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Fighting Pluralistic Ignorance Through Urban Public Space:
Feminist Street Media in Kallio Neighbourhood, Helsinki

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Fighting Pluralistic Ignorance Through Urban Public Space: Feminist Street Media in Kallio Neighbourhood, Helsinki

Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

Violence against women causes serious health and psychological impacts and is pervasive in society. This is partly due to gender and social norms. These have been addressed through educational campaigns, aiming to overcome pluralistic ignorance - when people wrongly believe that they feel differently from their peers, even though they are behaving in the same way. Pluralistic ignorance can prevent people intervening or reporting gender-based violence. This project proposes that public space can also play a role in overcoming pluralistic ignorance, through the medium of street political messages, such as stickers and graffiti.

To show that this is possible, fieldwork exploring the existing feminist street messaging in Kallio and interviews based on this data were conducted. The interviews asked what role street media can play in spreading feminist messages, what the advantages and disadvantages of street media are and whether the existing street messaging in the Kallio district can help with overcoming pluralistic ignorance around gender-based violence issues.

Four key aspects of theory are used in the thesis. Firstly, an exploration of gender-based violence literature found that domestic violence is a difficult topic to get people to engage with and that using outreach tools can spark important conversations. Secondly, a sociological study of pluralistic ignorance found that educational campaigns are the main route taken to address gender-based violence issues and that there is a gap in studies of pluralistic ignorance when considering the role of everyday public life in addressing these issues. Thirdly, public space is explored, determining that it can play a key role in feminist activism because it provides an open forum and an anonymity which prevents the activist from being verbally abused or silenced. Finally, street media were explored. This found that the eye-catching and unexpected nature of the media can catch people's attention.

In the fieldwork, seventy feminist street messages were found in Kallio, with a variety of agendas. The majority were in sticker form and located on posts on the streets of Kallio. Interviews conducted with activists and a community group determined the importance of stickers in spreading feminist messages. Street messaging had advantages of being easy to spread, having high outreach, anonymity and as conversation starters. Identified disadvantages included illegality, the potential to provoke people or trigger trauma, limited space for text and that messages can often be too niche for a general audience. The study concludes that street messaging can help overcome pluralistic ignorance by acting as a conversation starter and as a confidence boost to people. However, the results indicate that street media alone will not be enough to address pluralistic ignorance and that wider conversation is needed to have a real impact.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

Violence against women, Pluralistic ignorance, Street art, Feminism, Street politics, Public space

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*"To overcome pluralistic ignorance stickers can be quite effective because then a person who might think that okay this has just happened to me or this happened to me because I'm stupid, because I was drunk, because something… *something*, that that society makes victims blame themselves and shames victims. But if for instance someone sees a message on the sticker, for instance, 'whatever I wear…' then they might think that okay it's not my fault, maybe this happened to someone else and seek help."* (Katya, Interview 4).

This thesis explores the topic of street messaging, which often is illegal. The author does not endorse unlawful behaviour.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Violence against women, often in the form of domestic abuse, is defined by the U.N. as: "a violation of the rights and fundamental freedoms of women and [the violence] impairs or nullifies their enjoyment of those rights and freedoms" (United Nations 1993). Intimate partner violence can cause many health impacts, affecting both the life of the survivor and their future prosperity. Krug *et al.* (2002, p.98) list traditional gender and social norms as key risk factors in partner abuse. Therefore, making anti-violence messages culturally significant is key. In this study, the sphere of public space will be used as the backdrop for these messages, looking at street messaging, such as stickers and graffiti, which contain feminist messages. In this instance, 'feminist' is defined as any message which explicitly refers to women and is not derogatory in nature. Since this is a piece of feminist research, a subjective and self-reflective tone will be used throughout the text to ensure that the author's positionality and subjectivity are made clear.

This thesis also aims to use the social theory of pluralistic ignorance. Pluralistic ignorance occurs when people wrongly believe that they feel differently from their peers, even though they are behaving in the same way (Prentice 2007, p. 673). Pluralistic ignorance will be utilised to explore how street media could be used to address violence against women issues, such as encouraging survivors to report instances of violence. To do this, the thesis will explore which feminist street messages exist in the Kallio district of Helsinki, Finland, and ask how these messages could play a role in spreading feminist messages and the advantages and disadvantages of these media. Interviews are used to determine whether activists and the wider community think these tools could be helpful in overcoming pluralistic ignorance around violence against women issues.

1.1 Structure

Section 2 will explore how violence against women has been viewed and discussed, both historically and today. Then, pluralistic ignorance will be explored and defined. Section 2 will then give an overview of public space literature and how women relate to public spaces. Then, street art and street political media will be explored, both generally and with a focus on feminist street media. Following this, the Methods chapter will outline how the research questions will be answered in this project. The results of the chosen methods will be discussed in the Fieldwork and Interviews chapters, before a final Conclusions chapter, which will wrap up the findings of the study.

1.2 Violence Against Women in Helsinki

The majority of reported adult domestic violence victims in Finland are women, at 76% in 2018 (See Figure 1.1). In 2019, 662 sex crimes were reported in Helsinki, of which 236 (36%) were rape (Statistics Finland 2020). Figure 1.2 shows that the majority of these reported rapes occurred in private locations, with the exception of November (7 private/9 public). These fit the general profile of rape's typical location, with private spaces in the majority. These figures

come from reported crimes only. Domestic violence reporting rates vary between 2.5% and 15% (Gracia 2004), meaning that the problem is much larger than what is reported.
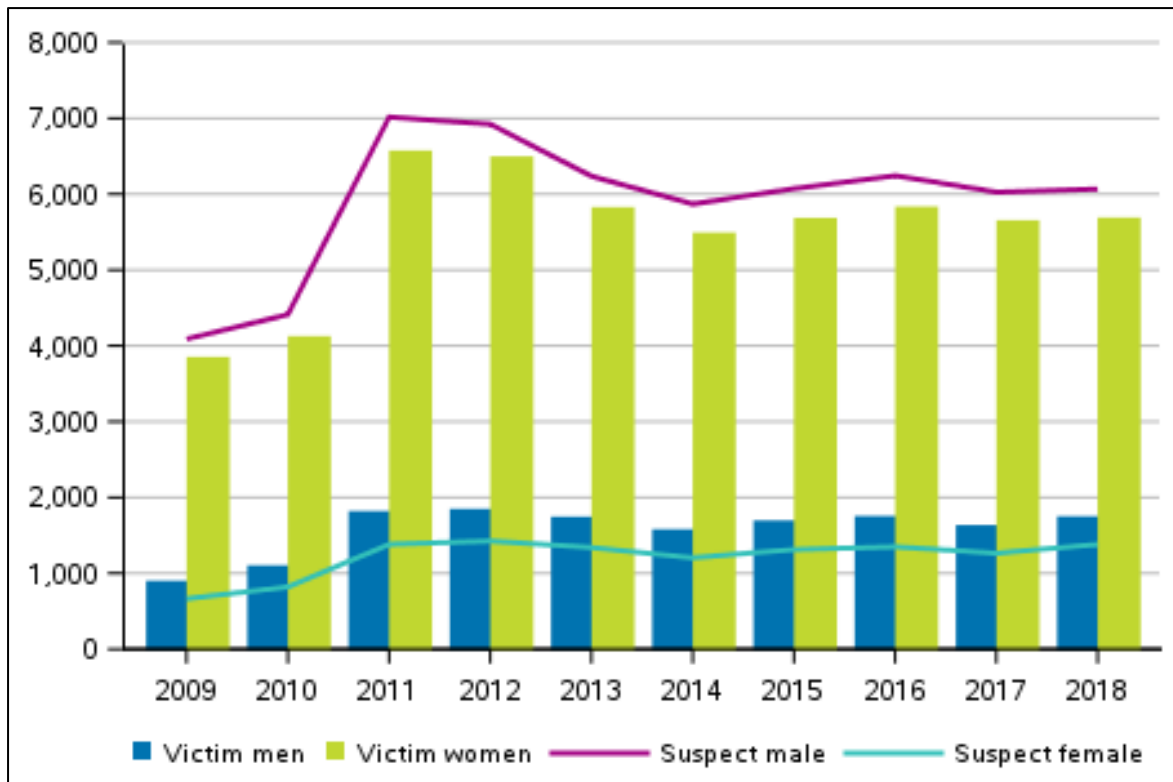
Figure 1.1. Adult Victims of Domestic Violence and Intimate Partner Violence, by Sex in 2009 to 2018. (Source: Official Statistics of Finland 2019).
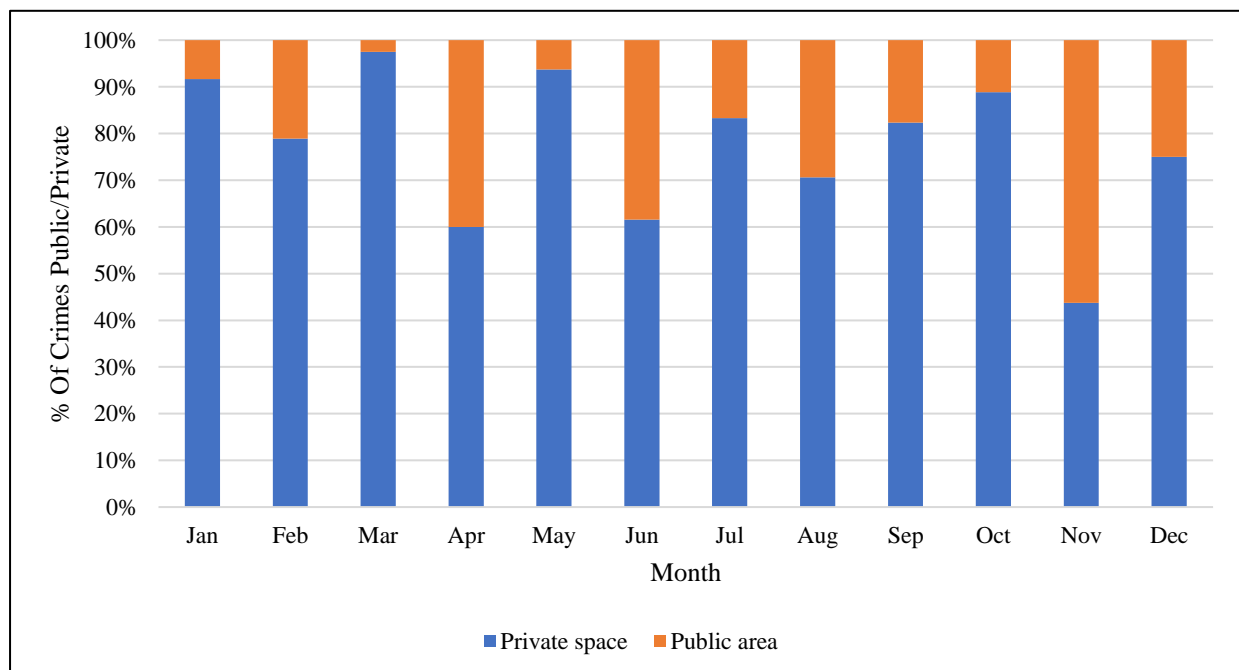
Figure 1.2. Scene of Reported Rapes in Helsinki, Jan-Dec 2019 (n=236). (Data: Statistics Finland 2020).

2. TRACING THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH PUBLIC SPACE

This section will explore literature on violence against women, pluralistic ignorance, public space, and street media, before outlining the research questions that this project will address.

2.1 Violence Against Women

A ground-breaking work on violence against women was *Against Our Will*, by Susan Brownmiller (1975). It documented the 'history' of rape and people's assumptions about violence against women. Brownmiller (p.11) argued that the portrayal of rapists as 'degenerate, imbecilic men' led scholars to 'wash their hands' of the issue. It has since been proven that this preconception of what constitutes a rapist is false and that ignoring the issue does not help. Most interestingly, to this study at least, Brownmiller documented the case of a gang rape in 1957. One of the participants in the rape, Harry – who only admits to assaulting the victim's boyfriend – was interviewed by W.H. Blanchard and spoke of his regret:

> "I was scared when it began to happen. I wanted to leave but I didn't want to say it to the other guys – you know – that I was scared" (*ibid*, p.189)

Whilst one struggles to find sympathy for someone involved in an assault, we can see in this example a worst-case scenario of a pluralistic ignorance situation. Brownmiller says that she has "seen boys like Harry on New York City subway trains being jabbed and pummelled by "leaders" like Keith or Pete, and I have seen the mixture of fear and respect in their eyes and watched them in turn jab and pummel younger boys or Wrigley gum machines" (*ibid*, p.193).

Brownmiller makes a lot of strong claims, such as that modern societal structures are as a result of women seeking a male protector to defend them from rape (*ibid*, p.17), and many of her anecdotes are overly graphic, distracting the reader from the points she is making. However, this book must be seen as a product of its time. Rape was being dismissed, and both rapists and victims stereotyped. It was necessary to shock people, particularly scholars, and show them that rape is a serious problem and that it can affect anyone.

More recent studies display a broader understanding of gender-based violence. Wong and Grant (2014) identify characteristics of violence against women:

> "Violence against women cuts across class, race, age, (dis)ability, religion, ethnicity and national boundaries. The most common form of violence against women is domestic violence, the physical, emotional and/or sexual abuse of women by their intimate partners. There are many reasons why domestic violence is unreported, including self-blame, shame, the stigma of being a victim, the fear of retribution for reporting the abuse, victim-blaming on the part of family and friends and societal attitudes that support gender-based violence as 'normal'." (*ibid*, p.52).

> "Domestic violence may be seen as a personal issue, and victims may be unaware of how to resist, out of conflicting feelings of love and fear for one's spouse or partner and because the violence is seen as "normal" in society. Domestic violence is a manifestation of internalized

oppression in which the victims themselves, especially children, have been taught to love their abusers" (*ibid*, p.59).

Wong & Grant (p.59) also acknowledge that domestic violence can be a difficult topic to get communities to engage with. Therefore, they argue, using brochures, websites and other outreach tools can open up the conversations which may ultimately prevent the violence.

The World Health Organization has done extensive research into the consequences and risk factors of domestic abuse (See Figures 2.1 & 2.2).

Physical	**Psychological and behavioural**
Abdominal/thoracic injuries	Alcohol and drug abuse
Bruises and welts	Depression and anxiety
Chronic pain syndromes	Eating and sleep disorders
Disability	Feelings of shame and guilt
Fibromyalgia	Phobias and panic disorder
Fractures	Physical inactivity
Gastrointestinal disorders	Poor self-esteem
Irritable bowel syndrome	Post-traumatic stress disorder
Lacerations and abrasions	Psychosomatic disorders
Ocular damage	Smoking
Reduced physical functioning	Suicidal behaviour and self-harm
Sexual and reproductive	Unsafe sexual behaviour
Gynaecological disorders	**Fatal health consequences**
Infertility	AIDS-related mortality
Pelvic inflammatory disease	Maternal mortality
Pregnancy complications/miscarriage	Homicide
Sexual dysfunction	Suicide
Sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS	
Unsafe abortion	
Unwanted pregnancy	

Figure 2.1. Health Consequences of Intimate Partner Violence. (Source: Krug *et al.* 2002, Table 4.6).

Individual factors	Relationship factors	Community factors	Societal factors
• Young age	• Marital conflict	• Weak community sanctions against domestic violence	• Traditional gender norms
• Heavy drinking	• Marital instability	• Poverty	• Social norms supportive of violence
• Depression	• Male dominance in the family	• Low social capital	
• Personality disorders	• Economic stress		
• Low academic achievement	• Poor family functioning		
• Low income			
• Witnessing or experiencing violence as a child			

Figure 2.2. Factors Associated with a Man's Risk for Abusing His Partner. (Source: Krug *et al.* 2002, Table 4.5).

Another aspect of violence prevention to consider is male activists against gender-based violence. Michael Flood (2001, pp.42–46) wrote that "profound changes in men's lives, gendered power relations and the social construction of masculinity are necessary if violence against women is to be eliminated". To that end, Flood argues, activism is needed. He identifies two key campaigns within men's anti-violence groups: prevention – undermining beliefs which

support violence, challenging power relations and promoting alternative masculinities, and intervention, which focuses e.g. on working with perpetrators through counselling. Whilst this method of activism can be highly successful, Flood notes that some women can be apprehensive about men working in this field.

