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D2.4 STAKEHOLDER EXPERIENCES, CHALLENGES AND REQUIREMENTS REPORT 1

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1. INTRODUCTION

The central focus of this report lies on the experiences, challenges and requirements of the different stakeholder groups regarding graffiti and graffiti vandalism, these and their members shall be introduced briefly in this section. Besides the field of operation, other important characteristics of the actors like their location (rural or urban), organisation (private or public), special fields of work etc. are mentioned to give a first impression about the varying types of stakeholders. Thereby, especially the question concerning the homogeneity or heterogeneity among a stakeholder group is important for the later analysis. For the sake of anonymity, the following information about the single stakeholders had to be limited, but it should still be possible to get a first impression about the structure of the different stakeholder groups.

"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"

In all researched countries, the actors of the group "Social work, Cultural & Civil Society" turn out to be very heterogeneous concerning their fields of operation, their attitude towards graffiti and the way they come in contact with the phenomenon.
The stakeholder group includes persons who come in contact with graffiti because of their personal interest (e.g. publisher of a scene magazine, person who built an archive of graffiti over decades), such who use graffiti as an instrument for their work (e.g. social worker, association that promotes graffiti in "non-lieux" spaces) but also those who are affected by graffiti unwanted (e.g. shoppers and owner´s association, neighbours´ association). But in contrast to the latter, one might assume for this stakeholder group that the majority has a basic interest in graffiti as a social, cultural or artistic phenomenon (e.g. NGO staff working together with graffiti writers to find free walls, curator of an urban art organisation, group of artists from the faculty of fine arts, institution for cultural management).

"Police & Law Enforcement"

Compared to the first group of stakeholders, the "Police & Law Enforcement" is way more homogeneous as all of its members come in contact with graffiti in the course of an investigation or juridical procedure or due to general civil protection – so graffiti is basically one aspect of their work. Interviewed stakeholders are for example police officers (national as well as local level) – some of them are part of a special anti-graffiti unit. Besides representatives from the executive branch also members of the judicial branch (e.g. prosecutor, juvenile court assistance) are part of this group. A third but smaller part is non-governmental actors like e.g. a crime and security consultancy.

"Public Administration"

Similar to the *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* and in contrast to the *"Police & Law Enforcement"*, the contact with the graffiti phenomenon is again very heterogeneous for the stakeholder group *"Public Administration"*.

Although all of the interviewees are part of the public body (e.g. City Council, regional administration), their perspectives – also related to graffiti – depend on the special field of work they act in. This includes the responsibility for the public facilities (e.g. building directorate) or the cultural life (e.g. culture directorate) but also persons who work in the field of crime prevention (e.g. council for crime prevention, Tackling Crime Unit). Understandably, all these different fields of work lead to varying perspectives on graffiti – from a focus on the material damage over its legal aspects to its cultural value. But as it will come out later in the report, these different points of view do not automatically lead to diverging strategies regarding graffiti.

"Transport Operators / Authorities"

As the facilities of public transport operators are a preferred target for illegal graffiti writers, the stakeholder group "Transport Operators / Authorities" can basically be seen as one of the most affected by graffiti vandalism.
Thereby, the stakeholder group turns out to be very homogenous, as its representatives are members of regional and national public transport operators (e.g. railway company, subway and tram operators) as well as the municipal utilities. Besides others, especially the safety and security units of the respective actors (e.g. Transport Police) were of interest, as they are the ones who get directly in contact with graffiti.

"Enterprises"

This stakeholder group can be described as one of the most heterogeneous as it combines a large number of different actors who get in contact with graffiti in the one or another way. This includes for example representatives of a graffiti shop, who sell equipment to the writers; legacy cooperation and retail manager who have to deal with illegal graffiti on their buildings and cleaning companies which are commissioned to remove illegal graffiti. Regarding this large variety, the only aspects which are all stakeholders of this group in common is the fact that they get in touch with graffiti and act in the field of private business.

"Graffiti Writers"

All of the interviewed writers are or were active in graffiti writing. Besides this common feature, there are differences concerning the duration, intensity and special field of their engagement. Some of the graffiti writers are part of the illegal graffiti scene, while others turned to legal graffiti writing or other forms of engagement like for example building up a graffiti gallery or a graffiti shop.
Despite that, the interviewees differ according to their age (younger and older writers), economic status (lower and higher), gender (male and female writers) as well as their location (from smaller town to major city).

Based on this structure and after a first chapter about the methodology the report (as well as the project) relies on, the analysis starts with the stakeholders´ fields of operation and communication in

the context of graffiti and graffiti vandalism. In a first step, the fields of operation of the different stakeholders, as well as their goals and experiences will be described. Afterwards, the various sorts of communication and networking practiced by the actors in their dealing with graffiti will be analysed. This includes the different participants, the central goals and topics of the communication and networking as well as the experiences the actors have made in this context. Based on these insights, concrete input besides the stakeholders is given, regarding possible improvements, ideas and requirements for their dealing with graffiti.

These topics will be elaborated in detail for every single stakeholder group which makes it possible to identify similarities and differences in their dealing with the phenomenon.

Following this, it will be pointed out how the stakeholders estimate the future of graffiti, regarding the development of the phenomenon, future requirements and challenges as well as possibilities to direct the phenomenon. Furthermore, it is explained how a "golden road" regarding the dealing with graffiti could look like according to the actors and whether such an optimized approach is possible anyway.

The estimation of the future of graffiti and graffiti prevention on the part of the stakeholders delivers on the one hand important insights about their future focuses and on the other about possible chances and necessary improvements in the dealing with the phenomenon.

The next chapter reveals around the Graffolution platform and how the different stakeholder groups estimate the benefit of the platform and where they expect possible problems. Furthermore, reported experiences of the actors with similar platforms and their input regarding the content, the participants, and the technical implementation etc. of the Graffolution platform will be shown up.

These insights will be helpful for the development of the Graffolution platform and to adjust it exactly to the needs and requirements of all the relevant stakeholder groups.

Finally, the gathered insights of the report will be summarized and – based on these findings – an overall system will be developed that combines the stakeholders´ approach towards graffiti and their degree of institutionalisation which allows giving an overview regarding their potential and actually used scopes of action regarding graffiti and graffiti vandalism.

2. METHODOLOGY

The following deliverable is based on **semi-structured interviews** with stakeholders in the field of graffiti. All results and data have been gathered in the four participating countries: Austria, Germany, Spain and United Kingdom (in alphabetical order).

In-Depth Interviews with Stakeholders

In total 85 (minimum 20 per country) stakeholder interviews were conducted in four selected countries (Austria, Germany, Spain and the UK). In-depth interviews were conducted with stakeholders from public administration, police / law enforcement, transport operators, the social and cultural domain on graffiti and from enterprises as well as graffiti writers (at least five and of different ages, gender, economic status and engagement in graffiti (e.g. one former writer) – as far as possible and appropriate for the respective country.

Stakeholders were chosen due to their specific knowledge or expertise about graffiti in their country, as well as their role and /or duties. Semi-structured interviews were based on one commonly agreed interview guideline, used for all stakeholders, including graffiti writers. The guideline covered the following topics: *understanding/definition* of graffiti, *relationship to graffiti*, *experiences/motifs*, *impact*, the *legal framework*, *prevention strategies/measures*, *exchange/networking*, *outlook/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 (see appendix 1).

Interviews were conducted in the specific national language[1]. The average duration of an interview was about 60 to 90 minutes. The interviews were recorded[2], transcribed, and analysed. Analysis of the data was done on a common coding list by all partners (see appendix 2) and in the respective national language. Interview quotations are translated by the respective partner.

An important fact to note is some of the graffiti writers were suspicious of the ambitions of the Graffolution project, in Germany, Spain and the UK. Some of them also criticised the use of the term 'sprayer'[3] in the project description. Literature sources appear to concord with this, as they predominantly use other terms such as graffiti writer, artist, graffitist and more.

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code for the quotations: the first letter(s) are indicating the nature of the stakeholder: G for graffiti writers; O for transport operators / authorities; A for public administrations; PLE for police / law enforcement; SWC for social work/cultural projects; CS for Civil Society (only used in Spain); E for enterprises and private companies; the second (and third) letter is the country (E for Spain, U for UK, G for Germany and A for Austria); finally the number according to the order within the given stakeholder type.

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[1] In the case of Spain interviews were done in Catalan and Spanish.

[2] 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.

[3] And for this reason we are not using the term anymore in this deliverable.

Table 1: Number of interviews per stakeholder group by country.

Stakeholder group	Country				Total
	Austria	Germany	Spain	UK	
Social work / cultural projects (SWC)	3	4	3	3	**13**
Civil Society (CS)	0	0	3	0	**3**
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**

3. FIELDS OF OPERATION AND COMMUNICATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GRAFFITI (VANDALISM) IN THE DIFFERENT STAKEHOLDER GROUPS

3.1 The stakeholder group "Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"

3.1.1 Fields of operation and goals in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

In all researched countries, the stakeholder group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* turns out to be **very heterogeneous**, as the list of actors reaches from social workers to Neighbours´ Associations and publisher of scene magazines (compare chapter 1). As they all come in contact with graffiti in a different way, also the perception of the phenomenon varies as for some of them the artistic and cultural value (SWCA3, SWCG2, SCWG4) are at the forefront of their thinking, while for others graffiti is seen as a way for reflection in a city (SWCE3) and a positive influence for a city (SWCUK2). Although most of the interviewees have an understanding and supporting dealing with graffiti, some of them also have a stronger focus on the damaging part of the phenomenon like the different associations of (private or economic) proprietors – as their members might be victims of graffiti vandalism (CSE1, CSE2).

According to their position within society, the stakeholders of this group basically act within society and thereby often function as some sort of **interface** between the different social groups or between the administrations and the general public.

On the one hand, this means to enable a certain sphere, where graffiti can exist legally. Therefore, acquiring legal walls or projects (together with the writers) is a central goal for the majority of these stakeholders (SWCA1, CSE2, SWCG1, SWCUK2 et al..[4]) – although they often have to face the resistance of the officials or the respective neighbourhood. Therefore, strengthening the awareness of the general public and officials about the importance of art as a part of the public sphere is a further goal (SWCA3, SWCG1, SWCG3, SWCUK2).

> *"(…) for me it is also essential for the community to establish a certain understanding that art has to be part of the public sphere and that this is something great (…)"* (SWCG3).

On the other hand, it is also important to strengthen the awareness of the youths about the damages caused by graffiti, the dangers and consequences of illegal graffiti and finally presenting them legal alternatives (SWCA1, SWCG3). Thereby, graffiti has not only an artistic but also an educational aspect (SWCE1, SWCE2) which is not only limited to writing graffiti but can be seen as a basis to reach and to work with youths in general (SWCG3) so it is also a tool for other kinds of youth work (SWCE2).

It can be stated for all researched countries that the **mediation between the different actors** plays a big role within this stakeholder group and is a central goal for their activities (SWCA1, CSE1, SWCG1,

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[4] One quotation is indicated for every represented country. The term "et al." states that for these countries, more quotations were found but not indicated in order not to exaggerate the list.

SWCUK2 et al..). This requires good contacts to the officials as well as to the graffiti scene itself, in order to ensure the success of the different projects.

> *"(…) and within my work, I realize that this often leads to heated quarrels. Needless to say that the municipality or also the police have a totally different point of view than the youths - and we are in the middle of it by making it [graffiti S.K.] possible in some cases but also by preventing it in other cases, at places where it isn´t wanted"* (SWCG3).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of the work

Many of the representatives of the *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* have been dealing with graffiti for many years and therefore have their own experiences with the graffiti phenomenon (SWCA1, SWCG2, CSE3 et al..). For example an interviewee from Austria states that working together with the public administration to find places where the writers are allowed to paint legally is very important, as in earlier times a lot of charges were pressed against young people (SWCA1). A social worker from Germany explains that according to his experiences there are a lot of bureaucratic difficulties when writers want to apply for legal projects or sometimes just write on a – actually – free wall (SWCG1). And an interviewee from Spain complains about differing implementations of the same law within the country (CSE3).

It is furthermore mentioned that general strategies are hard to develop due to the complexity and **heterogeneity of the phenomenon** as for example free walls are not accepted the same way by all writers (CSE3). On the other hand not all graffiti are perceived the same way (CSE1) although there are also views that recognize the acceptance of certain forms of graffiti as increasing slowly (SWCUK2).

Concerning their role, it is mentioned that it is very important to be in contact and gain the trust of the local graffiti scene in order to have an overview over who is actively writing and to be able to contact the writers when it´s up to implement graffiti projects (SWCG3, SWCG4).

Many of the stakeholders from the group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* function as some sort of mediator between the different spheres and actors of society. They often have to deal with difficult and **conflicting situations**, for example when it comes up to organize legal walls or graffiti projects (SWCA1, SWCG1, SWCG3). Thereby they often have to face administration barriers (CSE1, CSE3). It is stated that legal walls or projects generally demand a motive that is perceived positively and not as offensive by a general public so there is an external influence on the creative work of the writers regarding such projects (CSE1, SWCG1, SWCG3).

A further challenge is to strengthen the awareness of the general public and the authorities for graffiti and therefore also for legal walls and projects (SWCA1, SWCG4, SWCUK2). Thereby the stakeholders have to face several problems, as for example the social workers try to obtain acceptance of the public and the authorities for graffiti projects while on the other hand within the graffiti scene it is higher respected to spray illegal (SWCG3). And according to that, they try to promote graffiti as a means of artistic expression while graffiti vandals tend to receive all the

attention of the public (SWCE3). And last but not least, authorities have to be convinced to provide legal possibilities for graffiti while they know at the same time that they have to face criticism from the public (SWCG3).

These various problems include a further challenge which illustrates the problems of mediating actors very well:

> *"Well that's always a problem with youths that they don´t speak the same language like adults and don´t understand each other, also have a different time horizon. When adults – in this case the local council – need three years to permit something, this might be fast from the local council´s perspective, but from the perspective of a 15-year-old who is now 18 years old, that was too slowly"* (SWCG3).

Another challenge that might be valid for the whole stakeholder group is to ensure the funding of their facilities and projects, whereby administrative problems are mentioned again (SCWA3, SWCE1).

> *"We're two of us and for the last activity we organized we had to put money from our pockets. Because we had a subsidy but it was never paid"* (SWCG1).

3.1.2 Communication and networking in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

Sorts and participants of communication and networking

It is on the one hand noticeable that regarding the stakeholder group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* there are a lot of different and various information and networking activities in each researched country (as well as informal and on a regular, institutionalised basis).[5] These involve for example personal meetings, public events, exhibitions, round tables and websites/social media (e.g. blogs), magazines and as well personal and professional networks. The participants/target groups of these communication activities are mainly members of the same stakeholder group, graffiti writers and the wider (interested) public/citizens. Additionally the UK representatives are mainly involved with local authorities and in contact with citizens (e.g. SWCUK1, SWCUK2). With exception to one German SWC-institution there is no broader exchange/networking between the *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"*-stakeholder group and *"Police & Law Enforcement"*.

The figures 1-6 give an overview over the information exchange and network cooperation of the interviewed stakeholder groups with other graffiti related actors. Following the framework of egocentric networks carried out in social network analysis, the ego or reference actor - in this first case the stakeholder group SWC (Fig. 1) - is represented by a node (located in the middle of the figure). The other parties participating in the interactions are summarized in the respective stakeholder group they can be allocated to (located in the periphery).

Furthermore, the figures give information about the intensity of the information exchange and network cooperation between the stakeholder groups (illustrated by the connecting line between

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[5] See for the detailed sort of communication, way of implementation, frequency and respective participants for each researched country's stakeholder group appendix 3.

both groups). Those are divided from *low* to *medium* and *strong*, imaged by the colour and strength of the lines. In case that there is no such line between two groups, this means that there was no information exchange or network cooperation reported by the interviewees of the respective country.

Thereby, the information exchange and network cooperation with representatives of the varying stakeholder groups (as well as its intensity) is always described from the perspective of the reference stakeholder group in the middle of the figure – and hereby again from the perspective of the interviewees of the different countries.

For example figure 1 shows that according to German interviewees from the group "Social work, Cultural & Civil Society" (SWC) there is only a low intensity of information exchange and cooperation networks with other actors from the groups SWC, PLE and G while there was no interaction mentioned in the interviews with actors of the groups A, O and E.

The illustrated intensity of information exchange and network cooperation of a stakeholder group with other groups results from the number of namings of such interactions in the interviews of the reference stakeholder group in the different countries. This number was divided by the overall number of interviews of the respective stakeholder group of a country, in order to receive an average number and to avoid that a high number of interviews from one stakeholder group would falsify the intensity of the respective connections compared to groups with only a lower number of interviews.

Despite such methods, it has to be mentioned that the information provided in the figures 1-6 can only be seen as exploratory but not as representative, as the overall number of interviews is too low. Therefore, it was refrained from providing any numbers of mentioned interactions in the figures, as those would create the impression of representative and generally valid results.

In spite of these limitations, the figures provide some interesting information and tendencies about the information exchange and network cooperation the interviewed stakeholder groups in the respective countries.

Fig. 1: Intensity of Information exchange and networking of the interviewed members of the group "*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society*" with other stakeholder groups.
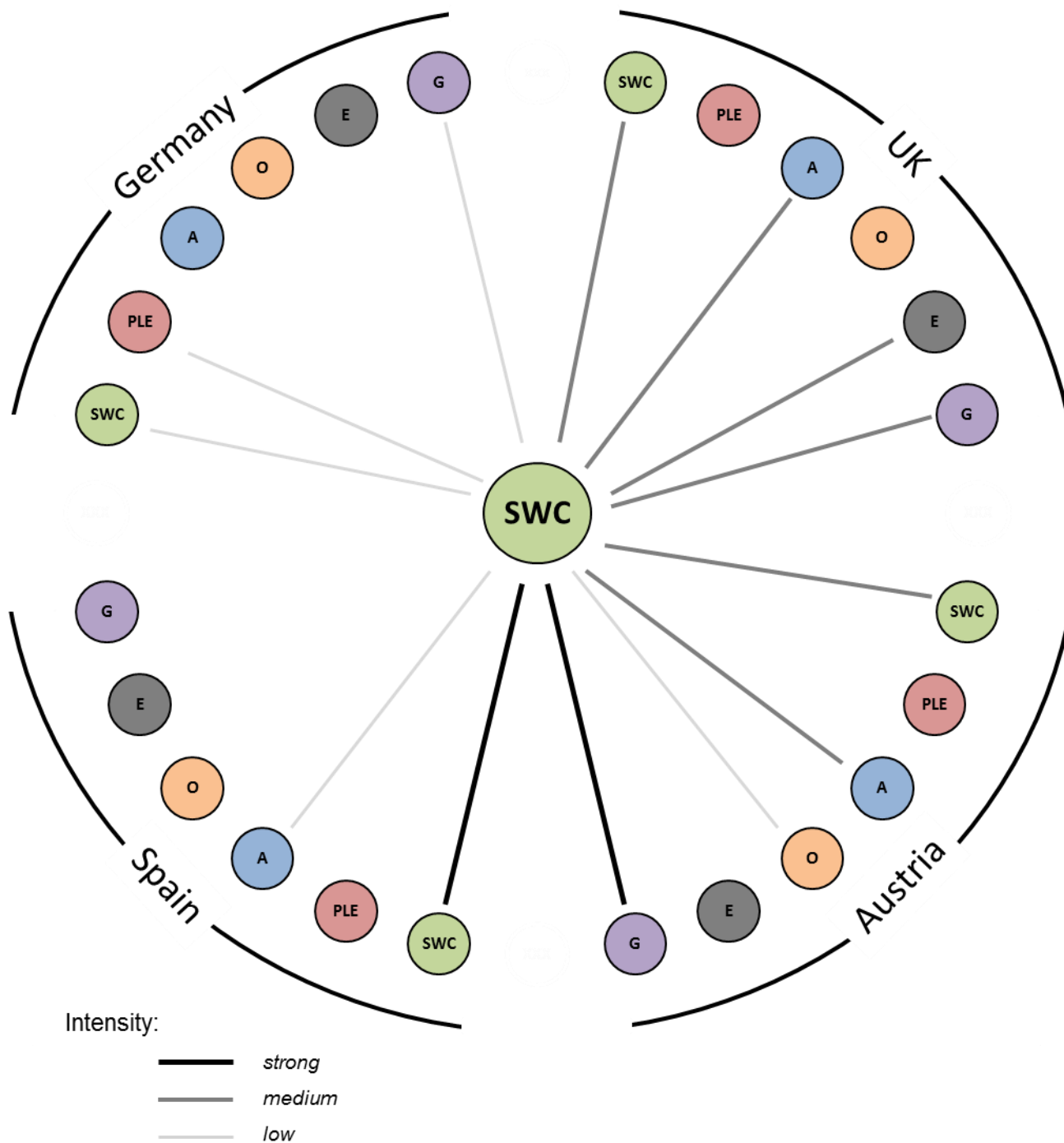
SWC: Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society   O: Transport Operators / Authorities
PLE: Police & Law Enforcement   E: Enterprises
A: Public Administration   G: Graffiti Writers

Central goals and topics of communication and networking

The main participants of the specific communication and networking activities correspond with the central topics and goals pursued during communication and networking activities from side of the stakeholder group's members – they are quite similar across the countries researched and correspond to their everyday tasks:

Mediating between the different parties regarding graffiti and promoting mutual understanding and awareness (SWCA1, SWCA3, CSE3, SWCE3), e.g. the Austrian interviewee SWCA1 states local city administration, transport organisation, NGOs, citizens and the writer scene using an own website for public communication, e.g. regarding legal space in the city (SWCA1); or in the case of the Spanish interviewee SWCE3 thorough communication with residents is rated very necessary in order to find an agreement regarding a planned artistic intervention:

> *"There are certain aspects forming a population's identity. It's not easy to create a project under those standards. You need to explore and communicate with the residents in order to agree on a certain intervention"* (SWCE3).

Increasing exchange between writers and the public and reaching wider and new audiences/citizens (SWCUTK1, SWCUK2): by establishing a network (SWCA1), by involving the public in creative actions/projects in public space and/or implementing graffiti within other projects/interventions; for example designing skate parks or basketball courts (SWCG3) or integrating graffiti and street art performances in local festivals (SWCG4, SWCE3).

Finding legal space for graffiti writing and providing this information for the writers or interested public (SWCG1, SWCA1, CSE2).

> *"(…) since 2004 we provide particular areas, where the city administration and the owners accept graffiti, as free areas (…) there they are allowed to paint their art pieces"* (SWCA1).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of communication and networking

There are central factors the stakeholder group is highlighting according to their experiences as benefits or limits in the context of communication and networking (mainly relating to the *way* of communication):

A first one is the importance of **social media**. In that context Facebook plays a prominent role in order to get connected:

> *"(…) for networking, for example for the magazine I'm using Facebook. Facebook offers an almost perfect opportunity for networking. You're writing a few entries and the people like it. (…) You can reach your target group very good"* (SWCA3).

