

## Graffiti in Libya as Meaningful Literacy

**Hend M. Ghouma**

English Department

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

U.S.A

### Abstract

Graffiti as a form of public behavior is a reflection of graffiti artists' intentions, thinking, and surroundings. This study aims to analyze the graffiti portrayed in three areas in the capital city of Libya, Tripoli, in relation to the Libyan's social and cultural context. The study attempts to answer three questions: (1) what are the main themes addressed in the graffiti collected? (2) What does the graffiti reflect in terms of the socio-cultural context of Libya? (3) What is the function of graffiti? And what are the implications of graffiti in second language literacy? The data consists of 79 pictures of graffiti. A quantitative content analysis was adopted as the research methodology. A coding system was developed to categorize the pictures of graffiti into different themes. Results of the study indicate that political issues comprise the largest number (around 64 percent of the graffiti), second are the social demands and issues (approximately 25 percent of the graffiti). The significance of the study lies in shedding light on the importance of graffiti as a representation of a new era in the history of the country and as a reflection of the socio-cultural context. The study also provides pedagogical implications of graffiti as a form of meaningful literacy and discusses how graffiti can be used in second language (L2) teaching and learning.

**Keywords:** Functions of graffiti, graffiti, Libya, pedagogical implications, socio-cultural context

**Cite as:** Ghouma, H. M. (2015). Graffiti in Libya as Meaningful Literacy. *Arab World English Journal*, 8 (1).

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.24093/awej/vol6no1.30>

## Introduction

Graffiti is considered an expressive art form that aims to gain attention. It can be used to convey different ideas and to serve different functions, such as indicating one's affiliation to a certain group, affirming one's existence or expressing control over a certain territory (Hanauer, 1999). As "a powerful mode of expression" for those who feel ostracized by society or ignored by the media, it is often conceived as an antisocial act performed by groups or individuals (Hanauer, 2004, p. 30). Throughout the years, continued research has been conducted on the genre of graffiti located on bathroom walls (Kody, 2006), classroom walls (Sehgal, 2013) and the publicly accessible wall that witnessed the assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Rabin (Hanauer, 2004).

The focus of this study is graffiti as a form of meaningful literacy that represents personal experiences and reflections and encompasses a potential source for interpretation and emergence in the various political and socio-cultural aspects of Libya. Finally, the study draws on some of the implications of how graffiti can be used in L2 classrooms and how the graffiti in this very study could potentially be a source of data for second language teaching and learning.

## History of Libya: Gadhafi's Rule 1969-2011

Libya came into existence after independence in 1951 and became known as the Kingdom of Libya. In 1969, first lieutenant Gadhafi led a coup that ousted the king and declared Libya a republic (Mogariaf, 2008). The country's name was changed once again in 1977 when the nation was declared to be ruled by its people and to be known as "Libyan Arab Jamahiriya," a name that lasted until the death of Gadhafi in 2011. Afterwards, the National Transitional Council (NTC), recognized then as the functional political entity of Libya during the uprising, declared that the nation is to be called "Libya" as of October 23, 2011.

The Libyan flag has been changed several times between 1951 and 2011. The flag that was adopted by the kingdom from 1951-1969 consisted of three equal stripes of red, black and green from the top to the bottom with a crescent and a star on the flag's black stripe. During the rule of Gadhafi, the flag changed three times and settled eventually on solid green. When the war erupted in Libya in February 2011, the kingdom's flag appeared on the scene again to represent the opposition forces led by the NTC that fought against and toppled Gadhafi's rule.

Economically, Libya was a poor country until the discovery of oil in the beginning of the 1960s, when the country started to undergo infrastructural and economic development (Hilsum, 2012). Under Gadhafi's rule, the country went through different stages of inconsistent developmental changes. In 1990 the U.N. imposed economic sanctions and political isolation due to Gadhafi's refusal to extradite to the United States two Libyans who were accused of carrying out the 1988 Lockerbie bombing in Scotland. In 2004, the United Nations lifted the sanctions on Libya. However, Libya's economy continued to decline. The economy and welfare of the country continued to suffer because of the corruption and the rule of one man.