2.2 Pluralistic Ignorance

As stated in the introduction, pluralistic ignorance is when people wrongly believe that they feel differently from their peers, even though they are behaving in the same ways. The social theory of pluralistic ignorance is of central importance to this thesis. The term 'pluralistic ignorance' was coined by American psychologist Floyd H. Allport in 1931. Allport described this phenomenon as people's tendency to wrongly believe their opinions are universally shared by members of a social group (Bjerring *et al.* 2014, p.2447). In modern studies, pluralistic ignorance addresses the notion of people thinking that only they think or feel a particular way about something, despite this view being shared quietly by many people. Bjerring *et al.* (2014, p.2447) explain that "a social situation is a situation of pluralistic ignorance when a group of individuals all have the same attitude towards some proposition or norm, all act contrary to this attitude, and all wrongly believe that everyone else in the group has a certain conflicting attitude to the proposition or norm". This phenomenon can lead to people engaging in damaging or dangerous behaviours.

Prentice and Miller (1993, p.251) and Bjerring *et al.* (2014, p.2450) both highlight another potential obstacle to overcoming pluralistic ignorance. Prentice & Miller found that people who feel that others in the group support something they disagree with can be less likely to act, but will also feel less connected to the social group. Bjerring *et al.* debate 'solutions' for a person finding themselves in a situation of pluralistic ignorance. First, they can bring their private beliefs closer to that which is seemingly supported by the group. Second, they can try to bring the group's beliefs closer to their own. Or third, they can reject or alienate themselves from the group. Bjerring *et al*. state that many studies show that option one is the simplest way to act and the least costly. If the social group in question is a person's only or primary form of contact, the chances of someone alienating themselves from this group are slim.

Pluralistic ignorance is often explored in academia with a focus on drinking behaviours or political suppression (e.g. Prentice and Miller 1993; Tüfekçi 2017). Consent behaviours can also be studied through a pluralistic ignorance lens. However, the term itself is rarely found in pieces discussing how to prevent sexual violence. Zeynep Tüfekçi (2017) alludes to pluralistic ignorance when describing political opposition in states with oppressive political regimes:

> "Pretending to pay attention, and even to enjoy the event, is the safest bet. That is what people do, and that is what those in authority often rely on to keep people in line" (p.25).

This statement is even more frightening if we apply the same scenario to cases of violence against women.

Gunther and Chia (2001, p.688) describe pluralistic ignorance as being a problem, as misimpressions of the views of others can shape an individual's actions or recast their thoughts,

removing the 'positive' opinion that they originally had. Furthermore, Prentice and Miller (1993, p.244) note that people's tendency to rely on others' behaviours to identify social norms can lead them astray. Alan Berkowitz has written many works about social norms theory (another term for pluralistic ignorance). In a 2010 book chapter, (Berkowitz 2010), Berkowitz described how social norms theory applies to college views on sexual violence. In his work, he has found that individuals who misperceived the attitudes of their peers were less likely to intervene to prevent violence, finding that:

> "college men tend to overestimate their peers' adherence to myths that justify rape, underestimate their peers concern about risky sexual situations faced by women, and underestimate their peer's willingness to intervene. These misperceptions discourage men who are concerned about sexual assault from acting on their concerns" (Berkowitz 2010, p.4).

This mirrors the issue identified by Gunther & Chia and Prentice & Miller and identifies a key issue that must be addressed to prevent sexual violence. Berkowitz (2010, pp.18-20) also discussed the role that marketing campaigns can play in preventing sexual assault. These campaigns have had varying results, but in general have reduced misconceptions about people's comfort with inappropriate language about women, sexual assault rates on campus and increased the percentage of men who indicate that they "stop the first time a date says no to sexual activity". As an example, Moran and Berkowitz (2007) developed a high school educational campaign, which was found to have increased boys' accurate perceptions of other boys' discomfort with "trash-talking girls" and increased the number of boys who intervened when they heard such talk.

Pluralistic ignorance is a topic I have touched upon before (See Jones 2019). When reading about it initially, I found it a captivating topic with real-world implications and was surprised how rarely it is referred to within social science academia. Hence, I came into this thesis intending to make this theory a large part of the project. Traditionally, pluralistic ignorance has been addressed with educational campaigns. This project instead looks at whether the more mundane angle of urban street culture could also help ease pluralistic ignorance. The topic of pluralistic ignorance as a whole is understudied, so this thesis adds to the small base of existing literature.

2.3 Public Space

A key aspect to consider when studying street art is public space. Patil & Raj's (2012) literature review explores what urban public space is. They say that it encompasses: "all the possible typologies of such spaces; streets, walkways, plazas, shopping zones, community spaces, markets, transit nodes such as bus stops, social amenities, municipal kiosks, multipurpose spaces, parks and playgrounds" (*ibid*, p.2). These spaces provide plenty of opportunity for social and political events to take place. For example, Don Mitchell (2003, p.13) explored the notion of 'the right to the city'. Mitchell writes that public space is associated with anarchy – passed-out homeless people, violent young men etc. – a view encouraged by the media. This, Mitchell argues, inevitably leads to a struggle. A struggle which has both legal and moral implications, and an inherently geographic struggle. This geographical and social struggle

makes public space a battleground, one where different political and social movements can make themselves seen and heard (ibid, p.129). Mitchell says that:

> "If the right to the city is a cry and a demand, then it is only a cry that is heard and a demand that has force to the degree that there is a space from and within which this cry and demand is visible. In public space – on street corners or in parks, in the streets during riots and demonstrations – political organizations can represent themselves to a larger population, and through this representation give their cries and their demands some force. By claiming space in public, by creating public spaces, social groups themselves become public" (p.129).

Furthermore, Michail Galanakis's (2013) study on intercultural public spaces in Toronto highlights the role that public space and public lives can play in activism. Galanakis asserts that planners must focus on public life, rather than public space in order to respond to the changing demands of the population (p.83). The act of public stickering or graffitiing certainly falls under this category and could be used by planners to assess the issues that are important to local residents. Therefore, the city's public spaces can be a good stage for feminist and anti-violence movements.

Another aspect to consider within public space is urban semiotics. Urban semiotics concerns the meaning of urban form as generated by signs, symbols, and their social connotations. In essence, this involves exploring physical objects and their given meanings. These physical objects create meaning by how they are placed in the city space, and their meanings can take political, social, cultural, psychological or philosophical roles (Yildirim 2013, p.3). Sedat Yildirim (2013) wrote a report on urban semiotics and how it impacts peoples' lives. He writes that in some urban spaces, the relationship between humans and nature vanishes, as the urban spaces are entirely human made. This leads back to the environment-society circle notion. When considering this, it is important to consider how this new, man-made environment impacts how people develop their knowledge. Elliot Gaines (2006, p.174) says that "Knowledge develops when things are considered at new levels that reveal differences that have meanings. The processes for understanding meanings require the mind to organize information, establish relationships, and make connections between objects, ideas, events, and relationships". He also said that the human body and its senses engage in identifying meanings in things experienced. When exploring this, it is important to understand that it is likely that the male and female human bodies will create different meanings within public spaces.

2.4 Women and Public Space
Doreen Massey (1994, p.189) outlines the importance of considering the role of women in public space. She says that in the UK of the 1960s, "taking gender seriously produced a more nuanced evaluation of regional policy" and "the very focus on geographical variation means that we are not here dealing with some essentialism of men and women, but with how they are constructed as such", showing a clear benefit of considering gender in planning. Massey also outlines how feminist geographies have developed since then, being impacted by the 1970s radical turn in geography, when positivist spatial science was challenged by Marxism. Marxist geographers argued that spatial relations and processes were actually social relations taking a geographic form. In the 1980s, the inverse was added, with geographers now saying that the

social is spatially constructed too. In geography and sociology, it is now generally accepted that the social and spatial are inseparable concepts (*ibid*, pp.253–255).

Studies of women's experiences of public space often focus on the notion of fear. What do women fear in public spaces and why do they experience it? The focus on this topic arises from Gill Valentine's (1989) article *The Geography of Women's Fear.* The article explores this fear through the case of Deborah Linsley's murder in 1988. The murder occurred on a passenger train in London, which is deemed a public space. Valentine (*ibid,* p.385) detailed the victim-blaming attitudes that were taken at the time: "Deborah was in an isolated public space away from the protection of others, thus allowing a man the opportunity to kill her". This is echoed in interview responses collected from women:

> "You hear it on the news and things about attacks and you wonder why that girl was out on her own anyway. I'm never going to let myself get into a situation where I'm alone, cos you just don't know who will be there" (*ibid*, p.385).

Valentine says of this:

> "Public blame of victims who were in public places, for being in a dangerous or inappropriate place when they were attacked, encourages all women to transfer their threat appraisal from men to certain public spaces where they may encounter attackers. The other side of this fear of being in public space is for women to adopt false assumptions about their security when in places falsely deemed safe for women, such as the home" (p.385).

Valentine also suggests that the public sphere can also be more fear-inducing due to its unpredictable and uncontrollable nature (*ibid*, p.386). This begins to explain why women experience strong fears of public spaces and attacks, despite violence against women overwhelmingly occurring in private spaces. Rachel Pain (1997, pp.232–233) addresses this discrepancy in her critique of the use of crime/fear mapping. Pain writes that since violence against women overwhelmingly occurs in private spaces, an "accurate map of urban rape would highlight far more bedrooms than alleyways and parks". She also notes that crime and fear cannot be directly compared. An example of this occurred whilst I was writing this thesis. I was waiting in a car for someone, in an area which could be deemed 'rough', and there was a group of young men loitering around a shop entrance. Despite the fact that they were not committing any crime, their presence in that area and related noises left me crippled with fear. Pain also discussed this phenomena. She argues that fear of certain spaces impacts behaviour and quality of life. However, she also notes that people who are disadvantaged or not integrated into communities fear crime most frequently, due to a feeling of powerlessness (ibid, p.233). Figure 2.3 shows Pain's findings of how fear of sexual violence impacts women's lives. Of course, these figures will be different in Finland over two decades later, but these figures give a general idea of the situations that women face.

'Always' or 'sometimes' do the following because of fear of sexual attack	All (per cent) (n=389)	SC1	SC2	SC3	SC4[a]
Do not go out	8·9	11·3	7·6	4·7	7·1
Do not go out alone	35·0	39·6	29·5	37·2	32·1
Do not answer the door	35·7	42·3	35·9	26·7	46·4
Put off routine calls	10·8	9·8	11·8	8·3	3·6
Watchful when walking	84·6	82·7	86·9	81·4	85·7
Avoid certain streets/areas	83·8	76·9	84·9	84·9	89·3
Avoid certain types of transport	70·7	63·9	71·0	74·2	83·9
Choose certain types of transport	84·8	75·4	85·2	90·3	96·8
Fear of sexual attack					
affects social life	76·9	63·9	81·5	82·8	80·6
affects leisure activities	53·6	62·3	65·4	61·3	77·4
affects working life	41·6	52·5	39·5	40·9	41·3

Notes: [a] SC4 is the highest social class and SC1 the lowest. Figures for social class are based on 89·3 per cent (n=347) of the sample for whom social class could be calculated.

Figure 2.3. Effects of Fear of Sexual Violence on Women's Behaviour and Lifestyles. (Source: Pain 1997, Table I).

These findings illustrate the heightened state of vigilance women are under, leading to restricted use of space (Pain 1997, p.234). Indeed, two of Valentine's respondents said:

> "You've gotta be alert at night. I mean I'm always aware, I'm like a radar at night, the slightest noise and I'll hear it" (Whitley Wood young woman).

> "When you're alone you suddenly realise how bad the lighting is, or the kind of road you're walking down, whether it's fairly well lit or got lots of trees and things. You're just so aware. But you don't notice it if you're with somebody" (Lower Earley young woman) (Valentine 1989, p.387).

Hille Koskela (1999, pp.111–113) also explored women's fear in city streets. She agrees with Pain that women's coping strategies for urban fear changes spatial practices which further segregate public space between genders. Koskela provided an example of urban fear from Kallio. Local resident 'Tove' responded to a survey saying that:

> "I'm not afraid for myself but for my little year-and-a-half-old girl. I'm already planning to move out from this area because I wouldn't dream of letting my girl walk alone to school ... This fear makes me distressed and unhappy" (Koskela 1999, p.120).

However, Koskela also acknowledges that experiences of violence in private can permeate into public life, providing another aspect of fear geographies. One respondent of her study, who is a child abuse and domestic abuse survivor, wrote that:

> "I feel like an animal which has been chased into a cage... I am a mental prisoner of these experiences of mine. I don't dare to move anywhere after dark. And even in the summer when it's light, my mobility is restricted to places where there are people around. I cannot go into

Nature, which I would like so much. I don't dare to. When I go for a walk I go to places where there are lots of other people" (Koskela 1999, p.118).

Another angle of study considers how women experience, and are experienced by others in the city. Two key works exploring this are Grosz (1992) and Wilson (1991). Elizabeth Grosz (1992) wrote about the body as a socio-cultural artefact, exploring how the body is produced and how bodies re-inscribe and project themselves onto their socio-cultural environment. Therefore, she argues, the environment both produces and reflects the form and interests of the body. Grosz (1992, p.250) writes that the city helps to orient sensory and perceptual information. The city also orients and organises family, sexual and social relations into public and private domains, geographically dividing and defining social positions and locations occupied by individuals and groups. Cities also act to build connections between these individuals and groups. Furthermore, the city acts to organise information circulation and structure access to goods and services. Finally, and most importantly to this study, the city provides the context for which social rules and norms are created and internalised, creating social conformity or marginality. Grosz concludes that "This means that the city must be seen as the most immediately concrete locus for the production and circulation of power". Throughout all of this production of space and meaning, the body remains as the vehicle of these experiences and is acted upon by urban processes to become a subject. In essence, the body creates the city, and the city develops the body's behaviours, mirroring the notion identified by Massey, that the spatial and social are inseparable concepts.

Elizabeth Wilson's (1991) book *The Sphinx in the City* investigates urban life from women's perspectives. She illustrated this through case studies of different cities. Three in particular make good points about how women experience and are perceived within urbanity. These case studies explore Paris, Vienna, and Glasgow:

Paris, France:

The case of Paris explores the characters assigned to cities. Wilson writes that Paris became the capital of "pleasure, excitement and consumption". Furthermore, she writes that "Paris was the city sexualised. Poets sometimes likened Paris to a prostitute, but more often sang her praises as a queen. Either way, the city was inescapably female" (*ibid*, p.47). This rather begs the question that if an entire city is being sexualised, what chance do women stand? However, Wilson raises another side of Paris's character which provides more hope for women and their rights. This is because Paris is also seen as a place for revolution and revolt. Within this symbolic role, women are given particular credence, with Victory, Justice and France depicted as women ("France herself"). Wilson leads to the conclusion that "if Paris was the crucible both of sexual freedom and of political revolution, the link that joined them was the female form" (*ibid*, p.48).

Wilson also explored 1900 to 1918 Vienna. Vienna seems to be a setting for theoretical depictions of women, rather than the image of a woman that we see in Paris's prescribed character. Wilson described how Sigmund Freud and his close-knit group of Viennese intellectuals placing sexual difference at the heart of their theories for modern life. To them, woman represented sexuality and chaos, whereas man represented rationality and control (*ibid*, p.87). Furthermore, the city itself was presented as having 'scientific rationalism' – a 'male' principle, but was described as producing irrationality and dislocated consciousness – 'female' principles. These processes were cast as opposing and highlight how deeply enshrined into urban academia notions of gender were and are.

Glasgow, Scotland:

Glasgow is a city close to my heart, being my mother's hometown. Therefore, I am well aware of the issues described by Wilson: the overcrowded tenements, the roughness and the Gorbals redevelopment. The Gorbals redevelopment plan, approved in 1957, stated that the entire area was to be demolished, and the 26,000 inhabitants relocated to new estates on the outskirts of the city. People felt that their memories had been destroyed and were stigmatised for living in the new estates. Furthermore, many women were trapped in these estates due to lack of money and public transport. This would likely have given a sense of isolation to those previously in strong communities (*ibid*, pp.146-148). To add insult to injury, the high-rise flats built on the demolished site were plagued with dampness, and were demolished in 1993 (Urban 2011, p.6). Descriptions of Glasgow contain similarities to Kallio. Both combine an outward image of 'roughness' and poverty, whilst maintaining strong inner communities.

The main take away from Wilson's book is that in the public mind, strongly driven by men, women equal anarchy. Women in cities disturb the 'natural order'. This mirrors Mitchell's idea that public space is associated with anarchy, but in this instance the blame is firmly placed upon women. In a lecture given in 2014, Cambridge University Professor Mary Beard discussed this viewpoint from the angle of women's public speech, or lack thereof, through a classical lens. Beard describes many historic tales of women being silenced, from the poem *Odyssey* with Telemachus telling his mother, Penelope, to go back to her quarters when she dares to speak up, to Io being turned into a cow, allowing her only to '*moo*'. Public speech was restricted to men. Beard said that "public speech was a – if not *the* – defining attribute of maleness". Notably, she says that "women, even when they are not silenced, still have to pay a very high price for being heard". In this instance, she refers to rape threats given on Twitter to women appearing on talk shows:

> "it doesn't much matter what line you take as a woman, if you venture into traditional male territory, the abuse comes anyway. It's not *what* you say that prompts it, it's the fact you're saying it. And that matches the detail of the threats themselves. They include a fairly predictable menu of rape, bombing, murder and so forth (I may sound very relaxed about it now; that

doesn't mean it's not scary when it comes late at night). But a significant subsection is directed at silencing the woman – 'Shut up you bitch' is a fairly common refrain. Or it promises to remove the capacity of the woman to speak" (Beard 2014).

