices to contest and/or to promote touristification and as communicative mediums to better understand the psychosocial processes and impacts associated with touristification. To achieve that, this thesis and research was designed and developed to answer three research questions: (1) In which ways do graffiti and urban art influence and are influenced by the process of touristification in Lisbon? Are they used to promote and/or to resist that process? (2) How are psychosocial processes of people-place relations affected by touristification represented through graffiti and urban art? and (3) How are graffiti and urban art used for the politicization of place identities?

To answer these questions, we interpreted graffiti and urban art as social representations, re-presenting social issues through visual images, symbols, and metaphors, and immersed ourselves in an ethnographic process aimed at the collection of data which consisted of photographs of graffiti and urban art pieces in touristified neighbourhoods of Lisbon.

As we will see on the Chapter IV (Methodology), these images represented means of communicating social representations and we analysed them by performing a Visual Rhetoric Analysis that consisted in a Thematic Analysis and a Pragmatic Discourse Analysis for each photograph collected.

In Chapter V (Analyses and Results) we will present pragmatic examples of data collected and the results of the Thematic Analysis and the Pragmatic Discourse Analysis, but for further knowledge of the data, the rest of the data, the ethnographic table of the dataset in full and a table of the Thematic Analysis and the Pragmatic Discourse Analysis for each photograph is available on the Appendix.

Finally, in Chapter VI (Conclusion and Discussion) we will answer the research questions, having the theoretical literature and the results of the study in mind, allowing for a discussion of the state of the art in this area of study as well as pointing out limitations, future directions and discussing applied implications of the results.

Chapter IV

Methodology

4.1 Data and procedure: Ethnography and Visual Rhetorical Analysis

4.1.1 Ethnographic Wandering

Conducting ethnography puts researchers in the midst of cultural practices in an effort to understand the meanings and experiences and moral significance of those cultural activities to the participants themselves (Weisner, 1996).

Although ethnography is not inherently new to Psychology it would be inaccurate to say this school of methods is commonly used by Psychology and even Social Psychology researchers (Bartholomew & Brown, 2019).

Ethnography is a process of understanding a phenomenon among those who experience it, requiring field observation and engagement on the part of the researcher and also requires a deep understanding of the concepts under study while recognizing their meaning must be gleaned with researchers' attention to contextual factors that emerge while conducting it (Bartholomew & Brown, 2019).

Its characteristic methodology consists of detailed descriptions of observable behaviours such as practices (e.g. making graffiti or urban art) performed by those we study, instead of asking them to describe themselves or say what they think (Marcén et al., 2013).

Ethnography is deeply contextual, enabling an in-depth understanding of communities and it has strong potential to provide a highly nuanced and contextualized description of a phenomenon that illuminates the interweaving of context, culture, and diversity. Its goal is to weave together the layers of context to provide an in-depth understanding of how context and culture shape the phenomenon of interest therefore it can be a powerful tool in service of Psychology goals such as promoting and studying social change (Marcén et al., 2013).

According to Sanjek (2003) quoted by Suzuki et al. (2005), there are two mechanisms for establishing the validity of ethnography: (a) theoretical candor - that is, exploring how well the researcher addresses the theories that influenced the fieldwork process and (b) explicit depiction of the fieldwork path.

To perform the ethnography for the present research, the first step was to wander methodically (Trói & Batel, 2020) through the city centre in the busier most touristic and gentrified areas - Castelo, Alfama, Mouraria, Bairro Alto and Madragoa (Figure 1 – page 27 - and Figure 2 – page 28) (Francisco, 2018) - which allowed the author to find graffiti and urban art pieces related to the process of touristification and the housing crisis in Portugal.

This specific category of urban ethnography that consists in methodically wandering in the neighbourhoods is described by Trói & Batel (2020) as being inspired on the Paola Jacques (2012) book *Elogio aos Errantes*, which assumes the act of wandering as an important element to experience the city and to research the urban space, by informally merging people, objects and informations.

According to Pierce and Lawhon (2015) the acknowledged perceptions acquired from walking through the neighbourhoods strengthen local literacy, but it is very important to report how the wandering was conducted. Wandering practices can be used as ways to reflect on experiences of places aiming to reflect on social environments and how people make sense of them, and this constitutes an opportunity for new approaches in Psychology (Bridger, 2010). As Francesco Careri, an architect who wanders through the interstices of Rome since 1990, finds, walking is important to rename and to transform the world (Ferreira, 2020).

We then followed a systematic approach to the wandering in which we wandered through specific streets and squares that made up a combination of more used areas, especially by tourists, in each one of the neighbourhoods; but also more hidden streets and areas, as these are often where illegal graffiti are made, in each one of the neighbourhoods. Before going to the neighbourhoods, their maps were studied and the route to take was prepared, considering all streets and squares.

We wandered through those exact same routes more than once in the time period of 2018-19 and collected any new data as relevant.

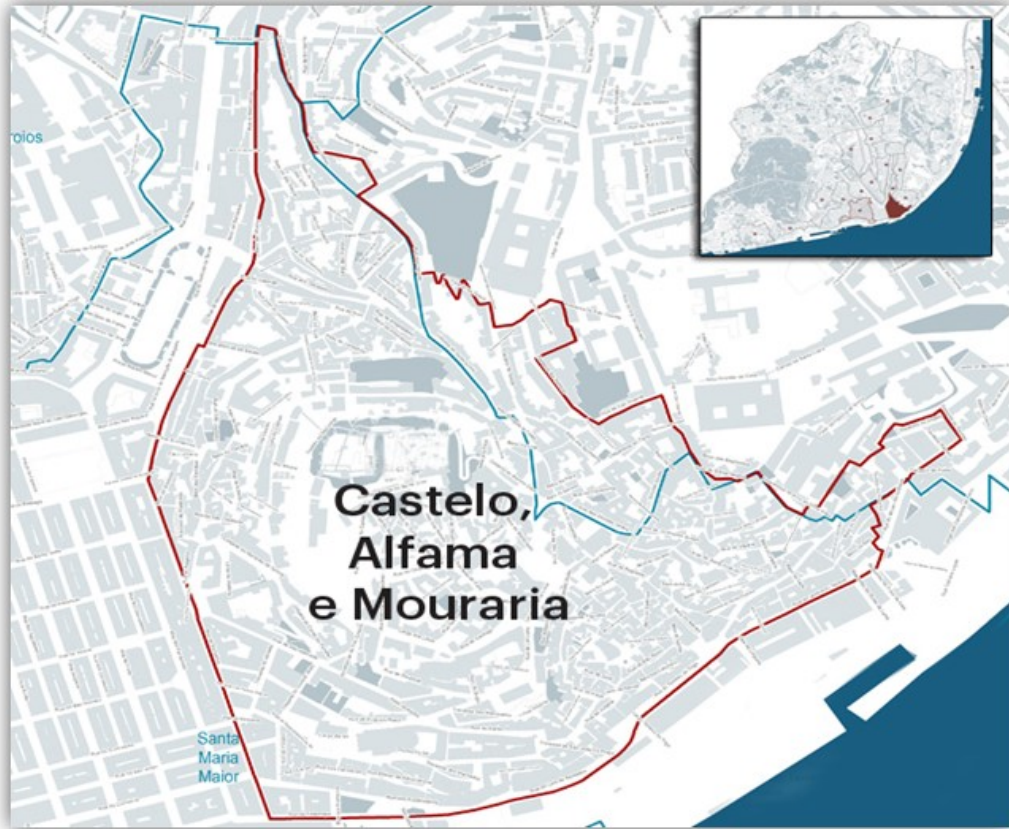


Figure 1 - Castelo, Alfama and Mouraria's neighbourhoods (Francisco, 2018)

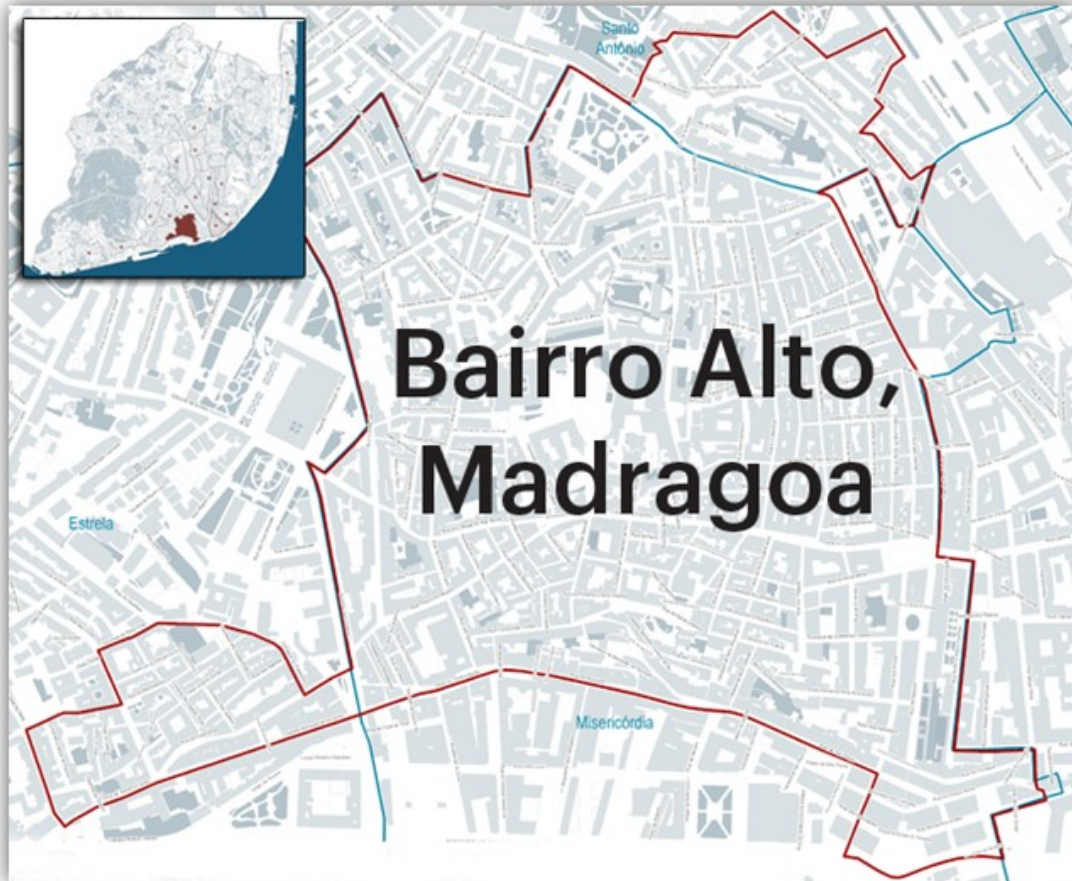


Figure 2 - Bairro Alto and Madragoa's neighbourhoods (Francisco, 2018)

While wandering, images of graffiti and urban art that seemed to relate somehow with touristification and associated impacts, antecedents and phenomena (e.g., economic crisis, housing crisis, capitalism, gentrification, place changes, etc.) were collected using an iPad, which allowed to automatically record the geographic coordinates, time and date when each photo was taken. The final set of data consisted of 19 photographs collected between the years of 2018 and 2019.