Also a German curator states that social media like Twitter, Printerst or Facebook are important to get in contact with artists. Thereby the social media have the advantage that once an artist publishes a

picture of his work it gets spread by other users who work as multipliers. Social media have a wide scope and allow informing and mobilizing a high number of people (SWCG4).

Besides the internet **personal contacts** are rated as important. And this in various constellations relating to the respective topic or goal of the involved stakeholder groups, for example particular meeting places of the scene and in graffiti shops (SWCA3) or regarding the implementation of projects it is very useful having contact to certain officials but also to the graffiti scene – as in the latter, personal trust is very important:

> "It only works when you know some people or via third parties (…). There are three of us here and someone always knows someone or somebody you could call. That´s how things work, these people are not listed in the phone book" (SWCG2).

In that context the establishing of working routines that provide legal projects constantly and not only from time to time are rated rather positively from German interviewees (SWCG4).

Some of the UK interviewees highlight the importance of public communication as these organisations' key networking group. One UK representative in that context talks about his experience with an exhibition that opened dialogue between different people on the subject of graffiti. According to him the exhibition encouraged conversation due to the fact that no council members were involved making the audience more comfortable to talk about their work (SWCUK2).

A limiting factor in that context is that the success and scope of the cooperation between different actors depends on the single persons who are involved. Therefore it is reported that an already existing and well working cooperation came to an end because the responsible staff switched (SWCG1).

> "That is another part of the story. It heavily depends on the persons. And if somebody doesn´t want to, he can kill it immediately" (SWCG1).

There are single statements from German interviewees that cooperating with other actors allows establishing a certain **quality and professionalism** regarding the implementation of graffiti projects. Realizing projects not alone but in a network with other stakeholders – especially authorities – is helpful to prevent an image of illegality that is often automatically connected with graffiti. Having a bigger network of cooperation partners may also facilitate to arrange the funding (SWCG4).

A limiting aspect in that context is that all the different actors have **different interests** and assignments concerning graffiti which are sometimes only hardly compatible (SWCG3). In that context a few aspects are mentioned, related to "*Public Administration*" and their role within the communication process. The UK representative for example sees the bureaucracy aspects as challenging when working together with authorities regarding art events (SWCUK1) or in pro-social events as they carry a level of risk due to promoting graffiti related activities, e.g. a graffiti exhibition that Bristol Museum curated, which at the beginning was arranged without the support of the local council (SWCUK2)

"It was done largely without the more senior authorities in the council knowing. There was an initial like: You've… you're on your own. If it goes wrong, the museum will get hung out to dry and just…" (SWCUK2).

Spanish interviewees state that networks provide the possibility to discuss with each other, explore solutions and implement pilot projects. Furthermore, they have the possibility to achieve their demands as a lobby (CSE1, CSE2).

On the other hand, one of the Spanish interviewees in general points to the administration's critical attitude and lack of cooperation willingness regarding the discussion of certain topics or new proposals:

"City halls and institutions with power have always liked to say "NO" to everything" (CSE3).

Concerning the cooperation with the graffiti scene, a limiting aspect is the fact that the scene is very heterogeneous so networks and cooperation measures that work in one region may not automatically work in another region with a different graffiti scene (SWCG2). As the curator stated, the more partners you have in an alliance the harder it is to satisfy all the different wishes and needs. Especially powerful partners sometimes have a lack of willingness to compromise (SWCG4) – a fact that might also be critical for the development of the Graffolution platform.

Some areas can't be turned into legal spaces because they are cultural heritage or based on safety issues – these aspects are sometimes not easy to communicate – as an Austrian representative points out (SWCA1). The reason is, non-professionals don't recognise that an area is protected as cultural heritage or if areas are unsafe (e.g. instable walls), so it has to be explained in detail for instance why a specific area can't be changed into a free wall.

3.1.3 Input: Improvements, ideas, requirements regarding communication and networking

As many of the stakeholders from the group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* support graffiti or try to mediate between the graffiti scene and the officials or the general public, it is stated through all the researched countries that a **strengthened awareness and a different approach of the public and the administrations** would facilitate their work to provide graffiti writers a sphere where they can act out their passion (CSE2, SWCA1, SWCG3, SWCUK1 et al..). This includes the provision of legal spaces (SWCG3, SWCG4) and pro-social activities (CSE2) as well as an adjusted perception of the phenomenon that doesn't regard graffiti only as a damage of property. Such a changed attitude would open the path for a social discussion which is necessary (SWCUK2).

"Laws are an imperfect way of regulating things" (SWCUK1).

A second improvement would be **a better cooperation and communication between relevant institutions and actors** (CSE2, SWCA1, SWCG3 et al..). For example this could include more support of the public administration and maybe also property owners when it´s up to find spaces for legal graffiti (SWCA1, SWCA3). In that context **less bureaucracy from side of the local authorities** is rated as desirable, e.g. the UK representative of *„Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* argues that local authorities' decisions tends to be top down and hopes to have a more levelled conversation between

local authorities and social organisations (SWCUK1). In that context also a Spanish representative sees improvement by a bottom-up approach based on local associations (CSE1) – in general here the need for a better communication with the administration is expressed.

Further on from Spanish and German interviewees the **implementation of mediating institutions** is seen as necessary. A German interviewee states the importance of installing a central office for graffiti that mediates between the different parties and informs about legal walls, legal projects and how findings can be acquired (SWCG4). Similar to this a Spanish representative utters the need for fostering the role of artistic promoters:

> *"The main actors are people wanting to practice graffiti, people from city halls and people wishing to foster artistic projects on the public space. Without city halls there aren't spaces to promote although from city halls everything is regulated. However, once they have it all regulated, they still need promoters creating events"* (CSE3).

3.2 The stakeholder group "Police & Law Enforcement"

3.2.1 Fields of operation and goals in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

Compared to the group of *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society*, the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* is way more homogeneous as they all come in contact with graffiti in the course of an investigation or juridical procedure or due to general civil protection. Therefore, the basic perception of graffiti within this stakeholder group is – in diametric opposite to the previous stakeholders – its classification as criminal damage (PLEE1, PLEG2, PLEG3, PLEUK1, PLEUK3) as well as a security problem – for the public as well as for the writers (PLEE2).

> *"It implies a risk for society, for the writer and for the train passengers, which needs to be taken into account. No operator wants to be responsible for a graffiti writer´s death. To guarantee security is an important thing"* (PLEE2).

Therefore, all stakeholders of the researched countries in common is that they want to minimize and prevent illegal graffiti (PLEA1, PLEE1, PLEG2 et al.). Nevertheless, it is also stated, that not the phenomenon itself is sentenced or demonised but that the criminal damage that goes ahead with illegal graffiti is a problem (PLEG2). But this perception varies between the different countries – and maybe also within a country. For example PLEUK 1 and PLEUK 2 have a tendency to deny any cultural value of graffiti, PLEUK 3 has a slightly different perspective. For the police officer the important points are whether a piece of graffiti is undertaken in an illegal space and whether it is offensive (therefore permission and subjective assessments of content are the two key aspects here). However, PLEUK3 does acknowledge that graffiti can have an artistic merit.

Especially for the highly institutionalized executive and judiciary organs, many of the tasks and goals are not specially addressed to graffiti, as they are for example:
- Coordination of law enforcement bodies (PLEE1, PLEE2).

- Inform other stakeholders and the general public and give them advices about preventive measures (PLEA2, PLEA3).
- Dealing with complaints (PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEG1).
- Solving a case by catching the offender and proving evidence to him (PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEG1).
- Reimbursing the victim´s costs (PLEG1).

All these goals are valid for general prosecution, as for the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* graffiti is generally classified as a **normal offence** and thereby not treated differently, as pointed out by representatives of the German juvenile court assistance:

> *"(…) spoken in extremes, the delict doesn´t matter for us. Whether he is steeling or writing graffiti, that´s all the same to us, because our job has basically nothing to do with the delict as we are interested in the person and have to tell the court if there is any eventual need for education (…)"* (PLEG3).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of the work

As the representatives of the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* normally come in contact with graffiti in a work based context during their day to day activities, they mainly deal with the illegal part of graffiti (PLEA2, PLEG1, PLEUK2 et al.). Nevertheless, for this stakeholder group could be identified no – generally valid – learning processes for the handling of graffiti. One reason might be that for these stakeholders the characterization of graffiti as an offence is central and there are established rules how to deal with the different sorts of crime so the further phenomenon is of lower interest and the scope to develop own practices limited.

Examples for single practices and strategies are:
- Giving advices to private proprietors who fell victim to graffiti about what to do next (filing a complaint, removing the graffiti etc.) (PLEG1).
- Informing the press about their work so the people know where they can address to (PLEG1),
- Learning to read graffiti (PLEA2, PLEA3).
- Engaging with local communities for any graffiti response (whether pro-social or restrictive) (PLEUK1).

For the executive and juridical institutions of the *"Police & Law Enforcement"* group, the **conviction and punishment of the perpetrator** can be seen as the central challenge. This means to identify the offender, collect evidences and finally prove the offence against the perpetrator (PLEA2, PLEG1 et al.). This bears some problems as a prosecutor from Germany states that sufficient evidences are for example: catching the writer in the act, witnesses, fingerprints or DNA evidences. Without such evidences it´s hard to find the perpetrator guilty or sometimes even investigate a suspect, so the case has to be closed (PLEG2). Another aspect that challenges the stakeholders is the endeavour to reach the offenders to inform them about the consequences of their behaviour and – maybe slightly – educate them (PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEUK2).

> *"There is always, I think, a challenge to educate people, or educate teenagers, shall we say, into useful directions, whether that could be in further education, into sport, into activities which are socially orientated and helpful to society generally…"* (PLEUK2).

Last but not least, protecting the public and also the graffiti writers´ safety is stated as a challenge (PLEE1). Especially the usage of acids to scratch windows or other surfaces is mentioned as a high health risk for the offenders and other people (PLEA2, PLEA3).

3.2.2 Communication and networking in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

Sorts and participants of communication and networking

Looking at the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* it is on the one hand noticeable that there are a lot of information and networking activities in each country researched (often on a regular, installed basis). These involve personal meetings, round tables and as well personal and professional networks. Looking at the participants/target groups of these communication activities it shows that across the four countries all these communication activities mainly involve participants of the same stakeholder group and of the stakeholder groups "*Public Administration*" and "*Transport Operators / Authorities*". Exceptionally Spanish and German interviewees mention social networks and round tables with representatives of Civil Society and graffiti writers (Spain) and cooperation activities in connection with a victim-offender program (Germany).

Fig. 2: Intensity of Information exchange and networking of the interviewed members of the group "Police &
Law Enforcement" with other stakeholder groups.
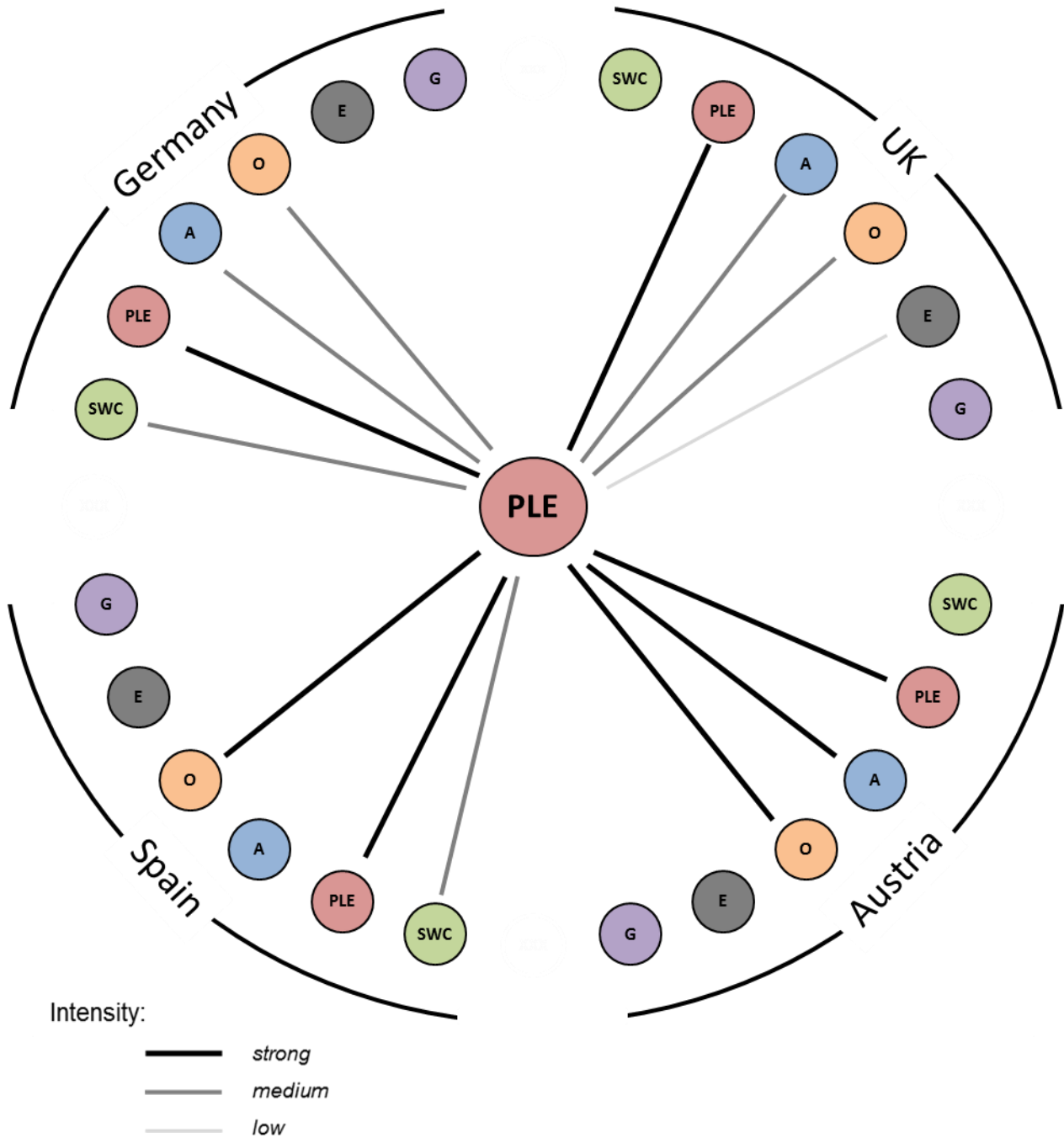
SWC: Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society   O: Transport Operators / Authorities
PLE: Police & Law Enforcement   E: Enterprises
A: Public Administration   G: Graffiti Writers

Central goals and topics of communication and networking

The central goals and connected topics of the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* focus on the specific work contents and proceedings of the stakeholder group, namely prosecution and investigation processes in the context of graffiti offences and are often **case related**. On the one hand there are of course characteristic topics in connection with the **communication with victims, witnesses, suspects and offenders** (e.g. PLEA1, PLEUK3), on the other hand there is the **communication within the stakeholder group**, e.g. with members of other police organisations (PLEA1, PLEA2) in order to solve cases and in line with the offender's prosecution, e. g. the interviewed German prosecutor estimates that he has a phone call with the graffiti unit of the police about every second day in order to coordinate an investigation or discuss a case (PLEG2).

Regarding the German and Austrian interviews in that context as well local, national and international networks are used.

> *"There was this one case where we had a lot of contact with a neighbour country and we still have it for information exchange, see how they work and so on, learn about the graffiti scene and about different tags and pictures"* (PLEA2).

For example if the graffiti unit has any hints that a writer they caught also sprayed in another city, they inform the local police about their investigation. On the other side, when the police gets to know that a writer who sprayed in their jurisdiction was caught in another city they raise a request for information regarding the investigation. This procedure is also possible between two different countries by consulting Interpol (PLEG1).

In the case of the German stakeholder group goals and topics of the cooperation between several stakeholders in context of a victim-offender mediation programme is to give the perpetrator the chance to remove the damage he caused and therefore not getting sentenced by court (PLEG2).

Another key goal in that context is – across all researched countries – to **gather and share intelligence** in order to improve prosecution proceedings or catching offenders and hereby the communication is mainly exclusively handled within the stakeholder group. E.g. in the case of Spain there is communication regarding unsuccessful mediation with graffiti writers inside the Observatory of Civism (a unit gathering different transport operators regularly and building joint actions in order to improve the management and to foresee and prevent unwanted actions and damages).
Another example is that of the Metropolitan Police explaining that one of the key organisations they work with is British Transport Police as they have areas, which they share and that they exchange information via crime databases. Police is also in contact with local councils and business improvement districts. Police representatives meet with these actors to share information that the cleaning teams and street wardens belonging to these groups have:

> *"(…) obviously we speak to them, particularly with their clean teams, cause their clean teams tend to intercept it first. There they've got their street wardens would find it first. We always ask them: "If it is offensive it must get removed immediately, but please take a photograph first""* (PLEUK3).

The graffiti unit of a German police organisation regularly meets with their coordination partners to stay in contact and sometimes to discuss recent cases – e.g. what was good, what could have been done better (PLEG1). Thereby the cooperation partners are no formal association but are constantly in contact because of their work and use these meetings to improve their cooperation (PLEG2).

Further on goals of the stakeholder group's communication/networking activities are **to inform the public about the consequences of illegal graffiti and raising awareness** – and here aiming especially at young people (e.g. PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEE1). According to a UK representative in that context part of public communication should cover "talk(ing) with young people; get(ting) them to understand the impact they might have on abusing other people's property" (PLEUK1).

In terms of the public communication strategy Police uses Twitter to, "(c)ommunicate to the public what's going on (…) what the police are doing" (PLEUK1). Also in Spain new ICTs regarding communication between the stakeholder groups and the citizens are used (PLEE1).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of communication and networking

There are central factors the stakeholder group is highlighting according to their experiences as benefits or limits in the context of communication and networking (mainly relating to the *way* of communication).

Also in this stakeholder group, internet and **social media** play an important role regarding the sharing, gathering and dissemination of information. For example the exchange of intelligence via graffiti databases, where the local police, transport police, and public administrators upload information on graffiti crimes and suspects, led – according to an UK interviewee to the arrest of a number of suspects (PLEUK3). And the internet is also a relevant resource – according to Austrian interviewees – to learn more about the local and national writer scene, e.g. by monitoring social media (PLEA2, PLEA2). Spanish interviewees also state to use social media in order to communicate emergencies as well as a reporting channel of different minor "crimes" such as graffiti. All in all, it is used as a way to involve the public.

> *"We use ICT's, mainly twitter, to communicate authorities, services and also users for emergencies. We also created an app to communicate preventive alerts"* (PLEE1).

Furthermore, communication is used by Spanish interviewees to disseminate information for the sake of awareness raising of graffiti writers and "offenders" in general. There is no explicit information about the specific communication channels although it is stated that they are willing to use any plausible channels that are comfortable for the actors.

> *"The first step is explaining things. To show that some actions have consequences, trying to reach joint responsibility with citizens and raise awareness on what they're doing. After all, they can decide what to do, but one has the obligation of informing"* (PLEE1).

But similar to the stakeholder group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* besides the internet it is seen as indispensable to have **personal** and **well established contacts** to other stakeholders. A

German interviewee from the police emphasizes that especially when there are persistent contact persons or cooperation partners in other authorities (e.g. prosecution) who know each other over a long time, this would simplify the communication.

> *"It´s good that we have two prosecutors in juvenile court who are persistently responsible for graffiti (…). Because you know each other, you know what to expect and you know you can ask through unofficial channels: how should we manage the case, does it make sense to put some more effort in it or is it fine the way it is"* (PLEG1).

An Austrian interviewee states the importance of staying in contact with the relevant stakeholders, especially with big players that are often affected by graffiti vandalism like transport organisations (PLEA2). Also for the juvenile court assistance a benefit of a network is that the already existing contacts and routines make it easier to recover the caused damage and to solve the problem very quick (PLEG3).

In that context **specific institutionalized networks** (like the Observatory of Civism in Spain) play a central role. On the occasion of the local victim-offender mediation described by German interviewees, there is a well-established and good working network between the prosecutor, the graffiti unit of the police, the municipal utilities, transport operators and representatives of the municipality – this serves as an example for a measure that satisfies all partners:

> *"We [prosecutor, S.K] are happy because we took action against the accused in a preventive way. The police who also worked preventive are happy because a crime has been solved. And the victim is happy because the damage is recovered"* (PLEG2).

There were mentioned only single limiting factors regarding communication and networking by the members of the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"*. For example Austrian interviewees criticize the long processes related to international exchange of information, e.g. when searching for an offender (PLEA2, PLEA3). The German interviewee of the juvenile court assistance states that they simply don´t have enough graffiti delicts so it would make no sense to build up a network (PLEG3).

3.2.3 Input: Improvements, ideas, requirements regarding communication and networking

The representatives of the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* – and this is valid for all the researched countries – mention **pro-social activities** as possible improvements. This is surprising, as one might assume that executive and judicial organs would tend to a more restrictive approach. Their ideas include especially the communication with young people and (possible future) graffiti writers in order to strengthen their understanding in terms of security and make them aware of the negative consequences illegal graffiti can have (PLEG1, PLEE1, PLEE2). Furthermore, **mediating between the different actors** could improve the understanding for the others´ needs and motivations (PLEA1).

> *"Number one, talk with young people; get them to understand the impact they might have on abusing other people's property etc."* (PLEUK1).

German and Austrian interviewees state that there is general a need for **a better connection between the relevant institutions** – national and international (PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEG2).

In terms of technical improvements Austrian representatives plead for the implementation of databases of offences and offenders in order to ease communication and sharing of information (especially internationally) (PLEA2).

> *"A database is really needed, to analyse everything, this is not a problem anymore in our modern time, (...) it is absolutely necessary and you can exchange information in a much better way, as you can exchange fingerprints"* (PLEA3).

But from a legal/privacy issues there are also many uncertainties if this is possible especially when data should be used or shared (e.g. international level with other police forces or organisations) (PLEA2).

3.3 The stakeholder group "Public Administration"

3.3.1 Fields of operation and goals in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

For the stakeholder group *"Public Administration"* the contact with graffiti is very **heterogeneous**, as this group consists of victims of graffiti vandalism as well as preventive and cultural actors. There is accordance within this group in all researched countries that graffiti is not denied in general but those done without authorization are considered as damage to property (AA1, AE2, AG1, AUK1 et al.).
Especially the administrations of municipalities are major victims of illegal graffiti, as they are responsible for the engineering structure (e.g. underpasses, bridges, noise barriers) which is a preferred target of the writers. For them, central tasks are the cleaning of sprayed surfaces (AA1, AE3, AG1, AUK1 et al.) as well as minimizing and preventing graffiti vandalism (AA1, AA2, AA3 AE1, AUK3). For the administrations, graffiti are basically a matter of costs and image as illegal graffiti put them to expense and they furthermore are responsible for an attractive design of the public buildings and places (AE1, AE1, AG1, AG4).