This perhaps provides an insight into why feminist stickering and graffiti exists. It allows the female activist to get her message across without the risk of being directly targeted for abuse.

2.5 Street Art

To reach street media as a topic for study, I first considered all of the ways to spread social justice messages and categorised them into physical, print, and digital media (See Figure 2.4). From this, I deduced that physical media could be one of the most powerful, because people will walk past the message every day. Compare with this that both print and digital media require someone to know where to find the message or the publisher to tailor their marketing so that large groups of people will see the message. Therefore, it seems that physical culture media could be an easy, low-cost, and effective way of spreading political messages. From the physical culture category, street art is the only media that is not a one-off event, so is likely to be the most seen.
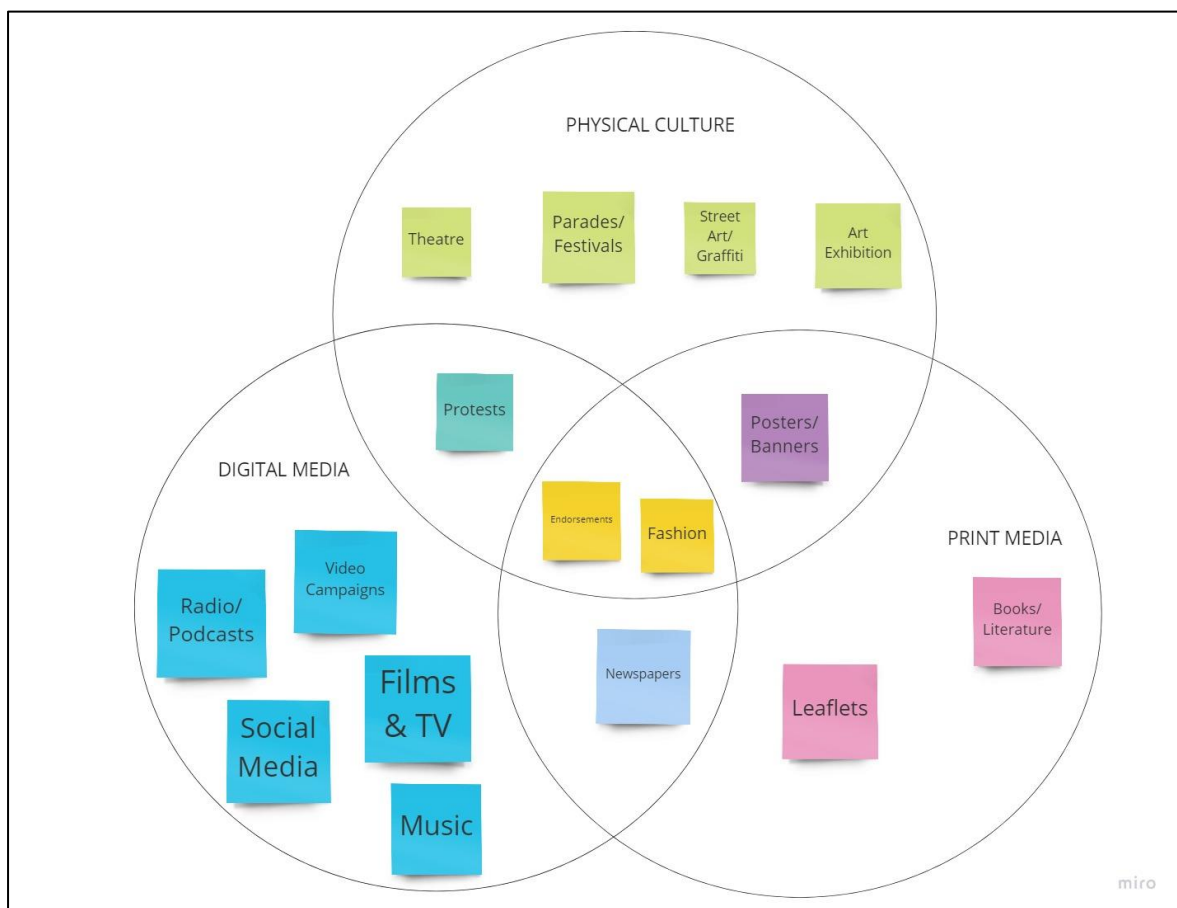

Figure 2.4. Mind Map of Potential Message Spreading Media.

Rafael Schachter's (2014) book *Ornament and Order* identifies that the built environment has the power to produce social and structural formations and that through studying this from a grassroots level, actors from outside of the official institutionalised domain of urban planning can be seen, and a different urbanity from the planned developments can emerge (pp.10-11). Schachter describes a 'human need to decorate' as vital throughout history, with certain feelings evoked by images, such as fascination and repulsion (pp.27-29). These images placed in public spaces provide evidence of sociality, removing the inanimate nature of the architecture (p.34).

Riina Lundman (2018) explored (legal) art in public spaces in her PhD thesis. She states that:

> "Urban public space also involves a strong social dimension that affects the practices of urban art and culture. The people in the city are the audience for public artworks, but people can also take a more active role in different kinds of creative urban actions ranging from participatory art projects to self-organised cultural events. Encountering strangers and performing 'in public' are integral (yet not always unproblematic) features of urban sociability" (p.39).

Lundman also discussed the contested nature of public space and the role of art in this issue. Lundman argues that the contested nature of public space comes from the mix of values, interests, and actions. Here, the politics of public space becomes a debate over the freedom to remake cities in people's own images (*ibid*, pp.27-28). Lundman concludes that ambiguities within the law can cause some urban actions to be considered more legitimate than others. For example, graffiti is approved of when it is done as part of an art project, but when done spontaneously in the 'wrong' area it becomes 'illegal' (*ibid*, p.43). Blu Tirohl (2016, p.695) documented the typical motives of un-commissioned ("wrong") street art: marking gang territory; political dissent; assertion of presence; economic inequality and the publicising of movements in music. All of these motives give the message of presence to the wider public. Maureen O'Connell (2012, p.17) touches upon this by saying that through art (albeit legal art in her case), "people who are frequently excluded from or ignored in public debate or political processes express themselves in unexpected spaces around the city (…) Citizens at large – natives and visitors alike – are beginning to listen to what these images, and, more important, the people who created them, have to say". O'Connell adds that since the late-19th century, communities have 'taken paintbrushes to walls' to challenge the dominant cultures (*ibid*, p.62).

2.5.1 Graffiti

Graffiti has typically been viewed through polarised lenses. On the one hand, it is seen as a form of self-expression, perhaps with some social utility, and on the other hand it is perceived as criminal and damaging (See e.g. Truman 2010, p.1). Theresa Zolner (2007) examined discourse over graffiti in Canada. She argues that because graffiti is inherently public, it is part of a discourse covering a range of topics, such as crime, sense of belonging, fear, and aesthetics, all of which affect both individuals and communities (*ibid*, p.10). Zolner likens graffiti to propaganda. This, she argues, is because of its resistance to criticism and strong internal organisation. Lauren Rosewarne (2005, p.9) writes that graffiti acts in a similar way to street harassment as it illustrates to women that crime has been allowed to take place in an area.

Whilst this may be the case, one cannot argue that all graffiti artists are violent criminals, nor can one argue that they are all male! Zolner concedes that graffiti can be likened to e.g. advertising, because as advertising 'forces' people to look at large corporations' messages, they too should be allowed to force people to consider anti-capitalism or other minority views (*ibid*, pp.17-25).

DaSilva Iddings *et al.* (2011, pp.6-8) went deeper into the meanings conveyed by graffiti, which they dub 'ecosocial semiotics'. Ecosocial semiotics investigates how signs convey meaning through embodied perception, working on the notion that organisms and their environment are intertwined and shape each other (in the same way that people form cities and vice versa). They argue that even a shop sign can be highly determined as a form of meaning-making. For example, its size, where it is placed, its font, how it appeals to customers, the nature of the shop and how it appeals to different social classes can all be considered in its meaning. DaSilva Iddings *et al.* explain that graffiti fits into this model, as it is grounded in the urban environment and derives its power from its production by people for people. Graffiti also has the same choices as the shop sign, aesthetically – font, size and colour are most noticeable, but there are also meanings and motives behind its placement, as discussed by Theresa Zolner previously. Graffiti can also be used as a tool of remembrance and support. Following the death of Jimi Karttunen after an assault from a Nordic Resistance Movement member, graffities were created to remember him and to rally anti-fascist supporters (See Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5. Rally to Anti-Fascists in Karttunen's Memory. (Source: Varis Verkosto 2016).

Krupets & Vasileva (2019) explored sticker art in St. Petersburg, Russia. They state that by "creating and visualizing unique or everyday routes, sticker artists assemble the city, building connections and relationships between different places". They also argue that as sticker production often occurs in the home, stickering blurs the boundaries between private and public spaces. This highlights the strong spatiality that stickers possess and shows how individual opinions and feelings can become part of the wider public through existing in public space. Krupets & Vasileva also note that the "combination of visual materials, bizarrely placed next to each other on an ordinary grey urban surface, is a detail that caught your eye and makes you smile, or curious, or furious, but it got your attention and you begin, at least for a moment, to think about these stickers". This eye-catching nature can make stickers a good medium for message dissemination because people will take notice of them and are more likely to recall seeing the messages. Krupets & Vasileva also identify links between stickers and graffiti:

> "There are a lot of similarities between stickering and graffiti, as well as street art – all these practices are creative, illegal, and transform the city environment. At the same time, there are significant differences: according to our informants, it is 'easier' to make stickers, there is no need to draw fast (you can do it at home), and, in general, stickering is safer (the police is not so strict about stickers) and more accessible" (Krupets & Vasileva 2019).

A key thing Krupets & Vasileva pick up on is that stickering is a predominantly 'male' practice. They state that the few women and girls involved in the practice typically restrict themselves to creating the stickers at home, but not spreading them around the city. This perhaps highlights a gap in stickering from the female perspective. If not bridged, this gap is likely to pose a huge challenge to spreading feminist messages through stickers in public spaces. Another gap they identify is that stickers can 'dissolve' amidst the 'stream of urban visual information', such as advertisements, billboards, graffiti etc. This is indeed true. Tim Cresswell (1998, p.268) says that the "space of the street is often a space in which we encounter words and pictures in voluminous quantities … advertisements, instructions, political messages, newspapers, illegal posters, monumental murals and messages, graffiti". Schacter's (2014, pp.34-35) book also touches upon this issue, saying that public art "can be seen to trap and captivate its recipients, to draw them into their world irrespective of their desires".

2.6 Street Art & Women
Feminists have long used forms of media to individually and collectively inform, motivate and mobilise actions for women and to criticise dominant structures and media. Women have also created their own media to address issues they face (Grünangerl 2012, p.110; Zobl *et al.* 2012, p.21). A key form of media is street art, which has also been used to spread messages about violence against women. Tea Hvala (2008, p.8) says that through street media, women aim to reclaim the streets, their bodies, their knowledge and their herstory. Hvala adds that the street is a key place for rethinking and practicing feminism in relation to social justice issues. A prominent example is the poster campaign run by the Ark Foundation in Ghana. The Foundation began running in 1999 and has a comprehensive plan for addressing domestic violence (See Jones 2019; The Ark Foundation 2018). The Foundation is working against a

cultural norm of keeping domestic violence private, making it difficult for Ghanaian women to report such crimes, despite them affecting around 30% of the country's women (Cantalupo *et al.* 2010, p.535). Furthermore, Osei (2011, p.2) found that 20% of Ghanaian women think it is okay to beat your wife if she refuses sex. In addition, some women do not know what constitutes a crime and that they have a right to make a report. Even those who do struggle, as they may fear the reaction from their abuser. Osei (2011, pp.61-62) argues that these issues require awareness and educational responses. One scheme which is run by the Foundation is a poster campaign. These posters, such as the one in Figure 2.6, aim to raise awareness about what constitutes domestic violence and alerts women as to where they can seek help.

Figure 2.6. '*Don't Hide Sexual Assault'* Poster by the Ark Foundation. (Source: Chapman 2012).

Hvala herself also provides an example of feminist street activism:

> "In the night of 8 March 2012, two anonymous actions took place in the centre of Ljubljana. The first included graffiti and stickers with slogans such as "Proud Feminist" and "Up with Feminism!"; the other action was strategically placed in front of the local Museum of Contemporary History, which hosted an exhibition about Slovene women's struggles for emancipation between 1848 and 1945. The activists spray-painted the tank in front of the museum a pink colour, ridiculing the militarist symbol of Slovene independence and commenting on the fact that an exhibition dedicated to feminist history was symbolically threatened by a tank from the ten-day war in 1991 (and the implied historical revisionism). The

director of the museum failed to see or publicly mention the action's connection to the exhibition, to International Women's Day or to LGBTI couples whose right to adopt a child was rejected in a referendum on 25 March 2012. The director said: "Since we don't know how we are going to restore the tank, we thank the guerrillas or the vandals for at least choosing a colour that matches the museum's façade"" (Hvala 2012, p.133).

The book *Feminist Media: Participatory Spaces, Networks and Cultural Citizenship* addresses several forms of spreading feminist messages. Four chapters in particular stand out as relevant to this topic: Drüeke & Zobl (2012); Grünangerl (2012); Hvala (2012); Zobl *et al.* (2012). Drüeke & Zobl's chapter introduces the book. They describe women's important roles in social justice movements, saying that "feminists have long recognized the importance of self-managed, alternative media" (p.11). Drüeke & Zobl also note that in recent decades, women have increasingly taken the production of media into their own hands. These can include zines, flyers, graffiti, and art (*ibid*). Zobl *et al.*'s chapter expands on this to give a more detailed overview of feminist media in Europe. They note that the start of DIY culture is rooted in the avant-garde art movements of the 1950s, social movements of the 1960s and punk movement of the 1970s (p.38). Zobl *et al.*'s study identified 425 women-led feminist media projects in Europe, only 4 of which were in Finland.

Stefanie Grünangerl's chapter takes a different format, recounting an interview with four feminist media activists. The most interesting question to me is '*How can feminist media production challenge and intervene into the status-quo and initiate and effect social change? Which strategies have you developed in your own project(s) to do so?*'. The answers from the four interviewees are below:

- make/shift[1]: "documenting the challenges and interventions people are making in many places and in many ways. Also, radical feminist media production in and of itself is an intervention, as we share and amplify voices and stories not found in dominant media – and the fact that we do it collaboratively, with a lot of skill-sharing and an emphasis on collective process and relationships, as well as a multiplicity of voices and perspectives."
- Missy[2]: "By presenting alternative images of women/queers and empowering readers to look at their surroundings critically and to take action themselves. But we have to be realistic – we're publishers of a feminist magazine first, not activists or politicians, so the scope of our impact is somewhat limited by our job description."
- AMPHI[3]: "We try to provide our readers with information and material that they otherwise couldn't get, either because it is ignored in other media (because it is too subversive, feminist, etc.) or because it had been published in foreign languages."
- Emancypunx Records[4]: "To put it short: one of the main strategies is to live and give examples of how life and society could work differently. In the case of record publishing Emancypunx tries to promote bands and cultural performances which break with traditional gender roles and transport political messages. It all goes step by step."

Box 1: (Grünangerl 2012, pp.116-117)

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[1] Magazine based in Los Angeles, launched 2007
[2] Magazine based in Germany, launched 2008
[3] Web magazine based in Belarus, launched 2008
[4] Record label, zine library, festival and tour organiser based in Poland, launched mid-1990s

Finally, Tea Hvala's (2012) chapter focuses on grassroots activism in Ljubljana, Slovenia. Hvala argues that grassroots activism allows young progressive feminists accessible tools to address wider publics (p.124). Hvala argues that as feminist and lesbian politics have been marginalised in post-1991 Slovenia, grassroots activism is needed to defend already existing rights, demand new rights and push alternative norms of public speech and that doing this as part of an organised group or collective identity is needed to truly make a difference and be heard (p.124). Hvala (2012, p.123) notes that the terms 'domestic violence' and 'date rape' moved into legislature because of feminist efforts which began in 'weak' groups that possessed only opinion-making powers. Hvala (2008) expanded on this in her journal article on street feminism. In it, she says that street actions, such as graffiti, when read alongside political events, become the most accessible medium of resistance, which is also resistant to institutionalisation (p.3). In essence, graffiti and other street media are beneficial to feminist movements as they are easy and have a freer aspect to them. People are unlimited in what they can say and where they can say it, something which is not necessarily granted to those with 'alternative' messages. Think back to AMPHI's response in the interview (Box 1): "*ignored in other media (because it is too subversive, feminist, etc.)*". Therefore, I feel to ignore the role of street media in spreading feminist and anti-violence messages is to omit a large portion of both public and private opinion.

