

# Murales Bolognese: Visual Representation of Italian Urban Culture

Eugen Glăvan\*

*Institute Research for the Quality of Life, Romanian Academy, Romania*

**Abstract:** *The city of Bologna (Italy) is mainly known for the rich and well-preserved history, the left-wing political opinions of its inhabitants and for the one of the lowest child birth rates in a European city. These aspects, combined with the fact that the city has the largest university in Europe in terms of number of students, shapes the local urban culture in a particular way. This paper investigates the visual manner in which some inhabitants of Bologna, collectively known as “graffers”, express themselves in an attempt to identify the characteristics of their public voice. Such expression is often in contradiction with the way in which the town officials wish to promote a certain image of Bologna based on historical tradition. The methods of visual sociology are used to analyse the graffiti in terms of locations and content, in an attempt to explain the process of socialisation in a stable and prosperous society.*

**Keywords:** graffiti; subculture; Bologna; visual sociology.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** graffiti; subcultură; Bologna; sociologie vizuală.

## Introduction

There is a lot of debate over the graffiti in the urban landscape: is it art or vandalism? In social science, we talk about it in relation to petty crimes, urban decay or a symbolic form of resistance, and it is a significant way to investigate the characteristics of a social body. This paper investigates how the graffiti on the buildings and infrastructure of the city of Bologna (Italy) communicates the tensions, aspirations and moods of the local residents who feel that their perspective does not fit into the canonical and, sometimes, restrictive mainstream standpoint. By doing so, the paper also speaks about the Bolognese inhabitants, part of a rich and culturally developed society, who try to comprehend the contrasting aspects of various cultural phenomena with which they have contact. This research approaches graffiti from a structural point of

view, considering it an “unobtrusive measure to reveal patterns of customs and attitudes of a society” (Stocker et al., 1972, 356) and “accurate indicator of the social attitudes of a community” (Gonos, Mulkern and Poushinsky, 1976, 41). The challenges of cultural diffusion in Bologna represented by modern processes of production, American media and the high rate of immigrants from northern Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia are balanced by tradition. Whether we talk about the Bolognese spaghetti, the oldest university in the world or the cultural heritage, the tensions between old and new are always present in the life of the city.

## Theoretical Approach

Graffiti, as a public expression of a person or a group, written or drawn on the surface of the building is not something new in human society.

---

\* Institute Research for the Quality of Life, Romanian Academy, Calea 13 Septembrie Street, no. 13, Bucharest, Romania. E-mail: eugen@iccv.ro.

Some of the oldest may be found in the ancient Roman city of Pompeii, which was destroyed by the eruption of the Vesuvius volcano in 79 AD. In one of the first systematic descriptions of the ruins of the city, Thomas Dyer described the messages on the walls made by chalk, coal or paint. The content of these messages varies from poetic verses to scurrilous, indecent texts, names, and, in the case of interior graffiti, memorandums of domestic transactions. Noting the volume and diversity of the graffiti found in the city, Dyer concludes *"We have already alluded now and then to the rude etchings and caricatures of these wall-artists, but to enter fully into the subject of the Pompeian inscriptions and graffiti would almost demand a separate volume, and we must therefore resume the thread of our description"* (Dyer, 1867). The term "graffiti" (singular: *graffito*) means *to scratch*, and it originates from the Italian word "*graffiare*". In modern times, it covers any lettering or images on public or private property made by scratching, painting, sketching or marking that is visually accessible to the public. A particular aspect of graffiti is the ambiguous nature of interpretation in terms of its legal or illegal status, which is often not clearly defined. In such cases, we talk about *interstitial practice* (Brighenti, 2010, 316) between art and design, criminal law, politics and the market.