Additional notes and observations were later made (which were useful for generating codes for the Thematic Analysis) on an ethnographic table (see the Appendix). A name for each photograph was given with a code for each neighbourhood and the date it was taken, for example, the first photograph of graffiti in Alfama's neighbourhood had the name "ALF27112018" which means it was taken on 27th of November 2018. Then, three main questions were divided into categories on the table: first, *who?*, where author(s) and sponsor(s) were identified if possible; second, *where?*, divided in spatial context (e.g. wall of the Lisbon's Military Museum), address, area/neighbourhood, geographical coordinates and visibility (high, medium or low); and the third and last

question was *Graffiti/Urban Art?*, where the author noted if it was formal or informal, if it was verbal (i.e. if it was written text), political (i.e. if it directly contests politics or political entities), artistic (i.e. if it consisted of images or the image was the main medium) or an installation (i.e. if it consisted on an installation such as a doll placed on the street) and finally, there was an area to write down characteristics and observations. All these details can have significance (Awad, 2020), and all the above factors need to be considered along with the subject matter itself and, as mentioned before, helped us to then define the main themes and sub-themes identified through the Thematic Analysis.

Regarding the distinction between formal or informal graffiti/street art, one example of informal graffiti/street art would be the Image 6, shown in page 42. This installation was created by dwellers to contest touristification. It was created by Christmas time and consists of a Santa Claus doll with written wishes around him, placed on the touristified Mouraria. The wishes were “accessible rents and more housing for our neighbourhoods”, “we want a fair government”, “we don’t want to leave our neighbourhoods”, “we wish that all parties speak about the urban lease law”, “we don’t want more local rents in Mouraria”, “we want the traditional commerce back to our neighbourhood” and “we want Dr. Manuel Salgado (Urbanistic and Urban Regeneration City Councillor) and Dr. Medina (Lisbon’s Mayor) to fulfill our biggest wish”. An example of formal graffiti/urban art would be Image 11 in page 47. This is formal because it has been commended by the City Council. The piece displays a set of tiles with pictures taken since 2010 showing the daily life of Portuguese inhabitants who once lived in the neighbourhood (also Mouraria), and it gives the impression and the idea that the neighbourhood is not touristified and it is still a characteristic, authentic and “real thing” place. As such, it appears to ignore that touristification is taking place in Mouraria and seems to even promote it.

4.1.2 Visual Rhetorical Analysis

Rhetorical and discursive approaches to data analysis, commonly used to research and examine social representations (Batel & Castro, 2018) are normally associated with the analysis of lexical texts rather than visual ones, but rhetoric and argumentation are spread throughout social life and while trying to make sense of what writers of graffiti and urban artists are doing with their work, a visual rhetorical approach informed our data analysis (Lynn & Lea, 2005). Images are means of communicating social representations and they

have an impact on the formation of representations of citizenship and the right to the city (Martikainen, 2019) and serve as a contestation medium.

In this research the author proceeded to a Visual Rhetoric Analysis using content and semiotic (study of signs that circulate through visual images such as graffiti and urban art) analysis, where the way in which meanings are produced, conveyed and interpreted were central. Focusing on both the structure of images and their functions in terms of constructing social views, Visual Rhetoric Analysis provides a tool for critically discussing the social function of the visual image (Martikainen, 2019).

Visual methodologies are a useful way of accessing meaning in psychological research since individuals do not only speak but experience and view their world in material space (Reavey and Johnson, 2008). Furthermore, we get a sense of place and emotionally relate to spaces through images (Awad, 2020).

More specifically, and to be able to follow a more systematic and guided approach to the Visual Rhetorical Analysis of the collected data of graffiti and urban art, we have adapted to this context the two-step approach as proposed by Batel and Castro (2018) for analysing social re-presentations: first, a Thematic Analysis and then a Pragmatic Discourse Analysis.

Thematic Analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and interpreting patterns of meaning (themes) in qualitative data (Clarke & Braun, 2014; Terry et al., 2017), allowing the researcher to make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

By conducting the Thematic Analysis in this research, systematic procedures were provided for the generation of codes (i.e. smallest unit of analysis that capture interesting features of the data potentially relevant to the research questions) and themes (i.e. larger patterns of meaning of a shared core idea) from the qualitative data, germinating a framework for organising and reporting the researcher's analytic observations (Clarke & Braun, 2014; Joffe, 2012).

The aim of the Thematic Analysis is to summarize the data content and to identify and interpret key features of the data guided by the research questions (Clarke & Braun, 2014). The end result should focus on the most prominent meanings present in the dataset (Joffe, 2012).

First, we approached the data deductively, by moving from the theory to identify themes, and then we set off to an inductive approach that permitted the author to be open to new concepts that emerged from the collected dataset (Joffe, 2012).

Secondly, the researcher made the analytic choice of whether to focus semantically (i.e. codes capturing explicit meaning) or latently (i.e. codes capturing implicit meanings that are not explicitly stated) (Terry et al., 2017). Again, both ways of analysing were used. There were graffiti and urban art pieces very explicit but there were also images that needed a deeper level of analysis.

After collecting and getting familiarized with the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012), codes were generated which allowed the researcher to get deeply immersed in the data. As previously said, some were semantic, mirroring the artist's language whereas others were latent, reflecting an interpretation about the data.

Then, the author proceeded to the development of themes by merging codes together into bigger patterns, having the research questions acting as guides for this and reflecting if the themes told a coherent and relevant story about the data (Terry et al., 2017; Braun & Clarke, 2012).

With a table with candidate themes developed it was time for reviewing and defining themes, to ensure that the created themes worked well in relation to the coded data (Terry et al., 2017; Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The final review consideration was whether the story told through the themes answered in detail the research questions. The selected themes should be informative of the researcher's interpretation of the data, making it possible for the readers to understand what about an extract/image is interesting and why (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Finally, the researcher got to produce the report of the analysis and a thematic map (Figure 3, page 34), aiming to provide a compelling story about the data based on her analysis. A thematic map is a visual or sometimes text-based tool to map out the facets of the analysis and to identify main themes, subthemes and interconnections between themes and subthemes. (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

The second stage of the analysis was to perform a more in-depth, Pragmatic Discourse Analysis, to the data, which allowed us not only to identify more explicit and latent contents as through the Thematic Analysis, but also to analyse the data with a view to identify its rhetorical and political functions (what is it trying to do?) and associated socio-psychological processes and outcomes (Billig, 1995; Di Masso, Dixon & Pol, 2011), such as different-level place identities, discrimination, promoting social change, among others (see Batel & Castro, 2018). This Pragmatic Discourse Analysis was carefully performed for each one of the graffiti/urban art pieces and helped to make sense of the results of the Thematic Analysis.

Chapter V

Results

5.1. General characterization and observations about the data set

19 graffiti and urban art pieces were photographed related to gentrification/touristification. Many other graffiti and urban art pieces were found during the wander ethnographic data collection process, as described above, but these 19 graffiti/street art pieces were the only ones that matched one of the ‘search words’ that fitted the goal of the research: touristification and/or potential associated impacts, factors and antecedents, such as tourists, tourism, capitalism, economic crisis, etc.

Due to the small sample of graffiti and urban art pieces, an internet research was also conducted, on the official website (<http://gau.cm-lisboa.pt/muro.html>) of *Galeria de Arte Urbana* (GAU) (a specialized team from the Cultural Heritage Department of Lisbon’s City Hall who deals with urban art and has an online gallery of graffiti and urban art in Lisbon), aiming to find more pieces related with touristification. From this additional research, no additional pieces were found.

From the collected data (n=19), 2 are images, 12 are written messages and 5 are a mixture of images and written text.

Regarding the neighbourhoods, 3 images were collected in Alfama, 5 in Graça, 8 in Mouraria, 2 in Madragoa and 1 in Castelo. All of the 19 graffiti/street art pieces were placed in areas of high visibility for those who lived in the touristified neighbourhoods and for those who were visiting the city, being placed in highly touristic areas.

17 are informal/illegal graffiti and urban art pieces and 2 are formal/legal (1 commended by the Santa Maria Mayor Parish Council and 1 is placed on an institutional space for urban art).

From the 17 illegal pieces, 10 have tourism/touristification as a central and explicit theme. From the 2 legal pieces, 1 has tourism/touristification as a central/explicit theme.

Other pieces relate with antecedents, impacts and actors that, based on the description of the context of touristification in Lisbon and elsewhere and based on the literature review, we also considered to be related with touristification and, as such, to be part of the considered ‘search words’ in the data collection process, as further described below.

5.2. Results of the Thematic Analysis

In relation to the Thematic Analysis, ‘Touristification’ and the ‘Housing Crisis in Portugal’ were the two main themes identified and then a set of sub themes were identified as well (See Figure 3).

