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Taking Back the Streets: Resisting #StreetHarassment in a New Era of (Virtual) Public Space

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Taking Back the Streets:

Resisting #StreetHarassment in a New Era of

(Virtual) Public Space

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements of the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Urban Planning

by

Nina Marie Flores

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Taking Back the Streets:

Resisting #StreetHarassment in a New Era of

(Virtual) Public Space

by

Nina Marie Flores

Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Planning

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Leobardo F. Estrada, Chair

Whether on foot, bike, bus, or train, women are often targets of street harassment such as catcalls, unwanted touching, or leering. When women are forced to navigate harassment in the city, it limits their ability to access public spaces with the same freedom and ease as their male counterparts. As a planning issue, examining street harassment reveals serious concerns about gender justice, and can deepen our understanding of gender-based safety issues in public. Drawing on feminist theory, this dissertation is motivated by the idea that public space is profoundly gendered with social, cultural, political, and economic consequences for women.

In this study I looks at the role of social media in meditating the relationship between virtual and physical public spaces. Building on ideas about gender, the right to the city, and public space, the purposes of this research are to 1) provide empirical evidence that street harassment is widespread and presents a safety and access issue of concern to urban planners, 2) to show how harassment affects daily lives, 3) to demonstrate the ways in which social media platform Twitter is used as a virtual public space for processing and sharing experiences in physical public space, and 4) to examine how women are using Twitter to resist harassment both as individuals and with anti-harassment organizations.

Using a case study approach, nearly 10,000 tweets about street harassment were collected based on keyword and hashtag, and analyzed as micro-narratives. Tweets were considered in relation to harassment-related events and media stories during the study period, and in context of anti-street harassment activism by individuals and organizations. The tweets were evaluated as part of a growing movement against street harassment using Bill Moyer's framework on the stages of social movements.

The results of this research confirm that street harassment is part of women's daily lives on city streets, and revealed that women also face harassment in the virtual world. However, women are resisting, and the findings show that social media data can offer an unparalleled window into understanding experiences with harassment, fears in public space, and strategies for resistance.

The dissertation of Nina Marie Flores is approved.

Kathleen L. Komar

Paavo Monkkonen

Leobardo F. Estrada, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

For Jackie: a badass scholar, planner, teacher, activist, organizer, advisor, mentor, and dear friend who offered endless advice, sharp insights, and the gift of her loving friendship while I wrote this dissertation. You are so missed, every day.

Jacqueline Leavitt (1939 — 2015)

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I am also thankful for the opportunity to present this research at several academic conferences, and to receive early and ongoing feedback on my ideas, approach, and analysis. Audience questions during a presentation at the 2015 Western Political Science Conference provided intriguing conversations about quantitive versus qualitative Twitter-based research, and comments from David Sloane, my session chair at the Associated Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) annual meeting in 2015, provided further confirmation that there was a place for this research within the field of planning. Financially, travel to these conferences was only possible thanks to travel grants from the UCLA Urban Planning department, the UCLA Graduate Division, and the ACSP People of Color Interest Group (POCIG).

My committee is a dream team of scholars and mentors, each bringing their own critical edge and their own ways of showing support for me and my work. Without question Leo Estrada is a driving force behind my success in this program. His encouragement and mentorship, his commitment to me as a student, and his willingness to support my research ideas — no matter how far fetched! — allowed me to thrive, and not just survive in this doctoral program. From day one Leo has provided an invaluable example of what it is to give your time to students, to care about your pedagogy and teaching, and to tailor a mentorship approach to meet them where they are and help them take their next steps. As I now advise my own students I'm constantly reminded of the time, work, and energy Leo gave to fully support me as an individual with life both inside and outside of academia.

Jackie Leavitt was an advisor, mentor, and dear friend until the end. At our first meeting in her office we had an immediate connection, gleefully talking about how we could feature the words of community members through tweets. When I helped her sign up for a Twitter account

of her own she was dismayed that the handle @JusticeJackie was already taken (for her, a play on both social justice and her favorite gossip site, *Just Jared*). If ever during our conversations I expressed doubt, wondered about whether it was okay to focus on activism and teaching, or questioned my approach to social media research, Jackie's fierce support for my trajectory was clear, buoying my decisions with her frank reminders that connections between research, action, and justice should be an no-brainer. When I wonder to myself *What Would Jackie Do?* my mind and heart agree: Take action now, apologize later, repeat.

It was in Paavo Monkkonen's course on advanced research design that this project first took shape. However, it was through our subsequent conversations that I started to see the potential for this project, and the ways in which a qualitative approach to social media research could contribute to planning. Ever encouraging with ideas for publications, podcasts, and more, I am so appreciative that Paavo saw in this project more than I initially did, and I'm thankful for his continued support for me and my work. I also owe thanks to Kathy Komar for serving on my committee and helping me think about how my research connects to other disciplines. Lastly, I must thank Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris for graciously agreeing to join my committee during the last few months of this journey.

I owe special thanks to many folks beyond my committee who have offered support throughout my time at UCLA. To Marie Kennedy and Chris Tilly, I will always be grateful for your support and kindness, and will never tire of Marie's fantastic stories. On Welcome Day in 2011 I was lucky to meet Blanca and Marcie, whose friendships I will take with me far beyond graduate school. Special thanks to Alexis Sexauer who has provided more behind-the-scenes support than I will likely ever know about. To Vicki Ruiz and Victor Becerra, your friendship and

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Publications

2015   "Campus Sexual Assault: Myths, Facts, and Controversies" in Shira Tarrant (ed.) *Gender, Sex, and Politics: In the Streets and Between the Sheets in the 21st Century*, New York: Routledge.

2015   Flores, N. M., & Wong, K. "Protecting the Rights of Massage Parlor Workers" in *CSW Policy Briefs*, (2015). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2pc1s3hr

2014   "Street Harassment: Old Issue, Ongoing Struggle, New Movement" in Progressive Planning Magazine, Summer Edition. Available: http://www.plannersnetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/PPM_Sp2014_Flores.pdf

2014   "Gendered Public Spaces: Examining Cities Through the Nature-Culture Dichotomy," UCLA: UCLA Center for the Study of Women. Available: http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/01q290wj

Forthcoming

2016   "Reimagining Citizen Science for Women's Human Security: Shifting Power with Critical Pedagogy and Feminist Perspectives" in Richard Matthew, et al. (eds.) *Women and Human Security.* (chapter with co-author Tera Dornfield)

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2014   On street harassment, Department of Social Work, California State University Northridge.

2014   Invited speaker at event *Gender Justice in the 2014 Election*, San Diego State University.

2014   On women and safety on campus and in cities, for the course Community Development from the Ground Up, Honors College, UCLA.

Chapter One: Introduction

Women face problems of such significance in cities and society that gender can no longer be ignored in planning practice. - Jackie Leavitt, 1986, p. 181

I was fourteen the first time I was catcalled, an experience that for many women is neither unusual, nor unusually early. The scene: I'm Filipina-American, my friend is white, and as part of our high school physical education course we are running laps around the perimeter of our campus grounds. We jog by a section of exposed chainlink fence that separates us from streets of our inner city school and hear a whistle. Startled, our pace thrown off, we turn to look back as we continue running. Then we see them, two adult men with their fingers entwined in the fence. And then we hear them. First, "Damn, look at the legs on that cracker!" Followed by "Shit, I'm up on that graham cracker. Girl, I'd sop you up with a biscuit." At the time we don't have words to articulate what happened, so we tug at our shirts and shorts, trying to make them longer — trying to cover our legs and our shame as we round the corner.

To our classmates, we say nothing. To our mothers, we say nothing. Then one day in college I tell the story at dinner with friends and we cringe through our laughter: a day in the life of a high school girl. Weeks later at a community training about systems of oppression I begin teasing out the racialized and gendered slurs those catcalls contained, and the power of adult men commenting on the bodies of young teenage girls. I analyze the dynamics of age, of patriarchy, of my existence in public, of my access to the city, and I begin reliving the hundreds of incidents that I have endured and ignored, my brain trained over the years to consider street harassment as an expected occurrence in public.

Fast forward two decades and not much has changed. I can tell you every crack and groove of the curb where for years I took the bus to campus. I sometimes think those grooves are from my heels digging into the sidewalk as I braced for encounters with harassers on foot, bike, or car as traffic sped down Santa Monica Boulevard. I would wait for him to say something, to unnervingly close, to take the seat next to me on the bus despite empty rows, and silently hope he didn't follow me to my next destination. The *he* in my mind isn't a specific person, rather an amalgam of experiences with harassers over time that I am perpetually ready to defend against. I am a grown woman, and I know I am not alone in my fear of walking alone, a glance that turns into a stare that turns into a disarming leer, a harassment incident escalating beyond catcalls.

This research is motivated by the idea that public space is profoundly gendered with social, cultural, political, and economic consequences for women. In this study I see street harassment as a topic to help deepen our understanding of gender-based safety issues in public. Examining street harassment reveals serious concerns about gender justice in public space as women are frequent targets of street harassment, which can include catcalls, physical contact like groping, non-physical, non-verbal acts such as leering, and other unwanted sexual attention. A 2015 study in conjunction with the anti-harassment organization Hollaback!! revealed that more than 85% of U.S. women experienced street harassment before they turned 17, and that 72% of U.S. women admit to using alternate transportation to avoid harassment. Street harassment limits the ability of women to exist in the city with the same freedom and ease as their male counterparts, and the cumulative effects of harassment over a lifetime are long lasting, effectively reducing women's access to the city.

Street harassment is not a new problem for women, but during 2014 news outlets and the public began engaging in a national conversation about the issue. During that year the organization Stop Street Harassment conducted and published the first ever national level study on street harassment. Tatyana Fazlalizadeh started an international poster project called *Stop Telling Women to Smile*, which depicts hand-drawn portraits accompanied with statements such as "my name is not baby" and "women are not outside for your entertainment." Activism by anti-harassment groups such as Hollaback!! reached new highs as the organization supported active chapters in more than 70 cities around the world. A video project depicting the catcalls and other harassment endured by a woman while walking for 10 hours through New York City garnered more than 40 million views on YouTube. Indeed, in the era of social media sharing and footage going viral, the organizers, activists, and individuals taking a stand against street harassment have a reach that simply did not exist before.

Street harassment is a planning issue, and women's experiences with violence and harassment in public places should certainly peak the concern of urban planning scholars and practitioners. This dissertation explores the daily experiences of those who are vulnerable to street harassment, revealing both their knowledge and their resistance through qualitatively analyzing nearly 10,000 harassment related tweets as micro-narratives — unsolicited and thought-provoking personal insights into daily life. Although awareness of street harassment continues increasing in mainstream media, a commitment to studying street harassment and anti-harassment organizing within urban planning research is both necessary and warranted. The purpose of this research is to 1) provide empirical evidence that street harassment is widespread and presents a safety and access issue of concern to urban planners, 2) to show how harassment

affects daily lives, 3) to demonstrate the ways in which Twitter is used as a virtual public space

for processing and sharing experiences in physical public space, and 4) to examine how women

are using Twitter to resist harassment both as individuals and with anti-harassment organizations.

Although this study focuses on women, it is important to note that harassment is certainly also

experienced by men, particularly if they are perceived as not conforming to strict gender norms.

1.1 Coming to this Research: Street Harassment and Twitter

The ideas for studying street harassment and Twitter in this research came out of

witnessing a stream of live tweets from a woman as she was harassed while riding public

transportation in New York City.

Figure 1.1 Live street harassment tweets

Street harassment scenarios like the one described above happen every day. Ask a woman if she has ever experienced street harassment and you will hear stories about being bombarded with sexually explicit comments as a teen walking home from school, being catcalled while eight months pregnant, or being groped on public transportation. You will hear stories about crossing the street in order to avoid walking in front of a group of men, returning home early so as not to be in public alone at night, and jogging with headphones just to ignore the insults hurled from cars as they speed by. Then there will be the stories from women whose street harassment evolved into stalking, assaults, and death threats. In other words, research on street harassment is also a proxy for studying many manifestations of male dominance in public space.

However, what is unique about the above scenario is that instead of simply enduring this instance of street harassment Jennifer Pozner, author of the book *Reality Bites Back: The Troubling Truth About Guilty Pleasure TV*, took to Twitter creating a digital record of her experience, sharing the details of this incident in the virtual public space of Twitter, and eliciting a stream of on-line support and outage in the form of replies, retweets, and favorites. In this example, a social media platforms like Twitter allowed Pozner to respond to street harassment and the multiple systems of oppression that encourage this behavior without the risk of directly confronting her harasser, and while avoiding the risk of potential escalation.

In brief, Twitter users participate by posting 140 character 'tweets' to their followers, and include hashtags – words, acronyms, or short phrases starting with the pound symbol (#) – to help categorize their tweets, or to add tweets to existing conversations under the same hashtag. All tweets are visible to any user unless the account is marked explicitly as private or protected; however, few account holders use protected privacy settings because this significantly reduces

the reach of tweets and limits engagement on Twitter. It is the public nature of Twitter that allows information to spread quickly, easily, and with little effort.

In terms of social media research Twitter is a popular platform for study, likely for two main reasons: 1) the intentionally public nature of the micro-blogging platform; and 2) the realization that Twitter can play a powerful role in organizing, from local campaigns to political uprisings. In his recent work, Manuel Castells notes the Internet as a particular type of public space based in connectivity and flexibility, and that technology has proved useful for organizing, forming, and amplifying movement activities (2013). In this dissertation I add to this foundation by using a feminist lens to explore Twitter as a means for connecting virtual public spaces and physical public spaces. In this sense, Twitter serves as a mechanism for folks to move from the passive to the active, a way to take a step in acknowledging experiences, a way to share strategies for resistance, and a way to take action against harassment. A note of caution, as with any dichotomy or comparison it is important to avoid considering the virtual as subordinate to or less than the physical. Although virtual public spaces are new in planning, this doesn't mean they have less potential or power than physical spaces.

Given the number of people using social media, there are ample opportunities for planning scholars to thoroughly explore the potential for social media in revealing, addressing, or even solving complex urban problems. A tweet from a research presentation at the annual conference of the American Association of Geographers in April of 2016 encouraged people to spend more time outside in public space. My response: "I would gladly spend more time outside if not for street harassment. #EndSH". The anti-harassment organization Stop Street Harassment

retweeted my words, resulting in messages calling for more research, increased safety, and agreeing that street harassment is a planning issue that's time has come.

1.2 Framing: Right to the Gendered City and Virtual Public Space

In this dissertation I use Tovi Fenster's concept of *Right to the Gendered City* to frame my research. As I developed the ideas guiding this research I found myself first concerned with the violence women experience in public space — the immediate and multiple threats to their safety — and then by their individual responses and and organized resistance to it. Although I face very different experiences in public space than most of my male counterparts, it wasn't until reading Fenster's work that I came to name this difference in a way that made it real, urgent, and more pressing: we have a right to the gendered city. Her writing shifted my thinking from viewing my experiences with street harassment as a mere annoyance of city living to part of a much larger, systemic phenomenon. Framing my dissertation through the lens of right to the gendered city allows me to give my research feminist and gender roots, while also firmly situating my work within urban planning.

With the widespread use of digital technology and social media, the way we interact with the world is increasingly occurring in the virtual realm. Digital technology presents planners, activists, and urban dwellers alike with new opportunities to become attuned to community concerns, to compare and share information and strategies across localities, and to formulate plans of action. So often there is a culture of silence around issues that we know are happening, but that remain under the surface of mainstream academic and social acknowledgement. Social media allows people to enter virtual public space to talk about and process their experiences with street harassment in physical public space, and in combination with existing anti-harassment

groups they're working toward breaking the silence around sexualized harassment. At the time of this writing, a video is going viral in virtual public space in which women are sharing their experiences of the first time they were harassed in public. The accompanying hashtag #FirstTimeIWasCatcalled encourages people to share their stories of harassment in physical public space on the virtual public space of Twitter, Facebook, and other social media platforms.

1.3 Research Questions and Assumptions

Several assumptions guided the research questions in this study and offer a starting point for approaching the key elements of this research: Twitter, virtual and physical public spaces, and the experiences of women in cities.

1. People who tweet are doing more than simply sharing with a friend, they are amplifying their voice by sending their thoughts to anyone with access to the virtual world. In planning there are concerns about voicelessness, and tweeting works as virtual mechanism for sharing our voices.

2. Street harassment is a form of violence against women. In this research street harassment serves both as a proxy for studying violence against women in public space, and as its own form of violence against women.

3. It is a gendered spatial injustice when women experience fear, lack of safety in public spaces, or reduced access to the city due to either threats of violence.

4. Social media helps us use the virtual world to tell stories, process experiences, and organize. In this case, Twitter allows people to use virtual public spaces are tell their stories from physical public space, process these experiences, and organize with others.

The research questions in this dissertation allow exploration of these issues through the narrowed focus on the issue of street harassment. This study examined the following questions.

Figure 1.1 Research questions

Research Question	Sub-Questions
1. How is social media platform Twitter used to share experiences with street harassment in public space?	What hashtags and keywords are used to post about street harassment? Are harassment-related posts shared in the moment, after the fact, or both? Are people sharing about specific incidents of street harassment, or harassment in general? Is there a shared understanding of what counts as harassment?
2. What can virtual narratives tell us about experiences with street harassment?	What language do people use to describe harassment? When and where is harassment happening in city spaces? Is harassment preventing access to the city? Do people change routines because of harassment? Are harassment incidents escalating? What emotions are expressed?
3. In what ways is Twitter used to build an online anti-street harassment movement?	What types of activities happen on Twitter? What stages of Moyer movement building happen on Twitter? Are there differences in how individuals and organizations engage in movement building activity?
4. Where does anti-harassment movement activity fit within the broader movement of women's resistance in public space?	Where is the anti-harassment movement in terms of the Moyer stages of movement building? Is there overlap between the anti-harassment actions and other women's resistance in public space? Does the anti-harassment movement overlap with movements to stop violence against women?
5. In what ways can planners use social media to better understand complex urban issues?	How can planners use social media for furthering research? How can planners use social media for teaching students, and how can they encourage social media literacy among students? How can planners use social media for planning practice?

Questions and Assumptions

In this dissertation, the research questions examine the role of social media as a means for sharing about street harassment, explore efforts at anti-harassment organizing, and look to the broader implications for planners, researchers, and organizers using social media to understand and organize against complex urban problems. The first research question is: How is social media platform Twitter used to share experiences with street harassment in public space? To answer this question, sub-questions examine the elements that make social media, and Twitter in

particular, useful for sharing about harassment, as well as what information posts are likely to include. Additionally sub-questions help unpack foundational issues such as whether there appears to be a shared definition of harassment.

The second research question is: What can virtual narratives tell us about experiences with street harassment? When responding to street harassment through the virtual realm, personal tweet narratives can provide raw, to the point, first-person insights about street harassment and key social, political, economic, or cultural cues about experiences in public space. To deeply analyze these personal narratives, the sub-questions focus on the language people use, the descriptions of locations where harassment occurred, and the emotions they convey. Sub-questions also look specifically at whether the narratives reveal details about limited access to the city, changing daily routines to avoid harassment, and if incidents of harassment escalate.

The third question is: In what ways are virtual platforms being used to build an on-line anti-street harassment movement? The sub-questions are intended to carefully examine what, if any, organizing and movement building activities occur on Twitter around this issue, and whether media plays a role in building momentum. Additionally, sub-questions help match organizing and activities with the Moyer Stages of Movement Building (Moyer, 1987), and look for differences between individual and organizational Twitter behaviors. For instance, if a moment of activation occurs that encourages someone to tweet about their harassment, how does this look different than collective actions as an anti-harassment organization, or action that leads to policy change?

The fourth research question is: Where does this new movement fit within the broader history of women's resistance in public space? To better answer this question, the sub-questions

explore how the anti-harassment movement lines up with the Moyer Stages of Movement Building, and ask whether there are overlaps between anti-harassment actions and other women's resistance in public space. Additionally, sub-questions look for for connections between the growing anti-harassment actions and movements to stop violence against women.

Lastly, the final research question is: In what ways can planners use social media to better understand complex urban issues? The sub questions ask about how planning scholars can use social media for research, how planning practitioners can use social media for planning practice, and how planning as a discipline can help build critical social media literacy among students.

1.4 Research Significance

Although the majority of women have experienced street harassment at some point during their lives, harassment is rarely written about in the planning literature as an issue inhibiting full access and rights to our cities. This study addresses several gaps in the planning literature with regard to the issue of street harassment, the use of social media and virtual public spaces to understand issues in physical public space, and connections between online and on the ground actions. As efforts toward an anti-street harassment movement grow, social media users have shown increasing influence in making meaningful contributions to organizing, action, and policy.

This study also continues the history of women's resistance in public space, adding to it a new era driven largely by activism in virtual public spaces. With hundreds of millions of social media users the sheer volume of data produced each day is staggering, but its content may provide key information for better understanding myriad urban issues. This study also explores new ways that scholars can use data generated through social media for research, how to compile

a Twitter based dataset, and is an example of how qualitative research approaches can be applied to big data sets. Lastly, this research adds to ideas about public and private space in planning, exploring online platforms as virtual public spaces, and social media as a means for sharing, processing, and responding to experiences in cities. Given the widespread use of social media platforms, the knowledge of how to analyze data such as tweets is of increasing importance to planning scholars, practitioners, and organizers.

1.5 Dissertation Organization

This dissertation includes nine chapters, as well as appendices with information on conducting Twitter research. In this chapter I have provided an introduction to the area of research as well as a roadmap for understanding the research questions. In chapter Two is a review of the literature on the areas of scholarship that inform this study: feminist theory; feminism and planning; right to the gendered city; fear, safety, and public space; and existing literature on street harassment. Chapter Three situates virtual public spaces within planning literature, examines Twitter as a research space, reviews current literature on Twitter and planning, and examines recent scholarship on Twitter and social movements. In chapter Four I walk through the conceptual framing for the project, including calling for new ways to situate planning research in order to draw on feminist perspectives, account for gender-based violence, and engage the emerging area of social media and planning. I consider the multiple levels at which gender-based violence exists, look to virtual public spaces as spaces of action, and use the Moyer stages of social movements as a guide for assessing resistance.

Chapters Five and Six detail the approach to this study, the Twitter-based research methods, and the data collection and analysis procedures. Chapter Seven contains detailed

analyses of tweets from within each of the the sub-units in this case study. There is one unit for each of the keywords and hashtags: catcall*, #streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis. Chapter Eight examines the case study as a whole, the tweet collection as a whole, and also includes media analysis. Finally, Chapter Nine offers a summary of major findings, recommendations for practitioners, and notes on future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The urban planning literature reflects a decades-long, albeit limited, history of scholarship on women, feminism, and gender. Here the scholarship grounding this research is reviewed, with literature drawn from urban planning and supporting fields such as gender studies. First, an overview of feminist theory is provided. Next, the literature review turns to planning literature informed by feminist perspectives. What follows is a discussion of the scholarship around fear and safety in public space, including a focus on street harassment.

2.1 Feminism, Gender, and Feminist Theory

Planning scholarship that uses a feminist perspective differs from research that simply includes women as a demographic variable by drawing attention to the political, social, and economic implications of the research. However, traditional feminist critiques of planning can sometimes feel formulaic, generated from the concerns of second wave feminists, and limited to binary categorizations of men and women. The roots and evolution of feminism and feminist theory are rarely studied in planning, and in the following section I offer an introduction to feminism and feminist theory, and explore feminist analyses in planning literature.

Before beginning it is also important to define the term gender. Although sex refers to ones biology (male or female) and is more likely to fit neatly into a binary, gender (taking on feminine and masculine characteristics, and how one perceives their identity) is a spectrum, and is often constructed through social and political forces throughout a lifetime (Butler, 1990). Through feminist theory it is possible to see the evolution of this concept: Simone de Beauvoir (1949) famously wrote "one is not born, but becomes a woman." Gayle Rubin (1975) later notes that challenging the dominant heterosexual frame displaces ones sense of gender.

Feminist theory is a body of work that theorizes the reasons driving the subordinate position of women to men, often using intersections of race, sexuality, and class. For instance, at the end of the first wave of feminism, Simone de Beauvoir (1949) addresses early arguments that biological determinism is what causes women to be subordinate to men in her book *The Second Sex*. Later, when universalist claims about a general experience of woman emerged, second wave feminist theorists used the difference approach to reject universalism (Ortner, 1973; Chodorow, 1974). More recently, crossover second/third wave feminist theorists such as bell hooks have explored intersections of race (1981) and class (2000).

2.2 Waves of Feminism

In the United States, feminism is often described in terms of three waves of activism over the course of the past 150 years, although this approach is criticized for focusing on themes uniting participants (Mann & Huffman, 2005), and ignoring the role of race in pre-suffrage movements (Springer, 2002). Suffragists, that is the women (and men) who fought during the 19th and early 20 centuries to pass the 19th amendment, are considered the first wave of feminism (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005). With the passage of the 19th amendment, women could no longer be denied voting rights on the basis of their sex. Although the suffrage movement originated from the anti-slave and anti-racism movements following the Civil War, once free black men were granted the vote, the focus of the movement narrowed to the concerns of white, middle and upper class women. Division among feminists about how to most effectively legislate for equal voting resulted in a split between older suffragists who favored a slower state-by-state campaign, and younger women who sought a constitutional amendment and used radical tactics such as picketing a wartime president. Criticism of the first wave stems from the increasingly

limited number of women represented by the broad movement for women's rights, and the intense focus on a single issue (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005).

A second wave emerged during the 1960s. As a whole, the second wave is considered more inclusive through its rejection of racial hierarchies, and critiques of binary gender divisions; however, the movement is characterized by the existence of several subcategories, including radical feminism, liberal feminism, and socialist feminism (Byers & Crocker, 2012). Radical feminists viewed gender oppression as *the* social inequality, and argued that men assume power through patriarchy. Using "women only" spaces driven by grassroots groups, radical feminists celebrated womanhood and argued that despite differences such as race, class, sexuality, or age, women still had more in common with each other than they did with men. Liberal feminists focused their attention on men and women as equal individuals, calling for equality in choices and opportunities between the sexes, and seeking legislative means to secure their goals, such as the Equal Rights Amendment (Offen, 1988). During the 1970s and 1980s, the push for an Equal Rights Amendment gained steam; however, the measure failed thanks to outspoken opponents and a growing sense among the public that equality between men and women now existed. Socialist feminists connected sex, race, and class oppressions and viewed gender inequality as built into capitalism, which as a system benefits from the unpaid work by women in the home.

Feminists during the second wave championed numerous issues, most notably fighting for reproductive freedom, an issue which united many women, despite the differing agendas and strategies of each subcategory of feminism. A major criticism of second wave feminists is the focus on sameness among women, which some argued excluded the specific struggles of those women occupying points of intersection, such as Latina women or black lesbian women

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(Krolokke & Sorensen, 2005). Some critics argue that when equality with men is viewed as the overarching goal of feminism, the focus shifts to an "individual rights-based, rather than justice-based vision for social change" (Thompson, 2002, p.337). Other critics take this a step further, noting that "to look only to individualist feminism is to miss the rich historical complexity of protest concerning women's subordination" (Offen, 1988). Together, these critiques reflect the tension stemming from a history of feminism that focuses on white Western women, particularly those in the United States, and also sets the foundation for individualist-based critiques of the third wave.

Similar to the second wave, third wave feminism is not a homogenous movement. Momentum during the 1990s was driven by an acceptance of multiple positionalities, and the idea that "being empowered in the third-wave sense is about feeling good about oneself and having the power to make choices, regardless of what those choices are" (Shugart, Waggoner & O'Brien, 2010). The third wave also grew from women of color feminists who argued that "feminist theory was not sufficiently complex to understand or explain how oppression can be experienced differently within the broad category described as 'women'" (Lotz, 2002, in Kryger, 2004). Third wave feminist theory often overlaps with post-colonial theory, queer theory, ecofeminism, transnationalism, and posmodernism, producing many feminisms; however, "common threads running through the diverse feminisms of the third wave are their foci on difference, deconstruction, and decentering" (Mann & Huffman, 2005). In particular, difference and identity politics play a crucial role in how feminisms are defined, and contribute to how they intersect with other forms of oppression.

Although sexism is a specific system of oppression affecting women, women are also subject to simultaneous disadvantage by additional oppressive systems based on class, race, age, ability, or immigration status, among others. Further disadvantage ensues when women are vulnerable to multiple systems of oppression, and intersectionality reveals where these systems meet (Crenshaw, 1991). In research, intersectionality "attempts to locate and analyze particularities, rather than so-called 'average' experiences that replicate dominant positioning... assumed categories of analysis may not speak to people's experiences" (Lacey, p. 154), bringing into relief the specific conditions of women's lives. Most importantly, intersectionality broadens the lens for recognizing women's intricate relationships with cities, revealing complex experiences steeped in class, race, age, immigrant status, and more, and well beyond perspectives developed solely in relation to men (Tankel, 2011 via Lacey, in Whizman).

Critiques of third wave feminism continue emerging, many in the form of precautionary warnings from one wave to the other. Scholars note a tension between the theory-based work of second wave feminists and the personal narratives driving the third wave (Coleman, 2009), while others caution second wave feminists to recognize the significantly different circumstances with which third wave feminists are engaging (Bailey, 2002). Still others warn third wave feminists that they need to avoid engaging in personal resistance in which politics is absent (Kinser, 2004). Some scholars also critique the way in which media commodifies and appropriates third wave feminism in an attempt to reinforce dominant ideas, for example through the success of popular groups such as the Spice Girls or television characters like Ally McBeal (Shugard, Waggoner & O'Brien, 2010). However, current criticisms of feminism also reflect the idea that the feminist

movement is over or unnecessary. For instance, the widespread rejection of the feminist label (Olson, et al, 2008).

2.3 Feminism, Gender and Planning

In the planning literature women are often included as a demographic category, but feminist lenses are rarely employed. Although using a participant's sex as a variable for analysis may confirm basic differences, as a stand alone measure it fails to produce the critical analysis necessary for understanding the nuances of why differences exist, or the extent to which they occur. As a discipline, planning risks institutionalizing the neglect women by failing to distinguish the disparate needs and concerns of men and women in cities (Lacey, et. al, in Whizman, 2013), but more importantly, planners risks further marginalizing less-privileged groups of women (and less-privileged men) by uncritically incorporating the sex of participants into research solely as a demographic category of analysis rather than the impetus for further investigation into the social, economic, and political factors that contribute to these differences. Feminist-based research is needed as part of an effort to more fully integrate gender-based analyses into mainstream planning research. Applying feminist lenses has the potential to address multiple systems of oppression -- classism, racism, sexism, and more -- by encouraging scholars to "get at the patterns of dominance and oppression as they affect women" (Sherwin, 1993, p. 10).

Leavitt (2003) notes that the "disconnect between feminisms, gender analysis, and urban planning" stems from where planning is situated (p. 209). Calls to close the gender gap in planning education and research can be traced back to the 1970s and 80s (Leavitt, 1983). Sandercock (1998) also proposed a new paradigm in planning practice that included an

"epistemology of multiplicity" to acknowledge more ways than knowing than are available to us through the dominant, masculine research paradigm. Years later Leavitt asked about gender in community development, noting that despite "gendered histories (Hayden, 1981; Greed, 1994) and histories that include gender (Birch, 1983; Wirka, 1996; Leavitt, 1997)" planning had thus far been unable to create a gender-based paradigm shift in the field (Leavitt, 2003, p. 207). However, feminist planning is not a defined subfield within urban planning, and the goals of a future feminist planning research agenda are less clear. In part this is because feminist theories and waves of feminism reflect a variety of goals, agendas, and interests. Additionally, there are many interpretations and applications of feminist theories. Therefore, when planning scholars include feminist analyses in their work, their approaches are deeply influenced by their personal understanding of feminist theory and their relationship to feminism.