The Libyan people were marginalized for decades during the rule of Gadhafi. The same people who were in power continued to rotate among different major government positions for decades. The era of Gadhafi's rule was well known for the corruption and deterioration of all aspects of life: economic, social, and political. Bribes, exploitation and dishonesty were rampant due to the nature of the regime that relied on dishonest people to keep it alive and going. Khan (2013) argued that "[t]he bribe culture flourished in the time of former regime..." and affected all sectors of the Libyan society.

In 1996 a massacre in the notorious Tripoli prison, Abu-Salim, led to the deaths of more than 1,000 inmates. The details of the massacre were concealed until 2009. Finally, families of

victims started to receive death certificates of their relatives killed in the prison; however, no bodies were returned to the families. For months, families of the victims demonstrated in front of a court in Benghazi, protesting and demanding to know the fate of their relatives and the return of their bodies. On February 15, 2011, Gadhafi's security forces detained the lawyer of Abu-Salim's victims. Sympathizers joined the protests of the enraged families; the group's attack on security forces ignited the 2011 uprising (Hilsum, 2012). Benghazi was one of the first cities that declared its independence from the rule of Gadhafi on February 19, 2011, and Tripoli was declared free six months later.

### ***Graffiti in Libya***

Before 2011, graffiti in general was uncommon in Libya, and political graffiti did not exist. Graffiti depicting Gadhafi appeared in the declared free cities right after the war erupted (Givoianni, 2011). This graffiti that still exists today tells a story of man who ruled the country for 42 years and was killed in October 2011 by the same youths he vowed to destroy (Muammer Gadhafi speech translated, February 2011).

Graffiti in Libya after February 17, 2011, represents a shift in power and authority. Graffiti of Gadhafi in particular represents the collapse of a long, steadfast authoritarian form of power in Libya. Before the revolution, pictures of Gadhafi occupied every office, public square, school, and major streets in Libya.

### **Research Questions**

- What are the main themes addressed in the graffiti collected?
- What does the graffiti reflect in terms of the socio-cultural context of Libya?
- What is the function of graffiti? And what are the pedagogical implications of the graffiti in this study in relation to L2 literacy?

### **Methodology**

A quantitative content analysis was adopted as the research methodology of the photographs of the graffiti. Because the study aims at finding the socio-cultural aspects that graffiti reflects, three themes have been selected: political, economic, and social issues. A coding system was used to categorize the different themes mentioned, and the data analysis was used to explain what the graffiti reflects in light of the Libyan social and cultural context.

### ***Data Collection***

The data consists of 79 photographs of graffiti portraying various themes and contexts. Photographs of graffiti were taken by an individual in three areas in Tripoli, the capital city: the 77 Military Compound near Gadhafi's residence Bab Al-Azizia; Zawiyat E-dahmani ; and Ben Ashour, urban areas, located near downtown Tripoli. The photographs were e-mailed to the researcher in an electronic form. The graffiti collected consists of two types: pictorial and visual inscriptions. Graffiti used in the study was drawn between August 2011 and October 2013, the time period during and after the 2011 Libyan revolution.

### ***Data Analysis***

Data analysis of the graffiti was accomplished through two tasks: a coding system followed by socio-cultural analysis of the graffiti. The coding system of all the data portrayed in the photographs was created according to what the graffiti depicts. Different codes were categorized under three main themes: political, economic and social issues. The analysis step represents an attempt to connect the graffiti, broadly speaking, to the social and cultural event it reflects. The researcher relied heavily on her knowledge of Libyan society and the themes of graffiti. In addition to her personal knowledge, she works as a deep reader and a close follower of social and cultural events of the Libyan society, in accordance with Leavy's (2009) suggestion

that "...visual art inherently opens up multiple meanings that are determined not only by the artist but also by the viewer and the context of viewing (both the immediate circumstance and the larger sociohistorical context)" (p. 215).