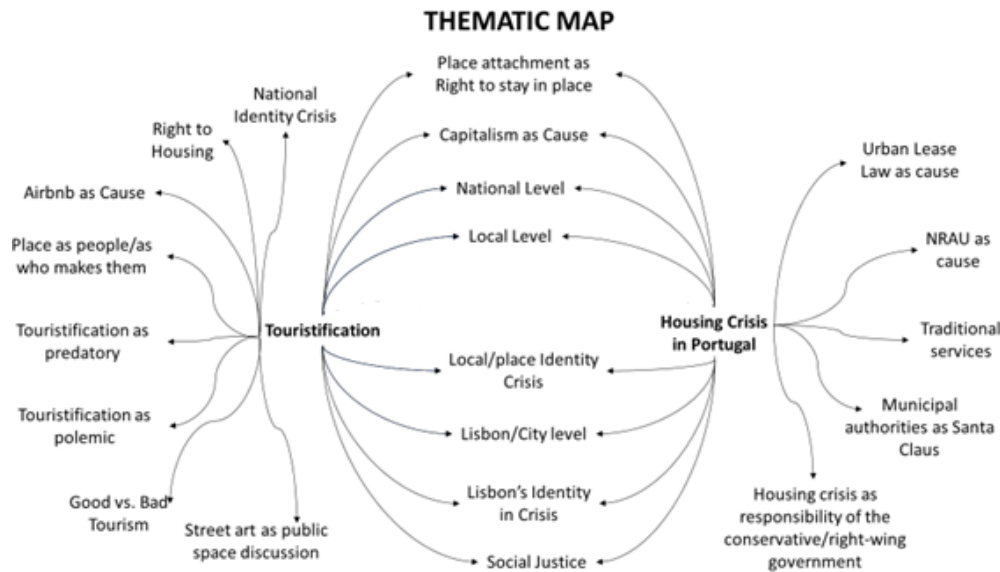


Figure 3 - Thematic Map

From those graffiti and urban art pieces with “touristification” as a central theme, we identified sub themes such as national identity crisis, right to housing, Airbnb as cause, place as people/as who makes them, touristification as predatory, touristification as polemic, “good” vs “bad” tourism, and street art as public space discussion.

From those graffiti and urban art pieces with the “housing crisis in Portugal” as a central theme, we identified subthemes such as Urban Lease Law as cause, NRAU as cause, traditional services also victim, municipal authorities as Santa Claus and housing crisis as responsibility of the conservative right-wing government.

Finally, there were common subthemes for touristification and the housing crisis in Portugal. They were place attachment as right to stay in place, capitalism as cause, national level, local level, local/place identity crisis, Lisbon/city level, Lisbon’s identity in crisis, and social justice.

“Touristification” and “housing crisis in Portugal” are clearly two social objects which are very much associated, as we can see with the subthemes that are similar and those similarities are precisely in the scale of the problem (local, city/Lisbon and national levels), associated attachments and symbolic meanings, who and which processes are responsible, social justice and rights. Those are the representations of the ‘housing crisis in Portugal’ and of ‘touristification’ as problematic.

However, although ‘touristification’ and ‘housing crisis in Portugal’ seem to be very associated in the discourses and representations presented in the analysed street art materials, some differences also seemed to emerge. Touristification seems to be framed as reflecting more a national identity crisis, given that a place is made by the people who are in there, and through Airbnb practices that became predatory of the housing system in Portugal, touristification has raised issues around the right to housing and to who has the right to live and belong in Portugal (see, for an example, Image 2, page 38).

These results can be interpreted from a Pragmatic Discourse Analysis’ perspective, and based on the literature, as being politically strategic by focusing not only on local arguments - often deemed as NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) and therefore as self-interested, irrational and ignorant (Batel & Devine-Wright, 2020; Burningham, 2000; McClymont & O’hare, 2008) - but also on city, national and even global dimensions of touristification and the housing crisis, which might be strategic and politically instrumental to include all of us in contesting these processes and highlighting that they affect us all. This use of more inclusive arguments and related places and identities may be instrumental to recruit other citizens to this idea that touristification is the cause of the housing crisis in Portugal (i.e. politicizing it) (see also Batel & Castro, 2015).

However, there was also one example of tourism and touristification as “bad” vs. “good” processes still being polemic and a social object still under discussion in the public sphere - a discussion taking place here through graffiti and street art (see Image 10, page 46).

In this regard, it is also relevant to note that the large majority of pieces collected as directly about or related to touristification were used to contest or highlight its negative impacts and dimensions, or in other words, productions that incorporated symbolism as rhetoric of resistance (Di Masso & Dixon, 2015). This might also reflect a methodological limitation of the empirical focus of this research, that by focusing on graffiti/urban art as a form of political participation in relation to touristification is already more biased towards protest and contestation - instead of support and celebration.

In turn, the theme 'housing crisis in Portugal' was also presented and discussed in relation to subthemes that located the housing crisis, its causes and also its contestation at a more political level with responsibilities shared between national and local governments - the urban lease law and NRAU, a responsibility of Assunção Cristas and the conservative/right-wing government led by Passos Coelho (2011-15). Municipal level authorities are also deemed responsible for the housing crisis and traditional services are also presented as victims of this crisis.

Also, the representations manifested on the graffiti and urban art pieces displayed on the touristified neighbourhoods seemed to differ between illegal pieces and one of the legal pieces. The majority of the illegal pieces represented the process of touristification happening in Lisbon as polemic and predatory, furthermore they questioned the right to housing, they manifested an identity crisis, questioned who has the right to stay in the neighbourhoods, contested the reforms made by the Passos Coelho government, and doubted about social justice, whereas one of the legal pieces, a commended one (see Image 11, page 47), presents a set of photographs of dwellers of the neighbourhood, which may result on the viewer perception of an unchanged and authentic neighbourhood, but if we read closely the description of the piece, we understand that those are old photographs supplied by the Municipal Archives of Lisbon and they no longer represent the neighbourhood dwellers.

5.3 Results of the Pragmatic Discourse Analysis

The results of the Thematic Analysis can be better understood through the results of the Pragmatic Discourse Analysis. The detailed analyses of each graffiti/urban art piece that came out of the Pragmatic Discourse Analysis can be consulted in the Appendix (pages 81-104).

Here, we will only focus on key examples, given that these can be said to be the most paradigmatic of the types of data that we collected and analysed (i.e. legal, illegal, graffiti, urban art, directly and indirectly related with touristification), as well as of key patterns and analytical insights that resulted from the Pragmatic Discourse Analysis. These key patterns and results were: local to global politicization of the problem; the identities of places represented as made of who lives in there or has the right to live in there; touristification as menacing place identities and attachments and raising associated social justice issues, including the right to place and to community (and not only to a

house); touristification mainly seen as a negative but still polemic (Batel & Castro, 2015), under discussion in the public sphere; and graffiti and street art as clear forms of political participation, allowing for other to engage with, contest and negotiate what is being represented and proposed and thus to co-construct collective, public urban futures.

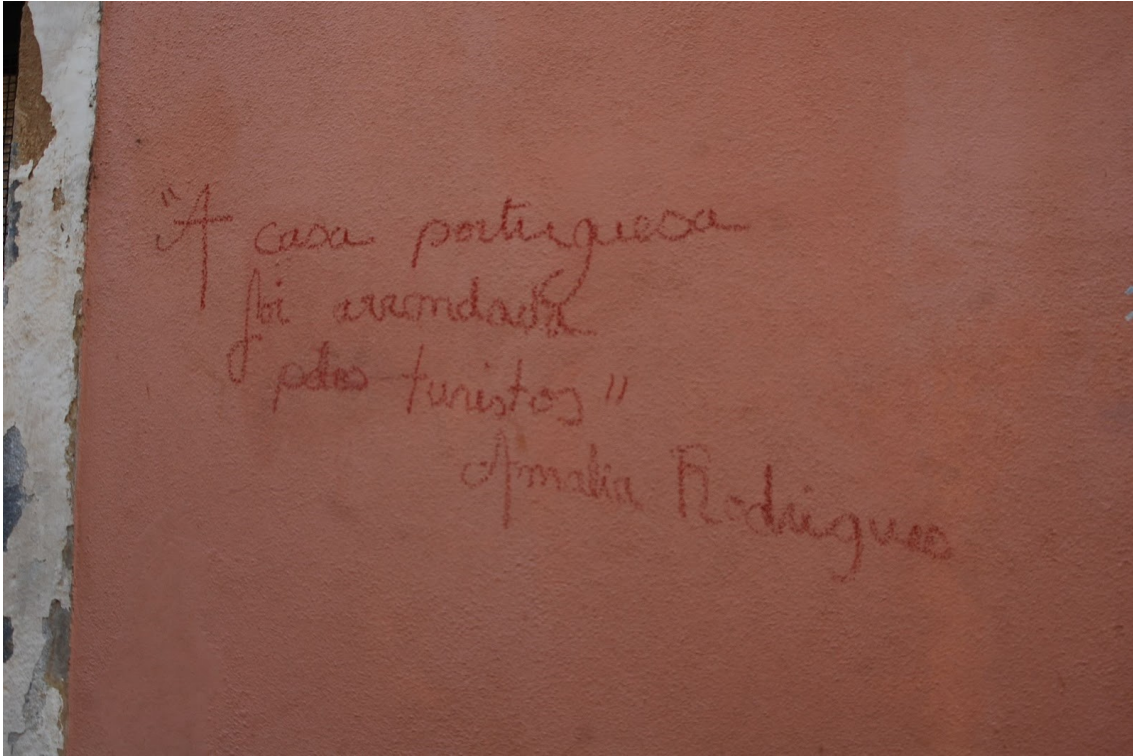


Image 1 (ALF27112018_1)

This first paradigmatic example of the analytical insights generated by the analysis points out touristification as the cause of the housing crisis in Portugal using the image of the “Portuguese house”, part of the Portuguese collective memory through Amália Rodrigues’ fado “A Portuguese House” (In a portuguese house bread and wine sits well, 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*). This reference, made explicit by making it seem that Amália Rodrigues herself sang “The Portuguese house was leased by/for tourists”, stresses how it is not only the functional part of the right to inhabit that is questioned but also the symbolic part, of what this means for the Portuguese national

identity, as if the country and the Portuguese identity had been leased to tourists. This graffiti clearly illustrates a move in the arguments from local to global, it focuses now on the defence of the heritage in general, in Lisbon and in Portugal, meaning this defence implies all of us, being instrumental to the idea that touristification is the cause of housing crisis in Portugal (i.e. politicizing it) (Batel & Castro, 2015).