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/12](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/12)

**Figure 1:** According to the tag, a piece done by Rusty and Steno, famous graffitiers from Bologna, on the railway bridge on Libia Street

The characteristics of modern graffiti originated in the 1960s in American urban environments such as Philadelphia and New York. The history retains the pseudonym of TAKI 183 who started to cover the entire city with his name written in or outside the cars of the New York subway. By doing so, he shaped the "*tag*", the first form of expression of modern *graffers* or *writers* (the person who executed the graffiti), done extremely quickly, sometimes with marker pens, scratched on the surface, but often with spray cans (Othen-Price, 2006, 7). Tagging evolved into *lettering*, a customised shape for a name, nickname or text, made in a particular and easily recognisable form, often a trademark of a *graffer*. Graffiti was often associated with the hip-hop music culture as a means of visual expression, and along with other elements, such as MCing (rapping), DJing and B-boying (break dancing), was encountered from the start with resistance and misunderstanding, due to the counter-cultural expression of the *graffers* and the secrecy of their identity (Eglash, 2010). The clash with local authorities soon emerged; the painting of the trains and subways of New York turned to "*whole train*" (a method by which all surfaces are covered with drawings), forcing MTA (Metropolitan Transit Authorities) to spend over US\$300,000 dollars in the 1960s and 1970s to remove it (ARPONE, 2001). The illegal and antagonistic character of graffiti is also shown by the use of a militaristic theme in the language of the young people involved, who are organised in "*crews*" (organised groups of writers), "*bombing*" (cover an area with tags, throwups, etc., in an attempt to let the public and the other *graffers* know that the control of the area is claimed) or "*to front*" (to hassle someone, to want to fight; probably from "confront") (Chad, 2010).

The competitions for fame divides writers into kings, muralists and taggers (ironically called "*toys*", the lowest *graffers* in ranking or prestige). Sometimes, the aim is to fully cover something with tags, *throwups* (graffiti executed very quickly with reduced complexity) or "*pieces*" (a painting with at least three colours), with

the competition degenerating into confrontations (Othen-Price, 2006, 8). Nevertheless, there is little violence between writers because “Whatever their class, race, ethnicity, religion, or age, writers define themselves not by what they look like, or what language they speak, or what clothes they wear, but by what they do. Their identities are as writers first, and as members of ethnic, religious, and other subgroups second” (Snyder, 2009).

The majority of the writers are young males (Macdonald, 2001; Othen-Price, 2006) in the search for a voice, masculinity and status (Macdonald, 2001, 228), in a time when different style of life generated by social stratification increased misunderstanding between social groups. From New York, the graffiti spread and evolved to become a global phenomenon. In Europe, graffiti arrived in the mid-1980s. It was promoted by the media as part of the hip-hop culture, becoming increasingly popular and moving from subculture to mainstream. The focus of the European writers became wall paintings, but things were slightly different due to the increased possibility of achieving legitimate notoriety through exhibits or paid works. The interest of the cultural market in graffiti led to its appreciation as a form of art, and this was consistent with changes in the content and techniques used for graffiti. This evolution is outlined by Daniel and Timothy Gross in three phases of the visible form in the historical development of graffiti. They refer to: (i) the imitative phase, which is pictorial; (ii) the transition phase where letters and words become increasingly important; and (iii) the apocryphal phase which depicts words in disguise (Best, 2003, 839).

In social science, the theoretical approach to graffiti is hindered by the visual manner of expression, which leads to a variety of interpretations. In contrast with the reliance on more and more advanced techniques for image construction in fields such as medicine, astronomy or criminology, the theoretical, empirical and analytical use of images in social sciences is scarce. The lack of reflection about the functions of the images in society, their mode of production and

the channels of distribution could have generated the “dead eye” (Durand, 1999, 202), the passive and uncritical reception of the images. From cartoons to images of wars and natural disasters, this is an attitude representative of, but not limited to, television watchers. In particular, Durand speaks about “the anonymity of the images’ fabrication”, and this is also valid for graffiti. No wonder this mode of expression is depicted in Marxist theory as a “symbolic form of resistance”, as a counter-hegemonic response to hegemonic categories (Best, 2003, 829). For Howard Becker, graffiti is the result of a number of individuals and local situations, and not just a result of macro political and ideological dialectics (Becker, 2008). From a feminist point of view, the masculinity profile of the graffiti presents “dire consequences on women’s inclusion in public space and therefore need to be understood as important public policy concerns” (Rosewarne, 2004, 31). A psychoanalytic approach presents the hypothesis that wall writing is an act of revenge “provoked by feelings of being left out, neglected or separated” (Lomas, cited by Othen-Price, 2006, 15). These different explanations are apprehended by some authors beyond the values of the various writers aiming to identify “ways in which individuals are considered to demonstrate attachment to particular beliefs and values through conformance with or rebellion against prevailing mores” (Sliwa and Cairns, 2007, 75). Finally, the poststructuralist approach is concerned with graffiti’s multiple meanings and the potential to mean anything that its wide audience wants it to mean (Best, 2003, 830).