2.7 The Kallio Area

Helsinki's Kallio district has been selected for this study due to its socio-cultural significance. It has a population of 29,703 (City of Helsinki 2019, Table 2.3). Kallio is characterised as a distinctive area, consisting of 'arty' and working-class people (Tani 2001, p.149; Olsson 2004, p.49). Kallio is an area with strong stereotypes attached to it. These include that it's a former working-class area, trendy, bohemian, rugged and an attractive place for young adults and students (Tani 2001, p.152; Akkila 2012, p.1). Political affiliations in Kallio favour left- and liberal-leaning parties, such as the Left Alliance and Green League, at a higher level than in Helsinki as a whole (City of Helsinki 2020).

2.7.1 History

Pitkäsilta Bridge, at the south of Kallio's border, was the historical boundary between the prestigious city centre and the working-class north. Although working-class groups north of the bridge were clearly distinct from each other, with street fights occurring between gangs of neighbouring areas, the residents south of the bridge saw those north of the bridge as a single, working-class district. Nevertheless, the naming of individual regions north of the bridge highlights a strong sense of place existing even in the early-20th century (Tani 2001, p.146). Then, an urban renewal project, running from the 1930s to 1970s, replaced wooden tenements with multi-storey apartment blocks (Mäkelä 2013). These came with higher costs and many residents could no longer afford to live in Kallio. The residential gaps were filled by highly educated people, and Kallio became a district of small families and people living alone (*ibid*). From the 1980s, Kallio became popular with young, highly educated people who wanted to

live near the city centre. At that time, housing prices were not as high as the city centre, which allowed young singles ("yuppies") and childless couples ("DINKs") to move into the area. Housing prices started to rise and middle-class people moved in. By the late-1980s, Kallio had become clearly gentrified (*ibid*, p.152). This would inevitably have changed the character of the place and has likely brought a new aspect of politics and political expression into Kallio.

The Kallio area has also played host to violence. In the 1990s, Kallio had the highest incidences of assault outside of the city centre. Sirpa Tani (2001, p.151) places most of the violence in the area around the entrance of Sörnäinen metro station. Alcoholics and drug users have been portrayed as a threat to Kallio's atmosphere (Olsson 2004, p.55). Furthermore, Kallio, and neighbouring region Alppila, are known as prostitution hotspots. Hille Koskela (2005) noted that the emergence of street prostitution caused a stir amongst the media and some locals. She also identifies that prostitution has changed how female residents use public spaces and has affected the public image of the area. In Helsinki as a whole, a movement called 'Prostitution Off the Streets' emerged in 1995. Activists in this movement made notes about harassment and mobilised residents to sign petitions to call for prostitution to be made illegal (*ibid*, p.260). In addition to this measure, the overall safety perception of Kallio's residents has improved in recent years (See Figure 2.7). This in part can be linked to the movement of illicit activities into the online sphere due to technological developments over recent decades.

Another aspect of Helsinki's history that is worth mentioning is the *Stop Töhryille* (Stop Graffiti) campaign, which was led by the city from 1998 to 2008. This scheme enacted a zero-tolerance attitude to any form of street art, with harsh punishments given. Despite this, modern-day Helsinki has a liberal attitude towards graffiti and occasionally offers walls for graffiti painters to use (Fransberg 2019). At the same time in Kallio, social control measures were developing in Karhupuisto [Bear Park]. The park had a poor reputation in the mid-1990s, which led to a group of senior citizens to take action, nurturing a large flowerbed and occupying the benches of the park (Kaakinen & Galanakis 2010). This action highlights a conflict over public space in the area. Simply being present meant that there were no benches available for 'undesirable' people to use. Since this intervention the image of the park has improved and the park was Finland's candidate for European Crime Prevention Award in 2002 (*ibid*). How the zero-tolerance and Karhupuisto social control measures impacted street political media is unclear, but they are both likely to have influenced rates of street activism over the years.

District	Change 2018–2015, pp
Kaarela	-1.9
Vuosaari	5.0
Myllypuro	9.2
Mellunkylä	-11.2
Pukinmäki	2.0
Vartiokylä	0.7
Malmi	-11.5
Puistola	0.9
Jakomäki	-7.4
Oulunkylä	5.0
Alppiharju	-2.6
Latokartano	1.5
Kallio	-1.9
Suutarila	2.0
Taka-Töölö	2.1
Herttoniemi	-1.2
Pasila	-11.4
Pitäjänmäki	-4.7
Kampinmalmi	-9.3
Maunula	-6.8
Haaga	-7.2
Laajasalo	-6.9
Kulosaari	-4.4
Vallila	-9.3
Munkkiniemi	-2.1
Länsi-Pakila	2.7
Reijola	-5.3
Vironniemi	-1.4
Vanhakaupunki	-1.9
Itä-Pakila	-3.2
Lauttasaari	0.3
Ullanlinna	-5.8
Östersundom	-2.9
Tuomarinkylä	-5.4

All of Helsinki, change 2018–2015, pp **-3.2**

Development of security (since last study in 2015): less safe than before +5 pp; safer than before − 5 pp; situation unchanged (less than + − 5 pp)

Feel unsafe, % 2018 (N=3,916); 2015 (N=3,971)

Figure 2.7. Perceived Insecurity (Responses Of 'Unsafe' And 'Fairly Unsafe'), In the Respondent's Own Neighbourhood, Late on Friday and Saturday Evenings, By District, 2018 And 2015. (Source: City of Helsinki 2019, Figure 2.4).

2.7.2 Study Area

There can be difficulty defining the boundaries of Kallio, with individuals themselves often deciding whether they live in Kallio, Sörnäinen, Alppila or Harju (Tani 2001, p.145). Therefore, there was a need to determine concrete boundaries in which to conduct my fieldwork. I decided to use the City of Helsinki Urban Environment Division's determination of regional boundaries (Helsinki Region Infoshare 2018). To extract this data and make a map of the boundaries used, I utilised the program QGIS.

In the program, I opened a new project and set the correct co-ordinates by enabling 'on the fly' CRS transformation and setting the co-ordinate reference system to WGS 84, authority ID EPSG:4326. I then added the Helsinki Region Infoshare (2018) dataset of Helsinki's district boundaries by adding a vector layer and selecting the shapefile of the dataset. From here, I used the attribute table to delete all of the entries except Kallio by toggling editing on, selecting

unwanted data points and selecting 'Delete selected features'. To turn this data into a map, I first went to the properties setting of the Kallio datapoint and changed the symbol from 'simple fill' to 'simple line'. This allows the inside of the boundaries to be visible. I then added a Bing Road background map from QGIS's OpenLayers plugin. I then selected 'new print composer mode'. Here, I added a new map and drew the area needed onto the blank canvas. I then added a scale bar, legend and north arrow to the map and exported it as an image. This returned the map in Figure 2.8.

To make the study more manageable, I decided to exclude parks and green spaces from the study, as street art in such areas could be an entire project in itself. I also decided to exclude Linnunlauluntie (the westernmost road within the chosen boundary) from the study, as it is not part of contiguous Kallio and is therefore unlikely to be walked through every day by Kallio residents.
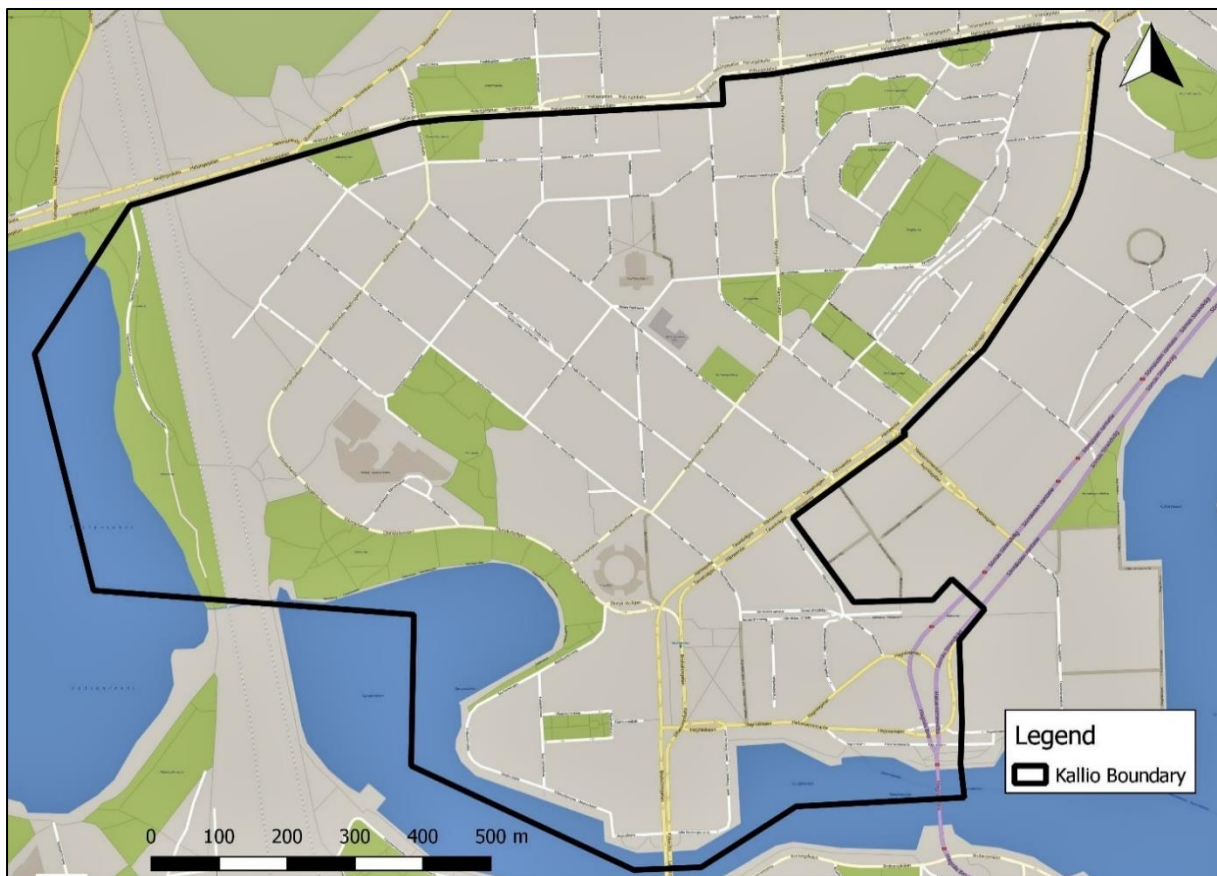
Figure 2.8. Chosen Kallio Boundaries from Helsinki Region Infoshare 2018 Dataset.

2.8 Research Questions
This section has revealed some issues and gaps in scholarly literature which can be addressed through this study. Firstly, the existence of pluralistic ignorance highlights an area where real progress can be made through increasing activism and public engagement. Within the study of pluralistic ignorance there is an obvious gap concerning how it could be overcome through mundane activities, rather than targeted educational campaigns. Zobl *et al.*'s (2012) study also highlighted that women-led activist groups are more prevalent in other European countries than in Finland, despite e.g. Kallio's strong political demographic. In addition, the role of street

media in feminist activism is a topic which needs to be explored further. Based on these findings, the following research questions will be explored:

- What feminist/anti-violence street messages exist in Kallio?
- According to the experts, what role do graffiti/stickers play in spreading messages?
- According to the experts, what are the advantages/disadvantages of street media when spreading feminist/anti-violence messages?
- According to the experts, can Kallio's feminist/anti-violence messages be helpful in overcoming pluralistic ignorance?

The term 'experts' is being used fairly loosely in this project. Here, it is being used to mean activists, community members or those working in feminist/anti-violence fields. Essentially, those who have more knowledge than the average member of the public on issues of street activism, feminism, violence against women or simply live/have lived in the Kallio area.

3. METHODS

3.1 Social Science & Feminist Research

When studying violence against women as a female researcher, the topic of feminist research is very prominent. A key aspect of feminist research is that it should not just be on women, but *for* women. Feminist research should also focus on broader social change and social justice (Doucet & Mauthner 2012, p.328). By attempting to find new ways to prevent violence against women, this project fulfils both of these aspects. Doucet & Mauthner (2012, pp.328-332) further outline the methods typically used by feminist researchers to achieve these goals. At the beginning of the 1980s, researcher Hilary Graham lamented that women's lives were being measured within quantitative surveys designed on the basis of men's lives. From this background, feminist researchers increasingly turned to interviewing. This allowed researchers to report on empathy, rapport, and reciprocity in interview situations, ensuring that social positioning differences were identified.

Ensuring validity can be challenging within social sciences research. Martyn Hammersley (2012, p.47) provides a starting point in determining how to approach this challenge. He explains that qualitative researchers have described quantitative validity, and its need for exact numbers, as false or outdated. However, other researchers instead argue that there must be multiple ways of assessing validity, with this approach termed 'postmodernism'. This point of view, Hammersley argues, wishes for social sciences to counter the hegemony of dominant groups, perhaps ultimately rejecting the notions of validity and truth put into place by those dominant groups. In this thesis, dominant groups are certainly being countered by studying illegal forms of message spreading. However, that in itself does not make this study valid. The study instead aims to attain its validity by using multiple study methods, all examined and analysed with a strong focus on ethics.

Qualitative researchers agree that the world is largely socially constructed, with representations always remaining partial (DeLyser 2010, p.22). The positionality and power relations between the researcher and participants can have a huge impact on the view of the world the researcher

comes out with. Hence, it is important for the researcher to acknowledge power relations explicitly in their research. Haraway (1988) argued that making a person's positionality known creates a 'new kind' of objectivity in studies, separate from the traditional, scientific and neutral view of objectivity in quantitative approaches. There is also an agreement within qualitative geography that social worlds are dynamic and unpredictable, as social life is produced through human agency. This means there are multiple social worlds, with distinctive and competing social meanings and practices. It is therefore crucial to recognise that knowledge is partial and situated (Pratt 2009, p.604). Fisher & Anushko (2012) also detailed ethics in social sciences. They detail that social researchers must establish relationships of trust with research participants and the scientific community. This requires the researcher to prevent conflicts of interest, such as financial gain or legal obligations. In this study, there are no financial transactions and the project is not sponsored by any company or organisation. Furthermore, the thesis will not be used to apply for any grants. This leaves me, the researcher, as the only potential conflict of interest point. To overcome this, I will be explicit with my own positionality and opinions within the study (See Box 2).

Woman	White	Immigrant	Not a member of any activist group
English-speaker	Student	Middle-class	Researcher (position of power)

Box 2. Aspects of My Positionality Which Could Cause Conflicts of Interest.

When handling the topic of violence, it is possible that interviewees or authors of relevant literature may reveal sensitive information about themselves. For the literature used in this project, I decided to omit any instances of authors identifying themselves or other people as abuse/violence survivors. This is because it is impossible to contact all of the people involved to ask for their consent to be referred to in this study. When interviewing, Fisher & Anushko (2012, p.100) suggest creating a re-consent strategy for such situations. This can include determining whether the information is relevant to the research question and if not, diverting the conversation, or alerting the participant to the new nature of information and mutually agreeing a new consent procedure.

In this piece of research, three key methods will be used: fieldwork, content analysis and interviewing. These methods will be discussed below.

3.2 Fieldwork

To answer the first research question – *What feminist/anti-violence street messages exist in Kallio?* – I decided to conduct fieldwork exploring the streets of Kallio. Using the map created in Figure 2.8, I printed maps of Kallio to use during my fieldwork. Two of these were attached to each side of a sheet of card and covered with a plastic sheet. The sheet allowed me to write over the maps in permanent marker, allowing me to track which streets I had covered and giving some weather resistance. I dotted streets which I had covered one side of and drew a

solid line when both sides had been covered, maximising the distance covered and reducing the chance of making mistakes when recalling where I had covered.

To keep track of any messages I found in the landscape, I used the Epicollect5 mobile application[5]. Using the Epicollect5 website, I drew up a form for entering data. This form asked what the medium of the data was (sticker, poster, graffiti etc.), what the message said (allowing me to recall messages from blurry photographs), where the message was (context, e.g. on a lamppost), as well as the date and time found, locational data and a photograph. The ethics and obstacles of this method will be discussed in the Fieldwork chapter.