The themes were chosen according to what the data presented. For example, photographs showing graffiti of buildings or visual inscriptions referencing re-building were classified as "economic" because they deal with the infrastructure of the country. Photographs of graffiti depicting demands for respect, equality, peace, and better education and health systems were positioned under the "social issues" theme. Political graffiti included topics such as "celebration of a new era" with the drawing of the new Libyan flag, graffiti mocking Gadhafi, and graffiti related to the subject of elections. Moreover, photographs that showed images of crimes committed in the past such as torture and discourses referencing the search for justice (such as the visual inscription stating that (the law is over all) were also listed under political issues due to their relation to the judicial system. Photographs that did not align with the three main themes (social, economic or political issues) were listed under the category "Miscellaneous."

In Table 1, topics that appeared in the graffiti were categorized under four themes. The table shows the number of times each topic appeared in the graffiti, including both pictorial as well as visual inscriptions.

**Table 1.**

*Categories of Photographs of Graffiti*

<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>
<b>Social Demands and Issues</b>	<b>1</b>
Identity	1
<b>Multi-visions</b>	<b>8</b>
Elections and martyrs	1
Restrictions on women	3
War orphans	2
Future and hope	2
<b>Social demands</b>	<b>11</b>
Respect	1
Dignity	1
Health, educational and judicial system	1
Peace	3
Freedom of speech	1
Social justice	2
Rape	2
<b>Economic Issues</b>	<b>4</b>
Rebuilding	3
Eco-economic: Preserving nature	1
<b>Political Issues</b>	<b>51</b>
Celebrating a new era	45
Constitution	2

Justice	4
<b>Miscellaneous</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>79</b>

### Results of the Study

In the analysis, the data will be addressed with respect to quantity. That is, themes with the highest number of appearances will be examined first, followed by themes that appeared less frequently.

#### *Political Issues*

From Table 1 it appears that political issues, with 51 photographs, encompass the largest number; more than half of the data (approximately 64 percent) falls under this category. “Celebrating a new era” in the history of the country is the main topic within the political category. Perhaps the long rule of the Gadhafi regime is one of the reasons for this wide celebration, in addition to the brutality and suppression that the regime executed on Libyans over the decades. Graffiti artists drew pictures of the colorful new flag of Libya over and over as a reminder of the end of a long-lasting regime that imposed many kinds of oppression—social, political, even economic—on its people. On the other hand, the “constitution” is presented in the form of demands to adopt the Quran as the source of law and the guarantor of justice. These depictions show two hands: one holding the Quran and the other holding a scale, with the two hands at the same level. Finally, issues such as serving justice to victims who were killed or tortured under the former regime appeared in this category. One graffiti artist drew a woman holding a picture of what appears to be her son. The graffiti replicates the mothers of Abo-Salim prison victims who used to demonstrate on Saturdays in front of the court in Benghazi. A second graffiti work recapitulates what many prisoners had to endure in prison: a blindfolded person, screaming in pain, serves as a reminder to seek justice for these people.

#### *Social Issues and Demands*

Social issues and demands from graffiti artists (and perhaps of the Libyan society as a marginalized group during the rule of the Gadhafi) came in second with approximately 25 percent of the total graffiti. Appeals for dignity, respect, equality, women’s rights and nonviolence are among the graffiti artists’ demands. Additionally, pleas for a better health, educational and judicial system, an end to violence against women, and requests for God to bring peace to the country appeared in the form of visual inscriptions. On the other hand, issues such as freedom of speech appeared in the form of a mouth being unzipped, thus ending the silence that lasted for over four decades.