Using the waves framework to explain feminist theory may lead to a greater understanding of gender in planning. For instance, through the waves framework it is possible to visualize the way that research on women and gender has emerged throughout planning history, particularly during the second wave of feminism. As women began entering the planning field and profession in the 1960s and 1970s, there was an increase in the research on women (Leavitt, 1980). Although there is some overlap between subcategories, in general second wave ideas stemming from radical feminism, in other words patriarchy is the problem, produce planning research on non-sexist cities (Hayden, 1980), and research on masculine cities and feminine suburbs (Saegert). Scholars drawing on socialist feminism, a focus on connections with economics, produce planning research on the emergence of feminist economics and connecting power, work, wages, and the home (Markusen, 1981), and also explore connections between race,

communities, housing, and gender (Leavitt & Saegert, 1990). Applying a liberal feminist

framework when examining the spatial and social relationships between women and cities

reveals differences between the experiences of women and men in public space (Hayden, 1997).

The third wave of feminism provides many opportunities to not only include research

focusing on women, but also to increase awareness of the spectrum of gender in planning. For

instance, the third wave of feminism includes queer theory which when applied to planning can

produce new areas of research meant to support and benefit the LGBTQ community.

Additionally, pulling from third wave feminism also means including issues of masculinity,

which may lead planners to produce more work on sexuality, planning, and the city (Johnston &

Longhurst, 2010). Indeed, some scholars critique the very foundations of planning as a

discipline, arguing that urban planning embodies "the masculinization of the city" (Beebeejaun,

2009), and that it's time to "question the way planning orders race, gender, class, and

sexuality" (Quinn, 2002).

Scholars have long noted the need to incorporate feminism in planning theory and research.

Planning theory is predominantly driven by male scholars; however, several feminist planning

scholars have incorporated gender in their writing. Planning scholars called for feminist planning

theory in the early 1990s (Liggett, 1992), and have written about the need for feminism and

planning theory (Forsyth & Sandercock, 1992; Fainstein, 2005). In looking to ways of using

feminist theory in planning theory, Sandercock and Forsyth identify three approaches with

different emphases: planning practice (analyzing processes and behaviors of planners), political

economy (examining nature of planning in capitalist society/democracy), and metatheory

(questions about planning). Another application of feminism in planning theory can be found in

understanding the politics of difference. Contemporary political, planning, and feminist theorist Iris Marion Young advocated for a perspective recognizing and acknowledging differences within communities and among their members (Young, 1990). She noted that the "differences of privilege and oppression that exist in society have an effect on the public, even though the public claims to be blind to difference" (1990). Part of acknowledging difference is understanding the positionality of members in a community in relation to each other, and uncovering where disparate power manifests as dominance and oppression.

Feminist planners also raise questions about the language used to describe communities, how language shapes planning goals, and the ways in which communication occurs. For example, professional codes of ethics exist in the planning profession; however, few are based on feminist values or written by feminist planners. In a focus group study with feminist planners, participants were asked to brainstorm ideas for a feminist code of planning ethics. The resulting code addressed power imbalances, encouraged healthy physical and social environments, and prioritized interaction among planners and community members (Hendler, 2005). Feminist planning ethics offer a critical slant on the study of values in order to address dominance and oppression in planning that negatively affects women (Hendler, 1994). In other words, by following a feminist approach to planning ethics, these guidelines could produce new ideas of what planning look like through a feminist lens. In planning practice feminist approaches are increasingly necessary for cities as they strive to create and maintain community safety. For instance, they might focus on communities and those who are disadvantaged, using qualitative techniques to create short and long-term city plans that support women and other groups. Scholars also point to the lack of women with decision-making power in cities, setting cultural

norms, mismatches between support services and the location of users, and feminizing poverty (Fainstein, 2005). Among the goals of analyzing gender in planning research is to make women visible and "active participants in the planning and policy-making process" (Fainstein & Servon, 2005).

Importantly, feminist critiques should not be mistaken for solely gender-focused analysis. Feminist critiques provide an approach to research that rejects the dichotomies that are built into research and practice, and reworks assumptions about exclusion, oppression, and marginalization. Feminist approaches provide a framework for shifting away from macro level analyses and toward individual struggles, along with establishing access to communities existing in "private sphere" spaces (Staeheli & Kofman, 2004). For instance, Jacqueline Leavitt and Susan Saegert's study of abandoned buildings in Harlem demonstrated new renderings of community that existed far beyond the scope public and scholarly perceptions. When their research uncovered residents living in "community households," they offered a glimpse into the lives of a previously silenced group, added new understandings of community, and brought to the forefront questions about how planners decide which communities and populations to study, and why (Leavitt & Saegert, in Sandercock & Forsyth, 1992).

Interpreting meanings of community through a feminist lens also challenges the notion of homogeneity and alerts scholars, planners, activists, and policy makers to ways in which exclusion is used as much as inclusion to set community boundaries and determine acceptance of members (Hart, 1998). Feminist critiques allow planners to question knowledge construction and revisit how they know current knowledge about communities, where it came from, and whose voice it reflects. By applying feminist epistemologies to planning the door opens to

transforming planning research and moving closer to emancipatory planning theory and practice (Snyder, 1995). For instance, taking a feminist perspective in planning research could mean scholars include first hand accounts and experiences of community members, acknowledge when boundaries have been imposed by outside entities (such as planners), or are conscious of how information is created, who it is created for, and whose voices are missing.

2.4 Right to the Gendered City

A clear example of how feminist perspectives add to planning and public space scholarship is Tovi Fenster's conception of right to the gendered city. In his work on right to the city, Lefebvre noted that through inhabitance, people earn a right to the city (1991), including both the right to use public space, and the right to participate in decision-making (Purcell, 2003). Fenster's critique pushes Lefebvre's ideas further by drawing on feminist and gender-based perspectives, and filling gaps in what she refers to as his "rather utopian" (2005, p. 229) understanding. Fenster wrote that if we assume separation between the public and private, then the public appears neutral, free from power relations, and thus failing to reflect the experiences of many women in cities. She went on to argue that "patriarchal power relations are the most affecting element in abusing women's right to the city in different ways than those of men," and made her case through collected narratives from women and men about their day-to-day lives in the city (p. 219).

Patriarchal power relations most certainly present in the street harassment experienced by those whose tweets are featured in this study. We need not look any further than the content of these tweets for evidence of both sexism and misogyny: graphic comments about body parts; name calling along the lines of bitch, whore, and slut; and threats that quickly escalate to

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physical violence. Added to that the emotions of fear, frustration, and disgust that are characteristic of women's experiences with harassers in public space, and it is clear the role patriarchal power relations continue to play in determining unequal rights to the city. With regard to safety and harassment, Fenster made the case that "fear of use of public spaces, especially in the street, public transportation and urban parks is what prevents women from fulfilling their right to the city" (2005, p. 224), noting that fear of harassment is present across identities and demographics. This assertion is a key foundation to this study. The fear of harassment is prevalent, reaching across differences between women – and even across the spectrum of gender – to affect who does and does not use the public spaces of cities to their full potential. However, although street harassment is experienced by women regardless of race, class, age, and more, this study also highlights the ways in which these elements affect differences in harassment and anti-harassment organizing.

2.5 Fear, Safety, and Space

As with many pressing areas of research, the safety literature is immense. Even with regard to safety in public space topics range from personal wellbeing to global security concerns, and draw from a range of disciplines within the social and behavioral sciences. Here I narrow the focus of this section of the literature review to three areas of scholarship related to public space and gender: 1) how fear affects relationships with public space, 2) applying feminist perspectives to safety, and 3) street harassment. I make a distinction between the terms safety and security. Here the term safety refers to when an individual is tasked with maintaining their own personal protection, whereas the term security refers to when an agency or group is tasked with maintaining safety for others. For instance, a woman might be taught to maintain her personal

safety at night by being vigilant about her surroundings while waiting for the bus, while security in the area might be maintained by the use of closed circuit cameras. Examining these terms as separate concepts is important for recognizing differences in broad security-based solutions versus individual-based safety strategies. As noted previously, the term gender-based violence signifies acts based on ones identity (or perceived identity), and may be used synonymously with violence against women (Pickup, 2001).

The built environment plays a significant role in contributing to perceptions of safety, in both public space and public transportation settings. Safety concerns affect how women interact with public space, particularly in relation to fear. Research spanning several decades affirms that fear of violence, crime, or harassment limits women's access to the city and their enjoyment of public space, while also reducing convenience and opportunity (Warr, 1985; Fenster, 2005; Gordon & Riger, 1989; Pain, 1991; Hille, 1999). Fear has emotional and physical consequences, both which negatively affect women's lives (Day, 2001). Being afraid of being in public at night alone is an emotional response to fear, whereas physical consequences include avoiding leaving the house alone, even to complete everyday activities such as going to the grocery store or exercising. For instance, fear in public space may be driven by being afraid of sexual assault while walking at night (Valentine, 1992), or the risk of street harassment (Gardner, 1990). In both of these examples fear in public space can be distinguished from fear in private spaces like the home. In private spaces fear of safety may result from domestic violence or abuse, typically at the hands of a partner, spouse, or acquaintance; however, in public spaces fear is rooted in the potential behavior of strangers.

Studies also shows that women respond differently than men to the built environment, and may feel more risk in spaces as compared to men (Smith and Torstennson, 1997). A Gallup poll conducting during the study period for this research revealed that 37 percent of Americans agree that there is an area near their home through which they are afraid to walk alone after dark (Gallup, 2014). When broken down by sex 45 percent of women reported being afraid to walk alone as compared to 27% of men. This same survey revealed that there are two groups that are more likely to feel afraid walking alone at night: younger people ages 18-29, and people making less than $30,000 per year. Income level may suggest those who live in or near low-income housing, or those who cannot afford a car and therefore must walk or take public transportation to get around, even through neighborhoods where they do not feel safe.

Feeling fearful may also take a toll on the very experience of being in public. A 2008 survey conducted by the organization Stop Street Harassment noted that women often partake in what is termed "on guard" behaviors while in public alone (Stop Street Harassment, 2008). Among more than 800 participants in the study, 80% of women reported "constantly assessing their surroundings," while 69% said that they "avoid making eye contact" while in public. This research also added further evidence to support the idea that women's access to public space is limited: 50% of women reported taking alternate routes to avoid areas where they felt unsafe. Research shows that two top spatial concerns that increase fear among women are enclosed spaces with few exits such as underground parking, and desolate spaces that provide areas for would-be attackers to hide. In the latter scenario fear in open spaces is compounded by the "fishbowl effect," in which lighting at bus stops may highlight waiting riders (Scarborough Women's Centre/METRAC 1991).

Improving safety also means moving beyond studying women as a unitary group with shared interests. Research shows that "all women do not share the same experience in accessing the city... Thus, young women face specific vulnerabilities, as do new migrants or women with disabilities" (Viswanath, 2013, p. 81). Women express different concerns in different spaces, based on age, race, class, location, ability, and many other factors. Planners have the potential to draw attention to and change they ways cities and organizations approach safety for women from dissimilar backgrounds.

2.6 Fear and Transit

Safety and security are significant concerns when examining how public space reflects the needs and concerns of men versus women, and many studies on safety and planning are in relation to public transportation. Research on public transit and fear looked to the different experiences and needs of women riding public transportation (Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink, 2008). Despite the presence of gender-based safety concerns, women's travel programs are present in fewer than five percent of transportation agencies. In this study, women passengers expressed concerns about waiting at bus or transit stations alone at night, noting that closed circuit television (CCT) cameras in stations might record incidents, but are meaningless during the moment of an attack. Despite the current security trend to *increase* technology as a safety measure, perhaps in an effort to reduce hiring costs, female passengers expressed the need for more in-person policing (Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink, 2008).

This study revealed several connections between fear, public space, and the domination of men's perspectives in planning. First, transportation planning is a male-dominated field, evidenced by among other things the existence of WTS: Advancing Women in Transportation, an

organization devoted to closing "the workforce gap in the global transportation industry."

Second, from the perspective of (male) transit authorities, the use of technology for security was perceived as a cost-cutting improvement, not a means of decreasing safety for customers. The implication for women in public space is a mismatch between their concerns and fears, and men's solutions, which is emblematic of the relationship between urban planning and women. In this case it took an academic researcher who is a woman asking about women's experiences with fear and public transit in order to demonstrate the mistaken normalization of a men as having the sole transit experience. In this example, men's experiences are positioned as the only experiences and therefore dominate decision-making, while the experiences of women as a category of passenger often go unrecognized by transit authorities.

Indeed, fear of violence and for personal security affects potential riders' decisions about using public transit (Needle & Cobb, 1997). Riders may avoid using public transportation, specific stops, or may only ride during certain times of day if they feel unsafe en-route, or perceive certain transit stations as unsafe. Cervero (1990) found that factors such as on-board safety and station safety attract riders more than low fares. A Canadian study found that station safety and safety en-route ranked as more important to riders than reduced fares and even cleanliness (Syed & Khan, 2000). Within this area of research, few studies examine how gender affects feelings of safety.

In one study drawing on the Chicago Transit Authority Customer Satisfaction Survey, researchers found that women experience significantly more safety-related problems than men, and that video surveillance cameras have less of an effect on women's feelings of safety than men's (Yavuz & Welch, 2010). The authors go on to suggest that if transit agencies continue to

ignore these gender differences, then they risk economic losses in terms of fares, a sentiment

mirrored in the 2002 U.K. Department for Transport survey, which showed that 10.5% more trips

could occur if riders felt safer, especially while they waited at transit stations (Carter, 2005).

However, by reworking the economic concern to center women and their experiences, failing to

address safety issues for women may also mean that women themselves are facing economic

losses if they decide against leaving their homes at certain times due to safety concerns. For

instance, research shows that riders' decisions to use transit in major cities such as New York,

Toronto, and London are influenced by negative perceptions of transit security, and that women

in particular are more likely to drive or use taxi services than ride buses and trains due to safety

concerns (Wekerle & Whitzman, 1995).

In a study on pedestrian trips, research showed that women rated safety factors as

important when determining which route to take and why (Agrawal, Schlossberg & Irvin, 2008).

In an article titled "Is it safe to walk?" the author notes that "prior experiences and memories of a

setting may influence one's perception about its safety… we produce mental maps of feared

environments and unsafe places based on our prior experiences, as well as the reputation that the

urban fabric acquires from media stories and accounts of others" (Koskela & Pain 2000, in

Loukaitou-Sideris, 2006). However, fear isn't limited to strictly urban environments. In an

exploratory study on perceptions of safety, researchers found that even in the suburbs one's sex

was a significant predictor in whether people felt safe, with females reporting that they felt less

safe than males. Additionally, feelings of safety in the suburbs were associated with both the

quality of destinations and higher levels of upkeep, suggesting that "improving both the quality

of destinations and the upkeep of the suburb will go some way to creating a safer

suburb" (Wood, et al., 2007, p. 27).

2.7 Applying Feminist Perspectives

Violence against women and girls is a barrier to safety in cities, communities, and

homes, both domestically and abroad. However, while existing research dissects fear of crime

and posits solutions related to lighting, increased policing, and cleaning up or maintaining

neighborhoods, researchers rarely name the systemic forces that work to create and maintain

perceived and real unsafe spaces for women. Applying a feminist lens to research on fear, safety,

and gender-based violence can begin addressing limitations set by scholars and practitioners

when they approach safety from the perspective of avoiding attack or staying safe. Geographer

Rachel Pain writes that while sexual violence is more likely to happen in private spaces, women

are more fearful of experiencing it in public space. She goes on to posit that the "paradox

between conceptions of public and private space is an important area for potential research in

geography" (1991, p. 417) and argues for applying feminist analysis.

Feminist approaches to safety in public space illuminate more than the concerns of

women; they reveal dominant patterns of oppression that shape society, practice, and research.

For instance, feminist economics approaches show how women are affected by the limits of

neoclassical frameworks, which cast women, families, and care work as externalities of the

market, therefore reinforcing a public private split between households and the city (Folbre,

1994). Maintaining this divide through policy means that few public safety policies are designed

to reach the concerns of women or families inside the confines of their homes, and that violence

remains a private issues despite also presenting as an issue based on power and sex in public

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(Johnsston & Longhurst, 2010). It is unlikely design tweaks to the urban environment are enough to confront these broader forces that create and maintain unsafe environments.

Women's safety in public may also be at risk when they work as part of the informal economy of cities. Around the world, women are overrepresented within the informal economy, and in the United States "it is estimated that nearly 95% of all domestic workers are women" (Lee, 2015). In addition to providing domestic services, women may also enter the informal economy through being a street vendor (Roever, 2014), a sex worker (Dank et al, 2014), or other avenues. Massage workers are an example of women who may enter the informal economy due to their undocumented status, low english fluency, and limited options (Nemoto et al, 2004). With limited safety protections for women in the informal economy, massage parlor workers are particularly vulnerable to physical, verbal, and sexual violence from clients and management (Nemoto et al, 2004). Applying a feminist analysis reveals that their safety is negatively affected by intersecting systems of advantage based on sex, class, ethnicity, citizenship status, and more (Flores & Wong, 2015).

Women are frequently subjected to many forms of sexual violence in public spaces ranging from verbal sexual threats to physical groping. In several recent cases incidents of street harassment have escalated to physical violence and even death (Edwards, 2014). When it comes to street harassment, fear of being harassed and experiences of groping, leering, and catcalling is what sexism looks like in public. The next section reviews the literature on street harassment.

2.8 Street Harassment in the Literature

Street harassment often falls under the umbrella of safety. Safety concerns among women vary with age, race, class, location, ability, and many other factors, and despite scholarship on

women's fear of crime in public space, no single approach will increase safety for all women. Research shows that "all women do not share the same experience in accessing the city... Thus, young women face specific vulnerabilities, as do new migrants or women with disabilities" (Viswanath, 2013, p. 81). Additionally, the differences in safety concerns multiply when we look to the international realm, where women's experiences vary by country, region, and community, but may also be affected by larger forces such as globalization. Applying feminist perspectives to research on safety issues can help flip the script that is reinforced when scholars and practitioners approach safety from the standpoint of avoiding attacks or teaching women (and men) to "stay safe," instead of confronting the forces that contribute to how safety is created, maintained, and disrupted.

Recent research (Kearl, 2014) shows that the majority of women in the United States (and an unexpectedly high number of men) have experienced street harassment. Earlier research using the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey (VAWS) of more than 12,000 Canadian women revealed that more than 80 percent had experiences with what the researchers termed stranger harassment (Macmillan, Nierobisz & Welsh, 2000). In this study, stranger sexual harassment was contacted with non-stranger sexual harassment, and defined as receiving unwanted attention, being followed, being subjected to indecent exposure, or receiving obscene phone calls. Approximately 30 percent had faced situations involving confrontational harassment. However, street harassment is rarely considered a serious enough crime to merit punishable offense, meaning frequent occurrences in public space are endured without recourse. Street harassment inhibits full access and rights to our cities (Fenster, 2005) by creating scenarios in which safety and perceptions of safety are often tied to gender.

Archived newsletters from the New York Radical Feminists show that the term street harassment was first by organizers in the 1970s. Cynthia Grant Bowman first used the term street harassment in scholarship in the early 1990s at a time when sexual harassment received growing attention in both the legal and media spheres. For instance, although experiences with unwanted sexual attention in the workplace were not new, explicitly labeling these behaviors as sexual harassment signaled a shift. Congressional testimony from Anita Hill detailing the harassment she endured from then Supreme Court justice nominee Clarence Thomas drew more attention to the issue as her televised words filled homes across the country. In many ways building on the earlier work of Catherine MacKinnon (1979), Bowman's 1993 article features her use of "street harassment" instead of "street remarks" or "sexual harassment in public places," and details the multiple intentions behind her decision. The use of harassment tied the phrase to punishable offenses, and thinking ahead to potential first amendment claims, the word harassment also focused on conduct rather than speech. Additionally, Bowman notes "this conduct is not essentially sexual in nature as much as it is motivated by, and instrumental to, male power and hierarchy" (1993). The word street is used as synonymous with any public place, including public transportation.

In addition occurring in public space, street harassment can be characterized by "the unacceptability of 'thank you' as a response," and explicit references to body parts (Davis, 1993, p. 214). Street harassment can present as catcalls, sexual gestures, leering, inappropriate physical contact, or may include a combination of verbal and nonverbal elements. Likewise, street harassment may also evolve as the incident unfolds, starting with verbal cues and escalating to physical contact such as groping.

Limited research exists specifically about street harassment, the range of experiences in public space, how and if these experiences are shared, and the movement against street harassment; however, several scholars write about harassment in the broader context of safety and the right to the city. For instance, we know that fear of harassment or worse alters how women interact with the city, and often increases worry while restricting the freedom to enjoy the same experience as other urban dwellers (Day, Stump & Carreon, 2003). Additionally, studies show that women and men do not share the same day-to-day routines on city streets, and that women express higher levels of fear in public space than men (US Bureau of Statistics). The question then turns to how analyses of power can reveal the differing experiences of women and men in public spaces. Former UCLA professor of Architecture and Urban Planning Dolores Hayden offered the following assessment at The First Berkeley Woman and Language Conference in 1985:[1]

"Sometimes men do not really understand the difficulties that face employed women who are traversing the city alone because when women are with men, they are much more likely to be free from verbal harassment on the streets and to be free from gratuitous attacks. When they are alone, in fact, there is a tremendous amount of hostility that just comes off he sidewalks of the city."

Nearly three decades later, her words take on a fresh meaning when we think about the experiences of women and men and the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, age, ability, or legal status. From this perspective, power in public space extends beyond simply male

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[1] As seen in a footnote of Cynthia Bowman's 1993 article, "Street Harassment and the Informal Ghettoization of Women"

privilege to include other sites of dominance: heterosexuality, whiteness, wealth, youthfulness, mental and physical abilities, and citizenship.

Widespread experiences with street harassment indicate many systemic issues, among them a set of cultural norms that sustain sexism, heterosexism, whiteness, patriarchy, and male privilege. Some scholars refer to street harassment as part of a larger system of sexual terrorism (Kissling, 1991; Davis, 1993) where women are subordinated by men through multiple forms of violence ranging from language to physical acts. Street harassment is also described as sexual terrorism because it reminds women that they are vulnerable to assault in public spaces (Fogg-Davis, 2006).

At its core, street harassment of women is an exercise of power or intimidation by men; however, women do not share a uniform experience. Women may be targeted for street harassment for many reasons: sex, race, class, ability, religion, sexuality, ethnicity, and more. For instance, "Black women's experiences of street harassment are complicated by their race, and the race of their harasser(s)" (Fogg-Davis, 2006). Women may also experience harassment differently based on their relationship with public space, which may reflect intersecting systems of oppression. For instance, lower income women who routinely walk or use public transportation may not have the same experiences as women who can afford to drive. Additionally, women who are in public spaces during daylight hours may not share the same concerns as women who work at night.

Street harassment also affects minors. In a survey of more than 900 New York City youth conducted in the early 2000s, 40% of young female participants reported being sexually harassed by police officers in public, whether through whistles, catcalls, or other flirtations. As one

responded noted, "they say they are protecting us, but they only make me feel more at risk" (Fine, et al, 2003).

But women are not alone in experiencing street harassment. Harassment based on sexual orientation – or what the harasser perceives as ones sexual orientation or failure to conform to expected gender norms – reveals the need for research that recognizes street harassment as a gendered issue reaching beyond the limits of biological sex. Additionally, while some scholars have used street harassment to theorize the interest convergence of black heterosexual women and black lesbians (Fogg-Davis, 2006), research analyzing the experiences of heterosexual and lesbian Asian, Latina, or Native American women, or women of mixed races, is largely absent.

Chapter Three: Defining Virtual Public Spaces

Sandercock (1995, and in Roy, 2001) writes about the borderlands that planning scholars rarely visit, that is research and writing informed by feminism, postmodernism, post colonialism, and more. As a project, this work finds a home in these borderlands in two ways: 1) through using feminism to inform research, and 2) by examining a site that has growing importance in urban planning — the border between the physical world and the virtual. Although the virtual realm is by definition computer-generated, the broadness of this definition can include everything from virtual realities constructed through simulations and engaged by strangers around the world through video games, to private-online blogs with controlled access to selected viewers, to social media platforms and share-based websites such as Youtube and Flickr. The virtual realm can exist in both the public and private spheres. In this sense, while it is easy to assume the virtual is merely the opposite of the physical, instead it can act simultaneously as a public and private space. For instance, computer-generated products may remain private and not shared with the public; however, the same products could easily be shared publicly via the internet.

In his research on networked society Castells described a networked "space of autonomous communication" as the new public space that exists between "the digital space and the urban space" (2012, p.11). Here I build on ideas about digital space by adding to conceptualizations of the term *virtual public space.* First, I use this term as a way to begin categorizing digital space by specifically noting the public nature of certain online spaces. For instance, not every digital space can be considered public, similar to the way private spaces are not public. Second, I use this term as a direct counterpart to the physical public spaces scholars study in planning. Just as everyone

has a right to access physical public spaces like streets or buses, to qualify as a virtual public space, the space must also be open and accessible to all. In this sense, sending tweets crosses the border between the physical and digital space in the space of autonomous communication.

To study virtual public space, I examine social media platform Twitter as a means for crossing the border between physical and virtual public spaces. Most Twitter accounts are public (Madden, et al, 2013), so once a tweet is sent, it becomes part of the public record of the Twittersphere. As a virtual space, Twitter can be considered public in that tweets are available for anyone to view, unless an account user sets tweets to protected. A projected account is indicated by a padlock symbol on the Twitter interface, and means that tweets are only visible to followers that the account user pre-approves. Research shows that although users with protected accounts tweet more often than users with open accounts, protected accounts have significantly fewer followers (TechCrunch).

Although planning research about virtual public spaces is limited, scholars across fields have written about the internet as a virtual public sphere (Papacharissi, 2002) and the geography of cyberspace (Batty, 1997; Dodge & Kitchen, 2001), even going so far as to point out that "the lexicon of the Internet, the most well-known vehicle of cyberspace, is not only replete with, but actually constituted by, the use of geographical metaphors" (Graham, 1998, p. 166). For instance, the Internet is commonly noted as the information superhighway, and likewise groups of users are often referred to as part of a virtual community. This also applies to the shifting boundaries of space, setting a foundation for locating virtual public spaces in the discourse of cities and planning. In 2000 Crang argued that "cities are no longer unitary entities with bounded insides and outsides (Mazzoleni, 1990, p. 100; Mandarini, 1998)… The urban wall, the boundary that

made the city coherent, has been replaced by a range of imbricated spaces at different scales" (p. 304). As access to virtual spaces increases, boundaries between life in public space and life in virtual public space become fluid as citizens engage at the border between the physical and virtual on a daily basis. Indeed, a decade later, in a time when Americans spend an average of 11 hours per day exposed to media (Philips, 2010), Crang went on to suggest that "the digital realm is embedded in urban life, with new media layering onto existing media and using forms that might reshape socio-spatial relationships (Crang 2010, in Jackson & Valentine, 2014). Indeed, in this project the socio-spatial relationships between women and public space are examined using Twitter.

3.1 Twitter as research space

As a site for research, virtual public space provides many options for internet-based data: popular social media sites like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram, blogs, news media, and web forums, as well as sites designed to share digital content like YouTube and Flickr, offer a rich and extensive source of data for researchers. With the help of internet-connected devices such as laptops, tablets, or mobile phones, each platform is a portal through which a person in physical space can choose to enter virtual public space. Increasing access to cell phone and internet technology across the globe has produced a new area of research for scholars based on an instantaneous digital flow of information.

Changing technology and the evolving nature of social media means that it can be difficult to predict which platforms will maintain popularity. For instance, the history of social media can be traced back online friends lists such as SixDegrees.com in 1997, and virtual reunion sites such as classmates.com that allowed users more exclusivity by connecting users

from the same schools (Ellison, 2007). Then came sites such as LiveJournal which allowed for online friend connections, and in the early 2000s early social networking sites such as Friendster, which was originally designed as competition for dating site match.com (Cohen, 2003). What followed were popular follower-based sites including Myspace, Facebook, Twitter, and more.

Among social media research projects, Twitter is a popular choice as a micro-blogging platform. Twitter users participate by posting 140 character 'tweets' to their followers, and include hashtags – words, acronyms, or short phrases starting with the pound symbol (#) – to help categorize their tweets, or to add tweets to existing conversations under the same hashtag. Most tweets are from public accounts (Madden, et al, 2013) and are visible to any user unless the account is marked explicitly as private or protected; however, few account holders use protected privacy settings because this significantly reduces the reach of tweets and limits engagement on Twitter. It is the public nature of Twitter that allows information to spread quickly, easily, and with little effort.

According to the Pew Research Center, as of 2014 researchers estimated that 74% of adults in the United States who use the internet also use social media sites, giving social media platforms a reach in virtual public space that has simply never existed before. Among those users, approximately 23% use Twitter. During this study period in the fall of 2014, Twitter reported 63 million monthly active users in the United States. Replying to individual users was on the decline, while retweeting users increased. More than 50% of tweets were sent from handheld or mobile devices. Only about two percent of accounts are considered protected.

Reasons for tweeting vary widely. Scholars have referred to Twitter as "electronic word of mouth," particularly with regard to corporate communication and marketing (Jansen et al, 2009).

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Scrolling through a Twitter feed reveals tweets are used for advertising and marketing, as well as by government agencies to disseminate news and updates. For instance, in a study on how 30 city police departments use Twitter, researchers found that departments use the platform to quickly release information to the public about crime incidents, safety, events, and traffic issues, and on occasion to directly contact news media (Heverin & Zach, 2011). Of all social media platforms, Twitter in particular is used during and after natural disasters to share conditions and disseminate resource information — an emerging field is known as crisis informatics (Palen et al, 2007). Twitter is also used by individuals in times of personal crisis, whether to vent a minor frustration or to express deeper, more personal sentiments. Early research showed that Twitter was predominantly used to talk about daily routines, share and find information, and connect with friends (Java et al., 2009). Users report using specific tweeting techniques to connect with different audiences, while still trying to be authentic to followers (Marwick, 2011).

As a means for crowdsourcing ideas and information, social media is also used to value non-expert knowledge. The term crowdsourcing was first coined in popular media (Howe, 2006), and is "a mechanism for leveraging the collective intelligence of online users toward productive ends" (Brabam, 2009). Crowdsourcing often uses social media to pull together ideas, opinions, and other information from the online community around a specific issue or question. There are many benefits of including community knowledge beyond the limits of the official planning department, most notably that the public often has creative solutions to local issues (Van Herzele, 2004).

3.2 Twitter and Planning

Several planning scholars have explored the role of internet technology and web-based tools in planning. Among them, Mandarano, Meenar, and Steins (2010) offer a helpful guide to describing various technologies and understanding their use through examples drawn from planning practice. Their work includes technologies such as websites, online surveys, social networking, wikis, video sharing, crowdsourcing, virtual meetings, texting, blogs/micro-blogs, RSS feeds and more. Interestingly, at the time of publication in 2010 the researchers categorized blogs and micro-blogs together, with Twitter considered separate from the social networking sites they mention (Facebook, MySpace, and LinkedIn). As a testament to the quick shifts that occur among internet-based technologies, as the popularity of Twitter grew — and with it changes in how users interacted with others through the platform — Twitter is now commonly considered a form of social media. Therefore, in the present study Twitter is categorized as a social media platform that happens to be based in micro-blogging. As a field, planning is still in the early stages of situating research within the virtual realm, as well as thoroughly examining the relationship between virtual and physical public spaces. In the planning literature scholarship about social media or studies that pull from social media for data is limited.