3.3 Content Analysis

Once the messages existing in Kallio have been determined, the results must be analysed. To do this, a content analysis will be run. Content analysis is a systematic technique for compressing large amounts of data into categories. Essentially, this method is looking for key words or patterns with which to compare data (Stemler 2001, p.1).

To conduct a content analysis, six key questions must be addressed (Krippendorff 1980). The first two questions ask which data are analysed and how they are defined. The data analysed will be feminist and anti-violence street messaging. This can include stickers, graffiti, posters etc. Feminist is defined as any message which explicitly refers to women and is not derogatory. Anti-violence messages are defined as messages which are against physical or symbolic violence, but does not include general anti-violence messages such as '*peace*' or '*love*'. The third question asks where the data is drawn from, which in this case is the streets of Kallio as defined in Figure 2.8. The fourth and fifth questions ask what is the context relative to which the data are analysed and what are the boundaries of the analysis. These are the outdoor public areas of Kallio, which are not green spaces, within the previously defined boundaries of Kallio. The final question asks what is the target of the inferences? The aim of this project's content analysis is to determine what types of messages are more common in the Kallio area's feminist street art. This makes it a conceptual content analysis, looking at the existence and frequency of concepts.

This method is unobtrusive, reducing third party influences on the results of the analysis and allows mixed-methods research. However, an issue with using content analysis is the potential for bias. Coding multiple categories requires careful thinking and may be done differently by different people (Drisko & Maschi 2015, p.45). To remove some of this bias, I will make a note of any messages which could have been in/excluded by different coders. Content analysis also does not consider context, which is why it was important for me to record the context of each message.

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[5] https://five.epicollect.net/

3.4 Interviews

In this study, it was determined that interviewing would be a good way to increase validity and prevent the results from being merely my own opinions. Rugg & Petre (2007, pp.135-137) described interviewing as a 'conversation with a purpose'. It involves two or more people interacting with each other, with respondents having the chance to describe and explain their ideas (*ibid*). The researcher needs to prepare a set of questions and decide which participants to recruit. They are also required to recognise ethical issues and power relations within the study (Longhurst 2009, p.580). There are three types of interviewing: structured – where a list of topics is tightly scripted and stuck to; semi-structured – where there are predetermined questions, but allowances are made for probing further interesting topics and unstructured – which has no predetermined structure (Rugg & Petre 2007, p.138). In qualitative study, the aim is to make sense of people's experience, so participants are often chosen for a specific reason (Longhurst 2009, p.581).

A combination of semi-structured and unstructured interviews will be used. This is based on an assessment of the types of people involved in the interviews and which type of discussions they would respond best to. Kallio Seura, a large Finnish-speaking group was run as an unstructured interview, with the conversation allowed to flow between members of the group. The remaining four interviews were semi-structured. With the exclusion of Kallio Seura, interviewees were given the questions in the Appendix (slight variations in question wording were made for each interview). All of the questions are open, with no 'yes/no' questions included, due to the strictly qualitative nature of these interviews. Each of these questions must be examined through an ethical framework. Firstly, and most acutely, it is very likely that people who are against stickering/graffiti media will tone down their views in any interview that I am present in. In qualitative study, interviewees are chosen specifically because of their knowledge or experience related to the field of the project (Longhurst 2009, p.581). The choice of interviewees and any obstacles in analysing the interviews are discussed in the Interviews chapter.

4. FIELDWORK

In the fieldwork, I searched for stickers, graffiti, and other forms of semi-illegal/illegal street messaging as the data type. The timeframe was between 15th and 22nd of October 2019. I wanted the sticker collection to be done within a two-week timeframe so that the stickers existing within the area did not change too drastically, allowing a snapshot of the area at one time to be determined. The area of study is congruent Kallio. The map shown in the introduction to Kallio section (Figure 2.8) shows the boundaries used to define Kallio.

During my fieldwork many obstacles to data collection occurred. Of course there were the expected issues of unreadable, damaged, and partially removed stickers existing. There were also several stickers placed very high up, perhaps a challenge for who can sticker the highest exists, which were difficult for my lowly 5'3" (160cm) frame to see or photograph. In addition, despite attempting to cover my bases by tracking both sides of the street, complicated street architecture, such as crossing islands, meant that some areas on key streets were missed. If

larger obstructions covered an area, for example a van was parked on part of Hämeentie, blocking a wall, I made a note of that area and came back to it at a later time. In a longer-term study, differences in time stamps may impact the study as the stickers may have been put up after the initial visit to the area. But as this study was conducted within an 8-day period, no significant changes in messaging are likely. Finally, Sörnäisten Rantatie (the purple road at the bottom right of my study area) was inaccessible to pedestrians on most of the east side. On the west side, the road was too dangerous to follow, so I stuck to the nearby pedestrian path. This means that although the recordings are not from the exact same location, they are from a natural place for people to walk, and therefore place messages. Sörnäisten Rantatie, along with other areas which were blocked by construction work, were marked on the back of my double-sided fieldwork map. This is recreated in digital form in Figure 4.1. This map was also created in QGIS. Using the base map of Kallio, I created a new layer and saved it as a shapefile with polygon format. From here, I toggled editing on and drew each of the construction zones onto the map, saving each as a separate feature. I then went to the layer's properties to adjust the colour scheme. I repeated the process for the 'busy road' category to create the final map.
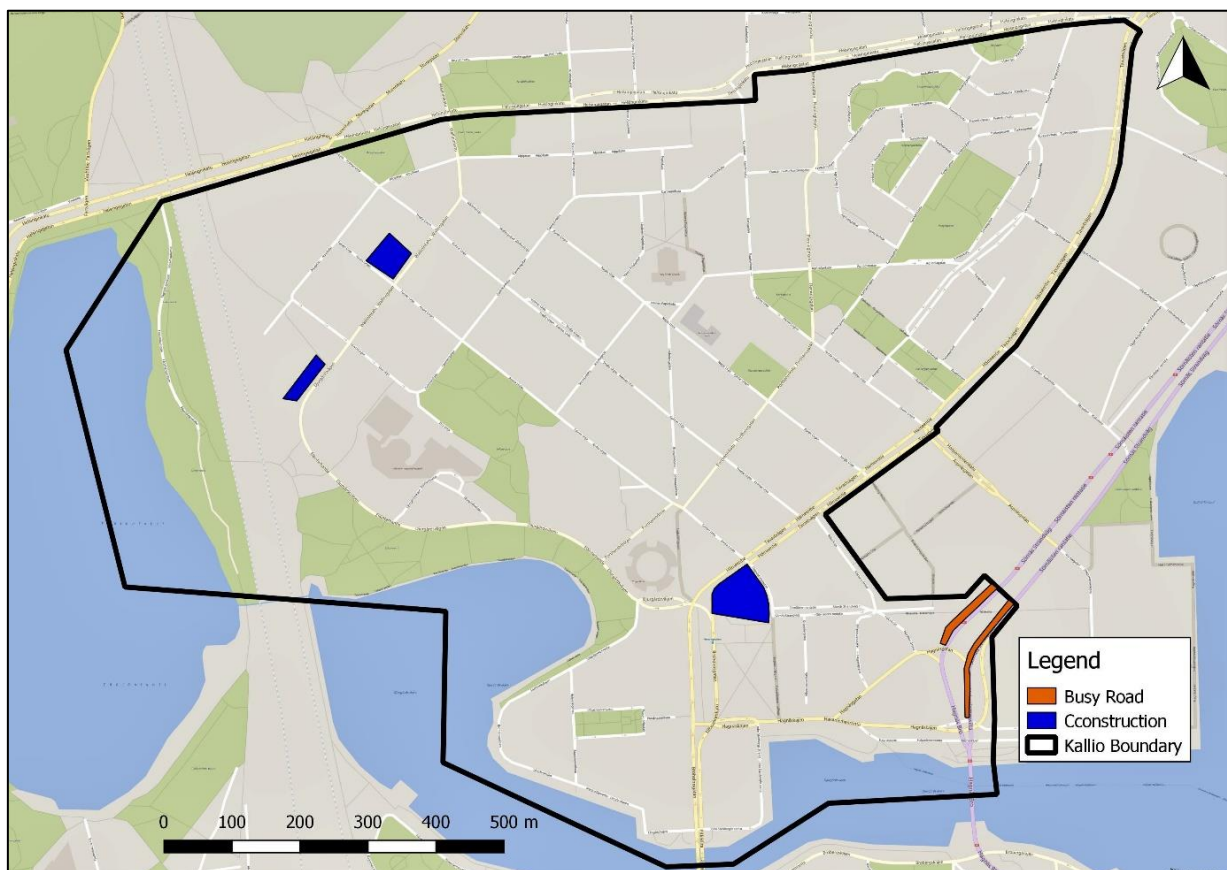

Figure 4.1. Map of Obstacles to Fieldwork.

4.1 Findings

My initial data collection returned 173 entries. This is a rather large dataset, so I decided to tweak my parameters slightly. Instead of including all anti-violence messages, I instead brought it down to only feminist messages, removing messages such as '*love*' or '*peace*'. This then

returned 70 entries. I also found 5 anti-feminist messages, which are not in the dataset, but will be discussed further on in the thesis.

An interesting broad finding is that many of the stickers have multiple messages, including feminism with other issues such as homophobia or fascism. Indeed, there were many anti-fascist/anti-Nazi messages in the area during my time of study. In addition, there were many anarchy symbols in the area, which was surprising to me and was a topic that I got quite interested in reading about as part of this project. During later discussions, it was revealed to me that indeed Kallio has a strong history with various anarchist movements and that these symbols and messages continue that tradition into the modern day.

Once I had covered all of the streets of Kallio, I used the earlier created Kallio QGIS 2.18.15 file and I uploaded the CSV data using the 'Add delimited text layer' function. This allowed me to add the Kallio messaging data to the map by setting the X field to 'longitude' and the Y field to 'latitude', using the location data recorded. I then selected 'new print composer' and created a printable map in the same way as previously. Figure 4.2 shows these results and Figure 4.3 shows the context of the locations that the messages were found in.

Some ethical considerations came into this fieldwork. The points of bias comes into play and have been partially explained in the obstacles section. There is also the issue of my status as a non-native researcher. Language barriers may mean that I missed certain campaigns[6]. To try and overcome this, I made some preliminary walks with Finnish-speaking people to get a sense for the main Finnish campaigns. I also chose to make logs of any slogans I could not understand, allowing me to do a desk-based search to later determine what the slogan/message referred to and deciding whether to keep or delete the data point. In addition, it was impossible for me to determine the exact boundaries of Kallio from street level. To overcome this, the points from the Epicollect5 location data were examined on a map, and those that did not fit within the boundary were deleted.

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[6] Languages I noticed in the field included English, Finnish, Swedish, German and Kurdish
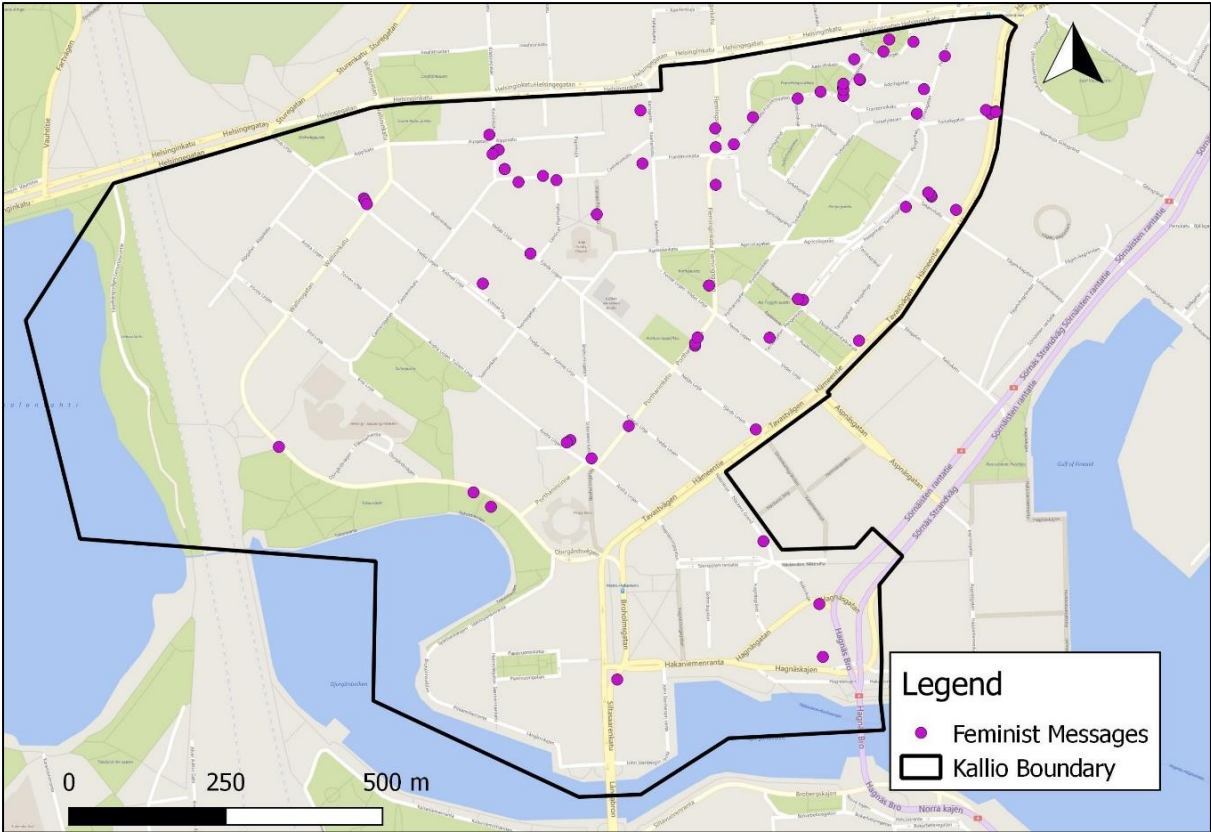
Figure 4.2. Feminist Street Messages in Kallio.
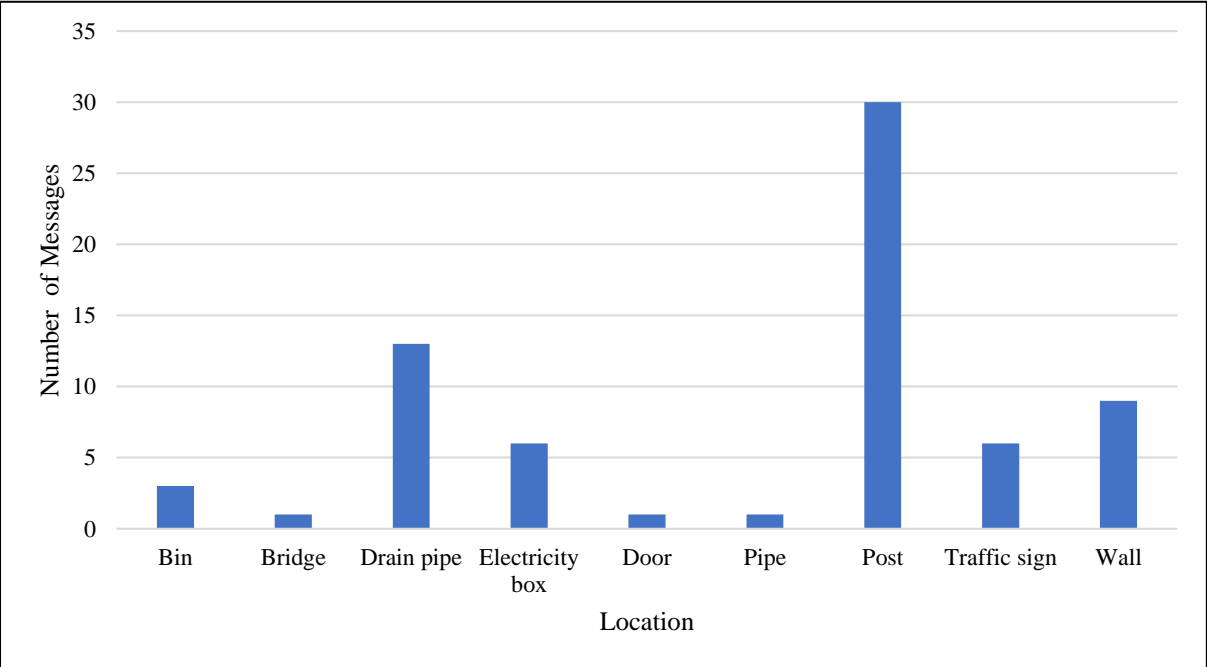
Figure 4.3. Location of Messages Found in Kallio.