Another relevant paradigmatic example that also reiterates many of the discursive tropes of the previous one and associated psychosocial impacts and processes is the one below (Image 2).

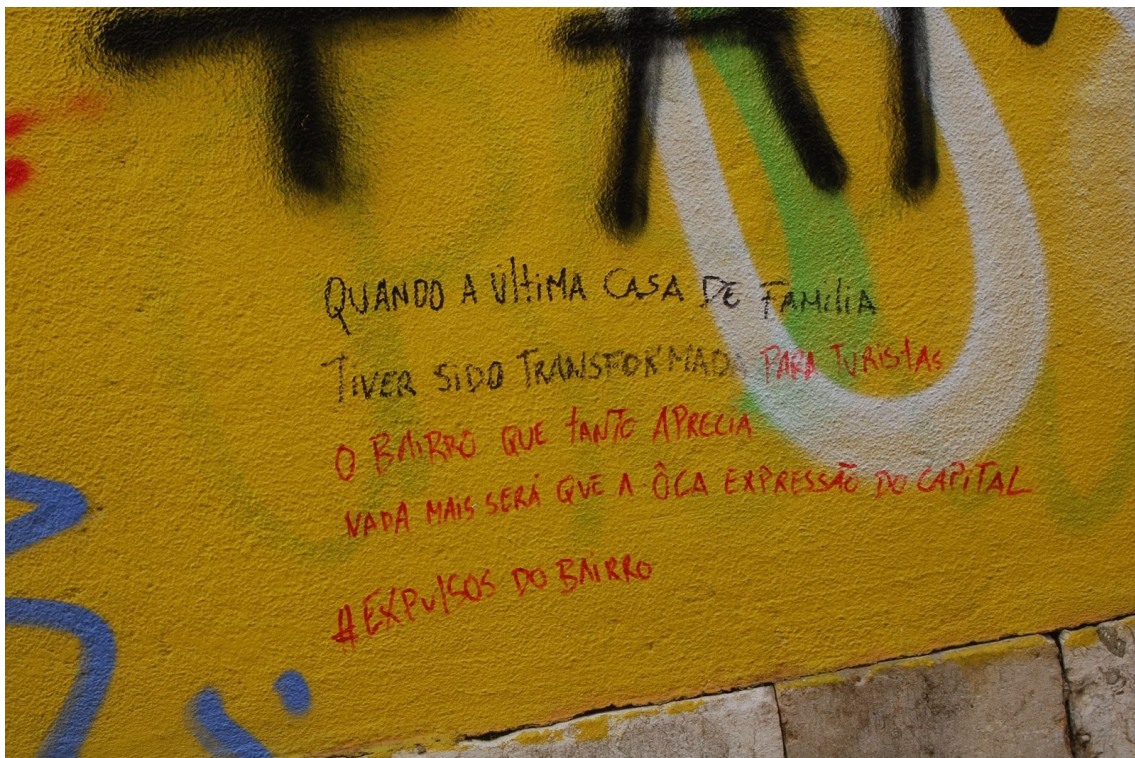


Image 2 (ALF27112018_3)

In this example you can read “When the last family house will be transformed for tourists, the neighbourhood that you appreciate so much will be nothing more than an empty expression of capital #expelledfromtheneighbourhood)”. It has the purpose to contest and to resist touristification and the capital forces. It refers to the family house to emphasize the fact that whole families are being expelled from their neighbourhoods for tourism, being unable to accomplish the Lisbon’s housing needs. Those neighbourhoods, while losing the providers of their “authenticity” (i.e. local families and dwellers) are being transformed into nothing else but empty (of life, of meaning and emotions) generators of money. The idea that the family houses are being commodified and

transformed for tourism means it is not only a social and symbolic transformation, but also a physical and architectural one. In the last few years, we have witnessed the transformation of apartments with several rooms into smaller apartments with single rooms directed to short term rentals (Gago, 2018).

Importantly, this example clearly politicises and links something that happens at the local level and affects individuals and their households and families, with structural issues and processes, happening at a global level, such as globalization and capitalism, thereby clearly highlighting the consequences of these otherwise quite abstract and invisible processes in people's everyday lives. Through making these connections evident and concrete, these discourses politicise touristification and the housing crisis by highlighting these not as something that is "natural" and happens, but as something that has specific causes and associates with certain values that should be addressed and overcome.

These discursive patterns and their association with symbolic, identity and emotional constructions and related subjectivities, are even clearer in the next example.



Image 3 (GRA27112018_1)

This illegal image created by transforming the Lisbon's city logo (a ship with two crows – see Image 4) into a ship with one crow and the other crow leaving with its

luggage, and the ship mast with a sign saying “4rent” (i.e. for rent), is a strong visual metaphor that represents Lisbon’s identity (the ship as Lisbon’s housing) and the crows as its residents who are being expelled, therefore clearly highlighting how identities, senses of belonging and attachment are emplaced, and are now being menaced by these new mobilities and associated changes (Di Masso et al., 2019). The “4rent” sign, written with a skull, refers to a pirate’s ship imaginary, emphasizing that tourism (in the shape of Airbnb’s) is invading, robbing, and pillaging Lisbon.



Image 4 (Lisbon’s logo)

Moreover, the act of re-presenting previous images into new productions and new meanings highlights the dialogicality and co-construction of meanings about these new, contested, social objects, and how the public space is, by excellence, one of the key communication arenas to do that, to negotiate and re-present anew the meaning of housing, place and related rights, justice and belongingness. The images accumulate different meanings in their social life as they show up, disappear, are altered, or added to, opening the possibility for different voices and dialogues in the public space (Awad, 2020).

There was also a key example illustrative of some of these patterns and key analytical insights that was a legal, formal piece, supported by GAU (*Galeria de Arte Urbana* of the Lisbon Town Hall).



Image 5 (MAD26012019_9)

In this example, located in Elevador da Glória, the dogs represent the touristification forces who are eating the identity of Lisbon, represented, as traditionally and in many Lisbon tourism adverts, by Lisbon's old yellow trams, now being devoured/losing their colour (identity) and becoming black and white (i.e. dead). The choice of the two dogs as the predators seems to aim to highlight that what might seem as a docile being (the tourist) can become a predator.

Another key example, and a more locally focused one, came from an installation already mentioned in Chapter IV, created by Mouraria's dwellers.



Image 6 [MOU27112018_3(1)]

This installation created around Christmas time, of a Santa Claus doll with written wishes around him claiming: “we want a fair government”, “accessible rents and more habitation for our neighbourhoods”, “we don’t want to leave our neighbourhoods”, “we wish that all parties spoke about the urban lease law”, “we don’t want more local rents in Mouraria”, “we want the traditional commerce back to our neighbourhood” and “we want Dr. Manuel Salgado and Dr. Medina to fulfill our biggest wish”. This installation clearly contests touristification, directly and indirectly, by contesting and exposing several aspects and consequences related to it. The sentences serve to resist change and Santa Claus is symbolic as the one who makes wishes come true, here equated to Manuel Salgado (Urbanistic and Urban Regeneration City Councillor) and Medina (Lisbon’s Mayor). Place attachment, as allowing for citizenship rights, is here mobilised to accentuate the lack of rights associated with housing and being in place, in Mouraria/Lisbon particularly. This example clearly highlights how the right to housing and to place, which is here claimed, is not only represented as something functional and instrumental, but also affective and a matter of social justice. This is also clear in the example below, that clearly questions social justice.

Another key example highlighting the social injustices and human rights issues that come to the fore with touristification and the housing crisis, is presented below.

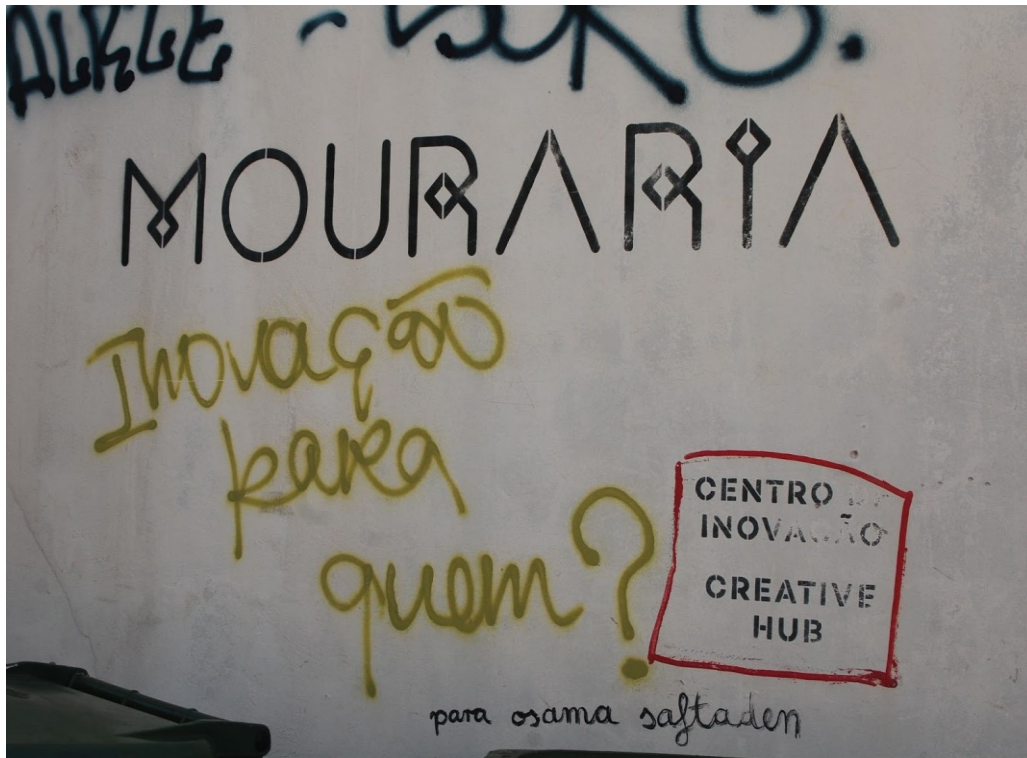


Image 7 [MOU27112018_1(1)]

In this example, written in yellow you can read “*Inovação para quem?* - Innovation for whom?”. The graffiti functions as a contestor of touristification. If families and the previous inhabitants are no longer living in the neighbourhoods, who is the innovation for? 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 the old and current residents of the neighbourhood. Place attachment is here indirectly mobilised to emphasize the injustices associated with the right to place and related citizenship in place only being thought by decision-makers for some (the new users) and not for others (the old inhabitants).

