



D2.10 RESEARCH COMPENDIUM OF GRAFFITI VANDALISM IN EUROPE

PROJECT

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1. INTRODUCTION

This compendium is supposed to concentrate all relevant information and data which have been identified in WP2 – the scientific fundament of the project Graffolution. This implies three basic topics, which were the main interest of WP2 and build the basis for the development of the later Graffolution Platform: (1) the phenomenon graffiti; (2) the graffiti relevant stakeholders; (3) strategies and measures in the field of graffiti. The central findings of these topics will be presented in the following, although – as it is the nature of a compendium – many of them can only be touched briefly. Nevertheless, this compendium can function as a useful summary of the central aspects in terms of graffiti research, for all kinds of stakeholders involved in the field of graffiti.

While working through these three central topics, several aspects are supposed to be considered, as they are on the one hand necessary to give a detailed insight on what has been done during WP2 and how our research developed, while on the other hand illustrating what could be done in further research to the field of graffiti. Therefore, through the whole report, the following aspects will be taken into account:

- Developed techniques for the operationalisation of the various insights
- Experiences made through the project
- Basic differences between the researched countries
- Potentials and directions of future research

But before starting with substantial insights, the different methodological measures that were applied within WP2 will be summarised and critically reflected. This includes also the different sources and how they have been rendered.

As a first step of WP2 was a basic analysis of the phenomenon, the following chapter will give a short definition of graffiti and portray how it developed over the time. Afterwards, the most controversial aspect of graffiti will be analysed: its role in and impact on the public sphere, whereas positive as well as negative effects will be reflected. Furthermore, basic facts regarding graffiti, like its extent, regional distribution and legal framework will be presented and rehashed categorisation models of graffiti will be discussed.

As important as a detailed analysis of the phenomenon, is a profound dealing with the involved stakeholders. Therefore, a basic overview over the different stakeholders and how they are affected by graffiti will be given. Based on that, there will be a detailed summary of the central findings to every single stakeholder group, including their individual perspective on graffiti and how it affects their work. Furthermore, also the different forms of communication and cooperation between the various stakeholder groups will be explained, as these aspects are important for the implementation of possible cooperative action strategies.

In reference to that - after giving a general overview over possible measures and strategies for the dealing with graffiti – it will be explained in the following chapter, which stakeholders primarily use which type of action or prevention strategy for their dealing with graffiti. Next to a short, critical estimation concerning the evaluation of the existing strategies and measures, possible future developments regarding the dealing with the phenomenon graffiti, in the way they accrued from the research process will be summarised.

Last but not least, the research process of WP2, its difficulties and challenges will be reflected in a brief retrospective. On the other side, possible and worthwhile directions of future research in the field graffiti as they showed in WP2 will once again be summarised.

2. METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve the objectives connected with WP 2 and to gain as much and differentiated data in the context of our project topic a manifold methods mix was worked out containing detailed desk research methods, literature review, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and graffiti writers and written survey.

2.1. Summary of the different methods applied in WP2

2.1.1 Literature review¹

In the beginning of the project a complex and detailed literature review was conducted in order to get detailed information about the extent of graffiti vandalism and the state of the art in prevailing literature, management documentation and the practice and discourse surrounding graffiti vandalism.

More than 300 multi perspective sources were gathered (from prior research, through requests made to individual and organisational contacts, predominantly from the project partners' countries and European contacts, including the EU Crime Prevention Network and international contacts) and sorted into the following categories:

- Graffiti Writers² / graffitists / street artists - perspectives and projects
- State / Local Authorities
- Transport
- Police / Enforcement / Crime Prevention / Crime Science
- Criminology / Politics / Economics / Environment
- Cultural / Social - perspectives & projects
- Design / Urbanism / Urban Policy

The sources were analysed in detail and an annotated bibliography was developed containing a review for each source plus five basic keywords. In that context all sources were added to the ZOTERO system which served as a central literature basis throughout the project and has been enhanced constantly with new material.

¹ Compare D2.1: chapter 2.

² Early on in this project some materials used the term 'sprayers', although we phased out our reliance on that term following the literature review and interviews (see next chapter).

2.1.2 Semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in the field of graffiti³

In order to gain knowledge, experiences, opinions and ideas regarding the topic graffiti and connected preventive and awareness strategies from different stakeholder perspectives, 85 semi-structured interviews with different stakeholder-groups in Austria, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom were conducted.⁴ The analysed data gathered by these interviews served as a profound basis at all stages of the project.

Recruitment process: Stakeholders were chosen due to their specific knowledge or expertise about graffiti in their country, as well as their role and /or duties. In order to achieve a substantial and heterogeneous research group containing the central and relevant stakeholders dealing with the topic of graffiti the consortium first gathered the central stakeholder groups. Those were: Public Administration, Police & Law Enforcement, Transport Operators, Social and Cultural domain on graffiti and Enterprises as well as the Graffiti Writers.

In order to ensure the comparability during analysis it was agreed upon specific recruitment guidelines, such as a minimum of 20 interviews on the whole should be conducted and minimum three interviews per stakeholder group, but five of the Graffiti Writers should be conducted.⁵ Regarding the group of Graffiti Writers a few recruiting criteria were set up in order to ensure a certain heterogeneity within the group and a certain comparability between the four countries. The interviews should include: 1 older and 1 younger person; 1 of low-income/non-privileged background/origin and 1 of medium/high income/privileged background/origin; 1 person who used to do graffiti in the 80s-90s; 1 woman and 1 convicted offender.

Contacting the field: Basis for the recruitment of the non-writers was in most cases desk research to identify potential stakeholders of the different target groups and in single cases already established personal contacts (mostly Austria, Germany and Spain). Some country specific aspects during the recruitment process can be listed, e.g. in Austria there was only a limited number of stakeholders that could be addressed. For instance concerning transport operators there are a handful bigger operators that control most of the transport system. In the case of the UK most of the stakeholder recruitment was through networks and individual contacts which already had been established. In

³ Compare D2.4: chapter 2.

⁴ We have selected these four countries because of the involvement of the academic partners within the project – all of them with a social scientific background.

⁵ The stakeholders for the remaining (minimum) 3 interviews could be decided optionally according to the requirements per partner. Optional stakeholder groups were for example: industry; school/university; community safety & local area partnerships; property owners/developers/infrastructure owners; cleaning companies/restorations enterprises/anti-graffiti producers; manufacturers and suppliers; local businesses/business improvement districts; local residents, neighbourhood watch.

the case of Spanish transport operators, FGC was contacted and asked to provide contacts of other transport operators all over the country. Some contacts with Spanish stakeholder groups “Police & Law Enforcement” and “Public Administration” were also done with the help of FGC. In the case of the German transport stakeholders, one important contact was made by UIC.

In all four countries identified persons / institutions were first contacted by email followed by phone calls and / or further emails. In several cases organisations were contacted also by phone in order to be able to identify the responsible person. In addition contacted persons / institutions were asked to forward the invitations to other relevant stakeholders (use of a snowball effect) (especially Austria, Germany and Spain).

In comparison to the other stakeholder groups the recruitment process of the Graffiti Writers⁶ was all in all more time intensive and sometimes difficult regarding the approaching. Already established contacts to Writers and word of mouth played a central role during the recruitment process.

In the case of the UK, contacts already existed to a number of Writers through networks. In order to ensure the set balance profiles (see above), additional requests for further recommendations were also made, largely starting from those same contacts and networks, plus others known to the UAL team. In Austria, contacts to a graffiti shop owner and a graffiti gallerist were useful as they invited Writers and provided further information to get in contact with Writers or arranged dates and places for the interviews. In Spain, too, mainly social contacts were used to approach the Writers. In order to fulfill the quotas three Graffiti Writers were contacted initially and asked to help to find two other informants with the specified characteristics. In the case of Germany one contact to a former Writer could be established by UAL, some contacts via a graffiti shop, a workshop and via the wider network of the institute. Similar to Spain the fulfilling of the set criteria was reached by starting contacting Writers and trying to achieve still missing criteria by targeted recruitment via contact persons.

After having established a contact (via a contact person for example) an adjusted email was sent to the respective Writer, often including a project flyer. All in all about 150 individuals / organisations⁷ were contacted across the four countries Austria, Germany, Spain and the UK (for detailed information regarding the single countries experiences with contacting the field compare D2.4: 12).

Overall experiences regarding contacting the field were: besides the lack of time and not feeling competent enough to answer the questions on side of some members of stakeholder groups “Transport Operators / Authorities”, “Public Administration” and “Police & Law Enforcement” it is noticeable that across all the four countries a lack of trust and confidence by the contacted Graffiti

⁶ At the time of recruitment process the consortium was referring to them as ‘sprayers’.

⁷ As also contacted stakeholders supported during the recruitment process by contacting other stakeholder members and especially in the case of writers contact persons were supporting the total reach is hard to assume.

Writers was a central aspect for refusing to participate, fearing that anonymity would not be ensured. There were also Writers who were missing acceptance in the project's ambitions and contents, disagreeing with the project perspective or expressing specific concern over the project's integrity.

Table 1: Number of conducted interviews by country and stakeholder group

Stakeholder group	Country				Total
	Austria	Germany	Spain	UK	
Social work, Cultural & Civil Society (SWC)	3	4	6	3	16
Police / Law Enforcement (PLE)	3	3	2	3	11
Public Administration (A)	3	4	3	3	13
Transport Operators / Authorities (O)	3	4	4	2	13
Enterprises / Private Companies (E)	3	0	3	4	10
Graffiti Writers (G)	5	5	5	7	22
Total	20	20	23	22	85

Data collection: The semi-structured interviews were based on one commonly agreed interview guideline, used for all stakeholders, including the Graffiti Writers. The guideline covered the following topics: *understanding and definition of graffiti; relationship towards graffiti; experiences and motives; impact of graffiti; the legal framework; prevention strategies and measures; exchange and networking; outlook on future approaches and needs towards graffiti*. It was also explored the idea and the potential of a joint graffiti platform provided by the Graffolution project in the examined countries.

Interviews were conducted in the specific national language⁸ and at different locations - most of them at the workplace of the respective stakeholder and the remainder at the respective institution conducting the interviews. The average duration of an interview was about 60 to 90 minutes. The interviews were recorded⁹, transcribed, and analysed.

Data analysis: Analysis of the data was done on a common coding list by all partners and in the respective national language. Analysis programs atlas.ti and MAXQDA were used during the analysis process. Interview quotations are translated by the respective partner.

2.1.3 European wide E-consultation of stakeholders in the field of graffiti¹⁰

In the context of D2.7 a European wide E-consultation was carried out in order to verify the results of D2.4 (experiences, challenges and requirements of the stakeholders) using (also) quantitative methods.

Sample: The consultation sample was based on the six stakeholder groups (see 2.1.2) and was developed from three different sources:

- a) Those stakeholders who were collected in the stakeholder library of D2.3.
- b) The European members of the Expert Advisory Board (EAB).
- c) Graffiti relevant stakeholders from the whole European Union, which were identified through an internet research by the academic partners of the project Graffolution.