4.2 Stickers

There were 70 feminist messages in total, with 21 different messages. Figures 4.4 to 4.8 show these messages as found in Kallio.

Figure 4.4. Kwolo Sticker (Top Left). Mai Kivelä Campaign Sticker (Top Right). 'Oh Yes She's A Bitch…' Sticker (Bottom Left). 'Fight Like A Grrrl' Sticker (Bottom Right). Photographs: Rachel Jones.

Figure 4.5. Anarcha-Feminist Symbol and Flag Sticker (Left). 'Rapists Get It' Sticker (Middle). 'Crush Patriarchy' Sticker (Right). Photographs: Rachel Jones.

Figure 4.6. Anarcha-Feminist Flag Graffiti (Top Left). 'Hyggelig' Sticker (Bottom Left). Snow White Sticker (Right). Photographs: Rachel Jones.
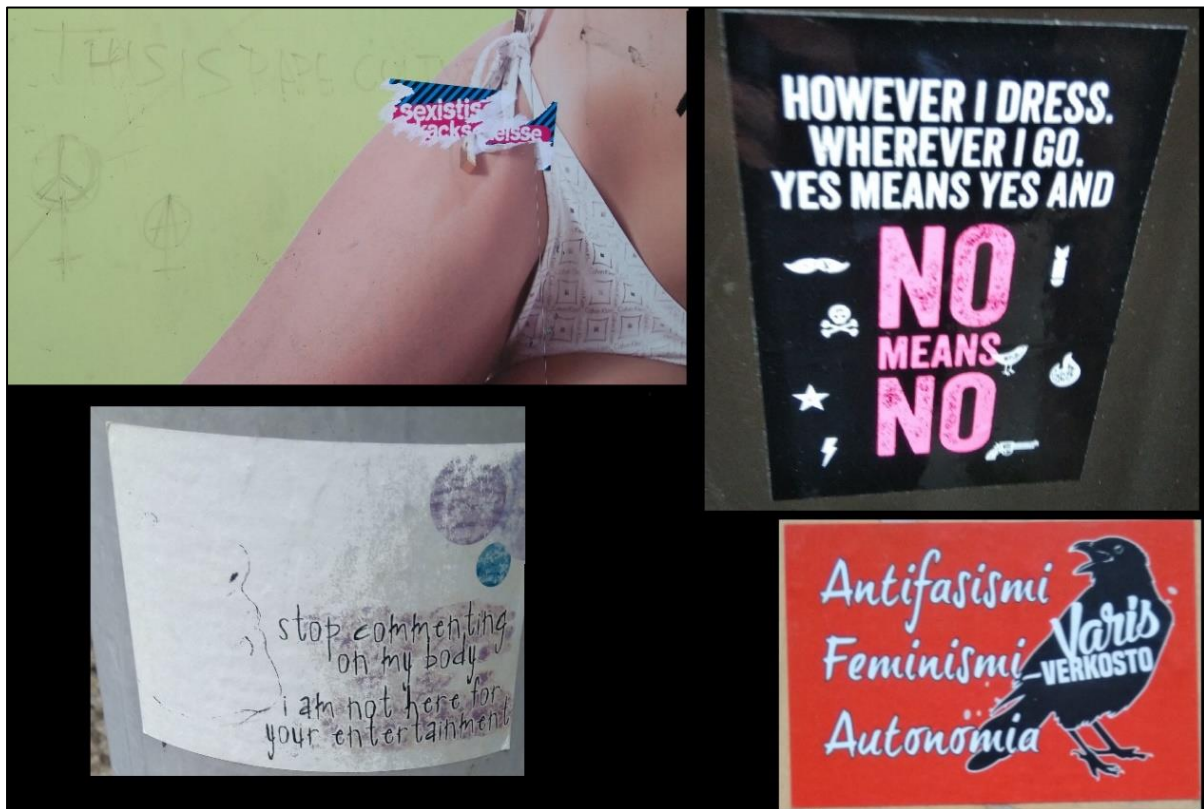
Figure 4.7. 'This Is Rape Culture' Graffiti, Peace-Feminist and Anarcha-Feminist Symbols And 'Sexistische Kackscheisse' Sticker (Top Left). 'However I Dress…' Sticker (Top Right). 'Stop Commenting On My Body…' Sticker (Bottom Left). Varis Verkosto Sticker (Bottom Right). Photographs: Rachel Jones.

Figure 4.8. Feminist Fist Sticker (Top Left). 'No Sexism, No Lookism, No Homophobia. No Discussion' Sticker (Top Right). 'Fuck Off…' Sticker (Bottom Left). Kvinnofront Sticker (Bottom Right). Photographs: Rachel Jones.

4.3 Content Analysis

Following the outlining of the variables in the Methods chapter, a content analysis will be performed on the feminist street messages of Kallio. Four codes were deduced from the data: 1. Militant Messages; 2. Feminist Symbols; 3. Other Political Text-Based Messages and 4. Only Feminist Text-Based Messages. It was decided that data points could fit into more than one category.

Code Number	Title
Code 1	Militant Messages
Code 2	Feminist Symbols
Code 3	Other Political Text-Based Messages
Code 3 Subgroup A	Anarchist
Code 3 Subgroup B	Anti-Fascist/Anti-Nazi
Code 4	Only Feminist Text-Based Messages

Message	Code(s)	Frequency	Medium
Fight Sexism and Homophobia (Snow White)	1, 3	18	Sticker
Antifasismi Feminismi Autonomia Varis Verkosto	3, 3B	10	Sticker
However I Dress. Wherever I Go. Yes Means Yes and No Means No	4	7	Sticker
Fight Like A Grrrl. Fight Patriarchy, Borders & Nazis	1, 2, 3, 3A, 3B	5	Sticker
Mai Kivelä Political Campaign	3	5	Sticker
Anarcha-Feminist Symbol on Purple/Black Background	2, 3A	4	Sticker
Fuck Off Fascists Racists Antisemites Speciesists Sexists Homophobists Nationalists Patriots!	1, 3, 3B	2	Sticker
Sexistische Kackscheisse	4	2	Sticker
Hyggelig Fuck the Patriarchy Fuck Nazis Fuck Your Opinions	1, 3, 3B	2	Sticker
Kvinnofront Allt Åt Alla Stockholm	2, 4	2	Sticker
Stop Commenting on My Body I Am Not Here For Your Entertainment	4	2	Sticker
Oh Yes She's A Bitch But Not Yours	4	2	Sticker
This Is Rape Culture	4	1	Graffiti
Peace Feminist Symbol	2	1	Graffiti
Anarcha-Feminist Symbol	2, 3A	1	Graffiti
Anarcha-Feminist Flag	2, 3A	1	Graffiti
Feminist Fist	2	1	Sticker
No Sexism No Lookism No Homophobia No Discussion	3	1	Sticker
Crush Patriarchy	1, 4	1	Sticker
Rapists Get It	1	1	Sticker
Kwolo	2	1	Sticker

Code 1 – Militant Messages

This code includes feminist messages which are polemic or militant in nature. This can include guns or the idea of 'smashing' something. In this case, swearing in itself does not constitute 'aggression', but some other coders may have included profane messages in this category. The Snow White figure is holding a gun in the 'Fight sexism and homophobia message'. 'Fight Like a Grrrl' refers to fighting and depicts a big cat with its mouth wide open preparing to bite something or someone. 'Fuck off…' with the middle finger held up may not be violent per se, but gives a very strong message of intolerance to people with these views. This is also the case with the Hyggelig sticker. 'Crush patriarchy' with the T-rex indicates a similar message. Finally, the 'Rapists get it' sticker with the large pair of scissors is the most violent message within the dataset. Since this project stated at the outset that it was studying anti-violence messages, the messages in this code create problems. Whilst these messages are all feminist, they are not anti-violence. This code exists in 29 of the 70 messages (41%).

Code 2 – Feminist Symbols

These include symbols generally accepted as feminist, such as the female symbol ♀ or the anarcha-feminist flag (black and purple bisected flag). Whilst these messages are extremely activist, and show others in the area that they are not alone with their thoughts, it is obvious that those outside of the activist network will not be able to understand what the message means, with the exception of the female ♀ symbol. The 'Fight Like a Grrrl' sticker includes an image of a woman as well as a trans-anarchist symbol. Some coders may not have included this sticker in code 2, but I thought on balance it deserved to be in this category. Feminist symbols appear in 17 of the 70 messages (24%).

Code 3 – Other Political Text-Based Messages

This code makes note of feminist messages which also include other political themes within the sticker/graffiti. Messages with multiple political points may suffer from giving mixed messages which could put people off, for example if they agree with one political point but not another. The messages may also get lost if a lot is being said or if the text size has been reduced to accommodate the messages. There were 43 messages with other political aspects to them, 61% of the total number of messages. The Snow White and 'No Sexism' stickers also refer to homophobia. Varis Verkosto's sticker also refers to anti-fascism and autonomy. 'Fight Like a Grrrl' also has a message against borders and Nazis. Mai Kivelä's sticker is a political campaign message encouraging people to vote for her. Hyggelig's message is also against Nazis, and the 'Fuck off…' message contains many other political views.

Code 3 Subgroup A – Anarchist

Eleven anarchist messages were found (16%). These messages are those which are obviously and explicitly anarchist. The 'Fight Like A Grrrl' message contains a trans-anarchism symbol, so has been included in this category alongside the anarcha-feminist symbols.

Code 3 Subgroup B – Anti-Fascist/Anti-Nazi

There were an overwhelming number of anti-fascists stickers in Kallio. Hence, I thought it prudent to make a code including these types of messages. Those included are only those which mention feminism, a total of 19 (27% of total) were found. These include Varis Verkosto's sticker, 'Fight Like A Grrrl', 'Fuck off…' and Hyggelig's message 'Fuck Nazis'.

Code 4 – Only Feminist Text-Based Messages

This code includes feminist messages and any text referring to women or women's issues. For the most part, these give a clearer message than the other messages and are not associated with radical politics. However, again they may be too niche for the average passer-by to react to,

such as the Kvinnofront message. Other messages in this category include 'However I dress…', 'Sexistische Kackscheisse [Sexist Bullshit], 'Stop Commenting…', 'Oh Yes She's a Bitch…', 'This is Rape Culture' and 'Crush Patriarchy'. There were 17 of these messages, at 24% of the total. Many of these messages fit into this code only, again providing a clearer and less radical expression of feminist thoughts.

Analysis

Feminist messages with other political statements (code 3) were by far the most common, at 61% of the messages found. The next most common was militant messages (code 1), at 41%. Feminist symbols (Code 2) and other feminist text-based messages (Code 4) were equal, at 24% each. Clearly, there is a preference to state other messages alongside feminism in the Kallio area. This perhaps suggests that stickers are aiming to persuade people towards a certain political stance, rather than calling for direct feminist action. Indeed, none of the messages directly reference domestic violence, and the only reference to violence is 'rapists get it' and allusions towards symbolic violence, such as rape culture.

Extra Section – Anti-Feminist

Taking down feminist messages can be seen as anti-feminist. But it is impossible for me to tell whether they were taken down, ripped deliberately or damaged by the weather. Therefore, only explicit 'anti-feminist' messages are included. Five anti-feminist messages were found. Four of these are displayed in Figure 4.9. The fifth depicts a woman being tortured. I have chosen to omit the image due to its unpleasant nature and to prevent it being spread across the Internet.

Figure 4.9. Anti-Feminist Messages. Photographs: Rachel Jones.

Section 2 identified that there is always opposition in public spaces where all views come together. Street feminism in Kallio is no exception with the five anti-feminist messages identified. The 'Fuck off Feminism' and 'I hate feminism' messages all write 'feminism' in capitals but with the letter 'i' in lower case. This may suggest they were all authored by the same person, but more analysis would be required to say that for certain.

The sticker which I omitted the image of depicts a cartoonised image of a woman being tortured. She is in a garotte with electric rods attached to her nipples and screaming in pain. Upon seeing the image I had a very physical reaction, tensing up. It was not that this was an entirely new image to me, rather that it was an unexpected one, one which made me acutely aware of my femininity within the public space. Whether the image is some 'in-joke', cartoon series or depicting consensual BDSM (unlikely), is rather beside the point here. This image presents to the unsuspecting woman the notion that she may be attacked in that way, or that those who would attack her this way exist in the area she finds herself in.

Michail Galanakis (2019) wrote a piece addressing the sexualisation of women within public spaces. He wrote that:

> "Representations of the predominantly female body as aesthetically pleasing and young, flood the privacy of our homes and are endorsed in the officialdom of public space" (p.55).

The solarium studio advertisement certainly fits into this category and as a result seems to be a key battleground for local feminists. Since I began this project, I have seen the messages on this billboard evolve. Initially, the word 'Sex' was written on with black pen. A few weeks later, it was amended to 'Sex(ism Sux)'. From this, a much larger graffiti, with the word 'Sex' now much larger, emerged. By the time I started my two-week fieldwork, two 'Sexistische Kackscheisse [Sexist Bullshit]' stickers had been placed onto the scantily clad women, along with the text 'This is rape culture' and the anarcha- and peace-feminist symbols. In addition, a 'Goodnight White Pride' sticker has been placed to the right of the advertisement. Due to its 'battleground' status, I decided this was well worth including in the interview questions.

Sticker Origins

When I was conducting my fieldwork, I often wondered where the stickers originally came from. Some investigations identified the Mustan Kanin Kolo store on Hämeentie and the Black Mosquito online store as likely sources. Out of interest, I ordered an English sticker mix from Black Mosquito[7]. When purchasing, Finland was listed as the third highest country to choose from for delivery. Of the 40 stickers sent to me, 24 of which were of individual messages. Of the 24 messages, I had seen 9 (37.5%) of these in the Kallio area. Therefore, I would argue that it's very likely that some stickers are sourced from this, or a partner site. Black Mosquito also sent me leaflets about various political movements. These included Rojava, sea rescue of refugees, G20 protests in Germany, free media/Internet, and climate anarchism.

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[7] https://black-mosquito.org/en/sticker-mix-40x-english.html

5. INTERVIEWS

5.1 Interviewees

The process of finding interviewees was challenging. It is likely that many people are unwilling to discuss, or have their name/company associated with, illegal forms of message spreading. Therefore, only five interviews were conducted. In future studies, more interviewees should be collected to increase the validity of the research.

The interviewees were as follows:

1. Kallio Seura[8] - A community group looking to improve life in Kallio and deepen local knowledge of the area. This interview was conducted as a pilot interview with a large group size (~13). The interview was also conducted in Finnish through a translator and no photographs were shown to the group members. Since the same interview framework was not used, only general thoughts could be recorded.

2. Varis Verkosto[9] - An activist organisation with its primary focus on anti-fascism. Two activists were interviewed, pseudonyms Aapo and Jussi. Jussi has been a member of Varis Verkosto for five years and is active in trade union activism. Aapo has been a member of Varis Verkosto for a few months.

3. Brigantia Törnqvist – Former chair of the Helsinki branch of the Feminist Party and current member. Törnqvist wishes to use her platform to further the feminist cause. For this reason, Törnqvist wished to get involved in this study and therefore has not been anonymised. She is a long-term supporter of feminist movements and tries to incorporate feminism into her current teaching role.

4. Katya (pseudonym) - An activist who has collaborated with urban street festivals in Helsinki and participated in a feminist urban planning project. She now lives in Lund, Sweden and is part of an independent political collective which has socialist, feminist, and anti-racist interests. The interview was done remotely, I emailed her the questions and she sent her responses as video messages.

5. Ville (pseudonym) – an activist who has previously been active in street political media and stickering. He is also part of Varis Verkosto. Ville has been part of the anarchist scene and has participated in organised action against the Nordic Resistance Movement (PVL).

5.2 Responses

Since the Kallio Seura interview did not use the same questionnaire or structure as the other interviews, it will be presented separately. This interview provides more of a community aspect to the study, rather than just exploring what political activists think of street politics.