> *"In my position, what it means is a defacement of a public utility. So in consequence we are not able to offer a proper service to the user. A problem similar to a broken door or a breakdown in a train, you should take it to repair"* (AE2).

But such a management of the public spaces also includes that the municipal administrations are responsible for the provision of legal spaces for graffiti writers (AA2, AG1, AG4).
These legal spaces have the advantage for the administrations that on the one hand, well-designed graffiti often prevent the place from getting sprayed illegally, as the writers respect the work of others. While on the other hand, the municipality saves costs for renovating the facilities as they don´t pay any fees but only provide the materials (AG1, AG4, AUK3).

> *"And I believe that this is a good solution, to provide spaces for the artists on the one hand and on the other hand saving maintenance costs. And at the same time, we make the designed buildings more attractive for the public"* (AG4).

So for example compared to *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* the main intention for the *"Public Administration"* is not to support graffiti writers but to **protect their facilities**, even if both of them engage in the provision of legal spaces for the graffiti writers. Only two interviewees from the UK stated that they see graffiti as a part of their cultural engagement plan, and therefore become cultural promoters through festivals, events and commissioned work (AUK1, AUK2).

Other targets of this stakeholder group (as not all of them are part of a municipal administration) are informing local businesses about prevention strategies (e.g. anti-graffiti coatings) (AA1, AA3) and informing parents whose children are attracted to illegal graffiti about legal alternatives (AG2). Furthermore also the mediation between the administration, graffiti writers and the civil society is a field of work for representatives of this stakeholder group, comparable to the *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* (AA2, AE1).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of the work

Representatives of the *"Public Administration"* describe that they changed their practise concerning graffiti **from a restrictive to a more permissive approach**. Especially the high number of graffiti incidents forced the municipal administrations to rethink their strategy, as it was not manageable to simply remove all graffiti (AG1, AG4). After first contacts with the "opposing side", legal projects were initiated and became a permanent practise (AA3, AE1, AG1, AUK1 et al.).

> *"The institute works with graffiti writers to see how we could accomplish. We understand that we can't keep on going this zero tolerance approach. (…) We tried to get closer to different graffiti crews in order to raise their awareness on where could they paint and how...."* (AE1).

Also other actors from this stakeholder group state that their focus changed from a more perpetrator related perspective to a pro-social approach which includes the provision of legal walls as a measure to prevent illegal graffiti (AG2). But this change can´t be understood as a denial of regulations, as the stakeholders have an eye on finding the right level between a pro-social attitude and the need for regulation.

> *"And that´s an experience we made and now, I see it as a quite positive design element. But as mentioned, it has to be our decision. And it can´t be the illegal writer who makes this decision for us, as we are authorized by the municipality and we have the competence to make these decisions. And that´s the way it has to be"* (AG4).

This change in the dealing with graffiti also refers to the case that the *"Public Administration"* interviewees perceive an increased acceptance of artistic and elaborated graffiti, such as street art (AE2, AUK1).

Nevertheless, despite the – at least partly – better acceptance of graffiti, the **removal of unwanted, illegal graffiti** – especially tags – still plays an important role for these stakeholders. Thereby, they have different experiences with the various measures as for example **anti-graffiti coatings (**AA3, AUK2) and **street cleaning teams** (AUK2) are described as very well working instruments.

> *"(…) it really works out well [anti-graffiti coating S.K.] because the graffiti artists stop when they see that it [colour S.K.] does not work on the wall and thereby the area isn't defaced anymore"* (AA3).

Another promising strategy is a **volunteer program which intends to mobilize citizens**. They are able to "adopt" single municipal facilities (e.g. a junction box in front of their house) and whenever there are any graffiti attached, they can remove them immediately with paint provided by the municipality (AG1, AUK1).

As the municipal administrations are responsible for the removal of illegal graffiti from their facilities, which are – as already mentioned – a preferred target of the writers, the high number of graffiti incidents is a big challenge for them. This is aggravated by the fact that the just cleaned spaces often get sprayed again immediately (AG1, AG4). Due to the (too) high number of illegal graffiti, it is reported by representatives of Spanish administrations that they decide which graffiti should be removed first. Especially offensive graffiti are supposed to be removed immediately (AE2, AE3).

Similar to the stakeholder group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* also interviewees of the *"Public Administration"* mention the **problems that go ahead with the mediation between different parties** – for example in the context of providing legal spaces (AA1, AA2). This includes strengthening the acceptance of society concerning graffiti as a part of the public sphere and to overcome the lack of readiness to talk (AG3), but also to strengthen the acceptance of the own work (as a part of the administration) within the graffiti scene (AG2).

3.3.2 Communication and networking in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

Sorts and participants of communication and networking

The stakeholder group *"Public Administration"* is a group – across all countries – which is communicating with various other stakeholder groups – mainly on a more institutionalized level, and with the writers, too. There is only one Spain representative who states that there is hardly any communication with writers (AE3). These widespread communication activities mainly relate to the characteristic position of the members of this stakeholder group – in between the different groups (e.g. in the Spanish interviews where public authorities are an intermediate entity between policy makers and transport operators) and pursuing administrative goals. The communication and networking activities are mainly on a local level (e.g. transport organisations, NGOs, police, local businesses, property owners, cleaning companies – according to the Austrian interviewees). UK interviewees also point to collaborations with Youth Offending Teams (AUK3 and AUK1). Another example from the UK interviews (a London Borough Council) one of the main networking activity is through their business networking groups:

> *"Most of the work that we do is centred around our town centres. So, there are very strong networks around the businesses located in the different town centres"* (AUK2).

Thus this stakeholder group has a very prominent role regarding the **exchange and mediation** of the topics graffiti and graffiti vandalism with various types of stakeholders.

Fig. 3: Intensity of Information exchange and networking of the interviewed members of the group "Public Administration" with other stakeholder groups.
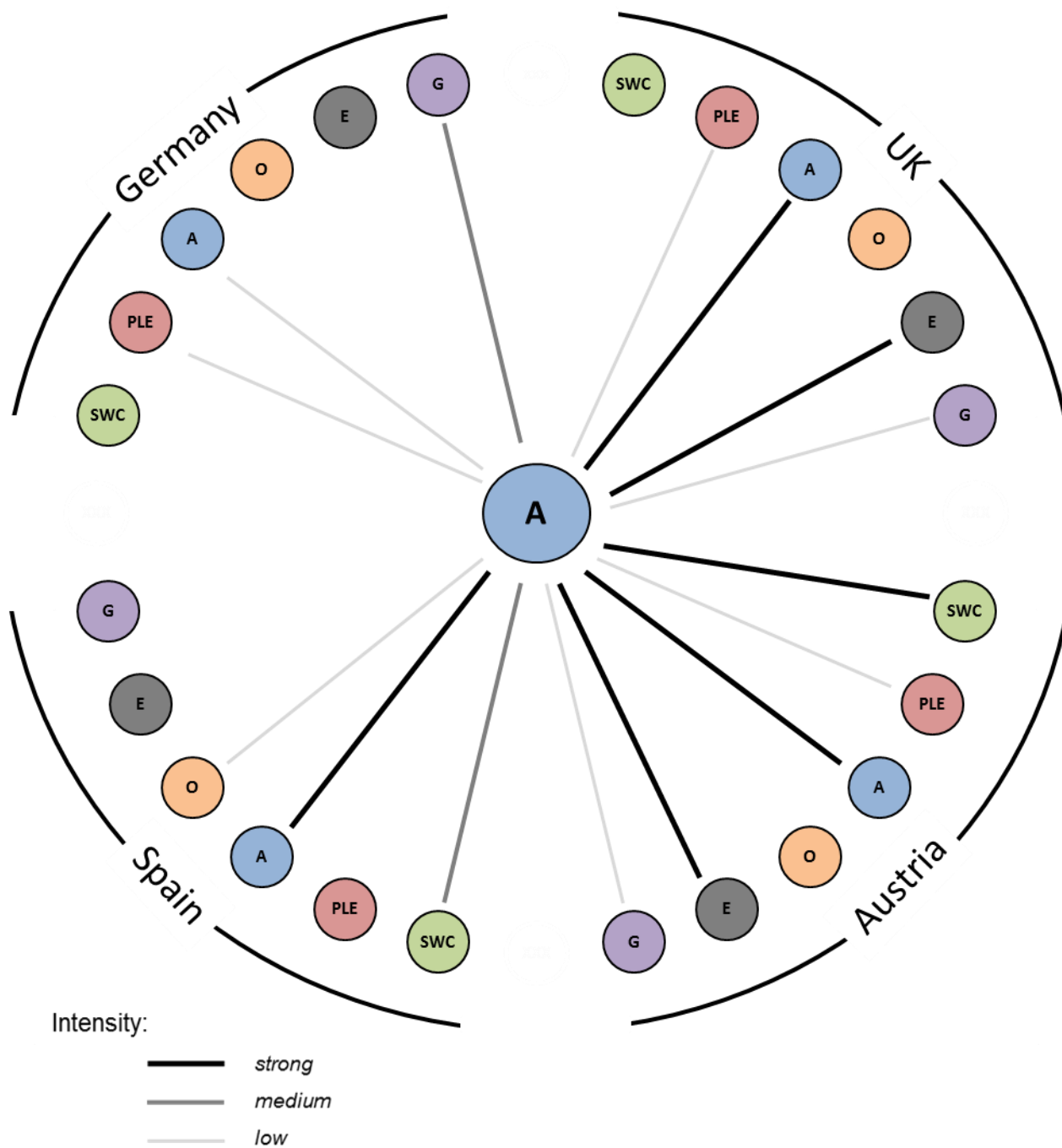
Intensity:

— strong

— medium

— low

SWC: Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society	O: Transport Operators / Authorities
PLE: Police & Law Enforcement	E: Enterprises
A: Public Administration	G: Graffiti Writers

Central goals and topics of communication and networking

The topics and goals are in correspondence with the widespread and different participants of communication and networks widespread, numerous and heterogeneous and thus include many of the characteristic goals of the other stakeholder groups. A main goal hereby is **mediating between the different parties** regarding graffiti and **promoting mutual understanding and awareness** (see also stakeholder group "*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society*") – for example in the case of Spain planning to set an interlocutor for negotiation:

> *"I believe it would be good to communicate, look for spaces and creating the possibility of finding an interlocutor to deal with city hall. I believe they would listen to the demands"* (AE3).

Another example is found in the Austrian interviews where the representatives of the stakeholder group mediate between the writer scene, property owners and NGOs (AA1, AA2).

> *"I'm an intermediary, a mediator (…) mediate things that affect legal issues and where graffiti can be done in a legal way, is it damage to property or not (…). I try to talk to house owners to find solutions how to remove things that are not wanted but also to find house owners that provide spaces for legal graffiti"* (AA1).

It is tried to strengthen the awareness of the general public concerning graffiti by media information (AG1, AG4). The German representative of a council for crime prevention wants to have all the different professions that are affected by graffiti around one table so they understand the needs and wishes of each other. Thereby all parties are to be treated as equal (AG2).

In the context of mediating the topics and goals of members of the stakeholder group also include **promoting exchange** (between and with the writers), e.g. in the context of organising street art projects (AA3) and in order to find a common solution for some sort of regulation which allows graffiti writers to develop their art without increasing expenditures and annoying the other stakeholders (AE2). The German representative of a culture directorate provides possibilities for the local graffiti writers to meet writers and artists from other cities so they get to know other parts of the scene and to exchange about topics like organizing legal spaces in other cities (AG3). And also an UK representative points to their positive networking activities with graffiti writers:

> *"I think one of the strength of Brighton is that the street art community do a lot of the work for us and make a lot of the decisions for us and we can work with that and we can help it go in a positive direction"* (AUK1).

That may also include **the providing of legal space for writing** (see e.g. AA1 above). The homepage of a German council for crime prevention informs about where to find legal walls. They furthermore have a Facebook page they run together with graffiti writers (AG3). The building directorate has contacts to the legal graffiti scene in order to contract out legal projects (AG1, AG4). UK representatives work with graffiti writers on commissioned works (AUK1, AUK2, AUK3). In the context of those projects it is also a topic/goal to inform the public about legal and illegal graffiti (AG1, AUK1 et al.).

Another central topic/goal of communication is the **gathering and sharing of intelligence/information** and hereby mainly in regards to vandalism prevention (AE2) and in that context to learn more about other approaches of other stakeholders dealing with graffiti:

> *"I think networking is in general important for every topic you're working with (…). Look beyond one owns nose to see best practices. So networking is very important. You probably can't use every model as it is but if there is the opportunity to learn something on both sides it is useful"* (AA2).

An UK representative points out – in the context of vandalism prevention goals and topics – to strategies regarding mobilisation of the citizens to take care of designated areas as well as report unwanted graffiti: AUK1 points to their City Council's partnership with Virgin Media (a communication service company) for a volunteer project called 'Adopt a Box' where the citizens who would like to look after a designated utility box are given paint and necessary tools. This project is financially supported by Virgin Media and communicated by the city council. The implementation is done by the citizens.

Besides this there are of course the specific **administrative topics and implications of public policies** (AE1) regarding graffiti (vandalism) like passing complaints from the citizens (e.g. about places that should be cleaned) through to the building directorate by the district committee. The same is for town hall meetings. Also the district committee itself may file an application concerning the removal of illegal graffiti (AG1, AG4).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of communication and networking

Experiences rated positive in the context of communication and networking are mentioned only sporadically and are often quite heterogeneous among the different stakeholder members and across the four researched countries.

A German interviewee states that the Facebook page of a legal wall project is accepted very well by the writers and provides them the possibility to upload pictures of their drawings (AG2). Also a Spanish interviewee approves the positive and frequent interaction with users:

> *"We have a lot of interaction with the users through social networks (…) they interact very frequently with the administration"* (AE2).

Already **established contacts** are also described as a benefit by a German building directorate as they allow to find fast solutions - although through unofficial channels (AG1, AG4). A regular exchange furthermore provides a better understanding of the other´s point of view (AG1, AG4) while at the same time the different perspectives could lead to a positive conflict culture (AG3). In this connection joint efforts between administration and local police at specific spots, using the ground knowledge to avoid undesirable effects are rated positively:

> *"The police corps advised us that sometimes free walls lead to the degradation of several areas. (…) Also, we try to work with graffiti from an integration perspective as way of raising awareness and respectful with the public space. We also had artists looking for negotiating with the administration in order to find spaces"* (AE1).

The UK interviewees in general approve networking and communication in the context of Restorative Justice being an important solution where victims and offenders can mediate (AUK1, AUK3) - youth offending teams being key players in this system (AUK1, AUK3).

Limiting factors of communication are mainly – according to the stakeholder's characteristic position in between many and various parties – relating to the **difficult mediation of different perspectives** and points of views of the different stakeholders (AA1, AA2). This is also stated by a German interviewee, perceiving the different interests and needs of the varying stakeholders as sometimes limiting factors and a point that has to be kept in mind:

> *"A good example is the police and legal walls. We are well-practised in that point. When we are opening a new wall of course all members of the task force are invited. But it goes without saying that the representative of the police won´t appear. That would be a bad signal. It would discourage the writers"* (AG2).

In this context an UK interviewee sees the staying away from social networking as beneficial:

> *"I think the best thing councillors can do is stay away from it. As soon as you get a public body trying to control or direct it, you'll destroy the creativity and probably encourage the worst type of behaviour, so… It's best for us to monitor it rather than try to pro-actively manage it"* (AUK2).

For the Spanish administration representatives the main limiting factor is the graffiti writers' disposition to talk with them (although the civil society stakeholders' groups complain about the limitation administration has when discussing certain topics).

> *"We haven't had any contact [with graffiti writers], however if I knew how to do it I would be willing to. The problem is, they are difficult to find and when you found them, they behave aggressively and the last thing they want to do is to sit down and speak with us"* (AE3).

3.3.3 Input: Improvements, ideas, requirements regarding communication and networking

In contrast to the pro-social ideas mentioned by the "Police & Law Enforcement" which mainly focus on the communication with young people and the strengthening of their awareness, those (pro-social) ideas and requirements stated by the stakeholders of the group *"Public Administration"* aim at an **enhanced provision of legal spaces** (AA2, AE1, AG3). This includes a higher quantity as well as quality of legal walls (AG3) but also different cooperation partners for legal projects, such as transport operators (AA2).

An interviewee from the UK highlights the importance of consulting with Youth Offending Teams.

> *"[Those] are experts in dealing with young people and try to keep them away from crime (…) [by] getting the young person to address the underlying causes of their anti-social behaviour"* (AUK3).

But it is obvious that hereby graffiti is rather seen as a crime and anti-social behaviour. A more restrictive idea is also mentioned by two German interviewees who demand more police staff for special activities (e.g. surveillance of recently cleaned places that will probably get sprayed again within a short time) (AG1, AG4).

An improvement of the connection and collaboration between the different actors – as urged by the other stakeholder groups so far – is mentioned only by a German and an Austrian interviewee in this case (AA1, AG2). A Spanish representative suggests that a triangle of actors (administration, users and graffiti writers) would be successful regarding improving the information exchange.

> *"I believe the service should be designed for users. So I'd say that the administration should take them into account, not only the graffiti writers. Because we're forgetting about the users who evaluate and use the service in the end"* (AE2).

3.4 The stakeholder group "Transport Operators / Authorities"

3.4.1 Fields of operation and goals in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

As well as public buildings and engineering structure, also the facilities of public transport operators are a preferred target for illegal graffiti writers, so representatives of the stakeholder group *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* can basically be seen as the one that is mainly affected by illegal graffiti. Hence, they perceive illegal graffiti as damage, an increase of their costs, a defacing of their facilities and a security problem for their passengers and the writers (OA1, OE1, OG1, OUK1 et al.).

> *"They [customers] don't like it on the trains they sit on and they don't like it in their stations and that was really, really clear from research"* (OUK2).

Similar to the *"Public Administration"* all these problems resolve in a financial burden for the transport operators (OE2, OE3, OE4) which include costs for surveillance and protection of the facilities, removal of graffiti and other efforts like replacing a sprayed wagon of a train (OG1, OG2, OG3, OUK2). According to that, the central tasks of these stakeholders reveal around the (fast) cleaning of illegal graffiti (OA1, OA2, OA3, OE4) and the prevention of new graffiti incidents (OE1, OG1, OUK2 et al.) in order to provide the customer a comfortable atmosphere (OG1) and to keep the transport system friction less (OA1, OA2, OA3).

An interesting aspect is that also for this stakeholder group, there are reports about given procedures how to deal with graffiti incidents – like it was already stated for the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"*:

> *"In case a defaced train is recognised, what could be by different employees - it could be the station inspector, the train driver, a ticket collector - then this will be documented immediately. The damage will be reported to us and in parallel to the responsible police station, a complaint for damage to property is filed and the sprayed train is withdrawn from circulation"* (OA3).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of the work

For this stakeholder group, there are no overall valid experiences identifiable through the researched countries. As they have to deal regularly with graffiti incidents, their experiences reveal around the

magnitude of the phenomenon (OG2, OG3) which is seen as a never-ending problem (OE2) which includes all kinds of graffiti – from a single tag to whole cars (OA3).

An interviewee from the UK describes that they didn´t have a coherent strategy in the dealing with graffiti in the past but after reflecting on their measures developed an own approach:

> *"(…) I think our strategy is all-encompassing it deals with attrition, it deals with prevention, it deals with engagement and it deals with communication which is a key element in any anti-graffiti approach"* (OUK2).

An important practice for German and Spanish representatives is the collection and analysis of graffiti incidents as well as reporting them to the police. Thereby, the collected information helps them to get an overview over the situation and for example to identify actual hotspots (OE1, OG2, OG3).

As the members of the stakeholder group *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* can be seen as main victims of graffiti vandalism the **protection of their facilities** is very important to them and in consequence most of their central tasks and problems reveal around this topic.

A first one is – similar to the previous stakeholder group – the high number of graffiti they have to face, so they are hardly able to clean all graffiti within a short period (OG2, OG3), especially as some parts of the inside of a wagon (e.g. seats) are hard to clean (OA3).

The high number of incidents further presents the transport operators with the problem where and when to deploy their security staff in order to protect their facilities best:

> *"Well, to put it crudely, having your security staff in the right place at the right time and moreover catching the perpetrator is like winning the lottery"* (OG3).

Stated as another problem is the high professionalization of the graffiti writers, so the transport operators also have to improve their preventive measures permanently (OE1, OE2). Thereby they have to face a high level of organization (OE3) and sophistication of tools used by the writers which include for example the already mentioned acid substances to scratch windows (OA3, OE4).

Like for the *"Police & Law Enforcement",* security relevant topics are also a problem for the transport operators. Securing dangerous areas like tracks and high voltage areas are a big challenge as for example it is not possible to make all the tracks not accessible (OA1, OA3). Also sprayed safety signs are a problem and a risk in case of an accident (OA3).