Existing literature about social media focuses on its potential as a new form of participation. Drawing on Habermas (1989) and the idea of the public sphere as a place for participatory democracy to thrive, virtual public spaces can be seen as a logical extension for participation, and even as a space for deliberative democracy (Dahlberg, 2007) and civic engagement in the planning process (Mandarano, Meenar & Steins, 2010). For instance, extending public space to the digital realm means accounting for virtual participation that occurs

via the Internet. Social media platforms like Twitter can act as a collection mechanism for participatory planning in virtual public space. As a means of public consultation, social media has been referred to as a could be "game changer," in part because it puts "a potentially enormous among of power in the hands of ordinary people and allows them to mobilize themselves into an effective lobby" (Shipley & Utz, 2012). In this sense, virtual public spaces can also be seen as an extension of deliberative democracy because they allow for more voices to be heard, and more ideas to be shared, instantaneously, thanks to internet technologies. Indeed, anyone with access to the internet and a Twitter account can directly tweet at any elected officials, city departments, public agencies, and community organizations to air grievances, share stories, or ask questions. And as Schweitzer (2014) found with regard to public transit agencies, interacting with users only stands to benefit the agency. However, an article focusing on Facebook offers examples the public uniting via online social networking sites to oppose a project, but rarely influencing the planning process (Evans-Cowely, 2010). The research showed that despite participatory efforts on the part of community members who took the initiative to collaborate via social media, the planning process remained unaffected. In part, this is because although the public may voice concern or support on-line, "there are significant challenges in converting online support into support through the traditional hearing process" (Evans-Cowley, 2010).

There are few examples of planning research that specifically focuses on Twitter and planning. For instance, one study using Twitter and social networking sites to learn more about how the public engaged with the Strategic Transportation Mobility Plan (STMP) in Austin, Texas is based on the concept of tweets as a mechanism of micro-participation (Evans-Cowely &

Griffin, 2012). In recent research Lisa Schweitzer used Twitter to examine how riders tweet to discuss public transit services and management, finding that people tweeted negative comments about transit agencies when they "blast information rather than interacting with individuals in a two-way, conversational tone" (2014, p. 229). Participatory planning came out of a need to include community members in the planning process, and this finding seems to suggest that when people feel heard — that is when someone from the transit agency is interacting with them — they feel more positively then when the agency simply dolls out information.

Twitter has the potential to allow community members a means of including their voices, so long as they can access the platform. However, although tweets may be collected, there is no guarantee that these voices are heard or even considered when making planning decisions. In this sense, tweets may potentially fall among the lower rungs of Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969), serving as nothing more than "empty rituals" without the power to create change. Indeed, as Arnstein suggests, planners must question the motives of both those who choose to engage in the planning process, as well as those officials who at least on paper—or in this case, on-line— seek to engage the public. Thus, simply including more voices via virtual participation should not automatically be synonymous with more participation in decision making, nor a thriving democracy. Another challenge of using Twitter for participation stems from the digital divide, that is the separation between those who have access to Internet-connected devices and technology, and those who do not (Selwyn, 2004). With Twitter in particular this divide may also be affected by challenges with regard to lack of awareness of the platform, or how to use Twitter for contributing to the planning process. As social media engagement between citizens and

planners increases, there is work to be done in terms of "overcoming the digital divide, and

motivating ongoing and thoughtful participation (Seltzer & Mahmoudi, 2012).

Beyond urban planning, social science research about social media demonstrates the

ability of Twitter to function as a tool of civic engagement, and even a mechanism for using

virtual public spaces to facilitate social movement activity.

3.3 Twitter, Social Movements, and Resistance

In social science research social media use is described as encouraging civic engagement

by creating a "virtual place for assembly" that provides a forum for free speech (Khamis &

Vaughn, 2011). The virtual is also a space of resistance, and indeed we see global and local

actions happening via online organizing (Castells, 2015). However, when coupled with

advancing technology, organizing, political action, and movement building in the virtual realm,

happening in virtual public spaces, has a reach that simply has not been possible in previous

social movements (Tejerina, Perugorría, Benski & Langman, 2013; Bennett, Segerberg &

Walker, 2014; Theocharis, Lowe, van Deth & García-Albacete, 2015).

Twitter can play a powerful role in both creating public pressure and mass organizing.

The Arab Spring uprisings across the Middle East were quickly dubbed as the "Twitter

Revolution" (Grossman, 2009) because Twitter was used to facilitate communication among

protestors (Lotan, Graeff, Ananny, Gaffney & Pearce, 2011). In Egypt, Twitter was also an

essential means to alert demonstrators and the world to what was happening on the ground

(Huang, 2011), with users tweeting in both English and Arabic to spread information (Bruns,

Highfield & Burgess, 2013). Research has shown that even in regions where Twitter use might

be considered minimal, the overall impact of Twitter use during political uprisings may be much

greater due to high levels of young people adopting social media, their tendency to share through

social media, and the role of Twitter-based 'opinion leaders' in disseminating news and events

(Kavanaugh et al., 2012). Twitter accounts also became sources for journalists seeking timely on

the ground information, as examined in this case study of Andy Carvin's sources on Twitter

during the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions (Hermida, Lewis & Zamith, 2014). As the

organizing continued and the revolutions grew, some in Cairo were arrested for their role in

facilitating activism through Facebook (Fahmi, 2009).

Although online tools such as listservs have long been used to organize self-selected

users around issues, social media is seen as more decentralized, and a means to disseminate

information virally to people beyond ones immediate network (Juris, 2012). For instance, in

social science research social media use is seen as encouraging civic engagement by creating a

"virtual place for assembly," and providing forums for free speech (Khamis & Vaughn, 2011). In

many ways social media is part of a longer evolution of digital communications. Although I will

not attempt to situate a history of communication within this dissertation, it is worth noting a

short series of developments with regard to the mainstreaming of on-line communication,

connections to activism, and implications for communities. As access to the internet spread

during the 1990s, online organizing was increasingly fueled by web forums. Forums allowed

activists to communicate information quickly to followers, which expanded their reach to

potential strangers. Additionally, forums allowed activists to communicate with each other, to

post questions, to start discussions, and to advertise rallies and marches. One downside: web

forums were easy to infiltrate, meaning it was easy to track activists and events. Blogging filled a

different void in the online world. Individuals could post thoughts, opinions, analysis, and more

to digital on-line journals. Blogs were also used to document events or reviews of events (Fahmi, 2009). Blogs have served as records of events as well as information hubs (Fahmi, 2009). "Since 2006, blogging has represented more of an information hub, as bloggers continued posting news and exposing various human rights violations."

By the early 2000s social media platforms emerged. Among there earliest versions of the social accounts popular today were Friendster and Myspace, which offered users a chance to connect with friends and share photos and music. There is little evidence to suggest that either platform was used for organizing at that time. During the early 2000s Facebook also gained popularity; however, initial users were required to have a .edu email account in order to access the site. In 2006 Facebook changed their policy, allowing users to join regardless of college or university affiliation (Kornblum, 2006). According to Facebook, during 2014 they surpassed 1.19 billion users around the world. However, Facebook operates on a model where individual users can only share information with those they are connected to, making it difficult to organize beyond your immediate or secondary circle of friends.

Chapter Four: Conceptual Framework

A new conceptual framework is needed to situate planning research that draws on feminist perspectives, while addressing safety, women and cities, and an emerging area exploring social media and planning (see figure 4.0). Ideally this framework will center gender-based violence against women as a planning issue, and expand the scope of the issue beyond the experiences of violence in public to include resistance in both physical and virtual public spaces. Gender-based violence, also referred to as Violence Against Women (VAW) is the overarching issue within which this framework is grounded. Although I focus on the experiences of women in this research, I make note of the term gender-based violence to include violence that may be based on sexuality or gender expression, regardless of biological sex.

Figure 4.1 Conceptual framework: Gender-based violence as a planning issue

Multiple scales for understanding gender-based violence:
Systemic Issue: Gender-based violence is created and sustained through systems of power and advantage (sexism, heterosexism, cisgenderism)
City/Planning Issue: Women are subject to violence and threats of violence in public space (assaults, sexual assaults, sexual harassment).
Focus of this Research: Street Harassment (proxy for gender-based violence) as an issue preventing women's full access and right to the city.

If you're the target of street harassment, then you have two options: 1) Choose to act, or 2) choose not to act.

Responding in person may be a safety risk, so broaden the scope of response to virtual public space: Narratives via social media platform Twitter.

Q1: How is twitter as a virtual space for discussing street harassment experiences in public space?

Q2: What can virtual narratives tell us about experiences with street harassment?

Choosing to tweet about street harassment is choosing to act: tweeting experiences with harassment, sharing news stories and events, giving advice about avoiding harassment or confronting harassers, or organizing against street harassment. Recent global movements reveal a new era for social movement activity that moves seamlessly between virtual and non-virtual spaces. In this project I use the Moyers Eight Stages of Social Movement Activity as a means of assessing current anti-harassment activism and organizing.

Q3: How is twitter being used for anti-street harassment organizing? Are there connections between on-line and on-the-ground organizing?

Q4: Where does this new era of resistance in virtual public spaces fit within the broader history of women's resistance in public space?

Tweets are an endless stream of unsolicited narratives, and present many possibilities for planning: gathering individual opinions, community organizing, more participation in decision making, feedback, etc. **Q5:** How can planners use social media for research and practice?

4.1 Multiple scales for understanding gender-based violence

Building this framework starts with recognizing gender-based violence as an issue that exists at several scales. First, at a systemic level gender-based violence is supported by systems of power that give advantage to those in dominant positions. For instance, sexism, heterosexism, cisgenderism, and other systems of advantage create conditions that work to support gender-based violence. Sexism is a system of advantage that values being male over being female. Heterosexism is a system of advantage that values heterosexual orientations. Cisgenderism is a system of advantage which privileges those whose gender expression matches the sex they were born at birth. When combined with patriarchy, a system in which men hold power and women are often excluded, the circumstances through which women face vastly different experiences in cities than their male counterparts are perpetuated. One manifestation of these circumstances is gender-based violence. Gender-based violence refers to a range of acts that are directed at an individual based on their sex or their perceived gender identity, such as physical assault, sexual assault, sexual harassment, and street harassment.

Scaling down to the city and planning level, gender-based violence, and particularly street harassment, can be viewed as a spatial issue. Public spaces including sidewalks, streets, public transport, and more are sites where experiences with or the mere threat of violence can affect women's daily movement through space, and their ability to fully interact with the city (Fenster, 2005). In this sense, for women the threat of gender-based violence in space is largely inescapable, and a critical area for research. Each system of advantage further complicates the relationship between women and the city, producing conditions in which gender-based violence

survives and thrives. For planners this means that if women's experiences with gender-based violence in cities are rarely studied, then it is unlikely planning policy will reflect their specific needs. Digging deeper, without such research it is also unlikely that planners will develop their understandings of the connections between power, powerlessness, and vulnerability when it comes to experiencing violence, or the threat of violence, in space.

Finally, in narrowing this framework to the focus of this dissertation I use street harassment as a proxy for examining gender-based violence in public space, and as an issue affecting women's full access and right to the city. This framing necessitates understanding how systems of power and advantage intersect to produce vastly different experiences for women based on age, race, sexuality, perceived gender, immigration status, language, and more. Twitter is positioned as the virtual public space platform thought which users can share their stories and experiences from physical public space, their ideas and recommendations for responding to harassers, and their plans for anti-harassment resistance. Through my analysis of how Twitter is used to discuss street harassment and organize against it, I strive to better understand physical and virtual public spaces as sites of women's resistance.

4.2 Extending the Decision to Act: Virtual Public Space

Within this framework, virtual public space is seen as an additional a site for potential resistance. Each incident of street harassment creates a choice of whether to respond to the harasser, and if so, how — decisions that are made in the moment based on the immediate circumstances. Often, making the decision not to respond or resist in the moment is the best decision, particularly in the face of uncertainty or sensing that the situation may escalate. During this study period, two separate cases made the news when women were physically assaulted as

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the result of escalating street harassment, one fatally shot (Edwards, 2014). On the other hand,

deciding to respond can be empowering. Through this conceptual framework the scope of when

and where responses and resistance to harassment can occur is expanded to include virtual public

spaces, meaning that deciding to take action is no longer tied to the immediate risk of harassment

escalation.

Figure 4.2 Moyer's stages of social movements

Movement Stages	Detailed Description
1. Normal Times	A problem exists but it is not on anyone's agenda and the public is unaware of it.
2. Prove Failure of Normal Institutions	A new wave of grassroots opposition begins which must prove that the official institutions / channels support the status quo and prevent change.
3. Ripening Conditions	Perceived or real worsening of conditions, and/or new evidence of the severity of the problem. There is rising grassroots discontent with conditions, the institutions, power holders and older campaigns. Upsetting events happen, including ones that encapsulate the problem.
4. Take Off	A trigger event puts a spotlight on a problem that violates widely held values, sparking public attention and upset. It precipitates massive nonviolent actions and a new grassroots-based social movement. The issue is put on society's agenda of hotly contested issues in a crisis atmosphere.
5. Perception of Failure	the movement progresses to Stage 6, but many activists don't see this progress and believe their movement has failed. Numbers are down at demonstrations, there is less media coverage, and long-range goals are not met.
6. Majority Public Opinion	the movement transforms from protest in crisis to long-term struggle with power holders to win public majority to oppose current policies and consider positive alternatives. The movement's position is increasingly adopted by mainstream society.
7. Achieving Alternatives	this is a long process, not an event. The struggle shifts from opposing present policies to choice of alternatives to adopt. There is massive public passion for change, and it is more costly for the power holders to continue old policies than to adopt new ones. More 're-trigger' events occur.
8. Continuation	The movement needs to protect and extend successes that were achieved, and switches its focus to other sub-goals or movements. Its long-term focus is to achieve a paradigm shift.

Many factors mediate decisions about whether to respond to street harassment. The decision

against taking action may be driven by timing (e.g. the harasser has already driven away),

context (e.g. it is unclear who the harasser is among a group of men), or powerful emotional

reactions. As noted earlier, fear can produce emotional and physical consequences that can

negatively affect women's daily lives (Day, 2001). For instance, fear that an incident may

escalate beyond verbal comments to physical violence may stop a woman from responding to her

harasser. Likewise, emotions such as frustration, annoyance, and anger can produce quick decisions to act as an individual. In this case, fear may be linked to anger and provoke an immediate response, or may produce the sense of complete immobilization. However, when we expand the scope of how a woman might respond to harassment by including virtual public spaces, feeling immobilized in the moment of harassment doesn't exclude the possibility of someone will take action at a later time. Additionally, in the virtual realm, options for engaging the issue of street harassment multiply exponentially. This research focuses on Twitter as a virtual public space where users can provide acknowledgment of an incident, show support for others, and organize through sharing their personal narratives, digital recordings, videos, photos, blogs, articles, and more.

4.3 Tweets as Action, Action as Resistance

In this conceptual framework I narrow my focus to Twitter, situating tweets as mechanisms for 1) crossing between physical and virtual public spaces, 2) crossing between systemic and city/planning levels of analysis, 3) composing and sharing personal narratives about daily experiences, and for 4) responding to and organizing against street harassment. Here I apply the framework to examine how people use tweets for everything from capturing individual harassment incidents to organizing on-the-ground anti-harassment events. Drawing on feminist uses of storytelling and focusing on the daily experiences of women, tweets can be conceptualized as narratives — often about occurrences in physical space — that are shared in virtual space. In this context, deciding to tweet about street harassment becomes a moment of activation: choosing to take action, and choosing to do so in virtual public space. Tweeting about an individual experience reflects the presence of gender-based violence at the city/planning level,

that is the tweets demonstrate incidents of harassment happening in public space. In contrast, tweeting about the issue of street harassment as affecting women in general or analyzing harassment as an exercise of men's power would imply a systemic critique, perhaps reflecting a system of advantage such as sexism.

As a guide for assessing how virtual-based action like tweets contributes to anti-harassment movement building, I incorporate the Moyer (1987) stages of social movements (see Figure 4.1) into the framework. The eight stages follow a movement from normal times to the failure of institutions, show the ripening conditions necessary for take off, allow for the sense of failure and the moment of gaining majority public opinion, and finally the success of implementing alternatives and extending movement activity to additional goals. This framework also acknowledges existing movements. For instance, current anti-harassment actions can be located within the broader women's movement, as well as within an ongoing movement to end violence against women.

Chapter Five: Research Design and Methodology

5.1 Overview of Methods

This dissertation is an embedded, single-case study of Twitter and street harassment using grounded theory to analyze data collected from tweet narratives, data on tweets, media, documents, archival records, and participant observations. Case studies are used to understand real-world, contemporary events, drawing on multiple sources of data to provide in an "all-encompassing method" of research (Yin, 2014, p. 17). Early social science texts presumed case study research as simply an exploratory step for future research; however, this limiting perception is becoming outdated as case studies are increasingly seen as a strong methods choice for researchers tackling "how" and why" questions (Yin, 2014). Case study is sometimes critiqued for a perceived lack of rigor or for questions about generalizability, but these concerns are mitigated when the researcher follows systematic data collection and analysis procedures.

Although the data is drawn primarily from digital sources, the case study design allowed this research to be situated in two sites: 1) the virtual public space of Twitter, and 2) the physical public space in which incidents of street harassment occur. The research design and methodology is informed by feminist methodologies, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Critical Race Theory (see Figure), and uses multiple sources of evidence to investigate the relationship between virtual public spaces, social media, and street harassment. Together, these elements comprise a case study of Twitter use related to street harassment and anti-harassment organizing during the fall of 2014. The general hypothesis guiding this research is that the profoundly gendered nature of public space produces circumstances which encourage violence against women, and that women respond to both daily injustices and systems of advantage such as sexism through virtual public

space. Because street harassment is used as a proxy for gender-based violence, a more focused hypothesis is that women experience street harassment in public spaces and turn to social media as a key mechanism for using virtual public spaces to discuss, share, and organize against this harassment.

5.2 Feminist Standpoint Theory as Methodological Tool

The research design and approach draws in part from Feminist Standpoint Theory, which has influenced both epistemology and methodology by encouraging scholars to question conventional, androcentric ways of knowing and conducting research. Standpoint epistemology requires scholars to start the research process from the experiences of disadvantaged populations to begin addressing the concerns of groups that are typically excluded from research (Harding, 1992; Smith, 1972). Feminist standpoint theorists argue for starting research with the lives of women. This approach differs from merely using a participant's sex as a variable for analysis. Although this might confirm differences between men and women, it fails to produce the critical slant necessary for understanding the nuances of why differences exist, or the extent to which they occur. In using the experiences of women to develop research questions and processes, feminist standpoint allows scholars to engage in research that examines the needs and concerns of women (Harding, 1992).

Feminist standpoint methodology is also helpful in illustrating the breadth (and depth) of research possible through using feminist approaches. Frequently, standpoint methodologies are misunderstood as research conducted from the perspective of a particular group. While the researcher may indeed be a member of the group they're studying, standpoint itself is not based on perspective. Standpoint methodologies encourage researchers to develop new lines of

research beyond the dominant traditions by starting their research from persons or groups whose interests and concerns are not reflected in the disciplinary literature, and engaging in research that is intended to benefit these groups (Harding, 1992).

At a minimum, applying the logic of standpoint methodologies in urban planning means starting research with groups or persons whose lived experiences are not currently reflected in the literature. Pushing this further, scholars, academic journals, and other knowledge gatekeepers could prioritize non-dominant research agendas as a key mechanism for expanding the field to reflect the diversity people and experiences captured under the umbrella term urban. Such an effort may begin accounting for differences across ability, age, citizenship status, class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, race, sex, sexual orientation, and more, as well as intersectionality. Although planning researchers may not use the term standpoint epistemology, much of the research on women, feminism, and planning reflects the idea of starting research from the lives of women (Leavitt & Saegert, 1990), thus helping the field move beyond dominant ways of thinking and knowing. Sandercock and Forsyth (2005) note that most planners' work seems to fit neatly into the established silos of the discipline, e.g. transportation, housing, and the built environment. Thus, incorporating feminist standpoint-based epistemologies has the potential to expand knowledge and ways of knowing within the discipline.

Additionally, concepts from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) were used to expose the relationship between power and discourse. CDA is an approach to analysis that rejects "value-free" science and uses a critical lens to reveal how "dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2001). In CDA the concept of *macro versus micro* bridges language and communication happening at the

micro level to power and inequality at the macro level. Through examining the *actions-process* CDA can reveal how individual actions are part of group actions and social processes (Van Dijk, 2001). Applied to this project, CDA is helpful for analyzing the relationship between tweets at the micro level and gendered systems of power at the macro level.

In this project I extend how feminist standpoint epistemology can be used in planning by applying it to virtual communities and social media research. Research questions were formulated based on preliminary research and the increasing media coverage of street harassment during 2014. Feminist Standpoint provided the framework to use the experiences of women to guide my research process and priorities, and using concepts from Critical Discourse Analysis directed attention to language at the micro level and and put women's experiences in context of macro level intersecting systems of advantage.

5.3 Critical Race Theory and Methodology

While engaging in the research process I also drew on concepts from Critical Race Theory (CRT) to inform my methodology. Although the primary focus of this dissertation is women's experiences with street harassment, women do not have a universal experience and cannot be presumed to comprise a single unified group, with the same concerns, experiences, goals, and desires (Narayan, 2003; Fenster, 1998; Moser, 1989). Narrative-based counter storytelling is often used in CRT research to validate and affirm stories which do not originate from the dominant white paradigm (Bernal, 2002). In this dissertation, tweets are viewed as micro-narratives; however, tweets using the hashtag #YouOkSis represent a specific type of micro-narrative. These tweets intentionally center the experiences of Black women, and therefore

provide counterstories to the dominant harassment narratives, which are typically based on the experiences of white women.

Figure 5.1
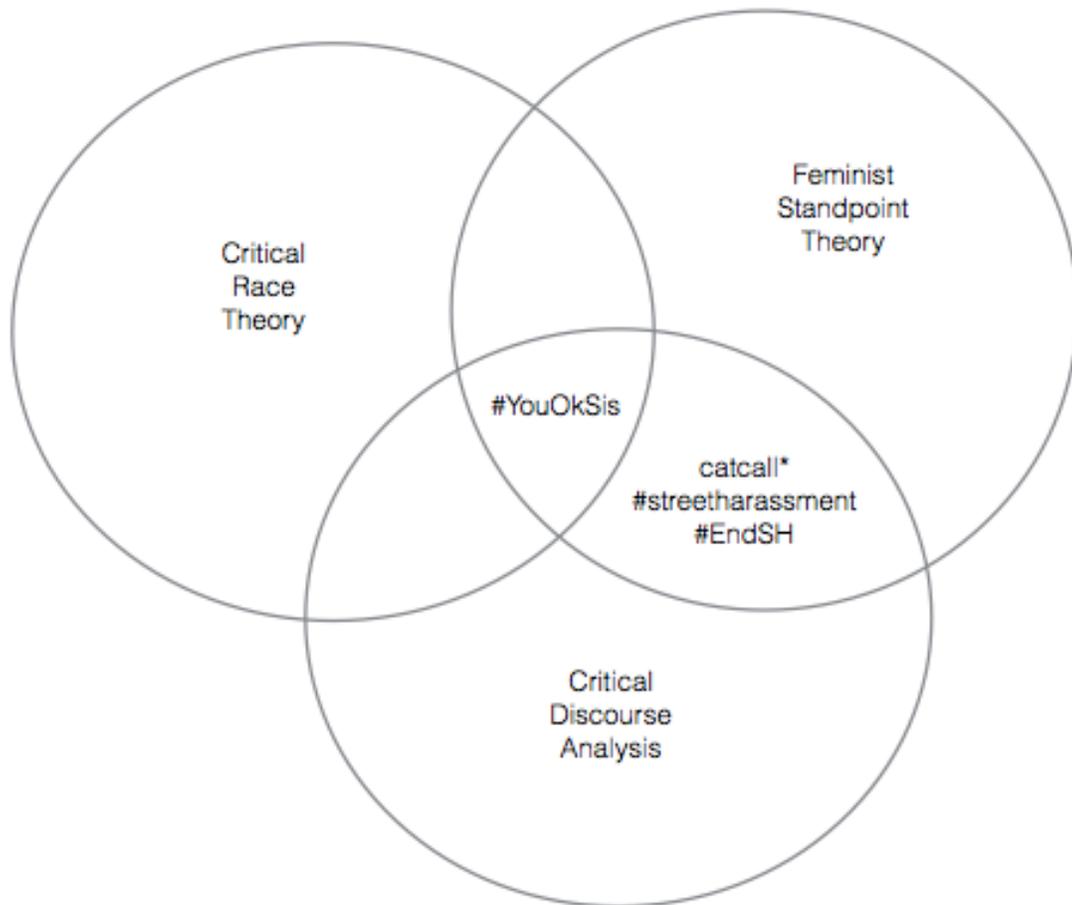
5.4 Tweets as Narratives

Personal narratives have long been used by researchers in feminist scholarship to capture the everyday experiences of women, particularly within qualitative research projects involving feminist activists and community struggles (Naples, 2003). For instance, scholars have used storytelling, oral histories, and more to explore one's experiences through their own words, and

to capture the nuances of their everyday lives. The internet has allowed for new mechanisms for narrative to emerge. Thanks to blogging sites and social media platforms the virtual realm is overflowing with individuals sharing their stories, their daily experiences, and their thoughts, often through an unsolicited form commonly known as a status update.

In her work on Facebook and narratives, Ruth Page (2010) refers to status updates as "self-contained units" for interpretation. She notes that these units have unique narrative properties including "reference to an individual who reports their experiences: the writer themselves" (Page, 2010, p. 427). She goes on to explain that "the stated name is crucial information for both narrative production (self-representation) and reception (for the audience to know who the update is about)" (p. 428). Facebook updates also include a timestamp which can help the reader develop a timeline of events and can situate the update within a temporal chronology.

In the same sense that Facebook status updates are considered narratives, in this project I am analyzing tweets as narratives. Tweets exist at the intersection of two virtual narrative formats. First, tweets can be categorized as micro-blogs, that is the shorter, more concise cousin to full length blog formats. Given the strict limitations on tweet length and the necessity of brevity, as a nod to their recognition as micro-blogs I refer to tweets as micro-narratives. These micro-narratives act as reflections of life experiences. Second, Twitter is a social media platform and as such tweets can also be seen as social media status updates. When applying Page's understanding of Facebook status updates to tweets we can see that each tweet functions as a self-contained unit for interpretation and analysis. Tweets hold similar narrative properties including references to the individual experiencing the events (labeled through the user's Twitter

handle name), which also denotes who is producing this narrative and alerts the audience to who this is about. Tweets allow users to put their narratives in public, and to share their voice with broader, often unknown, audience members.

5.5 Case Study Design and Rationale

This is an embedded, single-case study of street harassment and social media. Preliminary research for this project including a listening period and a pilot study was conducted from January 2014 to June 2014. Tweet data collection, media collection, and participant observations occurred during a three-month time period between August 2014 and November 2014, and tweet analysis, and document and media analysis occurred from that point through the summer of 2015. Conducting case studies require researchers to possess a range of skills that may not be necessary for quantitative methods such as experimental designs or surveys. For instance, in order to produce a successful case study researchers should already have a firm understanding of the issues being studied, remain both alert to ongoing interactions between theoretical issues and the data, be able to "listen" without feeling limited by existing ideologies, and be adaptive to unexpected research opportunities as the study progresses (Yin, 2014, p. 73). In this dissertation each of these characteristics came into play as the research unfolded, from tweet listening periods to adapting to changing Twitter conversations and adding hashtags, to constant assessment of the relationship between the data and the broader theoretical issues examined.

In approaching this project I had two distinct advantages with regard to case study research: I had a deep understanding of feminisms and feminist activism, and I was familiar with the issue of street harassment beforehand, both as someone who experienced it, and someone

who was aware of organizing around the issue. My awareness of street harassment as a named issue stemmed from listening in a different form: being part of online feminist listservs and attending on-the-ground events, reading popular women's magazines with a critical edge such as Bitch Magazine and Bust Magazine, and being a regular visitor to feminist websites such as Jezebel.com and Feministing.com, among others. As the project progressed, continuing to engage in these online and on-the-ground spaces was also a form of research that helped provide additional context for understanding trends and critical points in anti-harassment tweets and actions.

There are five rationales behind using single case designs including "having a critical, unusual, common, revelatory, or longitudinal case" (Yin, 2014, p. 51). This single case design was chosen in relation to the theoretical position that public space is profoundly gendered and that street harassment is a common occurrence. Therefore, this case was pursued in hopes of providing insights into the everyday experiences of women and the use of social media in relationship to street harassment. The embedded, single case design features four sub-units of analysis within the broader case, each focusing on the tweet activity both within and across four hashtags and keywords: catcall*, #streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis.

5.6 Study Limitations

The methodology presents some study limitations, and challenges can also be found when using Twitter as a data source. Twitter only reflects the opinions and knowledge of those who both have internet access, and who use their Twitter accounts. When it comes to research, keywords and hashtags may exclude variations and spelling errors, as well as references in other languages.

Figure 5.2 Data types, sources, collection, and purpose

For this study, another notable challenge was trying to locate conversational tweets between users. For example, by reviewing the full text of tweets it is clear when a discussion between multiple users is happening because tweets will be directed at others (i.e. they include @Twitterhandle, or are responses such as "yes, @Twitterhandle, I agree"). However, portions of the discussion lapsed when the responding users did not include one of the keywords or hashtags included in this study. There are a number of reasons that users may elect not to use the hashtag: it takes up valuable character space, it was already included in one tweet in the discussion and there was no reason to include it in the reply, or they may not be aware of what it means or why it's being added to the tweets. Although tweets are public and it is simple to locate the accounts included in the conversations, it was unfortunately incredibly difficult to go back in time to find the missing responses among what may be thousands of tweets sent by specific users since fall 2014.

Chapter Six: Data and Analysis

Data Type	Source	Technique for Collection	Purpose
Twitter	• Tweets (as narratives)	• Tweets meeting study criteria sent to researcher via Twittermining • Systematic review of tweets included in study	• Broad array of tweets street harassment during study period • Precise accounts and personal narratives • Record of popular media stories and events
Documents	• Organization and issue-based websites related to feminism, street harassment, and more • Issue-based publications related to feminism, street harassment, and more	• Web-based organization documents accessed digitally • Physical documents received via mail, fliers seen at campuses or community centers.	• Reliable information about anti-harassment programs and events • Detailed and reliable information about related policy issues • Detailed and reliable information about current feminist movement activity
Tweet-Related Documents	• Twittermining data sets including frequencies of top terms, frequent users, and more. • ATLAS.ti code cloud	• Twittermining data sets received along with each .txt document of tweets. • ATLAS.ti code cloud produced after tweet coding was complete.	• Specific and quantifiable information about tweets • Reliable information drawn directly from tweets • Insightful as additional source of tweet data for triangulation
Media	• Media from tweet content (news articles, blogs, videos, GIFs, photos) • Media about street harassment during study period	• All media links in tweets systematically reviewed • Media stories and event information during study period systemically collected	• Insightful for providing context for tweet content • Broad array of information in various media formats • Some reliable and detailed information about harassment-related news and events
Online Artifacts	• Electronic Sources	• Artifacts from electronic sources were captured with screenshots (e.g. art pieces in public)	• Insights for culture of public spaces • Provides images from public spaces
On-line Participant-Observation	• Websites, Media, and Twitter	• Observations of anti-harassment activity as a Twitter user, as a feminist, as someone who is harassed.	• Opportunity to provide insight on issue and activities as an insider — someone who tweets, identifies as feminist, someone who has experienced harassment

The data sources for this project included tweets, documents (including media), physical artifacts, and online participant observations (see Figure 6.0). Several principles for case study data collection were used including using multiple data sources, using a chain of evidence, and utilizing a case study database (Yin, 2014). Yin's fourth principle regards electronic sources of data, which he notes as different than when electronic sources are the subject of a case study (such as tweets in this research). He cautions that electronic sources require cross checking and awareness about claims of authorship (2014, p. 129). In this study extensive cross checking of on-line articles and media posts was used to ensure reliability of information. For instance, multiple sources confirming details of a single news event can be found in the electronic sources appendix. Thorough case study research relies on using multiple evidence sources rather than single sources (COSMOS Corporation, 1983), and triangulating data to show the convergence of these sources is key to successful case study research. When sources of evidence converge they strengthen case study construct validity (Yin, 2014), as opposed to non-convergence in which each source of evidence produces separate, unrelated findings. In this section, document, artifact, and participant observation collection and analysis will be discussed first, followed by tweet collection and analysis procedures.

