

Masculinities on the Wall: An Approach to Mural Representations of the Carnation Revolution in Lisbon

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Abstract:

In 2014, several Portuguese muralists painted murals about the Carnation Revolution in order to celebrate its 40th anniversary. The initiative aimed at reviving the memory of the murals and graffiti painted in Portugal during the 1970s. These murals represent the memory of struggles in which the figure of the hero lends substance to the narrativity of the popular revolution that overthrew the New State dictatorship in 1974. This article argues that when analyzing those murals, they show that the memory of the Revolution generated a discursiveness represented by hegemonic masculinity, which also conforms to the gendered discourse of the neoliberal agenda. Feminism and negritude were hardly ever empowered as alternative forms of masculinity for representing the revolutionaries and were relegated to (quasi-)invisibility. The figures represented in those male-authored murals located in the center of Lisbon convey hegemonic masculinity and most have already been washed off. Those representing negritude and feminism, as alternative forms of masculinity, emerge - though not exclusively - in the urban periphery. In the periphery, they resist time and convey an interventive discourse of memory of resistance, showing what the prevailing memory discursiveness has not considered central in the Revolution.

Keywords: Carnation Revolution; Murals; Masculinity; Memory; Identity; Resistance

Introduction

On 25th April 1997, the monument *Evocação do 25 de Abril de 1974* was inaugurated on an esplanade marked by four large pillars atop the slope in Eduardo VII Park, Lisbon. Lisbon City Council had commissioned Portuguese sculptor João Cutileiro to create a monument for the Revolution. This memorial sparked reaction in the media very quickly: a rock-shaped fountain, supported by struts and set in a basin with a crumbling wall and broken columns, was compared with a penis. The author argued that he had had no intention of building a phallic monument, even though he acknowledged that 25th April had been a “remarkable ejaculation” (Marques 2010). Thus, the Revolution was artistically celebrated as outstanding human action, as opposed to the oppressive splendor of the authoritarian regime. It had been designed as an anti-monument according to the principles of monumentality. Its apparent chaotic structure and the use of water compared the Revolution to an empowering fountain. The gushing water symbolized the origin of

a powerful life and a new era. Identifying the 25th April as the source of power introduces the widespread belief that, as far as art is concerned, power was easily represented as and associated with a form of masculinity, understood as a set of biological features determining sexual distinction: the revolution had been *made by men* and it was *men's stuff*.

The decades that followed the year 1974 were marked by tension between two approaches to the discourses regarding the memory of the Revolution: a dominant approach, historically framed within neoliberal ideology that expanded in the West from the end of the 1980s including to Portugal, particularly after Cavaco Silva took office as Prime Minister of the 11th and 12th Constitutional Governments between 1985 and 1995 – and another strand of memory, relatively stifled up until 1994, bound by the collective duty of not forgetting the oppression and suffering inflicted during the New State.

The governments led by Prime Minister Cavaco Silva had been oriented towards the need to reconcile the past with the present in order to appease the Portuguese conscience and let memory run its course. Traverso argues that after the 1980s, movements towards the preservation of memory made their mark on public space in Europe. The past was continually called forth in the present, in a media-amplified collective imaginary associated with public commemorations (Traverso 2016, 10-11).¹ In Portugal, the years of the Revolution and of the Ongoing Revolutionary Period (PREC) were frequently referred to as years of distress and unrest and, simultaneously, the political elites avoided debating the long period of the dictatorship. Until 1994, the memory of resistance to the dictatorship was undervalued, particularly because of the economic and social crisis that followed the PREC. Governmental and economic elites blamed the revolutionary years as the causes of the crisis that followed the PREC up until 1985. The memory of the New State oppression was publicly softened by the economic crisis and the political confrontation on the decolonization and the revolutionary process (Loff 2015, 63-64). The communist and far-left wing projects that had driven the Revolution in 1974 were remembered after the 1970s as defeated and isolated missions. It was less the New State regime than the Revolution that was the center of discussion, whilst a counter-revolutionary, conservative and nostalgic memory gradually clouded the memory of resistance. In addition, it enhanced the public perception of the Carnation Revolution as a negative landmark (Loff 2015, 64).

After the 20th anniversary of the Revolution, and particularly after the socialist party held took office in 1994, much of the memory of resistance emerged in public space. Loff contends that this emergence was not only due to the revisionist approach to the New State and the Revolution; those who had claimed to have been affected by the Revolution and decolonization felt represented by those in power since 1978 and, as a result, did not feel affected by the discourses that stressed the need for reconciliation. The latter were grounded upon the principle of the normalization of the democratic process as representative of the victims of the new State, as well as those of the Revolution, on equal terms (Loff 2015, 114), an assumption that the bearers of the memory of the resistance did not accept. After a decade during which media space had shown perpetrators as

humane, the voices of the supporters of the revolutionary process became more visible. The number of publications of autobiographies and interviews of former political prisoners increased significantly during the late 1990s.²