3.4.2 Sorts of communication/frequency and connected goals and topics

Sorts and participants of communication and networking

The *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* have – similar to the *"Police & Law Enforcement"* group a widespread network with all of the stakeholder groups relevant as partners regarding their goals and topics, often in form of institutionalized communication forms. The stakeholder group PLE is the central partner regarding communication and networking. There was only one statement in the

Austrian interviews indicating that members of the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* partially get in contact with graffiti artists and NGOs regarding the organisation of street art projects (OA3).
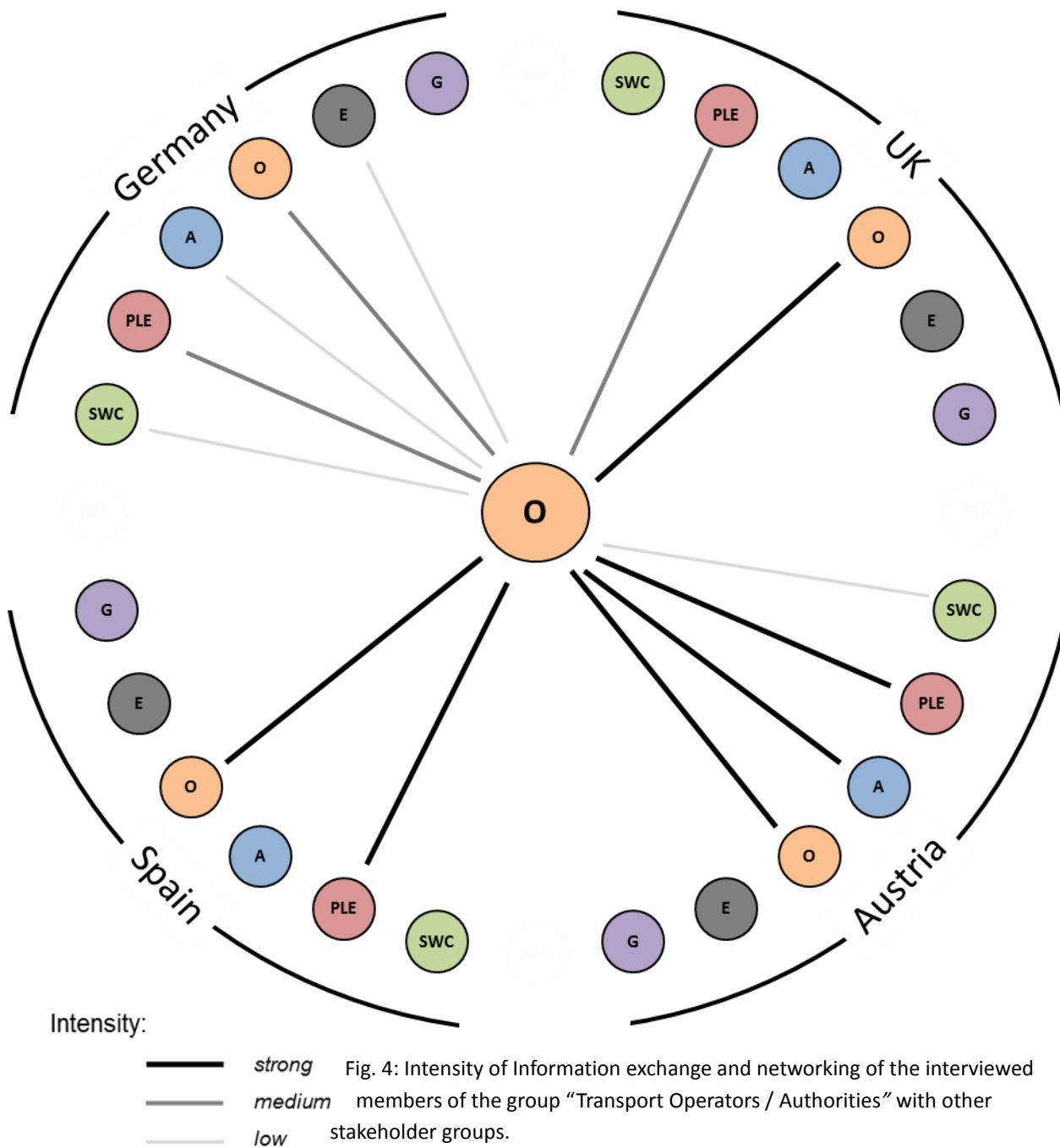
Intensity:

——— *strong*   Fig. 4: Intensity of Information exchange and networking of the interviewed
——— *medium*   members of the group "Transport Operators / Authorities" with other
——— *low*   stakeholder groups.

SWC: Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society   O: Transport Operators / Authorities
PLE: Police & Law Enforcement   E: Enterprises

A: Public Administration   G: Graffiti Writers

Central goals and topics of communication and networking

The topics and goals correspond to those of the *"Police & Law Enforcement"* group and mainly gather around **graffiti prevention and prosecution**, e.g. in order to coordinate measures against graffiti vandalism and to help each other concerning the prosecution (OG2, OG3).[6]

In that context the **gathering and sharing of intelligence** in order to be powerful in acting regarding graffiti vandalism (good practices) can be stated as the central goal across all the four countries researched. In the case of Spain all the stakeholders in this group participate in the Observatory for Civism and have a constant information sharing in connection with common data bases (e.g. OE2).

The stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* is the central partner regarding communication and networking: across the four countries there are strong **reciprocal ties** and a **mutual exchange with the police** (e.g. OE2). The police needs information for their investigations (e.g. caused damages, recordings; e.g. OA1, OA2). The transport operators need information for their database (e.g. police records, initiated proceedings; e.g. OG2, OG3).

> *"Yes, when complaints are reported (…) we're always in connection with the police"* (OA3).

Beside the police, staying in contact with other transport organisations is also seen as important in order to share information regarding updates on new trends or developments in the security area (OA1, OA3). One UK representative of the transport police explains the information exchange process they follow and the stakeholders they communicate with:

> *"In terms of how we monitor it, of course we're gathering information, not just through, as I said, visual surveys, but also through the use of information from informants and from local authorities and their databases".* They also get information from *"Crime stoppers", a charity focusing on crime prevention"* (OUK1).

Furthermore the transport operators and the police discuss current hotspots of graffiti vandalism and how to counteract (e.g. deploy security staff) (OG2, OG3) and there is an international discussion (with similar organisations) about measures against writers who travel several countries to spray illegally (OG4, OA1).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of communication and networking

Within the stakeholder group *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* positive aspects regarding communication are mentioned but in a much more restrained way than in other stakeholder groups. The single aspects mentioned include that the communication (national and international) works out

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[6] In that context a UK representative expresses a different opinion: he believes that the transport operators and the police don't have a common goal: *"To be honest, I'm not convinced police, with the exception of London Area Transport Police, we even have a problem with National British Transport Police structure. They were getting it wrong in places. I really don't think police get it"* (OUK2).

good in general and enables the learning about new trends, graffiti tourists and prevention approaches (OA1, OA3). Further on the benefits of the sharing of information is highlighted, e.g. UK interviewees approve the exchange of intelligence via graffiti databases, where the local police, transport police, and local public administrators upload information on graffiti crimes and suspects leading to the arrest of a number of suspects which leads to less graffiti and therefore less money spent on cleaning graffiti (OUK1, OUK2). German interviewees highlight a best practise exchange about preventive- and counter measures (OG1, OG2, OG3) and Spanish interviewees the better results in prosecution due to in-depth information shared (OE3), the common strength regarding enforcing the legal system (OE4) and the adaptive capacity in the context of sharing information:

> *"We integrate an Observatory of Civism, and we gather with the other rail track actors from different regions. (…) We try hard to share the information, adapting to the reality of the moment, analysing strategically and looking for the best detention alarm systems"* (OE1).

The limiting factors regarding communication and networking with other stakeholder groups are much more emphasized than the benefits. The challenges and problems related to communication and networking mentioned in the interviews of the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* stakeholder group are varying in the four researched countries but mainly relate to **lacks of communication with those stakeholders engaged or needed** in order to catch and prosecute graffiti offenders (e.g. OG4, OUK1, OUK2). For example a problem mentioned by a German transport operator is the different responsibilities concerning graffiti vandalism in the varying countries that make it difficult to find the right contact partner (OG4). A UK representative points to the disagreement on various levels between central stakeholders:

> *"The thing is there are so many conflicting views in the world of graffiti. I can tell you what's worked for us but I can also go and find you 10 people, probably, in this building that would have a completely opposing view of what graffiti is, why it shouldn't be encouraged and so on"* (OUK2).

Another central limiting factor regarding the engagement in networks and the openness to start and establish networks with different stakeholder groups is based on **privacy and trust** and includes different facets: in German interviews for example it is feared that providing other operators an insight into the own security strategy would allow them to draw conclusions about their costs and therefore the overall financial situation what could be a disadvantage for the next request for tender (OG2, OG3). UK transport operators and authorities believe that certain information related to their strategies and research should be classified and cannot be shared with public (OUK1, OUK2). An Austrian interviewee describes bad experiences with Facebook-campaigns after a graffiti attack – there were harsh comments after an employee of the company proclaimed a zero tolerance policy against graffiti offenders - which led to overthink and limit the public communication (OA2). This is similar to German transport operators who limit their press information concerning illegal graffiti as they fear that an article might lead to copycat criminals as other people could be inspired by the illegal graffiti or challenged by anti-graffiti measures of the transport company (OG2, OG3).

All in all from side of the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* the need and wish to engage in networks with others (even within the same stakeholder group) seems to be far more restricted than in other stakeholder groups researched.

3.4.3 Input: Improvements, ideas, requirements regarding communication and networking

Although there is no overall accordance despite the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* concerning single ideas or requirements through the different countries, it can be stated that the general approach is way more restrictive compared to the previous stakeholder groups.
For example one aspect mentioned is the need for new and improved techniques to protect the facilities (OE1, OG1). Another requirement mentioned by Spanish interviewees is a hardening of the legislative framework (OE2, OE3, OE4) and also a representative from the UK states that the imprisonment of graffiti writers shouldn´t always be denied (OUK1).

Establishing some sort of early-warning system concerning writers or crews that are currently on an international journey would help the transport operators to prepare themselves for their arrival (OG1).

In general Spanish interviewees plead for more information sharing with actors of the *"Police & Law enforcement"* to improve the prosecution of possible offenders (e.g. one part of the activities of the Observatory of Civism):

> *"For me the legal approach it's essential. If we only shared information or worked on the social scope something will be missing to fight this. I think it's necessary to reach the prosecutors in order to show them that it's not a simple prank by teens"* (OE3).

While on the other hand it is mentioned by an Austrian interviewee that it would be interesting to have a better access to the illegal scene in order to get a better understanding of their backgrounds, motivations and needs. Therefore an opportunity (e.g. via the platform) where opinions and own perceptions can be exchanged anonymously is seen as a possible benefit (OA3).

3.5 The stakeholder group "Enterprises"

3.5.1 Fields of operation and goals in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

The stakeholders represented in the group *"Enterprises"* are very **heterogeneous** as the only common characteristic among them is their belonging to private sector. Its representatives reach from victims who are damaged by graffiti vandalism (EE1, EUK3) to cleaning companies which actually profit from illegal graffiti by removing them (EA2, EE3) and suppliers of graffiti relevant materials (EA1, EA3, EE1) who support graffiti actively as already the motto of one of them says: "Supporting graffiti since 1994" (EE1).

As varying as the enterprises, as different are also their goals and tasks related to graffiti. The suppliers want to sell their materials to the writers and support them by sponsoring for example events. Thereby, they are well connected to the graffiti scene and know about their needs (EA1, EA3). The cleaning company on the other hand removes graffiti, informs the customers about existing products and reacts on new trends (e.g. how to remove recently developed colours) (EA2).

Beside these different approaches, the supplier and the cleaning companies have one thing in common – in difference to those enterprises which are victims of graffiti vandalism – as both of them earn their money with (probably mostly illegal) graffiti, as stated by one of the suppliers:

> *"What means graffiti personally for me? Income. For example: I'm selling colours and this is my income, more scribbled graffiti means probably more income"* (EA1).

Also an interviewee from an UK architectural firm states that graffiti gets more important for his work as he recognizes that people are a lot more open to graffiti as it brings character to a space or region:

> *"They don't want to wipe things clean and just put in, you know, expensive stuff and like to polish it all up"* (EUK4).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of the work

The Spanish and Austrian cleaning companies point out that they – as they are constantly challenged by new colours, spraying materials and different surfaces – develop and advance their own practices concerning the removal of graffiti. One practise is for example the installation of anti-graffiti coatings (EA1, EE2).

Also other enterprises developed own strategies to prevent graffiti, like greening free spaces so the writers have no longer access to the surface (EUK3).

A further interesting fact is that the Austrian representatives of a cleaning company and a graffiti supplier both mention that identifying the needs of graffiti writers is an important practise for them. For the second one this may be obvious as he has to address to his clients. For the first one this means he tries to develop graffiti coatings where the sprayed on colour trickles away so the writers are not able to attach their graffiti in the intended way (EA1, EA2, EA3).

Stakeholders of the group *"Enterprises"* are – like already described for the "*Transport Operators*" also challenged by the constant development of new colours and spray cans. Especially for the cleaning companies, this means that they also have to advance their techniques constantly to keep up with the state of the art (EA2, EE1, EE2).

3.5.2 Communication and networking in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

Sorts and participants of communication and networking

In the stakeholder group *"Enterprises"* extent and ways of networking and communication activities are quite differing – according to the heterogeneous character of the members of this group.

For example the UK representatives are mainly involved with building developers, city council bodies, police officials and the residents. They tend to meet in a formal setting and the meetings are not very frequent. The Austrian representative of the cleaning company has a widespread national and international network, having contacts to important customers, researchers, the writer scene, city administration and transport organisations and is hereby trying to get into closed forums of writers in order to gather a deeper understanding (EA2). The Spanish graffiti material provider enterprise expresses there's good communication between the company and the graffiti writers and there is communication as well with the authorities (EE3). The Austrian supplier representative rates that internet is more and more of relevance (twitter, Facebook, Myspace in former times) especially to stay in contact with writer scene:

> *"(…) it is based mainly on trust, personal contact and Facebook, also, this is not always personally but it works out well"* (EA3).

Fig. 5: Intensity of Information exchange and networking of the interviewed members of the group "Enterprises" with other stakeholder groups.
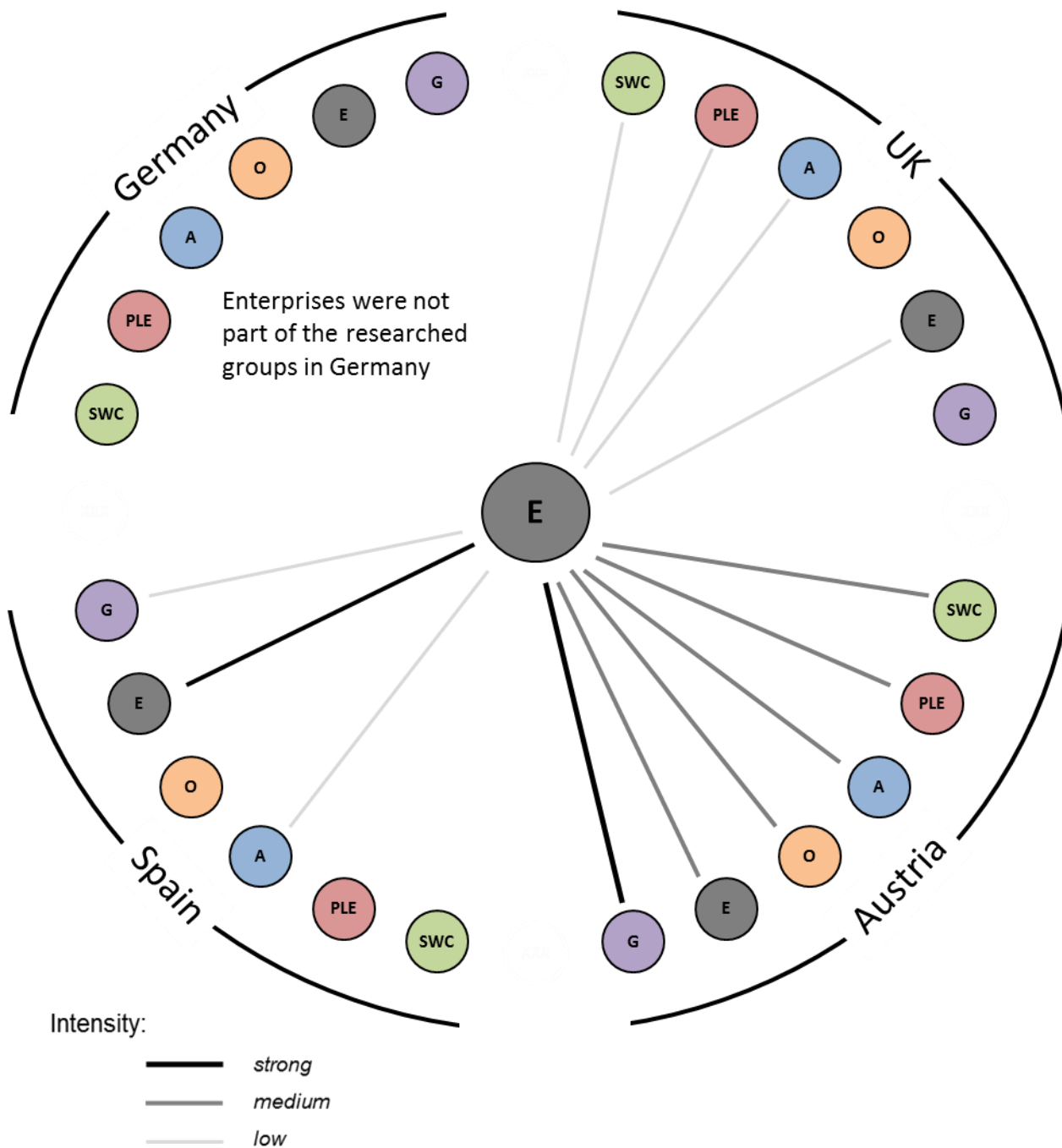
SWC: Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society   O: Transport Operators / Authorities
PLE: Police & Law Enforcement   E: Enterprises
A: Public Administration   G: Graffiti Writers

Central goals and topics of communication and networking

The topics and goals connected with communication processes in this stakeholder group are very heterogeneous, too. Thus only single examples can be given: The topics and goals of the cleaning companies' communication for example are related to the removal of graffiti (EE2), cleaning jobs and new trends (of the graffiti scene as well as new products) (EA2). As regards to the supplier companies communication topics/goals include the creation of new projects and enhancing practices and the finding of solutions with the administration (EE3) as well as gaining insights on new trends and developments of the scene but also new products (EA1, EA3)**.**

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of communication and networking

According to the Austrian representatives of the *"Enterprises"* it is also – like in the other groups, too – the **internet/social media** which are rated as most important and positive regarding to the communication experiences. On the side of the suppliers internet/social media is important to get recognised by the writer scene and potential customers (EA3) and leads to recommendation within the community (EA1, EA3). On the other hand for the cleaning company the internet helps regarding staying up to date about new products and graffiti trends (EA2).

There are only few single statements gathered regarding limits in the context of communication and networking from the UK interviews – pointing to the aspects of **anonymity**: Here for example in context with a noticed increase in demand for commissioned artwork the problem of getting in touch with graffiti writers is faced as they tend to maintain "anonymity" and it is difficult to find the artist's information (EUK1).

3.5.3 Input: Improvements, ideas, requirements regarding communication and networking

There is only little information concerning requirements and ideas of the *"Enterprises"* but those mentioned reveal around more legal spaces for writers (EA2) and a better incorporation of graffiti in art projects (EUK2). Furthermore, it is stated that there are too many rules for the graffiti scene which prevent development of the scene and the writers (EA3, EE3).

> *"With restrictions you lose the artists and you get rapid graffiti and tags"* (EE3).

For the UK representatives increasing the channels of communication in general will prove to be helpful. The negative connotation with graffiti needs to change so more talented artists will come forward to promote their work.

> *"It's a cultural change I think about getting street art to be seen positively and I think that's something that just needs to be done by the people who are doing it"* (EUK 1).

3.6 The stakeholder group "Graffiti Writers"

3.6.1 Fields of operation and goals in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

For the group of the *"Graffiti Writers"* it is difficult to identify detailed tasks or goals concerning graffiti. Most of them came in contact with graffiti in their early years (GA1, GE1, GUK1 et al.) and their relationship towards graffiti developed and changed as time passes. The range is from graffiti as a "way of life" to a "passing fad" (GE2, GE3).

> *"For me, graffiti is – it may sound as a cliché – a way of life..."* (GE2).

> *"Well, for me it has no more [importance S.K.]. I haven´t been writing for a very long time. And it is not attractive for me anymore"* (GG1).

The goals mentioned by the writers vary and include the creation of an (artistic) picture or design (GA1, GG2, GUK2 et al.), the spreading of the own name (GG4, GG5, GUK3), getting a kick (GA1, GUK3, GUK5) as well as fun or entertainment (GG2, GUK4 et al.). For those who practise graffiti as their profession, a central goal is simply to earn money (GA3).

There is only little information about the central tasks of the writers, but it is stated, that one of them is the organization process they have to face, before they are able to attach their drawings – whether legally or not. It is mentioned that there are not enough legal possibilities and that the existing ones are often highly regulated. Also commissioned work requires a negotiation processes with the commissioner (GG5).
The organizational process is no less for illegal graffiti:

> *"An essential part of spraying was the planning. Knowing when to meet, where to meet, how to stay undetected, all the measures you have to take to avoid getting caught"* (GG1).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of the work

Many of the *"Graffiti Writers"* describe spraying graffiti generally as an important experience (GA1, GG1 et al.). As important aspects are mentioned the general fascination of graffiti (GG1), the satisfying feeling when looking at the own graffiti in the streets (GA1, GA3, GG1, GG5) and the exchange and solidarity within the graffiti scene (GA2, GE1, GE2, GG5)

> *"Well, solidarity, I mean that bounds together when you´re doing something illegal with someone else. Than you know, ok, the other one has to rely on me that I won´t talk about him for the case I get caught. And I have to rely on the other one. That bounds together in some way"* (GG5).

But there are also negative experiences described, for example when getting in contact with the police (GA1, GG1 et al.).

Several writers describe that they started to reflect their relationship towards graffiti as time passes, especially regarding illegal graffiti and therefore turn to legal or even professional ways to engage in graffiti (GG1, GA1 et al.).[7]

> *"People get older and then you see if they keep their faces and stick to it or not. Because who once dealt with colours will stick to it for the rest of his life, no matter which direction it takes"* (GG3).

> *"Two years ago, I would say to you "graffiti is my life, I want to paint a train!". Or maybe you interview me a year from now and I will have quit it. It depends on the time of your life. (…) I don't know whether I'll quit it or carry on writing graffiti. Or if I will switch to "free walls" which are legal… I don't know it's a changing perception"* (GE2).

Further self-developed practices refer to the style of writing (GA1, GE4, GG2) and the planning process when writing illegal graffiti (GE2, GG1).

For the *"Graffiti Writers"* the central challenge is to find places where they can write – whether legal or illegal (GA1 et al.). Especially for those graffiti writers who are interested in legal graffiti it´s a big challenge to find legal walls or legal projects. In the latter case it´s mentioned that many of the legal projects are only addressed to already established and experienced writers and that placing an order for a design is not equal to providing graffiti writers possibilities to act out their passion (GG2, GG4, GG5).

It is also stated by a German culture directorate that the administrative barriers restrict the writers in their creativity:

> *"Well, if the graffiti writers finally get the chance to design an underpass or some space than it´s always accompanied by an agreement concerning the design which prevents any creativity. That means that the colouring is stipulated and also which motives are desirable and which undesirable. And therefore it is not really possible for a graffiti scene to establish themselves, nothing can develop from this"* (GA3).

Similar is described for Spain, as there are associations that deal with legal walls and projects. Hereby, the annoying thing is, for most of the walls the writers have to register beforehand, providing personal data and signing an "agreement". This is quite anti-natural and too formalized for the unpredictable nature of graffiti.

