# Common knowledge; don't get raped or do not rape?

alternative forms of knowledge in the SlutWalk movement



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#### **Abstract**

This study researches how knowledge is produced and circulates within the SlutWalk movement. The study is conducted in two phases which enables to create multiple frameworks for the categorization and analysis of knowledge production and knowledge circulation. Members of the SlutWalk movement are highly involved in knowledge production on themes that are strongly related to the dimensions of sexual violence. The SlutWalk movement produces alternative forms of knowledge, where experience knowledge and interpersonal knowledge are dominant forms of knowledge. These types of knowledge produces evidence through narratives and testimonies, creating experimental facts that are able to adapt to the multidimensionality of sexual violence and the contemporary struggles the issue is situated in. The circulation of knowledge is maped out based on the transferability of knowledge and the mobility. The transferability of knowledge is influenced by the form of knowledge and the sources providing knowledge. These aspects provide an explanation as in why certain types of knowledge does not circulate within certain publics and why there's a need to march with the SlutWalk.

**Keywords**: knowledge production, alternative forms of knowledge, knowledge circulation, dominant knowledge, experimental facts

#### Introduction

At 14:00 hours on the 8th of March 2020, hundreds of people gathered in front of the central station of Rotterdam. People seeping in from different sides of the station, a music box blasting feminist songs and groups of girls are animatedly talking about what is happening or what could happen. A wave of outspoken signs mixed with glittered faces, drawn-on moustaches and lingerie peeping through long coats, holding up a shared stance and a sense of community. Laughter is soon replaced with warm hugs and serious faces when the first speaker comes forward and the first words that come out are: thank you all for being here, carried with tears.

This anecdote describes the event organized by the SlutWalk movement in Rotterdam, one of numerous feminist initiatives fighting for the visibility and the inclusion of feminist marginalized groups within the public sphere. This year, the SlutWalk in Rotterdam was organised by grassroot projects such as Kontra, KLAUW, Queer Rotterdam, Tender Center Rotterdam and Girls who go BOOM. The march was a demand for public spaces free of sexual harassment, gender inequalities, misogyny, machoism and discrimination.

The SlutWalk movement is a transnational feminist social movement that aims to mobilise people through the organisation of SlutWalk marches. The SlutWalk march has been held in over 200 cities worldwide, engaging publics, articulating the issue of sexual violence and simultaneously challenging rape culture and sexist climates in society. The SlutWalk movement can be understood as a counter public. A counter public can be defined as: "a dominated group that aspires to re-create itself as a public and in doing so finds itself in conflict not only with the dominant social group but also with the norms that constitute the dominant culture as a public" (Warner, 1997, pp 36). The SlutWalk movement focuses on sexist social and cultural values which transforms into multiple issues for marginalized groups consisting mostly of women (Ringrose & Renald, 2012). The SlutWalk movement makes the issue of sexual violence public by stressing the role of women in society, discussing sexist laws and policies and marching in clothing, deemed provocative in some social climates, saying that they do not ask to be raped just because they are a woman or because of the way they dress.

The transcendence of gender inequality could be analysed through rape culture. The feminist agenda of the SlutWalk movement consists of multiple issues and strategies targeted at the dissolution of rape culture in late capitalist societies. The SlutWalk movement promotes the ideology of 'do not rape' instead of 'don't *get* raped', which focuses on the perpetrators rather than the victims of sexual violence. They aim to improve current judicial and police systems, by raising awareness and educate the public on the issue of sexual violence, providing

support for survivors, and ultimately stand for inclusivity and the re-signification of the word slut (Attwood, 2007).

The SlutWalk movement creates a space where women can share their experiences. In Arendtian terms, this act of being seen and heard by others constitutes reality (Arendt, 1958), allowing real-life testimonies of sexual violence to emerge. Thus, the SlutWalk movement enables a space where alternative forms of knowledge can form. Sharing experiences through storytelling has the ability to transform existing knowledge into alternative forms. The real-life testimonies raise awareness on the issue and thereby enabling collective identities to be formed and cultivated – "alternative forms of knowledge could have the power to inspire collective action and mass mobilisation which could be used as a tool for social justice to make demands of governments and organisations to hold them accountable" (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010, pp. 63).

The issue of sexual violence is articulated by different publics who are collectively involved in producing, circulating and applying knowledge. We can therefore interpret institutionalized organisations as a *public* whereas the SlutWalk movement forms a *counter public* regarding the issue of sexual violence. The difference between the knowledge applied by institutionalized organizations is that it is considered to be the dominating form of knowledge, also referred to as 'state' knowledge (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010). However, all knowledge is never value free but rather situated within a power struggle with a hierarchical tendency (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010). As such, it can be used as a tool for perpetrating existing norms and beliefs systems, inhibiting social change.

Feminist literature emphasizes the power struggle within patriarchal societies which can be observed in the cultural and institutional norms and the response to sexual violence against women (Hooks, 2000; Pateman, 1988; Ringrose & Renald, 2012). The SlutWalk movement, as such, emphasizes the gaps in institutional responses to sexual violence against women and its implications. The construction of the cultural meaning of concepts such as sexual violence, stranger rape versus non-stranger rape, trustworthiness and credibility, are paramount in understanding which legal and/or social response and/or approach is applied when handling rape cases. Based on these considerations, the following research question is formulated: *How is knowledge produced and how does knowledge circulate within the SlutWalk movement*?

In accordance to the research question, the following sub-questions emerged:

- What is considered knowledge?

- What is considered dominant knowledge, how is it produced and how does it differ from alternative knowledges?
- How does the knowledge produced by the SlutWalk movement differ from dominant knowledge?

In analysing knowledge production, alternative forms of knowledge and strategies in counter publics, such as the SlutWalk movement, I seek to problematize hegemonic knowledge production and subsequently map out the gaps in institutional responses to sexual violence. Knowledge is applied in this study as an *explanandum*; explaining knowledge in terms of truth, beliefs, opinions, testimonies, evidence and so forth (Ichikawa, 2017). Mapping out knowledge allows to see where the gaps are and enables to fill in the gaps and to improve systematic processes in dealing with and combatting sexual violence. In addition, existing literature on knowledge production is not extended to feminist social movements and thus this study will contribute to this by analysing knowledge production within feminist and queer social movements and articulating knowledge within the SlutWalk movement. This in turn will allow for an understanding how activism relates to social justice. Furthermore, with this analysis I am to illustrate the barriers that should be considered when producing and circulating knowledge when designing campaigns or fighting for social change.