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/29](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/29)

**Figure 2:** *The San Donato Market, one of the places in Bologna most covered with graffiti*

## Presentation of Research Field

The city of Bologna is situated in Northern Italy in the Po Valley and is the capital city of Emilia-Romagna. In 2007, 377,320 people were residing in Bologna of whom 46.7% were male, and 53.3% were female (ISTAT, 2010). Two facets of demographic structure should be noted, the per cent of minors and immigration. In the first case, Bologna has one of the lowest percentages of children and teens across Italian cities (12.86%, compared with the Italian average of 18.06%), and for the second facet, the highest number of immigrants 20,872 (89.47% of the population was Italian) (ISTAT, 2010). Most of all, three aspects of the city retain attention and are commonly expressed as “*La dotta, la grassa, la rossa*”. *La dotta* means “*the learned one*” being a reference to the oldest university in the world, founded in 1088. Today, Bologna has one of the largest universities in Europe, with the population of the students in session exceeding 400,000. *La grassa* is a reference to the high level of development of the local cuisine and the degree of refinement that is involved in dining. *La rossa* is an attribute depicting the colour of the roof in the historic centre and the left wing political orientation of the city; after the Second World War, the city was a bastion for the Italian

Communist Party. Nevertheless, Bologna has a major industrial sector based on private firms, such as *Ducati* and *Lamborghini* in the automobile field, *Conserve Italia* in food processing or *Coesia* in machinery. Complemented by financial services and exhibition capabilities (the Fiera District is one of the largest exhibition centres in Europe) and facilitated by the dense network of highways and railways that cross the city, the city of Bologna maintains a high level of quality of life.

## Methodology

The research methods comprise techniques from visual sociology that are able to capture the features of graffiti. As an image category that contains textual meanings, sometimes explicit, other times hidden in codes, graffiti includes the great paradox of visibility in the social sciences: the omnipresent image is not suitable for analysis and for communicating knowledge. It is not the aim to deepen the controversy, but it must be said that the structural approach that we chose to analyse the graffiti from Bologna is the direct result of efforts to develop new ways of interpreting a significant category of pictures from urban areas.

One of the limits of this research is the insufficient coverage of certain aspects. If we adopt the recommendation to “*take into consideration the plain text and symbols, the authors, the purpose, the audience and the context of the graffiti*” (Sinnreich, 2004, 54), we find that the development of graffiti is largely uncovered, due to the limited time available and the superficial knowledge of the Italian language. Also, people’s attitudes towards this phenomenon are unknown, because there is a lack of information obtained through representative research. One thing is certain: if we consider that the Italian city of Bologna has the highest expenditure on graffiti removal we can assume that the attitude of the authorities reflects the position of the inhabitants. For example, *Reperto Sicurezza Urbana e Antidegrado* (The Department of Urban Security and against Deterioration) of the muni-

cial police is very active in a campaign launched in 2013 by the Mayor Virginio Merola called “*Stretta contro i writer*” (“Hold against the writer”) (Marceddu, 2013). In addition, many travel guides specify that the historic buildings of the city are marred with graffiti.