A further problem that the writers have to face is the lack of understanding as graffiti is often associated with damage by the general public (GA1, GG2 et al.). This leads to the fact that they often also have to deal with the police when they´re writing legally as people automatically call the police when they see someone spraying a graffito (GA1, GA2, GA3).

The writers also claim about the pressure beard by the legal framework and the police (GA1, GA2, GA4, GUK3):

> *"The law, obviously, I would have thought, you know, always at the back of your mind if you are an active graffiti writer. You know it's going to come at some point, that's how I always felt"* (GUK3).

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[7] This circumstance is also described in: "D2.2 Regional, cultural, ethical, privacy and legal aspects and influence factors report".

3.6.2 Communication and networking in the context of graffiti (vandalism)

Sorts and participants of communication and networking

The interviewed "*Graffiti Writers*" almost exclusively stay in contact with other graffiti writers – there are hardly any communication- or networking activities with the stakeholder groups researched – this can be observed in all four countries.

The network is in many cases widespread, writers get in contact with each other on a local, national and international level.[8] The central communication medium here is the internet and is rated as essential:

> "*It is super important, if you're not in the Internet, in any blogs, or have your own blog you do not exist out there*" (GA3).

Beside the internet, personal contacts are still described as essential for the graffiti scene as German writers state:

> "*There are no rules that say "Go there and then you'll get that". You rely on contacts and you have to make these contacts over the years, you can't go from 0 to 100*" (GG2).

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[8] In that context a UK representative of the Transport Operators describes: *"Graffiti writers are the best networkers I have ever come across. It is a global network, an organised global network of criminals"* (OUK1).

GRAFFOLUTION
Understand . Collaborate . Improve

Fig. 6: Intensity of Information exchange and networking of the interviewed members of the group "Graffiti Writers" with other stakeholder groups.
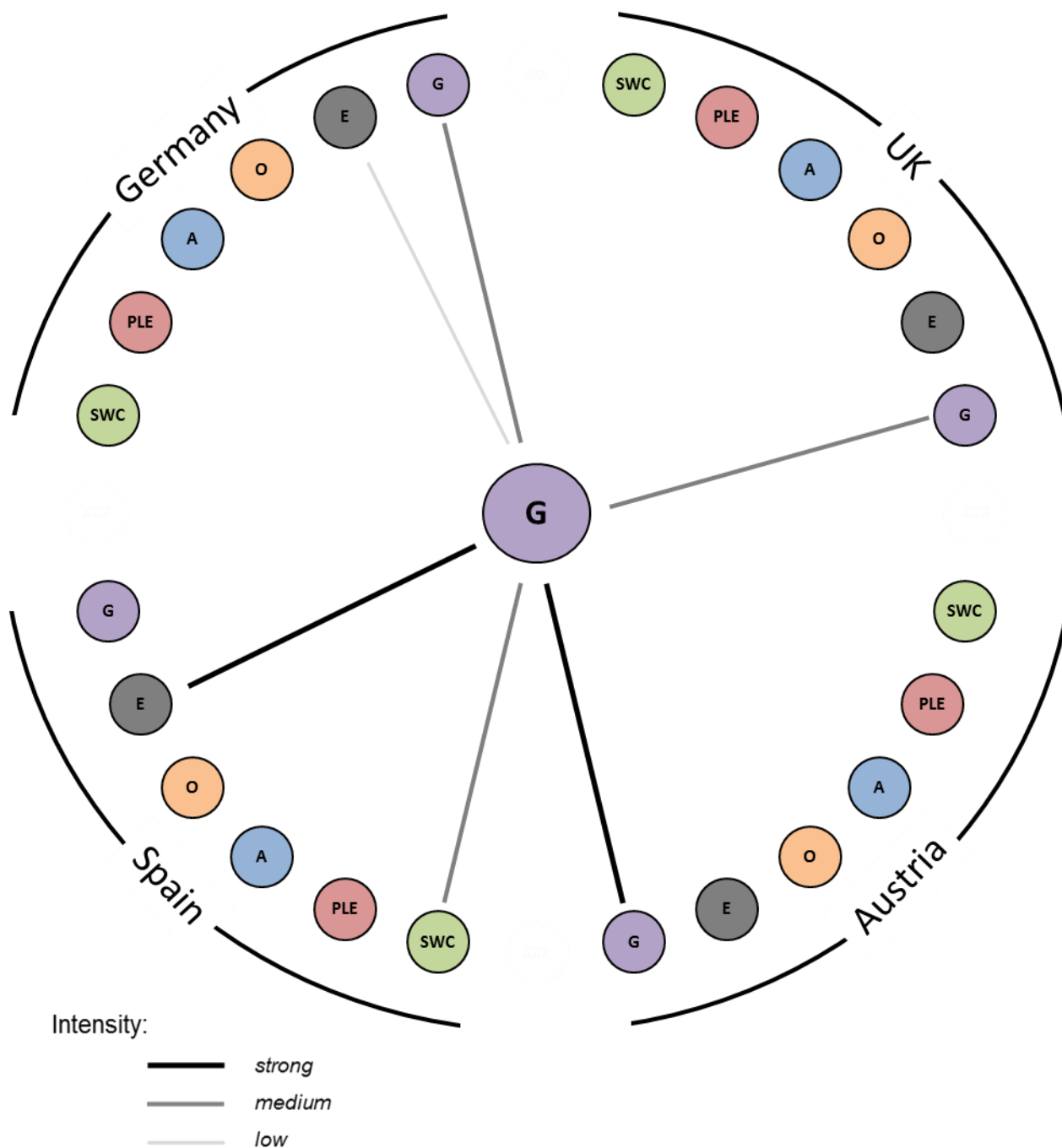
SWC: Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society   O: Transport Operators / Authorities
PLE: Police & Law Enforcement   E: Enterprises
A: Public Administration   G: Graffiti Writers

Central goals and topics of communication and networking

Being centrally in contact within one's "own" group of course the central topics and goals regarding communication and networking activities focus on writer specific aspects:

On the one hand again **contacts** (mainly via internet) are very important regarding the acquisition of legal spaces/walls as there is generally no official request for proposals (GG4), that is also relevant for legal graffiti jobs (GA3). On the other hand it is also important to be connected and having a permanent information exchange in order to give and achieve information regarding spots for (illegal) painting and hereby also regarding hot spots, police patrols etc. (GA1, GE2) – this on a national and international level:

> *"Social networks have changed the graffiti scene. Also, graffiti has changed a lot. (…) We coordinate with graffiti writers from other countries"* (GE1).

Further topics regarding the information exchange are also products, events or official police reports:

> *"I'm in touch with some of the people I wrote graffiti with when I was younger. (…) Now it's different with the Internet, there're magazines and apps too. I'm totally tuned with what's happening in the graffiti world, and from my mobile!"* (GE5).

Sharing work using social networking platforms (Facebook, twitter, Instagram etc.) seems to be one of the main reasons for networking and communicating for graffiti writers – in all of the researched countries (e.g. GA1, GA2).

> *"Flicker and those sorts of photo sharing sites, people have just uploaded their collections on there and these go right back to the time that I started this. There is some amazing historical stuff"* (GUK3).

Implications in sharing the work with other writers are also sharing techniques and knowledge in general (e.g. GA2) and getting awareness in the community (e.g. GA1). But the sharing of work is not done only virtually but is also essential via personal contacts.

> *"Meeting people in a shop where you can by spray cans and exchange contacts and then you exchange photos and so you get to know each other and learn about new techniques"* (GA2).

Described as a very intimate sort of communication by a German writer is showing to another writer one's blackbook or even allowing him to make some designs in it (GG1).

Experienced benefits and limits in the context of communication and networking

As analysed already for other groups the **internet/social media** do play a very prominent role regarding communication and networking for the *"Graffiti Writers"* and are an important part of the culture – in regards of various factors (see above): communication, making new connections on a national and international level (GA1, GE1, GUK1 et al.) and sharing e.g. information, pictures, videos etc.

> *"You get to know each other over the internet (…) and talk about graffiti and what others are doing and then maybe you meet and make something together, because graffiti has a strong connecting effect"* (GA3).

Although there is some mutual exchange within the graffiti scene it is stated by two German interviewees that there is no such thing as an overall network as the different groups, crews, local scenes etc. generally stick with one´s kind so the networking aspect seems to be limited anyway (GG1, GG3).

The problems and challenges in the context of communication and networking *"Graffiti Writers"* are related in all four researched countries to the topics legal – illegal writing and the connected aspects of **anonymity and communication** (which is also stated as a limit of communication from side of the "Enterprises", see above). Especially those writers who engage in illegal graffiti information exchange and networking have a critical attitude towards publishing one's work via the internet according to private issues. They are generally organized very conspirative based on personal **trust** which is not easily to establish (GA1, GG1 et al.).

According the UK representatives the main issue is the fact that most graffiti writers who work outside the legal framework will not be willing to showcase their work on public platforms.

> *"I think that graffiti artists who break the law don't use them, you know, ones that are really active don't go near it"* (GUK 3).

All in all some writers may use social media for sharing their pictures but e.g. the interviewed German writers who engage in illegal graffiti state that they don't use any communication technologies when it comes to planning new activities.

> *"(…) because you have to be very careful who you are talking to and what you're talking about on the phone because you might be bugged. That may happen without you even knowing about it. And that's why you have all these small groups of writers. They call each other and say "Hey, join us there and there" – finish. It's really only "Let's meet somewhere" and then there is the talk"* (GG4).

In general Spanish representatives of the group of *"Graffiti Writers"* notice a negative influence of the overuse of social networks and information exchange:

> *"It has a negative implication which is that graffiti, for me, loses all the essence and mystery through social networks"* (GE1).

3.6.3 Input: Improvements, ideas, requirements regarding communication and networking

Many of the requirements mentioned by the *"Graffiti Writers"* revolve around establishing graffiti in the public sphere. These include a demand for **more possibilities to write graffiti legally** (GG2, GUK3 et al.) and a better distribution of legal projects that includes all of the writers (GG2, GG4). Furthermore there should be **less legal consequences** (GA1, GA2, GA4), **criminalization** (GE1) and **aggressive tactics** besides the police (GA1, GA2, GA5).

Mentioned by writers from all researched countries is the wish that there would be **more respect** for graffiti and a better estimation in general (GA1, GE4, GG5, GUK3 et al.) and less emotional discussions between writers and conflicting parties (GA2).

4. FUTURE

4.1 Development of the phenomenon

Regarding the magnitude of the graffiti phenomenon only single interviewees of the group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* estimate that the big boom is over (SWCG3) and that graffiti will decrease in the future (CSE1) – although there is no exact information whether these estimations mean a disappearance or only a quantitative reduction of the phenomenon.
Besides that, there are estimations through all the researched countries that there **will always be graffiti** – more or less – in the way it exists now, although there might be **some ups and downs** over the time (SWCA1, SWCE1, SWCG2, SWCUK3 et al.).

> *"Well, I think graffiti will stay the way it is, to the effect that there will always be youths who want to mark their territory somehow or who want to do some scribbling somewhere..."* (SWCG3).

But it is also stated that the **different styles may develop in different directions** (CSE2, SWCA1) as especially street-art may have a positive future and be more accepted by a general public whereas tags will probably always be considered as less qualitative (SWCE2, SWCG2).
A further interesting estimation is, there will be even more graffiti in the future, as the number of legal walls and projects will increase (SWCA1, CSE2, SWCG4). And by implication this again might lead to an increased acceptance of graffiti as people get more used to it and legal graffiti often are of a higher quality than illegal ones (SWCA1, SCG4).

Concerning its (future) potentials, it is mentioned that well-designed – and therefore tolerated – graffiti could be a **counterbalance to gentrification** processes and too much luxury in a city and therefore a way to recover spaces (SWCG3). On the other hand, its embellishing effects and the fact that there are people who take care of the appearance of an area could lead to a **revival and integration of rather deprived areas** (SWCG4, CSE2, CSE3).

Like the *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* also the majority (through all researched countries) of the stakeholder group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* estimates graffiti as a **persistent phenomenon** (PLEA1, PLEE1, PLEG1, PLEUK2 et al.). There might be changes concerning the intensity (PLEE1), the artistic value (more scratch work) (PLEG1) or the location (shift to more rural areas) (PLEA1) but graffiti are not expected to disappear from the cityscape.

There is only little information about possible future trends. A German police officer mentions that soccer fans and other music genres (not only hip hop) started to detect and use graffiti (PLEG1). Austrian and Spanish interviewees expect an increase of graffiti tourism (PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEE2).

There is also no detailed information about positive potentials of graffiti although it is stated that well-designed graffiti like street-art may have a **positive influence** on the cityscape (PLEA3, PLEG1, PLEUK1). Thereby legal spaces can be a possibility for young writers to improve their style and to show their art to the public (PLEA3, PLEG1).

Like the stakeholder groups so far, also the representatives of the group *"Public Administration"* **don´t expect the graffiti phenomenon to disappear** (AA1, AE3, AG1, AUK1 et al.).

> *"As it is a cultural phenomenon and a youth cultural phenomenon I don't think that it will change in the next years extremely"* (AA1).

> *"And I think it should always stay a subculture. Otherwise it might become uninteresting and the worst thing happen would be (graffiti) to die. And that´s why I think that it should stay the way it is"* (AG2).

Again there is no detailed information about the potentials of graffiti, although the **general tenor is positive**, as graffiti may have a good influence on the cityscape (AG1, AG4) as well as improve (AA3) and reinforce (AE1) public spaces.

The estimation of the future of graffiti by the stakeholders of the group *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* **varies between and within the researched countries**. Some of the interviewees state that the number of graffiti rises (OE2, OUK1), others see it descending (OE3, OUK2). An exception seems to be Germany, as those representatives register a stagnation of graffiti incidents around a certain level (OG1, OG2, OG3).

> *"We observed for the last couple years that the biggest hype might be over. (…) We've got some stabilization on a certain level…"* (OG1).

Trends that are observed by the stakeholders are for example an increasing professionalization of the graffiti writers (OE1), new techniques like using acid to edge glasses (OA1, OA3) and more graffiti tourism (OA3).
Another trend mentioned by an interviewee from the UK is that graffiti becomes more and more established in the mainstream of society:

> *"(...) graffiti will continue to become more and more a part of mainstream society. We see it very much now in things like pop videos, movies…"* (OUK1).

There are **no future potentials** ascribed to graffiti by these stakeholders. Reason for that might be the fact, that they see graffiti primarily as a damage of their facilities.

The overall estimation of the future of graffiti by the stakeholders of the group *"Enterprises"* is two-minded. On the one hand they expect an **increase and strengthening of street-art** and the general artistic expression of graffiti (EE3, EUK1, EUK4). On the other hand there will be **more regulations and prevention methods** to avoid unwanted graffiti (EUK1) so the number of such graffiti – especially tags – might decrease (EE1).
Furthermore, an interviewee from Austria as well as one from Spain state that beside the quantitative development of the phenomenon they find it important that graffiti stays a youth culture (comparable to the *"Public Administration"*) and a part of the urban sphere (EA2, EE3).

> *"A city without graffiti would be a city without youths… with severe norms… and boring. (…) I mean, for me it is culture"* (EE3).

Future trends described by these stakeholders reveal around new prevention measures like anti-graffiti coatings, special colours and "greening" (EA2, EUK2), as well as new spraying materials that will be more efficient, better usable and healthier (EA1, EA3).

Through all researched countries, the *"Graffiti Writers"* state that according to their opinion **graffiti will always exist**. Furthermore, they seem resolved that graffiti can´t be eradicated or prevented by officials or the society (GA2, GE4, GG2, GUK5 et al.).

> *"You can´t eradicate it, you shift it, you shift it only to another place and in the moment the city gets weak for a second it will appear there, where it was before"* (GA2).

> *"We're willing to fight for this and people seem quite aware of, or interested in having more artists"* (GUK5).

As unanimously as the opinions are concerning the future existence, **as different are the estimations of the qualitative development**. Especially the German ones regard this progress as stagnating, as the graffiti writers don´t put that much energy in writing anymore, so the style will become more simple in the future (GG1, GG3, GG5). Contrary to that, Spanish writers see the artistic dimension and the quality of graffiti increasing, especially as the general trend is towards street art (GE2, GE4 GE5). Besides these estimations, writers from all researched countries agree that graffiti gets more and more recognized by professionals and commercial industries like the art market or advertising and marketing factories (GA3, GE4, GG1, GUK3 et al.). But this doesn´t mean that such a development is seen as positive:

> *"If we're not careful and we can't preserve the culture and the spirit, I see it going two different ways. One will be a very slick, very highly produced, probably quite commercial, legal and commissioned-style of art, aesthetic, you know, people will do huge and very impressive murals, it will draw lots of people to site and the other side of graffiti will mutate and be uglier and more destructive than ever at the same time."* (GUK3).

Like most of the previous stakeholder groups also the writers ascribe graffiti the **potential to improve the cityscape** while at the same time it reflects the local culture and therefore functions as an attraction for tourists (GA1, GG1 et al.).
Furthermore graffiti is seen as a way to interact with society so the passers-by who see the graffiti can also have a positive benefit as they might be attracted to it emotional (GA1, GG1, GUK3 et al.).

> *"I've always had this notion that graffiti ought to have served buskers on the tube. It should have been something that brightened up peoples´ day even though it was technically not really permitted. I would like to see that being given a chance on a train line or two, just to poll peoples´ reactions"* (GUK3).

As it comes out, there is no overall valid estimation about how the graffiti phenomenon will develop in the future. Although, all stakeholder groups through all researched countries agree that graffiti can´t be expected to disappear in the future as it will always exist in the one or the other way.
Nevertheless a future trend might be a stronger focus on street-art which is seen as more accepted by the public and on its way to become a permanent and established part of society.

4.2 Future requirements / challenges

As one of the main fields of action of the stakeholder group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* is the mediation between the different actors which are affected by graffiti and especially supporting graffiti writers, they see the **provision of legal spaces** as a central future requirement (SWCA1, SWCG3, SWCG4). But there is no consensus about the role of the administrations concerning the provision of legal spaces, as a German interviewee fears too much regulation by the municipalities (SWCG4) whereas several ones from Spain demand for a higher involvement of institutions and clear regulations (CSE2, CSE3, SWCE1,SWCE2).

> *"We need to standardize and once for all create a pacific consensus because we're criminalizing graffiti but at the same time using it as attraction"* (SWCE2).

But an increased improvement of legal spaces also requires more acceptance of graffiti by the general public and of course the municipal administrations (SWCA3, SWCE1). This goes ahead with a general understanding of art as an active and creative process, where young people should be encouraged to participate (SWCG3). So the **mediation** between the different spheres of society is also seen as a requirement for the future (SWCUK3).

All in all the stakeholders of the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* hardly mention any specific future challenges as their overall concern is about how to deal with graffiti generally in the future. Thereby the questions stated by the interviewees reveal around whether trying to ban or to direct graffiti (PLEE1) and which measures are appropriate to deal with illegal graffiti in order to avoid some sort of overreaction (PLEA1, PLEUK2).

> *"(...) did they [the police S.K.] have enough resources to consider that small piece of vandalism? As opposed to the need to get on with the job with more important crimes. So, maybe lots of things get left to one side"* (PLEUK2).

A further challenge mentioned by a police officer from the UK is the dealing with those graffiti which are done for individual goals and not as an expression of a (youth) culture. As such offender-related graffiti are stated for example gang symbols to mark and demand authority of a territory, but also professional artists who use every possibility for self-commercialisation and to advertise their (commercial) art (PLEUK1).

Also the improved connection between the writers as well as their higher mobility (graffiti tourism) are mentioned as further challenges. Such trends could be answered by an armament with new technologies and tools to act more efficiently against illegal graffiti (PLEA2).

Comparable to the stakeholders of the group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"*, also the representatives of the group *"Public Administration"* regard the **provision of legal** spaces where graffiti is allowed to exist as an important requirement (AA1, AE1, AG1, AUK1 et al.). Thereby it is mentioned as necessary to find an adequate conception of the public space (AE3) despite zero tolerance arguments (AUK1) and with a good balance for all affected stakeholders (AA1, AA2) so illegal graffiti might be replaced by its legal forms step by step (AG1, AG4).

There are no overall valid challenges or requirements mentioned by the *"Transport Operators /
Authorities"*. Nevertheless, it can be stated that **the general tone is a more restrictive one** than it was
for the previous stakeholder groups.

For example the interviewees from the UK say that, although they are aware that graffiti can´t be
cleared of completely and therefore search for an adequate strategy, legal projects or commissioned
work are no future approaches for them as they would send the wrong signals that spraying transport
facilities might be ok in some way (OUK1, OUK2). Such a total **denial of legal projects** contrasts
strongly with the previous stakeholder groups.

Another example is the Spanish interviewees demanding a hardening of the juridical level (OE1, OE3).

> *"For me the legal approach is essential. If we only share information or work on the social scope
> something will be missing to fight this. I think it's necessary to reach the prosecutors in order to show
> them that this is not a simple prank by teens"* (OE3).

A German representative on the other hand sees the technical armament as an important challenge
for the future – comparable to the *"Police & Law Enforcement"*:

> *"Well, this uncertainty by sensors technology, where you don't know: Why did I walk into a trap? Or why
> have I been detected although I thought about everything? That's what we want to improve"* (OG1).

The cleaning companies of the group *"Enterprises"* mention the ongoing circle of new colours and
new removal techniques as a future challenge (EA2). But for them this can´t be seen as a
"problematic" challenge as the cleaning companies earn their money with the removal of graffiti and
therefore an increase of graffiti might rather benefit these companies (EE2).

Like the representatives of the groups "*Police & Law Enforcement"* and *"Transport Operators /
Authorities"* also some of the *"Graffiti Writers"* expect that the **armament with new technologies** will
be enforced in the future and therefore be a challenge for illegal writers (GG4). Although this
development is seen quite pragmatically as a writer from Austria guesses that more surveillance
would probably only shift illegal graffiti to other places which aren´t under surveillance (GA2).

Other challenges are the increasing **commercialization** of graffiti (GEE1) and its development to a
mainstream phenomenon (e.g. in advertisements) which are seen as critical (GA1, GA3).

Writers from the UK furthermore mention that the lack of spaces where they are allowed to spray
graffiti is also a challenge for the future (GUK3) especially as the general limitation of locations where
the writers have access to, forces them to look for other locations which are often accompanied with
an increased risk and therefore cause even more safety issues (GUK2).

As it comes out there are many various future challenges and requirements mentioned by and within
the different stakeholder groups, although there are tendencies identifiable depending on the
respective point of view of the stakeholders: A stronger focus on the provision of legal walls by
"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society" and *"Public Administration"*, the general handling of graffiti by
"Police & Law Enforcement" and a more restrictive approach by *"Transport Operators / Authorities"*.
Furthermore, aspects like the technical armament and an increase of the acceptance of graffiti are
mentioned as future topics through all the different stakeholder groups.