The resulting sample was in total 378 potential participants (compare D2.7, table 1), which includes 83 actors from 'Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society', 95 from 'Public Administration', 38 representatives of the 'Police & Law Enforcement', 54 'Transport Operators', 62 stakeholders of the group 'Enterprises', 38 'Graffiti Writer' and 8 stakeholders which did not belong to one of the six stakeholder groups but were taken into account because of their specific knowledge in the field of graffiti (for example scientific researchers etc.).

A summary of the key findings of D2.4 regarding the stakeholders' experiences, challenges and requirements concerning graffiti and graffiti vandalism as well as requested contents of the planned

⁸ In the case of Spain interviews were done in Catalan and Spanish.

⁹ In the case of Spain, two interviewees (graffiti writer and a representative of public authorities) have not agreed in being recorded, so notes were taken instead.

¹⁰ Compare D2.7: chapter 2.

Graffolution Platform were sent together with specific questions to the whole sample.¹¹ The sent out request was followed by a reminder 14 days later. Those who indicated that they were interested, but were unable to provide in time were granted more time and were reminded once more.

Response: In total, 17 responses were received (compare D2.7, table 2). The extent of the answers varies between the participants and also between the different questions, as they provoked more or less detailed answers.

Regarding the distribution of the responses, roughly one third comes from countries not yet involved in our study (particularly from Croatia, Greece and the Netherlands), two thirds of the replies are from already examined countries (Austria, Germany, Spain and United Kingdom)

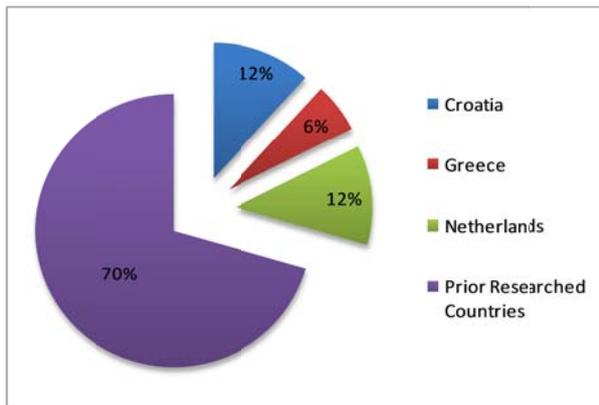


Figure 1: Prior and Additional Researched Countries of D2.7.

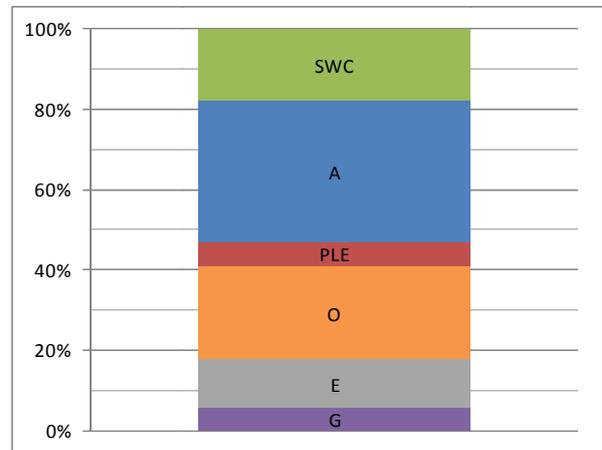


Figure 2: Response from the separate Stakeholder Groups in D2.7.

Although participants of all addressed Stakeholder Groups contributed to the survey, the distribution between the single groups is imbalanced. Especially from the two groups 'Police & Law Enforcement' and 'Graffiti Writers' only one participant of each answered the questions (see figure 2). Several responses could be gathered from the Stakeholder Groups 'Enterprises' (two responses), 'Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society' (three responses) and the 'Transport Operators' (four responses)

Analysis: The different stakeholder perspectives and opinions were analysed and clustered content specific.

¹¹ The summary and the questions were provided in English and in German language.

2.1.4 Questionnaire for the EAB members¹²

In the context of D2.8 (focusing on technical systems and applications that are dealing with reporting, monitoring and management of graffiti vandalism and the evaluation of these aspects) a questionnaire was developed and sent out to the 35 Graffolution EAB members. They all were contacted in a common mail attaching the questionnaire.

The developed questionnaire was divided in two parts (compare D2.8, Appendix 2): The first part consisting of a table to be filled out for each system the organization / company / Graffiti Writer was using. The guideline covered the following topics: *types of systems regarding graffiti monitoring, reporting and management; location of the system; objectives of the system; duration the system has been used; the cost per year of the system; own evaluation and degree of satisfaction with the system; the impact of the system; additional information*. The second part of the questionnaire was a short version of the first part in order to receive inputs for systems the experts knew but had no detailed experiences.

The response rate was rather low. In spite of repeated mailings only 10 of the 35 Graffolution EAB members answered (29% of the total).

Analysis: In a first step the systems were classified according to: a) type (monitoring, reporting, and management); b) category (according to the response typology used in D2.6); c) place (public space, transportation networks); d) users of the system (using the same categories we have been using through WP2); and e) the specific name of the system and the country where it has been used. The further steps of analysis concentrated on refining the extracted categories.

2.2. Critical appraisal of the different methods and approaches

With the experiences made during the research process and a critical appraisal of the different applied methods some aspects can be 'picked out' which may serve as indications to be considered for future research in the field of graffiti.

The use of a common guideline for all stakeholders: An equal treatment of all stakeholders regarding the composition of the research groups as well as all further aspects of the research process was a central focus the whole consortium agreed upon already in the Kick-off meeting and was following throughout the whole project process. In that context, the development of a common

¹² Compare D2.7, chapter 1.2.

guideline using the same questions for all the selected stakeholder groups and the Graffiti Writers was a central basis and proved to be the 'right' approach.

The importance of using the 'right' terms: The characteristic aspects of qualitative research are flexibility and an open mind to learn from the research field and its members. During the recruitment and the interviews some of the Graffiti Writers criticised the use of the term 'sprayer' in the project description. The consortium in consequence quickly revised the communications to refer to Graffiti Writers, as a more neutral and widely understood term.¹³

Contacting graffiti writers: Another aspect we learned during field work (in all the four countries) was the common lack of trust we experienced from side of the Graffiti Writers often connected with a refusal to take part in our study. Despite of assuring anonymity and making the project process and connected goals transparent there were many writers who had no confidence in a proper anonymity assuring and in some cases additionally did not agree with the project aims containing the building of the Graffolution platform.

(Low) response rate in the context of written surveys and consultations: All in all it has to be stated that the response rates to the E-consultation (D2.7) and the EAB survey (D2.8) were rather low. The response to the E-consultation can neither be seen as representative nor – with responses from only seven out of 28 contacted European countries – as a European wide consultation. And also the response to the EAB survey (10 of 35 EAB members) is below-average.

But especially regarding the E-consultation, it has to be kept in mind that the research focused on exploring the phenomenon of graffiti in the context of Europe, rather than giving a representative analysis for every single country. So even if a higher response rate would have been desirable, both, D2.7 and D2.8 delivered important insights and brought forward the research process.

¹³ Literature sources appear to concord with this, as they predominantly use other terms such as Graffiti Writer, artist, graffitist and more. In order to give transparency to the consortium's dealing with the different terms used for those who produce Graffiti there are central explanations and discussion statements made in D2.1/4.1.5 and in D2.2/2.

3. THE GRAFFITI PHENOMENON

As the first central step of the research conducted in WP2 was a basic analysis of the graffiti phenomenon, this chapter will give a short overview about how graffiti can be defined and how the phenomenon developed over the time. A further question which turned out to be one of the most central but also controversial in the discussion about graffiti reveals around the role it takes in the modern public sphere. Hereby, estimated negative as well as positive effects and impacts of Graffiti are reflected – especially in the context of the practical dealing with the phenomenon.

Furthermore, basic facts that have been researched regarding Graffiti are presented in this chapter. This includes the magnitude and the regional spreading of the phenomenon as well as the way illegal graffiti are handled by law.

Last but not least, besides the legal classification it has also been analysed in WP2 how graffiti is classified and operationalised within the public discussion. These categorisation models have been rehashed and extended, so they can be applied to the different perspectives and strategies on graffiti, which will be inevitable to provide a profound understanding of the different stakeholder groups, this will be exemplified detailed in the following (chapter 4).

3.1. What is graffiti?

As it came out in the very beginning of WP2 and confirmed during the later research time and again, graffiti is a very complex, heterogeneous and also conflicting phenomenon. Therefore, it is quite difficult to give a universally-valid definition of a phenomenon, where even the protagonists are not of one mind *what is* and *what is no longer* graffiti.

Combining a “minimum” definition found during the study of the relevant literature (Steinat, 2007: 12) and an explanation of a German Graffiti Writer (GG5), the following description might be the closest to what defines graffiti.

Graffiti are visual perceptible elements, which were originally composed by simple letters but in the meantime differentiate in their colour selection, size as well as complexity and include various elements like characters, sceneries, stories and mostly the own name. These elements are often attached unsolicited at places that are well visible. (D2.2: 37)

This definition already implies that there is some sort of evolution in the nature of graffiti. Having its ancient roots going back until the early days of Pompeii, graffiti as it is typical for today and as understood in this project has its origin in New York of the early 1970s. Emerging in the suburbs, becoming apparent by an article of the New York Times about a Greek descending errand-boy who

leaves his mark “TAKI 183” on his daily errands through New York and finally emerging to a phenomenon that dominates the appearance of the whole subway system. As graffiti became an integral part of the Hip Hop movement – next to rap and break dance – it also got established in mass media. Movies and documentaries such as “Style Wars (1983)”, but also “Wildstyle” (1983), and “Beatstreet” (1984) spread the phenomenon from the USA to the European continent (D2.2: 24-25). Although the development of graffiti in the four in-detailed researched countries (Austria, Germany, Spain and United Kingdom) has similar pattern, the pace differs. Having a strong historical connection to the USA, the United Kingdom was the first country to adopt this – especially in the early days – form of social protest in the late 70s. Austria and Germany followed while in Spain graffiti came up not until the early 80s (D2.2: 105).

Also typical for the early beginnings of graffiti was the fact that there was no specialised material for doing graffiti. The first Graffiti Writers had to do their best with the materials at hand and paintings were done in a very artisanal way. Over the years, this situation changed and more and more materials specialised for the needs of Graffiti Writers were available. For example in 1994, the first Spanish shop and factory specialised on graffiti sprays, Montana Colours, opened in Barcelona (D2.2: 28).

But not only for spraying materials, a massive commercialisation started. Parallel to the Hip Hop movement, graffiti became a permanent and well accepted part of the mainstream and pop culture – and as time passes also well established in the fields of art. A circumstance that generated well known and also well paid graffiti- and street artists such as Banksy.

3.2. Graffiti in the public sphere

Despite the persistence, graffiti has had as a part of the modern world –and especially the urban sphere - over the last decades, there is no common sense about how to estimate its impact on the public sphere. As it will be explained in Chapter 4), the examined stakeholders all have different perspectives on graffiti, according to the way they are affected by the phenomenon, and therefore also estimate the impact of graffiti differently. But besides these – understandably subjective – perspectives, it is difficult to find reliable information or data about how graffiti affects its surrounding area. Nevertheless, the research through WP2 brought to light some interesting insights regarding the perception of graffiti and its role in the urban sphere.