#### Theoretical framework

To analyse knowledge production within the issue of gendered sexual violence several distinctions and theories are particularly relevant. Firstly, a distinction will be made between 'alternative' knowledge and 'dominant' knowledge and the role of experts within these types of knowledge as discussed in the studies of McCormick (2009) and Kapoor & Choudry (2010). Additionally, the politics of demarcation as discussed by Marres (2018) will serve to analyse the different types of knowledge on the value of evidence, facts and experimental facts. Secondly, the notion of performance and performativity are deployed to analyse knowledge as a practice. Thirdly, the mobility of knowledge and knowledge circulation within social movements will be discussed with regards to the transferability of knowledge and which concepts influence form of knowledge, spatiality, networks and its meaning.

## The politics of knowledge

Knowledge can be distinguished between 'alternative' and 'dominant' knowledge (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010). Alternative knowledge refers to knowledge that is not hegemonic,

non-traditional and is derived from immaterial knowledge such as experience and speech, which can be translated in material knowledge through documentation (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010). Alternative knowledge is largely produced as a counter force to institutionalized knowledge systems (McCormick, 2009; Kapoor & Choudry, 2010). Dominant knowledge, on the other hand, is embedded in institutionalized knowledge systems, consisting of experts, professionals and academics. It is evidence-driven knowledge. For this thesis, knowledge is applied as an *explanandum*, which considers different sets of knowledge including evidence, truth, beliefs and so forth. Social movements attempt to counter institutionalized knowledge as legitimate knowledge is only derived from experts, as defined by these institutions. The status of an expert is thus not given necessarily to those who have or are experiencing the issue, ultimately raising questions about how certain realities become legitimised over others (McCormick,

The valuation of knowledge could be explained by the politics of demarcation and its normative operation (Marres, 2018). The politics of demarcation: 'produces a normative distinction between 'good' sources capable of producing valid statements and those that don't (Marres, 2018, pp. 429)'. This normative distinction in quality of sources portrays knowledge derived from activists as biased, naïve and unprofessional (Marres, 2018). According to the politics of demarcation: facts, used in scientific knowledge production and evidence-based policy are considered the ultimate sources of 'good knowledge'. Whereas, knowledge produced within social movements is often considered 'non-knowledge' or opposed to knowledge, rather than complementing knowledge.

The politics of demarcation excludes types of knowledge that does not consist of dominant knowledge (Marres, 2018). Thus, what gets to be policy knowledge and how can these kinds of knowledge, such as knowledge of social movements, be translated to non-scientific knowledge and have valid truth claims?

An alternative to the politics of demarcation is experimental facts - knowledge produced in social movements allows experimentation with experimental facts. Experimental facts are empirical claims whose truth value, propositions and political colour may fluctuate or even change over time (Marres, 2018). In contrast to experimental facts, facts are stable over time, context, culture and societies. In accordance, we need more experimental facts that can adapt to contemporary social struggles. Experimental facts acknowledge the transformation of fact-making in society, allowing more space for public issues and alternative ways of knowing. Knowledge produced in social movements reveals how to move forward and beyond mere protests (McCormick, 2009; Kapoor & Choudry, 2010). The politics of demarcation also

influences public opinion. Facts and scientific knowledge are considered to be indisputable and therefore are less likely to be contested by the public (Marres, 2018).

Alternative forms of knowledge create a need to have a visible public, since social movements seek to change public opinion by challenging and contesting prevailing knowledge production on the issue. Social movements can do this by redirecting the attention to the gaps in institutional response, scientific arguments and the politics that shape knowledge (Marres, 2018).

# Performativity; knowledge as a practice

The SlutWalk march in Rotterdam collectively demonstrated for spaces free of sexual violence and did so by marching through busy streets of Rotterdam. The march ended at Stadhuisplein, essentially reframing a space intended for parties to a *zone de resistance*.

Marching is considered a means for protest and call to action - challenging public opinion and prevailing knowledges by reclaiming and performing public space alternatively. Butler's (2015) performative theory of assembly provides a framework for which to understand knowledge practices and how knowledge enacts and circulates in public spaces. Performativity entails describing reality and how this comes into being (Markussen, 2005). Performativity offers a surface where politics and culture enact. Another aspect of performativity are performatives, which are statements that are part of an action but do not describe a reality. Performatives are part of the action or is the action itself. For instance, speech is an action which can enact a sexual contract. However, in this study we will shift from performativity as a theory, to performativity as a practice whereby knowledge is understood as a practice (Butler, 2015; McCormick, 2009; Kapoor & Choudry, 2010. How reality comes into being is performed and transformable through knowledge (Marres et al., 2018). Knowledge is not merely transmitted but rather entails a change resulting in new identities, opinions and sources meaning that the circulation of knowledge as practice is performative. The circulation of knowledge is influenced by the mobility and transferability of the knowledge. Social constructivism and deconstructivism (performativity) allow concepts to emerge to map out how knowledge in social movements is produced, circulated and transformed, facilitating institutionalized participation.

# Mobility of knowledge

To understand the circulation of knowledge one must also consider the level of mobility. Mobility can be defined as an entity's change of position in a specific system which allows or disrupts circulation of knowledge (Jöns, Meusburger and Heffernan, 2017). The mobility of knowledge is important in understanding how experimental facts circulate and have the capacity to bring about social change. The mobility of knowledge is strongly associated with the transferability of knowledge. The transferability of knowledge entails multiple processes where knowledge producers enable information to be adapted by the receiver by enabling platforms and information structures. However, the successful transfer of knowledge is largely dependent on the interests of the receiver, the accessibility of the information and the form of the information that is communicated to the receiver. Thus, the transferability of knowledge influences how knowledge is produced, the form of the knowledge, the knowledge status of the information, and how or if knowledge circulates within the specified community (Jöns, Meusburger and Heffernan, 2017). Analysing knowledge as a practice allows knowledge to be analysed as an actively chosen mode of engaging, which facilitates the transferability and circulation of knowledge (Markussen, 2005). Social movements are usually non-hierarchical and does require membership (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010), which enables to analyse knowledge practices that engage publics.

In addition, the concept of spatiality could also be employed as an explanatory mechanism for knowledge circulation. Spatiality is fundamentally concerned with space, which can be interpreted as geographical space but also in organizational models as in hierarchy. The latter interpretation of spatiality will be deployed in analysing the internal structures of communities and systems to examine what types of knowledge are mobilized and legitimised. However, if alternative forms of knowledge are not legitimised within the system, they are rendered invisible and obscured. Thus, power relations also problematise the circulation of knowledge, disrupting the performativity cycle which complicates social action and social change.

Furthermore, it is important to differentiate between the types of knowledge since knowledge circulation is highly influenced by its form. Jön et al. (2017) differentiated three types of knowledge that emerged from the data of the study, such as codified knowledge which is expressed in formal documents. According to Jöns, Meusburger and Heffernan (2017), codified knowledge is highly mobile because of its availability, articulation and because it is understood without substantial prior knowledge. The process of mobility and knowledge transferability also refers to how far knowledge is comprehended rather than received, which can be analysed by examining how far receivers understand the information.