4.3 Possibilities to direct the development of the phenomenon

According to their general field of action, representatives of the group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* see **more socio-political engagement** – especially in deprived areas – as a possibility to influence the graffiti phenomenon (SWCG4). On the one hand these projects could include educational aspects (SWCE1, SWCE3) while on the other the possibility to show young people opportunities how to act out their passion legally (SWCG4).

This goes ahead with another opportunity to influence the phenomenon, as it is mentioned in several countries (for the UK there is no information) that the provision of legal spaces and projects would strengthen legal graffiti and therefore reduce illegal activities (SWCA1, CSE2, SWCG3 et al.).

An interesting fact is that several stakeholders of the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* also see **pro-social activities** as a way to influence the phenomenon. Thereby the provision of legal walls and projects could go ahead with some sort of education and the possibility for the youths to take over the responsibility for the success of the project (PLEA3, PLEG2, PLEUK1). Especially an interviewee from the UK states that in order to direct the phenomenon you have to engage in both ways – once in the streets by protecting spaces were graffiti are not wanted and by providing places where writers are allowed to spray. On the other hand the "roots" of the problem have to be addressed – whether there is a gang problem, a problem with education and so on:

> *"(...) I think there's some need to get to the source of the problem as well as dealing with the problem on the street"* (PLEUK2).

Despite that two interviewees from Austria and Spain refer to the legal framework as a way to influence the phenomenon and thereby state that repeat offenders should be punished and be reliable for compensation (PLEA2) and that local ordinances may be more effective to deal with the respective local scenes as laws tend to be very general (PLEE1).

Like the two stakeholder groups before, also interviewees from the *"Public Administration"* – and this is valid for all researched countries – see the provision of **legal spaces and constructive projects** compared with **educational measures** as a possibility to direct the graffiti phenomenon (AA2, AE3, AG3, AUK3 et al.). According to an interviewee from the UK "Youth Offending Teams" could also play an important role within this approach:

> *"Youth Offending Teams you know are experts in dealing with young people and trying to keep them away from crime (...) getting the young person to address the underlying causes of their anti-social behaviour"* (AUK3).

The provision of legal spaces and educational aspects are also mentioned by German and UK representatives of the stakeholder group *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* but not in detail (OG2, OG3, UKG1), whereas a Spanish one thinks that graffiti can´t be directed anyway (OE3). Furthermore, the educational measures mentioned by the interviewee from the UK can hardly be understood as pro-social as his intention is to inform the youths about the consequences that illegal graffiti could have and thereby tries to scare them so they won´t engage in it:

> *"Propaganda. I've used it. I have gone to the press and I have used propaganda. I've told them, "We're coming after you. If we catch you, we're gonna throw the book at you." I'll scare them any way I can into some sort of hanging up their cans - as I like to say. Like the old gunslingers used to hang up their pistols. Hang up your cans…"* (OUK1).

Actually there are no further estimations about how to direct the development of the graffiti phenomenon from the groups *"Enterprises"* and *"Graffiti Writers"*. Reason for that may be that both of them have only little interest in possible ways for society to influence the graffiti scene. The *"Enterprises"* see graffiti mainly from an economic point of view and the *"Graffiti Writers"* may basically have no interest in being "directed by society". This circumstance gets illustrated by the fact that all writers from Austria think that more freedom for the writers would be desirable but at the same time state that illegal graffiti will never be stopped (GA1 et al.).

Nevertheless, it comes out that almost all of the stakeholder groups see pro-social and educational measures as a possible way to influence the direction of the phenomenon whereas some of them would also add other restrictive or preventive measures.

4.4 "Golden road"

As it came out in this report so far, the **mutual exchange and mediation** between the different actors which are affected by graffiti is seen as a central aspect by the group *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* and therefore also as an important element of an optimized future approach (SWCE3, SWCG2, SWCUK3). Essential for such an approach is the premise that all involved parties are **sensitive concerning the others´ needs** and motives which includes paying attention to what the writers' points are as well as the writers' reflecting on their actions (SWCE1, SWCG2).
Involved in this process should be a various mix of institutions so every affected party is represented, which may include administrative and executive organs as well as artistic and social actors (CSE1, SWCG3 et al.):

> *"(…) well, there are of course the police, which take over the punishing and restrictive part, which is important so it doesn't get out of control. And we [social workers S.K.] could take over the part to emphasise the aesthetic aspects, to say: We need art in the public sphere and we have to provide the possibilities"* (SWCG3).

One output of this process should be an improved possibility for young people to interact and design their surrounding by providing e.g. legal walls or special graffiti competitions (SWCA1, CSE1, SWCUK3 et al.).

Also the representatives from the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* see the need of the different parties to **talk to each other** and to **develop a certain understanding** for the other actors as inevitable. According to them, this includes also **educational aspects** to make especially young people and kids aware of the risks and consequences that illegal graffiti might have (PLEA3, PLE1, PLEG1, PLEUK1 et al.). Further outcomes of such a discursive process could be a spread use of victim-

offender mediation or restorative justice – although it is also mentioned that such approaches only work in case that the writers are willing to reflect about their behaviour (PLEG2, PLEUK2).

> *"So, restorative justice in the right places. I think if you have some vandals or criminals or, you know, people who've been doing this on numerous occasions, year in, year out, shall we say, I think if you were to do restorative justice on those occasions, I don't think it'd work"* (PLEUK2).

Concerning the involved actors, it is pointed out that all kinds of stakeholders – from the police to the writers – are relevant. Especially the local communities are essential, as they are often responsible for the implementation of the single measures (PLEUK1).

The aspects of a "golden road" described by the stakeholder group *"Public Administration"* on the one hand consists of **pro-social and cooperative elements** while on the other hand also implies **restrictive aspects** – with changing priorities between the different countries.
It is for example mentioned that more legal walls and projects are necessary so the writers can act out their passion and which may have a regenerative effect on the city (AA1, AE1, AUK1). But it is also clearly stated – by interviewees from Germany and the UK – that illegal graffiti are seen as criminal damage and that the decision how to design a building is up to the respective proprietor and not to the writers, so graffiti is only accepted and supported under special circumstances (AG1, AG4, AUK3).

Like the stakeholder groups before, also the *"Public Administration"* sees a widespread collaboration between various actors – also from other countries – as an important aspect for an improved dealing with the graffiti phenomenon (AA2, AE2, AG2, AUK3 et al.).

Like for the *"Public Administration"*, also the aspects mentioned by the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* are very heterogeneous and reach **from pro-social to restrictive measures**.
Interviewees from Austria, Germany and Spain mention that starting a discourse with the writers and the general public about the borderline between living out one's passion and damaging someone else and where legal possibilities for the writers would be acceptable for the citizens is important. This could strengthen the awareness of the public for graffiti and educate the writers concerning the consequences of their behaviour (OA1, OE2, OG2 et al.).
On the other hand, representatives from Spain and the UK see a legislative and law enforcing approach as the most promising one, as prosecuting the perpetrators is the best way to prevent new graffiti and thereby reduce the costs for cleaning according to their opinion (OE2, OE3, OUK1, OUK2).

> *"Well stopping it, generally you could stop it by arresting people, bang, it's stopped"* (OUK1).

And also an interviewee from Germany expects a regular exchange with technique experts and the police about new techniques and best practise measures against graffiti vandalism as a promising aspect (OG1).
Other actors who should contribute, mentioned by this stakeholder group, are basically from the executive, juridical and administrative field or other transport operators. Graffiti writers are hardly mentioned – or only as defendants (OE1).

Like in the last chapter, there is also only little information from the *"Enterprises"* about an optimized dealing with graffiti. Nevertheless, it can be stated that those aspects mentioned, generally focus on pro-social and social environment aspects. These are for example more efforts towards social awareness (EE2) and education (EA2), as well as more legal areas (EA2) and participatory events (EA1, EA3), plus the creation of cohesive environments (EUK4).

A first aspect mentioned by the *"Graffiti Writers"* is a less stubborn approach by society and the officials which would ease the situation and enable a better communication. This includes **less pressure on and prosecution of the writers**, as well as a less emotional discussion of the topic (GA1, GE1, GG4 et al.).

> *"You can't expect the authorities to punish it less. You can't expect that and as far as I can see you can't demand it. And it won't change anyway. But I would wish that they wouldn't fight it that hard, that they wouldn't be that negative with it and people might open up a bit for it"* (GG4).

Furthermore writers of all researched countries demand for **legal possibilities** – walls, projects and commissioned work – to spray graffiti legally (GA2, GE5, GG3, GUK3 et al.). Thereby a contact person of the municipality who can be addressed in order to propose and discuss possible graffiti designs for public spaces would facilitate the writers´ search for legal spaces (GG2, GUK3).

With such a new conception of the public space, graffiti could also work as a tourist attraction, so the city would actually benefit from it in an economic sense (GE2).

Basically, a "golden road" for the dealing with graffiti can´t be understood literally as a "final solution" because of the complexity of the phenomenon – an estimation that is also shared by the interviewees of all researched countries. Nevertheless, the suggestions made by the stakeholders in this chapter show that the way of dealing with graffiti still can be improved and in which direction such an improvement might go – according to their opinions.

Thereby the approaches have varying focuses – from pro-social and educational measures (SWC, PLE) to restrictions and prosecution (parts of A, O). Besides that, as common aspects came out the provision of legal spaces, a mutual dialogue including mediation and maybe educational aspects as well as a widespread cooperation between all the different actors and institutions that are affected by graffiti.

Nevertheless, also such improvements will not prevent some sort of conflict potential as directing all graffiti writers into legal channels rather seems to be unrealistic.

> *"Unfortunately, no matter what you do, there is always going to be this one that will ruin it. But I think it is just about how you deal with that one person"* (SWCUK3).

5. GRAFFOLUTION PLATFORM

5.1 Estimation of the general and personal benefit of the platform

Generally, the idea of the Graffolution platform is accepted positively by the majority of the stakeholder group „*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* – with exceptions, as one interviewee from Austria (SWCA1) and one from Spain (SWCE2) deny that such a platform would be useful for their work. Furthermore, another interviewee from Austria who publishes a graffiti magazine sees the benefit of the platform in the possibility to raise the awareness on his magazine, so he may probably see the platform rather as a way to advertise his product than to exchange with other stakeholders (SWCA3).

Such an **exchange of information** is seen as a benefit by stakeholders from Germany, Spain and the UK. Especially gathering information about other projects (plus their implementation) and best practise approaches or strategies is mentioned as an advantage for the own work (CSE2, SWCG3, SWCUK3 et al.).

Another benefit estimated by these stakeholders is the possibility to **communicate** with other actors and the general society – so the public discussion about graffiti might be enhanced. Out of these communication processes could also arise new forms of **cooperation** between the different stakeholders (CSE1, SWCG3, SWCUK2 et al.).
Speaking for the graffiti scene, one of the German social workers mentions that a possibility to share and rate pictures of their graffiti might be interesting for the writers (SWCG3).

The general tonus of the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* is positive concerning the benefits of the Graffolution platform – for their own work and in general – through all the researched countries.
Especially the possibility to **gather and exchange insights or information**, for example in the context of an investigation or to make the public aware of the dangers caused by graffiti is seen as a benefit for their daily work (PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEE1, PLEG1). Furthermore, the actors could swap their experiences and inspire each other – also transnational (PLEG2). According to that, the platform could be used on the one hand in order to exchange information that is necessary for the daily work of the actors and on the other hand as a medium for public communication (including some sort of education).

Other possible benefits mentioned by the interviewees are some sort of guide provided by the platform which helps the actors to identify "valuable" and "destructive" graffiti, so there is a common separation between graffiti art and graffiti vandalism (PLEUK1) – although such a differentiation may fall short.
Furthermore, the inclusion of graffiti writers might be interesting as the platform could be a forum to discuss with them (e.g. about their motives):

"It could be an advantage for writers to stay anonymously. It is an advantage which is maybe a bit more democratic to give one's opinion and to be more open to talk about motives" (PLEA1).

The overall estimation of the platform by the *"Public Administration"* is very positive for all researched countries. Although the stakeholders are not naive concerning the potentials of such a platform:

"It´s gonna be an instrument, like different other instruments, that are used to – I would say – to treat along that path" (AG4).

Like the previous stakeholder groups, the possibility to **contact other actors** and to **exchange information** with them is regarded as an important benefit by the representatives of the *"Public Administration"* (AE1, AA1, AUK3 et al.). Thereby, an interviewee from Austria states that he is more interested in receiving information and not so much in providing information to others (AA3) – a fact that will be relevant later when it comes to possible problems and difficulties concerning the implementation of the platform (compare chapter 5.2).

A further benefit would be the possibility to exchange experiences and to gather examples for **best-practice approaches** provided by other stakeholders or through case studies, so they could question and improve their own strategies (AE3, AG1, AUK3 et al.).
A mutual exchange could also help the stakeholders to understand the interests and motives of the various actors (including the graffiti writers) and to strengthen the awareness of the others (AE2, AG1, AG4).

Further aspects that would be useful for the stakeholders´ work are the possibility for citizens to evaluate actions taken by the administrations (Public involvement forum) (AE2) and a guide which helps the actors to identify "valuable" and "destructive" graffiti – again mentioned by an interviewee from the UK:

"Very, very simply, a guide that says, "This is crap and this is art." So, a guide for politicians, for community groups, for residents that says, "You know look out for this stuff, it's horrible. We wanna blitz it and get rid of it. Oh, but if it looks like this, then it's art and we ought to preserve it" (AUK2).

Although the majority of the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* is open-minded towards the platform and sees benefits for their work, there are also critical voices:

"Yet, I don´t see any [benefit S.K.]. Except that you might give the perpetrators the possibility to present themselves even more" (OG4).

There are **no overall valid benefits** mentioned by the stakeholders, but several examples given by the various countries. German interviewees mention some sort of database with **information** about graffiti projects that provide new insights for the recipients – e.g. about special techniques (OG2, OG3) or ideas from writers about circumstances that would stop them from writing illegally (OG1). Similar to that, an interviewee from the UK emphasizes the significance for a collection of case studies:

"Case studies are great. It's the evidence base and that's what we base our strategy on, so I would absolutely encourage case studies" (OUK2).

Representatives from Austria and Spain mention an **exchange of intelligence** between the respective stakeholders as a benefit for their work (OA3, OE2, OE3). Austrian interviewees furthermore mention that contact with the writers might be useful to get a better understanding of each other (OA2, OA3).

The majority of the interviewees from the group "*Enterprises*" is basically open minded towards the Graffolution platform – although not all of them give an estimation concerning the general usefulness of the platform (EA2, EE3) and two Austrian shop owners state that they are interested in getting known by the graffiti scene, so their intention may arise from **advertisement motives** (EA1, EA3).

Like for the stakeholder groups so far, the provision of **case studies**, **best-practise methods** and an **information exchange** between the respective groups is seen as an important benefit by several interviewees (EE1, EUK2, EUK3).

Speaking for the graffiti writers, the Austrian shop owners estimate it would be interesting for them to get information about legal walls and to have the possibility to upload pictures of their graffiti (similar estimation to an interviewee from „*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society*") (EA1, EA3).

Also for the *"Graffiti Writers*", several of the interviewees are basically open-minded towards the platform. Especially the possibility to **exchange** and **communicate** with other writers – also transnational – is seen as a benefit, so the Graffolution platform might function as some sort of **network** where the writers could consort with others and realize (also bigger) projects (GA1, GG5, GUK2 et al.).

As another positive aspect mentioned is the provision of **information** about legal opportunities for the writers to engage in graffiti, such as legal walls, projects or galleries (GA1, GA2, GG4, GG5).

> *"There could be a kind of guide, a city guide where you can see legal walls. That is notable for graffiti"* (GA2).

Other useful content of the platform could be information about legal aspects and consequences of graffiti vandalism and advices what to do in case of getting caught by the police (GA1).

Finally, it can be stated that the majority of the stakeholders – with the exceptions mentioned above – is open minded towards the Graffolution platform. Following aspects are mentioned repeatedly as possible benefits of the platform:

- Exchange of information and data that are useful for the daily work between relevant stakeholders.
- Gathering new insights and best-practise strategies by provided case studies, the exchange of experiences between the stakeholders and graffiti related projects.
- Generally the possibility to get in contact with other stakeholders (inclusive the writers) and the general society, so the platform could also be used as a way of public communication.

5.2 Estimation of possible problems

The Spanish and German stakeholders of the group „*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* basically see two kinds of problems that might limit the success of the platform. The first one is that they are not sure **whether the graffiti scene would feel attracted** by such a platform. It is mentioned that the nature of graffiti is quite unregulated and has much to do with transgression, so there are concerns whether such an unstructured scene would participate in a well-structured and organized platform (SWCE2, SWCG2, SWCG3). For example an interviewee from Spain can only hardly imagine that graffiti writers who spray trains would participate in the platform (SWCE1).

The second basic problem mentioned by these stakeholders is the fact that it might be quite difficult to bring the writers and other stakeholders like the police or transport operators together on one common platform. The interviewees have doubts **whether such cooperation is possible and useful**, as the writers and those who want to prevent graffiti have quite conflicting interests (SWCE2, SWCG2, SWCG3).

> *"Maybe only the one or the other is possible. Either the authorities inform about what they deny and the scene never has a look at it, or the scene has a website where they can share and rate their pictures and get inspired. But then the authorities and transport operators have nothing out of it…"* (SWCG3).

Further doubts mentioned by interviewees from the UK reveal around the question whether the platform will actually lead to an increased involvement of the citizens when it comes to design the public sphere (SWCUK1, SWUK2, SWCUK3).

There is no information about possible problems from Austrian interviewees.

For the *"Police & Law Enforcement"* the identified aspects are very heterogeneous and only valid for the respective country. A German interviewee for example states that the **varying interests** of the different stakeholders may be a problem – similar to „*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* (PLEG2). Others have doubts about the **scope of information** they could gather from the platform (PLEG1) or the possibility that the writers may use the platform to exchange information that affect not only legal but could also be useful for illegal graffiti (PLEG3).

The Austrian objections reveal around the provision and exchange of information. One problem is seen in the fact that the internet mostly provides space for only short descriptions and arguments, so the complexity of the field might be abridged (PLEA1). Others are the protection of data privacy regarding the database (PLEA2) and the fact that entering the data might be too **time consuming** (PLEA1, PLEA3).

> *"It depends on how time consuming it is. It is always a matter of interest if you use time for something"* (PLEA1).

Similar to the „*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society",* a Spanish interviewee has doubts to which extent the graffiti writers can be reached with such a platform (PLE1).

And an interviewee from the UK is uncertain about how the platform might deal with the problematic question to decide which graffiti can be seen as art and which ones as "bad" graffiti as such an issue of taste is very subjective (PLEUK1).

Also the stakeholder group *"Public Administration"* is quite heterogeneous in this point, regarding the different countries and there are no possible problems mentioned by the Spanish interviewees at all. Nevertheless, there are some similarities to the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* within the respective countries. It is stated by an Austrian interviewee again that the platform shouldn´t be too time consuming as this may discourage possible participants (AA2). A further aspect mentioned is to ensure that the graffiti writers won´t be stigmatized on the platform by preventive or other actors (AA2).

Like for the previous stakeholder group, an interviewee from the UK mentions the difficulty of how to define a graffito as artistic – and therefore desirable – or as unattractive and unwanted (AUK2).

Further concerns are mentioned regarding the organization of the participants. Again, there are doubts whether graffiti writers would feel attracted by such a platform anyway. Furthermore the segmentation of different Members-Areas is criticized as this is not seen as an honest solution for a platform that wants to equalize the different stakeholders (AG2). Despite that, it is mentioned that it might be necessary to invite the different stakeholders to participate in the platform as not all may engage self-paced (AA3).

Regarding the possible limits of the platform, the German building directorate states that it doesn´t expect it to be the "final solution" for graffiti vandalism:

> *"I don´t believe that such a platform will be the panacea. It will be another possibility to communicate and to exchange ideas for sure. But it won't be the exclusive medium where we say "Well, once we have established it, we will get rid of graffiti once and for all""* (AG4).

A first problem that is seen by the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* is the **participation of the graffiti writers**. Beside the challenge how to reach the group of the illegal writers (OA1) there are some reservations whether they should be included anyway. It is mentioned that such a platform might provide them the possibility to present themselves and to get even more of the attention they are seeking for (OG4).

Furthermore, data protection is a big point:

> *"Of course it gets critical already when it comes to exchange of information. You have to be in a safe place. When we organise us in associations there is a kind of confidentiality. I would not tell my colleague in another town something in detail on the platform before I don't really know what is going on there"* (OA1).

And again, especially the role of the graffiti writers is seen critical as several interviewees are afraid they may have access to the information they are supposed to share on this platform (OE4, OG1 et al.).

> *"Sharing a database with the opposing party – no way. This will fail"* (OG1).

As a further problem is mentioned the fact, that the general public and the transport operators have quite **different interests** regarding graffiti so the output for the transport operators may not compensate previous efforts which would degrease the willingness to engage in the platform (OA1, OG1).

Regarding the stakeholders of the group *"Enterprises"* interviewees from Spain and Austria state that they also see it as rather **difficult to include the writers** in the platform (EA3, EE2). As they generally operate in local arears and scenes, the range of the platform is estimated as too big so the writers won´t use it to communicate with each other (EA3).

Also the name of the platform "GRAFFOLUTION" may discourage the writers (and others) (EE3):

> *"Well the name is kind of strange… not very adequate. It' looks anti-graffiti. Graffolution… It's not a solution because there's nothing to solve"* (EE3).

Another problem mentioned by an interviewee from the UK is to find a common language for the different countries and the different educational levels of the visitors of the platform (EUK2).

A first limiting factor mentioned by the *"Graffiti Writers"* is the fact that **the internet is overloaded with information**, so the attention that is spent to a single website is comparable low, as there are many other alternatives (also social media) (GA2, GA3, GG3). Furthermore a writer from Germany adds that people only communicate in a superficial way by online platforms, so there is no real exchange – this would further be aggravated by the large variety of stakeholders who are supposed to participate so an overall consensus can hardly be developed (GG1).

As another problem mentioned is the circumstance that the writers worry about their **anonymity**, especially as the police also has access to the platform (GUK2, GUK3, GG5). Furthermore a platform launched by the EU might give them the feeling of being controlled or supervised by a supra-national institution:

> *"I think it will get complicated, because the graffiti scene isn't waiting for the EU to come up with a platform and to control everything. It is the exact opposite of the graffiti idea. Officials always discuss and control everything, graffiti doesn't work this way"* (GA2).

According to these fears, representatives from Spain expect a large number of graffiti writers not to participate in the platform.