However, there is an aspect of these voices worth further examination. Historically revisionist approaches had given priority to former PIDE officers, military and former settlers in the colonies; in other words, white, male and family breadwinner figures were given public space.³ Despite the Colonial War being a major reason for the Movement of the Armed Forces to organize the coup in 1974, its memory was dissociated from that of the Revolution. The link between the two involved associating the memory of decolonization with the sympathy that many Portuguese soldiers felt towards the African liberation movements, a debate that until the mid-1990s had been avoided. Women's experience during the Colonial War and the decolonization became more visible only after the 2000s.⁴ Up to the early 2000s, socially dominant figures were mainly white, heterosexual, male, breadwinner, outnumbering black, homosexual and female figures. Although Portuguese society had changed significantly since the mid-1970s, and the patriarchal model of social organization slowly gave way to a less imbalanced structure, the former had by no means vanished.⁵

When the nation commemorated the 40th anniversary of the Revolution, Portugal had gone through significant change. The gradual inability of the country to refinance its government debt without the assistance of third parties led to an official request for a bail-out in 2011. It was formally signed, and austerity measures were decided upon, a decision that ultimately provoked widespread social dissatisfaction. Statistics showed an increasing number of workers on strike and of demonstrations on the streets between 2009 and 2014, particularly after the bail-out came into effect. The symbols of the Carnation Revolution were back on the streets: the slogan *Povo unido jamais será vencido* (People united will never be defeated) was shouted, black flags were waved as symbols of hunger and protesters singing *Grândola Vila Morena* interrupted parliamentary sessions and the events with official dignitaries. The government and official institutions organized several events to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the Revolution, showing a different attitude from that taken between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s (Loff 2015, 138).⁶

The contemporary production of graffiti and murals phenomena was influenced by May 1968 and by the emergence of hip-hop culture in the US in the early 1970s (Kozak, 2004:5). In South America, murals were important to ignite enthusiasm with the Chilean experience in the early 1970s, whereas the cities of Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Bogota, Caracas were important hotspots of graffiti in the 1980s. Graffiti and murals were used as ways to convey resistance. At times of social unrest, political activism also made use of street art and murals to write messages to protest against the government's policies.⁷ During the late years of the New State, graffiti had been used to protest against the Colonial War but, after 1974, murals conveyed the atmosphere of hope and enthusiasm during the PREC. This art, fundamentally used by political parties, such as the PCP (Portuguese Communist Party) and the PCTP/MRPP (Portuguese Workers' Communist

Party/ Reorganization Movement for the Party of the Proletariat), is ephemeral and, by the late 1990s, most of those murals had been erased. Nonetheless, their memory was preserved by the 25th April Documentation Centre at Coimbra University. The preservation of the historical memory of the Portuguese murals was important for the younger generation of street artists, who started their artistic activity in the 2000s, to understand the heritage left by their predecessors, who had worked in a different political and social context, because it opened pathways for understanding the legacy of graffiti as political intervention in Portugal (Câmara 2015, 219).

In 2008, the Gallery of Urban Art (GAU) was set up as part of the Department of Cultural Heritage of Lisbon City Council. This section aimed at intervening in the city, particularly in the degraded Bairro Alto, to preserve the cultural heritage of the city. This action consisted in “a bottom-up approach to urban problems” because it responded to the growing visibility of graffiti and street art, by controlling the practice and the tensions between residents and users of the city quarters (Costa and Lopes, 2015).

In 2014, António Alves, former muralist of the PCTP/MRPP, decided to organize an initiative that celebrated 25th April through mural painting. By representing the Revolution, *25 de Abril 40 Anos 40 Murais*, which was not politically sponsored, brought generations together: those who had experienced 1974 as adults and those who were born after, thus, closing the gap between graffiti and mural art styles.⁸ The first set of murals were in Alcântara and represented the Colonial War, the African liberation movements, the struggles of the proletariat and the peasantry, and the events of 25th April. There was another set of murals in the area of the Lavra Funicular. They also included figures and abstract motifs. Furthermore, the GAU (Urban Art Gallery), a department of the Lisbon City Council committed to the promotion of street art, decided to inaugurate seven murals on the present-day memory of the Carnation Revolution in Calçada da Glória, Lisbon. This mural exhibition was entitled *Venham mais Sete*, punning on Zeca Afonso’s song *Venham mais Cinco*, and the Portuguese street artists: Carlos Farinha, Hugo Makarov, Miguel Januário, Miguel Noronha, Nomen, Telmo Alcobia and Tinta Crua were invited to represent the Revolution artistically. Lisbon Municipal Association also organized the public competition *25 de Abril Hoje* to create a mural on one of the walls of the headquarters. The jury, headed by Júlio Pomar, decided on Tamara Alves’s project. As part of a series of academic initiatives to commemorate the anniversary of the Revolution, the New University of Lisbon invited the Portuguese street artists Vhils (Alexandre Farto), Miguel Januário, Frederico Draw, Diogo Machado and Gonçalo Ribeiro to paint a mural on the wall of the building of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, as an art manifestation by artists born after the Revolution.⁹ These representations add the significance that the past has in everyday life or, as Raphael Samuel contends, commemoration should be read as “perceptions of the past which find expression in the discrimination of everyday life” (Samuel 2012, 17).

Enzo Traverso argues that the establishment of memory industries and tourism became neoliberal imperatives after the 1990s (Traverso 2016, 11).¹⁰ Licensing graffiti and street art also

promote art as a commodity, because street art contributes at promoting urban tourism. Within the neoliberal strategy of depoliticizing memory, the murals on the 40th anniversary of the Revolution establish the extent to which the memory of the past was reified for mass consumption. Street art extracts “sources and styles from a cultural encyclopedia of images and message styles, editing out some transmitted features and re-appropriating others” because appropriation is “a sign of participating in a tradition” (Irvine 2012, 263). As Martin Irvine contends, street art is an argument about visibility, the social and political structure of being visible” (Irvine 2012, 239). The political relationships between the artists, street and art are also enhanced in Teresa Caldeira’s contention that street art introduces order into sensitive issues (“*certa ordenação do sensível*”) (Caldeira 2012).