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[8] https://www.kaupunginosat.net/kallio/kallion-toimijat/kallio-seura
[9] https://varisverkosto.com/mika-varis/#English

The Kallio Seura group had mixed views about stickers. One participant thought that they are akin to graffiti and another said she rips them down if she sees them. On the other hand, some members thought that they are good conversation starters and they have sympathy with feminist and anti-fascist groups. A member of Kallio Seura said that they remember messages being put onto gates and fences around construction sites in the past and another remarked that they felt threatened by a series of messages which have been placed around Helsinki, saying "God ☩ or money 666" (See Figure 5.1). The interviewee who felt threatened is herself a Christian, which demonstrates just how uncomfortable people have been made by these messages. In contrast, another member of the Kallio Seura group notably asked: "*Do we have those in Kallio*?". Perhaps here we see a generational gap in knowing where to spot stickers. Or perhaps those outside of 'the scene' generally do not notice them. My fieldwork certainly showed that there *are* feminist and political stickers in Kallio so that is not the issue here. Another point raised by the group was that '*everything's online these days – what is the need for stickers?*'. Of course, this is a very valid point. What I hope to prove in this study is that stickers do contribute something to the violence against women discussion, but perhaps a further study comparing the effects of street vs. online media would be interesting to explore. Ultimately, the group concluded that stickers are good for starting conversations. But it requires a community setting to discuss them and that they're more impactful if they are in a location that they shouldn't be.
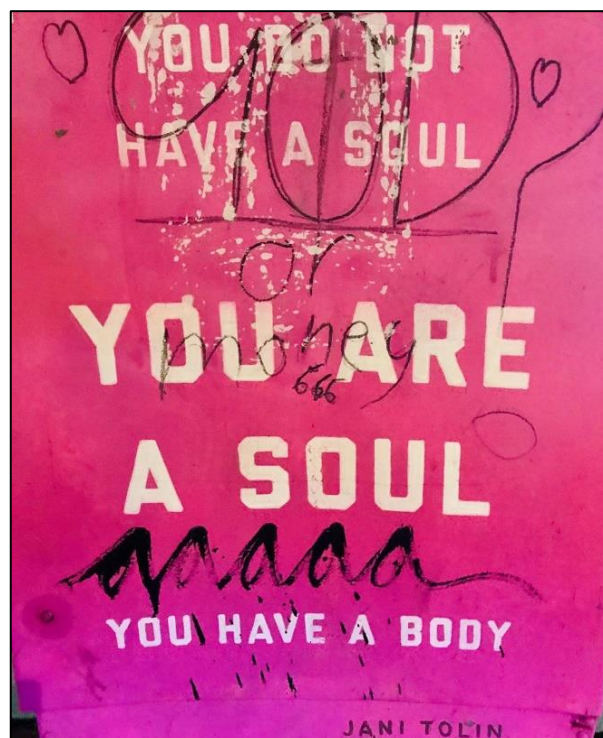

Figure 5.1. "God Or Money" Graffiti Example. (Source: Simonovic 2020).[10]

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[10] Indeed, when looking for an example of this graffiti, I noticed that Jani Tolin's work has been subjected to counter-messages from religious groups and Nazi-sympathisers in the past. Tolin says of this: "Restoration is needed. Again. Surprising how much spiritual content sparks reaction…"

The interviewees had generally positive views about stickers. An interesting point raised by both Katya and Jussi was that there are less stickers in other regions of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area than in central Helsinki. These responses came unprompted, which perhaps suggests there are large differences between areas which are highly noticeable. After opening the conversation, I showed each respondent the photograph-based questions. This allowed the respondents to see examples of the messages in Kallio and gather their thoughts about the type of messages the interview was asking about. The images were shown to the interviewees in a different order each time, so that no biases came into the study. I decided not to show every image from each code category. This gives the interviewee less to process at once and allows the 'best', or most clear examples to be examined. Despite this, selectively choosing which stickers to show inevitably brings biases into the research from the researcher's part.

Set 1 – Other Political Messages (Code 3)

The 'No Sexism…' sticker was damaged and missed part of the message, so I decided to replace it with an online version of how the sticker's message would have originally looked (albeit in a different colour).

Figure 5.2. Mai (Top) and Varis Verkosto (Bottom Left) Stickers. Photographs: Rachel Jones. 'No Sexism…' Sticker (Right). Source: Black Mosquito 2020b.

Both the Feminist Party group and Ville responded well to the message from Mai Kivelä's campaign, with Ville saying:

Mai Kivelä – even before her political career she was really active in the animal rights and environmental movement. She was a long-term activist herself, non-violent direct action and stuff like that. She's cool.

Mai Kivelä[11] was voted into parliament in 2019 and ran on an environmental and feminist platform. The messages on the sticker refer to the climate [ilmasto], feminism [feminismi] and basic income [perustulo]. Her popularity amongst activists, even those who did not vote for her, shows strong views about these issues and support for her political actions.

Despite the word 'feminism' being on the sticker, activist Katya said that she associated this sticker, and Varis Verkosto, more with anti-fascism than feminism. None of the interviewees had ever seen the 'No Sexism…' sticker in Helsinki. Ville suggested that it may be more relevant in the German scene. There was a lot of confusion over what 'lookism' refers to. However, Brigantia Törnqvist liked the 'punk' 1970s vibe and identified the message as the best out of this set. Törnqvist identified the 'No Sexism…' sticker as being the best out of the set. The discussions around what autonomy and lookism mean back up my idea that the messages with multiple political messages crammed into them may cause confusion about what the message is trying to convey. None of the thoughts brought up by the interviewees went deeply into the feminism theme, instead exploring the other caveats of the messages.

Set 2 – Only Feminist Text-Based Messages (Code 4)

Figure 5.3. 'However I Dress…' Sticker (Left) and 'Rape Culture' Graffiti (Top Right) Photographs: Rachel Jones. 'Stop Commenting…' Sticker (Bottom Right) Source: People's History Archive 2012.

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[11] https://maikivela.fi/about-mai/.

The 'However I Dress…' sticker was well recognised by the interviewees. Both Ville and Katya identify that the sticker has been around for nearly a decade. Indeed, the phrase was popularised following the creation of the Slut Walk[12] in 2011 (The Australian 2011). Ville and Katya also said that the sticker has seen a resurgence since the #MeToo movement. Indeed, the sticker was the third most popular out of the dataset, with seven of the stickers existing in the Kallio area. In addition, the Varis Verkosto group noted that the sticker is easy to understand:

> [Jussi]: *Something like 'no means no' is a very clear and good message.*

> [Aapo]: *Yeah, there's no way you can misinterpret that.*

However, Brigantia Törnqvist identified an issue with the message:

> **Only* yes means yes by the way.*

It is interesting that the Varis Verkosto group found the message to be clear, but Brigantia did not. This perhaps highlights a need to focus-group messages if activists want their messages to be heard clearly and without misunderstandings.

Brigantia Törnqvist had very strong feelings about the solarium advertisement:

> *I walk past this horrid picture a lot and it pisses me off. Big time. Every time I see it, I fucking hate it. It's been there since, I don't know, 2000 or something. There used to be a solarium there, there isn't any more. I hope. It is disgusting.*

In response to the 'This is Rape Culture' and 'Sexist Bullshit' messages, Törnqvist remarked:

> *Those are new. Those have not been there for more than a year or so. So you can see there is something happening at least in Helsinki, at least in Kallio.*

Jussi agreed with this sentiment:

> [Jussi, Varis Verkosto]: *it's also good because it's a statement on this existing advertisement, which is there anyway, so it's good commentary on that. Very easy and simple way to reclaim street space from advertisements and commercialised messages that people may not want to see on the streets.*

These remarks consider themes such as fighting back against both sexism and a commentary on the existing solarium advertisement. It is worth noting that this advertising board is almost notorious in Helsinki. Everyone I spoke to about this topic knew about this advertisement and many had strong views about it. As I mentioned in the Anti-Feminism section, this billboard is clearly a battleground and often undergoes changes in the messages displayed on it. From my own perspective, people who sticker or write on this board are very gutsy. The board is on a busy street and no matter what time of day you add your message someone is bound to see you.

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[12] The Slut Walk is a march which rallies against rape culture and slut shaming

Figure 5.4. Snow White Sticker (Top Left), 'Rapists Get It' Sticker (Bottom Left), 'Fight Like a Grrrl' Sticker (Bottom Middle) and 'Crush Patriarchy' Sticker (Bottom Right). Photographs: Rachel Jones. Fuck Off…' Sticker (Top Right) (Source: Black Mosquito 2020a).

The Snow White sticker was generally well received, with a few comments expressing concerns over the gun and its militancy. This sticker was the most frequent out of the data set, with 18 of the stickers existing in Kallio. Therefore, I expected a somewhat stronger positive response towards the sticker. This perhaps highlights other reasons as to why it is the most commonly found feminist sticker in Kallio. For example, it may be easier to obtain than some of the other stickers. The 'Fuck off…' sticker was appreciated for its humour and the 'Fight Like A Grrrl' sticker was widely praised. Ville critiqued the messages as a whole for their militant nature. He argued that these are not, in fact, anti-violence messages and reflected on the paradox of tolerance, saying that society must be intolerant of intolerance.

[Brigantia, Feminist Party]:

> *Not liking the gun that much. Otherwise, Disney always works. Disney princesses always work in everything (…) humour works.*

> *Rapists get it. This is radical feminism definitely. It has the echoes of radical feminism of the 70s and then we have riot grrrl, from the 90s.*

[Katya, activist]:

The one with snow white holding a rifle I've seen it also a lot. I think it's also quite old but it's quite cool. I've seen it around uni. The one with grandma who says fuck off, that one is really cool. Fight like a grrrl – that one I've actually been gluing around myself and I have it on my phone now. And the one with the dinosaur, that's actually really really cool as well.

[Ville, activist]:

A lot of these stickers are very militant. The message in these stickers, like snow white with an assault rifle, this sort of militant feminism and militant anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-homophobia, it's like intolerance of intolerance.

The 'Fight Like A Grrrl' sticker referenced the Riot Grrrl movement. This emerged in 1991 as a reaction to the overt masculinity of punk culture of the time and as a means of communication outside of the mainstream media (Belzer 2000; Schilt 2004). Riot Grrrl made use of both music and zines to spread their message, as well as organising local meet-ups, where young women could discuss issues such as sexual harassment and music (Belzer 2000, p.39). Leblanc (2000, p.132) identifies that Riot Grrrls challenging masculine punk standards has led them to become marginalised, and forming a new subculture which is distinct from punk.

Set 4 – Feminist Symbols (Code 2)

Figure 5.5. Anarcha-Feminist Flag (Left) Source: (Liftarn 2019). Feminist Fist (Middle) and Anarcha-Feminist Symbol (Right) Photographs: Rachel Jones.

These symbols are quite niche, so some of the respondents attempted to determine the background to the symbols and their placement in Helsinki. Ville and Brigantia particularly

liked the sticker on the right, whilst Jussi identified that the stickers may not mean anything to the general population of Kallio.

[Katya, activist]:

> *Left one, I know there is this movement in Helsinki, it's about autonomous use of your body and against any control that government imposes on their bodies, especially non-binary bodies and queer bodies and female bodies. The second one I'm not actually quite sure if it's any specific female fight sign. I haven't seen it before. The third one, some sort of feminist movement with anarchistic values.*

[Varis Verkosto]:

> [Jussi]: *Unless you are a queer anarchist or feminist, this probably would not have any significance unless you are familiar or if some random passer-by sees these it's not going to be of much worth but they are still very, if you are for example a queer anarchist, if you're a feminist then you might recognise these and it's more of a message to the in-group, which is not necessarily a bad thing.*

Katya's response again indicates the presence of an autonome community within Kallio. The interviewees' responses indicate that these stickers provide support to other members of the activist community, but have little meaning to the average passer-by.

Reflections on All Sets:

Overall, the 'Fight Like A Grrrl' sticker was very popular, with three out of the four respondents identifying it as a favourite. The militant stickers (code 1) also proved popular, with the Snow White sticker receiving praise from some, whilst some were taken aback by the gun in the image. Messages with images were better received than graffiti without images. In addition, clear and well-sized text was seen as important. Brigantia Törnqvist thought that more Finnish, Swedish etc. stickers are needed, as using English alone excludes some members of Finnish society.

[Brigantia, Feminist Party]:

> *These would work better if they were in Finnish as well. Or maybe even in Swedish. Or Somali or whatever, you know. [English and German only] is not inclusion, is it?*

[Varis Verkosto]:

> [Aapo]: *I like the snow white a lot. Any of them that are clear!*
>
> [Jussi]: *I like that one and I also like the 'no means no' one and the 'rapists get it'. It's a good message, both. It sends a message to the in-group but also*

broader, it's quite a feminist statement that also other people understand and it makes that kind of politics more visible.

[Aapo]: *The most important thing with stickers is a clear typeface. If somebody sees it from 5 metres away walking by and if it is even a little bit not clear then they're not gonna A. see it and B. stop and read what's on it. So it needs to be clear up to 5 to 10 metres.*

Further Questions:

The interviewees suggested that these street messages could make people feel more comfortable in public spaces:

[Katya, activist]:

I think messages like these could make women more comfortable in public areas when you're surrounded by signs that these issues are acknowledged.

[Ville, activist]:

Advertisements. They affect you. They create a presence because they're physical and they're on the wall. I do think it makes some people more comfortable to be there or to voice their own opinion.

However, Brigantia Törnqvist recognised that some messages, such as the 'Fuck off…' sticker, may aggravate people and make others feel less safe. There was also a recognition that street messaging alone will not achieve this goal.

[Ville, activist]:

Not only stickers but demonstrations are really important, the physical being, not just writing online, but physically on the streets. Political activism has a lot of effect on people getting involved. It's only one part of a bigger picture.

[Jussi, Varis Verkosto]:

If there's a sticker that says 'No Nazis' that doesn't mean that there's no Nazis there. It's very easy to put a sticker but very hard to get rid of the Nazis there. The reality might not be what is described in the stickers.

[Katya, activist]:

It can make women feel less comfortable because they remind them of these issues and maybe can trigger someone's trauma but I think generally it can make women more comfortable, but I think the effect is quite neutral.

Jussi's point that 'No Nazis' stickers do not mean there are no Nazis is very important to acknowledge. Through the lens of violence against women, the stickers do not necessarily mean that these issues do not take place in an area. Ville also made a comment on this issue:

Even within the queer scene there have been cases of rape, the scene itself has had to discuss how to take care of issues like this, unconsented stuff. So even groups and scenes that are extremely anti-rape or feminist do have problems themselves with these issues, it's not like they're exempt of it.

The advantages of street media were also discussed. Like Kallio Seura, Brigantia Törnqvist said that the element of surprise makes people take notice, perhaps stopping and looking at the message. This was seen as an advantage over social media, which is seen as crowded and chaotic. Stickers in particular were seen as an easy way to spread simple messages and are anonymous in nature.

[Brigantia, Feminist Party]:

If it's well situated, you may actually see it, see it. You may actually stop and look at it for a longer time. In social media there are so many things going on, so hectic, it might be, you might not be really focussing on anything. But a sticker, somewhere unexpected *laughs* yeah. It can be very powerful.

[Katya, activist]:

Many people might see them. (…) I really like stickers, I think they're pretty, I think it's an easy form to spread the message.

[Jussi, Varis Verkosto]:

It's really easy to have a pack of stickers in your jacket and just put them around (…) sometimes you want to be more anonymous and you don't want your face on some racist Facebook page. Stickering is easy to do and probably your face will be nowhere.

The advantages raised were mostly in the same category. In contrast, several themes came up when discussing potential negatives of stickering, ranging from ineffectiveness to aggravation. The potential for triggering someone's trauma is the most concerning possibility, since it does the opposite of what the sticker was intended for. Potentially aggravating groups of men and in turn making women more scared would also prove problematic. Therefore, sticker makers must think carefully about the exact text and images they use in their messages. There is also the problem that the people the stickers advocate for will need to clean them off. This is particularly relevant when advocating for the poor or immigrants in society. When considering women's issues, particularly violence issues, this problem is likely to be lessened, although will still exist. As Ville noted, the street political movement in Finland is small, meaning there is less likelihood for conflict amongst groups, as in Germany. However, infighting is always a possibility and can be seen within feminist groups (e.g. some women's opposition to the Slut Walk – See Evans 2017). The Kallio Seura member's notion that stickers are akin to graffiti also illustrates problems with the medium. If stickers become menaces to society, we could see a return to the zero-tolerance era or messages could simply be ignored or destroyed.