The graffiti has been visually sighted throughout the city of Bologna, most often in the Old City and the main streets, as well as certain inaccessible, areas such as railway lines or football stadiums. Access routes can be easily identified due to the typical circular medieval fortress architecture of the city centre. Therefore, the researcher used the architecture of the city to catalogue all the graffiti found on the main streets connected by access gates or medieval city walls to the centre of the city, such as Via San Donato, Via Stalingrado, Via Zanardi, Via A. Saffi, Via Andreea Costa, Via Saragoza, Via Murri and Via Massarenti. In the centre, or interior wall, medieval buildings and sinuous networks of roads do not allow easy identification of the main arteries, therefore it was decided to catalogue graffiti from all streets. Graffiti sites were categorised by photo shooting, using a Fuji FinePix 5100 camera. Managed with Adobe Lightroom, the database contains 2,638 images taken between May and October 2010. It is difficult to determine the precise number of graffiti, but it is probably enough to say that over 90% of the buildings are marked with graffiti. In many cases, they overlap, the result of a *throwup*, or lack of space, partial deletion, etc. The processing of the images revealed a loosely estimated number of 4,500 graffiti drawings, excluding the tags and the small and incomprehensible *throwups*.

Given the specificity of the graffiti material, content analysis combined with interpretative techniques were chosen as the research methods. Content analysis is a method of study in which a collection of available data is subject to quantitative and qualitative analysis. The object is to find distinctive qualities in the data, such as repetitive patterns, and to determine the frequency within the content. This will include a specific content type, presence or absence of qualities, types and sorting by type, origin or source and degree of

intensity. For Mucchielli, content analysis falls into the category of quasi-qualitative analysis as a method targeting measurement, while qualitative methods aim to target “reading”, meaning “discourse comprehension” (Mucchielli, 2002, 34). The research design follows the steps recommended for this approach (Rose, 2001, 56-63), with certain limitations due to the difficulty in identifying some graffiti:

**Step I – Find pictures: choice of images.** In this case, each graffiti was recorded by photography without make a selection. We mentioned that certain areas of the city were not accessible, such as railway tracks or football stadia, but the graffiti pictured are representative of the visible part of the city.

**Step II – Developing categories for coding.** “Coding” means attaching a set of descriptive labels; rigorous content analysis lies in the structure of categories used in the encoding process. Codes must be: (a) exhaustive – every aspect of the image should be covered with a single category; (b) exclusive – categories cannot overlap; and (c) enlightening – each class must produce “a breaking point of the image that will be interesting, analytical and coherent” (Slater, cited by Rose, 2001, 60). Codification must be dependent on the theoretical connections between the images and the cultural context in which they are produced; for some codes that will describe the theories on which they were chosen. Connections between text, context and code require a careful choice for the integrity of this connection to be judged as valid (Krippendorff, 1980).

**Step III – Encoding.** The process of encoding of the results must be replicable. For example, Lutz and Collins’s research coding was undertaken independently by two coders, resulting in 86% overlap (Rose, 2001, 62). Applying any set of codes must be done carefully and systematically. The codes used to analyse the graffiti are shown below:

**Table 1:** *The codes used for analysing the graffiti from Bologna*

<b>Support</b>	1. Wall. 2. Fence. 3. Shop window/glass. 4. Street furniture. 5. Billboard. 6. Sidewalk. 7. Blind.
<b>Height</b>	1. At street level, 2. 2–4 meters high.
<b>Dimensions</b>	1. Small (less than 10 cm). 2. Average (50 cm–1 m). 3. Large (over 1 m).
<b>Format</b>	1. Drawing. 2. Written. 3. Written stylised three-dimensional. 4. Drawing and written.
<b>Colour</b>	1. One colour. 2. Two colours. 3. Three colours. 4. Four or more colours.
<b>Content</b>	1. Intelligible. 2. Partly understandable. 3. Unintelligible.
<b>Message</b>	1. Politics. 2. Personal. 3. Philosophical. 4. Marketing. 5. Personal ads. 6. Simple signatures (single colour). 7. High volume signature, filled with colour. 7. Not applicable (unintelligible content).

**Step IV – Analysis.** Results must be able to be related to similar research. Explaining the studied phenomenon must follow the following directions:

1. *Codification* – authentic reformulation of reality experienced and manifested or expressed; release essential part of the testimony offered or observed situation. Given the reduced scheme of codes, perhaps the most important aspect to mention is the fact that it only captures characteristic features, not the specific ones. An in-depth analysis should include, in the first place, an interpretation schema for tags or lettering due to the high number present in Bologna.