Although the problems and limitations mentioned by the stakeholder groups may be quite heterogeneous – also within the respective groups – a cyclic element is the question how and in which scope the graffiti writers can and should be included in the online platform. Especially the exchange of information seems to be affected by this question as no one wants to put his cards on the table in front of the supposed "enemy".

5.3 Experiences with similar platforms

All in all, only a few interviewees have experiences with platforms similar to the planned Graffolution platform. Because of this low number of cases it is not possible to make any statements that would be valid for a whole stakeholder group. Nevertheless, the information available should not be neglected as it still provides some interesting insights – although they have no general validity. German interviewees mention three concrete platforms they have experiences with:

- *"Trans-European Hall"* – a European project that includes a network of cultural centres (SWCG4).
- *"Deutsch-Europäische Forum für Urbane Sicherheit"* (DEFUS) – the German part of a European forum for actors of the field security. It provides the participants the possibility to exchange information and to cooperate. The experiences made by the interviewee are described as positive (AG2).
- *"What's the Deal"* – a project launched by the European Union. It is valued as a worthwhile medium, especially to get in contact with youths. The project provides the possibility to exchange information with other participating cities about current actions. Furthermore public communication is provided via Twitter, Facebook and Flickr which are accepted very well by the recipients (AG3).
- *"Open Ideo"* - deals with social topics and is mentioned as a – not perfect but – good example for an internet platform (GG1).

Stakeholders of the fields: *"Police & Law Enforcement"*, *"Public Administration"* and *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* from the UK report that they have experiences with a graffiti database where crime reports are collected. It is stated that several writers were caught due to the sharing of intelligence (AUK1, OUK1, PLEUK1 et al.).

In difference to that, a German police officer of a special graffiti unit reports that they closed their database for police offices from other jurisdiction. The reason therefore is that they want other police offices to send an official request for information. Otherwise, they would simply have a look at the database whether there is any information they could use but not inform the respective office about their current investigations. So in this case, a common database would rather result in a decrease than in an increase of information exchange (PLEG1).

Also one of the graffiti writers mentions that the lack of reciprocal exchange is often one reason for the failure of online platforms. Although the platforms provide the possibility to exchange, the users only communicate superficially with each other:

> *"I'm working in the field of innovation, product innovation and service innovation, such topics. And over the last years, there have been installed plenty of online platforms and things like that and almost always I see that it doesn't work"* (GG1).

Other interviewees of the group *"Graffiti Writers"* mention that there are a lot of web platforms available but all have different purposes (GA2, GA3). It is reported about "normal" graffiti platforms where you can upload videos and gather some information about upcoming events but without any possibility to get in contact with each other and to exchange about or plan any projects together (GG4).

Furthermore, a Spanish representative of the group „*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* states that he is developing a platform where writers are supposed to find spaces for graffiti, so there might still be need for such information (CSE2).

5.4 Possible input regarding content, participants, technical implementation etc.

As many of the possible inputs regarding the content of the platform are already explained detailed in chapter 5.1, table 2 gives an overview over the contents and functions that should be implemented in the Graffolution platform, according to the different stakeholder groups (columns). These topics are arranged by their respective field of activity (rows): *Interacting* with other stakeholders or the general public via the platform; *Learning* about different approaches and strategies in the dealing with graffiti; gathering and distributing basic *Information* around the graffiti phenomenon.

The table illustrates the different priorities the varying stakeholders have. For example for the groups *„Social work, Cultural & Civil Society", "Enterprises"* and *"Graffiti Writers"*, the possibility to interact with other stakeholders is very important although all stakeholder groups have a basic interest in communication and information exchange.
Except of the *"Graffiti Writers"* – which aren´t attracted by this topic at all – every group is interested in the learning of strategies and practices for the dealing with the graffiti phenomenon. Especially for the *"Police & Law Enforcement"*, *"Public Administration"* and *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* this should be one of the essential functions of the platform.
The provision of basic and actual information on the platform is regarded as useful by all stakeholders, although the *„Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* only have a lower interest in this field of activity. On the other hand, especially the "Graffiti Writers" seem to be attracted to this part, as they would be able to gather information about possible activities within the graffiti scene, they could participate in.

Table 3 gives an overview over the various stakeholders that should be represented on the Graffolution platform (rows) according to the interviewees (columns). Former are sorted by the different stakeholder groups they can be allocated to (first column). The second column lists in detail the respective actors mentioned by the interviewees or whether only the stakeholder group in general is mentioned (listed in the category: *In general*).

All in all, there seems to be a balanced distribution of the actors that should be represented on the platform over the different stakeholder groups, although actors that could be allocated to the *„Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* are only mentioned by the group itself or the *"Police & Law Enforcement"*. This is quite surprising as all stakeholder groups – except of the *"Graffiti Writers"* mention that they are interested in the learnings of graffiti projects which are often initiated by social or cultural workers (compare Tab. 1). A suggested solution for this instance may be, that the work which is done by the *„Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* is generally regarded as useful and important but at the same time the awareness and publicity of the respective actors is comparable low. A further interesting aspect is, although many of the stakeholders mention concerns about how to integrate the *"Graffiti Writers"* in the platform (compare chapter 5.2) all stakeholder groups – except of the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* – name the writers as actors that should be represented on the platform. So the concerns can rather be understood as questioning *how* to integrate the writers than *if* the writers should be integrated in the platform at all.

Tab.2: Content and functions that should be implemented in the Graffolution platform, sorted by interviewed stakeholder group.

Field	Activity	Social work, Cultural & Civil Society	Police & Law Enforcement	Public Administration	Transport Operators / Authorities	Enterprises	Graffiti Writers
Interacting	Communication / info. Exchange	CSE1, SWCG2, SWCG4	PLEA2, PLEG1, PLEG2	AA1, AE3, AG1, AG3, AG4	OA2, OA3, OG1	EE1, EA1, EA3, EUK1	GE1, GE2, GUK2, GUK3, GUK5, GUK7
	Possible cooperation	SWCG3		AG2		EA3	GG5
	Mediation	SWCG2, SWCG4		AE2			GG2
	Sharing pictures of graffiti	SWCG3				EA1, EE2	
Learning	Approaches, motives of the different actors		PLEA1, PLEG3	AA1, AG1, AG4	OA1, OA2, OA3, OE2		
	Graffiti projects, case studies	CSE3, SWCG3, SWCUK3	PLEG2, PLEG3	AE2, AUK3	OG1, OE3, OUK2	EUK2	
	Best practise collection	CSE3	PLEE1	AA3, AE2, AUK3	OG2, OG3, OUK2		
Information	Overview over legal walls and projects			AA3, AE1, AE3, AG2, AUK3	OGA2	EA3, EUK1	GA2, GG4, GG5, GUK3
	Graffiti activities (events, festival)	SWCA3, SWCE1, SWCG4					GG1, GG3
	Legal forms of graffiti		PLEG3		OG2, OG3		
	Consequences of illegal graffiti		PLEE1, PLEG3	AE1	OA3, OE4, OG4		GA1
	Legal advice				OE3		GA1
	Graffiti guide (styles, tools)		PLEUK1	AUK2			GA3
Other	Awareness for the topic graffiti		PLEE1, PLEA1	AG1, AG4			
	Public involvement forum	SWCUK2, SWCUK3		AE2		EUK3	

Tab.3: Various stakeholders that should be represented on the Graffolution platform, sorted by interviewed stakeholder group.

Stakeholders represented on the platform		Social work, Cultural & Civil Society	Police & Law Enforcement	Public Administration	Transport Operators / Authorities	Enterprises	Graffiti Writers
SWC	In general	CSE3					
	Interfaces between the actors	SWCG4	PLEG2				
	Teacher		PLEA3				
	Art professor		PLEA3				
PLE	In general	SWCE1			OE3		
	Police	SWCE1	PLEA2, PLEA3, PLEG2, PLEUK2				
	Prosecution		PLEG2		OE3		
A	In general	CSE3, SWCE1	PLEE1	AE3	OG2, OG3	EE1, EUK1	GUK2, GUK3, GUK5, GUK7
	Local municipalities	SWCG4	PLEUK2				
	Housing associations		PLEUK2				
	Politicians (city level)			AA3			
O	In general	SWCE1	PLEE1		OE3		
	Train manufactures				OE4		
E	In general	SWCG4			OG2, OG3	EE1, EUK1	GUK2, GUK3, GUK5, GUK7
	Graffiti industry / Paint manufactures	SWCE1		AE3			
	Cleaning companies			AA3			
	Cleaning utilities manufactures				OE4		
	Property manager		PLEUK2				
	Technique experts			AA3			
	Security services				OE3, OG1		
	Architects	SWCUK3					
G	Artists	CSE3, SWCG4, SWCUK3					GA3, GG5
	Graffiti writer	SWCUK3	PLEA1, PLEA3, PLEE2	AA2, AA3, AE3, AG3 AUK1, AUK3		EA3, EUK1	GA1, GA2, GA3, GUK2, GUK3, GUK5, GUK7
	Interested parties						GA1, GA2, GA3
Other	Citizens / Residents	CSE3, SWCUK3			OE1	EUK3	GG3
	Victims		PLEG2		OA3, OG2, OG3	EE1	
	Experts		PLEA3				
	Scientists				OG1		

Asked for the technical implementation of the platform, only a few interviewees were able to give any advices. Because of this comparable low number, it is not possible to make any generally valid assertions for a single stakeholder group or country.

Nevertheless, regarding the implementation of the Graffolution platform, those statements given by the interviewees shouldn´t be neglected, although they can´t be seen as general opinions but as useful hints.

Usability

- The handling of the platform should be very easy so it doesn´t take too much time to get used to it (OG1).
- Generally, the platform should be user-oriented (PLEE1).
- The topics of the various areas of the platform should be immediately understandable (SWCG4).
- The platform should also be well usable with a smartphone (SWCG4, PLEE1).

Structure / Design

- The platform should have a well-designed layout. Especially the graffiti scene wouldn´t be attracted otherwise (AG2, SWCG4).
- Although the platform should provide local aspects, it´s important that the structure doesn´t become too detailed (SWCG4).
- The descriptions of the various projects shouldn´t be too extensive but provide the central information (AG2).
- Local actions, events, festivals etc. could be illustrated on a map (SWCG4).
- If the basic language of the platform is English, it should be ensured that it is understandable for non-native speakers (AG2, PLEG2).

Functions

- Some sort of filter or search-function that allows it to select the needed information from the pool (AG2, GG3).
- A newsletter which keeps the recipient up to date with the central information (AG2).
- Indicating contact persons for the different institutions and organisations which are represented on the platform (PLEG3).
- The possibility to upload pictures (PLEA2).
- Those writers who want to apply for commissioned work should be able to create a profile (GG5).
- The possibility to communicate and discuss with each other so there is a real possibility to participate actively (GG2).

Access / Data protection

There are different opinions, as the one speak from the point of data protection…

- The platform has to be trustworthy and safe, especially when it comes to sharing sensitive data in a database (OG1).
- Authorisation concepts are very important – especially for a database (OG1).

…while the others are concerned about the accessibility:

- No login, as this would complicate the access (EA3).
- The platform should be easy to access and everybody should have the possibility to take a look at it (GG4).

6. CONCLUSION

In this report, the experiences, challenges and requirements regarding graffiti of the different stakeholders-groups in the four researched countries Austria, Germany, Spain and the UK were studied.

After illustrating the basic sphere where the stakeholders come in contact with graffiti, the challenges and problems, as well as concrete experiences that arise out of this contact were analysed. The next step focused on the different sorts of information exchange, networking and public communication, implemented by the stakeholders which provided important insights about the interactions between the different stakeholder groups in the respective countries. Furthermore, the stakeholders´ opinions regarding the future of graffiti and graffiti prevention were analysed in order to be aware of the different focuses the varying stakeholder groups have in their future dealing with graffiti and where they see possible future improvements. Finally, it was questioned how to organise a widespread participation as well as a mutual communication and exchange on the Graffolution platform between the varying actors and which topics and information are supposed to be provided.

In the following, the central insights gathered in this report are summarized briefly whereby the focus lies on the positioning of the varying stakeholder groups and their relationships towards each other. Afterwards, alternative possibilities to locate the stakeholders in an overall system are shown, so there is a basis for future discussions about how to combine the different stakeholder groups in a common approach.

Summary of the insights

Regarding the stakeholders´ fields of action, central tasks and goals concerning graffiti, it comes out that these aspects vary between the different stakeholder groups according to their **position towards graffiti**: from the "victim" (*"Transport Operators / Authorities"*, *"Public administration")* over mediating actors (parts of *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"*) to supporters (parts of "*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"* and *"Enterprises"*) and active *"Graffiti Writers"*. Thereby, the various stakeholder groups tend to be not always homogeneous concerning the positioning of their members (e.g. A, E, SWC), whereas the homogeneity seems to increase with the **degree of institutionalisation** of the respective stakeholders which goes ahead with a more predefined dealing with the phenomenon (e.g. O and PLE).

Going ahead with the different fields of action, the challenges and problems the stakeholders have to face vary – despite the logical differences between their professions – along their position whether the actors have a supporting, mediating or restrictive position towards graffiti but also whether they are responsible for public security or public / private property.

Due to these differences between the varying stakeholder groups, it is quite difficult to identify experiences and especially self-developed practices that are valid for several but also within the same stakeholder group through the researched countries. The reason for the latter might be that graffiti is

a very heterogeneous phenomenon that varies between – and also within – the different regions, so the strategies developed by the stakeholders are only partly applicable.

In addition, especially actors which are characterized by a high degree of institutionalisation rarely mention self-developed practices that arose out of their own experiences. Reason for that may simply be the detailed regulations for the dealing with graffiti. For example the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* and *"Police & Law Enforcement"* have predefined rules and procedures for the dealing with illegal graffiti – compared to *"Social work, Cultural & Civil Society"*

On the other hand, representatives of the *"Public administration"* – also an institution with a highly regulated structure – report how their strategy concerning graffiti changed from a restrictive (removing graffiti) to a more pro-social approach (provision of legal projects). This shows that although the degree of institutionalisation limits the possibilities of dealing with graffiti – e.g. *"Police & Law Enforcement"* will always have to see graffiti as criminal damage – there generally stays a **certain scope of discretion** that could be used (e.g. A with legal projects, PLE with victim-offender mediation) or not (e.g. O).

Regarding possible improvements, ideas and requirements in the dealing with graffiti an interesting and outstanding fact is that despite the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* all stakeholder groups mention **pro-social strategies** as required and an improvement. This includes also the group *"Police & Law Enforcement"* what is surprising, as one might assume that they have a similar position to the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* as they also move in on graffiti. This shows that a restrictive position towards graffiti does not automatically implement (exclusively) restrictive measures as also these stakeholders may see a benefit in pro-social activities. These vary from providing more legal spaces (A) to an enhanced communication with young people (PLE).

Despite that, a **better communication and connection** between the different actors is seen as an important requirement by representatives of all stakeholder groups.

Thereby, it is interesting that the topics and goals concerning the information exchange, networking and public communication – which generally refer to the basic tasks the stakeholders are confronted with – are quite similar in the "main" stakeholder groups across the four researched countries (although the stakeholder groups are quite heterogeneous regarding their members within each country and across the countries) and thus can be represented in a distinct way in most cases.

Concerning the implementation of the information exchange, networking and public communication only few problems and challenges were mentioned in the interviews. If problems in the context of communication and networking are mentioned they are mostly related to specific aspects of communication within or with certain stakeholder groups of a certain country. Thus it was not possible to find overall challenges relating to all stakeholder groups.

This lack of general negative experiences may be one reason that the majority of the stakeholders – with single exceptions – is **open-minded towards the Graffolution platform**.

Thereby, following aspects are mentioned repeatedly as possible benefits of the platform:
- Exchange of information and data that are useful for the daily work between relevant stakeholders.
- Gathering new insights and best-practise strategies by provided case studies, the exchange of experiences between the stakeholders and graffiti related projects.
- Basically, the possibility to get in contact with other stakeholders (inclusive the writers) and the general society, so the platform could also be used as a way of public communication.

Nevertheless, there are some problems and limitations mentioned by the stakeholder groups. And although these may be quite heterogeneous – also within the respective groups – a cyclic element is the question **how and in which scope the graffiti writers can and should be included** in the online platform. Especially the exchange of information seems to be affected by this question, as no one wants to put his cards on the table in front of the supposed "enemy".

But as it came out for the question which stakeholders should be represented on the Graffolution platform, although there are concerns about how to integrate the *"Graffiti Writers"* in the platform all stakeholder groups – except of the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* – name the writers as actors that should be represented. So there is a general accordance that the writers would be an important part of the platform, although this may bear some problems for the implementation.

Regarding the content and functions that should be provided on the platform, the needs vary again with the respective position of a stakeholder group towards graffiti. Those who take over a more supportive or even active role (SWC, G, partly E) see the possibility to **interact with other stakeholders** as a central benefit of the platform. Whereas actors who focus on the prevention or at least regulation of graffiti (PLE, A, O) are more interested in the **learning of different strategies and measures** in the dealing with graffiti, so they can improve their own practices.

On the other hand, it was not possible to identify such a strict separation for the estimation of the central future requirements and challenges, as some SWC and A actors have their focus on the provision of legal walls, PLE on the general handling of graffiti while O have a basically more restrictive approach. Thereby, *"Transport Operators / Authorities"* are the only stakeholder group where pro-social strategies play no (explicit) role when it´s up to estimate future approaches for dealing with the phenomenon.

Besides that, as common aspects for an improved dealing came out the **provision of legal spaces**, a **mutual dialogue** including mediation and maybe educational aspects as well as a **widespread cooperation** between all the different actors and institutions that are affected by graffiti.

Stakeholder overall system

As it came out several times in the report, the special experiences, challenges and requirements the varying stakeholders have on graffiti **strongly depend on their general relationship towards graffiti**, whereas several indicators can be identified that influence this relationship. As this report focuses on

the **activities of the stakeholders** in terms of graffiti, especially such indicators that refer to this aspect will be taken into account in the following.

A first possible indicator is the way the stakeholders come in contact with graffiti – whether they engage in or support graffiti writing (G, SWC), are affected by illegal graffiti (A, O) or simply have a work related relationship to the phenomenon (PLE, E). But this scheme bears some difficulties as it consists of two poles, the "victim" and the "offender" plus a third party which can´t be located between those poles. Furthermore, the separation between "victim" and "offender" can hardly be understood as an approach that intends to respect the motives and needs of all stakeholders in the same way and which does not deny but aims at an understanding dealing with the graffiti phenomenon – as it is the basis for the Graffolution project.

So, to leave out such valuing – and stigmatizing – descriptions while at the same time focusing more on the actions the stakeholders take over, a location of the actors along the criteria whether they tend to support or regulate the existence of (illegal) graffiti as a part of the public sphere seems to be more practicable. In figure 7, these two poles are adopted as a **pro-active** and a **regulative** approach towards graffiti.

Further criteria – also described in the Austrian and Spanish country reports – that influence the dealing of the stakeholders with graffiti can be illustrated by their distinction between stakeholder and duty holder. Duty holders have to follow particular – predefined – processes in many cases (e.g. O, PLE, partially A) which build the fundament how they handle graffiti and especially graffiti vandalism. For example *"Transport operators / Authorities"*, *"Public Administration"* and *"Police & Law Enforcement"* have to see unauthorized graffiti in general as illegal actions and as a damage of property. Further actions such as quick removal, documentation, reporting, investigation, prosecution etc. are based on this perspective.

This circumstance was already mentioned in the summary of the report results but described as the varying **degree of institutionalisation** of the stakeholders. The scheme explained in the following will stick to this description as such an additional scale provides a more exact location of the different actors than it would be possible with simply two categories.

Figure 7 provides a combination of the two criteria *"approach towards graffiti"* (x-axis) and the *"degree of institutionalisation"* (y-axis) of the stakeholders respectively the stakeholder groups. This should give an impression about how widespread the kind of approach is, a stakeholder group has towards graffiti, compared to its degree of institutionalisation.

As already described above, the approach towards graffiti can be divided into *"pro-active"* and *"regulative"*. The pro-active sphere consists of those stakeholders how 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 of each

other, which – as it came out in the report – is an important aspect of the work of several stakeholders.

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 axis (where those who engage actively in graffiti are located) while it degreases to rightwards. On the right side, the restrictiveness towards graffiti is the highest but dissolves more and more to the left side. Therefore, the different fields of the axis can´t be seen as isolated from each other but with fluent passages.

Fig.7: Location of the interviewed stakeholder groups according to their approach towards graffiti and the degree of institutionalisation.

SWC:	"Social Work, Cultural & Civil Society"	O:	"Transport Operators / Authorities"
PLE:	"Police &Law Enforcement"	E:	"Enterprises"
A:	"Public Administration"	G:	"Graffiti Writers"
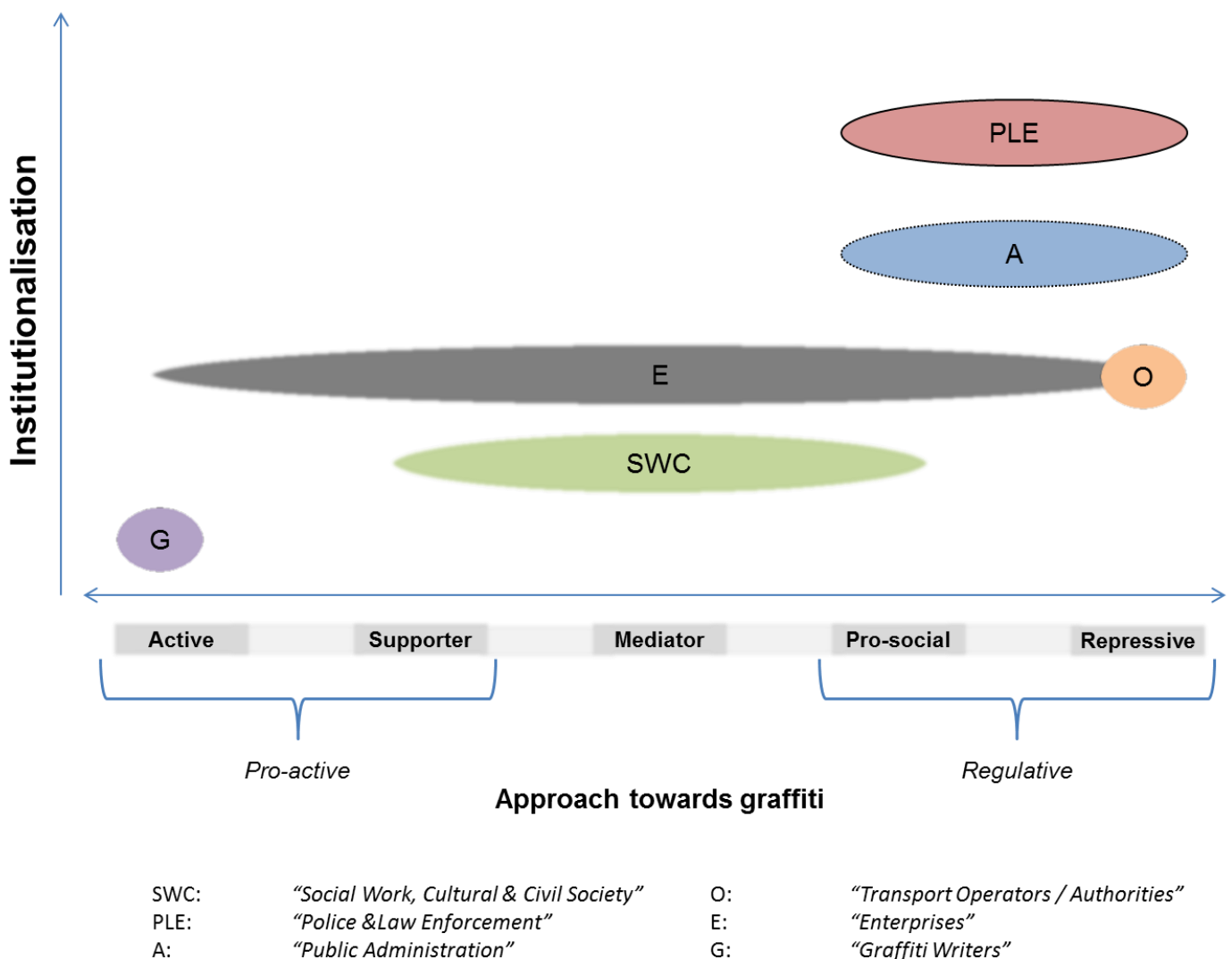
The degree of the institutionalisation develops from *low* at the bottom to *high* along the y-axis. Low institutionalisation means that the single stakeholders can act quite independently, while those with a higher institutionalisation are more and more integrated in an overall system or organisation with predefined rules, fields of work and courses of action. 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.