## Methodology

This thesis aims to map out how knowledge is produced, performed and circulated and in how far knowledge brings forth experimental facts. As such, this thesis will employ qualitative research methods including an ethnographic content analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews. Access to the research field was facilitated by becoming a volunteer in the organisation of the SlutWalk event on February 2020. This, in turn, allows to build networks and relationships which enabled futher access to the members of the movement.

Data collection will be conducted in two phases, in which the first phase will serve to provide a grounded theory framework which will subsequently guide data collection in the second phase. Thus, the first phase will consist of collecting data through ethnographic content analysis where material forms of knowledge will be gathered and analysed (Fields, 2012). Codified knowledge data consists of written documentation, such as on the website Kontra.nl, Facebook groups and YouTube, pamphlets, pictures of signs used during the SlutWalk 2020 and code of conduct (Yin, 2014). The data will be processed in an analytical framework for knowledge production in the second phase of data collection. The second phase will consist of semi-structured in-depth interviews which will aim to cover different topics and the act of drawing a map. The topics for the semi-structured in-depth interview will be determined on the basis of the concepts that emerge from the ethnographic content-analysis.

# Case study

Within the existing literature there are numerous theories and studies which offer various tools to research how knowledge is produced in the SlutWalk movement in practice. According to Yin (2014), choosing a case study research might be favourable if the issue consists of a contemporary phenomenon, if the research question is concerned with 'how' and 'why' and if it includes events. For this research it is clear that sexual violence and activism are contemporary struggles which favour a case study (Yin, 2014).

Furthermore, this research is concerned with questions of how and why - how knowledge is produced, how knowledge circulates and why alternative forms of knowledge are not deployed in policy instruments. According to Yin (2014), case studies rely on two sources of evidence namely interviews and observation involved in the events. The findings in both phases of data collection allows for a comparative analysis of knowledge production and knowledge circulation within the SlutWalk movement.

#### Method

Ethnographic content analysis. An ethnographic content analysis which allow for categories to emerge out of the data and thereby enables a further interpretation of such categories within a social, cultural and political context (Altheide, 1996). The ethnographic content analysis will provide more insight in the research field by enabling a close examination of the ideas, narratives and information that is communicated in textual data. In the first phase of the data collection, ethnographic content analysis enables the creation of a framework of dimensions and subsumed concepts that will guide the analysis of the data (Bryman, 2018). There are different forms of knowledge codified or made explicit in written documents (Jöns, Meusburger and Heffernan, 2017). Consistently, the research population for the ethnographic content analysis consist of public, accessible, written documents and photographs of signs of the SlutWalk movement in the Netherlands published on the platforms of the SlutWalk movement in the Netherlands such as Facebook groups, Kontra.nl and YouTube, which could potentially represent different forms of knowledge with regards to different documentation of knowledge through videos, pictures, signs and words. The population will be sampled through convenience-sampling due to the unique circumstances of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Subsequently, a coding scheme will be created with twelve dimensions with regards to the research field, the dimensions have different categories and concepts subsumed, resulting from the theoretical framework and literature (Neuendorf, 2002). The main dimensions of the research field are freedom, solidarity, magnitude of the issue, systems and organizations, history, power, spheres, expression, choices, rights, access and space. The coding scheme is created in excel and will be exported to the analysis programme Atlas.ti (Appendix 1). The written documentation will be coded through Atlas.ti and the analysis of pictures of signs used in the SlutWalk will consist of human coding. Furthermore, a coding manual (Appendix 2) is deployed to define and to highlight the subsumed categories, which adds to the replicability of the study since its sampling procedure are made transparent through the use of a clearly set out coding scheme and coding schedule. The coding of the subsumed categories will be based on the theoretical significance and in how far the categories are salient within the context they enact and the knowledge they embody (Neuendorf, 2002). The relation between codes/categories reveals the knowledge clusters of different forms of knowledge that are produced within the SlutWalk movement, demonstrating its mobility. The textual features and semantics are also analysed through metaphors, symbols, font, frequency of words and context. Examples of the analysis of the textual features are the format of the words used in the written

documents and signs, the underlying meanings, emphasis, statistics or opinions, experiences, testimonies and more.

Semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured in-depth interviews are used to collect data on how knowledge is produced and what type and form of knowledge circulates within the SlutWalk movement in the Netherlands. The topics of the interviews are based on the coding scheme of the ethnographic content analysis and the theoretical framework of mobility (Appendix 3). Knowledge can be operationalized in the semi-structured in-depth interviews by asking questions in retrospective such as asking participants to recount stories. Questions involved in recounting stories have a form as: what have they learned during the SlutWalk? What their opinion is on different topics relevant in the issue of sexual violence and what they remember best of the event and so forth. The recounting of stories is relevant to make visible the connections between the event of the SlutWalk and the cultural, political and social context. In addition, the format of the interview allow for answers to shift from 'what happened' to how participants make 'sense' of the information (Neuendorf, 2002). However, with regards to the topic of sources of knowledge, the range of resources that participants draw upon to answer the questions, are equally important as the answers they give. This strategy allows for knowledge as an explanandum to be analysed through the politics of demarcation and the power interplay between knowledge status and truth claims. Moreover, the interview is structured as a funnel, inventorying the knowledge participants possess, and the ways knowledge is produced, communicated, received and made mobile when designing their own event.

The research area will be The Netherlands and not limited to a city since a lot of participants travel from different cities to participate in the SlutWalk march. The research population for the interview consists of ten participants of the SlutWalk march in Rotterdam. Participants were selected on the basis of having being present in the SlutWalk movement in 2019 or 2020, or both. The participants are, due to the COVID-19 outbreak, sampled through the platform of Instagram and through the SlutWalk volunteer's app on WhatsApp. On the platform of Instagram, access to the research population will be obtained through searching the hashtag #slutwalk, #slutwalkrotterdam, #slutwalk2020, #slutsunite #slutwalkagainstsexualviolence. People who hashtag pictures, posts and locations are made visible through the app, allowing to send a personal message through direct message of Instagram, inviting them to participate in an interview. A group message will also be sent to the volunteers in the WhatsApp group. With consent, participants will receive an email with an introduction to this thesis, a consent form and information on the structure and nature of the interview. The sampling procedure may affect the findings of the study because it is not possible

to generalize because of the lack of representation. However, the aim of this study is not to generalize but rather to document the substance of knowledge in the phenomenon of sexual violence.

#### **Ethics**

When conducting the research, one must consider their role as a researcher to conduct ethical research. Ethics and privacy are taken into consideration from the moment of collecting data for the ethnographic content analysis, selecting participants for interviews and throughout the analysis and documentation of findings.