[Brigantia, Feminist Party]:

> *I suppose this [fuck fascists… sticker] might aggravate some people and in that sense, it might scare some women in that sense that well, if it's dark outside and you're walking and there's a group of men and they're reading this and then you go past.*

[Katya, activist]:

> *If they trigger someone's trauma or if people who the stickers try to advocate for need to clean them off the surfaces or if the stickers create some kind of conflict in public space (…) people who have to wash the stickers off are exactly the people that the messages on the stickers maybe try to speak for.*

[Ville, activist]:

> *It can be counterproductive creating divisions between allies. For example, Mai Kivelä – say she's a politician and Left Alliance and say I'm an anarchist, even though we agree on stuff, if I start hating on her because she's a politician it's counterproductive. Who's going to win out of that, what's the point of it? Infighting is counterproductive.*

[Jussi, Varis Verkosto]:

> *A sticker is a very, it has to be quite simple idea. So for example if you look at feminist policy you can have very nuanced feminist policy – it has to be like 'equality is good'. It's a sticker, you can't really go much deeper than 'equality is good', 'Nazis are bad', 'climate change is bad' because it's extremely short.*

None of the questionnaire-based interviewees were overly concerned about the illegality of street media. This was not a surprising finding since at least four out of the five interviewees had been involved in stickering in the past. Ville made a particularly important comment about balancing activism with legality:

[Ville, activist]:

> *at some point a person has to choose when the limit has been reached, that you have to break a law to fight injustice. You can go through history and see situations when maybe a refugee is being sent to a place where we know they're going to get murdered and you might feel a moral obligation to break the law, to get involved. It's important to not limit political activism because of the law.*

However, Ville and Varis Verkosto's Aapo remarked that common sense boundaries must be followed:

[Aapo, Varis Verkosto]:

> *I don't think anybody's going to really care, unless you put a sticker on a shop window or something.*

[Ville, activist]:

> *Of course, there's tactfulness of where you put them, I wouldn't put them in a day-care centre, that's inappropriate, or someone's private house, their window, I mean come on! (…) But breaking the law for valorising and glorifying it, putting activists on a pedestal because of how bad they've been, I think that's counterproductive and I also don't believe a person should become a martyr. Why would you want to throw away your life just because you want to prove you're a hardcore activist?*

Having included the question about illegality, and seen the respondent's not being aware of any consequences, I decided to consult with Pykälä Ry[13] to see what the consequences would be. Under Finnish law, the penalty depends on the severity of the action and can come with a fine or imprisonment for at most one year for a 'medium' crime, or up to four years for severe criminal damage.

There was an agreement amongst the interviewees that the messages found in Kallio could help overcome a 'keeping it quiet' attitude and perhaps encourage violence reporting. In the same way, the messages could also help with overcoming pluralistic ignorance. As Katya noted, the messages can overcome a silence around feminist issues and spark wider discussions about their prevalence and how to address them. Despite this, a common theme that arose was that stickers alone are not enough. A person must already be thinking about e.g. coming forward, and the role of stickers are simply to reinforce these ideas or give self-confidence to the person. Nonetheless, giving confidence or support to someone who has experienced or is experiencing gender-based violence can only be seen as a positive.

[Katya, activist]:

> *I think it is one part of overcoming silence around feminist issues. I don't believe that anything can be fixed with just stickers but as one of the tools they are quite cool.*

> *To overcome pluralistic ignorance stickers can be quite effective because then a person who might think that okay this has just happened to me or this happened to me because I'm stupid, because I was drunk, because something… *something*, that society makes victims blame themselves and shames victims. But if for instance someone sees a message on the sticker, for instance, 'whatever I wear…' then they might think that 'okay it's not my fault, maybe this happened to someone else' and seek help.*

[Ville, activist]:

> *It does give a sense of 'I'm not alone with these thoughts'.*

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[13] Helsinki University's law student association

When you spread a lot of stickers and people see the same message over and over again in different places it starts to create some kind of an abstract consciousness of a political environment within the geographic environment.

[Varis Verkosto]:

[Aapo]: *if they're already thinking these things, they see this as a reaffirmation and solidarity. It might give them more self-confidence.*

[Jussi]: *Yeah. I think it's a part of the puzzle. By themselves I don't think that could be that big but it's part of the whole, the more people are exposed to the ideas the more likely they are to speak and this is one form of communication out of many.*

5.3 Analysis

It appears that movements from the past have seeped into modern day Kallio. For example. The Riot Grrrl movement from the 1990s and 1970s punk-style of the 'No Lookism…' sticker. These movements, therefore, have clearly been encouraging activism for some time. Ville and Katya also identified many stickers as being around for a long time. In addition, Helsinki has its own political and anarchist background – e.g. the autonomes – and the queer feminist scene is prominent in street messaging. Despite the majority of the messages being in English, there is still a distinctive local aspect to Kallio's messaging. This glocalisation process shows that stickers have an important role both within and between municipal and national borders.

Several advantages of using stickers as a medium of spreading messages were identified in the interviews. It was generally agreed amongst the activists that the stickers found in Kallio could make people feel more comfortable in public spaces, as they can see that their views are generally accepted or that hatred against their identity will not be tolerated. Stickers were also seen to have a high outreach, allowing many people to see them. This is a key part of why stickers and other street media could be so crucial in addressing pluralistic ignorance. The interviews also revealed that stickers can act as conversation starters, or can spark someone to action, both key aspects of spreading messages. Stickers were also identified as being clear, anonymous, and easy to spread. This means that an activist can have their voice heard clearly, without subjecting themselves to potential backlash, such as the Twitter abuse of women discussed by Mary Beard.

However, disadvantages of street media were also identified. The most obvious being the illegality of the method. Despite this, the questionnaire-based interviewees stated that they had no problem with the illegality of the medium. It is important to note that members of the general public, such as those within Kallio Seura, do take issue with street messaging due to its illegality and 'pest' nature. In addition, the more militant stickers provoked some strong reactions of dislike or discomfort in some interviewees. It was also raised by Brigantia Törnqvist that the militancy may provoke some people, making women feel less safe in public areas. Katya recognised that e.g. anti-rape stickers may trigger some people's trauma. In addition, more 'negative' stickers and graffiti can exist, such as pro-Nazism or the solarium

advertisement's 'sex' graffiti. Another point raised was that some of the symbols or messages may be too niche for a general audience, and that stickers alone will not be enough without the wider conversation around the issues raised in the stickers. The space on a sticker or piece of graffiti also does not give much of an opportunity for nuance, as Varis Verkosto mentioned, only general and short slogans can be used. These messages are also symbolic, saying 'No Nazis' or 'No Rape' does not mean that the issues are not a problem in the community. It is important to remember this when conducting studies on e.g. stickers, as no utopian society with no violence against women will be created with stickers alone. A final disadvantage was raised by Katya. She reflected that those people that the stickers try to advocate for are likely to be those who are tasked with cleaning them off the streets. This introduces a paradox into political street messaging – how does one advocate for the most marginalised of people without in turn causing them further harm? This is perhaps a question too broad for this thesis, but is certainly worth considering within activist groups.

Some key beneficial features of street media were identified in the interviews. Brigantia Törnqvist and Aapo commented that humour works. Particularly, unexpected humour whilst you're going about your day seems to be an effective way of getting people to notice messages. Kallio Seura and Törnqvist commented that the element of surprise offered by street media makes you take more notice of it than if it was online. This finding also occurred in Krupets & Vasileva's (2019) work:

> "This combination of visual materials, bizarrely placed next to each other on an ordinary grey urban surface, is a detail that caught your eye and makes you smile, or curious, or furious, but it got your attention and you begin, at least for a moment, to think about these stickers"

An unexpected result was that the militant messages proved quite popular. It was even more interesting that Jussi, a man, identified the 'rapists get it' as one of his favourites, whilst none of the female interviewees identified it as a favourite. Another militant message, the 'Fight Like A Grrrl' sticker, proved popular amongst the interviewees. This sticker refers to many issues, including the patriarchy, ethno-nationalism and trans rights. The latter issue is very interesting, since the Riot Grrrl movements of the 1990s has been critiqued for its exclusion of trans women. Furthermore, the meaning of Riot Grrrl and the issues it should address were often sources of friction both within and outside of the scene (Schilt 2004, p.116). This mirrors Ville's comment about infighting existing in activist movements. The inclusion of the trans symbol further shows the glocalisation and editing of stickers towards individual groups' own interests.

In terms of the codes, Code 1 (militant) were perceived to be clear and humorous, even if the militant nature of the stickers took some respondents aback. Code 2 (feminist symbols) were not thought to have been beneficial to the average passer-by, but created support within the 'in group'. Code 3 (other political messages) brought responses of confusion and they were not seen as being predominantly feminist in nature. Finally, Code 4 (Only feminist text-based messages) was also seen as clear and the 'This is Rape Culture…' and 'Sexist Bullshit' messages were seen as a fight back against sexism and advertising. From these findings, it is clear that to convey anti-violence against women messages, that message must be the only message on the sticker or graffiti, as other messages confuse viewers. Niche symbols, such as

anarch-feminist flags, can be used, but on their own they do not provide enough information to spread the message about violence against women. This leaves Codes 1 and 4 as the most useful. These messages only refer to feminism, perhaps incorporate humour, and fight back against sexism and other gender-based issues.

A final key point is that the Varis Verkosto members and Ville both see opposing the far-right as something they *must* do, it isn't a choice for them. This rather fits into Émile Durkheim's notions of deviance. Durkheim argued that deviance has several functions: (a.) it clarifies norms and increases conformity, (b.) it strengthens social bonds among the people reacting to the deviant, and (c.) it can help lead to positive social change (Anonymous 2016). In this case, point c. is the most important. If activists are not deterred by the backlash to the 'deviant' stickering/graffiti, they could enact social change. The 'singular' leaders of political movements, such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Joan of Arc were regarded as deviants at one point and are revered today (*ibid*). If the same attitude could be generated for violence against women issues, stickering and other forms of street messaging are likely to increase and become more noticeable, perhaps sparking larger political and social actions.

6. CONCLUSIONS

As this study was being conducted, many more women fell victim to gender-based violence. This is always important to consider when feminist research is being conducted. We do not live in a vacuum. Therefore, I feel the most useful research in this field are those which have practical implications – here is the issue, this is what we can do about it. Here, the main article being studied are stickers and graffiti. These are concrete practical actions which activists have placed in the physical environment to send a message. Whilst this is important, this type of message dissemination is deemed illegal. Thus, the findings of this project should also be applied to 'legal' art. This could include a poster in a hallway, a sticker on your car window, or any other creative way that readers see fit.

Section 2 identified that many misconceptions about violence against women exist, which are slow to change despite many efforts. One such effort is attempting to overcome pluralistic ignorance through educational campaigns. Whilst this has proved successful to a degree, these campaigns will inevitably exclude some people. Therefore, using street political media as a research subject seemed wise. These media can be seen by anyone and have a high outreach level. Using feminist messages helps to reclaim public spaces for women, who are often avoidant of certain areas due to fear. The messages also remove women's silence in the street's political environment as the cover of anonymity prevents any consequence to the activist (unless caught).

The methods used in this study allowed broad conclusions to be reached. The fieldwork allowed the situation in Kallio to be gauged, both the feminist messages themselves and the overall political situation on Kallio's streets, which are dominated by anti-fascist messages. The fieldwork conducted answered the first research question: *What feminist/anti-violence street messages exist in Kallio?* 70 feminist street messages were found in the Kallio district, the majority of which were in sticker form. These fit into four different codes: militant; feminist

symbols; other political messages and only feminist text-based messages. Many of the messages fit into more than one code. In addition to this, five anti-feminist messages were found. The majority of messages were in English, with Finnish, Swedish and German also existing within the messages. The discovery of German stickers was surprising, until it was discovered through research, and a comment from Ville, that many activists source their stickers from Germany.

From here, the content analysis allowed me to determine patterns within the messages. The most prominent were militant messages, feminist symbols, media with other political messages as well as feminism and messages with only feminist text. The interviews gauged the opinions of activists and a community group. Clarity and unexpected humour were identified as key ways to get your message heard and remembered, increasing its effectiveness. From the interview data, it can be determined that codes 1 (militant) and 4 (only feminist) are the most favourable, and that code 3 (other political messages) is the least effective. The 'Fight Like A Grrrl' sticker was identified as the overall favourite amongst the interviewees. The sticker also fits into all the codes except code 4. This is an interesting finding, since it was also thought that having many agendas on a sticker confused the message. Relating these findings to the research questions can now be achieved.

The second research question asked – *According to the experts, what role do graffiti/stickers play in spreading messages?* Here, the key role street media plays was identified as its clarity and broad outreach, in essence, bringing the message to people. The messages also create an abstract reality, where the local political environment is transferred to the physical environment.

The third research question asked – *According to the experts, can Kallio's feminist/anti-violence messages be helpful in overcoming pluralistic ignorance?* The respondents argued that as conversation starters, the answer is yes, but it requires further actions. Stickers cannot overcome pluralistic ignorance by themselves, but they could spark someone to action, for example if something has happened to someone, and they see that they're not alone with that, they can seek help.

Finally, the question '*According to the experts, what are the advantages/disadvantages of street media when spreading feminist/anti-violence messages?'* raised many thoughts. The identified advantages are: seeing that your views are accepted and agreed with; high outreach; they act as conversation starters; they can spark people to action; they are easy to spread and that they are anonymous. On the other hand, the identified disadvantages are: illegality; the potential of militant messages to provoke people; anti-rape messages may trigger trauma; messages can be too niche for a general audience; there is only a limited space for your message; they are symbolic in nature – 'No Nazis' does not mean that there are no Nazis – and that the people the stickers advocate for may be the ones cleaning them off the streets.

The overall purpose of this project was to determine whether street messaging could play a role in overcoming pluralistic ignorance around gender-based violence issues. The results indicate that street media can play a role in this, but that they serve more of a supporting role to a wider

discussion. The feminist messages in Kallio begin to address these issues, but require a stronger focus on issues such as domestic violence to address violence against women issues. The responses to the solarium advertisement highlights how street messaging can fight back against perceived injustices. The overt sexism which the creators of the advertisement thought was okay is being fought by street activists through graffiti and stickers. These media do not come without their obstacles, however. Illegality and fears of backlash are obstacles to wider use of street messages. This indicates that some development of the media is needed. Stickers combined with an official campaign, for example, could be more effective. These campaigns would work well in a violence against women context if they pushed new social norms, telling the public that this is the neighbourhood opinion and that sexism or violence will not be tolerated.

6.1 Obstacles and Reflections on Learning Experience

There were some obstacles during the process, which may have hindered results to some degree. Conducting the Kallio Seura interview as a pilot interview without a fixed questionnaire allowed general opinions to be determined, but did not allow me to go deeper into each category of street message or whether they could overcome pluralistic ignorance. Throughout the interview process, there was a reluctance to talk about illegal or semi-illegal practices, leading to only a few interviewees being available for discussion. This also led to a bias towards activists, who are more positive towards street media.

The placement of the question '*To What Extent Can Feminist/Anti-Violence "Street Messages" (Like Stickers) Be Helpful in Overcoming Pluralistic Ignorance? In Which Ways?*' at the end of the discussion likely influenced answers, but was necessary to allow respondents to fully grasp the concept of pluralistic ignorance and how street messages could be connected to the concept. I had some reservations about showing images to the interviewees as it could have biased their thinking. But overall, showing the respondents the stickers proved to be a good move. It engaged them into the interview and they had examples to refer back to in their later answers.

6.2 Future Study

The findings from the interviews indicate that street political media, such as stickering, could help alleviate issues of societal sexism regarding violence survivors and victim-blaming. This project has added a viewpoint from the streets of how pluralistic ignorance could be addressed. This research needs to be furthered and broadened to truly understand the role of various aspects of public space in overcoming pluralistic ignorance. Future studies with a broader base of interviewees would complement this study. Of particular note, people directly involved in violence against women prevention and the general public should be interviewed, as these groups can make large changes in how gender-based violence is perceived and dealt with. In addition, research using the same methodology in different cities will allow comparisons to be drawn. Questions such as *Which city has the most active feminist street scene?* would be interesting to follow up on. The mind map in Figure 2.4 shows the wide range of message disseminating methods which should be explored alongside this study. A comparison of the

effectiveness of physical, print, and digital media would be especially helpful in determining the best course of action for activists. Furthermore, none of the identified messages in Kallio made any reference to male sufferers of domestic violence. This is an equally important topic which must also be explored in future studies.

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Appendix: Interview Questions

Sticker Photographs:

- Have you thought about the practice of "stickering" as a tool of spreading anti-violence or other feminist/progressive messages?
- Have you noticed any (feminist or anti-violence) street messages around the Helsinki area? Do you remember any specific messages you have seen?

Image 1-4 (same questions per set)

- Looking at these examples of stickers:
    - Have you seen any of these stickers before?
    - How do you feel about these examples?
    - Are there any that stand out for you? Which ones and why?
    - How do you interpret their meaning?

- In your general opinion, can the shown types of street messages help to overcome a 'keeping it quiet' attitude? Could messages like these increase people's likelihood to report instances of violence?
- Could messages like these make women/people feel more comfortable in public areas?
- Can you think of an example of when these kinds of messages could be helpful?
- Can you give me an example of when these messages may be counterproductive?
- Does the illegality of this medium concern you?

General Questions:

- What else do you think could help spread the message about violence against women?
- To what extent can feminist/anti-violence "street messages" (like stickers) be helpful in overcoming pluralistic ignorance? In which ways?
- What are the advantages/disadvantages of "street media" (like stickers) when spreading feminist/anti-violence messages?