To ensure internal validity, I used several strategies including triangulation of data, repeated and ongoing *listening* on Twitter, clarification of researcher bias, and the use of rich description to build a comparison framework for those interested in applying this approach in the future (Merriam, 1988). Reliability measures were also employed in this research, including the provision of detailed accounting of study context and my role as the researcher. Several data

collection strategies were used, as well as several means for analysis. These procedures are

clearly reported so there is no confusion over the methods used in this study (Cresswell, 2009).

6.1 Documents, Artifacts, and Online Participant Observations

Most documents including media and artifacts were located through online sources.

Documents were identified in several ways including 1) monitoring publications and blogs about

feminism, gender, and sexuality, 2) reviewing organization websites and resources, 3)

systematically collecting news stories during both preliminary research and the study period

using on-line alerts based on keywords, and 4) monitoring feminist listservs for events related to

street harassment during the study period. Online artifacts such as photos and art pieces were

collected with the use of screen shots from both tweets and media stories. In order to be

collected, online artifacts must be related to street harassment and must have appeared in either a

tweet in this study, or a media story. For instance, a tweeted photo of an anti-harassment

advertisement on public transportation that included one of the keywords or hashtags from the

study would count as an artifact. Both documents and artifacts were first coded using open

coding to capture the ideas and concepts they contained. Then, following a grounded theory

approach axial coding was used to connect concepts as part of a systematic process of building

theory from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). Media stories collected

during the study period were also juxtaposed with tweet patterns over time, and documents and

artifacts were analyzed with regard to the Moyer's eight stages of movement building.

Attending feminist conferences or meeting spaces also provided a chance to both collect

artifacts and conduct some participant observations. For instance, attending the annual West

Coast CatalystCon, a conference about sexuality and creating social change, provided physical

items for analysis such as conference programs and event fliers, as well as a chance to observe how people discussed street harassment and broader systems such as sexism or heterosexism. However, neither enough physical artifacts were collected in this study, nor enough in-person participant observations conducted, to be considered systematic.

Yin notes that participant observations offer the benefit of an opportunity to see "the viewpoint of someone 'inside' a case, rather than external to it" (2014, p. 117). In this study participant observations were made in relation to the case as a whole. Observing tweet trends, news stories, and organizing actions as a member of online feminist communities, and as someone who has experienced harassment, provided inside insights into online and on-the-ground anti-harassment activity. Additionally, reading publications and blogs that focus on feminism, gender, sexuality was key in staying up to date on trends in popular discussions. Participant observations were documented via field notes and were analyzed via axial coding as part of the grounded theory method.

6.2 Preliminary Research and Twitter Listening Period

The process leading up to the tweet collection period took several months, and is best characterized by a concept called *listening* (Crawford, 2009; Balduini et al, 2013). Listening refers to a broad array of social media observations including watching how a topic or issue is talked about, determining language trends, analyzing the hashtags associated with the topic, figuring out which organizations tweet about the issue and in what context, identifying peaks in conversation such as news events or debates, and learning more about why this topic or issue is being discussed on social media and whether these conversations differ from other platforms. In this study listening extended beyond social media, and included paying attention to print sources

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like news media, online sources and the blogosphere, and on-the-ground events and organizing.Listening is a crucial step in conducting social media research because if the researcher is unfamiliar with Twitter or how conversations about the particular subject are discussed on any given platform, then it is easy to mistakenly select non-specific or non-active keywords and hashtags for analysis, thus negatively affecting the research.

During a pilot study of this research, it became clear that this project would require thorough and systematic listening leading up to the study period. Pilot studies in case study research differ from the concept of pretest in experimental designs. Although a pretest provides a "dress rehearsal" of the experiment with changes expected in the final execution, pilot studies are more formative and can shape the study design by providing "conceptual clarifications" (Yin, 2014, p. 96). During the pilot study I spent a week listening to harassment-related tweets before deciding to include the hashtag #HarassmentIs in my analysis. I had read several blogs and articles about #HarassmentIs, and a preliminary search of tweets showed that the hashtag was gaining popularity and being used to discuss street harassment. Although #HarassmentIs started as a discussion about street harassment specifically, the broad language of the hashtag meant that it also captured stories about sexual harassment, workplace harassment, and virtually-based harassment. However, after a few weeks the hashtag was no longer active, with only ten tweets coming through over the course of a month.

The example of #HarassmentIs supports the need for a thorough and systematic listening process to ground social media research projects, and the importance of an extensive listening period in qualitative social media research cannot be stressed enough. Although an initial cursory listening session may be enough to reveal broad brush insights into the topic, the longer the

listening period, the more detail, nuance, and depth the researcher has before developing or editing research questions, or determining which keywords and hashtags to analyze. Additionally, an inadequate listening period may mean the research risks missing significant data. It can take weeks of following activity and examining what is *trending* within the issue to learn which hashtags are worth studying, and which have minimal potential for research. Trending refers to when topics or hashtags experience a sudden uptick in popularity or are seen across a large percentage of users. Without spending time immersed in the issue online, it is doubtful the researcher would be able to make effective decisions about which keywords and hashtags to study.

6.3 Determining Keywords and Hashtags

The keywords and hashtags used in this study were chosen after spending considerable time "listening" to conversations about street harassment unfold on Twitter, in the news media, and among feminist organizers. For this project I systematized the listening process, using it as a research technique for observing and monitoring trends and developing criteria for including tweets in this study. To do so required employing a wide range of tactics including: 1) following organizational Twitter accounts related to feminism, violence against women, and street harassment and checking in daily to assess activity, 2) locating users, writers, and activists who frequently tweeted about these topics and scanning their accounts for new hashtags and other issue developments, and 3) tracking popular hashtags and keywords used over time. I developed an initial list of terms to track for this study using criteria based on observations during the listening process:

- Each term must contain activity about street harassment or catcalls

- Harassment-related tweet activity must appear at least 14 days in a row.

The preliminary listening period to determine the keywords and hashtags for this study lasted from January to June 2014; however, listening continued throughout the duration of the study. The initial list of terms that met the criteria included catcall*, harassment, #HarassmentIs, #streetharassment, #Hollaback!, #EndSH, #rapeculture, and the account handles @iHollaback! and @stopstharassmnt. I included the term catcall* as a catch all for common variations of the word: catcall, catcalls, catcalled, catcaller, and catcalling. Street harassment may be the current and more technical or formal way to describe receiving unwanted attention in public; however, derivations of the term catcall remain popular. In fact, more tweets came in using this term than any other keyword or hashtag in this study. Account handles were initially included because of the frequency of tweets; however, as the project unfolded it became clear that collecting tweets from organizations without regard to keyword filters differed significantly from using keywords and hashtags to drive data collection. Therefore tweets from these organizations were only analyzed in this study if they meet the final study criteria.

As the project progressed it became obvious which keywords and hashtags were narrowly tailored to street harassment, which remained active, and which were too broad. For instance, although I initially noted some anti-harassment activity on the #rapeculture hashtag, the hashtag proved too broad for capturing meaningful narratives related specifically to street harassment. The sheer volume of tweets from this hashtag, and with so few related directly to street harassment, again demonstrates the importance of keeping up with the conversation and making adjustments as necessary. Likewise, the keyword harassment contained mostly tweets about sexual harassment or workplace harassment. The hashtag #Hollaback! was removed from the

final data set because it wasn't used consistently, and often referred to a popular (but unrelated) song by Gwen Stefani called Hollaback! Girl. Additionally, some users attached their local city or region to the hashtag (e.g. #Hollaback!Bmore). Ultimately, there were too many variations of the #Hollaback! hashtag to guarantee that I was capturing enough to fairly draw conclusions. In future research, it will be worth exploring hashtag variations.

By the end of the listening period the criteria for which keywords and hashtags would be included in the study was set. The criteria included:

- Each term must contain activity about street harassment or catcalls

- Harassment-related tweet activity must appear at least 14 days in a row.

- Each keyword or hashtag had to have consistent activity for at least two months. For instance, the hashtag #HarassmentIs from the pilot study was not included because it fell to of popular use quickly.

Based on these criteria, the list of keywords and hashtags used in this study included catcall*, #streetharassment, and #EndSH. However, case study research requires being able to adapt to changes. The listening process continued even as the official tweet collection began in August 2014, which allowed me to make an important addition to the list in order to capture more data: the hashtag #YouOkSis. Debates about whether women of color were being included in anti-street harassment news and organizing took off after a Twitter user who called herself Feminista Jones started the hashtag #YouOkSis. She used the hashtag after watching a young Black mother being harassed on the street and interrupting the harasser by asking her "you okay, sis?" The hashtag quickly grew in popularity and became a way for sharing the experiences Black women face with street harassment, and their responses to it.

Collection of #YouOkSis tweets began when the hashtag started appearing with increasing frequency (a few weeks into the project). Although there was no initial guarantee that the tweets would meet the study criteria over time, by the end of the tweet collection period in November it was clear that #YouOkSis tweets met all three criteria: street harassment content, content for 14 days in a row, and hashtag activity for at least two months. The tweets from #YouOkSis were included in the analysis, and with them a new dimension to my study. Without continuing to listen at this phase in the research, I might have missed an entire area of analysis related to intersections between gender, race, and online anti-harassment organizing.

The final list of terms includes catcall*, #streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis. Tweets on each of these terms were studied individually as sub-unit of analysis embedded in the broader case study, with findings assessed within and across keywords and hashtags. To avoid the mistake of putting too much focus on the individual sub-units (Yin, 2014), the tweets were also analyzed together as a set, and were only one component of the case study which also included analysis of documents, media, and more.

6.4 Tweet Collection

For this dissertation I chose to use Twitter for several reasons. First, Twitter is based on a public-access model, meaning the vast majority of accounts are visible to the public and can be collected without restriction. This differs from other social media platforms such as Facebook, which require users to be "friends" in order to view posts. Second, Twitter data is easily bounded through limiting tweets to those that include specific keywords or hashtags, or those that fall within a certain time/date parameter. In this project I use both approaches to narrow collection of

the stream of harassment-related tweets: using a list of keywords and hashtags, and a three-month timeframe of August to November 2014.

During this study I used a developing program called Twittermining to capture tweets. After providing the online web system with selected keywords and hashtags the program compiled listings of tweets approximately every three to four days. Each listing came in a text file that included basic frequencies, date, time, Twitter handle, the full text of each requested tweet, and geographic information if available. As social media users become more savvy about their privacy settings and aware of who has access to their location data, they are turning their location settings off meaning no geographic data is available. For the vast majority of tweets included in this research there is no geographic information is available. In fact, in this study fewer than 3% of users have location data activated on their accounts. Some researchers estimate that a mere one percent of tweets are geotagged (Cheng et. al., 2010).

Data collection took place during a three-month time period in 2014 from mid-August to mid-November and nearly 10,000 tweets were collected. Given the significant amount of virtual data accumulated daily via Twitter, along with the accelerated timeline of on-line activity, a three month time period was appropriate for examining anti-street harassment tweet narratives and connections to anti-harassment movement building. During the study period, the number of tweets fluctuated wildly per week based news stories, media, and the growing awareness of street harassment as an issue in public space.

In accordance with the IRB application associated with this project, neither the user names nor the user's actual names are included in the data. To obtain the chosen user name attached to each handle, it is possible to search Twitter for the account belonging to the handle.

However, with Twitter it is not possible to know whether the user name is the same as the real name of the user. For instance, some account holders choose user names that are obviously not their real names, in one case: Not My Real Name. Other account holders simply leave a first name, nickname, or other pseudonym as their user name.

There are several programs and on-line services for pulling a desired set of tweets. To capture tweets in this project I used a third party, on-line collection service called Twittermining for several reasons. First, Twittermining provided data sets every three to four days in .txt files rather than files with images of tweets. Second, each file included the full text of requested tweets along with frequency counts for the specified keyword or hashtag, lists of other terms included within the tweet, and user handles (@handle). The pre-calculated frequencies of key terms contained within the tweets was useful as a first glance tool for recognizing the influence of a conference, news story, or other event that might increase the number of street harassment-related tweets during a given week. Third, I was able to easily add new keywords/hashtags to my tweet collection matrix. Lastly, Twittermining offered personnel support. Emailed questions were answered within 24 hours, often sooner, and I was in frequent contact with the site manager.

It is important to mention a note about using third party sites to collect Twitter data: there is no guarantee that these sites will remain open through the duration of your project. Twitter does not support third party companies delving into their API (Schweizter, 2015), and has gone as far as to shut down several of these companies. The tweets for this research were collected through the third party; however, Twittermining is no longer operational. Other options for procuring tweets include software program NodeXL, which collects real-time tweets directly from the Twitter API. This type of data collection is particularly helpful for times when the

researcher is able to get ahead of a trend or to anticipate that a hashtag is taking off or an event is growing; however, at the time this writing it still remains impractical to attempt a meaningful collection of past tweets.

6.5 Tweet Analysis Procedures

Embedded in this single case study design are four tweet sub-units in which keyword catcall* and hashtags #streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis. These subunits were analyzed separately, in relation to each other, and as part of the broader case study. I employed several strategies to analyze tweets as micro-narratives. During the data analysis process I used the qualitative analysis software program ATLAS.ti to facilitate systematic coding of my data. I chose ATLAS.ti after reviewing several qualitative research analysis software programs and learning about data storage difficulties with a competing program. I took an in-person training course to familiarize myself with the program features and capabilities. I also chose ATLAS.ti because it allows for the import of raw documents, which maintains the structure and content of the tweets.

Approximately every three days Twittermining compiled .txt files of my requested tweets. After opening the files to ensure the data was readable, I saved the files and imported them to ATLAS.ti, labeling them by date and keyword or hashtag. Soon I had a series of dated files from August to November for each of my selected hashtags and keywords. The only exception is the hashtag #YouOkSis for which collection began in September. Once tweets were imported to ATLAS.ti, this labeling system served to separate the files into separate units based on keyword and hashtag, with a chronological listing of tweet files.

To begin my analysis process, I chose to start with the #YouOkSis tweets based on the logic that they likely represented tweet narratives from users who were both familiar with the named concept of street harassment, and who might be engaged on Twitter in an intentional way. By intentional I mean that these users purposefully used the hashtag #YouOkSis to contribute to this specific conversation as opposed to simply noting they were catcalled, which would mean their tweet was captured in the catcall* tweet collection. Because my research includes analysis of anti-harassment movement building, I felt it was important to first start by coding what I hypothesized to be a hashtag grown out of budding movement activity, and then move on to other keywords and hashtags to compare what elements were and were not present. I coded tweets in the following order: #YouOkSis, #EndSH, #streetharassment, catcall*.

Tweets were analyzed as individual micro-narratives through three rounds of coding. During the first round, Critical Discourse Analysis was used to facilitate open coding (Saldana, 2009), with codes generated to capture ideas and concepts. A pilot study revealed the importance of starting qualitative tweet-based research with open coding because each individual keyword or hashtag may draw their own audience or may build in popularity thanks to a specific article, event, or Twitter user. Using an open coding strategy allowed the initial data analysis to start from the tweet micro-narratives, and provided an early foundation for grounded theory and the development of overall issues and themes.

Once open coding was completed, a second round of coding occurred. In this round the tweets were coded based on a planning-based framework from Evans-Cowley & Griffin (2011) that categorizes tweets according to function: sharing, engaging, or analyzing. Sharing refers to sharing information; engaging refers to engaging other Twitter users; and analyze refers to

assessing an issue or problem. This framework was helpful for understanding the basic functions of tweets related to street harassment, but many tweets were coded as meeting more of these categories, such as tweets sharing an article that also offered analytic commentary. Likewise, the categories presented a few limitations for the purposes of this project. Using this coding framework revealed opportunities to push the Evans-Cowley model further by adding categories. For instance, often there was no clear way to categorize action-oriented or movement building tweets — while they might share information or attempt to engage folks in on-the-ground involvement, they were distinct in their call to action.

Lastly, several code cooccurrence tables were created to begin developing a list of patterns (Hatch, 2002) and relevant themes from the first two rounds of coding. The cooccurrence tables helped to identify coding patterns, from which themes began to emerge. After compiling a list of themes for each hashtag and keyword, as well as those that were present across all tweets, the tweets were coded a third time using axial coding. Codes were then visualized with the use of ATLAS.ti's Code Cloud feature, which provided an additional means of analysis of Twitter usage for the case study as a whole. The Code Cloud create a visual that uses font size to denote how often codes were used in relation to each other across the set of all tweets. From the Code Cloud I was able to organize codes by five levels of frequency to see which were most popular with the tweet set as a whole. When compared to the themes found within tweet groups and across all tweets, the Code Cloud analysis added one more point of analysis to ensure the validity of findings.

6.6 Additional Tweet-Based Analysis

As an additional component of the tweet analysis for the larger case study, I examined the frequency data produced by Twittermining. Each time Twittermining compiled a data file of tweets (every three to four days), it also produced two additional points of data: a list of terms that were popular within the tweet set, and the top users for the set. The popular terms are different from the keywords Twittermining was set to capture; they are simply the words that appeared most frequently within the content of the requested tweets. To analyze this data I first created a spreadsheet to identify the popular terms found within each desired keyword, and how often each term appeared per keyword. For example, I examined which terms were most popular within tweets from keyword #EndSH, and then determined how often each popular term appeared. Next, I sorted the data by date to determine whether the frequency of the popular terms changed over time. Lastly, I found which terms appeared most frequently during the study period. This process was repeated for each keyword in the study: catcall*, #streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis.

During the second part of this analysis I created a separate spreadsheet to identify which users were tweeting most often within each set. First, the Twittermining data for top users in each set was entered into the spreadsheet. User names or their Twitter handles do not appear in this research, per agreement with the IRB application associated with this study, so instead users are noted as one of two categories: individuals or organizations. Individual indicates that the tweets are posted from personal accounts, and an organization means that the tweets come from an existing anti-harassment or other established group. Within the individual category, a user can also be labeled a harasser, which means that the tweets are coming from someone who is trolling

or targeting a user, or is using offensive language. A few points for clarification. First, trolling refers to when someone tracks accounts or tweets with the intention of posting inflammatory or shocking responses, or who purposefully attempts to bait users who post about a particular topic. Second, offensive language does not simply refer to swearing, but rather the tone of the tweet. It is far more likely that a tweet will be offensive because of derogatory or discriminatory statements and not just profanity.

Next, data was sorted by date to determine whether there were any changes in how often these users tweeted over time. I also looked at whether particular time periods elicited more tweets from these users. Lastly, I examined the data for which users overall produced the most tweets during the study period. This process was repeated for each keyword in the study: catcall*, #streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis.

6.7 Media Analysis

Media analysis provided another way to assess the relationship between tweets and the issue of street harassment. In total, more than 60% of tweets were sent to share a media story, video, or image, confirming an earlier decision during the pilot study to capture media events for this research. During the study period media including news articles, blog posts, video clips, images, memes, and more related to street harassment or anti-street harassment events were collected. These items were categorized by the type of media they represented, and organized by date between August and November.

Among the 9,272 tweets in this study, 5,792 (63%) were used to share articles, images, or other media files, and were dubbed media shares. Media shares were located using two different methods. First, tweets were read through individually and coded when the tweet included a link

to a media file. Second, the full list of tweets was filtered and sorted to collect every tweet that

included http or https in the message content. It was important to include both http and https in

the filter options because some websites now use https, which is designed with maximum web

security in mind. For instance, https might be used for sites that require logins, or that include

payment or other transactions. In this study, five percent of the media shares included https links.

The resulting two sets of tweets were then compared against each other to locate duplicates, and

the remaining list was used as the data set contributing to the media and event analysis section of

this dissertation.

**Chapter Seven: Tweet Findings Part I — Subunit Analysis**

In this section each keyword and hashtag were analyzed as a subunit of the larger case study. Although this is a qualitative study, each subunit contains descriptive analyses as well as in-depth review of tweet themes, and any implications for anti-harassment organizing. Analysis of the overall themes occurring across subunits is included in the following chapter as part of the broader case study.

7.1 Descriptive Analysis of Total Collected Tweets

In total, 9,905 tweets were collected during the fall of 2014. This number includes original tweets, retweets, retweets with added commentary, and tweets that shared a media story, image, or other file type. After reading through the tweets individually, 653 tweets were removed from the data set for one of two reasons. First, tweets were removed from the data set if they were duplicates. A duplicate of a tweet is different than a retweet. Although a retweet may contain identical tweet content that is shared by one or more users across a range of dates and times, a duplicate is when the same tweet, from the same person, at the same time, appears in the data set more than once. Each tweet in the data set contains user information along with date and time stamps, so filtering for duplicates is a simple process. Duplicates appear in the data set through a feature in the Twittermining program. When tweets are captured and sent, often the new file included a few overlap tweets from the list received previously. Although this helped to confirm that there were no gaps between lists, it is important to note that with Twitter it remains impossible to prove that each and every tweet using a desired hashtag or keyword is captured.

Second, tweets were removed if they didn't fit the criteria for the study, for instance if the content of the tweet was an advertisement that happened to include one of the desired hashtags,

or if the tweet was otherwise not related to the study topics such as street harassment, gender, or

public space. For instance, automated robot "bot" accounts can produce tweets that simply

include popular hashtags, but do not contain related content. Removing duplicates and unrelated

tweets resulted in a final count of 9,252 total tweets in the study. Analysis revealed that that

7,115 unique users tweeted about street harassment using one of the following keywords or

hashtags during the three month study period from mid-August to mid-November 2014: catcall*,

#streetharassment, #EndSH, and #YouOkSis. The breakdown of tweets by keyword and hashtag

is depicted in figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1 Tweets by keyword and hashtag
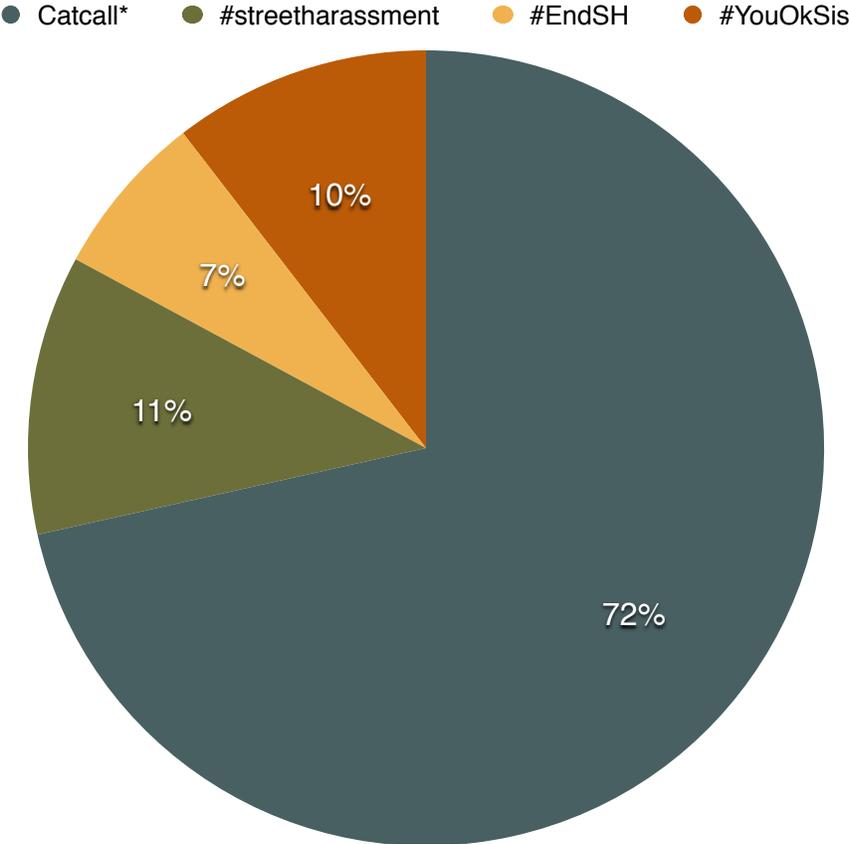
Among those users, only 86 (1%) qualified as frequent users, meaning that they tweeted about street harassment using the keywords or hashtags more than five times during the study period. For clarification, this does not mean these were the only times they tweeted about street harassment, or the only users who tweeted about street harassment. Rather, these were the tweets captured based on meeting the criteria for this study. Frequent users included both individuals and established anti-harassment organizations.

7.2 Subunit Catcall*: Descriptive Analysis

Among the 9,272 tweets in this study, 6,610 (71.4 %) included the keyword catcall*, including any derivatives such as catcalls, catcalled, or catcalling. Among the 6,610 catcall* tweets, 4,127 (62%) included a media share, while the remaining 2,483 (38%) of tweets that included catcall* were composed by individuals who tweeted descriptions of catcalling, detailed their daily experiences receiving catcalls in public space, questioned why men use catcalls, and more.

Figure 7.2 Keyword catcall* tweets
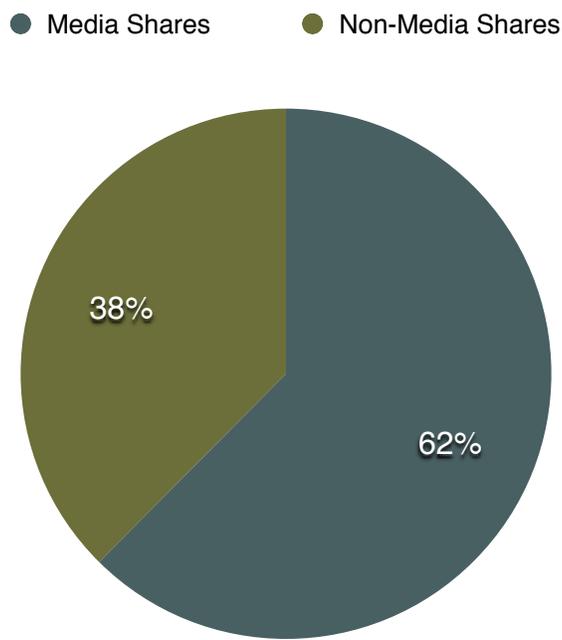
Data produced by Twittermining showing the most popular terms for each tweet set for the keyword catcall* indicated that there were 31 separate terms that frequently appeared in tweets containing the keyword catcall*. These terms included hashtags such as #catcalling and #yesallwomen, emotional tags such as frightening or feel, and nods to popular culture references such as Jessica Williams on *The Daily Show*. Terms referring to similar categories were grouped together. For instance, references to man, men, and guys were combined. Likewise, references to *The Daily Show* or *Daily Show* correspondent Jessica Williams were grouped together because of her show segments about street harassment. The top ten terms that appeared in the set of catcall* tweets were:

1) Man/Men/Guys: Appeared 1348 times, in 20% of all catcall* tweets

2) Women: Appeared 780 times, in 12% of all catcall* tweets

3) Jessica Williams/*Daily Show*: Appeared 759 times, in 11% of all catcall* tweets

4) #Catcalling: Appeared 443 times, in 7% of all catcall* tweets

5) Really: Appeared 374 times, in 6% of all catcall* tweets

6) Street: Appeared 368 times, in 6% of all catcall* tweets

7) Harassment: Appeared 359 times, in 5% of all catcall* tweets

8) Fox: Appeared 296 times, in 4% of all catcall* tweets

9) Ordinance/Law: Appeared 231 times, in 3% of all catcall* tweets

10) City: Appeared 173 times, in 3% of all catcall* tweets

Within this subunit, the most frequently used term mentioned in catcall* tweets was man/men/guys, which appeared in one fifth of all catcall* tweets, perhaps unsurprisingly given the

subject matter. Additionally in the top three terms were references to Jessica Williams and *The Daily Show*, which features Williams' segment Jessica's Feminized Atmosphere. However, the term Jessica Williams/*Daily Show* only appeared at two distinct points during the study period: the first week of September 2014 and the first week of October 2014. Both dates correspond with Jessica Williams hosting segments where she focused on the issue of street harassment.

Other popular terms included the hashtag #catcalling, which appeared in 443 tweets and suggests the sense that users assume enough activity occurs on this hashtag to use it in their tweets. Users frequently included the word "really" in their tweets, a word that emphasizes the sentiment being posted. Among the tweets it was rare to see users writing positively about harassment, and the tweets revealed hints about context, with users including the word "really" to emphasize that they were "really frustrated", "really annoyed", or "really scared". The world harassment was also included in five percent of catcall* tweets. Terms such as street and city were also used frequently, and combined they appeared in nearly 10% of catcall* tweets. Fox, a reference to Fox News, appeared nearly 300 times in tweets sharing stories about correspondents downplaying the issue of street harassment.

According to Twittermining, 35 users frequently tweeted using keyword catcall* during this study period. A review of the data revealed that Twittermining considers a user whose tweets are included four times or more within a given set of data to be a high frequency user; however, a computer generated visualization of how many tweets correspond to each user revealed that five tweets or more is a clearer cutoff point for determining who can be considered a moderate to high user. Using this new metric, there were 20 frequent users. Data revealed that 16 individual users tweeted 5-10 times using the keyword catcall* and four individual users tweeted more than

10 times meaning that despite the high number of catcall* tweets, only 20 users tweeted using this keyword five times or more.

7.3 Subunit Catcall*: Tweet Analysis

As noted in the descriptive analysis, tweets containing keyword catcall* comprised the majority of tweets in this study. This finding was expected after the term and variations such as catcalls, catcalled, and catcalling appeared repeatedly during the six-month listening period. However, despite the high number of tweets, this keyword was predominantly used in two ways: to share personal experiences or to share media stories and videos. After beginning the coding process with the hashtag #YouOkSis, the lack of organizing and the limited calls to action among catcall* tweets was quickly apparent. As noted later, this may be because the #YouOkSis hashtag is overtly political, driven by Twitter users who are discussing calls to action or who already speak the language of activism and movement building. This isn't to say that there weren't moments of outrage and demands for change among the catcall* tweets; however, this was less common than among tweets containing #YouOkSis.

Media Shares

More than 60% of tweets containing the keyword catcall* were sent to share media stories. The top stories within this group included the Hollaback!! Video of *10 Hours Walking in NYC as a Woman*, a video parody called Dudes Greeting Dudes, and video clips from *The Daily Show* which featured Jessica Williams discussing street harassment. Catcall* was included in media share tweets in several ways: as part of a story title, as a hashtag added to the media content, or as part of the user commentary included with the media share. Additional media

shares included a viral video of CNN interviewing Steven Santagati in which he blames women

for catcalling, and several Time magazine pieces analyzing the issue.

Parodies and copycat versions of the Hollaback!! video in different cities were also

common. In the parody videos, clips often showed a man walking the streets of New York and

receiving free food and high fives, in contrast to the degrading comments and disturbing

behaviors displayed by the original Hollaback! video. In the copycat videos, women are shown

walking the streets of various cities around the world to compare experiences with harassment.

The most frequently shared among the copycat videos was called *10 Hours Walking in New*

Zealand, which showed a woman enjoying her walk through the streets of Auckland and only

two men approached her: a European man who told her she looked Italian, and a tourist who

asked for directions (Nguyen, 2014).

Defining Harassment

Twitter users commonly included the term catcall* in debates about how to define

catcalling or harassment, or in virtual conversations about what counts as street harassment, and

what doesn't. These questions and debates signal three things: 1) that folks are using Twitter to

gather information about catcalling and harassment, 2) a virtual public space is being used to

discuss experiences in physical public space, and 3) the need for more awareness about the

presence of catcalls and other harassment, and recognition that these behaviors constitute

unwanted attention. In general, users appeared to approach Twitter as a space for asking others

about their definitions, or to clarify differences in opinion that create "gray areas" in defining the

concept and determining whether all women find catcalls and harassment offensive.

- *@User: "what is catcalling and why are all these young ladies in such a huff about it?*

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- *@User: "I usually view catcalling as a very pathetic attempt of communicating with women."*

- *@User: "There's definitely gray areas on what constitutes catcalling, varying between women. What I find offensive maybe you wont. #Comminpopculture"*

In some cases, the debate turned to users clarifying that catcalling is a specific term with a set meaning (e.g. Often something along the lines of, "attention I don't want"), or folks detailing their use of the word as separate from harassment. Interestingly, one user offered a regionally-based perspective on the language used when discussing catcalls, even if that perspective proved misogynistic.