A prominent – although not uncontroversial but still referred to – approach is the “Broken Window Theory” developed by James Wilson and George Kelling (1982). The theory says that already first signs of vandalism – like e.g. a broken window – could entail further vandalism which would lead to a feeling of insecurity by the nearby residents and therefore to a drawback from public life. This effect

and the accompanying decrease of social control would pave the way for vandals and criminals, which leads to an increase of crime and to a decline of the neighbourhood.

Adapting this theory to the graffiti phenomenon, WP2 did not deliver clear results. On the one hand, several interviewed Graffiti Writers and other stakeholders stated that “the inhibition level to spray a wall decreases in case that there has already been attached a graffito as they don’t spray a clean and untouched wall but only add something to a wall that has been sprayed anyway” (D2.2: 50). On the other hand, there was no correspondence between the interviews (or the reviewed literature) whether graffiti leads to a feeling of insecurity or even to the decline of a whole borough. Furthermore the research conducted through WP2 showed that this question can’t be answered generally valid. Instead, it has to be differentiated between the various types of graffiti. Hereby, the interviewees from all researched countries agree that the qualitative value of a graffito is essential for its estimation by the general public. This means that especially complex and well elaborated pictorial designs – like they are typical for street art – are accepted way better than – at a first glance – rudimentary forms of writings like tags or throw ups. The latter are often described as “scratchwork” and “public defacement”, while the first ones are sometimes even perceived as an enrichment for the public sphere (D2.2: 48).

Basically, there are two reasons for this different estimation of pictorial and written graffiti. The first one is that the viewer always wants to be able to understand what he sees. This means being able to identify the motive and comprehend the message behind it. But written graffiti are often hard to decipher as they are arranged in an extraordinary style and even if done so, the message behind the writing often doesn’t make any sense for people who are not a part of the graffiti scene. The second reason is that most of the people – and again especially those who are not familiar with graffiti – don’t recognise the creative and technical process that stands behind a tag or a writing and that makes the letters to look the way they do. Both these reasons may originate in the circumstance that within the Western Culture, the written word only has a functional relevance in the sense of typography but hardly any aesthetic – like for example in the Asian region, where calligraphy is still practised. Therefore, the overall impression of a written word is normally not noticed.

Coming back to the question concerning the impact of illegal graffiti on the public sphere, one can conclude, that this question is dependent on several variables, whose exact effect could be of interest for future research in the field of graffiti. First, the quality and type of the attached graffiti as explained so far. Second, the quantity of graffiti in a respective area. Hereby, it would be interesting which density of graffiti is acceptable for the residents and passers-by and at which point of culmination negative feelings might appear. Last but not least, the interplay of graffiti and other phenomena categorised as “anti-social”, like e.g. public drinking or hanging out of youths. Hereby, the suspicion is that a coincidence of these phenomena might rather lead to a feeling of insecurity than when emerging isolated from each other. All these variables are likely to have an effect on the

perceived security or insecurity in a specific area. By analysing them in further research, more detailed assertions on the effects of graffiti on its surrounding area would be possible.

But at this point, it has to be kept in mind that graffiti can also have positive effects, as it was stated through WP2 research. This is for example the case for cities with a prosperous street art scene, which functions as a tourist attraction and therefore can and is used for city marketing. Furthermore, public administrations also commission legal designs of public facilities like e.g. bridges or underpasses to embellish them and make them more attractive for the public (D2.2: 51). Such effects also have to be considered, when the impact of graffiti on the public sphere is analysed. As follows, this can't only be located on a negative axis, but must be implemented by a system that includes positive and negative effects as well as interdependences with other variables, as described above.

Although such a system could not be developed within WP2, the different effects of graffiti, as they were described so far and the heterogeneous forms of dealing with the phenomenon which revolve out of this ambiguity played an increasing role as the research progressed. This leads to the questions, how the right of artistic freedom and especially the legitimate demand for influencing and design ones living environment can be implemented – especially in view of the fact that this is done by companies in form of advertisement. And related to that, what possibilities the single stakeholder groups have to adjust their strategies for the dealing with graffiti (D2.4: 80-83).

Finally, the impression was created that a broader social discussion is necessary about whom the public sphere belongs to and who is allowed to act in it and design it. This goes ahead with a central finding of Deliverable 2.2, that “all researched countries have in common that the social perception and the social impact of graffiti are strictly related to its external circumstances and the way the writers and their surrounding interact with each other” (D2.2: 51).

3.3. Basic facts

3.3.1 Extent and regional distribution of graffiti

Although being an ever-present phenomenon in the public sphere, it is hard to get objective and reliable data on the magnitude of the graffiti phenomenon. One possible source is general crime statistics, another is damage reports of aggrieved stakeholders – both bear their problems as will be described in the following. Nevertheless, giving at least a brief overview, one can state that after reaching Europe in the early 80s, graffiti had its major growth in the 1990s and early 2000s – although these numbers are influenced by an intensified prosecution of the phenomenon, as will be explained later. For the recent past, one might state that graffiti has become an established phenomenon with some moderate ups and downs (D2.2: 105).

Exact descriptions are difficult to give, due to the not unproblematic data available. Official crime statistics often don't list graffiti delicts separately (except of Austria and since lately Germany) but often subsumed in categories that also include other minor crimes such as vandalism and anti-social behavior. Besides that, there is likely a high dark figure, as many illegal graffiti are not reported to the police. Furthermore, the praxis of how the different aggrieved parties deal with illegal graffiti is very diverse. As some victims of illegal graffiti rarely report incidents to the police (e.g. private proprietors), others report every single delict, like it is common for transport operators. Without denying the transport operators being one of the major aggrieved parties of illegal graffiti, these differences regarding the way of dealing with illegal graffiti delicts lead to enormous imbalances regarding the statistic collection. Last but not least, another fact that influences the statistics is the intensified prosecution by the police and private security services hired by transport services in the 90s and 2000s. For example special police units have been established in several cities in order to push back graffiti. Such an intensified focus on illegal graffiti is of course also reflected in the respective statistics (D2.2: 36).

Damage reports of single stakeholders, like e.g. transport operators bear the problem that they are often elusive – especially if only the level of the costs caused by illegal graffiti but not the number of delicts is reported. And it is generally not evident from the reports which costs exactly are included in the numbers. Furthermore, their focus is logically limited and gives no information about the overall development of the phenomenon.

Facing this enormous lack of reliable data, an intensified collection is clearly recommended for the future dealing with graffiti. Not only being able to reconstruct the general development of the phenomenon but also having a basis for the evaluation of measures taken and respective graffiti projects. Such evaluation is highly demanded by various stakeholders, as it will be explained in Chapter 5.

The insufficient availability of reliable data about illegal graffiti also has in consequence, that exact assertions regarding the regional distribution of graffiti are hardly possible. Again, further research would be necessary in this case. Nevertheless, especially the interviews and some of the literature researched in WP2 brought to light some insights regarding this aspect.

One – and this is probably the most central – is that “graffiti is significantly described and perceived as a predominantly *urban phenomenon* and mainly connected to the bigger cities” (D2.2: 52). One reason therefore is the higher social control in rural areas because of the lower accumulation of people within the same area. This entails that people tend to know each other better and the risk for possible Graffiti Writers being identified is higher than in the rather anonymous urban areas. Furthermore, the structure of an urban area provides more possibilities to attach graffiti. Especially the density of tunnels, metros, walls, bridges and underpasses provides a lot of possible space for

graffiti. Last but not least, urban areas are also characterised by a higher amount of passers-by at public places, which subsequently leads to a higher number of people who are able to have a look at the attached Graffito. And as graffiti is all about being recognised and getting fame, this fact is not to be underestimated (D2.2: 52-53).

Mapping graffiti within a special area, e.g. a city, it is hard to find any spatial logic about where illegal graffiti happens and where not. The same as for the difference between rural and urban areas, one can state that “opportunity makes a thief”. Areas within a city that provide a lot of possible space for graffiti may be affected more than others. But besides that, it is hard to make any overall valid point. In fact, it is more the case that the appearance of graffiti is characterised by emerging trends and hotspots. For example a new formed local crew that focuses on one area of a city, or a new erected building with a lot of untouched space can have a high impact on the number of graffiti delicts in the respective area. This makes the development of graffiti within a special area or city hardly calculable.

Last but not least, there is some sort of international network between the Graffiti Writers – or at least those who do graffiti on a more or less professional level. Therefore, the Writers often go on journeys to visit and spray in other cities. Another fact, that can lead to a spontaneous increase of illegal graffiti and makes it hard to give any solid prognosis.

As it came out so far, due to the lack of reliable data and the spontaneous and unpredictable appearance of graffiti, its past and future development – especially in the context of a particular area – can only be described on a very basic level. But rather than its objective development it is possible to analyse its perceived spreading, like it was also done in the Graffolution interviews. This gives at least an impression about how graffiti emerges from the point of view of a stakeholder in a respective area. But at this point, it always has to be kept in mind the very limited and subjective perspective of this source.

3.3.2 The legal framework

Regarding the legal framework which is relevant when it comes to graffiti, all four researched countries have specific provisions to punish graffiti writing as an offence – even none of the legislative texts refer to graffiti explicitly. Generally the classification of graffiti ranges between criminal damage, incivility against property or Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB).

As it seems natural, the key question is the permission of the owner, which makes the basic difference between a legal and an illegal Graffito. In case that there is no permission granted, all four countries treat this situation as criminal offence, whereas the definition of what is understood as damage is also quite similar. Starting with the lack of permission by the owner, damage is understood

as something that *destroys, damages, defaces* or *corrupts* an object. With smaller differences between the countries, graffiti is included in these kinds of offences (D2.2: 83-84).

Regarding the compensation of the damage caused by the graffiti – which mainly lies in the costs of re-establishing a situation similar to those previous to graffiti spraying – this aspect is also very close in the four researched countries. What is in common to all of them is especially the basic fact that the victim has to take initiative to claim its rights. Thereby, all of the countries contemplate civil compensation for private owners through the regular rules of the respective legal system for damages (D2.2: 90).

Besides these similarities in the classification of the damage caused by graffiti and its compensation, the penalties for convicted Graffiti Writers can be extremely different from one country to another. It is for example extraordinary tough for the major damages in Austria, when penalties can be up to five years of imprisonment. On the other side, there are also very low punishments, like e.g. three to nine days of community services established by Spanish Criminal Code (D2.2: 90).

As already mentioned above, in some countries (e.g. the UK), graffiti is not only classified as criminal offence but also as Anti-Social Behaviour or incivility. Hereby, the focus is related to graffiti as a social phenomenon influencing the living in a community and especially the norms of coexistence. For this aim, the control of ASB or incivilities that would affect residents in an area, regulations and policies are issued in order to control the unwanted behaviours.

As it comes out so far, graffiti is classified very clearly by the different legal frameworks as criminal offence in the sense of criminal damage and additional in some countries also as behaviour that is regarded as incompatible with the common sense of coexistence. Challenging these positions, again the question comes up regarding who the public sphere belongs to and whether the answer here can be given only on the basis of the respective ownership structure. Furthermore, and this aspect refers to the classification of graffiti as “anti-social” or “unwanted” behaviour the question is who is allowed to act in the public sphere and in which way. Especially in the context that graffiti and street art can have clearly positive – and in this cases also desired – functions, e.g. as a tourist attraction or a socio-educational measure. Such a paradoxical – and as estimate by some Graffiti Writers hypocritical – dealing with the phenomenon can hardly be seen as the clear and paradoxical characterisation which is given by the legal framework. Nevertheless, a solution to this ambiguous situation can hardly be delivered by scientific research but has to be developed by social discussion – which can be launched but not exclusively conducted by science.