This article argues that, when analyzing the murals that celebrated the 40th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution from the point of view of representations of masculinity, they show that the memory on the Revolution generated a discursiveness mainly represented by hegemonic masculinity and hardly empowered feminism and negritude, as alternative forms of masculinity of representation, relegating them to (quasi)invisibility. Unlike negritude and feminism, hegemonic masculinity is the form of masculinity that conforms to the neoliberal agenda. Visibility is understood as the ability to place issues before the eyes of most people (Campos, 2016:55). It is both geographical and metaphorical. The heart of Lisbon, as the place of commerce, is also the place where hegemonic forms of masculinity are depicted in the murals. Calçada da Glória, Alcântara and the campus of the New University of Lisbon are in the center of Lisbon.¹¹ In the outskirts of the city, black masculinity and feminism are empowered as masculinities for the memory of resistance in order to show what the memory discursiveness has not considered central in the Revolution.

Masculinity, Heroism and the Street Writer

To mount the case that the Portuguese murals painted in and around Lisbon in 2014 produced different forms of masculinity and that these forms convey tension with the prevailing discourses on the memory of the Revolution, a definition of masculinity is necessary. This paper acknowledges the definition of masculinity taken in the performative sense, used in MacDonald’s and Rosewarne’s studies on masculinity in graffiti. Rather than being a set of biological traits, it is “something that gains its meaning through a process of construction and display” (MacDonald 2001, 97) and is “behavior engaged in by boys to enforce and illustrate their biological identity” (Rosewarne 2014, 4). Masculinity is a cultural concept that defines codes of behavior associated with action and power. Studies on masculinity show that the term “hegemonic masculinity” defines successful ways of “being a man” (Beynon 2002, 16). Hegemony is “meant (as) ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion” (Connell 2005, 832). As Almeida pointed out, hegemonic masculinity is an “ideal cultural model” because men cannot control men and women completely and forever (Almeida 1996, 163). It is a conservative ideal of the patriarchal social model,

dominating the public sphere. It is masculinity associated with the figures with earning capacity, traditionally related to manual labour and breadwinners.

The growing attention to globalization has had an impact on research about masculinities. The significance of transnational arenas for the construction of masculinity has also been argued. Connell proposes a model of “transnational business masculinity” among corporate executives that related to neoliberal agendas of globalization” (Connell 2005, 849). He contends that Neoliberalism is, in principle, gender neutral and the male body being set an example as the ideal expression of the entrepreneurial culture (Connell 2005, 1816). Despite the neoliberal re-masculinization, celebrations of strength and domination associated with manhood are not traditional patriarchy.¹²

It is worth mentioning that this paper focuses on the representations of masculine figures in murals, although the approach to masculinity should also consider the masculine traits associated with writers, i.e., those who paint murals. Studies on street art have established that street writers are usually young and that the activity is predominantly male (MacDonald 2001; Cerejo 2007; Campos 2010; Rosewarne 2014; Ross, 2016).¹³ Up to the early 1980s, most Portuguese muralists were male and politically engaged. The risk was inevitable to the practice of graffiti because it was an illegal practice and the message was clearly against the New State policies. Moreover, the left-wing political parties, such as the PCP and the PCTP/MRPP, were illegal and their supporters led clandestine lives. After the Carnation Revolution, murals that promoted the PREC were supported by right- and left-wing political parties. Painting graffiti and murals deserved then recognition for their bold practice, particularly before 1974.¹⁴ In 2014, the activity of those muralists was remembered as a good model, particularly to the following generation.¹⁵

Even though street art thrived in Portugal after 2005, especially after street art festivals at the end of the 2000s, Portuguese male writers still largely outnumbered female writers.¹⁶ The present-day quantitative imbalance of women and men writers in Portugal confirms MacDonald’s findings (MacDonalds 2001). Some of the most prolific Portuguese female writers are Tamara Alves, Bublând, Sphiza, Glam, Maria Imaginário, Vanessa Teodoro and Xuma. Only three out of this list, Tamara Alves, Glam and Vanessa Teodoro, participated in the street art initiatives on the Revolution in Greater Lisbon.

Street writers see themselves as heroes (Campos 2010, 206-207). This representation is grounded on the expectations of an activity that involves overcoming extraordinary difficulties and dangers, such as climbing tall buildings and avoiding being arrested. Heroism in street art is associated with risk-taking, bravery and transgression. (MacDonald 2001, 101; Featherstone 2001, 17; Rosewarne 2014, 5). Street writers also expect that their heroic activities bring them recognition as reward. Recognition does not imply being known by their names. Most writers work in crews and sign their work with a tag, their artistic signature; therefore, they hope to be recognized for their personal creative style. They also believe that street art allows “them to construct and confirm their masculine identities” (MacDonald 2001, 96). As a relational construct, masculinity is built on

deliberate and functional deviance - illegal painting - that generates peer recognition or reputation; in other words, it makes them earn “respect” by their peers, generating “an esteemed masculine persona” (MacDonald 2001, 96).¹⁷ As far as women writers are concerned, their task is a difficult one. Whereas male writers work to prove they are ‘men’, female writers work to prove they are not ‘women’ (femininity according to this “logic” as a synonym of ‘incapability’) (MacDonald 2001, 130). It is worth mentioning that Tamara Alves, the writer of the mural on the headquarters of Lisbon Municipal Association and sole female writer in the city center, challenged traditional approaches to masculinity in her mural. Nevertheless, since all murals under analysis were commissioned, i.e., they were approved by institutions as ways to promote the memory of the Carnation Revolution; masculinity as a code of behavior linked to risk-taking decisions is not relevant for our analysis. Therefore, this paper focusses on the masculinity represented in murals.