In fact, several examples of the collected data discussed more indirectly and abstractly touristification, by focusing on and bringing to the fore its more global causes and impacts, as illustrated below. As we can see, the example below does not refer specifically, and contrarily to the examples above, to housing and/or touristification, but does it indirectly by putting to the fore some of its key causes and responsible agents, as seen in the previous example: capitalism and the capital crisis.



Image 8 (GRA27112018_5(1))

The satirical and ironic sentence present in this graffiti serves to present the reforms made by the Economic and Financial Political Memorandum, also known as Troika Plan, as promoters of slavery. If you obey the Memorandum Plan, then you will work like a slave. It makes the connection then between previous forms of colonialism and how they might be seen as still happening nowadays within capitalist systems following neoliberal politics. The flowers, hearts, the unicorns, and rainbows seem to function to pronounce the irony and how the financial rescue plan is an illusion that comes from a fairy tale. The graffiti doesn't directly address the issue of touristification but as we have seen in the first chapter, the 2008-2009 economic crisis and the Troika Memorandum were the contexts/reasons leading to the economy's focus on tourism and associated housing crisis. This same type of pattern is followed in the example below, but here with a more national focus on the causes and agents of touristification and the housing crisis.



Image 9 (MOU27112018_5)

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 law for the rents (NRAU) that also came to be popularly known as the Cristas Law and 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 to peripheries. This paste-up with her image saying “Oops!” in relation to still another devolute and closed building in Mouraria, one of the most “historic and traditional” neighbourhoods of Lisbon and one of the most affected by that law, 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 that has so many buildings abandoned and closed. This is clear by the drawing in her jumper (even if this is not very visible in the photograph) of a man leaving a house, with his head down and the luggage on his hand, which represents the dwellers who are now forced to leave their houses.

As we can see so far, most of the collected data either clearly contested touristification and highlighting its negative psychosocial consequences and impacts,

and/or highlighted and brought into discussion in the public sphere some of the main global, national and local causes and agents of touristification and the housing crisis, therefore politicizing them. However, there were also a minority of data that either negotiated the negative vs. positive aspects of touristification, or somehow even promoted, as illustrated below.



Image 10 (CAS26012019_9)

This piece of data represents tourism and touristification as “bad” vs. “good” processes and as social objects still under discussion in the public sphere, in this case through graffiti. In a first instance, the sentence wrote in the wall affirmed that the existent tourism is enough (i.e., no more tourism should be promoted), therefore contesting touristification. But then, someone else seems to have added “not” to the sentence, and still someone else to have added “good”. This leaves us with someone affirming that there is “not enough tourism” (i.e. promoting touristification); but also with “not enough good tourism” which instead highlights that the tourism that is needed is a good one, which maybe is a tourism that doesn’t result in touristification. This again highlights clearly how graffiti and urban art can be used not only as an one-way monological (Jovchelovitch, 2019) form of political participation and re-presentation, but also to allow for and even promote the public discussion and negotiation of which futures should be collectively aimed for and constructed (Glăveanu, 2018).



Image 11 (MOU27112018_2)

Finally, in this example, the previously referred set of 25 tiles with photographs of the “indigenous” dwellers of Mouraria, there seems to be a promotion of touristification. This urban art piece commended by the Lisbon City Council placed in a wall of the Mouraria’s Creative Innovation Centre, is targeting newcomers who, by watching the photographs, should feel the “real essence” of the neighbourhood, even if the majority of the people portrayed in the pictures do not live in the area anymore due to the very process of touristification. The author is committed to keeping the collective memory in an environment of rapid transformation by bringing back the past to the present. This was the only piece in all dataset that allowed for the idea that the process of touristification is not taking place, trying to sell the impression of an unchanged social and cultural heritage of the neighbourhood, by saying that those are images of generations that (still) reunite in this corner for decades, when in fact those are old photographs provided by the Municipal Archives of Lisbon.

Chapter VI

Conclusion and Discussion

The act of expressing ideas and realities on public natural and built surfaces through sentences and/or images is not a new phenomenon - from prehistoric rock art, to the inscriptions of Graeco-Roman antiquity, to the trains inscribed in North America over the past decades (Ferrell, 2016), this act seems to be somehow natural to human behaviour for expressing fears, hopes and other emotions, relations and ideas on social objects and phenomena around them.

As we have seen in this thesis, this is the case with using graffiti and urban art to engage with, represent and contest current social issues, and namely, as explored in the present work, touristification in Lisbon. The psychosocial consequences of the process of touristification, such as psychological displacement, have the power to compromise people-place relations such as place attachment and place identity, leading to physical and psychological consequences, such as place alienation, powerlessness, meaninglessness, loss of social support and the loss of the right to live in the historic centre (Díaz-Parra & Jover, 2021; Harvey, 2003; 2008; Lefebvre, 1968; 1974; Seeman, 1959).

These psychosocial consequences may result in the political subjugation of city dwellers and a loss of well-being. However, some forms and actions in the city, for the right to the city, that have been more neglected by Environmental, Community and Political Psychology, such as graffiti and urban art, can act as political resistance instruments expressing social struggles and overwriting the official speech and symbols (Arriagada, 2012; Hanauer, 2004; Lima, 2018; Obeng, 2000; Palmer, 2017; Waldner & Dobratz, 2013). Images have the power to trigger a prompt appeal to human emotions by embodying affective symbols that engage the perceiver and allow for a possible self-transformation, positioning individuals in response to social issues (Awad, 2020).

As such, by interpreting graffiti and urban art as social representations (Batel & Castro, 2018; Howarth, 2006; Moscovici, 1972), this dissertation aimed to understand what was the role of these practices on the process of touristification happening in Lisbon: if they influence and are influenced by the process, if they are used to promote and/or to resist touristification, if and how are they used for the politicization of place identities and if and how they express psychosocial impacts such as on place attachments and social ties.

To answer these questions an ethnography that consisted in methodically wandering (Tróí & Batel, 2020) in the most touristified neighbourhoods of the city (Francisco, 2018) was conducted in order to collect photographs of graffiti and urban art that directly or diffusely addressed the issue of touristification. This resulted in 19 photographs being collected that were later individually analysed through a Visual Rhetoric Analysis that consisted in, first, performing a Thematic Analysis and, secondly, a Pragmatic Discourse Analysis.

11 of the pieces (10 illegal and 1 legal) collected had tourism or touristification as a central and explicit theme whereas the others related with antecedents, impacts and actors that, based on the description of the context of touristification in Lisbon and elsewhere and on the literature review, were considered as “search words”, since they have been shown to relate with or able to have an impact on the process of touristification and associated issues, and/or on how it is represented.

Through the Thematic Analysis, a thematic map was created based on the analysis of the data and two main themes were identified: “touristification” and the “housing crisis in Portugal”. Subthemes such as national identity crisis, right to housing, Airbnb as cause, place as people/as who makes them, touristification as predatory, as polemic, “good” vs “bad” tourism and street art as public space discussion, were the subthemes that emerged from those graffiti and urban art pieces related to “touristification”; while Urban Lease Law as cause, NRAU as cause, traditional services as victims, municipal authorities as Santa Claus and the housing crisis as responsibility of the conservative right-wing government were the subthemes that were identified as related to the “housing crisis in Portugal”.

Although both themes were clearly overlapping in many of the ways they were represented, specifically in the scale of the problem (local, city/Lisbon and national levels), associated attachments and symbolic meanings, who and which processes are responsible, and social justice and rights, some differences were also identified. “Touristification” seems to be more framed as reflecting a national identity crisis and more clearly raising the issue of who has the right to live and belong in Portugal; whereas the “housing crisis in Portugal” located the housing crisis, its causes and its contestation at a more political level with responsibilities shared between national and local governments – the aforementioned Urban Lease Law, NRAU, responsibility of Assunção Cristas and the conservative right-wing government led by Passos Coelho (2011-15),

municipal authorities as responsible and traditional services as also suffering from this crisis.

Nevertheless, the majority of the data collected across both themes served to (in)directly contest the process of touristification (n=18), while only one piece of data (a legal/formal one) allowed for the idea that the process of touristification is not taking place by trying to sell the impression of an unchanged social and cultural heritage of the neighbourhood of Mouraria, highlighting the impression of an authentic place and granting the experience of the “real thing” for visitors. In another piece of data, touristification was openly and publicly discussed, with positive and negative meanings being negotiated.

Therefore, we may conclude that graffiti and urban art have a role in the process of touristification happening in Lisbon, especially by contesting the process through sentences and images on public spaces. They are used to resist touristification and to politicize place identities while addressing newcomers, citizens, the government, and municipal authorities alike, and at different scales, local to global.

Answering to the second research question: “how are psychosocial processes of people-place relations affected by touristification?”, while analysing the data we witnessed graffitiers and artists outbursts their feelings of being powerless in sentences such as “And us, how do we live?”, “The Portuguese house was rented for foreigners” or “There are only stories. And where are the people?”. This raises questions of identity and of who belongs to the place. The identity of Lisbon and of Portugal as a whole is discussed by defending and questioning who has the right to the place. The right to place attachment is challenged and consequently these outbursts reflect their loss of the right to the city and the place alienation felt by those who get physically and/or psychologically displaced from their homes, neighbourhoods, and communities.