3.4. State of affairs

Since its appearance in the 1980s and especially after its enormous increase in the 1990s and 2000s, graffiti has become a permanent part of the public and also specialised discussion. Basically, publication in and about the graffiti field are characterised by a broad range of sources, perspectives, goals as well as scientific and intellectual level. Thereby, the way graffiti is defined and categorised also varies according to the different perspective, the author has – from crime prevention over policing, policy- and place making.

As much of the literature or generally information regarding graffiti is not published by objective and neutral actors, many of the sources are influenced by the perspective of the responsible stakeholder. Also scientific research often has – although sticking to the common scientific standards – a limited focus, which is simply predefined by the epistemological interest of the contracting contrary.

Two basic perspectives can be located in the public discourse about graffiti. On the one hand those focussing on tackling the anti-social aspects of graffiti. Hereby, graffiti is stated as vandalism and having degenerative consequences, so the general goal is to develop strategies and measures to prevent and tackle illegal graffiti. On the other hand, there is also a broad discussion about and promotion of the pro-social aspects of graffiti and street art. This implies the constructive (generative, regenerative and restorative) effects and uses of graffiti and street art.

The way the different stakeholders come in contact with the phenomenon of graffiti and how these circumstances influence their perspective on graffiti and also the way they deal with it – which can roughly be divided the way it has been done here – will be explained in detail in the following chapters. At this point, it is of major interest how graffiti is classified and operationalised in the public discussion. Hereby, the research conducted in WP2 brought to light five different types of possible ways to categorise graffiti according...

- ... to its forms and styles
- ... to the motivation of the Graffiti Writers
- ... to the rules and structures within the graffiti scene
- ... to the type of offence (comparable to the legal framework)
- ...to its public perception.

These various categorisation types have been rehashed and extended, so they allow to understand how and in which channels the various stakeholders with their different perspectives think about graffiti. For example those who focus on the different styles and forms, generally think in categories like “tag”, “stencil”, “Blockbuster Style” etc. If the perspective lies on the actors themselves – namely the Graffiti Writers – terms like “king”, “toy” or “gang” are relevant. Table 2 gives a brief overview

over the different categorisation models and their most important types. For the detailed Categorisation Models, please also see Deliverable 2.1 (57-68).

Table 2: Categorisation Models of graffiti

Categorisation Model	Types		
Legal framework	Criminal damage	Crime and Disorder	Ant- Social Behaviour
	Incivility		
Style or form	Tags/ Tagging	Stencil	Paste Ups
	Street Art	Mosaic	Marker Pen
	Street Sculpture	Reverse	Chalk
	Miniatures	Mural	Ghost
	Scratching	Stickers	Bomb (hit/ Burn)
	Wild Style	Spray Paint	Bombing
	Piece	Brush Paint	Digital graffiti
	Blockbuster Style	Roller Paint	Public Notices
	Throw Up	Green graffiti	Historic graffiti
	Bubble Style	Scrawling	Latrinalia
	Character	Carving	
Actors	Contentious	Serious Vandalism	Community/Group Art
	Juvenile	Gang	Tourist Attraction
	King	Conventional	Commercial graffiti
	Toy	Situational/Guerilla Art	Graffiti as regeneration
Substrate/ Physical Contact	Whole Train	Historical Buildings	Educational Buildings
	Whole Car	Private Houses	
	Vehicles	Public Walls	
Ideology	Religious	Ideological	Gendered
Mode of encounter	Internet Media	Broadcast Media	Printed Media
Procedure	Pre-Planned	Pre-Prepared	Opportunistic

4. THE GRAFFITI RELEVANT STAKEHOLDERS

Questioning the participants in the Interviews conducted in WP2, how they define graffiti, what it means to them and how their perception of the phenomenon is, it came out very soon that such estimation is strongly linked to the stakeholder group the interviewee belongs to and thereby it is primarily influenced by the way the representatives of this group come in contact with graffiti.

According to that, first of all an overview scheme that illustrates how the various stakeholders are affected by graffiti will be presented in this chapter. Based on that, a detailed description of the single stakeholder groups will be given, including their individual perspective on graffiti, what effects it has on their work and what kind of special needs resolve out of these circumstances.

It will furthermore be summarised in this chapter whether there are liaisons between the various stakeholder groups in form of distinct cooperation, what potentials these have and especially which goals are pursued.

4.1. Stakeholder location system

As already described in the methodology chapter, the interviews were conducted with representatives of six stakeholder groups, ranging from social and cultural actors over representatives of the transport system and public body to executive and juridical actors. The intention was to consider the central stakeholders who come in contact with graffiti or have specific knowledge and expertise about the topic.

According to this approach – and of course the nature of such a far reaching social phenomenon – the spectrum of the involved stakeholders is very wide and the positions they represent very heterogeneous. These positions are decisive for the stakeholders' fields of action, central tasks and goals concerning graffiti and basically influenced by the way they are affected by the phenomenon.

An important part of the work for understanding the various stakeholders has been the development, application and refinement of a methodology of defining 'personas' and visualising and using these personas to help distil the most important characteristics, among different actor groups and individuals – especially those we anticipate may ultimately benefit from the Graffolution Platform and / or influence the effectiveness of responses it signposts. The context of a challenge or opportunity related to graffiti cannot easily be understood or improved upon without succinct representations of who is involved, who is affected and what the respective desires, challenges and agencies of these people may be. For this reason, the creation of the research-informed personas, and visualisation of some key characteristics, has been instrumental in allowing us to identify who in

particular may be best served by new concepts and in what capacities. They also facilitated visualisation of important ambitions, challenges and stages of typical ‘journeys’ or ‘pathways’ of actors which could reveal opportunities for designed ‘devices’ or ‘touchpoints’, that might inform design of (a) responses to graffiti vandalism, but helpfully also for (b) the Graffolution Platform itself. To our knowledge this is the first time these techniques have been applied towards responses to graffiti, and almost certainly in the iterative and trans-disciplinary way as has been implemented here (D2.6: 7).

Based on these findings and also the first round of research regarding the stakeholders’ experiences, challenges and requirements in D2.4 and retested in context of the E-Consultation launched in D2.7, the second round of the stakeholder focused analysis, a scheme has been developed which illustrates the way the different stakeholder groups are affected by graffiti. Furthermore, this scheme allows locating the different stakeholder groups in an overall system, which also illustrates their positioning towards each other in the context of graffiti.

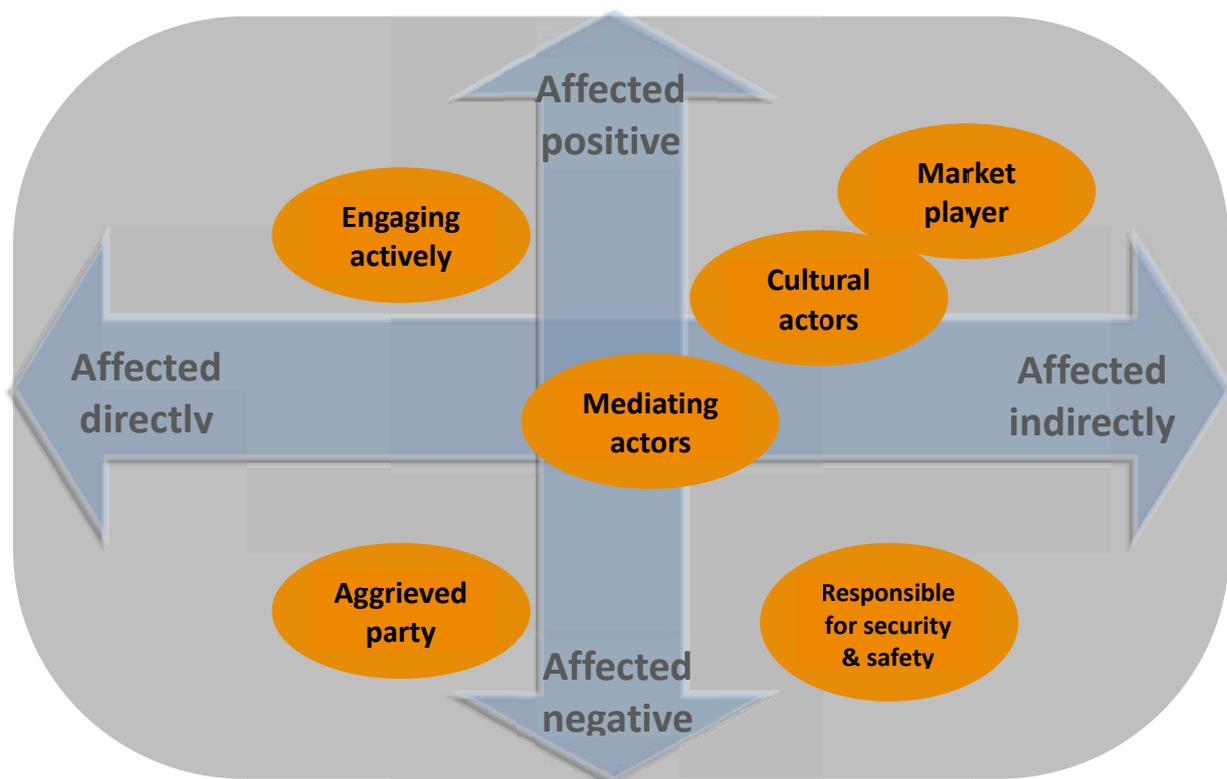


Figure 2: Stakeholder location system

This scheme basically consists of two axes. The x-axis indicates whether the stakeholders are affected directly or indirectly by graffiti. Affected directly are for example those who engage actively in graffiti writing – namely the Graffiti Writers – or those who are aggrieved by illegal graffiti. Stakeholders who are affected indirectly by graffiti often come in contact with the phenomenon on a work related

basis. This includes a whole range of stakeholders, from enterprises (e.g. cleaning companies), over cultural actors to executive organs which have to prosecute illegal graffiti. The y-axis indicates whether the stakeholders are affected in a positive or negative way by graffiti. Those who are affected positively for example value graffiti as a form of creative expression – like the Graffiti Writers or Cultural Actors – or derive a financial benefit. Negatively affected are those stakeholders who own or are responsible for property that is affected by illegal graffiti or who are responsible for public security and safety, as they have to provide personnel and financial resources for graffiti prevention (D2.7: 11-12).

Applied to our researched stakeholder groups, they cannot always be assigned to one single field. For example “Transport Operators” are on the one hand aggrieved parties as they are one of the major “victims” of illegal Graffiti and therefore affected directly, but on the other hand, they are responsible for safety and security relevant aspects regarding their facilities, in which case, they are “only” affected indirectly by graffiti, as it is a security relevant incident among others. But in both cases, the effects are – understandably – estimated as negative. This shows that also within one stakeholder group the points of contact and therefore the significance graffiti has may vary.

So for future research, one interesting aspect would be identifying additional indicators that describe the way stakeholders come in contact with graffiti and would refine this – at the moment basic but still meaningful - system even more.