Masculinity as Legitimizing Identity¹⁸

Heroes start revolutions. Marx, Lenin and Che Guevara, represented as revolutionary models in the 1970s murals, were replaced in 2014 by the Portuguese Zeca Afonso, Salgueiro Maia, Ribeiro dos Santos and Maria de Lurdes and Father Max. Zeca Afonso is the singer-songwriter of *Grândola Vila Morena*, which was the second signal to start the coup on 25th April 1974; Salgueiro Maia was the captain of the Portuguese army and, together with his troops, forced the dictatorship to resign on 25th April; Ribeiro dos Santos was a student at Law, murdered by a PIDE policeman in 1972; Maria de Lurdes and Father Marx had taught adult workers in Trás-os-Montes before they were allegedly murdered by the counter-revolutionary movement MDLP in 1976. The circumstances of their assassination have not been totally explained and their perpetrators have never been condemned in court.

Zeca Afonso’s symbolic importance is metonymical as his songs of protest, particularly *Grândola Vila Morena*, symbolize the revolutionary attitude (Figure 1). *Grândola Vila Morena* was the signal on 25th April but other songs, such as *Os Vampiros* (1963), *A Morte Saiu à Rua* (1972) and *Venham mais Cinco* (1973), were recorded before 1974, and were critical of the regime.¹⁹

Salgueiro Maria embodies the values of self-determination, courage and liberation. The photo of Salgueiro Maia taken by Alfredo Cunha on 25th April inspired the figures painted in Alcântara and on the wall of the campus of the New University. Frederico Draw, who painted the latter, drew the captain’s face with stronger and darker lines to convey the importance of changing ideas in changing times (Soares 2014).

Carlos Farinha reinvented Eugene Delacroix’s *Liberty leading the People* (1830) and replaced the feminine figure with the representation of Salgueiro Maria to show the same values in his mural for *Venham mais Sete* exhibition.²⁰

Ribeiro dos Santos, Maria de Lurdes and Father Max represent various aspects of heroism associated with self-sacrifice. To cherish their memory is almost to cherish the memory of martyrdom. Hannah Arendt contends that totalitarianism annihilated the contemporary condition

of martyrdom because it had stripped martyrs of their personal identity and social existence (Arendt 1998, 496). The representations of Ribeiro dos Santos, Maria de Lurdes and Father Max ensure their right to be remembered as martyrs of the New State and of the counter-revolutionary movement.²¹

Thus, and despite the long-standing hegemonic, depoliticized memory, these individualities represent the resistance and defiance that made the revolutionary process. Symbolically, these values stand as the response required at times of recession and unrest in 2014.

The memory of the Carnation Revolution relied on the centrality of the Portuguese people as the collective hero in 2014. The Revolution was possible in 1974 because of the mass support of the Portuguese people. Heroism is rooted in the action of transforming a new society and has contributed to the construction of Portuguese exceptionalism as the core of “*Portugalidade*”, to ignite national pride. For example, Fernão Lopes’s chronicles tell us that if the Master of Avis had not been supported by the Portuguese, the plots of the Spanish monarchy and the Portuguese nobility would have been successful; similarly, historians tell us that if the Portuguese people didn’t support the Movement of the Armed Forces, the coup d’état would have failed completely.

The political slogans reproduced in 2014, *Liberdade, Pão, Paz, Terra, Democracia, Habitação, Saúde* (Freedom, Bread, Peace, Land, Democracy, Housing, Health); *Unidos Venceremos* (United, We will win); *O povo é quem mais ordena* (The People are in command); *Não vos mataram, semearam-vos* (They did not kill you, They sowed you) and *Fora a NATO* (NATO leave) are combined with representations of the peasantry, proletariat (factory workers and dockers) and human collectives (families and children). Whenever figures were painted to stand for business sectors, such as dockers, factory workers and peasants, the collective is represented mainly by men and by women, dressed in their typical suits and uniforms. In other words, the power of the human collective consists in the symbolic strength made up of women and men. In these collectives, male figures take the front positions either individually or together with female figures and never the opposite.²²

There are also murals in which the human collective is made up of children – boys and girls – when the pursuit was underpinning the relevance of the *revolutionary praxis* for the future. In those murals in which the collective represents the human strength required to continue the *revolutionary praxis* in 2014, gender-based distinctions are omitted. Nevertheless, in those murals in which the human strength is represented, pictorial emphasis is oriented towards male physical traits: muscle-defined, bearded/ mustache male figures dressed in professional uniforms and/or flat caps.²³

These figures convey masculinity as the basis of the patriarchal social model that prevailed in Portugal and that was not brought down after the Revolution. The visibility given to the role of men as strong, determined leaders and breadwinners, relegating women to non-leading roles or making the memory of their roles in 1974 invisible pre-exists the Revolution, and it was absorbed by the memory discursiveness. This pictorial representation does not undermine the “renewed

centrality of men to celebrate competitive success and force” that dominates the neoliberal agenda (Cornell 2005, 1816) and even generates a continuity of the discursiveness produced by the pageantry of masculinity displayed in street advertising outdoors or television commercials.