2. *Categorisation* – word or phrase that means, at a high level of abstraction, a cultural phenomenon, social or psychological as perceived in a corpus of data. The process consists in concise, fair and adequate defining, finding properties, isolating the distinctive elements and identifying the conditions of existence. Specific levels of categorisation come from within the *graffers* subculture (such as lettering versus pieces) or external (e.g. codes of context such as the support, visibility or colour), as does the necessity to integrate visual speech in a coherent message, where it exists.

3. *Putting the relationship and highlights* – answer the questions “Does what we have here, correspond with what we have there?” Are the graffiti from Bologna a form of expression that can be understood and integrated into the visual discourse of the city? What is the main issue carried out by *graffers*?



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/30](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/30)

**Figure 3:** *In the left of the image a blind from the “marketed” category and in the right side tags graffiti; it is worth noting that the piece is not capped*

5. *Modelling* – reproduce, as faithfully as possible, the organisation of structural and functional relationships that characterise the phenomenon, mainly limited to the end of the operation of integration. What are the properties of this phenomenon, why are there so many graffiti in Bologna? What is the history behind the transformation of the city into a host for renowned *graffers* and their work? Can we outline the evolution and its consequences?

6. *Theorising* – processes: theoretical sampling, analytical induction and verification of theoretical implications. Given the above-mentioned limitations of the paper and the emphasis

on the description of visual representations in the form of graffiti from the city, this component is only explored to a limited degree.

## Results

In terms of location, in Bologna the patterns reported by researchers when analysing European graffiti were found on walls, buildings or fences, detrimental to moving vehicles, such as trains. In any case, there are no subways in Bologna, but no buses or other transportation is covered with graffiti. The main locations where graffiti are drawn are the bridges over the railroad north of the town, Piazza San Donato, the fruit and flower market or Liceo Scientifico *Copernico Nicolo*. In addition, approximately 90% of downtown buildings are labelled with at least one graffiti, probably favoured by the narrowness of streets and specific porticoes architecture, which creates many blind spots.



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/48](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/48)

**Figure 4:** *Pieces, tags, lettering and stencils on the Railway Bridge on Via San Donato*

The involvement of the authorities in removing the graffiti is visible, with most *pieces* bearing the mark of the year 2009 or 2010 as the time of execution. The problem is that removing the graffiti with a uniform layer of paint creates a space conducive to the performance of a new graffiti. In addition, an initiative has triggered a

fierce debate, when a civic organisation trying to remove graffiti was accused of destroying historic buildings by using a poor quality of paint. Most of the decision-making personnel for the institutional buildings (City Hall, museums, kindergartens or schools) are involved in controlling the phenomenon either by removing graffiti or by installing surveillance cameras and the use of security personnel. One exception is the street furniture installed by the Catholic Church to collect donations. In most cases, this urban furniture is inscribed with graffiti on all sides and there is no sign that someone has tried to remove it.

Talking about types of graffiti, one particular aspect is that stencils, a reusable template which can be painted fast with a paint-brush or spray-can (Manco, 2002, 7), are almost entirely missing from the Bolognese *graffers'* repertoire. Only two models which appear more than ten times were identified and could be spotted in larger areas, and they refer to attachment to leftist political ideals, "*Antif a sempre*" (which means antifascist forever) and the exhortation to learn ("*Stay on the barricades for a better education*"). One explanation could be that there are no groups in the city that try to promote their ideas in this manner, considering the fact that stencils are used to quickly, recognisably and uniformly spread a particular message. Another explanation may be attributed to the possible involvement of the authorities who can assign these messages to individuals or groups that they can then prosecute.

In terms of content, analysis of the elements of graffiti found that the vast majority of them are composed of tags or lettering. Because only items with comprehensive content were taken into account, the graffiti with figuratively or obscure content will have to be cleared up following a discussion with *writers* or *graffers* in another research approach. A salient category is represented by "institutional" or "marketed" graffiti, which is located on the blinds of downtown shops. Given the fact that almost all shops have blinds, the personal interpretation is that could be a marketing action of space owners who wants to portray a specific image of their

business. The content of this graffiti is explicit, and it is consistent with the profile of the stores, most of them small businesses, such as *pizzerias*. Judging from the labelled data, this category is relatively recent, since 2008, and is respected by others *graffers* since most of them are not *cap-ped* (to put a line through, or tag over, another's graffiti; this is considered a deep insult).