- *@User: "Unfortunately "catcalling" is subjective so everyone cant be on the same page."*

- *@User: "@User2, No, it's a specific term. It's means "attention I don't want". Catcalling is harassment."*

- *@User: "i spent the majority of life in Memphis, now i live in Iowa. Here, they say 'catcalling'...in Memphis, they say 'spittin game to da hoes'."*

Some users drew sharp divisions around types of harassment, and others questioned that line between harassment and friendly greetings.

- *@User: "I do not consider catcalling harassment. I am not talking about catcalling. I am talking threats and groping."*

- *@User: "I'm not talking about catcalling I'm talking about a man saying hello, your beautiful, how are you, etc. Since when is that wrong?"*

Questions about what constitutes harassment and the line between a catcall and saying

hello echo the national conversation leading up to this study period. During the listening period,

a hashtag called #NotJustHello trended as a way for women to explain when saying hello is more

than just hello, with many women offering examples of the lewd gestures or sexual leering that

often accompany what could otherwise be a simple greeting.

Tweets also revealed that a divide exists between those who recognize catcalls (and other

behaviors) as harassment and are willing to name this as an issue, and those who may share these

experiences in their daily lives, but are perhaps unaware that this behavior is being discussed in

national conversations. Still others were simply unwilling to concede that catcalls constitute

harassment. For instance, one woman noted her appreciation of catcalls: "as an attractive,

intelligent woman, I appreciate a catcall very now & then." However, more often than not

catcall* tweets centered around the disbelief-driven theme of "Do men actually think this

works?"

Personal Experiences

Many tweets containing keyword catcall* were personal narratives of harassment

experiences drawn from daily life. For instance, women noted incidents of being catcalled while

riding a bike, while walking down the street by men in cars, being harassed by groups of men,

and times when catcalls quickly escalated beyond verbal comments. Catcalling from moving

vehicles was one of the most frequent instances of harassment. Some women also noted the time

of day as an added detail of their harassment incident, such as the woman who tweeted *"It's 1 in*

the afternoon on a Monday. WHY ARE YOU CATCALLING OUT OF YOUR CAR WINDOW?"

In addition to being catcalled by men in cars while walking, women also detailed experiences of being harassed while their bike. For instance, the Twitter user who noted that she *"Just got called a bitch for ignoring a car full of men catcalling me while riding my bike home."* In these tweet narratives, users revealed the common experience of being catcalled from cars, delivery vans, and other vehicles by either passengers or even the driver.

- *@User: "I am not thankful that I am approachable enough to have a car slowly following me catcalling"*

- *@User: "gettin pretty tired of creepy-ass dudes honking/shouting/catcalling me. no thank you sir I am not interested"*

- *@User: "no, i will not "call you when i get out of high school" mr. guy-in-terrifying-black-truck. catcalling is NOT appreciated."*

- *@User: "Catcalling at me out of white van is not helpful, not attractive and never appropriate. Happened 5 times today, what the hell @EverydaySexism"*

These tweet narratives reflect both the fear embedded in experiencing harassment, and the frequency with which incidents can occur. Narratives included phrases such as "creepy dudes" and "terrifying black truck" indicating fear stemming from both the person doing the harassing, as well as the circumstance under which the catcalling occurred. These narratives also reflect the intention behind these incidents, such as men driving their cars slowly to follow women while they walked, or men honking and shouting at women while they were on the street. Even more intentional is the language used by a harasser who acknowledged that he knew the young woman he was harassing was underage, telling her to call when she was out of high school. Systems of advantage such as sexism and patriarchy fuel the power made evident

through the intentional comments and behaviors displayed in these narratives. These catcall*

tweets demonstrate that street harassment is not a hello, not a compliment, not a sign of interest

— it's a power play.

Although harassment scenarios may conjure the image of a lone woman in public space,

harassment is not limited to people walking or biking by themselves. In some instances

catcalling even occurred while the person was holding hands with a significant other, such as the

user who tweeted *"Dear man catcalling me from his car, the guy I'm holding hands with does*

happen to be my bf so I'm confused by your confusion." Likewise, harassment is also not limited

to one man catcalling one woman. Catcalling by groups of men was also noted as a distinct

phenomenon as compared to catcalls by individuals. Some tweet narratives suggested groups of

there, four, or even five men harassing a single woman. These tweets specifically included notes

about how many men were in the group, indicating that harassment by groups of men also

presents a different type of threat than being catcalled by single person, whether related to fear,

safety, or otherwise.

- @User: *"Thank you strange men in the white van for catcalling me this morning as I walked into my office in my sweatpants"*
- @User: *"To the 3 guys catcalling In the car next to me: just drive off, your whistles will not work and just annoys me. Not here for you, bro."*
- @User: *"A group of guys just made such gross sexual comments about me that I went home to change. What is wrong with people? #Catcalling"*
- @User: *"I JUST HAD TO ENDURE NOT ONE NOT TWO NOT THREE NOT EVEN FOUR BUT FIVE GROWN ASS MEN FOLLOWING ME AND CATCALLING ME"*

The details of these tweet narratives also reflect the varied circumstances within which catcalling occurs. One woman mentions she was wearing sweatpants as though to prove that she was not dressed in way that might attract unwanted attention. Another woman notes that she was so put off by a group of men who made sexually explicit comments about her that she went home and changed her clothes. One narrative about enduring group harassment from "grown ass men" is also written in all capital letters, each element of the narrative signaling a sense of disbelief, frustration, and outrage.

Catcalling and Escalation

Profanity was also common among catcall* tweets, and typically appeared in one of three ways. First, users often recounted the exact words or phrases that their harasser said to them in their tweet narratives. When harassers use profanity as part of their catcalls, this is one example of how a comment can escalate from a verbal comment to something more. Twitter users also shared street harassment incidents in public space that escalated, often quickly. Tweets revealed two forms of escalation happening: 1) emotional escalation by the woman from annoyance or frustration to fear, and 2) escalation from the harasser from verbal comments to threats, physical contact, or abuse. Examples of escalation beyond simply catcalling included increasing verbal threats of violence or death, following the person to or from work, transit, or home, and repeated demands by strangers to take rides or enter their cars.

- *@User: "teenage boys are following me on my way to work and catcalling i'm scared"*
- *@User: "Walking down my neighborhood and some guys threatened me all because I ignored them when they were catcalling #ifeelsosafe"*

- @User: *"If I do not respond to your first three attempts at cat calling me then it does not mean you can follow me!!! #catcalling #unwanted #scared"*

- @User: *"Some guy just told me to get in his car or else he'd kidnap me. Still sure catcalling isn't a big deal and totally innocent? #Catcalling"*

Second, users sometimes included profanity on Twitter in response to being harassed, whether or not they expressed this to the harasser in person. This suggests that women may feel safer or more comfortable using virtual public space when speaking back to their harassers. In these cases, tweet narratives reflected emotions of annoyance, frustration, and being fed up with objectification.

Third, many male-identified Twitter users posted sexist slurs or offensive language to complain about women, and to intimidate those who dared name their harassment. Sexual slurs include referring to women as "bitches" or other demeaning gendered names. The following tweest are examples of tweets from self-identified males who took to Twitter to condemn women and anti-harassment activists for acknowledging catcalls as harassment. In the first one, a man cites a video link from a woman who declares Hollaback!'s *10 Hours Walking in NYC as a Woman* video as propaganda.

- @User: *"This is for all you "catcalling victims" and @iHollaback! bitches. Some real logical shit from your fellow gender http://t.co/qlvTKxWY5e"*

- @User: *"1) these bitches complainin abt the catcalling shit dont exist irl and are only loser internet bitches who never got attention in highschool"*

- @User: *"If you take "catcalling" as less than a compliment and more of an insult than keep your ass in the house."*

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- *@User: "Stupid bitches who hate #catcalling Someday you'll be old, fat & ugly wishing for a whistle"*

- *@User: "if you've ever claimed that catcalling or a man staring at your boobs like once is sexual harassment then you're a fucking idiot sorry"*

Derogatory tweets such as these are important to include in this analysis for several reasons. First, these tweets demonstrate the extreme attitudes that can be driven by systems of advantage such as sexism. In these tweets users display a shocking level of misogyny and verbal violence against women, and by posting it to Twitter, it is forever etched into the virtual public record. Second, women who posted about experiences in physical public space with street harassment might then face harassment from men on-line. On-line harassment has made headlines in recent years, and during the study period news stories focused on Anita Sarkeesian, host of a video series called *Tropes vs. Women in Video Games.*

Since the start of her video series Sarkeesian has been the target of widespread on-line harassment, including hackers taking over her social media sites, posting her personal information on forums, sending rape threats, and posting image of Sarkeesian being raped by video game characters. Gamergate, an on-line campaign against feminist gaming critics, claimed she was one of their primary targets. During the study period Sarkeesian was scheduled to give a talk at Utah State University, but the campus received threats of a mass school shooting called a "Montreal Massacre-style attack" by a person who claimed affiliation with Gamergate (Hern, 2014). The 1989 Montreal massacre resulted in the murders of 14 women by a man who said he was "fighting feminism" (Hern, 2014). Sarkeesian was forced to cancel the talk.

In May 2015, Women, Action & Media (WAM!) released a report titled "Reporting,

Reviewing, and Responding to Harassment on Twitter, which also includes recommendations for

addressing the issue of online harassment (Matias, et al, 2015). During November 2014, which

coincides with this study period, WAM! solicited accounts of Twitter-based harassment by

spreading a call for online harassment experiences through listservs and other online outlets. The

response from this three week period was overwhelming, and demonstrates the severity of online

harassment experienced by Twitter users.

> "From November 6–26 2014, WAM! took in reports of Twitter-based harassment, assessed them, and
> escalated reports as necessary to Twitter for special attention. WAM! used a special intake form to collect
> data and promised publicly to publish what it learned from the data it collected. In three weeks, WAM!
> reviewers assessed 811 incoming reports of harassment and escalated 161 reports to Twitter, ultimately
> seeing Twitter carry out 70 account suspensions, 18 warnings, and one deleted account."

Overall, movement activity was limited within tweets collected on this keyword.

However, an unofficial strategy observed, but not named by users, was speaking back to media

outlets, individuals, or celebrities by using their Twitter handle directly. For instance, when

people include handles for @Fox or @Time in their tweets, they are taking a small action, and a

forward one at that.

7.4 Subunit #streetharassment: Descriptive Analysis

Among the 9,272 tweets in this study, 1,054 (11.4%) included the hashtag

#streetharassment, including any derivatives such as streetharassment written as one word.

Among the 1,054 #streetharassment tweets, 706 (67%) included a media share, while the

remaining 348 (33%) of tweets were composed by individuals who tweeted descriptions of street

harassment incidents, detailed their daily experiences with street harassment in public space, and

more.

Figure 7.3 Hashtag #streetharassment tweets
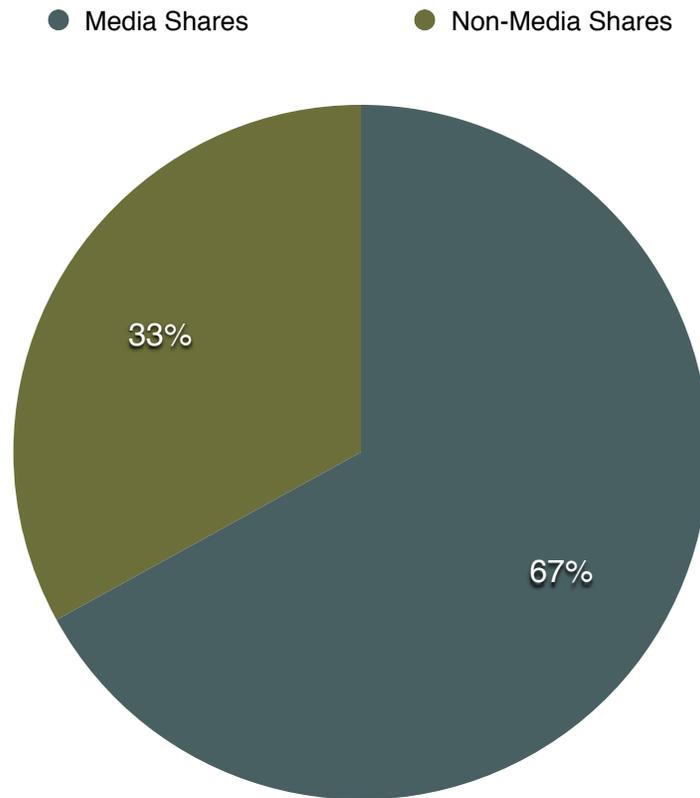
Data produced by Twittermining showing the most popular terms for each tweet set for the keyword #streetharassment indicated that there were 26 separate terms that frequently appeared in tweets containing the keyword #streetharassment. These terms included hashtags such as #catcalling and #sexualharassment, fear-driven terms such as help and crippling, and references to being on foot or being a pedestrian (as opposed to being on transit). Terms referring to similar categories were grouped together. For instance, references to man and guy were combined, as were walk and walking. The top ten terms that appeared in the set of #streetharassment tweets were:

1)   Women: Appeared 107 times, in 10% of all #streetharassment tweets

2) Man/Guy: Appeared 55 times, in 5% of all #streetharassment tweets

3) Walk/Walking: Appeared 49 times, in 5% of all #streetharassment tweets

4) #Catcalling: Appeared 41 times, in 4% of all #streetharassment tweets

5) #YesAllWomen: Appeared 36 times, in 3% of all #streetharassment tweets

6) #SexualHarassment: Appeared 26 times, in 2% of all #streetharassment tweets

7) #EndSH: Appeared 25 times, in 2% of all #streetharassment tweets

8) #YouOkSis: Appeared 21 times, in 2% of all #streetharassment tweets

9) Help: Appeared 16 times, in 2% of all #streetharassment tweets

10) Work: Appeared nine times, in 1% of all #streetharassment tweets

Given that the street harassment scenarios described in the tweet narratives of this study mostly refer to harassment between men and women, it was unsurprising to find that the top two frequently used terms in these tweets are man/guy and women. In this case, because the words man and guys appear as frequent terms they are combined to acknowledge that they both refer to a male persons. Although the term women was frequently included in this set of tweets, interestingly the term woman (singular) was not. This suggests that tweets may refer broadly to women experiencing harassment, as opposed to detailing an experience of one woman.

People using keyword #streetharassment in their tweets were savvy about including additional hashtags related to feminist movements and harassment specifically. For instance, five of the top ten frequently appearing words found in these tweets were hashtags. Three of the hashtags were analyzed as separate subunits in this study (#EndSH, #YouOkSis, #catcalling as a form of catcall*); however, the remaining two — #YesAllWomen and #SexualHarassment — were not analyzed in this research. As discussed in the methods section, hashtags with broad

content that wasn't specifically tailored to street harassment did not meet the criteria for this study. The hashtag #YesAllWomen is for a variety of issues facing women and stems from the phrase "Yes, all women experience…." fill in the blank. The hashtag #SexualHarassment contained tweets about harassment in a variety of contexts including workplaces.

According to Twittermining, 17 frequently tweet using keyword #streetharassment. A review of the data revealed that Twittermining considers a user whose tweets are included four times or more within a given set of data to be a high frequency user; however, a computer generated visualization of how many tweets correspond to each user revealed that five tweets or more is a clearer cutoff point for determining who can be considered a moderate to high user. Using this new metric, there were 12 frequent users. Data revealed that six individual users and one organizational user tweeted 5-10 times using the keyword #streetharassment, and three individual users and two organizational users tweeted more than 10 times meaning that only 12 users tweeted using this keyword five times or more during the study period. However, among those tweeting the most, meaning more than 10 times during the study period, all three of the individual users can also be classified as harassers. Content from these users included tweets that were derogatory, offensive, or displayed behavior that could be considered trolling Twitter to harass other users online. And not just any users: the language used indicates that harassers were targeting women.

7.4 Subunit #streetharassment: Tweet Analysis

Media Shares

Media shares were a popular use of Twitter on hashtag #streetharassment, accounting for 67% of tweets on this hashtag during the study period. Among the most popular articles, videos,

and blog posts shared by users on keyword #streetharassment were the Hollaback! video clip of a woman being harassed while walking through New York, and a Funny or Die parody of that video featuring a man walking through New York receiving high fives and job offers, articles, quotes. Additionally, users frequently shared video clips of Jessica Williams fighting back against street harassment during her segment *Jessica's Feminized Atmosphere* on *The Daily Show*, and a *Buzzfeed* comedy sketch called *Dudes Greeting Dudes* that showed what it would look like if men who are strangers greeted each other in the same way that some men harass women. The video was based on the hashtag #DudesGreetingDudes, which was started to shed light on the idea that street harassment is never just saying hello.

- @User: "if you've ever claimed that catcalling or a man staring at your boobs like once is sexual harassment then you're a fucking idiot sorry"

- *@User: "Guy walking around NYC for 10 hours is the #streetharassment response for anyone who doesn't get it (via @upworthy) http://t.co/1wdAiZiCzL"*

- *@User: "so can I get u latte? wanna network? u look very powerful. "@Chris_Meloni: Guy walking in NYC 10h #streetharassment http://t.co/nUjz4PMuxH"*

- *@User:""Since going 2 work isn't a performance, we arent looking 4 applause" - JWilliams on #streetharassment 4 @TheDailyShow http://t.co/J70gzCGrz8"*

- *@User: "So great: Jessica Williams Continues Her War Against #Catcalls on 'The Daily Show' http://t.co/UOcQAipc0m #feminism #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "#DudesGreetingDudes is SO on point calling out those who say catcalling is just "being friendly" http://t.co/PfOM0Elnm1 #StreetHarassment"*

- *@User: "This trend: #dudesgreetingdudes, really puts #StreetHarassment into*

  perspective. Would you 'just say hi' to another dude on the street?"

Comedy and satire pieces appeared to resonate strongly with those tweeting on this keyword. For instance, the video *Dudes Greeting Dudes* included lines such as "Hey, nice calves!" and "You look like you have nimble fingers. Want to go play Call of Duty with me?" The *Funny or Die* parody showed a young white man walking through New York collecting Starbucks gift cards and compliments, before he is finally hoisted onto a chair and carried throughout the city. The frequent presence of comedy and satire-related shares reflects both an understanding of street harassment as a significant gender-based issue in cities, as well as acknowledges that those who write harassment off as a compliment or a simple greeting are missing the point. In some ways, sharing these pieces with followers works to build connections between users who recognize the sarcasm.

Daily Life

Experiences with street harassment in daily life were frequently shared through using the hashtag #streetharassment. Tweet narratives also demonstrated the many ways that harassment limit can limit full access to the city by placing extra burdens on women. For instance, women described specific scenarios from their daily lives in which they received catcalls: while walking their children to school, while leaving their offices, or while riding as passengers in hired cars. One woman comments on the difference in her experience walking city streets versus driving, noting *"I need my car back"* after being subjected to a vulgar catcall.

- *@User: "I now think of walking my kindergartener to school as adventures in*

  #streetharassment. Unacceptable. #Hollaback!"

- *@User: "Second I walked out the door of my office: "Hey beautiful, are you as friendly as you look?" Me: "nope!" #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "I refuse to even tell the driver how disgusting he is because thats most likely what he gets off on.#streetharassment"*

- *@User: "One of the things I heard on my walk back from the shop: " Suck my cock"Sigh. I need my car back #streetharassment"*

Other users included #streetharassment in tweets to talk back to harassers, or to offer more general appraisals of how street harassment affects women on a daily basis. Tweet narratives captured the specific language of harassers, such as a man who told a woman *"I want to lick you"* after she said good morning.

Narratives also refuted the common myth that what a woman wears invites catcalls and encourages further harassment. For instance, in some cases women flipped the script on harassers, pointing out that tight clothing isn't the problem, rather their reactions to it is what we should focus on. Still others offered defeating reflections about how harassment limits their desire to leave the house. In one tweet a woman noted that she wanted to out but decided to stay in after anticipating catcalls.

- *@User: "Sigh, I try to be friendly. Me: good morning. Him: I want to lick you. #streetharassment #everydaysexism"*

- *@User: "Just got catcalled and I'm so irritated. People with class don't do that shit. #streetharassment #respect"*

- *@User: "To the cat-callers: my tight jeans aren't the problem, it's your big mouth. #streetharassment #whyineedfeminism"*

- *@User: "Wanted to go out earlier but I didn't have the energy to walk through catcallers, I decided to stay at home. #Streetharassment"*

- *@User: "What's great about being a woman is I never have to wonder what strange men on the street think of me. Cuz they tell me. #Streetharassment"*

In addition to sharing the specific details of harassment incidents they experienced, women also used Twitter to share their analyses about harassers and why harassment occurs. Some women tied street harassment to sexism, racism, and other systems of advantage. Others critiqued the idea that only "evil" people harass women on the street, arguing that it's "normal" people who are committing harassment.

- *@User: "sexism, racism and #streetharassment persist b/c dudes believe they're entitled to addressing women, esp. WoC, anyway they plz. STOP."*

- *@User: "And while some comments are rather mild, that's what makes #streetharassment so insidious."*

- *@User: "People always thinks it's like "evil" ppl who they never meet who commit #streetharassment but it's normal ppl. #Standup4whatsright"*

Particularly insightful in the above set of tweet narratives was the idea that while some harassment is considered mild, this is also what leads many people to write street harassment off as a non-issue. Indeed, some users took to Twitter to draw unnecessary comparisons between street harassment and what they perceived as other, more pressing public safety concerns such as sexual assault or rape. However, the insidious nature of street harassment is exactly what makes it a unique barrier to women's fair and equitable access to the city: even mild comments are not without consequences, thus street harassment presents a harm to women that may appear

innocuous when considered as individual incidents, but over time and taken together creates a situation in which women simply do not have the same right to the city as their male counterparts.

Moments of Fear, Violence, and Escalation

Along with stories of catcall-based harassment in daily life, many tweet narratives also reflected moments of violence and escalation. From demonstrating the fear of danger associated with harassment, to providing examples of harassment incidents that escalated from annoying comments to physical contact, to the many forms of violence that street harassment takes, narratives in virtual public space tell the story of physical public spaces that are hostile to women.

- *@User: "Some guy on the T got mad at me for rejecting him and proceeded to threaten to have some1 kill me #STREETHARASSMENT #endSH @Hollaback!Boston"*

- *@User: "#StreetHarassment & #catcalls are neither harmless nor compliments. As a female, I have no clue when it'll be violent http://t.co/CwFk7F95b0"*

- *@User: "Glad #StreetHarassment is just complements otherwise would've been worried when guy followed me home last night bc he thought i was cute"*

- *@User: "'Fuck you then, ho!' -Man I wouldn't tell my name when leaving the post office. #Streetharassment"*

- *@User: "I have been followed, groped, punched, grabbed, and solicited for sex by people on the street. #StreetHarassment isn't a joke."*

- *@User: "Even without murder, there are still many horrific dangers posed by #streetharassment. Stay safe, don't walk alone"*

- *@User: "It's horrifying to think that I might have 2 entertain #streetharassment or get brutally murdered for saying no. #NoMeansNo #TrustBlackWomen"*
- *@User: " It's scary to think you can get shot for not giving your number. #StreetHarassment #StreetKillings are out of controls. Where are we safe at?"*

This set of narratives provides a chilling understanding of how quickly harassment can escalate from a catcall to life threatening. Women offered examples of verbal death threats, being followed home, and confessed to being physically assaulted by harassers. Several narratives about being shot were references to Mary Spears, the Black woman who was murdered in Detroit after refusing to give a harasser her phone number. Tweets detailing the fear of a harassment incident escalating to violence and death skyrocketed after Mary Spears was shot. During this same time period, a harasser slashed a young woman's throat on the subway in New York prompting renewed discussions about physical safety.

Although women had been using Twitter to share stories and more, these two violent incidents flooded the Twittersphere with tweets that showed the anger women felt at having to feel unsafe walking in their neighborhoods, facing harassment in the moment, and when determining whether to speak back to a harasser. The hashtag #INeedFeminism resurfaced as a way for users to tie feminist perspectives with feeling unsafe in public. Others expressed anger about feeling unsafe in their neighborhoods, shared their coping strategies in the face of fearing physical escalation, and noted the difference between feeling uncomfortable with street harassment and feeling scared for personal safety.

- *@User: "#INeedFeminism because I feel unsafe if I speak up to #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "#INeedFeminism because I shouldn't have to be afraid of wearing shorts and being harassed on the street #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "I should feel SAFE. This is my home (for now), no one should take my right to feel safe in my own home. #Streetharassment"*

- *@User: ""I'm angry that I have to fear a negative interaction that I didn't provoke." http://t.co/nzyUxE5nu3 #yesallwomen #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "Some of us just smile at #StreetHarassment because we're afraid we'll be insulted raped or murdered #YouOKSis"*

- *@User: "It'd be bad enough if #streetharassment made me feel uncomfortable, but it also makes me feel incredibly unsafe*

- *@User: "Latinas Most Likely Group to Experience #StreetHarassment at Young Age, Most Fearful of Escalation. http://t.co/Nk8iLIurGY"*

In this tweet set women appeared to feel safe using virtual public space to vent, to express their fear, and to speak to an implied audience about how street harassment affects their daily lives and their wellbeing. Some women also took the chance to further analyze harassment, recognizing race, class, and socioeconomic status as influencing the likelihood a woman would be harassed. As one user tweeted: *"Women of color and poorer women, esp, bear socioeconomic burdens of #streetharassment. Walking saves money, but fear is crippling."* Within keyword #streetharssment alone, this sentiment was retweeted a dozen times within a matter of minutes.

Intersecting Systems of Advantage

Tweet narratives examined race and street harassment in several ways. Many folks linked tweets to articles critiquing the Hollaback! video. Following the video release, the video received

criticism for editing out white harassers and perpetuating the myth that men of color are likely to harass white women. Others pointed out the media tendency to use stock photos of white women in harassment articles. Images accompanying stories have broad implications. For instance, if media consistently use visual rhetoric such as images of white women in harassment stories, then they frame this as a white women's issue, which is a limiting conception.

- *@User: "Women of Color respond to @iHollaback!'s video misrepresenting #StreetHarassment: http://t.co/lJGT6RJiav @Jezebel #BlackLivesMatter"*

- *@User: ""#StreetHarassment is NOT defined by race. It's NOT mostly men of color harassing white women." -@user of @iHollaback! at #ofcon14"*

- *@User: "Media outlets usually use stock photos of pretty white young women 4 #streetharassment articles. That needs 2 change http://t.co/hRjUNkQwJK"*

Women also used Twitter to draw attention to incidents of violence involving Women of Color (such as the Mary Spears story), to refute myths about Men of Color as perpetrators of harassment, and to acknowledge the work Women of Color are doing to resist harassment. Often these tweet narratives provided analysis based in identity politics, which leaves room for future organizing around building solidarity between groups.

- *@User: "When Black women die from street harassment' http://t.co/uAYLGg9tkj via @mychalsmith #streetharassment #whywecantwait #BlackLivesMatter"*

- *@User: "@Autostraddle examines the work women of color are doing to end #streetharassment in their communities: http://t.co/iqGguqfptw #fem2"*

- *@User: "White feminism use black women. Then they get paid and go to the next issue. #StreetHarassment #DV. Don't be naive be aware."*

- *@User: ""Negotiating risk is the breathing space for a black girl" @estherarmah #streetharassment #emotionaljustice"*

However, racism and sexism aren't the only systems of advantage that fuel street harassment. Heteronormativity, that is, a system of advantage in which heterosexual individuals are privileged as the norm, presents itself in everyday incidents of harassment. Interestingly, #streetharassment was the only keyword in this study in which LGBTQ-specific concerns emerged as a theme.

- *@User: "Heteronormative sexism = Male #StreetHarassment of lesbian couples. http:// t.co/JXMOHDkNIr @IdleTeeth @radcrochetqueer @StopStHarassmnt"*

- *@User: "Queer Women and #StreetHarassment: A Complicated Issue by @StopStHarassmnt board member Laura S. Logan http://t.co/givAcP0y5j #LGBTQ"*

- *@User: "Brothas will still try to holla even if you are walking with your lesbian partner. #youoksis #streetharassment*

- *@User: "Men can face this too. In my work documenting #streetharassment, I've heard from men who have been harassed w/homophobic slurs #rwsafety*

- *@User: "#StreetHarassment: Not Just a Cisgender Issue http://t.co/dWVVO1bCVa"*

In this last tweet, a media share is used to talk about cisgenderism as another system of advantage that gives privilege to those whose gender identity matches their biological sex. Although street harassment may be most commonly experienced as male to female incidents, it is a complex issue that also reflects deeply rooted, and unfortunately expected, societal norms based on sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and more.

The tweet narratives above also include two examples of intersecting systems of advantage: the tweet tagged with #YouOkSis reflects the narrative of a queer Black woman, while another tweet references harassment aimed at men who have endured homophobic slurs. Intersecting systems of advantage produce added layers to each harassment incident. For instance, in the following tweet series a harassment incident is depicted in which the woman was groped, and the harasser made assumptions about sexual orientation.

- @User: "I will now #livetweet what it's like getting groped on the street by a man at a parade #streetharassment (1/3)"

- @User: "Walking down the street, man grabs my ass then walks away, couldn't see his face, so I yelled #streetharassment (2/3)

- @User: "I was with my #girlfriend so he both objectified AND made an assumption about my sexual orientation #lgbt #streetharassment (3/3)"

This tweet series is a rare instance in which the user tagged each tweet with the hashtag #streetharassment, so the entire series tweets is available. In this example the tweet narratives have several functions: they share an experience, raise awareness, provide analysis, and offer ideas for tactics and strategies in the face of harassment.

Online Pushback and Harassment

An analysis of tweet narratives on hasthag #streetharassment would not be complete without examining online harassment within the keyword. Nearly 10% of all tweets on the keyword #streetharassment were categorized as harassing, offensive, derogatory, anti-woman, or violent. In some cases tweets were composed to antagonize other users, such as tweets that included hashtags used by the anti-harassment and feminist movements while making off-putting

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statements. Other times, users targeted those who speak out about harassment. For instance, after the Hollaback! video antisemitic tweets appeared referencing the facial features of actress Shoshana Roberts. In another example users criticized Jessica Williams of *The Daily Show* after her segment on street harassment, saying she wouldn't "cop that attitude" with a rich producer.

- *@User: "Hookers engage in #streetharassment too. Let's clean that up. #yesallwomen"*

- *[In reference to the actress in the Hollaback! video] @User: "Men just can't resist women with supersized noses and ugly glasses I guess. #realitycheck #streetharassment"*

- *[In reference to Jessica Williams of the Daily Show] @User: "@iHollaback! @TheDailyShow I bet she'd never cop that attitude with a rich producer. #Streetharassment"*

Interestingly, some male-identified users outright dismissed the issue of street harassment. In their narratives, men argued that those speaking out about the issue were racist, offering a critique of how street harassment is often portrayed as Men of Color harassing white women. It's worth noting that these users made an intentional decision to use the hashtag #streetharassment, meaning that they knew their words would be seen by women tweeting about harassment. These users noted policies such as Stop and Frisk, made references to Emmitt Till (a teenager in Mississippi who was lynched in 1955 after being accused of flirting with a white girl), framed responses to harassment as women complaining, and included anti-feminist sentiments.

- *@User: "Women complaining about #streetharassment are unwitting pawns of the #stopandfrisk supporters. It's racist."*

- *@User: "don't let me stop ya. the point of the #streetharassment hashtag is to find a way to lock up black men btw."*

- @User: "The #streetharassment racist bullshit is the modern equivalent of "off with his head!" #princesses #feminism #puke"

- @User: "It's Emmitt Till all over again" #streetharassment

Interestingly, this critique that Men of Color are portrayed as harassing white women is shared by many within the anti-harassment movement; however, it loses credibility when coupled with anti-woman and anti-feminist rhetoric. This singular approach to harassment acknowledges the power of portrayal and the implications for Men of Color, yet fails to account for the real fear and violence that women experience everyday on city streets. This perspective supports myth that street harassment is not an issue, thereby supporting the subordinate position of women in public space.