Another aspect that should be taken into account in future research is considering private proprietors as an own stakeholder group, as it was recommended by respondents of the E-Consultation. As private proprietors are more part of the general public than a definable group this could probably be implemented by focusing on respective organisations like property managements, community associations and housing cooperatives. But bearing in mind that next to “Transport Operators” and “Public Administration”, private proprietors are one of the main aggrieved parties regarding illegal graffiti, they should not be ignored although the operationalisation may bear some difficulties (D2.7: 14). Besides this recommendation, the stakeholder groups, as they were handled in WP2, were approved by the E-Consultation.

4.2. Stakeholder in detail description

After this basic overview over the way the different types of stakeholders come in contact with and are affected by graffiti, the following paragraphs will give detailed insights regarding the single stakeholder groups, what graffiti means to them and what their general position towards the phenomenon is.

4.2.1 “Social work, Cultural & Civil Society”

As it came out in WP2, the stakeholder group “Social work, Cultural & Civil Society” is very heterogeneous, which is valid for all researched countries. Generally, the list of stakeholders subsumed in this group reaches from social workers over associations that promote Graffiti in “non-lieux” spaces to publishers of scene magazines. So as they all come in contact with graffiti in a different way, also their perception of the phenomenon varies. Important aspects that were mentioned in the interviews are e.g. the cultural value of graffiti, its positive influence on a city whereas graffiti can be seen as a way for recreation (D2.4: 17). All in all, one might assume for this stakeholder group that the majority has a basic interest in graffiti as a social, cultural or artistic phenomenon, although its negative respectively damaging aspects are not denied.

According to their position the stakeholders of this group adopt in society, they often function as some sort of interface between the different social groups or between the administration and the general public. In terms of graffiti, this means on the one hand to enable a certain sphere, where graffiti can exist legally while on the other hand having also a look on the damages caused by illegal graffiti, the dangers it bears and the legal consequences it has (D2.4: 17).

4.2.2 “Police & Law Enforcement”

In contrast to the previous stakeholder group, “Police & Law Enforcement” is way more homogeneous regarding their contact with and perspective on graffiti. The reason for this is, that both are predefined by their role as executive or juridical organs. Therefore, they come in contact with graffiti in the context of an investigation, a juridical procedure or due to general civil protection. So again, in contrast to the “Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society”, they clearly classify graffiti as criminal damage as well as a security problem – for the public and the Graffiti Writers themselves (D2.4: 25).

But besides this clear classification – based on the legal framework – the estimation whether graffiti has an artistic background or is just a simple form of vandalism differs clearly. Nevertheless, this does not affect the – for all researched countries valid - accordance within the stakeholder group, that graffiti attached without the permission of the proprietor are illegal and have to be prosecuted (D2.2: 38-39). So for this group of stakeholders, the protection of property is prior to an eventual creative expression.

4.2.3 “Public Administration”

This stakeholder group is characterised by the fact that its members have a large variety of fields of duty, from being responsible for public facilities (e.g. building directorate), over the cultural life (e.g. culture directorate) to an engagement in the field of crime prevention (e.g. Council for Crime Prevention). This entails that the stakeholders have very different contacts with the phenomenon graffiti and also different perspectives on the phenomenon - from a focus on the material damage to its cultural value (D2.4: 7).

The functions the single stakeholders of the “Public Administration” have in regard of graffiti are also quite different and include on the one hand the prevention or removal from illegal graffiti on the municipality’s facilities while on the other hand also the provision of legal walls for Graffiti Writing. But besides that, the overall perspective of this group is, that although graffiti can be a part of the public sphere, this is only allowed to happen with the permission of the respective owner – which includes also administrative aspects like being responsible for the motive of a Graffito.

4.2.4 “Transport Operators / Authorities”

As well as public buildings and engineering structure, also the facilities of public transport operators are a preferred target for illegal graffiti. So representatives of the stakeholder group “*Transport Operators / Authorities*” can basically be seen as one of the major aggrieved parties of illegal graffiti writing, which is the predominant way, they come in contact with the phenomenon. Therefore, they basically perceive graffiti as a factor that increases their costs (e.g. for removing and cleaning sprayed wagons, but also for security measures like CCTV and security guards), defaces their facilities and last but not least bears some serious security relevant problems – on the one hand for the Graffiti Writers who place themselves in danger and on the other hand for the passengers who may have an increased feeling of insecurity (D2.2: 37-38).

According to this perspective and comparable to the “Police & Law Enforcement” group, there is no difference made between more or less “artistic” graffiti, as they all are perceived as a problem that has to be eradicated. A position which is valid for the whole – generally very homogeneous – stakeholder group and for all researched countries. Therefore, their focus lies on possible preventive- and countermeasures to tackle and reduce graffiti on their facilities (D2.2: 40).

4.2.5 “Enterprises”

The stakeholders group “Enterprises” can be seen as the most heterogeneous one as it covers a wide range of different actors – from the supplier of spray cans to cleaning companies. According to this, also their way of contact with graffiti is different. And also their position towards the phenomenon varies, as e.g. the supplier of spray cans more or less “facilitate” graffiti writing, while on the other hand, cleaning companies often are commissioned to move in on illegal graffiti. The only similarity is that all of them come in contact with the phenomenon on a market oriented level and make financial profit from graffiti.

4.2.6 “Graffiti Writers”

As the Graffiti Writers are obviously those who are “responsible” for graffiti, this stakeholder group was analysed very detailed within WP2. And although there is nothing like a “typical” Graffiti Writer, there are some identifiable characteristics. First of all, it can be stated that graffiti is mostly – but not exclusively – a youth phenomenon. In general graffiti writing is taken up by young people in their (sometimes early) teens. Thereby the status as a Writer can’t be seen as something static but as a sort of biography that develops with the stages of the Graffiti Writer’s life. This can e.g. include a more and more artistic or professional approach and a turn towards legal forms of graffiti as the time passes, but on the other side also a general denial of graffiti, an increasing professionalization of illegal graffiti writing or in single cases even some sort of criminal career. So it can be summarised, that although Graffiti Writers engage actively in graffiti, their very individual contact with the phenomenon differs and often changes over the years.

Referring to the gender of the Writers, there is a general agreement in all researched countries, that the large majority of them are male. And although it is stated that females slightly start to engage more in graffiti, it seems that girls and young women are generally less attracted by the phenomenon.

As clear as the gender relations are, as various are the social backgrounds of the Graffiti Writers. The research brought to light, that in the four countries there are Writers coming from all walks of life. Only for some countries, tendencies are identifiable. For example in the UK, the social background seems to be of poorer- and middle-classes, while for Germany there is a slight overweight of middle- and higher-class origin (D2.2: 106-107). But for overall valid tendencies, further (quantitative) research would be necessary.

As the perspective of the Graffiti Writers may obviously focus on an active engagement within in the graffiti scene – in the one or the other form – the functions Graffiti has for them are described very

differently. They vary from self-affirmation by being recognised by others over identity establishment as one is living a certain way of life; community establishing effects of the graffiti scene, to a certain feeling of being “alive” induced by the Adrenaline rush while doing illegal graffiti writing (D2.2: 39). At this point, an interesting aspect for future research would be to find out, whether all these functions can only or mainly be fulfilled by illegal graffiti – as it seems obvious for the Adrenaline rush – or also by legal graffiti writing. This could for example be possible for the identity establishing function of graffiti. By providing legal walls that are well visible and highly frequented by passers-by, the Graffiti Writers would also get the attention and recognition they are seeking for.

4.3. Communication and cooperation

As the research conducted during WP2 brought to light, it is quite difficult to make overall valid points regarding the forms of communication and cooperation practised by the stakeholders. Reason therefore is that some of the stakeholder groups are quite heterogeneous regarding their composition and therefore have no general procedures regarding communication and cooperation. Rather it is often the practise that such interactions are set up spontaneously and case by case. Nevertheless, there are some interesting insights that were gathered during the research process.

First of all, there are differences regarding the range of the practised interactions. For example stakeholders of the group “Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society” are in contact with a large range of other stakeholders, even the Graffiti Writers. Same is valid for the “Public Administration” group. Whereas on the other side, actors of the group “Transport Operators / Authorities” only interact with a few other stakeholder groups, namely “Police & Law Enforcement” and “Public Authorities”. Especially bigger organisations – e.g. the police but also in the field of transport - obviously have an intensified communication within their own company or organisation. Furthermore, it has to be stated that although the stakeholders of the group “Transport Operators / Authorities” might have some limitations regarding the number of stakeholder groups they are in contact with, they are one of the few who reported about examples of constant communication between different stakeholders and not only sporadic exchange. Transport Operators from across the four researched countries reported about strong reciprocal ties and a mutual exchange with the police who need information for their investigations, while on the other hand, the transport operators need information for their database (e.g. police records, initiated proceedings) (D2.4: 43). For other stakeholder groups, the exchange is often only occasional, for example in the context of specific projects.

Regarding the content of the communication and information exchange between the stakeholders, there are certain differences identifiable. The “Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society” see it as an essential part of their work to mediate between the different actors, so their communication is also

guided by that (D2.4: 22). As already mentioned, for the “Police & Law Enforcement” and the “Transport Operators / Authorities” the communication mostly reveals around the prosecution and the prevention of illegal graffiti. For the “Enterprises” it is difficult to gather any overall valid findings, as this group is extremely heterogeneous, but one common topic regarding their communication might be the advertisement of their services and products. For the “Graffiti Writers” an essential part of their interaction is the exchange of pictures of their graffiti and of general news and information (e.g. about upcoming events).

Especially for the exchange of general information – and in case of the Writers also graffiti pictures – Social Media are mentioned by all interviewed stakeholders as an important channel. Their biggest advantage is that it’s possible to reach a high number of potentially interested. But it was also emphasized by the interviewees that they use Social Media only for the spreading of general information. When it’s up to a more detailed communication and information exchange, they all prefer the personal contact: an aspect that has to be kept in mind regarding the Graffolution Platform, which is supposed to encourage new forms of cooperation between the various stakeholders.

All in all, it can be stated, that the various forms of communication and cooperation might also be due to the different positions and perspectives, the stakeholders have regarding graffiti. By strengthening the awareness for the position of each other, it might also be possible to facilitate and intensify the interaction between stakeholder groups who- at least at the moment–bear a lack of communication with each other. During the research, most of the interviewed stakeholders showed a general willingness for such an intensified communication.

5. STRATEGIES & MEASURES

The picture that has been drawn of graffiti so far is the one of a very heterogeneous, diverse and pluralistic phenomenon. This is valid for its manifestations as well as for the – by whatever means – involved stakeholders. So it can hardly be surprising that this variety and heterogeneity is also found regarding the different strategies and measures applied in the context of graffiti.

Therefore, the first part of this chapter intends to present two different ways, how these various measures and strategies can be classified and operationalised. Furthermore – and in reference to the previous chapter – an overview will be given, which stakeholders primarily use which type of strategy and which kind of measures.

This will be completed by a short, critical estimation concerning the evaluation of the existing strategies and measures – the significance of such evaluations, how they are practised and how they could be improved. Last but not least, possible future developments regarding the dealing with the graffiti phenomenon, in the way they accrued from the research process will be summarised.