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/31](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/31)

**Figure 5:** An example of “marketed” graffiti, a blind from a *pizzeria*

Political graffiti messages reflect the leftist options of the majority of the population of the city, for instance “*Ne servi, ne padroni*”, “*EZLN*”, “*Ste’ libero*”, “*Bush ladro*”, “*Morte al fascio*”, etc. There are just a few tens of such political posts, representing the largest category of explicit graffiti messages. In Figure 6 is photographed an example from current anti-globalization protest (Cover, 2002, 285), a form of appropriation of the public space of the city and protection against the official discourse. The most relevant aspect is that they reflect the political attitude of the majority of the population, and they are consistent with the leftist political opinion of the Bolognese inhabitants.



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/repository/items/show/32](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/repository/items/show/32)

**Figure 6:** An example of political graffiti. The message written in Italian says “To kill the fascist is not a crime, it is the justice of the proletariat”

In the “love” category, the number of explicit messages is reduced, confirming the identity of the male *graffers* (messages addressed mostly to females); also, messages containing references to drugs, sports (which refer more to other football teams and players, not to the locals), and immigrants are scarce.

A particular feature is the absence of the territoriality of graffiti, the characteristic of “turf ownership” (Ley and Cybriwsky, 1974, 496) found in the early culture of the illegal street imagery. Just two texts – “Lime” and “SWOC” – were identified in different areas of Bologna (and both are classic expressions), a thing that is likely to allow us to say that the subculture nature of graffiti is diminished in the city.

## Discussion

Further inquiries are necessary to develop a complete picture of public images from Bologna. Whilst the “art” component of graffiti is consistent in the market category or figurative

pieces, the very large number of tags instils a sense of abandonment. The investigation of attitudes of the inhabitants regarding graffiti may be valuable, taking into account the existence of three distinct components of the public: the Italian or immigrant population, the temporary students and the tourists. Each of them perceive the graffiti differently, and the change of dynamics in style or number is possible considering the resources they can mobilize.

Graffiti analysis in the city of Bologna does

not locally confirm the subculture character of the phenomenon. Authors seem rather to make their presence visible without sending a clear message; there is no territoriality expressed aggressively. There are several areas in town that could qualify to be preserved and promoted for tourism, such as the flower and fruit market or San Donato Bridge. In this category we can place graffiti made, it seems, by BLU (BLU, n.d.), a famous concealed writer that supposedly lives and creates in Bologna.



Source: personal archive at [www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/33](http://www.sociologic.ro/repository/items/show/33)

**Figure 7:** *A piece supposedly done by BLU, which could be classified as street art and preserved for touristic purposes*

The punitive action of local authorities aiming to prevent the drawing of graffiti in the town of Bologna is not accompanied by proactive measures able to create some space for *graffers* to express themselves. In terms of Banksy (Banksy, n.d.), it would probably be an asset for the city that young people are attracted to using fewer graffiti tags and more personal sign and logos, stylised pictograms that challenge the corporate branding (Manco, 2004, 8). The fact that graffiti is dominated by tags and lettering

in Bologna can be an indicator that the young people are ignored by society and they feel the need to express themselves and become famous in this way. In Los Angeles and other cities the effort of local authorities to remove graffiti, including imprisonment or fines, made no difference (Alonso, 1998, 11). The Mayor of Bologna should therefore be prepared to make alternative arrangements to integrate the vision of *graffers* into the city's public image.