Paul Singer argued that Socialism is the utopian mode of production that competes against the Neoliberal economic system and its capitalist mode of production; thus, it is a deterrent to the collapse of democracy (Singer 1998, 82). Teixeira Fernandes contends that militantism encourages the pursuit of utopia to overcome a crisis (Fernandes 1996,14). Utopias emerge in any place where meaning is a pursuit. Vasco Gonçalves, the Prime Minister of the II-V Provisional Governments (1974-1975), was the major advocator of the utopian potential of the Revolution and continued to be so after the PREC collapsed in 1975.²⁴ In his speeches to Portuguese workers, Vasco Gonçalves sought to engage men and women on equal terms in the revolutionary process.²⁵ In 2014, the Carnation Revolution was the Portuguese militant utopia that emerged as the offensive to the prevailing culturally conservative and revisionist neoliberal rhetoric.²⁶ As far figurative representation is concerned, when writers decided to represent the revolution as action, strength and decision-making, murals showed it primarily as *men’s stuff*. This is significant for the gap that separated the initial formulations of the Revolution as the utopian pursuit in 1974, and the representations of the Portuguese social structures in 1974 and thereafter, which were crystallized in the commemoration of the Revolution in 2014, particularly in urban centers.

These figures do not challenge the memory of the Revolution as a landmark in the history of Portuguese democracy and do not undermine more politicized approaches that advocate the validity of the political project. It is worthy of mention that these murals were produced by men only and represent a long-standing point of view on masculinity. Ultimately, these murals fail the representation of the alternative form of masculinity made possible in the utopian potential that presided the project of the Revolution in 1974. Ironically, the figurative representations in the murals contradict the councilwoman in charge of the Lisbon City Council’s cultural department, who stated to the media that these murals kept a transgressive stance in 2014.²⁷

Masculinity as Project Identity

The murals drawn by Tamara Alves and Vanessa Teodoro reconfigure the dominant male discourse. When Lisbon City Council chose Tamara Alves’s project, the jury pinpointed the fact that her project was not based on stereotyped pictures, instead conveying Portugal as a modern, diverse country (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa 2014). The street writer explained that sex equality and solidarity were the core concepts of her project: “Corpos que lutam e se enlaçam, corpos que se confrontam e se sustentam, corpos que combatem e se ajudam. São mulheres e homens de igual para igual, um povo unido numa dança que mantém o conceito de luta, de trabalho de equipa” (Bodies that fight and are bound together, bodies that confront and support each other, bodies that struggle and help each other. These are women and men head-to-head, people united in a dance that holds the concept of struggle and teamwork) (Câmara Municipal 2014).²⁸

Tamara Alves's mural introduces a view on masculinity, different from the one prevailing in the murals in the city center. Symbolically, this mural is a more faithful depiction of the social structure as described by Vasco Gonçalves in 1974 than the murals painted during the PREC. Those murals were based upon the contemporaneous society, subordinated to patriarchal authority, whilst Tamara Alves's mural represented the *ideal* social organization. The significance of this ideal is enhanced by the appropriation of collective space: in this case, the municipal council ("Assembleia Municipal") which is the deliberating governing body of the capital. This is where change in the city's organisation is planned.

In the area of Lavra Funicular, there was a collective mural presenting the only reference to the Women's Liberation Movement, set up in 1974. The body of the painted female figure is muscled, suggesting empowered feminism. In 2014, this mural, enhanced by a poem on women's emancipation, constituted an alternative to neoliberal remade masculinities.²⁹

Vanessa Teodoro's *Sisters' of Revolution* in Loures also conveys empowered feminism, but the concept of physical emancipation is enhanced by that of sisterhood.³⁰

Castells contends that, in the age of globalization and unmitigated expansion of capitalism, "feminism" as an empowered form of masculinity emerged as a counter identity to that of patriarchy:

If this assumption is challenged, the whole system crumbles: the linkage between controlled sex and reproduction of the species is called into question; sisterhood, and then women's revolt, become possible, by undoing the gendered division of sexual labor that splits women; and male bonding threatens manhood, thus undermining the cultural coherence of men-dominated institutions. (Castells 2010, 262)

These figures represent Liberty, Revolution and Equality and symbolically underpin the participation of three women in this initiative.³¹ Like the mural in Lavra, "Sisters of the Revolution" resonates with women's struggles for social and political visibility. Historically, Portuguese feminism's struggle is characterized by a refusal of hegemonic masculinity. This mural cannot be dissociated from the memory of the trial of Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa in 1973 for their publication of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*. In 2014, the 'trial of the three Marias' is artistically transformed into sisterhood. The voluptuous bodies in Teodoro's mural represent the memory of segregation and marginality; they reassert the right to speak about physicality, sexuality, and desire without risking humiliation.

Geography matters in these murals, as it does in Tamara Alves's mural. Whereas Teodoro's mural outside Lisbon center is still preserved, that in Lavra has already been removed.