Libyan people are generally known to be conservative, and issues that graffiti brings up are taboo in Libyan culture. For instance, nobody dares to raise or discuss rape, which appeared in two photographs of graffiti under the subcategory of “social justice.” Even in the graffiti, the issue of rape is brought up in a very reticent way, such as by showing a woman with duct tape on her mouth as a representation of the rape victims who could not tell of their ordeals because of the social restraints, such as stigma, against such discussions. A rough estimate indicates that 8,000 women and girls were raped during the war; however, there must be many unreported cases due to the sensitivity of the crime in Libyan society (Gumuchian, 2011).

***Economic Issues***

At the next level, economic demands for rebuilding the country arise. Due to the nature of the uprising in Libya and the months of intense fighting that destroyed cities, the issue of rebuilding became a main concern for Libyans as it is reflected in graffiti. However, graffiti depiction of rebuilding was not limited to a narrow definition of construction. On the contrary, it stretched to include how rebuilding is to be done: through “building” the educational system. One photograph shows graffiti of buildings coming out of a book with an Arabic inscription underneath that reads, “With education we build the country.” During Gadhafi’s rule, the infrastructure of the country suffered dearly. Corruption, monopolies and embezzlement delayed the completion of projects such as residential and commercial buildings. According to Transparency International (2010), Libya was ranked 160 out of 176 countries in corruption.

The fourth category, consisting of three photographs categorized as “miscellaneous,” portrays diverse issues such as Gadhafi attacking a mosque or an unidentified rebel reading from the Quran.

***Graffiti Discourse***

In the photographs of the graffiti, only three languages appear: Arabic, Japanese, and English. In some of the photographs, both English and Arabic appear next to each other but with different discourse meaning. The inscriptions of the two languages in one picture were counted for both languages. The use of Arabic (the official language of Libya) is expected, but the use of another language (English) is perhaps meant to serve a different function: to address a broader audience, using a global language that many people around the world understand (Hanauer, 2011). Table 2 provides the number of times that each language appeared in the graffiti.

**Table 2.**  
***Frequency of Languages Used in the Graffiti***

Language	Frequency
Arabic	40
English	22
Japanese	1

Twenty-two photographs contained some English letters or words, constituting more than 27.8 percent of the total photographs of graffiti used in this study, compared to 56 percent written in Arabic. Using English as a medium of communication in graffiti can be perceived in two ways. When Gadhafi first came to power, English was taught beginning in the seventh grade, but due to his disagreement with the United States and the United Kingdom back in the 1980s, Gadhafi banned teaching English in all educational institutions in Libya. The ban that lasted for years resulted in depriving generations from learning English. Banning the teaching of English was not the only approach that the regime used to stop the use of the language; it further banned using it in any media, including television, radio or newspapers. Furthermore, using any English words or wearing any clothing that had English writing on it could get students and teachers into trouble. In addition to the first function of English as a global means of communication, using English in graffiti can be viewed as a form of defiance and resistance to

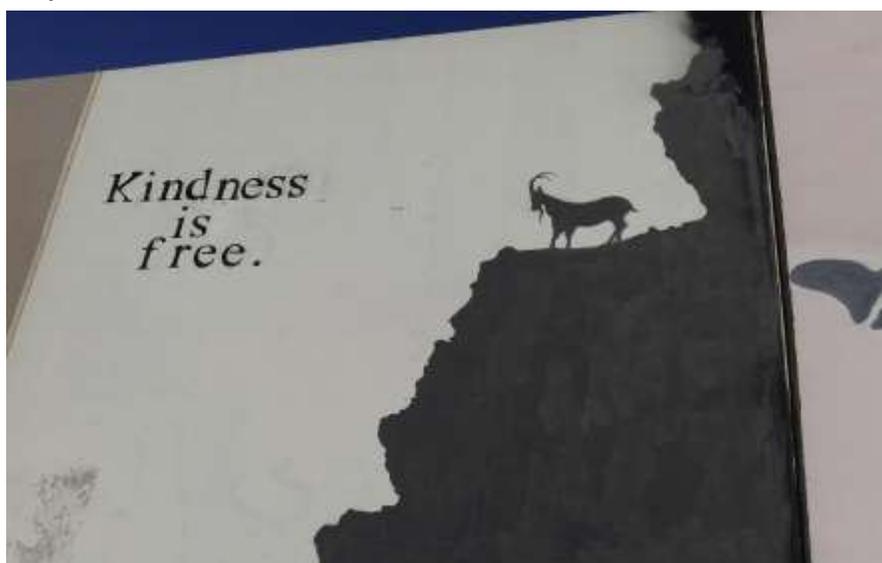
the notion of looking down on English because it is the language of the enemy or because “the leader-Gadhafi” did not use it in his speeches.