Movement Activity

Approximately 15% of tweets on #streetharassment can be categorized as organizing, meaning that they are a call to action, invite people to connect with the organization, announce events, or were sent from an anti-harassment organization account. For instance, tweets included calls for volunteers, notices that interns were wanted, opportunities for blogging, and ways to help with fundraising. At this point tweet narratives, news stories, and organizations had worked to achieve Moyer's first stage of movement activity, which is to show street harassment as a critical social problem, and second stage, which is to prove the failure of official institutions. For many users events such as the Mary Spears murder and the Hollaback! video appeared to act as the trigger event described in Moyer's fourth stage of movement building, which he describes as an event that "puts a spotlight on a problem that violates widely held values, sparking public attention and upset."

- *@User: "Need #volunteer to help translate #survey on #streetharassment from #English to #Marathi. Pls RT @Rita_Banerji @tw_bhav @safetipinDOTcom"*

- *@User: "We need you! Join our awesome team at @SafeSpacesDC: http://t.co/GOaFWEbYp6 #streetharassment #DC #fem2"*

- *@User: "Want to help end #streetharassment in DC? Apply to be our intern or Program Fellow: http://t.co/IhPMSiDn5O #endSH"*

- *@User: "Only 1 day left to apply for our next blog cohort: https://t.co/N5Ldxjd0VD #endsh #volunteer #writing #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "Ending today by sharing @iHollaback!'s super awesome Educator's Guide to #streetharassment http://t.co/xxDhfxfUhd"*

- *@User: "ICYMI: there are billboards against #streetharassment, #VAW in #Lancaster PA: http://t.co/6Qhd5BlPA5 they are raising $ to expand campaign"*

In this set of tweet narratives, Twitter accounts from anti-harassment organizations drove activity around movement building. For instance, Safe Spaces D.C. recruited people to join their office, while another organization announced that they were haring interns and program fellows. The organization Stop Street Harassment asked for people to apply to their blog cohort, a project where representatives from around the world have the chance to blog about street harassment in their region for the organization. Each of these organizations facilitate anti-harassment events, works to raise awareness of the issue, and participates in efforts to improve how women (and men) experience public space.

Resistance to street harassment happens in many capacities: at the individual level, by groups and organizations, and in some case, by official government projects. In Boston, a recent

ad campaign offers public transit passengers brief lessons in what counts as harassment. One ad draws attention to they types of inappropriate and offensive questions that trans* individuals receive and reads: *"'Are you a girl or boy?' Is #streetharasment."* Several tweet narratives acknowledged the groups that drove the campaign for expanding the scope of what counts as harassment, and for defending trans people who face harassment. Indeed, recognizing that trans folks are harassed (and murdered) solely for their identity is crucial to building an inclusive anti-harassment movement.

- *@User: "♥ @Hollaback!Boston & @NationalNOW for defending #trans & #gnc ppl from #streetharassment too"*
- *@User: "Saw a @Hollaback!boston T ad saying "are you a girl or boy?" Is #streetharassment. Thanks for remembering NBs and queers!"*

Campaigns such as the anti-harassment ads in Boston were heavily influenced by existing organizations, particularly Hollaback! Boston, which also worked with the Boston Area Rape Crisis Center and Mass NOW to produce and fund ad campaigns about sexual assault. After a State of the Streets report revealed that 63% of passengers received unwanted comments while riding public transportation, and reports from Hollaback! and Stop Street Harassment show the high rate of harassment aimed at transgender folks, Hollaback! pushed for a set of ads that also applied to LGBT individuals (Metro, 2014).

7.5 Subunit #EndSH: Descriptive Analysis

Among the 9,272 tweets in this study, 619 (6.7%) included the hashtag #EndSH including any variations in capitalization such as #endSH or #endsh. Among the 619 #EndSH tweets, 502 (81%) included a media share to an article, video, or other link, while the remaining 117 (19%)

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tweets written by individuals who tweeted descriptions of street harassment incidents, announced

events from the organization Stop Street Harassment, updated Twitter users on regional

campaigns or policy changes, and more.

Figure 7.4 Hashtag #EndSH tweets
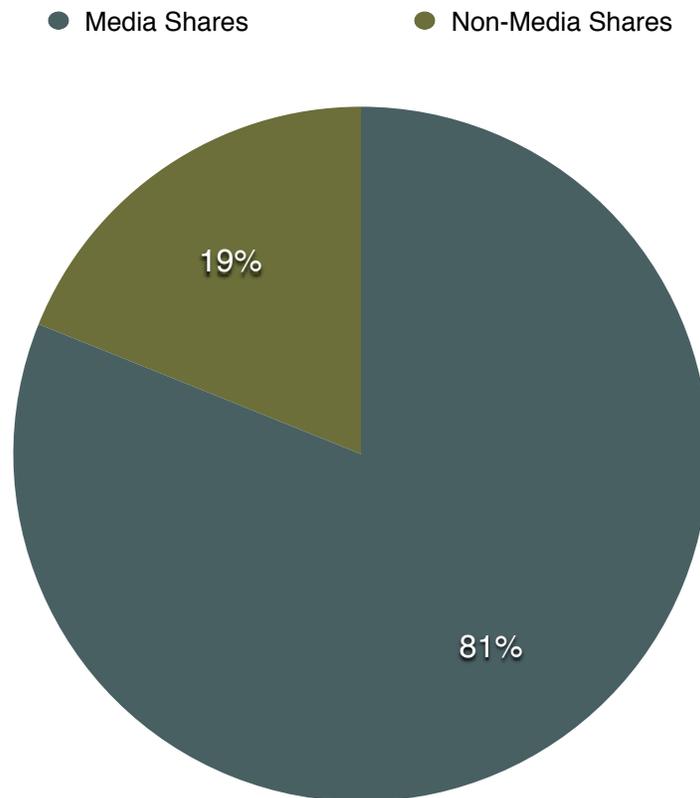
Data produced by Twittermining showing the most popular terms for each tweet set for

the keyword #EndSH indicated that there were 24 separate terms that frequently appeared in

tweets containing the keyword #EndSH. These terms included hashtags such as #catcalling and

#sexualharassment, fear-driven terms such as help and crippling, and references to being on foot

or being a pedestrian (as opposed to being on transit). The top ten terms that appeared in the set

of #EndSH tweets were:

1) Harassed/Harassment: Appeared 98 times, in 16% of all #EndSH tweets

2) #streetharassment: Appeared 84 times, in 14% of all #EndSH tweets

3) Street: Appeared 73 times, in 12% of all #EndSH tweets

4) Woman/Women: Appeared 68 times, in 11% of all #EndSH tweets

5) Men: Appeared 28 times, in 5% of all #EndSH tweets

6) Fight: Appeared 26 times, in 4% of all #EndSH tweets (*Tied for 6th)

7) Understand: Appeared 26 times, in 4% of all #EndSH tweets (*Tied for 6th)

8) Walking: Appeared 22 times, in 4% of all #EndSH tweets

9) Help: Appeared 19 times, in 3% of all #EndSH tweets

10) Sexual: Appeared 16 times, in 3% of all #EndSH tweets

Given that the hashtag #EndSH stands for End Street Harassment, it was unsurprising to find that terms like harassed, harassment, #streetharassment, and street appeared most frequently within this tweet set. References to men and women were the next popular, again expected due to the assumption that most tweets are about street harassment occurring between men and women. However, the next series of words indicate emotion-driven responses to harassment. For instance, words like fight and help reflect intense feeling in these tweets, and a term like understand suggests conversations about meaning making. Rounding out the top terms were the word walking, which indicated experiences as a pedestrian, and the word sexual, which was used to describe the catcalls and actions of harassers. Note that the term sexual harassment was not a frequently used phrase.

According to Twittermining, 14 frequent users tweeted using keyword #EndSH. A review of the data revealed that Twittermining considers a user whose tweets are included four times or

more within a given set of data to be a high frequency user; however, a computer generated visualization of how many tweets correspond to each user revealed that five tweets or more is a clearer cutoff point for determining who can be considered a moderate to high user. Using this new metric, there were nine frequent users. Data revealed that four users tweeted 5-10 times using the keyword #EndSH, two individuals and two organizations. Five users tweeted more than 10 times, one individual and four organizations. In total, nine users tweeted using this keyword five times or more. Importantly, the one individual user who tweeted more than 10 times within the study period on this keyword can also be categorized as a harasser, and is in fact one of the same users participating in online harassment on keyword #streetharassment.

7.6 Subunit #EndSH: Tweet Analysis

Media Shares

The vast majority of tweets containing the #EndSH hashtag were posted to share media content. In total, 81 percent of the #EndSH tweets shared an online link to an article, news story, blog post, video, or other form of media. The Hollaback! video and critiques of the video were the more popular media items shared. However, users were more likely to use #EndSH to offer their criticism of the video rather than simply sharing a link to the clip. For instance, the #EndSH hashtag drew critiques about white male harassers being edited out of the video, and offered perspectives from women of color. Users often engaged other groups and authors in their tweets by tagging their handles. Although individual users are not identified in this research, the names of organizations and media companies remain. Additionally, the moniker User_Journalist is used to show when journalists were named in tweets sharing their articles.

- @User: *"The problem with that catcalling video is the white harassers were edited out: http://t.co/sn9PbHif66 via @doublexmag #Endsh"*

- @User: *"@User_Journalist on why that viral street harassment video was so problematic: #EndSH #EndRacism #EndClassism http://t.co/Ls98pOAiQz"*

- @User: *"Why thousands of satisfied racists are sharing that viral #catcalling video http://t.co/HKuldSkuzT #Opinion via @dailydot #racism #endSH"*

- @User: *"A Hollaback! Response Video: Women of Color on Street Harassment http:// t.co/4jrPXDWX9O #endSH"*

- @User: *"Check out @User_Journalist, @rUser_Journalist & @prisonculture for important critiques of the street harassment video! h/t @User #endSH #fem2"*

In this tweet set, a user included #fem2 as a general tag for collecting tweets having to do with feminism. Additionally, users added the hashtags #EndRacism and #EndClassism as a way to draw attention to the implications of intersecting systems of advantage, in this case sexism, racism, and classism. Following the analysis of the article link shared in the tweet, the Hollaback! video captured the sexism of men harassing women, but by deciding to edit out white harassers, and particularly wealthy white harassers, the video presented engaged in perpetuating the myth of harassers as low-income Men of Color.

The #EndRacism, #EndClassism, and #Fem2 hashtags draw a large audience and can have thousands of posts per day, so their use here also adds this tweet to much broader conversations about inequality. In addition to critiquing the Hollaback! video, users also shared links to articles and blog postings that that featured personal experiences with racialized harassment. Stories highlighted the intersection of race and gender in street harassment, and

referenced being called names like China doll, or being propositioned for sex based on skin color. Additionally, online media outlet *Bustle* ran a feature titled "The 13 Strangest and Most Offensive Street Harassment Comments I've Gotten New York City."

- *@User: "I'm not your mamasita, dark chocolate, china doll, or anything else: http://t.co/ WgJax1oCcy #streetharassment #racism #endSH"*

- *@User: "WOC: "My skin color does not mean I welcome harassment" http://t.co/ 0YoGwl523e #Endsh #racialjustice #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "'YOU'RE KIND OF CUTE ... FOR A DARK-SKINNED GIRL' and other offensive #streetharassment comments - http://t.co/62yLWaNN80 #EndSH #YouOKSis"*

Users also shared media stories about online harassment. For instance, returning to the Hollaback! video it's important to note that once the video went viral, actress Shoshana Roberts received on-line harassment and even death threats from viewers. Eventually she sued the director of the clip, along with YouTube and others (Mathis-Lilley, 2015). One woman took the opportunity to use Shoshana's experience receiving threats as yet another reason for why women typically don't report harassment. For reference, the [TW!] contained in the tweet below stands for Trigger Warning, which is a blanket term used to let viewers or readers know that the content they are about to watch may include violent or offensive images or text, and may be triggering to some users.

- *@User: "Woman who documented her street harassment in NYC is receiving threats of violence online http://t.co/OlqxQ0ScIH #EndSH" Of course she is :/"*

- *@User: "Reason #189 women don't report: Woman who appeared in anti-harassment video facing threats http://t.co/5oPjUvF5Qh [TW!] #EndSH"*

Following the Hollaback! video and critique of the video, the third most popular media share was a infographic from *Playboy* that used a flowchart to indicate when it's okay to catcall a woman. The short answer? Never. With questions like "is that booty banging'?" and "you wanna get with that?", readers are first led to believe that there may be a possibility that *Playboy* condones harassing women. As the flowchart continues the questions turn to "are you sexually frustrated"? and "is she literally a cat?" Finally, readers reach the end where they learn it's not okay to catcall a woman unless you know her and "you both consensually agreed to shout sexually suggestive comments to each other in public" (Strauss, 2014).

Although slightly different than media shares, which share a direct link to a media story, users also engaged with media personalities through Twitter. For instance, users thanked a radio host for discussing street harassment of women wearing "sexy" halloween costumes. Another person called out Gayle King, popularly known as Oprah's best friend, for comments she made about feeling complimented by men who catcalled. Beyond tweeting at specific celebrities, one user tweeted her frustration with receiving derogatory comments from a member of the *Law & Order* filming crew. The show frequently films in neighborhoods around New York.

- *@User: "Big thanks to @CosmoChez for telling his listeners that if they see "sexy" nurses, cops or whatever type costumes, don't harass them! #EndSH"*
- *@User: "Hey @GayleKing it is not a compliment. It is harassment. #EndSH @StopStHarassmnt"*
- *@User: "Hey @nbclawandorder can u tell this guy on yr set to keep his boob comments to himself? #Endsh #catcalls"*

Based on the high number of media shares, and the sheer number of articles, videos, and other media focusing on this topic during the study period, media played a clear role in raising awareness about street harassment, and in building momentum around growing this issue on local and national stages.

Everyday Occurrences

Within the #EndSH hashtag, more than half of the text-only tweets (53%) offered narratives about experiencing street harassment in daily life. Tweets included snippets of conversations, engagement with anti-harassment organizations, and details about harassment incidents. Many narratives were in the form of sarcastic on-line responses to the on-the-ground harassment experienced. In these examples women detailed dialogue from harassment incidents, used clever rhymes to reject harassment, and discussed the irony of being harassed by government workers at the end of the day.

- *@User: "Store clerk: 'I said "Hi baby mama" to you this morning. You must've been in a rush.' Me: 'Yes that must've been it.' #EndSH @EverydaySexism"*
- *@User: "Here or there I do not like it anywhere. Not on the street, ferry, beach, or on my bike.I do not like harassment anywhere. #Topoli #EndSH"*
- *@User: "Can I just mention the absurdity of being harassed by DC government workers when I leave my office building? #EndSH"*

Note that one user above also included the handle @EverydaySexism, which is a way to engage that account in the conversation. When applying the Evans-Cowley categorizations, tweets in the #EndSH hashtag were frequently found to be engaging other users. In fact, 19% of tweets were categorized as engaging, meaning that the user added the handles of other accounts

in their tweets, or responded to the tweets of other users Although it was not possible to capture entire conversations by using the keyword retrieval method, it was often apparent when a tweet was composed as a response to another user. In this particular example, Everyday Sexism is the name of an online blog that produces original content about the many ways in which sexism manifests in everyday life through media, work, home, social situations, family dynamics, and more.

When further examining narratives related to everyday life experiences with harassment, #EndSH tweets frequently reflected emotional responses, reading with tones of frustration, annoyance, and fear. Women expressed emotion in their narratives through word choices, using capitalization, and through explicitly stating how they felt. For instance, in the following tweets women note the details of their experiences, emphasizing their interactions with harassers, and sometimes using tweets to offer their virtual responses to the harasser. Many of these tweets include profanity either as a direct recounting of a harasser's words, or in response to the harasser.

- *@User: "Got yelled at for not 'thanking' a guy for harassment. Now have to walk by again to get to laundromat. #endSH @iHollaback! @StopStHarassmnt"*
- *@User: "I am NOT your girlfriend, and not an appropriate way to engage me in conversation on the street. @StopStHarassmnt @SafeSpacesDC #EndSH"*
- *@USer: "'Good evening!!! OH I GUESS NOT BITCH. She got it goin on doh.' Why am I subjected to this fuckery daily? #EndSH"*
- *@User: "See the guy in the jersey? Fuck that guy. Don't call me a bitch when I choose not to respond to your comments #EndSH"*

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- @*User: "'What brings a princess to my jungle today?' Not that line, buddy. #EndSH"*

Tweet narratives also revealed some of the tactics women use either in an attempt to avoid street harassment, or in response to harassment as it was unfolding. For instance, one user shares the lie she tells harassers about having a husband. Another person describes "photobombing" a picture upon discovering that the man who is pretending to take a photo of himself is actually taking a photo of her. Photobombing can refer to making faces or jumping into someone else's picture unexpectedly as the photo is being taken.

- @*User: "Tired of lying and saying I have a husband to mitigate harassment. I hate the lie but do it anyway b/c it's so damn effective. #EndSH"*

- @*User: "That moment when you #PhotoBomb some guy's fake #selfie b/c you know he is actually trying to take your photo w/o asking. muhahahaha #EndSH"*

Likewise, users also offered thoughtful advice to others about responding to street harassers. These tweets affirmed that it's normal to be angry about harassment, and that it's okay to respond accordingly. Importantly, the advice meets people where they are, encouraging them to only do what makes them feel safest.

- @*User: "Never let anyone tell you it's rude to respond to street harassment with "fuck off". What's rude is harassing someone at all. #EndSH"*

- @*User: "The only right way to respond to harassment is the one that makes you feel safest. Don't feel like you HAVE to say something! #EndSH"*

The point that women shouldn't feel obligated to respond is especially important given the potential for violent interactions with harassers, or the chance that an incident will escalate from verbal harassment to physical altercation. On the #EndSH hashtag, users discussed street

harassment as violence in several ways. They provided analyses of what constitutes violence, they shared personal stories of experiences that moved beyond verbal comments, and they posted news stories of incidents in which harassment quickly escalated.

- @User: "Men do not get to decide what is and is not harassment. It is not kind. It is not complimentary. IT IS VIOLENCE. #Hollaback! #YouOKSis #endSH"

- @User: "Me: *squeezes past him down the aisle* Him: *follows me to the checkout* #endSH"

- @User: "#NotJustHello because I have been followed by men in cars because I didn't say hi back. #StreetHarrasment #endsh"

- @User: "Woman suffers horrific injuries after she is punched in the face 4 telling man 2 stop groping her http://t.co/E1BTQOmv0y #Endsh #yesallwomen"

- @User: "New submission from a woman who had a guy yell "DO YOU WANT ME TO RAPE THIS GIRL?!" in her face on the bus http://t.co/mCQi29PU2N #EndSH"

This set of narratives offer a chilling window into the the everyday experiences of women, with several incidents escalating to increasing levels of violence within moments. The tweets are also an example of using who add several hashtags in one tweet to tag the narrative in several related threads. For instance, one user above uses #Hollaback!, #YouOkSis, and #endSH in their response. This tags the tweet into three possible threads, two of which are analyzed in this study.

Although it was rare to see users include more than one hashtag or keyword from this study in a single tweet, when this did occur the tweet was likely to include #EndSH. There are two reasons for this: first, #EndSH is short and therefore it is easy to add it to the end of a tweet

without taking up too many of the 140 available characters. Second, #EndSH is popularly used by the organization Stop Street Harassment, so if users know to include #EndSH, then it is possible that they are also familiar with other harassment-related hashtags used to organize Twitter discussions on the issue. The above tweets also provide examples of the variety of hashtags user include in their posts. For instance, #YesAllWomen appears as a part of a larger conversation of "Yes, all women experience…", which in this case refers to street harassment. Using #NotJustHello continues an ongoing discussion with examples of how and why "hello" is often so much more than hello.

Street Harassment and Transportation

Although street harassment may be thought of as experienced by women walking down the street, many women shared the everyday street harassment they experienced while bicycling on city streets or while riding public transportation. Users expressed particular frustration with harassment experienced while cycling. Some tweets documented personal incidents of being harassed on their bikes or reflected the fear of riding alone, especially in the wake of being subjected to harassment previously. This supports the notion that street harassment doesn't end with the individual incident, rather the implications are long-lasting in terms of feeling unsafe and fearful, therefore reducing full access to the city. Others shared media stories about experiencing harassment while cycling. Women indicated that hearing "sexual obscenities is par for the course" and anti-harassment organization Hollaback! Boston tweeted out the story of a woman who was called a dirty whore while riding.

- *@User: "Had a really ugly street harassment incident, a wk ago, while riding my bike in Toronto. Still afraid to ride on my own. #Cycling #EndSH"*

- *@User: "oh the joy of being an assertive female cyclist....honking & being yelled sexual obscenities is par for the course. #EndSH"*

- *@User: "Street harassment. Women cyclists often receive many unwanted interactions that also endanger our lives. #YesAllWomen #EndSH #cycling"*

- *@User: "'Get off the street you dirty whore!'" | Amy's Story http://t.co/nuWPLQYGeZ #endSH #bikeSH"*

- *@User: "On #BikeSH #EnDSH #BikeDC MT @wcp: Gear Prudence: What should I do when I hear stupid pick-up lines mid-commute? http://t.co/Ud4cEGPART"*

Again, this tweet set shows how multiple hashtags can be used to tie tweets to several existing threads. For instance, users included the hashtag #cycling, which means that anyone who entered the term cycling on Twitter around the time of these posts would have seen tweets about harassment while cycling. Some tweets also include the lesser known hashtag #BikeSH, which is now has limited use as a means to collect stories of harassment related to bicycling. Limited activity on this hashtag means that it is not included in this study; however, as more users learn about this hashtag and begin leaving their stories it will be worth revisiting #BikeSH to see what role it plays as a space for sharing stories and organizing.

Users provided many examples of what it feels like to be the target of harassment, and the violence of having to deal with unwanted and threatening comments and actions from strangers. Among the harassment stories detailed on Twitter, many users focused on the down time between walking to a bus stop or subway platform, and then boarding public transportation. Tweets about bicycling, riding public transportation, or walking indicate that there's no "safer" way to get around town — each presents its own different potential for harassment. Even driving

still leaves time between walking between the vehicle and your destination, or time spent walking in parking garages.

In the following tweets, women describe being verbally assaulted on subway platforms, wishing the bus to arrive quicker, and an incident with a driver who, despite having a green light, sat in his car to continue harassing a woman at the bus stop.

- @User: "Asshole dudebro is still on the (now near-empty) platform with me yelling, "hey! Red! Goddamnit, red!" at me. #EndSH"

- @User: "Men can't think this is okay. He is still calling me over. Bus can't get here fast enough. #EndSH"

- @User: "Standing at bus stop, guy in car rolls down window, won't stop calling me over. #rbf face on! #EndSH. Light turned green, he won't move."

- @User: "Harassed on Metro: "I've Been So Worried About Running Into Him Again That I Changed My Route" http://t.co/pVxqUGWPBl #endSH #DC #wmata"

In tweet after tweet, the emotional content cannot be emphasized enough. The fear, dread, annoyance, anger, frustration, disbelief, and anticipation felt in these tweets is palpable. These feelings may contribute to being afraid to run into a harasser, and may produce physical results such as taking less convenient routes in order to avoid certain areas. The negative consequences of street harassment limit women's access to the city, their right to the city, and take a toll on anyone who experiences harassment in public space. However, these emotions and negative consequences can also be a precursor to something more, such as moments of activation for individuals who make the decision to start turning what they feel into action.

#EndSH, Organizations, and the Shift to Movement Building

Existing anti-harassment organizations played a large role in driving activity on the #EndSH hashtag. Although started by the organization Stop Street Harassment, #EndSH has become popular among other organizations including Safe Spaces DC and multiple branches of Hollaback!! In total, 39% of all tweets appearing on the #EndSH hashtag — media shares and text-only narratives — were posted from one of these organizations. Organizations tweeted for three main reasons: 1) to share media stories related to street harassment, 2) to request and amplify personal street harassment stories from followers, and 3) to contribute to movement building through advocacy, circulating event information, championing anti-harassment campaigns and policies, and presenting calls to action. Tweets on the #EndSH hashtag often used the virtual realm to connect users to on-the-ground strategies, issues, and events.

Sharing Media & Resources

In addition to multimedia such as the Hollaback! Video, anti-harassment organizations frequently used media sharing to circulate news stories and blog posts from print and on-line sources with followers. A New York Times article debating the merits of criminalizing street harassment was widely shared by organizations, as were pieces demonstrating street harassment as a significant issue, writers who featured collections of personal experiences, and posts offering strategies for addressing harassment.

- *@User: "On the homepage of the @nytimes: Do we need laws against #streetharassment? http://t.co/Mj04b0SCIi #endsh"*

- *@User: "Via the @NYTimes: #StreetHarassment Law Would Restrict Intimidating Behavior http://t.co/8xxidZSKX4 #sexualharassment #sexism #EndSH"*

- *@User: "#NYC Women Share Their #StreetHarassment Stories; prove it happens everywhere #EndSH #SexualHarassment http://t.co/d04snA1RtS @Gothamist"*

- *@User: " Important read! 7 Steps You Can Take To Address Street Harassment: http://t.co/hjGpcdRXyA #endSH #vaw #fem2"*

- *@User: "In School or in the Street, #SexualHarassment Is a Daily Problem   http://t.co/Sty40Zabgt via @aauw #Endsh"*

As important as considering policy related to street harassment is sharing resources for addressing street harassment. During the study period in fall of 2014 awareness grew and the conversations on what to do about street harassment became widespread. Creative responses to harassers emerged along with artistic projects designed to raise consciousness, fuel debates, and critique patriarchy and sexism. The poster campaign *Stop Telling Women to Smile* by Tatyana Falalizadeh went international, poets and comedy groups took on street harassment in their performances, and photo projects documented everything from what women were wearing when they were harassed to the looks on harassers faces when photographed in the act.

- *@User: "Printable pre-made cards to hand to your street harasser: http://t.co/ykIGcvPFxE #EndSH #everydaysexism #NotJustHello #vaw"*

- *@User: "MUST WATCH! "Cat Calls" by Amalia Ortiz via Def Jam Poetry http://t.co/LyDAq51t1k #EndSH"*

- *@User: "Hilarious! Watch This All-Women Comedy Sketch Group Take On Street Harassment http://t.co/Ul9szNwUI7 via @bustle #EndSH"*

- *@User: "Read about (amazing!) public art project called "Stop Telling Women to Smile" http://t.co/YG2gCmBHuY #STWTS #EndSH #UCFWST3015"*

- *@User: "Check out this awesome animated PSA calling on #NFL fans to #EndSH: http://t.co/xCNKWdN1Jf #CARvsGB #BeThatGuy #NOMOREexcuses"*

- *@User: "Brilliant comic that calls out the myth that women are just waiting for you to talk to them in public http://t.co/rOtu9SVeYR #EndSH"*

- *@User: "@nualacabral's excellent #streetharassment film "Walking Home" https://t.co/juA1RbMQj7 has a dscussion guide http://t.co/NllRmC9J2j #Endsh"*

- *@User: "Started by @KatiHeng, "But What Was She Wearing?" is a project documenting what #streetharrasment really looks like. #EndSH"*

One popular creative response to come out of this surge were a set of printable cards you can give out to harassers called Cards Against Harassment, a play on the card game Cards Against Humanity. The set of 10 cards also comes in Spanish, and includes sayings like "I don't owe you anything," or "It's not a compliment, it's harassment." The same designer later released a set of cards based on weight-based harassment that are meant for men or women. Clever and creative interventions appeared to offer some women a sense of empowerment, or at least the knowledge that they had a response at the read. As a woman in Boston tweeted, "Heading out on my bike, armed with #endSH cards! @Hollaback!Boston #boston."

Asking for Stories, Amplifying Voices

Anti-harassment organizations also used Twitter to solicit street harassment stories from followers, encouraging them to share their experiences on social media. Storytelling or oral history has long been used as a powerful method for building a rich understanding of an issue, political practice, or social movement (Naples, 1998). Technology allows for the quick spread of

stories through virtual space, and the advent of Twitter means stories can be shared through links, or even conveyed in 140 characters.

In this study, personal narratives as well as the stories collected by anti-harassment organizations together produce a rich understanding of the complex relationship women have with public space. Street harassment stories were retweeted, posted to organization blogs, or collected for later sharing. Some tweets asked that followers share specific stories, such as being harassed in a taxi, while others asked for experiences in specific geographic locations such as Washington, D. C. Often these tweets were framed through an empowering narrative of refusing to be silent, and telling your story as a way to take back the experience.

- *@User: "Do you have any stories of being harassed in a cab or car/ride share? Tweet them at @Hollaback!Boston. #Boston #endSH"*

- *@User: "Does #streetharassment & #catcalling happen to you? Share your story with us! http://t.co/cryZpEEdsF #EndSH #sexualharassment #sexism"*

- *@User: "Is this what your average day looks like? Share your story with us!#EndSH #StopHarassment http://t.co/yvLowF9AqA"*

- *@User: "Have you experienced street harassment in DC? Refuse to be silent! Share your story: http://t.co/AEYOLAK2xO #endSH #wmata"*

- *@User: "Why must we work to end street harassment? B/c no 17yo should have to share this story : http://t.co/wUXB1R6sg9 #yesallwomen #endSH"*

By collecting stories from individual users and then sharing them through organizational accounts, these organizations were able to amplify the voices of those experiencing street harassment. Stories could be collected by using several tweets to share the experience, or by

going directly to the organization websites and submitting a written narrative. Short user stories were retweeted, while stories submitted via the websites were shared as media links redirecting to the full story. First name only identifying information (e.g. Erika's story) was included with permission, along with a key line from the experience, and a link to read the entire story. Names were not included for stories submitted by minors.

- *@User: "'I'm coming for your white meat, bitch!' - Miriam's story #EndSH http://t.co/ IdzeyUuCfK"*

- *@User: "'He had turned around and started biking next to me as I walked.' | Liz's Story http://t.co/Wvzga19Cd1 #endSH"*

- *@User: "'When you're in a moving train, there's nowhere to escape to.' | Erika's Story http://t.co/eNjLBvK9OP #endSH #streetharassment"*

- *@User: "Middle-Aged Men Harassed Her When She was in Middle School http://t.co/ doodW8O8AX. Happens more than we want 2 acknowledge. #EndSH"*

- *@User: "Watch @theekatsmeoww share her street harassment story, also recommending ways men and women can help #EndSH: http://t.co/UcaLjlJrR1"*

Retweeting these personal experiences, or sharing links to the longer story is one way of providing virtual support to those experiencing harassment on the ground. In some cases the organizations even included an easy call to action, asking followers to show their support. For instance, one common tweet format used by Hollaback! chapters to provide support online was to write: "[Name/handle] was harassed today on [street name]. Show her you have her back!" Followers could then choose to send supportive tweets to the person, retweet the story, offer general comments about ending street harassment, or even share their own story in return.

<u>Anti-Harassment Movement Building</u>

Although there are certainly those who write off social media activism as slacktivism, viral sharing is increasingly part of building a movement. As one user tweeted, *"Slacktivism!" they say. DID YOU NOT JUST SEE A VIDEO ABOUT THIS SHIT, FROM 10 HOURS OF FOOTAGE, GO VIRAL? How is that slacking?? #EndSH."* Anti-harassment organizations used Twitter to engage in movement building in three ways: 1) through circulating event information, no matter which organization was hosting, 2) by supporting anti-harassment initiatives or campaigns, and 3) by tweeting calls to action.

Circulating information about upcoming tweet chats, new safe ride programs, film screenings, and more was an easy way to keep followers in the loop about events. These tweets included links to fliers or more event details, and often appeared multiple times leading up to each event.