The Colonial War was a major factor in the outbreak of the Carnation Revolution. Nonetheless, this fact is almost secondary in the representation of the Revolution in 2014. It is worth mentioning that the memory of the experience of the war exists but is dissociated from that of the Revolution. The link between both implies associating the memory of colonialism and

decolonization and the sympathy of many Portuguese soldiers with the African liberation movements. As mentioned above, this was the debate in which the right-wing avoided to engage, a decision that depoliticized the figure of the soldier. It is a “whitewashed psychic” Revolution (Gil 2004, 16). The memory of the war was almost non-existent in the murals and was replaced by degendered suffering: various degendered human figures under the banner “Tarrafal: Aldeia da Morte” (Tarrafal: Death Village).

The only identifiable figure blatantly associated with the Colonial War is Amílcar Cabral, the PAIGC leader, murdered by PAIGC dissidents plotting with the Directorate General of Security in 1973. The murals with Cabral in Alcântara and in Quinta do Mocho convey different discourses of memory. Whereas in Alcântara, it is a small mural, painted next to one with the flags of the Portuguese-speaking African countries, and integrated into a sequence of other murals about the Revolution, the mural of Amílcar Cabral covers the façade of a building in Quinta do Mocho. This was painted by António Alves. It is in the avenue that delimitates this neighbourhood from the direct road access to Lisbon and separates the underprivileged Cape-Verdean and Guinean families from the upper classes. It is a space of transition, the heterotopia that confronts the visitor with the reality of exclusion. This mural signals the memory of anticolonial resistance and the Guinean and Cape Verdean residents reactivate this memory by preserving this mural. The words *Unidade e Luta* (Unity and Struggle), the PAIGC motto, - non-existent in Alcântara - underpin the right to resist social exclusion.³²

Judith Butler contends that Frantz Fanon’s formulation “the black is not a man” is a critique of masculinity because it implies that blackness is an effeminized form; in other words, it is a subordinated form of masculinity. This also implies that masculinity and racial privilege shore up the notion of the human (Butler 2004, 13). A black man and a woman represent emasculated human forms. The depiction of Amílcar Cabral stems from the memory of the resistance that conjures 1974 as an incomplete project in 2014: the need to decolonize the memory of the Revolution. Symbolically, by introducing the issue of decolonization, this mural disavows racial privilege as part of masculinity. In the center of Lisbon, the memory of the colonial war and African liberation lacked assertiveness because it was in the middle of a sequence with other murals that represented different memories of 1974. In Quinta do Mocho, the mural is self-assertive. The fact that António Alves painted it – despite being integrated into a collective - is not a coincidence because, having worked as a muralist since the late years of the New State, he sees in murals a way to intervene politically and socially. Location and size underpin the right to resist social exclusion and through the representation of the PAIGC leader, this mural conveys masculinity through negritude.

Concluding Note

In conclusion, when the murals suggest that figures and values of the Revolution still carry meaning in 2014, they stand as recipients of the legacy of the Carnation Revolution and

acknowledge that the political memory associated with this utopia resonates with the resistance urged at times of economic recession and social unrest. Crises encourage people to believe in the possibility of alternative worlds as ways out. Ruth Levitas (Levitas 2013) argues that utopia should be considered the ideal method because only a form of utopian thought that engages with the actual institutional structure of the present, as well as the potential institutional structure of the future, can help us to move on. When alternative forms of masculinities are considered as forms of discursiveness to discuss history, they contribute to restore the utopian potential of the Revolution, because they provide discursiveness on feminism and negritude with the visibility the official memory currents of the Revolution denied them. The fact that they hardly penetrated the city center – and when they did, most were eventually washed off and replaced by other graffiti – and remained in the outskirts of the capital is indicative of these murals constituting acts of resistance. The fact that they still resist nowadays is also worthy of mention when considering utopias of resistance.

Masculinity understood as domination and power is not far from a butch and femme theory of performance when representing the Revolution in urban centers. It is the location of murals which establishes the difference and adds to the debate on masculinity. The memory of resistance is pictorially preserved in the periphery through feminism and negritude as empowered forms of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is associated with the depoliticized memory of the Revolution as a past event of the history of Portugal, whereas feminism and negritude call on the Revolution as a utopian revolutionary praxis and underline its political relevance in 2014.

Endnotes

1. In Portugal, the restoration of historical centres, such as Loulé, Nisa, Tomar and Vila Real and inaugurations of museums, libraries and cultural centres between the end of the 1980s and up till 1994, illustrate ways through which *the past was reified* for mass consumption (Traverso 2016, 11).
2. These are a few of the many autobiographies published between 1995 and 2000: Virgínia Moura (1996) *Mulher de Abril. Álbum de Memórias*; Dias Lourenço (1997). *Alentejo: Legenda e Esperança*; Carlos Brito (1998). *Tempo de Subversão. Páginas vividas da Resistência*; Jaime Serra (1999); *Eles têm o direito de saber. Páginas da Luta Clandestina*; António Almeida Santos (2000) *Quase Retratos*.
3. In 1994, the debate at the 20th anniversary of the Revolution, organized by SIC, the first private television station, was between José Tengarrinha, former political prisoner, Sousa e Castro, former member of the Revolutionary Council and Óscar Cardoso, former member of the New State police, who took the opportunity to deny any torture and executions carried out prior to 1974 (Loff, 2014:93)
4. Olga Gonçalves, Maria Velho da Costa, Ângela Caíres, Lídia Jorge, Juana Ruas and Wanda Ramos are among the women writers who, despite not having lived the Colonial War, wrote about it. Isabela Figueiredo (2009), *Cadernos de Memórias Coloniais*; Dulce Maria Cardoso (2012), *O Retorno* are examples of the publications on the late years of Portuguese colonialism and decolonization by women writers.