Though it is rare to find names of graffiti artists or their hometowns (Blume, 1985; Hanauer, 1999), about 31 percent of the graffiti in this study had a signature or a person’s last name, and some of the graffiti included a full name, even the middle name. About eleven of the photographs of graffiti had at least one name of a city or an area in Libya. Acts of resistance and defiance are evident in the graffiti. It appeared in two forms: graffiti celebrating end of an era with drawings of the new Libyan flag and mocking Gadhafi; and artists tagging their names on the graffiti as an open act of bravery and determination of their support of the uprising. Signing their names on the graffiti constitutes a death sentence if the regime ever restores power. Graffiti artists are willing to die for the message, a message of no turning back. The name of the cities and areas appears as an act of pride of the graffiti artists’ origin. Cities well known for their defiance and resistance in the early days of the uprising, such as Misrata and Rijban and areas such as Fashloom, appeared on some of the graffiti.

#### *Analysis of a Sample of Graffiti*

The graffiti in this study was taken from three main urban areas in Tripoli: the 77 Military Compound, Zawiyat E-dahmani and Ben Ashour. It was drawn on the outside walls of the compound and on walls in the two other areas. These areas witnessed heavy fighting during the uprising between Gadhafi’s loyalists and the rebels in August 2011. To draw graffiti on these specific walls is to send a message asserting the rebels’ control and power over those certain areas.

One of the photographs of graffiti that appeared on the 77 Military Compound demonstrates an environmental issue that Libyans found themselves dealing with after the uprising. The unlicensed hunting and overkilling of wild deers in Libya known as “Wedan” is becoming a threat to the wildlife. In this photograph, a shadow of a deer stands on the edge of a mountain with words inscribed in English, “*Kindness is Free,*” a desperate call to save the animal and wildlife in Libya from extinction (see Figure 1). “Preserving nature” as it appears in Table 1 is an eco-economic issue in Libyan society that raises concern of losing wildlife in the mountains of Libya.



**Figure 1. Eco-economic Graffiti of Deer Standing on an Edge of a Mountain**

Figure 2 appeared on the walls of the 77 Military Compound. Listed under “political issues – celebration of a new era,” this graffiti shows three men running. The first in the line is carrying a torch and the Libyan flag, the second man is carrying the Egyptian flag, and the third is carrying the Tunisian flag. From the photograph, it appears that the last man carrying the Tunisian flag handed over the flag to the Egyptian and then to the Libyan. The man carrying the Libyan flag reaches for hands with the words Syria and Yemen written on them in order to hand the torch of revolution and freedom to these countries. The graffiti is telling a history of what happened in 2011 in the three Arab counties, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, which witnessed uprisings that ousted the regimes and started what came to be known as the “Arab Spring.”



**Figure 2. Graffiti of Three People Running Carrying the Libyan, Egyptian and Tunisian Flags. Words ‘Syria’ and ‘Yemen’ Inscribed**

The third photograph appeared in the area of Zawiyat E-dahmani, an area that witnessed heavy clashes between rebels and Gadhafi loyalists during the months of the uprising. Graffiti in this photograph consists of multiple inscriptions in both English and Arabic. The graffiti was listed under “social demands.” Visual Arabic inscriptions state “God is the greatest” and “Start with yourself” as an invitation to everyone to start helping to rebuild the country by looking within themselves to issues that might hinder societal progress. An English visual inscription in Figure 3 states “stop the war” in reference to the war in Libya in 2011.