5.1. Classification & operationalisation

The enormous amount of action strategies in the context of graffiti can basically be divided in two categories: “Pro-Social” and “Anti-Social”. But it is important to stress, that this is not synonym to “good” and “bad”, as the term does not relate to the mechanism of the respective strategies and measures but to the aspects of the phenomenon, they have their focus on. Besides that, another, more detailed classification system will be presented. During the research of WP2, it was possible to identify five main perspectives to respond to graffiti which form the basis of the so called “Graffolution Response Typology”. This system helps to reflect the reality that a single action may consist of both, anti-social and pro-social aspects regarding a certain graffiti scenario, including multiple actors, perspectives and agendas implicated (D2.5: 29).

5.1.1 Pro-social & anti-social approaches

As already mentioned, the terms “pro” and “anti” social describe the respective aspects of a phenomenon which are addressed by the different strategies and measures. Those tackling the anti-social aspects of graffiti tend to define it as an act of vandalism and aim to prevent or ward it off. Pro-social strategies on the other hand, intend to reduce potential destructive aspects by making use of

graffiti in controlled environments. Such approaches are characterised by enhancing the positive implications of graffiti and aim to reduce the criminalisation of Graffiti Writers (D2.5: 16).

The probably most prominent thesis focusing on the anti-social aspects of graffiti is the already previously mentioned “Broken Window Theory” (compare chapter 3.2) which states that the condition of the environment or environmental structure has a direct impact on human behavior and the coexistence in the affected area. This linkage between behavior and the environment is typical for anti-social strategies which often adopt parts of “zero tolerance” approaches (D2.5: 12). This means for example an enhanced prosecution (including a demand for higher penalties), control and management measures (like camera surveillance) and in parts also educational aspects but with a clear focus on enlightening and preventing possible future Graffiti Writers (D2.5: 24).

Although all of these aspects are part of anti-social strategies, the environmental aspect can be seen as the most predominant, wherefore environmental measures – like control and management – that focus on the environmental structure and a reduction of opportunities for illegal graffiti writing are the most important. Such a reduction of opportunity is obtained for example by physical barriers which keep possible perpetrators away from the respective object; a physical protection of the surface of the object itself; or last but not least by increasing the risk of being caught.

In D2.8, a large number of monitoring, management and reporting systems have been analysed and it clearly came out that they all have a more or less intense anti-social approach. The examined monitoring and managing systems are mainly designed for the use of public authorities and the police, while the reporting techniques are focused on citizens and civil society. Graffiti Writers and often other social groups too, are not conceived as users of these systems, even the collaborative ones. Besides that, it has to be kept in mind that just a little part of such techniques are specifically or exclusively designed to monitor, report or manage illegal graffiti. In other words, these systems - especially the analysed ones – are applied for other reasons than graffiti, like general vandalism or safety issues (D2.8: 75). So, many of such systems focus on general “anti-social behavior”, which goes ahead with the classification of graffiti in some legal frameworks (e.g. in the UK) as one form of “anti-social behavior” (compare chapter 3.3.2).

On the other hand, pro-social strategies in general focus on promoting socially beneficial aspects of graffiti either through, or in spite of, graffiti-related activities. Next to the positive impact of graffiti on an area and the respective community, they can also have a crime-reductive effect, often in terms of ‘activity support’ – for example in the context of crime prevention through environmental design. More attention on facilitating activities, with e.g. Graffiti Writers and street artists, can help to reduce effects and instances of problematic graffiti. By collaborating with – maybe even local – graffiti and street artists, beforehand dysfunctional spaces can be turned into functional and safe public spaces and thereby be readopted as a part of public life (D2.8: 13).

Giving a brief insight into pro-social strategies, one can state three central approaches. First, the “constructive approach” which usually implies a wider set of objectives in order to contribute to society. It focuses on tendentially excluded persons and a community engagement that helps to cohere a group or community and therefore has a positive impact on human co-existence. Second, the “regenerative approach” aims to reevaluate a certain space. Such strategies usually imply not only restoring the status of an area, but create something new – e.g. with a commissioned graffiti Design. This point is the central difference to the last category, the “restorative justice” approaches. They often implicate the offender of an illegal graffiti in fixing a caused damage and restoring the original or previous status. These strategies may not be graffiti friendly but they create a legal framework with a positive attitude towards society. The main core of restorative justice is to give another sense to juvenile justice in that the offenders won’t be determinate during their lives for having offended in adolescence. So it can be said that restorative justice is contrary to penalty strengthening and therefore nameable as a pro-social strategy (D2.5: 27).

5.1.2 Response typology

Although a division along the two categories “anti-” and “pro-social”, bears important insights regarding the different aspects of the phenomenon of graffiti, which are addressed by the respective strategies, it is not a very sophisticated but rather a basic categorisation system. Not focussing on a specific aspect or effect of graffiti – may it be an “anti-” or “pro-social” one – but on the way it is responded to graffiti, five main perspectives could be identified during WP2 which form the basis of the “Graffolution Response Typology”. This Response Typology can help reflect the reality that a single action may include anti-social as well as pro-social aspects of graffiti, according to its implicated multiple actors, perspectives and agendas. The five perspectives cover environmental, enforcement and educational actions as well as collaborative approaches and evaluation scopes. These perspectives may be interlinked or appear separately (D2.5: 28).



Figure 3: Graffolution Response Typology

Environmental responses focus – as already explained in the context of “anti-social” measures – on the configuration of a certain area, in order to minimise or prevent illegal graffiti. Typical hereby are for example CCTV surveillance, improved lighting, motion lighting, thermal cameras, low light cameras, motion and sound sensors, trip alarms, fences and gates.

Enforcement strategies focus on applying or adjusting the relevant legal framework to graffiti and graffiti writing. This can include “pro-social” aspects like forms of activity support as well as “anti-social” measures like reducing or controlling graffiti activities. Generally, applied measures are based on target enforcement, like e.g. banning the sale of graffiti materials to minors, stop and search activities and house searches, but of course also the prosecution of graffiti delicts.

In contrary to enforcement measures is the educational perspective, which mainly tends to raise awareness on illegal graffiti writing and especially its negative consequences – be them legal or security relevant. Nevertheless, educational strategies avoid criminalising Graffiti Writers or denying the artistic or cultural value of graffiti. This scope includes for example youth programs or art related activities with school classes.

The collaborative perspective generally includes different scenarios. First, the social collaboration which describes the “normal linkage” of members of the same social environment. Such social collaboration can be used e.g. for natural surveillance which – in a similar form – is used in neighbourhood and citizen watches. A second form is the engagement of citizens in processes

initiated by organisations, for example informing or even mobilising the general public (to volunteer for cleaning teams or similar) via social media.

Last but not least, also evaluation plays an important role for a successful response to graffiti. This perspective is focused on monitoring the development of a certain field of interest. This may include for example community surveys, visual surveys (counting the sites defaced), development of a photographic crime database, analysing patterns of vandalism and types of graffiti that emerge as well as internet monitoring tools. As the evaluation of different action strategies in the context of graffiti also played an important role for the research conducted during WP2, this aspect will be discussed detailed in a following chapter (D2.5: 29).

5.2. The stakeholders' approaches

As it has already been described in previous chapters, the way the different stakeholders come in contact with the graffiti is decisive for their position towards and perspective on the phenomenon and therefore also for the approach they choose in regard of graffiti. But the selection of a certain approach – and especially the flexibility regarding the selection – is also depending on the structure of an organisation. This flexibility seems to decrease with the level of institutionalisation of the respective stakeholders, what on the other hand leads to an increase of the homogeneity within the stakeholder group. For example highly institutionalised organisations like the police have strict predefined procedures on how to deal with complaints – whatever the reported delict may be.

So when giving an overview over the approaches the various stakeholders apply for their dealing with graffiti, it is also useful to bear in mind their degree of institutionalisation and therefore their (assumed) flexibility. Based on these considerations, a scheme has been developed during WP2 that provides on the one hand an overview over the approaches the researched stakeholder groups have regarding graffiti and on the other hand also a basic arrangement according to their level of institutionalisation (compare figure 3).

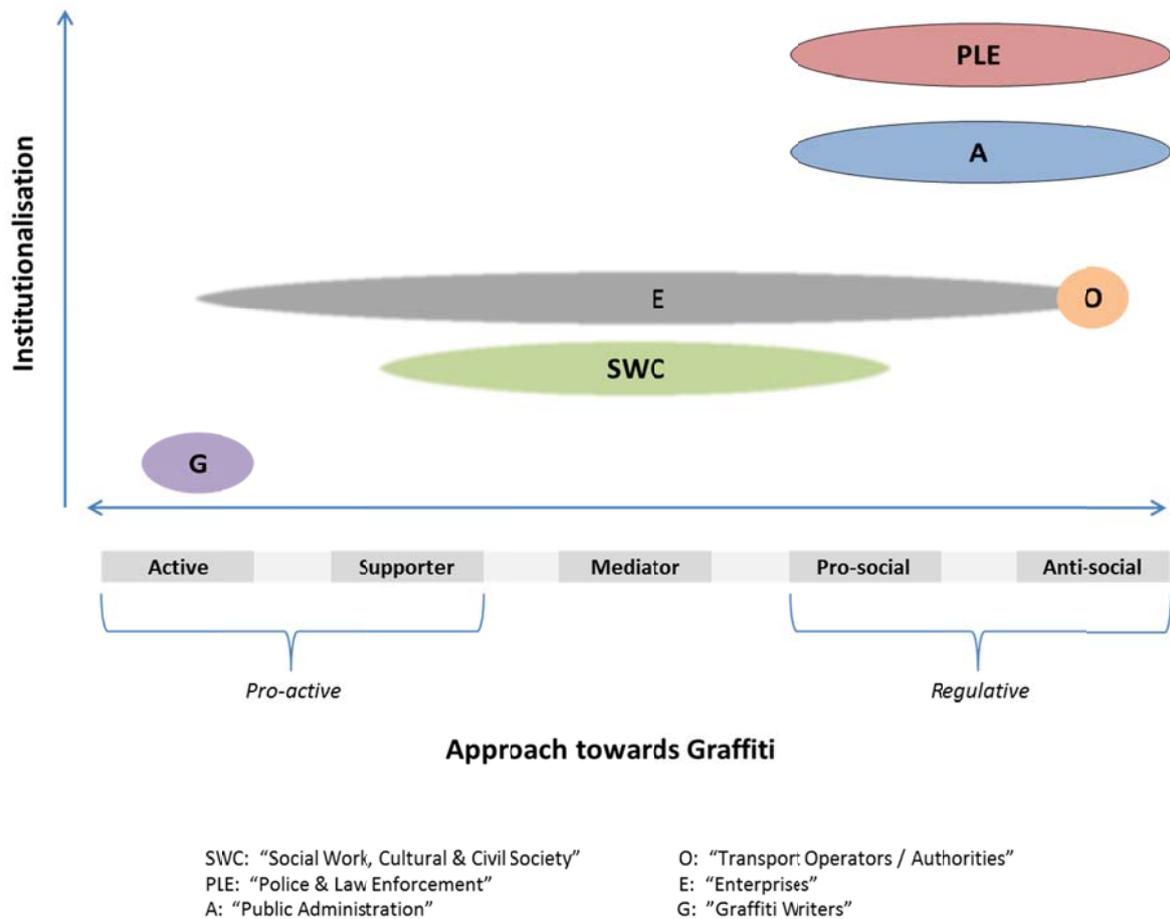


Figure 4: Location of the interviewed stakeholder groups according to their approach towards graffiti and the degree of institutionalisation.