The degree of institutionalisation of a stakeholder group is based on its (commonly known) structure and the information gained in the interviewees – especially those about predefined rules and procedures etc.

Regarding the location of the different stakeholder groups in this scheme it has to be mentioned that it 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 figure illustrates an overall system developed along the results of this report.

The *"Graffiti Writers"* (at lower left) are characterized by a logically active approach and a low degree of institutionalisation as they are mostly organised in local scenes and crews or sometimes also without any form of organisation. As *"Graffiti Writers"* are per definition active writers, the only variable regarding their approach towards graffiti is whether they engage in legal or illegal graffiti (or even both).

The other "extreme" are the two groups *"Police & Law Enforcement"* and *"Public Administration"* which have a regulative approach towards graffiti and a high 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 regarding graffiti include repressive as well as pro-social measures.

Located between these two fields is the stakeholder group "*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society".* As described in chapter 3.1, a central task for this stakeholder group is to **mediate** between the different actors for example by providing the writers the possibility to engage in graffiti legally while on the other hand make them aware of the negative aspects of illegal graffiti.

As the group of "*Enterprises"* is **extremely heterogeneous**, it is not possible to locate them to a special sphere as the list of actors reaches from cleaning companies to supplier of graffiti materials or companies which provide commissioned works. Also the degree of institutionalisation may vary within this group, but as they all rely to market-based mechanism one might assume that the organisational and therefore institutional degree is generally higher than it is for most of the "*Social work, Cultural & Civil Society",* although this group is also quite heterogeneous.

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**. 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. Furthermore, the stakeholder groups *"Police & Law Enforcement"* and *"Public Administration"* whose opportunities are way more limited due to their degree of institutionalisation are more flexible in their approaches and use repressive as well as pro-social measures.

Especially regarding the experiences described by the *"Public Administration"* who changed their approach from zero-tolerance to a more pro-social one by providing also legal projects suggests that a broader strategy would also be possible – and promising - for the *"Transport Operators / Authorities"*.

All in all, the figure provides an overview where the different stakeholder groups can be located in an overall system that refers to their respective approaches and scopes of action. As the different approaches include different challenges and requirements the figure also illustrates such similarities and contrasts between the various stakeholder groups. Further conclusions can be made about how to combine opposing parties – e.g. by stakeholders located in the mediation field – and where certain scopes of action may still be available – especially compared to actors with a higher degree of institutionalisation.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Common Interview Guideline

Introduction: project presentation (brief / minimal) – interviewee

1. Understanding/Definition
- Define the issue: 'graffiti'
- What does it mean to you?
- Are there different kinds (categorisation)?
- Is graffiti different in different places (local level / global level)? What explains these differences?

2. Relationship to graffiti

Your relationship to graffiti, how has it evolved? How long you are involved? Are or there different phases included? Were there changes?

3. Experiences/Motives
- Key moments in graffiti (in your experience/opinion/career)
- What are key issues and key problems?
- What are key challenges?
- Typical course/process of work/activity, typical steps of work/activity;
- What are the motives of those actors involved in the field of graffiti?
- Does there exist a direct contact to the actors involved? How are your experiences?

4. Impact of graffiti
- What is the impact of graffiti for you personally? What is the impact for the general public?
- How is the perception of graffiti in the general public?

5. Legal framework

How do you evaluate the existing legal framework?

Sprayers: Did the legal framework already affect you? If yes, how? How was your personal experience within the criminalisation process? Did you draw for yourself consequences after the incident? If yes, in which way?

Stakeholders: Is it sufficient? Do you see any legal gaps that should be covered?

6. Prevention strategies / measures
- What is your understanding of prevention regarding graffiti?
- What do you understand the phrase "Broken Windows" to mean?

- Strategies and alternatives: how is graffiti addressed and how should it be addressed? What are your experiences with those actions, (prevention) strategies?
- Do you use any systems/tools in order to monitor/report/manage/communicate graffiti/your own practice? Which components are included? How useful do you consider this system/tool?
- How would you propose to measure instances of graffiti practice which may have positive impact on communities?
- Describe the group of actors you deal with (age, gender, socio-cultural background);
- Awareness of preventions strategies in other European cities? If so how did they learn about it? Who are the other actors?

7. Exchange / networking
- Which groups or networks or persons are relevant for you regarding graffiti?
- Are you part of any of these groups or networks?
- What are potentials and limitations regarding the network / networking?
- What are the current communication channels (including Facebook, Twitter, etc.) and potential new channels?
- Which media (e.g. (online-magazines) and events/places are of importance concerning graffiti?
- Map of stakeholders and relationship between them *(draw if necessary).*

8. Outlook: future approaches / needs
- How do you see the future of graffiti? Do you have any specific concepts/ideas concerning this future?
- How do you see the future of graffiti as a regeneration strategy? Do you have any specific concepts/ideas concerning this future? How do you see the future of graffiti prevention?
- Scenario: What could be an acceptable way forward or solution for you / your organisation?
- What and who could contribute?

9. GRAFFOLUTION PLATFORM
[Explain platform]: How do you assess the benefits of a web-based tool? Which needs/recommendations already exist for it? Are there experiences available? Who could/should be reached with it? Who should be part of the platform? What should such a platform take into account? Is there interest to participate/contribute to such a tool? Are you aware of any other tool or platform, both online and offline?

Appendix 2: Common Coding List

Block or themes	CODE
Understanding	Graffiti definition Graffiti meaning Graffiti categorisation Graffiti local/global levels
Interviewee relationship to graffiti	Relationship: Current Relationship: Evolution Relationship: how long involved Graffiti: Phases Graffiti: Changes Graffiti: Generations
Experiences/motives	Experience: Key moments Experience: key issues Experience: key problems Experience: key challenges Typical course of work/activity Typical steps of work/activity Actors involved: motivations Actors involved: contact among them
Impact of graffiti	Impact: personally Impact: general public Perception: personally Perception: general public
Legal framework	Existing legal FW: evaluation Existing legal FW: sufficient Existing legal FW: gaps to cover Existing Legal FW: criminalisation process Existing legal FW: affected by it Existing legal FW: consequences
Prevention	Prevention: understanding Prevention: "broken windows" meaning Prevention: current strategies & alternatives Prevention: desirable strategies & alternatives Prevention: your experiences Prevention: targeted group Prevention: results

	Prevention: existing collaborations
	Prevention: systems & tools for monitorization
	Prevention: systems & tools for reporting
	Prevention: systems & tools for managing
	Prevention: tools included
	Prevention: how useful tools are
	Prevention: measures & positive impact on communities
	Prevention: actors you deal with (age, gender, SCB)
	Prevention: awareness in other European cities
	Prevention: how did they learn about it
	Prevention: who are the other actors
Exchange/networking	Networking: relevant groups/persons
	Networking: are you part of relevant groups
	Networking: potentials
	Networking: limitations
	Networking: current communication channels
	Networking: potential communication channels
	Networking: media of importance
	Networking: events/places are of importance
	Networking: actors in the map
	Networking: relationships among actors
Future approaches/needs	Future: view on graffiti
	Future: graffiti as a regeneration strategy
	Future: future of graffiti prevention
	Future scenario: acceptable way or solution
	Future scenario: who would contribute
Graffolution Platform	Web: benefits a web-based tool
	Web: existing needs
	Web: recommendations
	Web: available experiences
	Web: who should be reached
	Web: who should be part of it
	Web: things to take into account
	Web: interest to participate/contribute
	Web: other on-line tools known
	Web: other off-line tools known

Appendix 3: Types of information exchange, networking and public communication of the interviewed stakeholder groups in the different countries

Austria

Stakeholder group	Sort of communication	Way of implementation	Frequency	Participants	Stakeholder group of the participants
SWC	Information exchange	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. email	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. local city administration, youth welfare department 2. interested community, writers 3. writers	1. A 2. G, SWC 3.G
	Networking	1. phone calls, email 2. email, direct 3.social media, email, phone	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. local city administration, youth welfare department, transport operators, writers 2. interested community, scientists, NGOs, writers 3. writers, interested community	1. A, O, G 2. SWC, G 3. G
	Public communication	1. Website 2. Website 3. Website, social media, magazine	1. permanently 2. permanently 3. monthly (magazine)	1. local city administration, youth welfare department 2. civil society 3. n.a.	1. A 2. SWC 3. n.a.
PLE	Information exchange	1. Email 2. Round table, email, phone calls, reports / complaints 3. Round table, email, phone calls, reports / complaints	1. n.a. 2. daily 3. daily	1. scientists, law enforcement 2. other police organisations, transport organisations, administration, citizens 3. other police organisations, transport organisations, administration, citizens	1. PLE 2. PLE, O, A 3. PLE, O, A
	Networking	1. Email, Phone calls, conferences 2. Round table, email, conferences 3. Round table, email, phone calls	1. n.a. 2. daily 3. daily	1. scientists, law enforcement 2. other police organisations, transport organisations, administration 3. other police organisations, transport organisations, administration	1. PLE 2. PLE, O, A 3. PLE, O, A
	Public communication	1. Website 2. Website 3. Excursion, workshop	1. permanently 2. permanently 3. irregularly	1. police training centre 2. police organisations (prevention department) 3. police organisations (prevention department), schools	1. PLE 2. PLE 3. PLE

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A	Information exchange	1. Round table 2. Round table, email, phone 3. Round table, email, phone, on site meetings	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. city administration, police, NGOs 2. city administration, NGOs, 3. city administration, NGOs, local businesses	1. A, PLE, SWC 2. A, SWC 3. A, SWC, E
	Networking	1. Round table, email 2. Round table, email, phone, events 3. email, phone, on site meetings	1. n.a. 2. irregularly 3. irregularly	1. city administration (other departments), police, NGOs 2. city administration (other departments), NGOs, 3. city administration (other departments), NGOs, local businesses, cleaning services	1. A, PLE, SWC 2. A, SWC 3. A, SWC, E
	Public communication	1. Press release, public media 2. Website 3. Website	1. irregularly 2. permanently 3. permanently	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.
O	Information exchange	1. Round table, email, phone 2. email, phone 3. Round table, email, phone	1. n.a. 2. email, phone 3. n.a.	1. other transport organisations, city administration, police 2. other transport organisations, police 3. other transport organisations, administration, police	1. O, A, PLE 2. O, PLE 3. O, A, PLE
	Networking	1. Round table, email, phone, events 2. n.a. 3. Round table, email, phone, events	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. other transport organisations, city administration, police 2. other transport organisations, administration, police 3. other transport organisations, administration, police, NGOs	1. O, A, PLE 2. O, A, PLE 3. O, A, PLE, SWC
	Public communication	1. Website, Social Medial 2. Website, Social Media 3. Website, Social Media	1. permanently 2. permanently 3. permanently	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.
E	Information exchange	1. n.a. 2. Meetings, phone calls, email, on site 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. irregularly 3. n.a.	1. writers 2. city administrations, customers, local businesses, NGOs, police, transport organisation 3. writers	1. G 2. A, E, SWC, PLE, O 3. G
	Networking	1. in shop, events 2. Meetings, phone calls, email 3. in shop, events, social media	1. irregularly 2. irregularly 3. irregularly	1. writers 2. city administrations, customers, local businesses, researchers, NGOs, police, transport organisation 3. writers	1. G 2. A, E, SWC, PLE, O, G 3. G

	Public communication	1. Website 2. website 3. website, social media	1. permanently 2. permanently 3. permanently	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.
G	Information exchange	1. Social Media, gallery, events 2. Social Media	1. permanently 2. permanently	1. writers 2. writers	1. G 2. G
	Networking	1. Social Media, gallery, events 2. Social Media, 3. Social Media,	1. permanently 2. permanently 3. permanently	1. writers 2. writers 3. writers, customers	1. G 2. G 3. G
	Public communication	1. Website, Social Media 2. Website, Social Media 3. Website, Social Media 4. Website, Social Media	1. permanently 2. permanently 3. permanently 4. permanently	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. civil society 4. civil society	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. SWC 4. SWC

Germany

Stakeholder group	Sort of communication	Way of implementation	Frequency	Participants	Stakeholder group of the participants
SWC	Information exchange				
	Networking	1. Personal network 2. Professional network	1. n.a. 2. n.a.	1. friendly writers 2. youth relevant services, juvenile court assistance, police	1. G 2. SWC, PLE
	Public communication	1. Graffiti webpage 2. Social media 3. Homepage 4. Blogs	1. permanent 2. permanent 3. permanent 4. n.a.	1. graffiti unit police, youth welfare service 2. n.a. 3. n.a. 4. blogger	1. PLE, SWC 2. n.a. 3. n.a. 4. SWC
PLE	Information exchange	1. Investigation request 2. Through unofficial channels	1. when necessary / reasonable 2. n.a..	1. Police stations in other cities or countries 2. prosecution	1. PLE 2. PLE
	Networking	1. Meetings, phone calls, E-mails 2. Victim-offender mediation	1. n.a. 2. n.a.	1. Cooperation partners: municipal utilities, transport operators, building directorate, prosecution, social worker 2. Police, social workers, energy service provider, transport operator, city administration	1. A, O, PLE, SWC 2. PLE, SWC, A, O
	Public communication				
A	Information exchange	1. Meetings 2. Meetings 3. Through unofficial channels	1. n.a. 2. during festivals, art programs 3. n.a..	1. Police 2. writers, street artists 3. legal writers	1. PLE 2. G 3. G
	Networking	1. European Forum for Urban Security (Efus)	1. n.a.	1. over 250 municipalities	1. A
	Public communication	1. Press information (mainly print media) 2. District committee 3. Media conferences 4. Social Media (AG2) 5. Homepage	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. In context of legal projects 4. permanent 5. permanent	1. n.a. 2. District committees, citizens 3. writers 4. together with graffiti scene 5. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. A 3. G 4. G 5. n.a.
O	Information exchange	1.Regional security table 2. Contact person Security	1. monthly 2. permanent	1. n.a. 2. police	1. n.a. 2. PLE

	Networking	1. Union of transport operators 2. Deutsches Forum für Kriminalprävention	1. n.a. 2. n.a.	1. safety officers from other countries 2. see Homepage	1. O 2. SWC, PLE, A, O, E
	Public communication	1. Media conferences / information 2. Flyer 3. Social media	1. on occasions (e.g. safety report) 2. on occasions (e.g. in schools) 3. permanent	1. n.a. 2. federal police 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. PLE 3. n.a.
E	Information exchange	*no interviews*			
	Networking	*no interviews*			
	Public communication	*no interviews*			
G	Information exchange	1. Blackbook 2. Personal contacts 3. Relevant places (e.g. graffiti store) 4.Social media 5. Events (e.g. hip hop jams)	1. on special occasions 2. n.a.. 3. permanent 4. on occasions 5. n.a.	1. other writers 2. other writers 3. n.a. 4. other writers, between shop owners 5. other writers	1. G 2. G 3. n.a. 4. G, E 5. G
	Networking	1. Crews	1. on occasions	1. other writers	1. G
	Public communication				

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Spain

Stakeholder group	Sort of communication	Way of implementation	Frequency	Participants	Stakeholder group of the participants
SWC	Information exchange	1. n.a. 2. Social Networks 3. Round Table	1. Several times a year 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. SWC, CS and educators. 2. Social workers + CS. 3. n.a..	1. SWC, CS 2. CS 3. SWC, A
	Networking	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. SWC, CS and educators 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. SWC, CS 2. n.a. 3.n.a.
	Public communication	1. n.a. 2. Social networks 3. Round table	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. Social workers + CS 3. Social workers + CS	1. n.a. 2. SWC, CS 3. SWC, CS
CS	Information exchange	1. Round table, phone calls 2. Phone Calls 3. Round table, phone calls	1. Daily 2. Once a week 3. Several times a week	1. Shop Managers Association, A 2. CS, A, artists (street artists, fine art artists and G) 3. Neighbour Association, A, authorities	1. CS, A 2. CS 3. CS
	Networking	1. Phone calls and personal visits 2. Social networks 3. n.a.	1. Daily 2. Daily 3. n.a.	1. Store managers 2. Art promoters and artists (street artists, fine art artists and G) 3. Association members	1. CS 2. CS 3. CS
	Public communication	1. n.a. 2. Social networks 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. Daily 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. Artist, CS 3. n.a.	1. n.a. 2. CS 3. n.a.
PLE	Information exchange	1. Social networks, phone calls 2. Phone calls, electronic systems	1. Daily 2. Daily	1. O, CS 2. O, PLE	1. O, CS 2. O, PLE
	Networking	1. n.a.	1. n.a.	1. Other police forces	1. PLE
	Public communication	1. Social networks 2. Social networks, round tables	1. Daily 2. Daily, n.a..	1. CS 2. CS, G	1. CS 2. CS, G
A	Information exchange	1. Round table 2. phone calls, social networks 3. Round table	1. Once a week 2. Very frequently – daily 3. n.a.	1. Social workers, police 2. Transport authorities, users 3. Authorities, social workers	1. SWC, PLE 2. A, CS 3. A
	Networking	1. Round table 2. Social networks 3. n.a.	1. Several times a week 2. Daily 3. n.a.	1. A, social workers, police services, CS 2. Users, Transport Authorities 3. n.a.	1. Mainly A 2. O, CS 3. n.a.

	Public communication	1. Social networks	1. daily	1. A and users	1. CS
O	Information exchange	1. Round table 2. Round table 3. n.a. 4. n.a.	1. Min. monthly 2. Min. monthly 3. n.a. 4. Once a week	1. O, PLE 2. O, PLE 3. O, PLE 4. O, PLE	1. O, PLE 2. O, PLE 3. O, PLE 4. O, PLE
	Networking	1.Round table	1. 4 times a year	1. O	1. O
	Public communication				
E	Information exchange	1. Phone calls 2. Round table 3. Round table	1. Once a month 2. After cleaning 3. Several times a year	1. Other cleaning companies 2. Costumers 3. A	1. E 2. E 3. A, E
	Networking	1. n.a.	1. Several times a week	1. G	3. G
	Public communication				
G	Information exchange	1. Social networks 2. Social networks 3. Social networks 4. Social networks	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a. 4. Daily	1. G, CS 2. G, CS 3. G, CS 4. G, CS	1. G, CS 2. G, CS 3. G, CS 4. G, CS
	Networking	1. Social networks 2. Social networks 3. Social networks 4. Social networks	1.n.a. 2. n.a. 3.n.a. 4.Daily	1. G 2. G 3. G 4. G	1. G 2. G 3. G 4. G
	Public communication				

UK

Stakeholder group	Sort of communication	Way of implementation	Frequency	Participants	Stakeholder group of the participants
SWC	Information exchange	1. Telephone 2. Personal meetings 3. Public events	1. Weekly 2. Project based 3. Infrequent	1. n.a. 2. n.a. 3. n.a.	1. SWC, A, E, G 2. SWC, A, E, G 3. All
	Networking	1. Exhibitions, Events	1. n.a.	1. Social Organisations, Local Authorities	1.SWC, A
	Public communication	1. Webpage, Social Media	1. Regular	1. Social Organisations, Public	1. SWC
PLE	Information exchange	1. Meetings 2. Graffiti Database / Intelligence	1. n.a. 2. Regular	1. British police, Local council, Cleaning teams 2.British Police, Local Council, BTP	1. PLE, A, E 2. PLE, A, O
	Networking	1. Meetings, Joint Operations and Patrols	1. n.a..	1. British Police, BTP	1. PLE, O
	Public communication	1. Twitter, Webpage	1. Regular	1. Public	1. PLE
A	Information exchange	1. Meetings	1. n.a.	1. Local Business, local councils	1. A, E
	Networking	1. Festivals, Commissioned work 2. Various projects 3. Various Projects for Restorative Justice	1. Project based 2. Project based 3. Project Based	1. Local Businesses, Public Institutions, Graffiti Writers 2. Enterprises 3. Youth Offending Teams	1. E, G, A 2. E 3. PLE, A
	Public communication	1. Social Media, Webpage 2. Print media	1. Regular 2. As required	1. Public 2. Public	1. n.a. 2. n.a.
O	Information exchange	1. Contracted Research 2. Using informants	1. For each project 2. For graffiti cases	1. Customers of Public transport 2. Local police	1. O 2. PLE, O
	Networking				
	Public communication	1. Social Media, Webpage	1. Regular	1. Public	1. n.a.
E	Information exchange	1. Meetings	1. 2-4 times a year	1. Argent (Development Company), LCR, DHL	1. PLE, SWC, A, E
	Networking				
	Public communication				

G	Information exchange	1. Graffiti sites 2.Online exchange 3. Word of mouth	1. Sporadic 2. Ongoing 3. Ongoing	1. Graffiti Writers	1. G 2. G 3. G
	Networking	1. Social networking 2. Forums and blogs	1. Ongoing 2. Ongoing	1. Graffiti writers 2. n.a.	1. G 2. n.a.
	Public communication				