**Figure 3. A Graffiti of Multi Inscriptions: “Start with yourself” in Arabic, “Stop the War” in English, and “God is the Greatest” in Arabic**

### The Function of Graffiti

According to Hanauer (2004, pp.29-30), graffiti as “a mode of expression” could serve one of three functions:

- (a) allowing the entry within public discourse of messages regarded as marginal by other media;
- (b) providing the individual with the opportunity to express controversial contents publically;
- and finally (c) it offers marginal groups the possibility of expressing themselves publicly.

The function of graffiti, as it appears from analyzing the data in terms of their themes, seems to be reflecting the wants and needs of the Libyan society or a part of the society. The different themes that appeared in the graffiti ranging from political to social to economic themes demonstrate the significance of all of these aspects.

Graffiti in Libya today seems to function as a reminder of the demands to which the graffiti artists aspire, such as rebuilding the county or gaining respect. Moreover, graffiti serves as a mirror of the social aspects that seem to inhabit the minds of Libyans, such as improving education and building a better health system. They also reflect issues that are not addressed in the media fully or at all, such as rape victims of the war.

The new era in Libya after the toppling of Gadhafi’s regime in October 2011 seemed to overwhelm the people with euphoria of victory, which can be seen in the graffiti portrayed in signs such as the new colorful Libyan flag and the date when the uprising first started in February 17. Another function of graffiti is to gain attention and to address issues that have been ignored by the media (Hanauer, 2011b), such as orphan children left behind after the loss of their parents during the war, a graffiti theme listed under “social demands.” Broadly speaking, graffiti serves as a reflection of social and cultural aspects of Libya. It emulates the concerns and the demands in a new era in the history of the country, an era that makes everything possible, even writing graffiti on the walls.

The function of graffiti overall seems to serve a temporary function that resulted from the shift in power from a dictatorial regime to an absence of a strong political entity. Hanauer (2013) argued that the graffiti in Libya might have a function that has not been presented before. He states that “[t]he power that can be associated with this literacy is in itself very unusual and may result from the change in balance of power and lack of a central controlling government. I doubt that the graffiti and graffiti writing will have this power once a stronger central controlling entity is present” (D. Hanauer, personal communication, December 13, 2013).

### **Pedagogical Implications and the Function of Graffiti within the Language Classroom**

Graffiti can be taught as an art form to help students become more creative (Blakesley, 2010). It has also been used as a research method to understand and document university students’ responses to issues such as the dispute between Palestine and Israel (Olberg, 2013). Furthermore, graffiti has been used as a research topic by a student who wrote about graffiti in her hometown (Hurlbert, 2006).

Already existing graffiti such as the graffiti used in this study can be employed in the classroom to help students brainstorm and reflect on ideas and themes as they see them. Moreover, students can draw their own graffiti to help generate ideas and reflect on some of the social and cultural issues they see. Group discussions can be formed to discuss students’ opinions and reflections and “to make language learning a personally contextualized, meaningful activity for the learner” (Hanauer, 2011a, p. 2).

The use of L2 in graffiti in Libya can be one of the focuses in the L2 classroom by investigating the nature of the usage, the characteristics of the language used, and why it appears.

### **Conclusion**

By focusing on graffiti of Libya after the uprising in 2011, this study aims at providing insight into some of the cultural and societal issues that overcame Libyans throughout the rule of Gadhafi. The graffiti in the study demonstrates a shift in focus in the new Libya to issues and demands that were forbidden and denied in the past. By analysis of the graffiti of Libya, the researcher aimed at providing new knowledge to many fields, as Soldatenko (2013) declared that “[t]he analysis of graffiti touches into many disciplines such as sociology, urban studies arts and art history in addition to philosophy and to politics.” Finally, graffiti in Libya would be an excellent source of knowledge, whether it is a broader knowledge of the domains of culture and society or of a narrower realm such as using graffiti as a teaching tool.