## References

- Alonso, A. (1998) *Urban Graffiti on the City Landscape*. Paper presented at the Western Geography Graduate Conference San Diego.
- ARPONE (2001) *The history of Graffiti-Writing*. Paper presented at the Graffiti-Workshop 'Europa 2001', Vienna. Available at <http://www.hiphop-network.com/articles/graffitiarticles/historyofgraff-arpone.asp>.
- Banksy (n.d.) (2014) Banksy Website. Available at <http://banksy.co.uk/>. Accessed on March 12, 2014.
- Becker, H. S. (2008) *The Perceptions of Graffiti in Canada*. Available at <http://www.hiphoparea.com/graffiti/the-perceptions-of-graffiti-in-canada.html>.
- Best, C. (2003) Reading Graffiti in the Caribbean Context. *The Journal of Popular Culture*, 36, 4, 828-852. doi: 10.1111/1540-5931.00047.
- BLU (2014) BLU Website. Available at <http://blu-blu.org/>. Accessed on February 12, 2014.
- Brighenti, A. M. (2010) At the Wall: Graffiti Writers, Urban Territoriality, and the Public Domain. *Space and Culture*, 13, 3, 315-332. doi: 10.1177/1206331210365283.
- Chad (2010) The Words: A Graffiti Glossary. Available at <http://www.graffiti.org/faq/graffiti.glossary.html>. Accessed on December 15, 2010.
- Cover, R. (2002) Some Cunts: Graffiti, Globalisation, Injurious Speech and 'Owning' Signification. *Social Semiotics*, 12, 3, 269-290.
- Durand, G. (1999) *Aventurile imaginii. Imaginația simbolică. Imaginarul*. București: Nemira.
- Dyer, T. H. (1867) *Pompeii. Part II: The Private Houses of Pompeii*. Available at <http://italy.library4history.org/index.html>.
- Eglash, R. (2010) *Culturally Situated Design Tools. Graffiti Grapher: Cartesian and Polar Coordinate Geometry in Graffiti Culture*. Available at <http://www.ccd.rpi.edu/Eglash/csd/subcult/graffiti/index.html>. Accessed on November 12, 2010.
- Gonos, G., Mulkern, V. and Poushinsky, N. (1976) Anonymous Expression: A Structural View of Graffiti. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 89, 351, 40-48.
- ISTAT (2010) *Demography in Figures*. Available at [http://demo.istat.it/index\\_e.html](http://demo.istat.it/index_e.html). Accessed on December 08, 2010.
- Krippendorff, K. H. (1980) *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. London: Sage Publications.
- Ley, D. and Cybriwsky, R. (1974) Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 64, 4, 491-505.
- Macdonald, N. (2001) *The Graffiti Subculture Youth, Masculinity and Identity in London and New York*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Manco, T. (2002) *Stencil Graffiti*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Manco, T. (2004) *Street Logos*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Marceddu, D. (2013) Street Art, denunciata a Bologna la writer AliCè. I suoi graffiti ammirati nel mondo, *il Fatto Quotidiano*. Available at <http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2013/10/21/street-art-denunciata-a-bologna-writer-alice-suoi-graffiti-ammirati-nel-mondo/751380/>.
- Mucchielli, A. (2002) *Dicționar al metodelor calitative în științele umane și sociale*. Iași: Polirom.
- Othen-Price, L. (2006) Making their mark: A psychodynamic view of adolescent graffiti writing. *Psychodynamic Practice*, 12, 1, 5-17. doi: 10.1080/14753630500472059.
- Rose, G. (2001) *Visual Methodologies*. London: Sage.
- Rosewarne, L. (2004) *Visual Terror: Graffiti and Outdoor Advertising as Street Harassment*. Paper presented at the Australasian Political Science Association Conference, Adelaide. Available at [http://www.adelaide.edu.au/apsa/docs\\_papers/Others/Rosewarne.pdf](http://www.adelaide.edu.au/apsa/docs_papers/Others/Rosewarne.pdf).

Sinnreich, H. J. (2004) Reading the Writing on the Wall: A Textual Analysis of Łodz Graffiti. *Religion, State & Society*, 32, 1, March.

Sliwa, M. and Cairns, G. (2007) Exploring Narratives and Antenarratives of Graffiti Artists: Beyond Dichotomies of Commitment and Detachment. *Culture and Organization*, 13, 1, 73-82. doi: 10.1080/14759550601167321.

Snyder, G. J. (2009) *Graffiti Lives. Beyond the Tag in New York's Urban Underground*. New York: New York University Press.

Stocker, T. L., Dutcher, L. W., Hargrove, S. M. and Cook, E. A. (1972). Social Analysis of Graffiti. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 85, 338, Oct.-Dec., 356-366.