The figure provides a combination of the two criteria "approach towards graffiti" (x-axis) and the "degree of institutionalisation" (y-axis) of the stakeholder groups. This gives an impression about how widespread the approach of a group towards graffiti is - especially compared to its degree of institutionalisation.

The strategies or approaches towards graffiti are divided into "pro-active" and "regulative". The pro-active sphere consists of those stakeholders who engage "active" in graffiti writing and those who "support" the graffiti scene. The other – regulative – pole also consists of two fields. On the one hand the regulation of illegal Graffiti by "pro-social" approaches and on the other hand by "repressive" measures. Furthermore, between those two poles, there is a field for those actors who try to "mediate" between the opposing parties and to strengthen the awareness for each other. All in all, the promotion and acceptance of graffiti as a part of the public sphere can be stated as the highest on the left side of the x-axis (where those who engage actively in graffiti are located) while it decreases to rightwards. On the right side, the restrictiveness towards graffiti is the highest while it

dissolves more and more to the left. Thereby, the different fields of the x-axis can't be seen as isolated from each other but with fluent passages.

The degree of the institutionalisation develops from "low" at the bottom to "high" along the y-axis. Low institutionalisation means that the single stakeholders can act quite independently, while those with a higher institutionalisation are more and more integrated in an overall system or organisation with predefined rules, fields of work and routines. This higher "flexibility" of stakeholders with a lower degree of institutionalisation is also illustrated by more fluent edges of the symbols of these stakeholder groups (D2.4: 80-82).

For the "Graffiti Writers" – located in the figure at the lower left – their approach seems obvious, as they are the ones who practise graffiti actively. A distinction that could be made here is whether they engage in legal or illegal graffiti writing (or in both). Generally, they are characterised by a low degree of institutionalisation as they are mostly organised in local scenes and crews or sometimes also without any form of organisation. A fact that makes the phenomenon quite hazy and hardly predictable, as it has been described in a previous chapter. As the Graffiti Writers are per definition those who practise graffiti actively, there seems to be only little variability in their approaches. But incorporating the whole graffiti scene, a larger number of possible activities in the context of graffiti appears (e.g. publishing magazines, organising events etc.). So for the future, a promising way of preventing illegal graffiti writing could be supporting the Writers to change their own approach also towards other, more legal activities within the graffiti scene – for example helping them to organise events etc. Regarding the naturally low degree of institutionalisation of the stakeholder group "Graffiti Writers", there would basically be the flexibility for such a change of perspective.

Another group with a rather lower degree of institutionalisation is the "Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society", located in the middle of the x-axis. As the figure shows, and as it was explained in the stakeholder description chapter, the stakeholders of this group try on the one hand to support graffiti – especially as a form of creative expression – while on the other directing graffiti into regular channels with pro-social measures. This includes strengthening the awareness of the Writers for the consequences of illegal graffiti as well as organising legal spaces for graffiti writing, where also a lot of persuading is necessary, for example when it's up to face the resistance of the officials or the respective neighbourhood. So another important measure of the "Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society" group is the mediation between the different involved actors. Hereby, their lower degree of institutionalisation is an advantage, as it provides them the flexibility to take into account all the diverging positions.

The location of the "Transport Operators / Authorities" is quite outstanding at the right end of the scale as their approach towards graffiti can be described as all through restrictive. As it came out in WP2, Transport Operators of all researched countries estimate graffiti as a problem that should be

eradicated. So their focus clearly lies on possible preventive- and countermeasures to tackle and reduce graffiti on their facilities (D2.2: 38). Thereby, they predominantly use environmental measures, as they have been described as typical for anti-social strategies in the previous chapter. But on closer consideration, it gets obvious that this approach can't be seen as a necessity, as enterprises generally have a wide range of dealing with the phenomenon. Although bearing in mind, that Transport Operators have a special responsibility to endure the safety in and around their facilities, their degree of institutionalisation is basically comparable to those of other stakeholders of the group "Enterprises". So, from this perspective, there is no external reason for the "Transport Operators / Authorities" not also to apply "pro-social" measures.

This aspect gets even clearer when taking into account the two groups "Police & Law Enforcement" and "Public Administration" which also have a regulative approach towards graffiti but even a higher level of institutionalisation as they are part of the apparatus of state. But despite this high level of institutionalisation, their approach towards graffiti still has a certain scope, as their activities include anti-social as well as pro-social measures. This contains for example commissioning legal graffiti design or providing legal walls on the side of the "Public Administration" and educational programs in school classes or Restorative Justice measures for convicted juvenile Graffiti Writers on the side of the "Police & Law Enforcement" (D2.4: 82).

Regarding the location of the different stakeholder groups in this scheme it has to be mentioned that this can't be seen as representative as there are neither any quantitative data which would allow the implementation of detailed scales, nor is the overall number of interviews high enough. Despite those limitations, the overall system illustrated in figure 3 has been developed along the results of the research process in WP2. For future research, it would be interesting to focus even more on the interdependences between a stakeholder's scope of applied measures and its degree of institutionalisation, as this would allow setting a realistic framework for the recommendation of new action strategies for the dealing with graffiti. Furthermore, this could enlighten the question why some stakeholders stick to a limited set of measures for no clear external reason, as it is e.g. the case for the "Transport Operators / Authorities". Especially as the research of WP2 has proven that a restrictive position towards graffiti does not automatically implement (exclusively) restrictive measures as also in this case, pro-social strategies have a clear benefit.

5.3. Evaluation

During WP2, huge efforts have been made to analyse the various stakeholder groups and the different strategies and measures they apply for their dealing with graffiti. In this context, one aspect of interest was whether and how the respective strategies were evaluated in order to gather

information about their functionality. But as the research process showed, profound evaluations of prevention or action strategies in the context of graffiti were hard to find, or in cases an evaluation had been conducted, the results often were not publicly accessible. Especially stakeholders of the groups “Transport Operators / Authorities” and “Police & Law Enforcement” can or do not want to share the data they collect.

One possible reason for this general lack of evaluation might be that a kind of institutional myth is considering evaluation as cost and time-consuming add-ons to the applied measures. But the opposite is the true. Supporting initiatives with evidence of actual impacts can be informative and cost-effective – not only but – especially in long terms as they are important for planning and designing further measures. In best-case scenarios, the evaluation results also provide an informed reference for reflecting on what lessons can be learnt from a specific approach under different points of view (D2.5: 47). For this reason, evaluation is also seen as an inherent part of the “Graffolution Response Typology” (compare chapter 5.1.2).

All in all, evaluation can be based on three main different aspects: the processes, the outcomes and the impacts. Evaluating the process is primarily interesting internally, aiming overall to understand and of course improve the process. Evaluating the outcomes aims to track the results (in its wider sense) of the strategies. Hereby, systematic data collection is the key to produce evidence based judgments, whereas the collected data need to be reliable and consistent. Due to this, the importance of the indicators chosen is evident. Assessing the impact of strategies is probably the most critical and most difficult as it takes into account not only the immediate results (outputs) right after the intervention, but also lasting effects across time and side-effects (being them positive or negative) at both short and long-term (D2.5: 58). But bearing in mind that graffiti is a phenomenon with a very heterogeneous and spontaneous character regarding its appearance and the development of its magnitude, such long-term perspective evaluation seem to be essential to give valid assertions regarding the impact of a measure on the phenomenon.

Generally spoken, evaluation is the process that seeks to assess whether the effort made is worthwhile. Good evaluations may help to improve the development of future interventions and avoid unintended consequences (such as displacement, discrimination, etc.). And although it is hard to find profound evaluations in the context of graffiti relevant action and prevention strategies, the research conducted in WP2 brought to light that there is a general need for evaluation of applied strategies. Information about evaluation measures where for example one aspect mentioned as preferred content of the Graffolution Platform (D2.7: 18).

So besides providing an overview over possible evaluation measures on the Graffolution Platform (which have been collected and analysed in D2.5), it might further be appropriate on the one hand to strengthen the awareness for the need of evaluating the own measures and strategies even more,

while on the other hand provide detailed examples of evaluation measures, with varying cost- and time-consuming efforts. By providing the stakeholders such a range of possible measures with different requirements, they would be able to choose the appropriate one according to their resources.

5.4. Future developments of strategies and measures

As it is always the problem with giving prognoses, detailed estimations of future trends are hardly possible. Therefore, this chapter should rather be seen as an outlook on how the dealing with graffiti will develop in the future, but as a summary of promising approaches – based on the detailed analysis of the various stakeholders, their perspectives, needs and requirements, as well as the identified different approaches towards graffiti, their strengths and weaknesses.

From the stakeholders' perspectives, there were several aspects mentioned that will be important or could be improved in the context of graffiti. Especially "pro-social" measures are stated by the majority of the stakeholder groups as a promising approach. This includes the provision of legal spaces, the implementation of constructive graffiti projects (e.g. commissioned designs of public infrastructure) and educational programs. Such pro-social strategies could be integrated in a general enhanced socio-political engagement, which would be necessary especially in deprived areas (D2.4: 61).

Furthermore, the mutual exchange and mediation between the different stakeholders which are affected by graffiti is seen as an important aspect for the future. This implies an enhanced understanding of the respective parties for the position of the other stakeholders (D2.4: 61).

Further aspects that will play an increasing role in the future are – according to the interviewed stakeholders – on the one hand technical innovations and some sort of armament. This was stated by interviewees who apply environmental measures like the "Police & Law Enforcement" and "Transport Operators / Authorities" but also by the "Graffiti Writers". This means that the stakeholders have to face technical innovations of the "opposing party" while at the same time they advance their own techniques and vice versa. On the other hand, the increased commercialisation of graffiti and its development to a part of the cultural mainstream changes the phenomenon. This affects of course especially the Graffiti Writers but also other stakeholders like cultural actors and forces them to reflect how to deal with graffiti and its role within the modern world (D2.4: 60).

So, for a future development of strategies and measures, the question will not only be about "how" to reduce graffiti vandalism but more about "what" exactly the challenge is. What is the wider context, and what responses are most holistically effective, according to "whom"? Therefore, when

certain actions (intervention) are taken the key questions are: who is being served and whose perspective is being applied (motivations/drivers in relation to the responders to graffiti) (D2.6: 57)?

Bearing this aspect and the different requirements as well as perspectives of the stakeholders in mind, an approach is suggested that is called “Merged Models”. Here, different approaches of management, accommodating multiple drivers and seeking to serve diverse agendas are integrated in order to represent more astute and more contextually sensitive concepts for response. This means for example, although in some cases the anti-social and pro-social approaches can appear to conflict, it is also possible to combine learning from across these approaches towards innovative and productive responses that meet diverse drivers (D2.6: 55-56). Also D2.8 showed that techniques for reporting, monitoring and managing graffiti vandalism can help to diminish some of the negative impacts of D2.8 but do not substitute complementary projects involving local community and Graffiti Writers (D.2.8: 75). This aspect is also taken into account regarding the “Graffolution Response Typology”, which is not based on the simple segregation between “pro-” or “anti-social” measures, but provides a more sophisticated system of different Response Types, which explicitly can be combined with each other, so it is possible to develop such “Merged Models”.