5. According to António Barreto, the percentage of women employees rose from around 20% in the 1960s to 50% in the 2000s; wage differences decreased, but men's wages were still 15-20% higher.
6. Since 2002, a few right-wing politicians have worn lapel carnations in Parliament on April 25. Manuel Loff pointed out that the generation of political leaders born in the end of the 1950s and in the 1960s wore the symbols of the Revolution and praised the Revolution in disengaged terms (Loff 2015, 137-38).
7. The North-American practice is mass-consumption-oriented, and pop iconography and figurative imagery are its correlates. The European tradition is engaged in combining practice with poetic, political and philosophical thoughts (Campos 2013). In the 1970s, Portuguese murals combined political thoughts with figurative imagery; in the late 2000s, Portuguese street art was closer to the North-American tradition. Portuguese murals showed what Tristan Manco defined as the overall shift of graffiti in the 21st century: from being predominantly topographic, graffiti evolved into iconographic art (Manco 2004, 16). Murals are more pop icon-inspired and considerably less politicized. Nevertheless, when the national economy deteriorated, the most critical murals of the government's measures in the city centre were male-authored. Examples include Nomen's halls of fame *Pray for Portugal*; *As Marionetas de Merkel*, associated with Slap and Kurtz; and *Jesse Passos Coelho James*, associated with Slap, Kurtz, Exas and Luka. They were painted in Amoreiras in 2012. After legislation on graffiti being introduced in 2013, masculinity was less a form of transgressive action than of transgressive discursiveness.
8. The Portuguese Association of Urban Art (APAURB) validated the projects and decided on the spots for the murals. This action also took place in other cities, such as Aveiro, Évora, Loures. In Loures, *25 de Abril 40 Anos 40 Murais* was integrated into the initiative *Os Muros que Abril Pinta*, organized by Loures City Council.
9. This invitation was within the framework of the conferences *A Revolução de Abril – Portugal 1974-75*, organized by the Institute of Contemporary History of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences (New University of Lisbon), in partnership with the Lisbon City Council, Mário Soares Foundation, José Saramago Foundation, the 25th April Association and D.Maria II National Theatre.
10. The law no. 61 of 23rd August 2013 regulates graffiti. Graffiti is forbidden in public places, such as monuments and public transport and penalties range between 100 and 25,000 Euros. Art.3 assigns authority to the city councils to decide on licensing graffiti.
11. António Alves decided to start the initiative in Alcântara, Lisbon, because there was a very large mural, painted during the PREC, which lasted for many years before it was vandalized and erased. Therefore, the initiative set off where the memory of the murals lasted longer. See https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/estorias/os-murais-de-alcantara_n729388. Particularly up to the 1990s, it was a typically working-class neighbourhood; recently, it has gradually been gentrified.
12. In her book on the representation of masculinities in Portuguese mass media, Soraya B. Januário concluded that *action-man* was the form of masculinity that prevailed in 2016: “a forte presença do “homem-ação”, promotora de um ideal de masculinidade, sobrepõe-se às demais” (A strong presence of action-man, promoting an ideal of masculinity prevails over any other) and acknowledged the persistence of patriarchy in Portuguese society (“resquícios de pensamentos sedimentados em ideias patriarcais” (remnants of thoughts grounded on patriarchal ideas) (Januário 2016, 357).
13. Those who paint graffiti and other forms of street art (hall of fames, throw-ups and tags), complying with a tradition influenced by the 1970s hip hop in New York, are called writers.
14. In 2014, António Alves was described as a “veteran of graffiti”, with outstanding work. See https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/estorias/os-murais-de-alcantara_n729388: “Mesmo os