Furthermore, the functional needs of dwellers such as the access to traditional commerce were also displayed (for example through the installation of the Santa Claus doll, but also by questioning for whom is the newly proposed Mouraria Creative Hub) as not being satisfied, which jeopardize their place dependence and overall place attachment. The dramatic changes on their neighbourhoods, that make them use the public space to express their negative views on touristification, result on a displacement pressure that, as we previously said, has psychological consequences such as feelings of injustice, anger, resentment, anxiety, exclusion and a sense of being lost.

Hereupon, graffiti and urban art are used for the politicization of place identities, they are a form of direct and collective action and of political participation, reclaiming the right to the city. Through the graffiti placed on public spaces, graffitiers and artists make use of an unusual form of being political to get visible in their pleas. Furthermore, they often strategically represented touristification and the housing crisis in Portugal as issues related with the city and national identity and with global processes, such as capitalism, that affect us all, which can be seen as a form of further politicising these issues and raising more awareness and attracting more people to contest these processes (Batel & Castro, 2015), by highlighting their links and consequences to people's everyday lives, such as their right to housing and to a community.

The present work is therefore innovative and relevant not only because it analyses a type of discourse and communication - graffiti and urban art - that has been more neglected within Political, Environmental, Community and Intercultural Psychology, but also because it has shown how such practices should be conceived as a form of citizenship and political participation with socio-psychological significance and the capacity to propose, discuss and reclaim the right to the city, to housing and to place, and address associated social justice issues. This work has shown examples of how people have creatively found ways to reclaim the space in the city by having a voice and trying to be listened to, through not only written words and sentences and impressive drawings and images in walls, but also through very imaginative and politically charged installations.

In fact, another key finding and insight of the present thesis and analyses 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/imagetically constructed as a web of emotional attachments and the right to belong. In so being, the analysed images and associated discourses also clearly highlighted the implications of touristification to reproduce and even exacerbate social injustice issues in Portugal, and through that, promoted the politicization of place identities, both by clearly identifying the responsible for touristification/the housing crisis in Portugal (the conservative right-wing government of Passos Coelho, municipal authorities, Troika and capitalism) and touristification as a political (not neutral) process; and by focusing more on touristification and the housing crisis in Portugal as national and city problems, affecting identities at those levels, instead of focusing only on their local consequences and impacts, in a specific neighbourhood.

As such, the present work also contributes to literature on Social Psychology and people-place relations in general by showing how place identities and attachments are discursively constructed (Di Masso et al., 2011), negotiated 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 - or the right to belong. Importantly, this right to belong never seemed to be claimed in association with exclusionary and discriminatory practices to other ethnic-racial groups or with nationalistic ideas, therefore following more the ethos of a positive parochialism (Devine-Wright, Smith & Batel, 2019).

However, the present work also presents some limitations. First, it would have been relevant to register all the pieces of graffiti and street art found in the defined routes, so that we could have a more accurate idea of the proportion of pieces related directly or indirectly to touristification as compared with others that are related with other themes and social issues.

Another limitation was to focus only on touristified neighbourhoods, especially because in Lisbon, since 2016, the *Galeria de Arte Urbana* (GAU), organizes an urban art festival called MURO, aiming to change building gables of neighbourhoods where tourism is unusual. This festival and the resulting pieces allow visitors to explore unusual areas of the city, therefore promoting tourism interested in these kinds of practices - examples are in Padre Cruz neighbourhood, in Carnide, or in Marvila. It would have been interesting to explore if and how pieces done in these contexts relate with touristification and related issues.

Also, it would have been interesting and added value to this research if we had been able to conduct some interviews either with the graffiti/urban art makers (which would be difficult due to the anonymous characteristic of such practices) and/or with the viewers, for instance tourists or neighbourhood dwellers (but which became difficult to conduct, due to the COVID-19 Pandemic).

Finally, another limitation of this dissertation is the fact that the data was collected in the end of 2018 and the beginning of 2019. Although the collected data was representative of what we aimed to study, it would be interesting to collect more recent data and to see if there were differences on the amount of graffiti and urban art related to touristification after the COVID-19 Pandemic.

To conclude, it is important to understand graffiti and urban art as means of social re-presentations on touristification and the housing crisis in Portugal. The impacts of such processes are so profound that anonymous people are using the public space and graffiti and urban art to manifest their right to live in the city centre, their place identities, and their politicization, by highlighting how touristification creates social injustices and place alienation, that reduce people's well being and existence as political subjects.

As such, future studies in Social Psychology and other associated fields should build more upon the potentialities of graffiti and urban art as data, not only to examine existent social representations on key social issues and problems, but also to give voice to their politicization and related social justice issues.

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Appendix

Data: Images of graffiti and urban art (that were not described previously on the text):



Image 12 (ALF27112018_2)



Image 13 (GRA27112018_3)



Image 14 (27112018_4)



Image 15 [GRA27112018_6(1)]



Image 16 [MOU27112018_4(1)]



Image 17 [MOU27112018_8(2)]

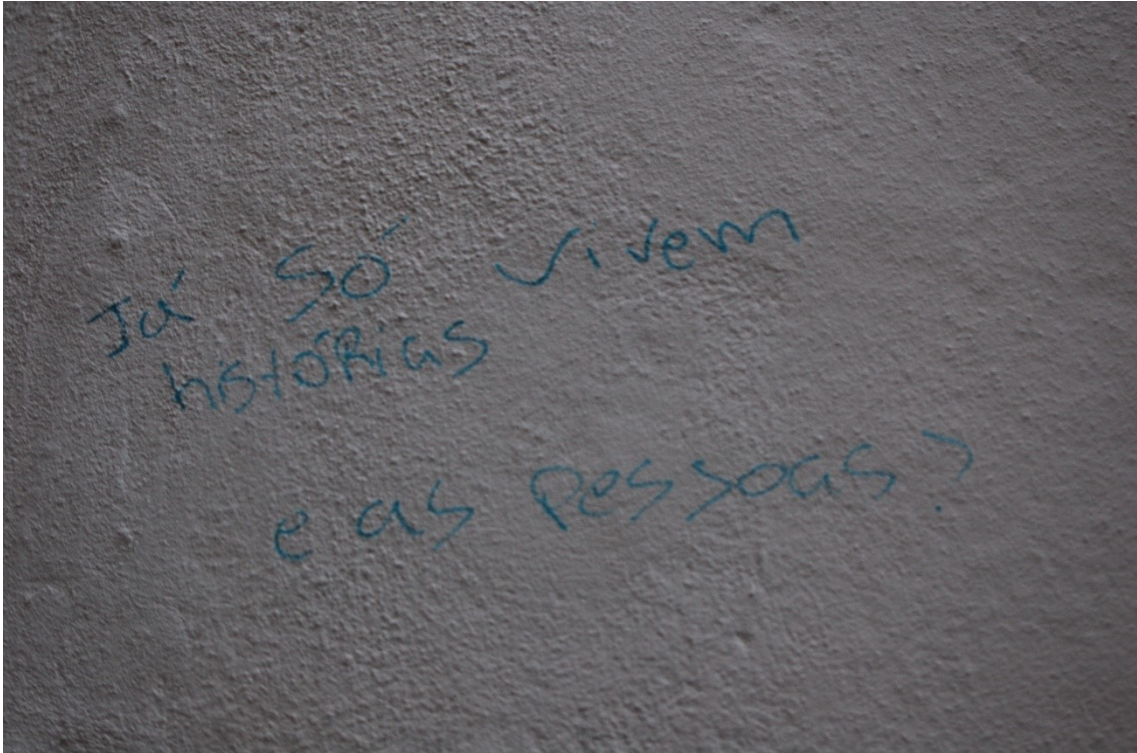


Image 18 [MOU27112018_9(1)]



Image 19 (MOU27112018_10)



Image 20 (MAD06012019_1)

Ethnographic Table:

CODE	WHO?		WHERE?							GRAFFITI/STREET ART				
	AUTHOR(S)	SPONSOR(S)	SPACIAL CONTEXT	ADDRESS	AREA/ NEIGHBOURHOOD	GEOGRAPHICAL COORDINATES	TOURISTIC VISIBILITY	VERBAL	POLITICAL	ARTISTIC	INSTALLATION	FORMAL <input type="checkbox"/> INFORMAL <input type="checkbox"/>		
												CHARACTERISTICS/ OBSERVATIONS		
ALF27112 018_1	Unknown	-	Wall Military Museum 1100-256 Lisboa Portugal	Calçada do Forte	Alfama	Latitude 38.7135 Longitude -9.1242	High	x	x			<input type="checkbox"/>	Written in red marker: "The Portuguese house was leased by tourists' Amália Rodrigues"	
ALF27112 018_2	Unknown	-	Wall Military Museum 1100-256 Lisboa Portugal	Calçada do Forte	Alfama	Latitude 38.7135 Longitude -9.1245	High	x	x			<input type="checkbox"/>	Written in blue chalk: "#Fuck Airbnb"	
ALF27112 018_3	Unknown	-	Wall Military Museum 1100-256 Lisboa Portugal	Calçada do Forte	Alfama	Latitude 38.7135 Longitude -9.1247	High	x	x			<input type="checkbox"/>	Written in black and red marker: "When the last family home has been transformed for tourists, the neighbourhood that you appreciate so much will be nothing more than the hollow expression of	

GRAZ7112 018 1	Unknown	-	Wall	Caracol da Graça 1100-114 Lisboa Portugal	Graça	Latitude 38,7161 Longitude -9,1314	High			x	x		the capital #Expelled from the Neighbourhood" <input type="checkbox"/>
GRAZ7112 018 3	Unknown	-	Wall	Caracol da Graça 1100-114 Lisboa Portugal	Graça	Latitude 38,7163 Longitude -9,1317	High		x				<input type="checkbox"/> Written "Nasty Laws"
GRAZ7112 018 4	Unknown	-	Wall	Caracol da Graça 1100-114 Lisboa Portugal	Graça	Latitude 38,7164 Longitude -9,1318	High		x				<input type="checkbox"/> Written "Destroy Capitalism" and "Smash Capitalism"
GRAZ7112 018 5	Beusoir	-	Wall	Caracol da Graça 1100-114 Lisboa Portugal	Graça	Latitude 38,7162 Longitude -9,1318	High		x		x		<input type="checkbox"/> A graffiti with the sentence "Obey the Troika, Work like a slave" written. Unicorns are added to the graffiti
GRAZ7112 018 6	Pura Poesia & Unknown	-	Wall	Caracol da Graça 1100-114 Lisboa Portugal	Graça	Latitude 38,7164 Longitude -9,1320	High		x				<input type="checkbox"/> Two different graffitiis say "Somos Estrangeiros" (i.e. we are foreigners) and "Sejamos Transitórios"