- *@User: "Hate #streetharassment while #running? Hope you can join the Thursday tweet chat, #rwsafety #endsh http://t.co/S8RR9AdroQ"*

- *@User: "We're launching #RightRidesDC on Fri: http://t.co/zZOYR5Iy5M #endSH"*

- *@User: "We're headed to @WomensCenter71 TONIGHT for HOLLA Offline, ready to chat post-harassment self care. Join us! http://t.co/PZY1WUfD7v #endSH"*

- *@User: "Are you in NYC and have the urge to help #endSH? Check out this chalk-walk hosted by @StopStHarassmnt Oct. 25th. https://t.co/CbfIoCGR1p"*

- *@User: ""Out in the Night" is screening TONIGHT at 5:00PM at JHU in the Wolfe St Building Rm W2008 http://t.co/gQCfgadzje #EndSH #LGBTQ"*

Additionally, organizations and individuals used Twitter as a way of publicly recognizing and giving acknowledgment to those involved in organizing anti-harassment events. The tweets below showcase gratitude from one organization to another, message from individuals who openly thank multiple anti-harassment organizations for their work, and quick dedication to men who stand against street harassment.

- *@User: "Everyone deserves to be safe in public spaces! Thx for your work to make #KansasCity safer @BikeWalkKC. #safestreetskc #endsh"*

- *@User: "Videos like this remind me why I'm grateful for work being done by @iHollaback!, @SafeSpacesDC; other orgs: https://t.co/uQZL719bQG #endSH"*

- *@User: "Dedicated to men all over the world who STAND with women to combat #streetharassment. #YouOkSis #EndSH #Thankyou http://t.co/f5cz912Ve2"*

Sharing event information contributed to Moyer's early stages of movement building activity by raising consciousness about street harassment and by building a grassroots opposition to identify which systems, structures, and conditions keep the status quo in place, thereby preventing change. Consciousness raising also happens through some of the simpler calls to action, such as asking followers to watch quick 60-second videos, or to read short articles.

Calls to action also demonstrate the growing strength of grassroots organizations in noting elements that maintain the status quo, and leading the charge to create change. For instance, in the tweets below anti-harassment organizations ask followers to tweet at Wendy's, the fast food chain, following the release of a new ad, which implied that the chain condoned street harassment. Other tweets call on bystanders to interrupt harassment.

- @User: "ACTION ALERT: Tell @Wendys that their new ad condoning street harassment is not okay! #endsh http://t.co/CpgI9lRxf1 http://t.co/1GQHHpkNyj"

- @User: "You're my favourite fast food restaurant, @Wendys, and street harassment is my least favorite thing. You can have WAY better ads. #EndSH"

- @User: "That is one seriously unevolved harasser. Bystanders need to become part of the solution. @iHollaback! #endSH"

- @User: "Do you have 60 seconds? Watch this & see why telling women to smile is some epic BS. http://t.co/ffYdOMoQVB #EndSH"

- @User: "Men can #EndSH http://t.co/faJfBJLvLT featuring: @htownHollaback! & @TAASA #MMTF"

- @User: "#endSH I hate that 6 hours after was harassed, I'm still feeling anxious. This is not my burden. Start teaching your boys to be gentlemen."

In recent years social media campaigns have proven successful at gaining the attention of companies with pressure resulting in apologies (Page, 2014), products removed from shelves, and changes in marketing and advertising. According to data from Unmetric, a social media analytics firm, during the 10 weeks following this study period, Wendy's responded to 5% of the tweets addressed to them and of those 2,406 replies, 35% contained the word sorry (Dua, 2015). Although Wendy's appears to issue frequent apologies to customers — and there is no data available to confirm what they were apologizing for during this period — it is unclear whether this call to action produced the desired result of removing the ad.

Another way organizations used Twitter to aid in movement building was through championing anti-harassment campaigns and policy initiatives. During the study period, several

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cities launched ad campaigns on public transportation to address street harassment. Many of these campaigns started at the urging of anti-harassment organizations, with the resulting ads as evidence of street harassment as having a place on the "hot agenda" for local safety policy.

- *@User: "New York City launches campaign to end sexual harassment on the subway: http://t.co/O05xFls6Tw #EndSH cc: @StopStHarassmnt"*

- *@User: "Our bystander ad was spotted on the Red Line! Photo credit: @natashavianna. #MBTA #endSH: http://t.co/m5xK0OqDu0"*

- *@User: "One of our 2012 #WMATA anti-#streetharassment ads. New ones coming soon - stay tuned! #DC #endSH #youOKsis #tbt http://t.co/pcOXKGYUW8"*

- *@User: "Excited about the new @MassNOW @Hollaback!Boston MBTA ads on the red line to #EndSH! Be sure to check them out! #fem2 http://t.co/tFLCDBIhAl"*

- *@User: "Seeing a new @Hollaback!Boston ad put a smile on my face this shitty morning commute. #endSH http://t.co/KezABofeKh"*

Anti-harassmetn ads in metro stations, at bus stops, and on public transportation represent a real step in recognizing harassment as unwanted attention that impedes access to cities. In this sense, this step represents a crystallization of Moyer's take off stage: street harassment is in the public spotlight as a now-recognized problem, policies are questioned, and momentum (such as the placement of anti-harassment ads) is in place to begin securing majority public opinion.

Critiques of Movement Activity

As the anti-harassment movement has grown, so have critiques. A major critique of movement building efforts is that Women of Color are left out, or that their experiences are seen as a side issue to the "real" movement — implying that this is a white women's movement. An

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article about the Hollaback! video written by a Woman of Color who is also in a leadership role with the organization was widely shared. However, beyond offering critiques of the Hollaback! video, women also used tweets to post links to articles about why more Women of Color needed to be involved in anti-harassment actions. Additionally, some users shared links to street harassment videos about Women of Color, and were involved in events specifically targeting Women of Color.

- *@User: "Why the anti-street harassment movement needs to involve more women of colour: http://t.co/D7Qejiaiac #endsh"*

- *@User: "Where are the viral #streetharassment videos about #WOC? Here are the videos, you can help make them viral! http://t.co/0RDBtXqZjC #Endsh"*

- *@User: "my thgts on being a WoC leader in Hollaback! & that viral video #EndSH #intersectionality http://t.co/rJLmAy373k http://t.co/KoJ19J7r0I"*

- *@User: "prepping to talk to fellow WoC at the @MCASAorg abt leveraging social media to end gender-based violence! #EndSH http://t.co/YbJ1u0gxne"*

Tweet narratives in subunit #YouOkSis of this study reflect some of the experiences and organizing happening specifically among Black women. #YouOkSis began when a Black woman who self-identified as Feminista Jones on Twitter witnessed a young mother being harassed. She intervened in the harassment by asking "You okay sis?" and later began using the hashtag to facilitate a conversation specifically pertaining to harassment and Black women. As movement building continues, it will be necessary for anti-harassment organizers to seek out opportunities for increasing solidarity and coalition building.

Global Perspectives

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About 10% of tweets on the #EndSH keyword included announcements, event information, and articles about street harassment as a global concern. Several anti-harassment organizations including Hollaback! and Stop Street Harassment have active regional and city chapters around the world, which contributed to activity on the #EndSH hashtag. In fact, nearly all tweets referencing locations other than the United States were shared by Twitter accounts from anti-harassment organizations.

- *@User: "#FF @OpAntiSH Volunteers & organizations/groups against SH/Assault & supporting targeted women #Egypt #Women #ENDsh #Dignity #HumanRights"*

- *@User: " New #documentary on #EndSH in #Egypt needs YOUR help—check #ThePeoplesGirls Kickstarter & donate! http://t.co/1Bg2IfNIwz v @thepeoplesgirls"*

- *@User: "Help us disseminate the #survey to understand #StreetHarassment & fight it better. http://t.co/9u50C9gpsb @BombayBicycle #Mumbai #endSH"*

- *@User: "In Jordan, artists take over public space to empower women to speak out against street harassment http://t.co/tAyFrvDIoP none #EndSH"*

- *@User: "Egypt, Palestine, Jordan & Lebanon: 'Women on Walls' - Empowering Women through Street Art http://t.co/LC9KH0dusK #EndSH"*

- *@User: " New Delhi Launches All-Female Anti-Pervert Police Squad http://t.co/ rY3s3tWQIV #EndSH #eveteasing #streetharassment*

- *@User: "Bulgarian schools to 'teach' girls that they cannot count on their bodies being respected http://t.co/cI2jo9mZ8i by @dialeidoscope #endsh"*

However, one story out of Egypt drew the attention of several users. Ahmed Fayed, a 17-year-old young man, was killed in Egypt while defending a woman who was being harassed on the street.

- *@User: "Ahmed Fayed, 17, stabbed to death in Egypt while defending women from #sexualharassment http://t.co/d84etGrcVk @ShoftTa7rosh #EndSH"*
- *@User: "Yesterday, a young man was killed because he was trying to prevent some assholes from sexually harassing a woman! #Egypt #EndSH"*
- *@User: "17y old boy who had his whole life ahead stabbed to death for what ! for doing the right thing :(#EndSH"*

Although street harassment stories involving violence against women are unfortunately common, the story about Ahmed Fayed revealed a vulnerability facing men in Egypt: they, too, could face limited access to the city if they dared to interrupt harassment incidents. In context of a gendered right to the city, by making a move to create a safer space for a woman in public, Ahmed questioned behavior that was accepted by established gender norms and paid with his life.

Online Pushback and Harassment

Virtual public space continues to be a dual space of safety and hostility. Although this study demonstrates the ways in which women are using virtual public spaces to speak back to violence and organizing against harassment, online harassment remains a serious and growing issue for social media users. Among the individual narratives on this hashtag, approximately 20% included tweets from individuals who used #EndSH to defend street harassment, used

derogatory language aimed at women, or who claimed harassment only matters as a function of who is doing the harassing.

- @User: *"Chicks wanna dress like sluts then wonder why I holla out at u from my car? Lmao. #getreal #yesallwomen #youoksis #endsh"*

- @User: *"typical #feminists wanting everyone else to solve their problems. Grow up and stop whining. #Endsh"*

- @User: *"If I walk around with my balls out people will look too. #feminism #Boobs #endSH"*

- @User: *"It's also not about what the men do, but who they are. Their "crime" is usually being short/ugly/fat/broke/black. #Endsh"*

- @User: *"if my son grew up and didn't hit on girls, I'd be worried. It's normal & healthy! #youoksis #endsh #yesallwomen"*

Although tweets on #EndSH did not appear as vicious as compared to the responses seen on some of the other keywords, online harassment was still reported by women. For instance, this user who tweeted: *"So this FUCKER came into my MTs after I shared abt the #streetharassment I'd experienced yesterday in #DC #endSH."* In this case, MT refers to a tweet feed found on account home pages called "Mentions," which collects content that has been tweeted at you from other users. For clarification, this is different than the "Notification" feed, which alerts users to who has liked or retweeted their tweets, and also separate from the main Twitter feed, which collects tweets from every account the user follows.

To find harassing tweets in the Mentions feed means the harasser didn't simply tweet out to their followers; they sought this person out to tweet to them directly. This is akin to an

escalating incident of harassment on-the-ground, instead in this case the harasser went from

sending general anti-harassment tweets to responding or communicating directly to a specific

user. An example of further escalation would be the harasser looking the person up online,

locating their geographic information, or finding other ways to increase the chance of an in-

person meeting. Indeed, the border between the virtual and physical world is easily traversed.

7.7 Subunit #YouOkSis: Descriptive Analysis

Among the 9,272 tweets in this study, 969 (10.5%) included the hashtag #YouOkSis

including any derivatives such as #youuoksis or #youOKsis. Among the 969 #YouOKSis tweets,

only 289 (30%) included a media share, while the majority of the 681 (70%) tweets were

composed by individuals who tweeted descriptions of street harassment incidents in public

space, noted intersections between gender and race, offered support and strategies for the future,

and more. Compared to the other keyword and hashtag groups, those using the #YouOKSis

hashtag were more likely to compose their own tweet with a personal experience than share an

article or other media file.

Figure 7.5 Hashtag #YouOkSis tweets
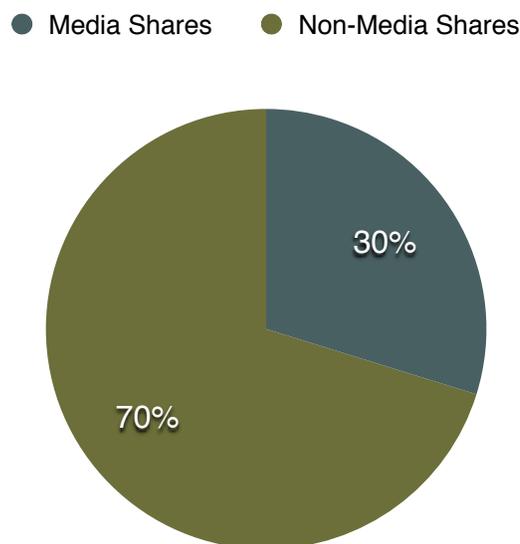
Media Shares   Non-Media Shares

30%

70%

Data produced by Twittermining showing the most popular terms for each tweet set for the keyword #YouOkSis indicated that there were 17 separate terms that frequently appeared in tweets containing the keyword #YouOkSis . These terms included hashtags such as #catcalling and #yesallwomen, emotional tags such as frightening or feel, and nods to popular culture references such as Jessica Williams on *The Daily Show*. Terms reflecting similar categories were combined. For instance, man and men, or woman and women. The top ten terms that appeared in the set of #YouOkSis tweets were:

1) Man/Men: Appeared 164 times, in 17% of all #YouOkSis tweets

2) Woman/women: Appeared 153 times, in 16% of all #YouOkSis tweets

3) Harassment: Appeared 132 times, in 14% of all #YouOkSis tweets

4) Street: Appeared 121 times, in 12% of all #YouOkSis tweets

5) Black: Appeared 68 times, in 7% of all #YouOkSis tweets

6) #Streetharassment: Appeared 43 times, in 4% of all #YouOkSis tweets

7) Walking: Appeared 24 times, in 2% of all #YouOkSis tweets

8) Rejected: Appeared 23 times, in 2% of all #YouOkSis tweets

9) Compliment: Appeared 16 times, in 2% of all #YouOkSis tweets

10) #YesAllWomen: Appeared 14 times, in 1% of all #YouOkSis tweets (*Tied for 10th)

11) Killed: Appeared 14 times, in 1% of all #YouOkSis tweets (*Tied for 10th)

12) Shot: Appeared 14 times, times, in 1% of all #YouOkSis tweets (*Tied for 10th)

In this case, because both man and men appear as frequent terms they are combined to acknowledge that they both refer to males. Similarly, woman and women are combined as they are in reference to females. Over time, the terms man/men, woman/women, and harassment were

used consistently in #YouOkSis tweets, which is unsurprising given that the tweet topic is typically in reference to harassment of women by men. Additionally, the frequent use of the term Black is expected given that the hashtag #YouOkSis was started as a place for Black women to share their experiences with street harassment.

Interestingly, the word street was used frequently (as opposed to the phrase street harassment), which indicates many users talking specifically about events happening on city streets. The hashtag #streetharassment also appeared frequently, meaning that some folks using the #YouOkSis hashtag were also tagging their tweets in the #streetharassment thread. In fact four percent of the 1,054 tweets in subunit #streetharssment also contained #YouOkSis. Rounding out the most frequent terms were walking, rejected, and compliment, with a three-way tie for the 10th most popular term in #YouOkSis tweets: #YesAllWomen and two violence-driven words, killed and shot.

According to Twittermining, 35 accounts frequently tweeted using keyword #YouOkSis. A review of the data revealed that Twittermining considers a user whose tweets are included four times or more within a given set of data to be a high frequency user; however, a computer generated visualization of how many tweets correspond to each user revealed that five tweets or more is a clearer cutoff point for determining who can be considered a moderate to high user. Using this new metric, there were 17 frequent users. Data revealed that 16 individual users tweeted 5-10 times using the keyword #YouOkSis, and one individual users tweeted more than 10 times, meaning only 17 users tweeted using this keyword five times or more. Interestingly, all 17 users can be categorized as individuals, with no organizations tweeting frequently on the keyword #YouOkSis.

7.8 Subunit #YouOkSis: Tweet Analysis

According to interviews with the self-identified Twitter user Feminista Jones, the hashtag #YouOkSis came out of witnessing a man harassing a young Black mother. Jones said she approached the woman and asked "are you okay sis?", using the term sis, which is often used in the Black community (Irwin, 2014). Jones launched the online #YouOkSis campaign during the summer of 2014 to focus on how Black women experience harassment — noting that the experiences of white women are often the face of street harassment — and encouraged them to share their stories using the hashtag. In doing so, she created a virtual space through which to examine how intersecting systems of advantage affect experiences with street harassment.

Harassment of Black women in public is not limited gendered language and can also include racialized comments from harassers. The #YouOkSis hashtag is also used to show how Black women are targeted and harassed online. Indeed, in her research on Twitter and transit, Schweitzer (2014) found that "tweets contain racial, sexist, and other slurs about transit patrons, with African-American women targeted disproportionately" (2014, p. 229). Analyzing the tweets containing keyword #YouOkSis revealed a number of ways that Twitter is being used to capture, respond to, and organize against street harassment within the Black community. However, it is worth noting that the relative anonymity associated with the social media platform makes it nearly impossible to ensure the racial or ethnic background of each user taking part in the #YouOkSis campaign.

Daily Accounts, Live Tweeting, and Escalation

Twelve percent of tweets included detailed descriptions of incidents that users experienced personally in their daily lives. Tweet narratives included memories of being harassed

during childhood, revealed ongoing patterns of harassment, and drew attention to everyday issues such as being harassed on streets or public transportation. However, unique to this subunit were the women who used #YouOkSis to live tweet incidents over time as they were happening. Although live tweets of harassment incidents occurred frequently in tweets from other subunits, typically these tweets were limited to one tweet (or only one tweet included the hashtag). However, there were several instances on #YouOkSis where the same user included the hashtag in tweets over time, allowing for a story to build from moment to moment. For instance, this woman fired off a series of panicked tweets during her bus ride that reflect a major theme of experiencing fear, paralysis, and a sense of being unable to do anything to stop the harassment.

- *@User: "I'm on a bus. I can't walk away. told him I have a boyfriend he still won't back off. #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "40 minutes left til the Pomona stop. #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "He moved and now he's closer to me. I feel paralyzed. #YouOKSis."*

This series of tweets offered a vivid description of the harassment experienced by one woman on public transportation and the fear that unfolded over time, but equally disturbing is that harassment incidents often escalate. Although we don't have any tweets to indicate what happened at the end of this encounter, tweet narratives from other users clearly demonstrate the the potential for incidents to escalate to verbal abuse and violence, even in situations where the woman responses politely to the harasser.

- *@User: "Prime pick-up line: 'Sup, brown Suga! Whatchu got goin' on?' Asked me 2x, increased aggression, then called me a bitch. #youOKSis."*

- @User: *"I once politely rejected a man's advances in a bar and he immediately yelled 'fucking bitch!' and tried to hit me #YouOKSis #NotJustHello."*
- @User: *"I had to drive away with my car door open after being prevented from closing my door as a man attempted to kiss me after many NOs #YouOkSis."*

Escalation from a catcall to name calling and verbal abuse was common among many women sharing their experiences on #YouOkSis, and harassers often used gendered slurs such as bitch or whore as incidents escalated. In the narratives above, verbal abuse resulted from ignoring the harasser, or rejecting their advances. Escalation also produced attempts at physical contact — for instance, the harasser who tried to hit a woman in a bar, or the harasser who blocked a woman from closing her car door and tried to kiss her. Discussion around the issue of harassment escalating to violence received particular attention on this hashtag after the shooting of Mary Spears, a Black woman who was killed in Detroit after she turned down the advances of a male stranger, which was the top media story shared by folks contributing to #YouOkSis.

Media Engagement: Mary Spears and Hollaback!

Among the #YouOkSis tweets, 30% contained direct links to media — articles, videos, photos, and more. Examples of these tweets include retweeted media links, articles and videos shared directly from a website using a share button, or articles that simply had #YouOkSis in the title. Two media stories emerged as driving forces for Twitter engagement around street harassment on the #YouOkSis hashtag during the study period in fall 2014. First, the top shared story was the shooting death of Mary Spears; the second most shared story was the video project by Hollaback!, which showed the street harassment experienced by a woman walking through New York over the course of ten hours, condensed into a few minutes of footage. Users often

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tweeted their own text in addition to providing the media link, whether to include the headline of an article, to add commentary related to their experiences, or to offer opinions about the media they shared. In the below tweet set, users offer lines from articles, and their commentary about why #YouOkSis is needed. Another user doesn't link to a specific article, but continues dialogue based on the Mary Spears story by adding the hashtag #MarySpears to her text.

- *@User: "A woman rejects a man...she ends up dead. #YouOKSis http://t.co/19WNur3dUh."*

- *@User: "But tell me we don't need things like #YouOKSis https://t.co/kF7IiF9RP0."*

- *@User: "Well. Going on a power walk. Now wondering if today's the day a street harasser murders me for saying 'no.' Seriously. #YouOKSis #MarySpears."*

The Hollaback!! video project also drew attention from folks tweeting on #YouOkSis. As with other subunits, media shares about this story were a mix of supportive comments and critiques. However, similarly to using the hashtag #MarySpears to connect commentary to the story, many users engaged with the video content not by sharing the link directly, but by commenting on other tweets that included the link. These tweets were not counted in the total media shares, but present another way in which users engage media stories online and use hashtags to direct others to their comments. The following tweets quoted lines from the *10 Hours Walking in New York* video, and called for folks to continue inclusive efforts to discuss street harassment, and critiqued the video for only showing the experience of a white female walking through New York:

- *@User: "'Somebody's acknowledging you for being beautiful. You should say thank you more.' How about no? #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "Please everyone pay attention to that NYC catcalling video AND people like @FeministaJones who make conversation more inclusive #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "Saw @iHollaback! video featured on @WNTonight. Don't recall experiences of WOC like #YouOKSis getting national coverage which is a shame."*

Given the focus of #YouOkSis as a space for sharing the narratives of Black women and discussing the issue of harassment in the Black community, it was expected that the hashtag would contain critiques about the Hollaback! video only featuring a white woman, and that white male harassers were edited out. However, it is important to note that although many of these conversations appeared first on #YouOkSis threads, they were also frequently seen in the other subunits (catcall*, #streetharassment, and #EndSH) as well. This suggests that #YouOkSis played an important role in providing a more inclusive space for folks to discuss harassment and to participate in anti-harassment organizing. In fact, of all the subunits, the higheset level of strategy sharing, organizing, and movement activity occurred on #YouOkSis.

Interventions and Calls to Action

Tweets suggesting responses to harassers, ideas for interventions, and offering calls to action occurred frequently on #YouOkSis. In many ways, the hashtag was a space for building a community of folks committed to addressing street harassment. It was common for users to offer gratitude and support for the virtual space of #YouOkSis, and to specifically mention campaign creator Feminista Jones in their appreciation for the discussion space and the real world suggestions for diffusing street harassment incidents.

- *@User: "Thanks to Feminista Jones I pulled a couple of #YouOKSis's tonight. What an effective (and natural) intervention."*

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- *@User: "Got the feelies reading the #YouOKSis hashtag."*

Additionally, #YouOkSis became a space for sharing what worked and what didn't with harassers. Some people used the hashtag to share examples of responses and cited the experiences of their friends and relatives, particularly if they contained a memorable response. As one user noted when relaying her mother's response to a harasser, *"yooooo my mom got street harassed today leaving starbucks. her response: 'I got Jesus and a good Husband. what I need you for?' #YouOKSis."* Other users reflected on the reactions they received from friends and relatives when they shared harassment incidents. For instance, after several tweets from a user explaining that she was followed home by a group of strange men, she mused, *"I remember talking to my mom and aunt about it on the phone and feeling like they thought that I was over-reacting #YouOKSis."*

Tweet narratives revealed ways in which some users engaged the on-line community with advice and calls to action, and worked to show how on-line ideas were turned to on-the-ground action. For instance, some users provided general support for interrupting street harassment, while others tweeted specific examples of both strategies and their interventions at work on city streets and public transportation. In this tweet set strategies for responding to street harassers included mentioning a boyfriend, while interventions included asking harassers to stop photographing strangers, and using the bystander approach. The bystander approach refers to intervening one someone's behalf when, as a bystander, you see harassment happening.

- *@User: "There's no justification for catcalling. When I see it, i say something. Have some respect. #youOKsis."*

- *@User: "You were with your teenage sons, didn't want to humiliate them. I politely told you to stop taking pics of a woman you don't know #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "You have to pray "I have a boyfriend" works, usually it doesn't. We all, men especially, need to look out for other women. #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "We know that bystander intervention works. You have to use it. #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "You can tweet about how Black men need to respect BW but are you using #YouOKSis in these streets?"*

People also used #YouOKSis to directly question whether folks were using these interventions in their daily lives, or just tweeting about them in virtual public spaces. As the narrative above suggests, we can tweet about Black men and respect, but we need to ask whether we using #YouOKSis in the streets. In a move toward anti-harassment movement building, many tweet narratives on #YouOkSis went beyond simply naming harassment and were meant to call men to action. One theme that emerged from the tweets was that men should take a larger role in stopping street harassment when they see it happening. Some men used #YouOkSis to share examples of women in their lives who had experienced harassment, or to encourage other men to intervene when they witness harassment.

- *@USser: "… she called and said 'just stay on the phone with me until pass these guys because they keep yelling my way …' #YouOkSis."*

- *@User: "Call out your fellow man if you see him harassing a woman. she shouldn't have to be of relation to you for you to show compassion #youoksis."*

- *@User: "Men must learn to speak against this violence and support our women. If we can walk around unafraid why can't women? #youoksis."*

- @*User: "We gotta start standing up and speaking out for our women more. Putting our fuckboy friends in check too #YouOkSis."*

In these tweet narratives men used #YouOkSis as a virtual space for acknowledging their privilege as men in public, meaning that they recognized their experiences with city streets as different than women. For instance, one man tweeted *"If we can walk around unafraid why can't women?"*. This signals an understanding that city spaces are indeed gendered, and that women do not have the same access to the city as their male counterparts. However, in addition to considering street harassment through a gender lens, #YouOkSis tweets also explicitly account for race and how Black women experience daily life in public space. Given the ongoing concerns about Black men being the target of police violence the issue of safety in public goes far beyond harassment, but some men were quick to point out that Black women often support issues affecting men and therefore they deserve the same respect and support in stopping street harassment. As one user tweeted, *"Blk women march for us when we are assaulted. Why are you dudes quiet when women ask us to step in for them? #YouOkSis."*

Still others engaged in conversations with fellow Twitter users, calling them out in the virtual world. In response to a comment that street harassment was a non-issue, one man replied, *"I'm not caping, but #YouOKSis is legit bro, sometimes idiots go too far…"* Some users also referenced a less-popular hashtag #YouOkBruh, and called for a larger movement. For instance, one user noted *"I don't know it all, but I do know #YouOkSis AND #YouOkBruh would be more effective as one movement."* However, this tweet also demonstrates the benefits of continuing the listening process as tweets are being collected, rather than deciding to stop listening once the final keywords are chosen. In this study I could have adjusted the Twittermining program to start

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collecting tweets for the hashtag #YouOkBruh; however, a review of the tweets on this hashtag revealed very limited activity.

Although the #YouOkSis campaign was designed to support a conversation about the street harassment Black women experience, over time some Twitter users who self-identified as Latino or "brown" appeared on the hashtag. One user tweeted *"getting harassed for talking about street harassment is so fuckin... that's what I get for being small, femme, and brown #YouOKSis."* Additionally, users related the hashtag to other ethnic groups: *"Because the over sexualization of Native American women is seen as 'APPRECIATING THE CULTURE' #YouOKSis."*

Interestingly, some anti-harassment organizations used the term women of color in place of Black women. For instance, one organization tweeted *"For women of color, street harassment is often racialized: http://t.co/WgJax1oCcy #fem2 #youOKsis #YesAllWomen."* It is possible this was a move to be more inclusive, but it is important to note that by using the term women of color this organization also shifted the conversation, moving dialogue away from Black women despite the origins of the #YouOKSis campaign. Additionally, this organization was one of only two accounts to include the hashtag #YesAllWomen in their tweets — the hashtag is often criticized online for erasing differences among women.

Pushback to #YouOkSis Campaign

Although #YouOkSis was used to facilitate dialogue around the issue of street harassment among Black women, and as time went on women of color more generally, the campaign has also drawn internet trolls who include the hashtag on inflammatory and sometimes abusive tweets meant to harass users. The term internet troll is commonly used to acknowledge those

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who peruse the internet to intentionally cause trouble. Many trolls use the anonymity of on-line accounts to follow the activity around an issue or a specific user over time, leaving offensive comments on articles and social media postings. Being the recipient of on-line harassment, including threats of violence, rape, or death, is not uncommon among internet activists, or even those who only participate minimally in campaigns such as #YouOkSis. The #YouOkSis campaign drew its share of male critics and internet trolls, and approximately six percent of all the virtual narratives contain harassing, demeaning, or dismissive language.

- *@User: "Today I saw a woman fall down and instead of helping I just laughed at her. #HeForShe #feminism #YouOkSis."*

- *@User: "What's a polite, non harassing way to say 'I'd like to suck and fuck you for a few hours and maybe get some pizza' #YouOKSis."*

- *@User: "chicks pics in #YouOKSis campaign hella ugly nobody harassing them fraud black feminist agenda2divide black relations."*

Although it is difficult to trace replies to these tweets that do not include the #YouOkSis hashtag, some supporters who included the hashtag were quick to respond. For instance, in response to one internet troll a user replied *"most importantly WHY do you bother #trolling? Trying to hijack #YouOKSis?"* Both online and on the ground, those contributing to #YouOKSis were prepared to respond, intervene, and build a more inclusive anti-harassment movement.

Chapter Eight: Tweet Findings Part II — Case Analysis: Cross-Unit Themes, Analysis of Media, Tweet Peaks, and Code Cloud

In this section tweet findings from the subunits are analyzed together to look for broader patterns and themes across keywords and hashtags. Although the main source of data in this case study was tweets, subunit findings were also considered in conjunction with media analysis, mapping tweet peaks, and an analysis of the code cloud from ATLAS.ti.

8.1 Cross-Unit Analysis

After each subunit was analyzed individually, cross-unit analysis was conducted. During this analysis Twitter activity was examined across keywords to further understand how engaging in virtual public space is a mechanism for addressing the the problem of gendered public space. In the previous sections, each subunit contained descriptive analyses of frequencies and systematized assessments of how tweets were used, common topics and themes, and interpretations of tweet narratives and movement activity. In this section the cross-unit analysis explores connections between online and on the ground activity, and examines broader themes within the context of access to a gendered city. From this analysis, five themes emerged across the whole collection of tweet narratives: It Happened to Me, Media Momentum, Role of Emotion, Taking Action, and Virtual Harassment.

Theme One: It Happened to Me

During the study period, women shared hundreds of personal stories and experiences with street harassment. These narratives captured the annoyance of experiencing daily harassment, the fear in the moments spent shared with harassers, and the anger at encountering harassment as part of ones relationship with the city. Movement activity in this theme was limited in terms of

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direct organizing; however, the decisions to name emotions, share experiences, and confirm that

the problem of street harassment exists contributed to fueling the early movement stages of the

Moyer model. For instance, tweet narratives provided ample evidence of the widespread nature

of street harassment and demonstrated the growing discontent among individuals who feel unsafe

in the very city spaces where they work and live. Retweeting a narrative was one way of showing

support for people sharing their story. Likewise retweeting could indicate that the narrative

conjured feelings of commonality and resonance. However, this may not be true for all users, a

some accounts include a disclaimer that reads "retweets ≠ endorsement," meaning that

retweeting an article or narrative does not mean that the person supports the opinions shared.

In this study, tweets presented two different forms of narrative: personal narratives from

individuals (harassment happens to me), and collected narratives (harassment happens to

women) that together contributed to the growing discourse around the issue of street harassment.

Even stories and videos meant as parodies added to the discourse by using comedy and satire as

tools for drawing attention to street harassment, and in some cases providing a more casual entry

point for critical analysis of the issue.