- adversários políticos se viam forçados a prestar homenagem à arte do incansável grafiteiro, a quem chamariam com um misto de admiração e inveja mais um "pinta-paredes" maoista" (Even the political opponents could not help but recognizing the art of the tireless graffiter, whom they would call another maoist "wall painter" in a mixture of admiration and envy).
15. Seixas do Carmo, a member of the MRPP, recalled their militant activities, as follows: "Nós éramos novos e as pessoas tinham uma consciência grande dos problemas que atravessávamos na altura" (we were young and people in general were very much aware of the prevailing issues of that time). <https://sol.sapo.pt/artigo/103259/25-abril-ainda-ha-partidos-que-pintam-murais-politicos> The archives of Mário Soares Foundation show PCTP/MRPP murals, identifying their authors. Data show that there were a few women involved in mural painting after 1974. See <http://www.casacomum.org/cc/pesqArquivo?termo=alves+reis&facetFilterFundo=692>
 16. These include *Visual Street Performance*, the *Ebanocollective* project in Graça, *Wool* – Covilhã Festival of Urban Art, *Muro* –Lisbon Festival of Urban Art and *Loures* Festival of Urban Art.
 17. This shows the discursive nature of masculinity. In his *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault established that masculinity was a discursive phenomenon which conveyed a dispute on moral values (Foucault 1972, 49).
 18. I draw on Manuel Castell's work on identity construction. In his *The Power of Identity*, he examines the social, political, and cultural dynamics associated with the technological transformation of societies and with the globalization of the economy. He identifies three types of collective identity: the *legitimizing identity*; the *resistance identity* and the *project identity*. Whereas the *legitimizing identity* is introduced by the dominant institution of society to extend and rationalize their domination, generating a civil society, the *project identity* emerges when social actors build a new identity that redefines their position in society in the pursuit of the transformation of overall social structure. He gives the example of feminism moving out of the trenches of resistance of women's identity and women's rights, to challenge patriarchy, thus the entire structure of production, reproduction, sexuality, and personality on which societies have been historically based (Castells 2010, 8).
 19. *Atrapalharte*, *Zeca Afonso* See <http://www.cmloures.pt/Media/Microsite/Artepublicaloures/loures.html>
 20. Carlos Farinha, "25 de Abril", *Venham mais Sete*, GAU, Calçada da Glória, Lisbon. <http://farrinha.wixsite.com/carlos-farinha/fashion?lightbox=i11mdz>
 21. *40 Anos 40 Murais*. For Maria de Lourdes and Father Max, see <https://www.facebook.com/636423436406363/photos/a.636567573058616.1073741829.636423436406363/643290375719669/?type=3&theater>; For Ribeiro dos Santos, see <https://www.facebook.com/636423436406363/photos/a.636567573058616.1073741829.636423436406363/636983596350347/?type=3&theater>
 22. *40 Anos 40 Murais*. See <https://www.facebook.com/636423436406363/photos/a.636567573058616.1073741829.636423436406363/647081878673852/?type=3&theater>
 23. *40 Anos 40 Murais*. See <https://www.facebook.com/636423436406363/photos/a.636567573058616.1073741829.636423436406363/643291985719508/?type=3&theater>
 24. At an interview in 1999, Vasco Gonçalves was still a firm believer in the conceptual importance of utopia: "Para mim sem utopia não há progresso. A utopia sempre precedeu a ação e a luta pelas grandes ideias. Nunca será atingida, mas é um guia para a ação prática para estimular o empenhamento na luta pela felicidade do homem" (As far as I am concerned, if there is no utopia, there is no progress. Utopia has always preceded action and the struggle for grand ideas.

- It will never be fulfilled, but it is a guide for practice to foster the committed struggle for human happiness) (Armando da Silva Carvalho, "Ideais de Abril apontam para o futuro (The April ideals pointed towards the future)", *O Militante (The Militant)*, no.239, March-April 1999).
25. During his speech to Sorefame workers in May 1975, Vasco Gonçalves said, as follows: "Refiro-me sobretudo às mulheres. As mulheres são muito tímidas, têm medo de dar as suas ideias. Mas as mulheres têm uma força enorme dentro delas. Não vos julgueis inferiores aos homens, exprimi também as vossas ideias, discuti com os homens. As mulheres não devem pensar: — «isto aqui é trabalho de mulher, isto aqui é trabalho de homem». — Não devem pensar assim. [...] (I address particularly to women. Women are very shy, they are afraid of speaking up. But women hold enormous strength in them. Do not deem yourselves inferior to men, also speak your ideas and discuss them with men. Women should not think "this is a woman's work and that is a man's work – You should not think that way)" In Vasco Gonçalves's *Discursos, Conferências de Imprensa, Entrevistas*. Available at <https://www.marxists.org/portugues/goncalves-vasco/1975/05/17.htm>
 26. Onésimo Teotónio Almeida points out that 25th April 1974 emerged as a utopian construct stemming from Marxism and the establishment of a new world alongside the rebirth of a new man (Almeida 2017, 295).
 27. "Estabelecendo um paralelismo com os murais do período revolucionário consequente à Revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974, Catarina Vaz Pinto referiu que estas intervenções "mantêm o olhar transgressor e contestatário" de então, *com atualidade artística*, mas evocando os valores do movimento libertador. "A revolução está aqui, está dentro de nós", concluiu a autarca" (Establishing a comparison between the murals painted during the revolutionary period following the Revolution on 24th April 1974, Catarina Vaz Pinto stated that these interventions "convey the transgressive and contesting gaze of that time with artistic up-to-dateness, at the same time they call on the values of the liberating movement. "The Revolution is here, inside us", the councilwoman concluded). In <http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/arte-urbana-evoca-25-de-abril>
 28. Tamara Alves, *25 de Abril Hoje*, Lisbon City Council. See <http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/concurso-arte-urbana-25-de-abril-hoje>
 29. 40 Anos 40 Murais. See <https://www.facebook.com/636423436406363/photos/a.636567573058616.1073741829.636423436406363/673047669410606/?type=3&theater>
 30. Vanessa Teodoro, *Sisters of the Revolution*, Loures, See <http://www.cmloures.pt/Media/Microsite/Artepublicaloures/loures.html>
 31. Information given by Vanessa Teodoro on email sent to me on 24th November 2017. The third woman was Catarina Monteiro aka Glam. Her mural is abstract and, consequently, it is not examined in this article.
 32. António Alves, *Amílcar Cabral*, Quinta do Mocho. *40 Anos 40 Murais*. See <https://www.facebook.com/636423436406363/photos/a.636567573058616.1073741829.636423436406363/752730928108946/?type=3&theater>

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