Firstly, to gain access to the research field and its participants, permission was attained to research the SlutWalk by the organizers of the event. The organizers offered transparency and access to different outlets of coverage and the members and participants of the SlutWalk 2020. The documents that were publicly accessible were used to collect data for the ethnographic content analysis to prevent a breach of privacy of the internal policy of the organisations involved in organizing the SlutWalk event.

Secondly, data derived from the interviewees are guarded through the collection and storage of personal data and the environment and medium through which the interview took place. A safe environment was ensured by offering participants the possibility of anonymity and informing participants prior to the interview about the nature and subject of the research, to prevent blindsiding. To safeguard the privacy of the participants and the data derived from the interviews, the interviews are labelled through numbers and in cases where anonymity is preferred, all the personal information was rendered invisible by encryption software. For non-anonymous participants, only their first name will be referred to in the documentation. The recordings of the interviews will be deleted to avoid intrusiveness of their personal space. Thirdly, a reflexive method will be deployed as a researcher in the analysis to minimize bias and intrusion of my own position, which could intervene in the analysis and documentation of the research. To ensure reflexivity, I will go back and forth in the different phases of conducting my study.

#### Results

This section presents the results of the ethnographic content analysis and semistructured in-depth interviews in regards to knowledge production and knowledge circulation related to sexual violence within the SlutWalk movement. The first section discusses the main themes and dimensions that emerged from the analysis of pictures of signs through human coding. The second section presents the interviewee's experiences and narratives related to sources of knowledge, knowledge production and knowledge circulation.

Results from ethnographic content analysis. The pictures of the signs were collected, coded, labelled and analysed on the basis of the concept it articulated and its frequency (the times this concept was observed throughout the pictures). In addition, the political and cultural context taken into consideration in the analysis. The cultural context entails the culture of society such as norms, values, shared attitudes, beliefs, meanings and language. The political context refers to laws, policies, regulations and legal practices. Furthermore, the embodiment of the 'message and information' is analysed together with the semantics of the communication which refers to the underlying meanings of the symbols, words and font in the messages displayed.

The content of the signs are defined, categorized and analysed on the basis of performatives. Each sign is analysed individually, which resulted in the following main themes, as illustrated in Table 1 (Appendix 1). Written documentation analysed in Atlas.ti resulted in 171 codes and twelve code groups representing the various dimensions of the research field. The cooccurences of codes and their relationships are presented in Table 2. The groundedness and density as displayed in the rows of table 2, refers to the code qualities which shows how often the codes are used, their relation to one another and other elements in the project of Atlas.ti. The most grounded and dense codes are displayed in table 2 such as knowledge production, issue articulation, freedom, community and the historical embeddedness.

Freedom. The concept of freedom is articulated in the signs through notions of self-efficacy, the power to make your own decision and a stance against the suppression of self-expression. Such signs included messages such as "my body, my rules" or "respect my existence or expect my resistance". Data derived from written documents further complements this notion of freedom with concepts such as access, autonomy, choice, self-expression, the historical, women's rights, public spaces and the political- and cultural sphere.

The theme of freedom and its subsumed categories has been observed on nine signs out of the 37 signs in the photographs that were analysed. As such, the concept of freedom is present in 24 percent of the signs visible in the public photographs of the SlutWalk march. The code freedom is highly grounded, as it is linked to 21 quotations in the witten documents.

The cultural context of freedom consists of the norms and values within societies which influence this notion of 'freedom'. Freedom is expressed through clothing, words, signs, consent, attitudes, representation, laws, policies and safe spaces. The cultural context indicates

prescriptive performatives where people are stimulated to express and behave accordingly to the norms and values of society which participants experience as limiting their freedom and space for self-expression. The political context of freedom can be be understood in the way laws and policies ensure freedom. The political context of freedom is strongly rooted in the history of society which can explain for the inequal social position of (female) marginalized groups. The code of history has overall the highest density, which means that it shares the highest number of relations to other codes. The code history is linked to eight reoccurring themes such as freedom, inequality, political context, public sphere and so forth. The network view of freedom reveals the relations and networks between the codes and affirms the relation between freedom, the historical, power and inequal social position (Appendix 4). Understanding the history of the counter public is important in understanding the interplay of these concepts. The history of women is characterised by inequality rooted in women's status of property governed by men (Pateman, 1988). The possession of property equaled the possession of rights, which ensures the individual of their protection by law. The contemporary expression of women not being protected enough is thus historically rooted and is related to the political and freedom. This issue becomes visible in the signs used during the SlutWalk march such as: "my silence had not protected me, your silence will not protect you".



The sign shows meanings of oppression which is closely entangled with freedom and the history women, silence as a semantic can refer to the place of a women: as an muted object. The signs observed in pictures have a performative notion with regards to the inequal position of women

namely to be non-conforming to systems that produce inequality in speech, attitudes and behavior: "I'm a woman, not an object".



The most highly grounded is 'knowledge production', as it is linked to 26 quotations in the written documents. Such documents on the SlutWalk movement are highly relevant in producing knowledge on sexual violence, more than any other concept. Knowledge on the theme of freedom is also produced in signs by articulating the ideas, beliefs, experiences and the different spheres where freedom enacts with the cultural and political. The signs with themes of freedom displayed in the SlutWalk problematizes laws and policy through the expression of experiences, producing alternative knowledge on gaps in laws and policy.



The signs convey messages with semantic processes, problematizing freedom by pointing out that they do not feel included, protected or even heard in existing laws and policies on sexual violence. These signs reveals that the policies and laws in place are not extensive enough to influence the social reality of those whom it concerns. It is this population that is takes up the central space in the issue of sexual violence and experiences the impact of policy instruments, even the negative impacts. The form of knowledge consists mostly of codidfied knowledge since signs consists of written documentation of words. However, there is a limited use of statistics in the signs and written documentation conveying the theme of freedom. Meaning that signs are emphasizing more on the experience rather than the numbers that do not extend to their social reality.

Solidarity/Unity. The concept of solidarity/unity is articulated in the signs through notions of inclusivity and togetherness. Solidarity/unity is expressed in the action of speaking out, making 'them' listen, mutual support, unity and inclusivity. Examples of signs included messages such as: "Please support your mexican sisters", "Women support women", "My feminism is queer, decolonial, anti-rascist, anti-ablist, pro-refugees, anti-capitalism, abolitionist".



The dimension solidarity/unity and its subsumed categories has been displayed on nine signs out of the 37 signs in the photographs that were analysed, consisting of 24% of the signs visible in the public photographs of the SlutWalk march. In accordance to the theme of solidarity/unity, data analysis of written documents employs the code of community. Community refers to the inclusion of heterogeneous groups of people, communal individuality and equal representation which are necessary to create safe spaces, support systems and trust.

The code community is highly grounded, as it is linked to 21 quotations in the written documents.