Hereby, the role of the Graffolution project can only be an assisting one, as finally it’s up to the stakeholders themselves to decide which measures are appropriate for them. Graffolution can try to open their eyes towards the different perspectives and possibilities – a function of the project which is supposed to be implemented by the Graffolution Platform. By demonstrating the various strategies and approaches the platform can inspire the stakeholders to readjust and improve their own dealing with graffiti. But as graffiti is a progressive and constantly developing and changing phenomenon, also a permanent research and improvement process regarding the different types of presented strategies would be necessary. This is important to ensure, that the Graffolution Platform is always up to date and has an eye on the latest developments of the phenomenon graffiti, but also regarding the field of graffiti prevention.

A first important step, for identifying, collecting and working up new possible ways of dealing with graffiti, was done in Deliverable 2.9, which summarised the respective central insights of WP2 and developed them to possible future action strategies for responding effectively to challenges associated with graffiti. In the following table are listed briefly the most promising proposals that - according to the Graffolution research – could effect to initiate multiple positive impacts in addressing current EU problems and costs related to graffiti in public areas and transport (D2.9: 44-46).

Table 3: Possible future developments

<p>Citizens being more involved in decision-making</p> <p>This is about creating environments and resources where people from different groups can both voice their opinions and put forward and develop new ideas – to say what they want more of, not just what they want less off: considering pro-social as well as anti-social aspects.</p>
<p>Community-led collaborations for place-making</p> <p>The aim is a peer to peer collaboration such as citizens collaborating on place making activities or stakeholders gathering ideas and perspectives to discuss a specific topic e.g. via social media.</p>
<p>Expert panels / Advisors</p> <p>This proposes to invite nominated experts – from local authorities, built environment, urban development, police, transport, enterprise, finance consultants, cleaning/maintenance, as well as community engagement, academia, creative practice, graffiti, street art etc. – to form neighbourhood, city or region-wide panels of street art and graffiti curation and management.</p>
<p>Authorised, commissioned and competition spaces</p> <p>This is about design of spatial management models that have the potential a) to reduce maintenance and cleaning costs for local authorities, b) to provide physical spaces that can be self-managed and/or community managed, and c) to drive collaboration and engagement between various stakeholders. Organised well, authorised spaces have the benefit of allowing diverse members of communities to apply their different skills to a single space as a form of ‘street gallery’, while commissioned spaces provide enterprise opportunities for local aspirational artists and help to establish a higher level of quality. Locally-focussed competitions should invite independent artists and creative practitioners to add vitality to urban, rail and other infrastructure environments, with dynamic (changeable) elements of visual surprise and creativity.</p>
<p>Artist quarters and residencies</p> <p>This is a proposal for artist run spaces that lower management costs for local authorities, bring various artists together, providing affordable spaces, located in cultural areas to create a hub but also avoid disturbances to people who are not interested in street art.</p>
<p>Multi-agenda feedback features</p> <p>This refers to resources that incorporate multi-actor perspectives and include graffiti outcomes and responses rather than being vandalism or graffiti-led. That is in part to avoid out-of-context responses to instances of graffiti, for example, rather than asking people whether or not they like a particular piece of graffiti, it may be more useful to ask how people feel in a particular</p>

environment and what they identify to be influencing those feelings.

Online graffiti archive & visual data aggregator

This theme is very much connected to providing multi-agenda comparisons and reflecting geographical and social history. The visual data aggregator is a platform to combine and collect images as visual value indicators of graffiti (positive or negative) from multiple channels - council cleaning teams, cleaning contractors, residents, tourists, writers and artists. Photographs by different actors across different databases and social networking systems can thereby be brought together. This aggregator acts as a more accurate reflection of the multiple positive and negative impacts of graffiti activity and allows a range of values to be collected through the visual medium rather than just negative values coming in through graffiti hotlines.

Shared categorisation, indicators and data formats

This is about transparency in communicating costs and spending on managing and reporting graffiti (covering “anti-social” prevention based approaches, “pro-social” approaches, and urban management and design responses) as well as creating compatible categorisation and data formats that will enable clearer evaluation among dutyholders. This, however, does not mean sharing personal data.

Public discussions on rights for public space (social awareness)

This suggestion works on three levels; (a) policy level by reviewing the way graffiti vandalism is handled within the legal system fall under this category; (b) public level by developing more public discussions on rights to public space; and (c) academic and industry level by re-framing the discourse around graffiti, vandalism and street art and moving it towards “urban communication”.

Restorative Justice (RJ) response actions

RJ can permit new context specific responses in relation to graffiti offences, for example via community remedies. An important aspect here is that these remedies consider victims, offenders and communities in parallel. One example is that communities can be more involved in deciding and updating local ‘community remedy’ type approaches, in order to keep local measures (as response actions) relevant and innovative.

6. CONCLUSION

As it seems quite difficult to assemble a compendium of a research process that lasted almost two years, has been conducted in several countries and encouraged or counselled by a number of partners, it seems to be quite impossible to name single outstanding aspects, that would be worth to be re-emphasised in a conclusion. Especially as the research process of WP2 produced a high number of such insights.

Therefore, the following conclusion is supposed to first have a look back on WP2 and especially reflect on the main challenges, the partners had to face during the research process. In a second step, a brief look forward will be taken, regarding possible and worthwhile directions of future research in the field graffiti as they have already been touched at an earlier point of this compendium.

6.1. Retrospection on WP2

According to the Work package description, “WP2 creates the scientific fundament of the project and produces essential knowledge for development of efficient solutions, measures, guidelines as well as the Graffolution web platform” especially the aspiration and the scope of the project Graffolution – which give it its outstanding role in the field of graffiti prevention – led to some consequences that challenged the research process, but at the same stimulated it and pushed it forward.

As it came out during the research process of WP2, the implementation of the European wide scope of Graffolution was technically difficult. A first step focussed on the four countries Austria, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom and provided very important and enlightening insights. In a second step, the gathered knowledge was supposed to be spread, retested and augmented in a European wide context (e.g. in D2.7 and D2.8). Although it was not possible to gather “completely European wide” input, for example the E-Consultation conducted for D2.7 was able to confirm the insights gathered through the previous analysis of the four mentioned countries. This proves that it is possible to adapt the findings of the in-deep analysis – and the gathered knowledge – to other European countries.

The central aspiration of Graffolution is “to counteract increases in graffiti vandalism in public areas and transportation networks by focusing on smart awareness and positive prevention solutions for all affected stakeholder groups, including those who manage graffiti, as well as those who have utilised street art as part of city regeneration, place making or community involvement strategies” (see the Graffolution Factsheet). This position ensures a maximum of neutrality in a discussion which is often characterised by multiple heterogeneous and polarising points of view. And it is a novelty for

a project with a focus on the prevention of illegal graffiti, to adhere the equality of all involved parties in such a consequent way it was done during every step of the project – leading for example to the fact that all interviews were conducted with the same guideline, so the opinion of every stakeholder on each topic covered could be respected. Taking into account, analysing and comparing all these different and diverging positions caused a lot of – although worthwhile – efforts. But this innovative, equalising approach also lead to some criticism from stakeholders who had reservations to participate in a project where also the “enemy” or “opposing party” contributes. But besides some problems these conflicting positions caused for the research process (e.g. refusals to participate in surveys) it also strengthened the focus of the project for the necessity of mediation between the various stakeholders. So this aspect will also play an important role regarding the Graffolution Platform, especially as next to the own experiences, the strengthening of the awareness of each other and possibilities for mediation were also mentioned by the stakeholders as important functions and contents of the future Graffolution Platform. So finally, this again proves the aspiration of Graffolution as a project open minded towards all the various positions and perspectives in the field of graffiti, as right.

6.2. Outlook

As already emphasised, graffiti is a very heterogeneous phenomenon and difficult to predict. Therefore, it is also difficult to give any detailed estimations in which direction the research in the field of graffiti should or will go, as (social) research is always influenced and guided by the development of reality. Nevertheless, in this last chapter, aspects of worthwhile further research as they appeared during WP2 will be summarised (as they were already described in the foregoing chapters).

A first important development for future research in the field of graffiti would be an enhanced provision of statistical data and valid information around graffiti. As mentioned in chapter 3.3.1, there is an enormous lack of reliable data, about how graffiti exactly developed in the past (regarding the number of delicts and its regional distribution) but also about the present situation. Even if it might be impossible to acquire all illegal graffiti of a city or area, there should at least be coherent data about the number of illegal graffiti reported to the police or attached at the facilities of larger private or public organisations like Transport Operators or municipalities. This would allow reconstructing the quantitative development and spreading of graffiti at least to some degree. Especially a standardised European wide procedure of collecting data about graffiti incidents would be desirable and a great facilitation of graffiti research – although probably only hard to realise.

A similar point, which would also facilitate future research in the field of graffiti especially regarding appropriate action strategies, would be an enhanced evaluation of conducted projects and applied measures. This would allow a detailed impact and process analysis of the different action strategies regarding graffiti and therefore be a big advantage for the further development of such strategies. Last but not least, this would also provide a benefit for those stakeholders, who have to deal with graffiti, as evaluation can also have cost reductive effects as it allows monitoring – and if necessary increasing – the effectiveness of respective measures.

Not only the evaluation of the different strategies, but also a further analysis of those who apply them would be useful. Although a lot of efforts have been taken and many insights gathered during WP2 regarding the analysis of the stakeholders affected by graffiti, there are some aspects, where further research still could provide some interesting and deepening findings. One would be the correlation between the degree of institutionalisation a stakeholder organisation is characterised by and its range of measures for the dealing with graffiti, as it has been described in chapter 5.2. With such detailed knowledge, it would be possible to set a realistic scene for the implementation of different strategies, may them be “pro-” or “anti-social”, or – as postulated by the Graffolution Response Typology – a mixture of both but with a finely tuned proportion. Such an adjustment of the applicable measures according to the characteristics of the respective stakeholder could also be improved by a further analysis of the way they are exactly affected by graffiti and whether there are any side effects for this sort of contact. Hereby, a first location system – above the obvious differences between the stakeholder groups - has been provided in chapter 4.1, but could still be elaborated, for example also by using a higher number and more sophisticated defined stakeholder groups.

Last but not least, also the phenomenon graffiti itself holds some aspects that could be the focus of future research. Above all probably the most important and also most controversial question might be the impact of graffiti on, and its consequences for the public sphere. From first explanations of the negative effects of vandalism in the “Broken Window Theory” in the early 80s, over its partial confirmation (e.g. regarding the dam breaking effects of a first Graffito on a former untouched wall) to its denial by emphasising the positive and advertising effects a prosperous street art scene can have on a city, this topic is still highly controversial. Hereby, a detailed analysis of all kinds of involved variables would be interesting. These include for example the density of illegal graffiti within an area, the complexity and artistic quality of the graffiti and the coincidence with other factors who generate a feeling of insecurity, like public drinking, hanging out youths and general signs for dilapidation. The analysis of these and other variables would be useful to give detailed information about when and in which contexts, graffiti can have a positive or negative impact on the public sphere and especially the quality of living for the surrounding environment.

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