											(i.e. let's be transient)
MOU2711 2018_1	Unknown		Wall <i>Centro de Inovação Criativa da Mouraria</i> Creative Hub	Rua dos Lagares 1100 Lisboa Portugal	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7164 Longitude -9.1325	High	x	x		<p>■</p> <p>Written in yellow: "Inovação para quem?" (i.e. Innovation for whom?)</p>
MOU2711 2018_2	Camilla Watson Parish Council of Santa Maria Maior		Wall <i>Centro de Inovação Criativa da Mouraria</i> - Creative Hub	Travessa dos Lagares 3 1100 Lisboa Portugal	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7168 Longitude -9.1326	High	x	x		<p>■</p> <p>Set of +25 tiles with photographs of the daily lives of women, men, children and elders, from different ethnicities, on the streets of the Mouraria neighbourhood. Written in Portuguese and English: "THE SUNNY CORNER Authorship CAMILLA WATSON With the support of the Borough of SANTA MARIA MAIOR This project celebrates the small community that has existed on this corner for generations. Some of the images go back to the beginning of</p>

the last century and include palaces along this road that no longer exist. The photographs taken since 2010 show daily life with its coming and goings. These images intend to celebrate and remind us, especially during this time of dramatic change in this borough of the importance of community, and how we must treasure the spirit that it brings to a neighbourhood. The abandoned house and its garden is what existed behind this wall until 2010. It was known as the *Quartirão dos Lapares*, and has recently been renovated into the *Centro de Inovação da Mouraria* (CIM). The panel includes several images of shells. These are from a panel made of shells that still exists in the garden.

MOUZ711 2018 4	Pura Poesia	-	Wall Vacant building	Rua dos Lagares 56 1100 Lisboa Portugal	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7170 Longitude -9.1326	High	x	x			Manuel Salgado and Dr. Medina to fulfill our biggest desires. <input type="checkbox"/>
MOUZ711 2018 5	Unknown	-	Wall Vacant Building	Rua dos Lagares 1100 Lisboa Portugal	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7173 Longitude -9.1329	High	x	x			In a vacant building closed for work there are two rectangular paste-ups. The first one has written the sentence "AQUI TAMBÉM VIVEU "PESSOA" (i.e. Here a person - <i>peessoa</i> - also lived) <input type="checkbox"/>
MOUZ711 2018 8	Unknown	-	EPAL tube protection box	Largo das Oliveiras 1100 Lisboa Portugal	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7173 Longitude -9.1334	High	x	x			<i>Paste-up</i> of a photograph of Maria da Assunção Cristas, ex-president of the Socialist Democratic Christian Party (CDS- PP), conservative party. On her dress there's an icon of a house and a person leaving with her head down and a suitcase in her hand <input type="checkbox"/>
MOUZ711 2018 9	Unknown	-	Wall	Rua do Capelão	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7164	High	x	x			Squared sticker, saying "OKUPA, CRIA, RESISTE" (i.e. Occupy, create, resist) <input type="checkbox"/>

																		Written with a blue marker: "Já só vivem histórias e as pessoas?" (i.e. there only live histories and the people?") <input type="checkbox"/>
MQU2711 2018_10	Unknown	-		Wall	Rua do Capelão 1100-113 Lisboa Portugal	Mouraria	Latitude 38.7164 Longitude -9.1351	High	x	x								Written with a blue marker: "STOP GENTRIFICATION" <input type="checkbox"/>
MAD0601 2019_1	Unknown	-		Light Pole Jardim do Príncipe Real	Príncipe Real 1250-026 Lisboa Portugal	Madrugaoa	Latitude 38.7165 Longitude -9.1493	High	x	x								Written with a blue marker: "EMAS, VIVEMOS COMO?" (i.e. And we, how do we live?!) <input type="checkbox"/>
CAS2601 2019_9	Unknown	-		Wall		Castelo	Latitude 38.4242 Longitude -9.0802	High	x	x								Written with a black marker "NOT ENOUGH TOURISM". Someone added "Good", transforming the sentence to "Not enough good tourism" <input type="checkbox"/>
MAD2601 2019_44	Unknown	Galeria de Arte Urbana - Lisbon City Hall		Mural	Rua das Taipas 1250-266 Lisboa Portugal	Madrugaoa	Latitude 38.4251 Longitude -9.0838	High										Two dogs eating a tram, going from yellow to gray <input type="checkbox"/>

Table of the Thematic Analysis and Pragmatic Discourse Analysis:

Figure	Location	Thematic Analysis		Pragmatic Discourse Analysis
		Theme(s)	Subtheme(s)	