The sign is held up by a male conveying the message that he is an ally of women and against sexual violence. Written documents further complements the data emerging from the signs expanding the notion of solidarity/unity with concepts such as allies, cohesion, support system, protection, heterogeneity, safe spaces, membership, community, trust and relationships.

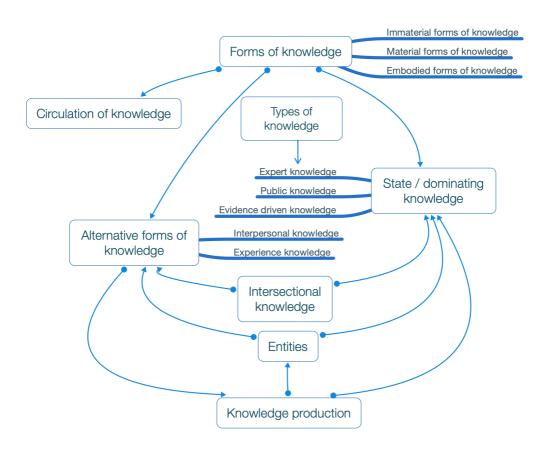
The action of uniting is performative and creates a network in understanding knowledge circulation. Firstly, uniting as a heterogenous group in a community opposes governmental systems that assume generalisation as a tool for reducing social complexity. Reducing social complexity through generalisation results in hegemonic knowledge production. Hegemonic knowledge production problematizes the representation of entities and the multidimensionality of the issue when designing new laws and policies. Thus, the uniting of counter publics carries the performative of communal individuality which influences how groups of heterogenous people unite and perform in public space. Communal individuality as a tool of knowledge, makes visible the dispersion of the impact of sexual violence on different people throughout communities, societies, countries and beliefs. Membership to communities in grassroot social movements is achieved by the sense of belonging that is implicated in safe spaces, support systems and heterogeneous allies. The network viewer in Atlas.ti shows that support systems are closely related to trust, which positively contributes to the credibility and the density of truth claims, raising the knowledge status of the narratives involved in knowledge production. Thus, communities can explain for the mobility and circulation of knowledge and the knowledge status that knowledge produced by counter-publics receive.



Magnitude of the issue(s). The concept of magnitude of the issue(s) is articulated in the signs through notions of different dimensions of sexual violence such as cultural norms and values, education, consent, clothing, streets and policies and laws and categorisation. Examples of signs indicating the magnitude of the issue(s) had written on them: "There's no thing as a single-issue struggle, bc we don't live single-issue lives", "teach boys not to rape, don't teach girls how not to be raped", "what we wear or where we go, no means no" or "I DID report, because women deserve justice", "10 mexican women are killed everyday". The theme magnitude of the issue(s) and its subsumed categories has been displayed on seven signs out of the 37 signs in the photographs that were analysed, representing 19% of the signs visible in the public photographs of the SlutWalk march. In accordance to the theme magnitude of the issue(s), data analysis of written documents employs the code of issue articulation. Issue articulation refers to multiple dimensions of the issue of sexual violence such as its intersectional anture, complexity and the magnitude. The code issue articulation is highly grounded, as it is linked to 23 quotations in the written documents. Data derived from written documents complements the data emerging from the signs expanding the theme of the magnitude of the issue(s) with concepts such as internalized sexism, power, cultural and social norms and values, inequality, globalisation, women's rights, protection, physical and nonphysical boundaries, imaginaries and victim blaming. The words written on the face of a woman conveys the message "mujer = poder", which is translated from Spanish as "women are power". Observing that another language is displayed and the reference to universal concepts of womenhood, demonstrates that the issue extends language, bodies, societies and borders, emphasizing the magnitude of the issue(s).

Knowledge is produced by redefining the issue of sexual violence through multiple perspectives and articulations. Knowledge on the issue is conveyed in messages in signs and written documents on several platforms of the SlutWalk movement. Alternative knowledge is deployed as a tool to tailor solutions for the issue of sexual violence by implicating the multidimensionality of the issue and the social reality.

Results semi-structured in-depth interviews. In accordance to the ethnographic content analysis, a topic list was designed to analyse knowledge production and knowledge circulation through semi-structured in-depth interviews. The following topics emerged: dominant knowledge, sources of knowledge, knowledge production and mobility of knowledge. The answers of the interviewee's are analysed and presented through a framework of knowledge consisting of types of knowledge, forms of knowledge, sources of knowledge and knowledge circulation with regards to mobility and transferability. The ethnographic content analysis demonstrated that entities involved in the SlutWalk movement are highly involved in producing knowledge. Based on the results, a framework of knowledge is deployed for the analysis, comparison and mapping of knowledge within the SlutWalk movement which also enables to test in how far experimental facts are produced.



Alternative knowledge. Knowledge that consists of non-hegemonic and non-traditional ways of knowing which is derived from immaterial knowledge such as experience and speech, which can be translated in material knowledge through documentation. Alternative knowledge is largely produced as a counter force to institutionalized knowledge systems:

"That statistics will represent the social world more, because statistics are mainly evidence-based, but at the same time it means so much more than that. I look for the experiences of other people myself, I wanted to know purely what lives on the street: experiences and cultural standards, to understand social reality, since most rape or frequent violence happens in the relational sphere" - Chiara

Alternative knowledge enacts the reality of entities and offers another way of knowing and understanding the dimensions involved in the articulation of the issue. Institutionalized knowledge systems are not all-comprehensible since access to these entities, and the alternative ways of knowing, are limited. Problematizing and impacting experiences in a perpetual way.

*Experience knowledge*. Experience knowledge consists of the act of sharing real-life testimonies and narratives. Experience knowledge is articulated in narratives by telling a personal story such as: "I was eight, playing outside and I did not ask for it". The impact of policy and laws are experienced mostly by those it concern:

"Another way to silence women, as if we don't know what is happening to us" - Inge

Experience knowledge can point out and fill in the gaps in laws and policies on sexual violence. Experience knowledge such as the common notion of "teach men not to rape instead of telling us how not to get raped". Experience knowledge can have valid truth claims in the since narratives on sexual violence usually have the same tendency.

'Reliability is demonstrated because the stories have the same tendency – there should be more analysis' of narratives, narratives also have a place within policy and legislation' – Gabriella

The knowledge status of the truth-claims of narratives is embedded in the notion that the narratives on sexual violence have the same thematical tendency and that it happens:

"It doesn't matter if the narratives are naïve or biased, it doesn't take away from the fact that is exists." – Laura

Interpersonal knowledge. Interpersonal knowledge is knowledge that is sourced from other people's experiences such as people who have experienced sexual violence themselves or know someone who experienced it. Also, this could also include people who have experienced the failing of policy and laws on convicting rapists, from within the judicial systems as the victims.