### **About the Author:**

Hend M. Ghouma is currently a PhD candidate at the English Department, Indiana University of Pennsylvania. She holds a Master’s Degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) from University of Tripoli, Libya. Her areas of research interests include: disability identity and bilingualism.

## References

- Blakesley, K. (2010, July). Teaching Graffiti, also known as wall art techniques. *Yahoo Contributor Network*. Retrieved from: <http://voices.yahoo.com/teaching-graffiti-also-known-as-wall-art-techniques-6389902.html>
- Blume, R. (1985). Graffiti. In T. Van Dijk (Ed.) *Discourse and Literature* (137-148). Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Corruption Perceptions Index. (2010). *Transparency International: The global coalition against corruption*. Retrieved from <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2010/results>
- Giovanni, J. (2011, September). In a land of silence. *Review: Barnes and Nobles Review.com*. Retrieved from <http://bnreview.barnesandnoble.com/t5/Reviews-Essays/In-a-Land-of-Silence/ba-p/5777>
- Gumuchian, M. (2011, November). Libyan women demand support for war rape victims. Reuters. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/11/26/us-libya-rape-idUSTRE7AP0F020111126>
- Hanauer, D. (1999). A Genre approach to graffiti at the site of Prime Minister Rabin's assassination. In D. Zisenwine and D. Schers. (Eds.), *Present and Future: Jewish Culture, Identity and Language* (173-190). Israel. School of Education-Tel-Aviv University.
- Hanauer, D. (2004). Silence, voice and erasure: psychological embodiment in graffiti at the site of Prime Minister Rabin's assassination. *Psychotherapy in the Arts*, 31, 29-35. Doi:10.1016/j.aip.2004.01.001.
- Hanauer, D. (2011a). Meaningful literacy: Writing poetry in the language classroom. *Language Teaching*, 45(1), 105-115. Doi:10.1017/S0261444810000522
- Hanauer, D. (2011b). The discursive construction of the separation wall at Abu Dis graffiti as Political Discourse. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 10(3), 301-321. Doi:10.1075/jlp.10.3.01han.
- Hilsum, L. (2012). *Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Leavy, P. (2009). *Method Meets Art: Arts-Based Research Practice*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Hurlbert, C. (2006). A place to which we stand. In P. Vandenberg, S. Hum & J. Clay-Lemon. (Eds.) *Relations, Locations, Positions: Composition Theory for Writing Teachers*, pp. 353-375. Urbana: NCTE.
- Khan, O. (2013). Opinion: Corruption – The biggest problem facing Libya. *Libya Herald: The New Independent Libya Daily*. Retrieved from <http://www.libyaherald.com/2013/08/03/opinion-corruption-the-biggest-problem-fac-ing-libya/#axzz2kJHZER5m>
- Kody, S (2006). If only the walls could speak: Restroom graffiti as uninhibited indicator of public attitude. *Conference paper-American Sociology Association*. Montreal. Retrieved from: [http://citation.allacademic.com//meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/1/0/4/6/5/pages104650/p104650-1.php](http://citation.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/1/0/4/6/5/pages104650/p104650-1.php)
- Magariaf, M. (2008, August) Coup d'état . *Libya News and Views*. (trans.) Retrieved from <http://www.libya-watanona.com/adab/mugariaf/mm31088a.htm>
- Muammer Gaddafi Speech Translated (2011, February 22) Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69wBG6ULNzQ>
- Olberg, S. (2013). *Political Graffiti on the West Bank Wall in Israel/Palestine*. New York: The

Edwin Mellen Press.

Sehgal, S. (Aug, 2013). Psycho-analysis of graffiti in the classroom. *International Journal of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology*. 1(1). 39-44. Retrieved from [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2322885](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2322885)

Soldatenko, G. (2013). The Politics of Writing on the Wall. *Rhizomes*. (25). Retrieved from <http://rhizomes.net/issue25/soldatenko.html>