ALF27112018_1	Military Museum Alfama	Touristification <i>Fado</i> Housing crisis in Portugal	National level National identity crisis	<p>Touristification is pointed out as the cause of the housing crisis in Portugal using the image of “Portuguese house”, part of the collective memory through Amália Rodrigues’ <i>fado</i> “A Portuguese House”. [In a Portuguese house bread and wine sits well, 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 - <i>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 fraqueza, fica bem / Que o povo nunca a desmente / A alegria da pobreza está nesta grande riqueza / De dar e ficar contente</i>]. This reference, made explicit by making it seem that Amália Rodrigues herself sang “The Portuguese house was leased by tourists”, stresses how it is not only the functional part of the right to inhabit that is questioned but also the symbolic part, of what this means for the national identity, as if the country had been leased to tourists. This graffiti clearly illustrates a change in the arguments, from local to global, it focuses now on the defence of the heritage in general, in Lisbon and in Portugal, meaning this defence implies all of us. This use of global arguments may be instrumental to recruit other citizens to this idea that touristification is the cause of housing crisis in Portugal (i.e. politicizing them) (Batel & Castro, 2015).</p>
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ALF27112018_2	<p>Military Museum</p> <p>Alfama</p>	Touristification	Airbnb as cause	<p>Explicitly addresses short rental services, namely Airbnb and aggressively expresses annoyance about it. With a swear-word the discourse is aggressive against touristification and also highlights how Airbnb, which initially was proposed as a service of co-sharing the same house, instead of just renting a whole house away, came to signify that and the negative consequences of touristification.</p> <p>The graffiti is placed on a national museum and it is closed to Santa Apolónia, one of the main routes of arrival and departure of tourists to Alfama (there is a railway station and a cruise terminal) meaning it is placed on a highly touristic and visibility area which is also one of the main spaces of agency and intervention from graffiters and street artists.</p>
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ALF27112018_3	<p>Military Museum</p> <p>Alfama</p>	<p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p> <p>Touristification</p>	<p>Neighbourhood</p> <p>/Local level</p> <p>Local/place identity crisis</p> <p>Capitalism as cause</p>	<p>It has the purpose to contest and to resist touristification and the capital forces. It refers to the family house to emphasize the fact that whole families are being expelled from their neighbourhoods for tourism, being unable to accomplish the capital's habitational needs. Those neighbourhoods while losing the providers of their 'authenticity' (i.e., local families and inhabitants) are being transformed into nothing else but empty (of life, of meaning and emotions) generators of money. The idea that the family houses are being transformed for tourism means it is not only a social and symbolic transformation but also spacial, architectural and urbanistic transformation. In the last few years, we have witnessed the transformation of apartments with several rooms into smaller apartments with single rooms directed to short term rentals (Gago, 2018).</p>
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<p>GRA27112018_1</p>	<p>Caracol da Graça</p>	<p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p> <p>Touristification</p>	<p>Lisbon/City level</p> <p>Lisbon's Identity in crisis</p>	<p>A strong visual metaphor is used based on the historical symbol of the city of Lisbon - a ship with two crows. The ship with two crows represents Lisbon's identity, with the ship here presented as Lisbon and its housing and the crows its residents. The crow flying away with the luggage represents those Lisbon residents who are being expelled from the city's neighbourhoods and the sign "4 rent" represents the idea that Lisbon (and thus a core of the Portuguese identity, with Lisbon being the capital of Portugal) is for rent. The "4 rent" is also written with a skull which refers to a pirates' ship imaginary to emphasize that tourism (in the shape of Airbnbs) is robbing and pillaging Lisbon.</p>
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GRA27112018_3	Caracol da Graça	Legislation	Urban Lease Law as cause	<p>It refers to the law system as obnoxious. As the graffiti is placed in one of the most touristic and touristified areas in the city, one can speculate that the graffiti is also referring to the new urban lease laws. The graffiti contests the laws while affirming that they are filthy, dirty and disagreeable.</p>
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GRA27112018_4	Caracol da Graça	Capitalism	Fighting capitalism	<p>This graffiti doesn't contest touristification or gentrification directly. It aggressively directs to capitalism and calls for it to be destroyed and crushed.</p> <p>Touristification and the housing market deregulation are a form of neoliberal capitalism (del Romero Renau, 2018) and since the graffiti is placed in a highly touristified area, one can consider that the graffiti also addresses touristification.</p>
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<p>GRA27112018_5(1)</p>	<p>Caracol da Graça</p>	<p>Capitalism</p> <p>Slavery</p> <p>Working conditions</p>	<p>Troika as coloniser</p> <p>Social justice</p>	<p>The satirical and ironic sentence serves to present the reforms made by the Economic and Financial Political Memorandum, as known as Troika plan, as promoters of slavery. If you obey the memorandum plan, then you will work like a slave. It makes the connection then between previous forms of colonialism and how it might be seen as still happening nowadays within capitalist systems following neoliberal politics. The flowers, hearts, the unicorns and rainbows seem to function to pronounce the irony and how the financial rescue plan is an illusion that comes from a fairy tale. The graffiti doesn't directly address the issue of touristification but as we have seen in the first chapter, the 2008-2009 economic crisis and the Troika Memorandum were the contexts/reasons leading to the economy's focus on tourism and associated habitation crisis.</p>
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<p>GRA27112018_6(1)</p>	<p>Caracol da Graça</p>	<p>‘No man’s land’ Mobility</p>	<p>Global identities/citizenships Global level</p>	<p>By saying that we are all foreigners the graffiti makes us reflect how there is no land property and it belongs to everyone and to no one. As such, it points out, albeit in a non-direct way, to touristification and gentrification and that there are some dimensions of touristification and gentrification that might raise issues of group discrimination and associated xenophobia, such as “us” (those who belong to Lisbon) and “them” (tourists and gentrifiers). This is a key tension in discussing change and resistance to change in place and that calls for forms of ‘positive parochialism’ that allow for a right to belong in place but which is not discriminatory and exclusive (see Devine-Wright, Smith & Batel, 2019). There is also a paste-up on the wall on the right of the photo saying “<i>Sejamos transitórios</i>”(“Let’s be transient”). This idea also interestingly could be used to promote the globalised flow promoting touristification and gentrification and legitimising current hegemonic discourses of neoliberal mobility as something that the global citizen should always be prepared to embrace (see Di Masso et al., 2019; Casanova et al., 2019); but it might also highlight to make us wonder that it is through being transient, through moving in and out of place, that we can allow change and, again, perhaps more</p>
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				progressive senses of place (Massey, 1993).
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MOU27112018_1(1)	Mouraria's Creative Innovation Centre - Creative Hub	Place functional change	Place attachment Right to be seen in place Social justice Local level	To whom is the innovation for? The graffiti functions as a contest of touristification. If families and the previous inhabitants are no longer living in the neighbourhoods, who is the innovation for? 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 the old and current residents of the neighbourhood. Place attachment is here indirectly mobilised to emphasize the injustices associated with the right to place and related citizenship in place only being thought by decision-makers for some (the new users) and not for others (the old inhabitants).
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<p>MOU2711201 8_2</p>	<p>Mouraria's Creative Innovation Centre - Creative Hub</p>	<p>Neighbourhood's Identity Mouraria</p>	<p>Authenticity Social Memory</p>	<p>The tiles with photographs of people who once lived in the neighbourhood serve to represent the identity of the place and makes the observer feel that the neighbourhood is still the “real thing”, with old people and children on the streets whereas the truth is this doesn't happen anymore.</p> <p>The artist, Camila Watson is committed to keep the community memory (collective memory) in environments of rapid transformation (such as through touristification), she wants to bring back the past to the present using a visual, creative and accessible way, especially in areas in changing processes, such is the case of Mouraria, this is why she uses photographs from the beginning of the 1900's on this exhibition called “Canto do Sol” (Watson, 2021).</p>
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<p>MOU27112018_3 (1)</p>	<p>Mouraria</p>	<p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p> <p>Touristification</p> <p>Place functional change</p> <p>Housing crisis as responsibility of the municipal authorities</p> <p>Mouraria</p>	<p>Social justice</p> <p>Place attachment as right to stay in place</p> <p>Urban Lease Law as cause</p> <p>Traditional Services</p> <p>Municipal authorities as Santa Claus</p> <p>Local level</p>	<p>The seven black rectangles contest touristification either directly or indirectly, by contesting and exposing several aspects and consequences related with it. They are written wishes for Santa Claus. The last wish is equated to key politicians at the Lisbon town hall deemed responsible by the changes happening in Mouraria, by the Portuguese inhabitants who are being forced to leave the neighbourhood. They say they want “accessible rents and more habitation for their neighbourhoods”, they want “a fair government”, they “don’t want to leave their neighbourhoods”, they want “all parties to talk about the urban lease law”, they “don’t want more housing for tourists in Mouraria”, they want “the traditional commerce back to their neighbourhood” and they want “Dr. Manuel Salgado (urbanistic city councillor) and Dr. Medina (Lisbon’s Mayor) to fulfil their wishes”. These sentences serve to resist change and</p>
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				<p>Santa Claus is symbolic as the one who makes wishes come true, here equated to Manuel Salgado and Medina. As for intervention, place attachment is here mobilised to accentuate the lack of rights associated with housing and being placed in Mouraria/Lisbon particularly.</p>
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MOU27112018_4(1)	Mouraria	<p>Touristification</p> <p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p>	<p>National identity</p> <p>Local level</p> <p>Right to housing</p> <p>Place attachment as right to stay in place</p>	<p>The paste-up (paper containing art work that is affixed to a surface by applying a coating of a solution made of flour and water to the backing (Ross, 2016)) mentions that <i>Pessoa</i> (person) “has also lived here”, which makes us think of the typical plaques signalling when someone famous or noteworthy in a given field of knowledge was born and/or has lived and/or died in a certain house/building and that are used as a way to preserve historical and cultural memories and to promote cultural tourism. As such, Pessoa seems to refer to, in a first instance, the famous Portuguese poet and writer and so to highlight this abandoned and closed building is also part of the national identity as Pessoa is. However, the word <i>pessoa</i> seems to be used here as a double entendre, aiming to also highlight how a person (<i>pessoa</i>) also lived in this building and, as such, it puts also the focus on the local level and seems to argue not only for the right to housing</p>
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				<p>but also to stay in place. It also functions to highlight the existent power inequalities between people and to contest those by emphasizing that a regular person should be considered as important and given as many rights as the/a famous poet.</p>
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MOU27112018_5	Mouraria	<p>Assunção Cristas</p> <p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p>	<p>Housing crisis as responsibility of the conservative/right-wing government</p> <p>Urban lease law/NRAU as cause</p>	<p>Assunção Cristas, the political leader for the conservative catholic right-wing party CDS-PP from 2016 to 2020, was also the main responsible during the Passos Coelho-TROIKA government (2011-15) for the new law for the rents (NRAU) 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 to peripheries. This paste up with her image saying ‘Oops!’ in relation to still another unoccupied and closed building in Mouraria, one of the most ‘historic and traditional’ neighbourhoods of Lisbon and one of the most affected by that law, is very powerful in highlighting the impacts of that law that Assunção Cristas push forward and its consequences in not only expelling people from their houses but also in leaving the city buildings abandoned and closed. This is clear</p>
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				<p>by the drawing in her jumper [even if this is not very visible in the photograph] of a man leaving a house with his head down and the luggage on his hand, which represents the Portuguese inhabitants who are now forced to leave their houses</p>
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MOU27112018_8(2)	Mouraria	<p>Okupa movement</p> <p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p>	<p>Precarious housing</p> <p>Occupying space</p> <p>Degradation of Urban Space</p>	<p>The sticker (paper with adhesive backing that are affixed to surfaces (Ross, 2016)) incites resistance, to creation and to occupy buildings, by referring specifically to the Okupa social movement, a movement and political project that emerged in Spain after the dictatorship to find alternatives to the capitalist system especially in relation to the right to housing and to land. The Okupa movement is rooted on the word occupation (squat) and is referred to the act of occupying a space or a construction which is abandoned without the permission of the legal owners and it can be a way to defy the concept of property and to protest against precarious housing and degradation of urban space (Reis, 2019). As such this sticker highlights this contradiction that is also clear in previous examples, of the existent housing crisis in the face of so many existent abandoned, closed and empty</p>
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				buildings in Lisbon's historic neighbourhoods and centre.
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MOU27112018_9(1)	Mouraria	<p>Touristification</p> <p>Housing crisis in Portugal</p>	<p>Social justice</p> <p>Places as people/as who makes them</p>	<p>The text questions where are the people who once lived in the neighbourhoods as we can only have access to their histories but we're no longer able to see them in the places anymore. As such, it contests touristification and confronts people with it by explicitly asking for where are the people that made those histories that make touristification possible.</p>
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MOU27112018_10	Mouraria	<p>Gentrification/ Touristification</p> <p>Housing in Portugal</p>		<p>The process of displacing people of lower-economic status from their historical and central neighbourhoods is contested by clearly and outwardly saying "Stop to gentrification", similarly to the explicit graffiti and street art that has been seen in other highly gentrified-touristified cities like Berlin and Barcelona against those processes.</p>
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MAD06012019_1	Principe's Real Garden Madragoa	Gentrification/ Touristification	Social justice	<p>The graffiti writing doesn't directly contest the process of gentrification-touristification, but since it is placed in a highly touristified area - Principe's Real Garden (Costa & Magalhães, 2014) one can wonder it refers to touristification while asking how do "we" (the inhabitants of lower socio-economic status who have to leave their neighbourhoods and their stories) live?</p>
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MAD26012019_44	<p>Gloria's Tram</p> <p>Bairro Alto</p>	<p>Touristification</p> <p>Lisbon's identity</p>	<p>Lisbon/city level</p> <p>Lisbon identity in crisis</p> <p>Touristification as predatory</p>	<p>The dogs represent the touristification forces who are eating the identity of Lisbon, represented, as traditionally and in many Lisbon tourism adverts, by Lisbon's old yellow trams. This is further illustrated by the tram's starting to lose its traditional lively yellow colour and becoming black and white (i.e., dead). The choice of the two dogs as the predators seems to aim to highlight that what might seem as a docile being (the tourist) can, in reality, be a predator.</p>
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CAS26012019_9	Castelo	Touristification	<p>Touristification as polemic</p> <p>Good vs. bad tourism</p> <p>Street art as public space discussion</p>	<p>On one hand the sentence affirms that there is enough tourism, so it functions as a contestor of touristification. Someone added “good”,to the sentence, leaving us with “not enough good tourism” so the person who added it wants to highlight that the tourism that is needed is good tourism, which maybe is a tourism that doesn’t result in touristification.</p> <p>It is an interest example because it illustrates that graffiti/street art is a practice and a discourse that claims the public space as a political space being constructed by different voices and it shows how touristification is a polemic matter, with people in favour and others against it</p>
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