Intersectional knowledge. Intersectional knowledge is knowledge that is derived from different sets of knowledge and sources, which comprises of different dimensions of the issue. Intersectional knowledge is a way of complementing different sets of knowledge through the combination of different types of knowledge. An example of intersectional knowledge is the evaluation of policy instruments through the inventarisation of the experiences of the targetpopulation (Osborne & Rose, 1999). Intersectional knowledge can be deployed as a basis for cooperation between the different fields and entities involved.

"Officials want to change things, but they don't know where to start with educating younsters, but we do know how" – Chiara

Evidence-driven knowledge. Evidence-driven knowledge is rooted in knowledge that is derived from deploying research methods which could potentially provide facts. Evidence driven-knowledge is mostly articulated and distributed by academics and researchers. Evidence-based knowledge circulates moderately in the SlutWalk movement. The interviewee's expressed knowledge derived from researches but did not recall statistics of researches on sexual violence. However, all partcipants pointed out that an integrative model of knowledge would contribute better to the field of knowledge and their social world.

"Just because I think an academic argument has been tested in a group of xx number of women, where her story was not included, so it does not mean that it is not true or that these arguments are not valid, but they are just incomplete" - Thamar

*Expert knowledge*. Expert knowledge consists of knowledge about 'being' and the knowledge of knowledge itself. Sociological knowledge and STC knowledge are two examples of expert knowledge.

**Public knowledge.** Public knowledge consist of prevailing knowledge in society and involves the act of making the issue public. Public knowledge is closely connected and afluences public opinion.

*State knowledge*. State knowledge dominant knowledge, derived from evidence-based knowledge derived from facts and also considered as scientific knowledge (Kapoor & Choudry, 2010).

Sources of knowledge. Knowledge produced within social movements are derived from different sources of knowledge, making it necessary to make an inventory of the sources from which the interviewee's obtain information. Sources of knowledge in the SlutWalk movement circulates mostly through human interaction, mostly in close networks. The trust between one another, establishes the credibility of the narratives. In contrast to the politics of demarcation (Marres, 2018), a good source within the SlutWalk movement consists of sources who are closely 'known' with the experience of sexual violence:

"Blogs and stories of women come from their own pen and are therefore more honest in my view" - Thamar.

Sources consisting of written documentation must be objective and consist of unpolished pieces:

"Stay away from sources like the viva and linda, sexual violence performed as a hype, that doesn't make them come across with integrity" - Thamar

"It is not made more beautiful, it is no longer made legible and is therefore often more real" - Dani

The interviewee's are very reflexive and critical of the sources that they deploy when informing themselves on the issue of sexual violence.

"I am very critical of my sources, I usually read academic books and blogs on sexual violence"
- Celi

Also, interviewee's do not claim 'ultimate truths', they are very aware of the limits of knowing in the field

"As far as I know.." – Inge

#### Forms of knowledge

**Embodied knowledge** – Knowledge that is articulated through clothing, attitudes, behaviour. The embodiment of knowledge makes visible the different cultural, social and political meanings that are given to characteristics of an individual. Embodied knowledge is low mobility but high in transferability since its meaning is embedded in different networks. The embodiment of knowledge is articulated in the interview mostly as protective behaviour, which becomes visible in clothes and adapted behaviour.

"Lots of women have this adapted behavior, plugging in your earphones, deterring from certain places or avoiding any type of contact, but not all women are conscious of this behaviour, it is as if sexual violence is internalized" - Gabriella

*Immaterial knowledge.* Immaterial knowledge consists of knowledge that is not documented but produced by interaction and speech. Immaterial knowledge is mobilized through speech, panels, group discussions and human interaction. Immaterial knowledge do not posses a physical vehicle of transferability but consists of ideas, concepts, beliefs, truths, opinions, perspectives and so forth.

"My role as educator kan facilitate others to become more conscious, or create a bigger consciousness." – Alex

*Material (codified) knowledge.* Material knowledge consists of knowledge that is documented through writing, pictures or video's. Materializing knowledge is the act of writing down, capturing or documenting immaterial forms of knowledge such as ideas and beliefs. Material knowledge is a form of knowledge which articulates different types of knowledge such as a blog on experiences of sexual violence. There are several conditions which enables a high mobility of material knowledge, namely if the physical form of the material is small (books, documents), if the documents are public and easily accesable, the semantics of the documentation is understandable without much prior knowledge.

**Knowledge production.** Knowledge production within the SlutWalk movement provides a deep insight in the issues that are relevant when analysing sexual violence but also consists of information exchanged between participants such as which spaces are safe, which time frames are safe, which clothing is safe.

"These stories tells me that if something similar would happen to me, I wouldn't have anything to stand on. That I would need an insane report of proof in order to let a man of woman get punished, I mean anyone can rape, I need a lot of proof and that makes me feel that my position as a woman is so weak that I cant even get to protect myself from people like that by taking it to the police." - Celi

Statement as articulated by Celi, demonstrated the ways and forms in which knowledge circulates. Knowledge in this statement is producted with regards to the opinions we have on the judicial system and the experience of social inequality amongst (female) marginalized groups. Knowledge is production through experiences extends to the definitions of sexual violence:

"Everything that comes after no, but also staring, harassment, invading of personal space" – Nina

These forms of knowledge production have the power to create consciousness and a broader understanding of the issue of sexual violence. The more conscious we become, the more we can recognize.

#### Conclusion

The aim of this study is to map out knowledge production and knowledge circulation within the SlutWalk movement. Consistently, the research question is: *How is knowledge produced and how does knowledge circulate within the SlutWalk movement*? In order to map out the concept of knowledge production, a framework is created and deployed to analyse signs and written documentation. This framework is based on data derived from ethnographic content analysis resulting in five main themes of knowledge production within the SlutWalk movement. These themes are freedom, solidarity/unity, magnitude of the issue(s), inequal position of women and strategies dealing with sexual violence. These themes guide the analysis of 'what' knowledge is produced and how knowledge is formalized within the SlutWalk movement. The semi-structured in-depth interviews provided a framework to analyse how knowledge is produced, what types of knowledge are produced within the SlutWalk movement, what forms of knowledge are produced and how knowledge circulates. Both frameworks enable to map out knowledge production and knowledge circulation.

**Knowledge production.** Knowledge production within social movements considers different sets of knowledge such as truth, beliefs and evidence. Knowledge that is produced within the SlutWalk movement is consistent with the themes that emerged from the ethnographic content analysis. The main themes in the framework allows to map out the ways knowledge is produced within the SlutWalk movement. Based on the themes of knowledge production, the types of knowledge production and how knowledge circulates by comparing the data found in both phases and in how far they carry similar embodiments, messages or attitudes and in how far and often these aspects come back when designing their own march. Knowledge is produced as a reaction to the inequality, lack of protection and systems, experienced by the counter public. Knowledge is produced through the ways people make sense of their position and in how far they understand the information received. Knowledge is deployed as a tool to social change within the SlutWalk movement. The knowledge that is produced within the SlutWalk movement consists of alternative forms of knowledge. State knowledge is not produced within the SlutWalk movement even though it is considered as the dominant and thus prevailing type of knowledge. However, alternative forms of knowledge are dominant in counter publics since it is more articulated, expressed and circulated than state knowledge. In addition, state knowledge is considered knowledge because of its ability to produce facts, nevertheless alternative forms of knowledge also produce facts, experimental facts. Evidence of experimental facts is rooted in narratives and experiences, which produces experimental facts that are able to adapt to contemporary social issues.