Tweet narratives presented counterstories from individuals that challenge the dominant

narratives about street harassment: it's a compliment, it's not a big deal, just ignore it, or there

are more important problems to address. In this sense, sharing tweet narratives also validated

experiences with harassment by building an understanding that street harassment may happen to me, but it doesn't only happen to me. Both individually and collectively, tweet narratives pose a challenge to systems of advantage such as sexism by demonstrating the extent of the issue facing women. They also showed the various ways women and men have agency and resist by taking control over their stories, their experiences, and speaking back or taking action.

Theme Two: Media Momentum

The second theme of Media Momentum drove significant activity across keywords in this study. In fact, sharing media stories, articles, blogs, videos, photos, and gifs was the most popular way that Twitter was used around this issue, accounting for more than half of the tweet sin the study. Sharing media came in several forms: direct tweets from media sites, retweets of existing media-based tweets, or media that was shared along with added user analysis or commentary. The most popular media event across the entire collection of tweets was the video clip *10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman*, which also resulted in critiques and parodies. Popular parodies included several spoofs, along with related clips such as *Dudes Greeting Dudes*, which showed men greeting each other with catcalls. Comedy and satire also informed the *Playboy* infographic detailing whether it was ever okay to catcall a woman.

Media shares and the momentum they created differed based on keyword. For instance, while the *10 Hours Walking in New York* was popular on catcall*, #streetharassment, and #EndSH, the most popular stories shared on the #YouOkSis hashtag were critiques of the

Hollaback! video (rather than the clip itself), and the story of Mary Spears, the Black woman who was shot and killed for rejecting the advances of her harasser. It is important to note that the Mary Spears story did not appear among the tweets found on keyword catcall*, further demonstrating the need for #YouOkSis as a space devoted specifically to raising awareness about the specific harassment experiences facing Black women.

Additionally, people used Twitter differently on each keyword, which supports the idea that each subunit represents a stratification of familiarity with the issue. Overall findings suggest that keyword catcall* represents the lowest rung of familiarity with street harassment, and in fact the term street harassment is rarely used. Within this keyword harassment was presented as a personal affront, media sharing consisted of retweets with little context, and there was little to no evidence of organizing. The next rung up was #streetharassment, which was used if someone knew to name catcalling as street harassment, and also knew to apply the hashtag. By using the term and the hashtag, these tweets demonstrated increased and intentional efforts by users to build discussion around street harassment as an issue.

Following this rung was #EndSH, which is the hashtag for the organization Stop Street Harassment. Tweets on #EndSH were often driven by anti-harassment organizations and used both media shares and individual stories to draw attention to systemic and structural issues.By including this hashtag in their tweets, users showed that they were familiar with the issue of street harassment and that they knew to use this particular hashtag for organizing. While activity on the #EndSH hashtag was largely driven by organizations, the #YouOkSis hashtag presented a similar level of familiarity with street harassment, but activity was driven by individual users. When including the #YouOkSis hashtag, people demonstrated their awareness of street

harassment, the need for a space to discuss the specific experiences of Black women in public space, and their knowledge that this hashtag was specifically developed as a mechanism to facilitate discussions and organizing.

In practice, this stratification played out in the content of tweet narratives and how tweets were used. For example, media stories on keyword catcall* were frequently retweeted without any user commentary, whereas on #EndSH the vast majority of media shares also included some analysis from the user directly in the tweet (the feature to add text to a retweet was not yet operational during this study period). The types of media stories shared were different, too. On keyword #EndSH, users appeared to share media content in an effort to build awareness about street harassment, analyze the issues, and pass around resources. In terms of movement activity, tweets sharing media created momentum around issues, and within the Moyer model added to the Ripening Conditions stage by adding more evidence of the severity of the problem. Additionally, media momentum in sharing the Hollaback! video or the Mary Spears story helped lead into the next stage of the Moyer model, Take Off, by drawing attention to trigger events that put the issue of street harassment in the public eye.

Theme Three: Role of Emotion

The third theme across all subunits was the Role of Emotion. Each keyword contained tweets from women that reflected emotions such as fear, anger, frustration, annoyance, and more. The presence of emotion-driven tweets should not be underplayed. Feeling fear or anger during or after a harassment incident is expected, but making the decision to name or share these feelings publicly on Twitter is a precursor to something more — it's a moment of activation for the individual. In this study, there are many tweet narratives that show emotions transforming

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from an internal feeling to a written response in virtual public space, or from a verbal response to

a harasser to an action. The Role of Emotion theme is integral to anti-harassment movement

building. Emotional responses to harassment drove grassroots opposition, calls for changes in the

status quo, and added to the awareness that street harassment is a serious problem with

widespread consequences for women. With regard to the Moyer model, the Role of Emotion was

an essential piece that contributed to the stages of Ripening Conditions and Take Off.

Theme Four: Taking Action

Across the collection of tweets, Twitter was used to take action on-line and on-the-

ground, which manifested in several ways: posting stories, sharing strategies, offering resources,

spreading the word about events, and calling folks into conversations. Deciding to tweet

experiences was a common and low-risk form of taking action. Although there is always a risk in

posting to Twitter, particularly about issues related to women, harassment, and/or violence,

making the choice to use Twitter to share the incident with the public was a way to claim ones

own experience, and to offer the incident up to the eyes of a network far beyond the reach of

ones immediate friends. Indeed, many people used the platform to share their own stories and to

support others through favoriting tweets and retweeting narratives. On hashtag #EndSH,

tweeting the experiences of others from the accounts of anti-harassment organizations was a

form of on-line action that drew the support of followers, raised awareness of the issue within the

Twittersphere, and worked to validate experiences with harassment.

Another form of action found across the tweets was strategy sharing. For instance, people

posted about their responses to harassers, clever ideas for addressing harassment in the moment,

and bystander approaches for intervening when they saw harassment occurring. Narratives often

described specific interventions taken to disrupt a harassment incidents, or shared information about new or ongoing anti-harassment projects and campaigns. Additionally, public recognition of anti-harassment actions from organizations, celebrities, or popular users via Twitter helps build and maintain forward momentum. Although it was rare to see direct organizing in tweet narratives on keyword catcall*, tweets did reflect the will for significant action to occur. For instance, in response to a series of harassment incidents, one person tweeted "someone, somewhere, please do *something*." Additionally, unique to the #YouOkSis hashtag were tweets calling for action such as folks looking out for each other. Often these tweets focused on the role of men in helping put an end to street harassment.

Theme Five: Virtual Harassment

The fifth theme across the subunits reflects the presence of virtual harassment within the collected tweets. Increasingly the virtual world is also a gendered space that mirrors the level of fear and safety concern present for women in physical public spaces. In this sense, women now lack equitable access to both physical and virtual public spaces. Virtual harassment was present across all subunits, whether in the form of aggressive pushback to the idea of street harassment, name calling directed at women in general, and in some cases abusive comments aimed at specific users posting about their experiences with harassment.

As with many topics related to feminism on Twitter, people trolled hashtags related to street harassment. Specific examples of virtual harassment include claims of free speech

followed by inappropriate comments, using derogatory language and gender-based slurs like slut

or cunt, and taking it one step further, ongoing patterns of trolls using derogatory language and

slurs that created an unsafe virtual environment. Harassment in virtual public space is a serious

problem on Twitter and online in general, and Women's Action Media (WAM!) began a

campaign in 2014 to collect abusive tweets and report online harassers. Unfortunately, it was

difficult to trace responses to harassing or offensive tweets in this research unless the reply also

included one of the keywords or hashtags in this study.

8.2 Media Analysis and Tweet Peaks

In addition to the tweets, media related to street harassment was collected and analyzed

during the study period. Media included news stories, blog postings, videos, and more about

street harassment, and were gathered using google alerts, which compiles related content based

on submitted keywords. Analyzing media served several purposes. First, analysis demonstrated

the extent to which mainstream media momentum around the issue of street harassment built

during the study period, from television features or major news networks and popular shows to

articles in major newspapers and magazines. The below timeline shows the top media events that

occurred during the study period, based on which stories appeared most within the tweet

collection. For instance, Jessica Williams focusing her *Daily Show* segments on street

harassment, the *10 Days Walking as a Woman in New York* video from Hollaback!!, and the

murder of Mary Spears in Detroit.

Figure 8.1 Major media stories during study period
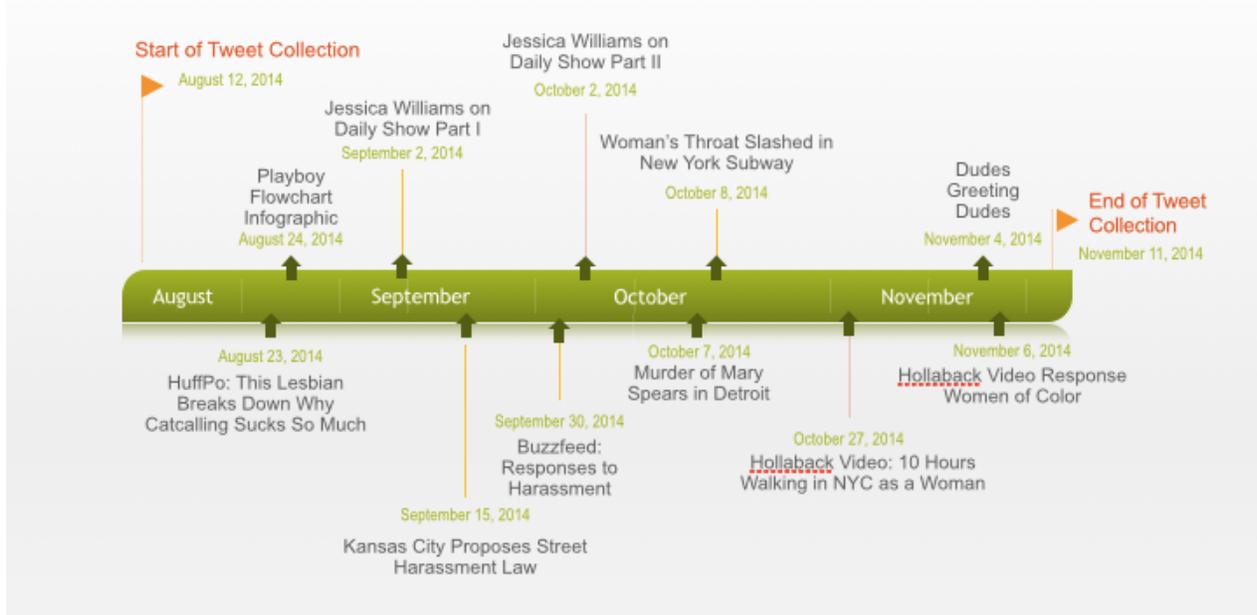
Second, analyzing media showed the breadth of media coverage related to street harassment, from major news sources to personal blogs, from YouTube clips to high quality parody videos. Lastly, the listing of media items provided a set series of dates within which to analyze tweet patterns over time. In this analysis, tweets were mapped over the study period to show peaks in activity between August and November. Media items and events from that time period were analyzed to determine the main drivers of media sharing tweets. Based on the timeline above, tweet activity about street harassment peaked with the release of the *Playboy* infographic, with both street harassment segments from Jessica Williams on *The Daily Show*, and with the first release of the Hollaback!! *10 Hours Walking as a Woman in New York* Video. Usage peaked in early November with the combination of a second surge in popularity of the Hollaback!! video, coupled with critiques, copycat videos (e.g. 10 Hours Walking as a Woman in Auckland), and parodies including Dudes Greeting Dudes.

8.2 Tweet peaks during study period
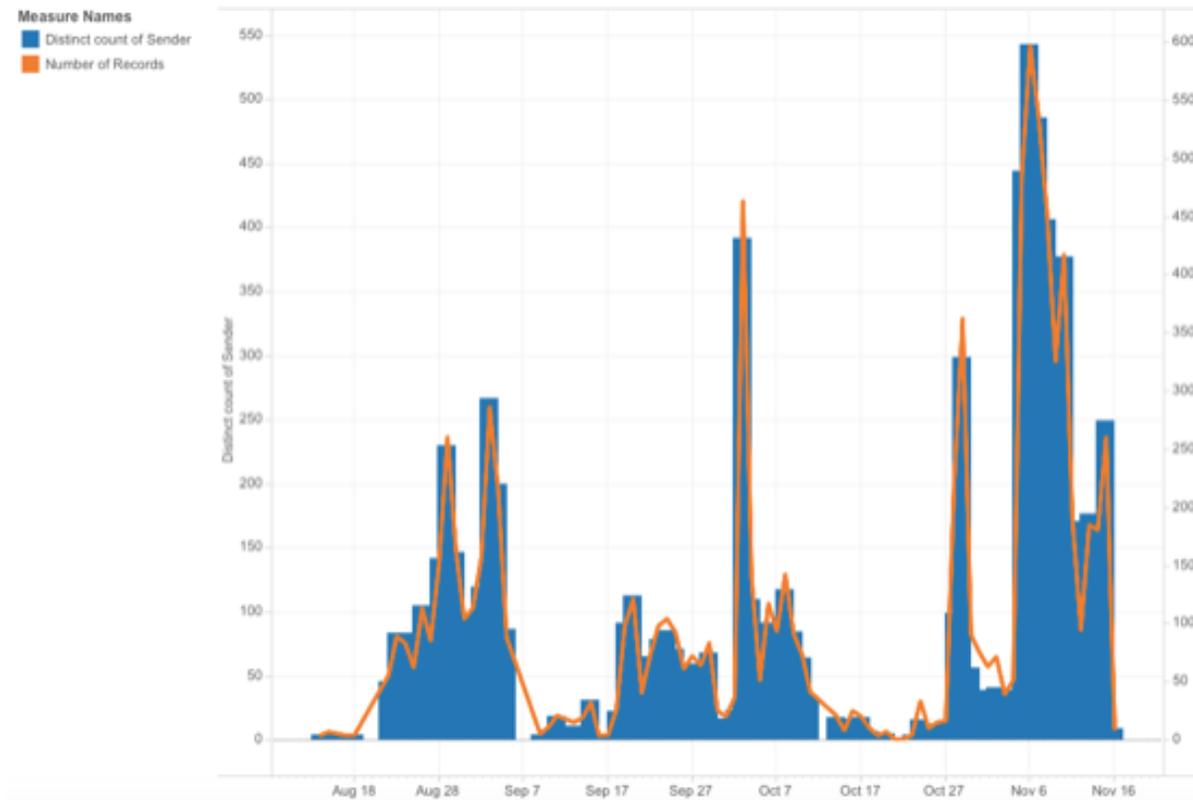
8.3 Code Cloud Analysis

Analysis of the coding cloud produced through ATLAS.ti was used to as an additional

means of verifying major themes. After all coding was completed the code cloud feature was

engaged to visualize how tweets were organized by code. The cloud is a visual representation

that shows codes in varying font sizes to denote the frequency of their use. Based on the code

font size a stratification system occurs, with codes most often used appearing in the largest font

size, and the codes least often used in the smallest size. This analysis also provided additional

data to inform decisions about how to extend the existing Evans-Cowley & Griffin tweet

categorization model.

8.3 Code cloud from ATLAS.ti

Level 1: Sharing Media

By far the the most popular code used in this research denoted the sharing of media, which is aligned with the other findings in this study. This action is distinct from the Evans-Cowley & Griffin category of sharing, which is aligned more closely to sharing ones thoughts, ideas and commentary. In contrast, this action is intended specifically to circulate media images, videos, or articles, and thus expands the reach of on-line media platforms. In some cases there may be some overlap in tweets, for instance when someone offers commentary in the tweet text that includes a link to media; however, media shares deserve their own recognition as a category, especially as a small act of activism.

Level 2: Getting Personal

Based on the code cloud, the second level of coding frequency included two separate categories. First, tweet narratives drawn from everyday experiences with street harassment in public space; and second, tweets related to *Dudes Greeting Dudes.* Although the latter can also be attributed to sharing media, it also indicates the popularity of the concept, both as that a parody video, and as a hashtag #DudesGreetingDudes. The use of the hashtag among users increased during the last two weeks of this study, and when combined with the popular parody

video was enough to push this topic into the top coding levels. The presence of tweet narratives relaying personal experiences supports the findings found through analyzing the keyword subunits.

Level 3: Critiques

The third level of coding frequency included a variety of critiques, which echo the findings of the subunit analyses. For instance, this tier included the code *compliment*, which included arguments for why harassment isn't a compliment, revealed the frequency with which critiques to the Hollaback!! video appeared, and included references to the experiences of Women of Color (largely noted through the presence of the #YouOKSis hashtag). The code New Zealand also appeared in this tier, and refers to a video that replicated the *10 Hours Walking as a Woman in NYC* footage in Auckland. Additionally, this tier included codes noting the presence of on-line harassment or tweets supporting Men's Rights. Men's Rights Activists (MRAs) should not be confused as the counterpart to women's rights activists. MRAs are widely recognized as supporting a platform in which women are viewed as encroaching on men's power, and where men are entitled to attention from women. When women appear strong, in charge, or deny men, MRAs support insulting, hurting, or even killing women.

Chapter Nine: Summary and Recommendations

"One thing I've been thinking about this past week is the unique challenges women face in the virtual world… Every day, women of all ages and all backgrounds and walks of life are speaking out. And by you telling your stories, women are lifting others out of the shadows and raising our collective consciousness about a problem that affects all of us."   - President Barack Obama

At the time of this writing, President Obama had recently given a speech at the popular music, film, and technology festival South By Southwest (SXSW) about the Internet as a public space, shining a national spotlight on some of the issues named in this dissertation. During SXSW an Online Harassment Summit focused on the economics of online harassment and the range of bullying and sexualized harassment targeting women. The online harassment programming was organized in response to a fall announcement that SXSW planned to cancel two panels about online harassment after receiving security threats. In his comments the President noted that "women have every right to exist freely and safely" without fear of harassment or violent responses of any kind, and he blasted the ongoing and aggressive anti-women harassment and bullying occurring in virtual public spaces such as Twitter, gaming sites, and more. Although the President's recognition of online harassment as an issue facing women is significant, it also signals the extent to which conversations about harassment have evolved during the course of this study.

This study started as research designed to better understand experiences with street harassment, to examine connections between online and on-the-ground spaces, and to understand how social media was used to share information, strategies, and fuel resistance. However, while the research questions guiding this project were answered, new questions have emerged and the findings indicate that harassment in the virtual world echoes the harassment facing women on

city streets. By examining tweets this research looks at public space as including both the physical space of cities and the virtual spaces in which women experience harassment on-line. Whether in physical or virtual space, this research shows there is no set safe space for women, and lack of safety has become the default setting within which women experience both physical and virtual space.

In this dissertation I could easily have stopped short of providing a critical analysis by simply quantifying or mapping street harassment incidents, and using women as a demographic category of analysis. However, this topic not only lends to, but demands feminist-driven analysis. Incidents of street harassment are expressions of power over those who are targeted, and research conducted with a blind eye to those power dynamics sidesteps the chance to hear the stories of women, and see the collective fruits of their resistance. By framing this dissertation as piece of feminist-driven planning research, I view my research as inherently political, going beyond acknowledging the presence of street harassment to recognizing the agency and power of those who respond and resist. This research adds to the history of women's resistance in public space, as well as to the slowly growing feminist-driven literature within the planning cannon.

Although it's common for research to include analysis that reflects women as a demographic category, feminist and gender-based critiques are often absent from studies, leaving gaps for applying such perspectives to planning scholarship. The causes of injustice based on sex and gender are wide ranging and far reaching, signaling the need for scholars, city officials, organizers, and community members to find new approaches to increasing equal access to, and safety within, the gendered city. In this study I positioned street harassment as both a public form of violence against women, and as a proxy for deeper discussions about gender-based violence.

9.1 Summary of Findings

Through this research tweet analysis has produced a clearer picture about how virtual platforms such as Twitter are used to share experiences with street harassment, answering the first research question. Twitter users engaged in a variety of posts, including turning to the virtual platform to note details of incidents with harassers, to share media stories related to harassment, and to offer general comments about harassment. However, the research shows that harassment related tweets go far beyond simply sharing or documenting incidents in physical public space. Tweets demonstrated that people use Twitter to access virtual public space as a place to reflect, to vent, to express emotions, to analyze, to process, to strategize, and to be heard. Often Twitter was used as a place to acknowledge fear, as a sounding board for frustrated city dwellers, to work through the violation and violence of being harassed, and as a platform for relaying disbelief at the wide-ranging and sometimes horrifying daily experiences with street harassers.

Beyond considering Twitter's use as a social media platform, the second research question inquired about tweets as virtual micro-narratives asking what they tell us about experiences with harassment. In answering this question, tweets were analyzed as micro-narratives meaning that their content was viewed as providing unsolicited individual stories and counter-narratives from the daily lives of those experiencing harassment. Analyzing the tweets also revealed a stratification of harassment awareness and action based on the keywords and hashtags used. For example, the term catcall and variations of the word catcall (catcalled, catcalls) were widely used; however, the phrase street harassment took on a more official tone and indicated knowledge of naming specific activities as harassment. Likewise, the hashtag #EndSH, used by the organization Stop Street Harassment, helped facilitate movement activity

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by the organization, while the hashtag #YouOkSis emerged as a means to build solidarity among Black women through sharing experiences with street harassment and strategies for resistance.

The stratification of awareness and action by keyword and hashtag also led to some answers regarding the next the research question about how virtual platforms are used to build movements. To answer this question I used the Moyer stages of movement building to guide my analysis, and located movement activity at each of the first four stages: 1) normal times, 2) proving the failure of institutions, 3) ripening conditions, 3.5) an in-between transition stemming from trigger events, and 4) social movement take-off. The transition from ripening conditions to social movement take-off is characterized by a trigger event, and in this case the trigger event manifested as a time period beginning in the fall of 2014 during which several news stories and online media culminated in an event to help movement activity take off. In this sense, anti-harassment actions have not yet achieved social movement status on their own; however, as public awareness builds and the majority of the public begins recognizing street harassment as a problem to address, then the collective actions of individuals and organizations may produce a successful movement.

An important finding based on analyzing the stratification of keywords and hashtags in conjunction with the Moyer stages of movement building was learning the types of organizing and action found within each level. For example, the lack of organizing and the limited calls to action on catcall* was in stark comparison to the high level of activity found on the #YouOkSis tag. Based on the history of the #YouOkSis hashtag, it is fair to conclude that it was both started by and driven by individuals who were ready to acknowledge street harassment and take action, and that many using the hashtag already spoke the language of activism and movement building.

Although there were moments of naming behavior and pointing to structural factors on the keyword catcall*, the vast majority of narratives on this keyword were about harassment incidents themselves as opposed to developing next steps to resist and organize. Most frequently this keyword hosted tweets at the first levels of the Moyer stages such as moving from normal times to noting a failure of institutions to acknowledge or address harassment.

Tweets posted by individuals and organizations signal decisions to respond to street harassment. Collectively during the study period this resistance contributed to struggles against gender-based violence in public space and increased pressure for shifts in policy. For instance, anti-harassment organizations used Twitter as a mechanism to spread the word about projects and to engage individuals. In the Northeast organizations were successful in building momentum to launch public transportation campaigns aimed at reducing harassment. In this example tweets were used both to directly contact local policy makers to gain support, and to draw attention to the successes as the campaign launched. In another example, many individuals used a different strategy: tweeting directly to news outlets and celebrities, making the decision to speak back and speak out about street harassment.

Examining tweets as narratives also helped answer questions about movement building by showing whether the tweet had an individual or systemic/structural focus. This is particularly important for understanding what role virtual public space is playing in movement building because a focus on individual actions and concerns alone is not enough to constitute movement activity. Indeed, it is organized activism which produces movement momentum. Analysis of the tweets in this research indicates that anti-street harassment movement activity is driven by media stories, artists, and in particular the leaders of established anti-harassment organizations, whose

work is then fueled and supported through momentum built by individuals. This lends itself to the idea that while the personal is political, political change is organized. For the vast majority of users tweeting about street harassment, Twitter served as a way to momentarily contribute to the momentum, whether intentional (including specific hashtags) or unintentional (sharing stories that builds spread of awareness).

Next, the research questions turned to where virtual action fits within broader histories of women's movement in public space. With regard to where this virtual movement fits within the broader history of women's resistance in public space, virtual public spaces are a new kind of public where continuing dialogue on street harassment can happen at any moment, regardless of face-to-face interaction or agreed upon meeting times. However, it is a mistake to believe that virtual movement building replaces the need for on-the-ground organizing. Although technology has increased the speed at which organizing occurs, and the reach of who is touched by messages, we don't yet live in a world completely devoid of physical action, physical communication, and in-person contact. Instead, it has become necessary to acknowledge that movement activities are happening simultaneously in dual spaces: virtual and physical.

Finally, the last research question looked to the future, asking how scholars, practitioners, and organizer can use social media. Planners are still exploring how to use Twitter for research, and this study offers an example of how Twitter is 1) a portal into the lived experiences of urban dwellers, 2) a space of resistance and organizing in the virtual world, and 3) a virtual space for learning more about physical space. Twitter and other social media sites make it easier than ever to include previously unheard perspectives, and this study is an example of how qualitative methods can be used for analyzing such data.

With regard to Twitter-based research this study adds to the existing typology for organizing tweets by Evans-Cowley and Griffin. Applying the three categories of sharing, engaging, and analyzing was helpful for quickly assessing how Twitter was used around the issue of street harassment, and it was important to test this existing typology that was developed within the field of urban planning. However, this analysis also revealed that there is room to expand on this typology. Findings revealed the necessity of additional categories that account for the role of power, and categories that acknowledge organizing, resistance, or calling for action. Additionally, given the frequency of using Twitter to share media, this merits its own designation different from sharing opinions or other information. Future categories should also reflect the abuse seen from virtual harassers, which is a specific element beyond the category of engaging.

For practitioners this study presents another way in which cities can engage social media, learn about communities, and use Twitter in ways that allow them to hear the voices of residents. In other words, this study offers a way for planners to turn to Twitter not only to share information with citizens, but to focus on listening to community concerns. Twitter provides an endless stream of opinions and information that can give researchers, planners, organizers, and activists a finger on the pulse regarding public sentiments on community and national level issues.

9.2 Research Implications

Beyond answering the research questions, the topic and approach to this study lends itself to additional implications for specific audiences including, but not limited to, women in public spaces, feminist scholars, social media researchers, anti-harassment organizers, and even youth in cities.

Women in Public Spaces

Street harassment is a form of violence against women, resulting in public spaces that are unsafe for women. Online harassment, too, constitutes violence against women, producing virtual spaces that are unsafe for women. Tovi Fenster warns against assuming the public sphere to be neutral, free from power relations, and argues that patriarchal forces continue to dictate the experiences of women in cities. This is especially true as the public extends to the virtual realm, where patriarchal forces are apparent though harassment in the physical space of cities and harassment online, often cloaked in the anonymity of a computer screen.

Although the national conversation about street harassment continues growing, as practitioners, researchers, and organizers must as always be careful to avoid reducing the day to day lives of all women to a single experience. In this study, the #YouOkSis hashtag was developed to address this issue, creating a space for specifically focusing on the experiences of Black women. However, folks must be attuned to differences in experiences and the role of intersecting systems of advantage, whether or not there's a keyword or hashtag for this purpose. Future research must address differences among women who identify as LGBTQ, transgender women in particular, and men who experience street harassment, as well as the intersecting systems of oppression that affect the experiences of women in public space.

Feminist Scholars

The causes of injustice based on gender are wide ranging and far reaching, signaling the need for researchers, city officials, and community organizers to find new approaches for increasing equal access and safety within the city. For planning scholars this means working toward developing feminist planning practices, meaning that planners will need to be educated in

feminist theory. Beyond this knowledge, planners need spaces for exploring how feminist theory and planning theory can come together to produce new theories of *feminist planning*. Without specific theories to guide feminist planning practice, there may not be enough to distinguish planning from feminist planning other than the word feminist.

Additionally, although this study has focused on the experiences of women in public spaces and their harassment by men, future research should focus on the experiences of genderqueer folks to develop a more complete understanding of how harassment is an exercise of power by those who hold dominant positions in society. In this study systems of oppression such as sexism and racism are analyzed; however, focusing research on heterosexism or cisgenderism can reveal the multiple ways in which power manifests in public, and the many groups of people who are subjected to gender-based harassment.

Social Media Researchers

This study has shown that Twitter is a useful tool for research and that there is ample room for developing new social media research methods and methodologies. As social media continues evolving over time, scholars must keep up by developing new approaches to incorporate virtual platforms in research, and by learning new technologies as they are adopted by community members. At the start of this study, the major social media platforms included Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Pinterest. Today, although conversations remain on the major social media sites, new platforms have emerged and younger urban dwellers are increasingly drawn to the temporary nature of posting to Snapchat, or the live streaming features of Periscope. Learning new platforms means being able to hear from community members, and especially younger people, through more available channels.

Social media and digital technology in general offers researchers and practitioners a unique chance to acknowledge, understand, and respond to those who share their experiences via virtual public spaces. When applied to street harassment, this also raises questions about whose street harassment experiences are still missing from the virtual realm. When approaching social media research, it is necessary to recognize the number of people who are not on Twitter, those who choose not to share their experiences, those who are not internet savvy, and those who lack access to the internet. This also raises questions about the experiences that *are* heard through virtual public spaces. In that sense, the potential for missing voices seems to add to the urgency.

Youth in Cities

Perhaps most disturbing in these research findings was the revelation that youth are routinely subjected to street harassment at a young age, whether in their neighborhoods, on their way to and from school, or while on their school grounds. Tweets from young women detailed frightening scenarios of being harassed by older men, and tweets from adults relayed conversations with teens and preteens about their experiences with street harassment. As research in this area continues, studies will need to focus explicitly on the experiences of youth in cities, how they deal with and make sense of street harassment, and how they resist. In particular, street harassment needs to be included in safe streets initiatives and programs that are designed to support safe transportation to and from school. Additionally, future studies should examine the harassment students report experiencing at school.

9.3 Recommendations for Planning

As a discipline planners are tasked with assessing urban problems and moving toward workable solutions. Planners are also tasked with being equitable, and therefore as researchers

and practitioners this is a call to address an issue that affects more than 50% of our population and reduces access to the city on a daily basis. Applying critical lenses and understanding intersecting systems of oppression is a must as we continue working to uncover the roots gender-based spatial injustices such as street harassment and work to end harassment in public. Additionally, strengthening the relationship between activism, organizers, and the planning discipline can create more opportunities for research to support resistance efforts that are already underway by existing organizations, community groups, and and individuals.

One key implication for planning is that Twitter may be a tool for bringing people back into community development and community building. With Twitter cities and organizers have a chance to hear from people even when they aren't asking the questions. In this sense, research questions can truly be formulated from the ground up. What are people saying without prompting? What are they putting out for the world, without considering what you might ask? Are there patterns and trends among tweets around a certain issue or project? Although very few tweets are geotagged, this shouldn't stop planners from paying attention to locally developed hashtags, engaging with self-identified residents, and keeping up with the Twitter accounts of community organizations. Additionally, it is easy to use Twitter's list function to create a list of Twitter users who tweet about the area, city, or issue that needs studying.

9.4 Feminism, Planning, and the Future of Virtual Public Space

This study grew out of my childhood experiences with street harassment, gained momentum from watching women share and process harassment incidents on Twitter, and was completed thanks to research advisors who saw the value in supporting my work to use qualitative, feminist approaches to social media research. Given the limited amount of research

about street harassment, particularly within the planning literature, I hope this study creates a sense of urgency around the issue that mirrors the urgency felt by women across the country every day as they navigate the gendered public spaces of cities. Although the future of virtual public spaces is unknown this study revealed the potential for Twitter to serve as a mechanism for sharing, amplifying, and processing experiences had in physical public spaces, giving planners the ability to use social media to better understand complex urban issues. Virtual public spaces can be sites for resistance and liberation, and there is ample evidence of organizers using the virtual realm for activism and movement building. As evolving technology continues encouraging us to cross the border between the physical and the virtual, now is the time for planners to do the same — a world of virtual public space awaits.

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