Knowledge circulation. In how far knowledge circulates within the SlutWalk movement depends strongly on different aspects. Data shows that the circulation of knowledge depends strongly on the form of knowledge, the type of knowledge and how knowledge is transferred. Firstly, certain types of knowledge circulates more in the SlutWalk movement. The level of circulation of knowledge can be explained through the concept of transferability, which allows or disrupts circulation of knowledge (Jöns, Meusburger and Heffernan, 2017). The transferability of knowledge refers to the process of how knowledge is made mobile in the SlutWalk movement and thus which type and form of knowledge circulates more. Knowledge within the SlutWalk movement is highly transferable if it is deemed as coming from a 'good' source. Knowledge is deemed trustworthy when it is sourced from personal information networks such as communities, allies and other support systems. Proper representation of the issue and population in knowledge production and forms, also contributes to good sources and to the mobilization of certain types of knowledge.

The manner in which knowledge is translated and communicated, also influences the transferability of knowledge. Knowledge forms that are easily understandable without prior knowledge, public and accessible, circulate highly in the SlutWalk movement (Jöns, Meusburger and Heffernan, 2017). Immaterial forms of knowledge are transferable if the communication is impactful, words of speech is negligible if the emotion conveyed in the message is impactful. The transferability of material forms of knowledge depends on the material, the size and if the documents are public, accessible and widely available.

Knowledge sets consisting of State knowledge circulates less in the SlutWalk movement than Alternative forms of knowledge. Evidence-based knowledge circulates moderately in the SlutWalk movement since it is not understandable without prior knowledge and it is not widely accessible or widely available. However, the use of statistics and research to complement knowledge, mobilizes evidence-based knowledge accelerating the circulation of this type of knowledge. Experience knowledge and interpersonal knowledge circulates highly in the SlutWalk movement since it is deemed trustworthy, it is transferred in close networks, it represents the issue and population and takes form in narratives that are impactful, emotional and recognizable.

Thus, alternative forms of knowledge have valid truth claims when articulating the occurrence of sexual violence. Dismissing the knowledge status of experience knowledge, based on expert knowledge strategies, does not take away from the fact that the truth claim is evident: sexual violence is still happening.

State knowledge alone, is not extensive to provide knowledge on how to combat sexual violence and mobilize social change. This is evident when considering the new bill on sexual violence proposed by the minister of safety Grapperhaus. The definition of sexual violence and strategies to deter sexual violence are highly problematic, it is not apparent or made transparent who's rights are truly guarded by the judicial and political system. In light of the broader debate around knowledge in policy and law-making, alternative forms of knowledge and intersectional knowledge could be fruitful in complementing judicial knowledge with experience knowledge. Alternative forms of knowledge allow to see where the gaps are and enables to fill in the gaps to improve systematic processes in dealing with and combatting sexual violence. Alternative forms of knowledge are valid in the way they produce experimental facts which provides alternative ways of knowing and dealing with contemporary struggles.

# Strengths and limitations

There are several strengths and limitation in this research. For instance, this research is a documentation of knowledge production in feminist social movements which contributes to current literature in the academic field. Another strength is the replicability of the research, the process of data gathering on material and immaterial forms of knowledge is simple, comprehensive and clearly specified within this proposal. This allows for other researchers to replicate the research using another case study within feminist social movements, which is important because it can encourage further research to include such perspectives that usually are not.

A limitation of this research lies in its research design. Since a case study is deployed to research knowledge production, the results are not generalizable which makes the information very specific to this case. However, generalisations are not necessarily good or the 'ideal', nevertheless, we should strive for generalisation. This research is mostly concerned and interested in the particularities of knowledge production because generalising can lead to clustering whole experiences and people together and minimizing them into one big umbrella. Undermining the particularities that are meaningful in understanding the issue of sexual violence.

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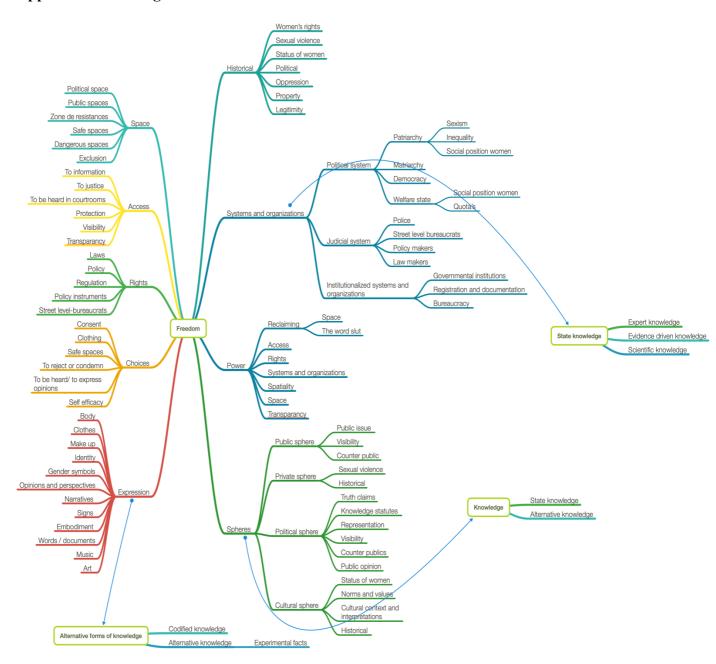
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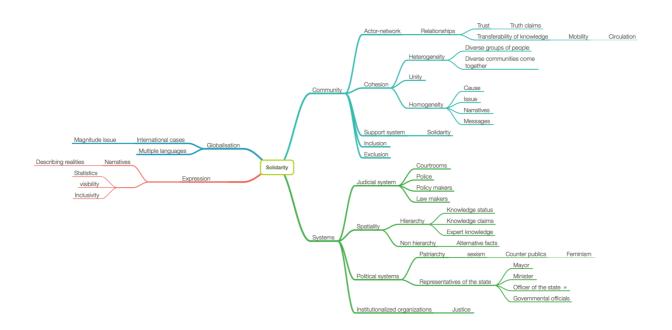
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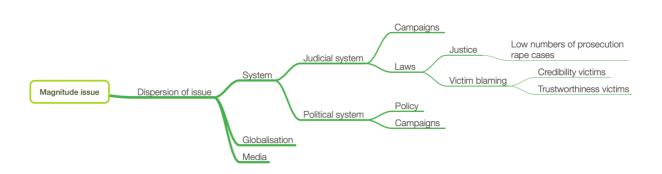
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# Appendix 1 – Coding schemes







# Appendix 2 – Table 1

Table 1: ethnographic content analysis of signs in pictures

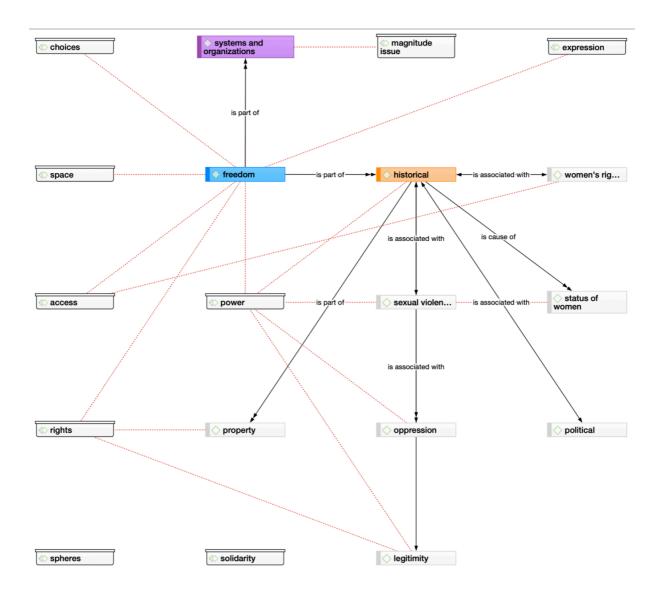
Concept	Frequen cy signs (total 37)	Context	Cultural context	Political context	Embodime nt (negative or positive)	Words (neutral, emotion al, coercive	Big words or small words	St at ist ic s	Experienc es	Perfor matives
Freedo m	9/37	The freedom to do whateve r you want, self-efficacy, power	To dress how you want, to speak out, to voice, to be, to be heard, to make choices, to own your body, no oppression	To have fundamenta l rights and be represented in policy and laws, to get justice, sexism, inclusivity, equality	Positive embodimen t in drawings of bodies and breasts, flowers, gender symbols, clothes	Mostly words that express emotion s, biased but not coercive,	Big words, empha sized by bold letters	X	None shared	'to be'
Solidari ty/ unity	10/37	Heterog enous group, diverse women, sisters, mom,m en, queer commun ity, feminis m	In words as support, together, women, to stand up, don't fuck with, unite, our, us, shout out, we, lives, bodies, existence,	To speak together up, to make 'them' listen, to be there for others, address issues, inclusivity	Positive embodimen t in hearts, signs, written on faces, symbols of femininity	Emotion al words, fucking, kill, feminici de, exclama tion points	Use of colour ed words, big and small words, underlining words	2	I reported, I speak out, one life is too much, reality of women in Mexico, reality of the struggles	To report injustice , to speak out, to respect individu al differen ces
Magnit ude issue of the issue(s)	9/37	International, the system, rights, social and cultural norms, ignored, Different dimensions discussed such as culture, education,	In words as patriarchy, other countries, Mexico, Latin-America, women's rights, globalisation, justice system, patriarchal systems, feminicide, issue articulation, internalized sexism,	Addressing feminicide, lack of protection, failing of systems, sexist systems, Addressing feminicide, lack of protection, failing of systems, sexist systems, intersection ality of issue,	and heart on their faces and even their sleeves. Negative embodimen	such as	Underlining words, using the colour red, statistics big	2	Stories told as their own sisters, personal, reality of being a woman in other countries	ge on

		consent, clothing, streets and policies and laws and categori sation	power struggles, cultural and social norms and values, inequality, layers of sexual violence, protection, physical and non-physical boundaries, not acknowledge d sexual violence	complexity of the issue, multidimen sional approaches to the issue, more than one issue	sexual violence, justice, right to, systems, political, education, teach, learn, ask, we are not, sexualisatio n					
Inequal social position of women	7/37	Historic al inequalit y, power relations , represen tation in rights and policy, ,exclusi on	In words as inequality, slut, rights, access to justice, gender, oppression, history, property, status of women, power, weak, soft	Adressing gaps in judicial system, lack of protection, femicide, what now, patriarchy must go, I am not asking for it	Challengin g norms and systems in material and signs such as Skate like a girl, be a slut, sexuality, power, self-efficacy,	Emotion of frustrati on: still protestin g this shit, wordpla ys on common sexist sayings, rebellin g	Capita  letters and predo minant ly conve ying one messa ge in the sign	2	Represent ation through transformi ng cultural sayings	to be non-conform ing to cultural norms that produce inequalit y in speech, attitudes and behavior
Strategi es dealing with sexual violence	8/37	Solution s propose d and referes to internali zed processe s of sexual violence	consent, reclaiming public space, reclaiming personal space, reclaiming word slut, reclaiming power, controversy, dress code, safe zones, community building.	Consent, asking for it, protecting yourself because the government will not do It for you, education, access to justice and rights	Embodime nt in clothing, attitudes, speech, sexuality and reclaiming the sexuality, anger	Slurs	Big words combi ned with 'girly' fonts, sarcast ic undert ones		Don't tell me to smile, if she asks for it why couldn't you?	To deter others

Table 2. Cooccurrences of codes of written documentation

Name	Groundedness	Density	Groups	Number of Groups	of
knowledge	26	0		0	
production					
issue articulation	23	0		0	
freedom	21	2	Freedom, rights	2	
community	19	0	solidarity	1	
historical	19	8	Freedom, power	2	
norms and values	18	0		0	
cultural sphere	17	0	spheres	1	
transferability of knowledge	16	0		0	
alternative forms of knowledge	15	0	access	1	
counter public	14	0	solidarity	1	
unity	14	0	solidarity	1	
gender	12	0	power, rights	2	
visibility	12	0	access	1	
codified knowledge	11	0		0	
dispersion of issue	10	0	magnitude issue	1	
inequality	10	0	power, rights	2	
knowledge as a tool	10	0		0	
knowledge practices	10	0		0	
rights	10	0	Freedom, power, rights	3	
social conditioning	10	0		0	
social position women	10	0	power	1	
solidarity	10	0	solidarity	1	
cultural context and interpretations	9	0		0	
narratives	9	0	expression	1	
reclaiming	9	0	power	1	
solution	9	0		0	
embodied knowledge	8	0		0	
inclusivity	8	0	solidarity	1	
oppression	8	1	power	1	
political sphere	8	0	spheres	1	
safe spaces	8	0	choices, solidarity, space	3	
sexism	8	0		0	
sexual violence	8	1		0	

Appendix 4 - Network viewer for the code freedom



Appendix 4



