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MA: Gender, Sexuality & Culture

MY NAME IS NOT 'HEY BABY': EXPERIENCING GENDER IN PUBLIC SPACES

How do women narrate their experience of gendered harassment in public spaces?

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DECLARATION

I certify that the work submitted herewith is my own and that I have duly acknowledged any quotation

from the published or unpublished work of other persons.

Signature of Candidate:

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study examines the narratives that politically aware women have shared about their experience of gendered harassment in public spaces. It explores the notion that there is a safe space on social media where women contribute their voices to a metanarrative of the harassment that women face by simply being in public, such as the Hollaback London website. Taking a mixed methods approach it analyses women's narratives to ascertain key trends in the emotions that women express in the telling of their stories. It investigates whether there is an overarching expression of anger in women's narratives and whether the way in which women write about their harassment can be ascribed to the negative societal archetypes of 'emotional women' or the 'angry feminist'.

INTRODUCTION

In a 1975 televised interview Simone de Beauvoir stated that for women 'walking down the street can be an ordeal after 8 or 9 at night, or even during the day…Men will follow her, bother her…He doesn't realise what a weight it is for a woman to always feel like she's in danger' (Interviewed by Jean-Louis Servan-Schreiber, *Questionnaire*). The idea of women experiencing public space through emotion was the starting point for this research. Guided by Sara Ahmed's formative text, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, this dissertation will argue that Ahmed's insights about emotion offer a useful paradigm for women's exploration of their experience of gendered harassment in public space through narrative as a form of self-expression. It considers how women use written narratives to transform their personal experiences into the political (Hanisch, 1970; Papacharissi, 2015). This research responds to and builds on a body of work (Gardner, 1995; Plummer, 1994) that interrogates the narrative as a form and feminist communities that provide the setting for them. It also contributes to the body of work on feminism, activism and women's voices (Bates, 2014; Gray, 2014; MacKinnon, 2005). Using a mixed method approach has allowed the research to consist of two studies, the first is a textual analysis of women's narratives, the second a close narrative reading of two narratives that indicate a heightened presence or absence of anger. I have used both quantitative and qualitative methods in both analyses of twenty-five narratives identifying key emotion category trends, and of two narratives which I have singled out as examples of the presence and absence of anger. The data sample was sourced from the Hollaback London website (http://ldn.ihollaback.org/) and is therefore already in the public domain, meaning there is no issue of consent (Cameron and Panovic, 2014). The narratives appear on the website under usernames created by their authors instead of their real names. There is an intentional focus on the use of anger in the data sample, which has really stood out as significant to pursue both from the data results and from the initial reading for the literature search. The two main aims of this research are: to catalogue the words women used to describe their experiences; and secondly to analyse and interpret how women use emotion to narrate their accounts of gendered harassment in public spaces.

The dissertation is comprised of five chapters, the first of which is this introduction. Existing research on gendered harassment, public spaces, women's communities and shared narratives is reviewed in Chapter Two. This chapter also discusses the idea of categorising women as emotional or angry feminists. Chapter Three introduces the methodological framework that was used to conduct research on the connection between narrative and expressions of emotion. Chapter Four contains an analysis of the research that was developed following the initial quantitative analysis findings, to consider the types of emotion that are expressed in women's narratives of gendered harassment. It concludes with a presentation of the findings of the textual analysis, exploring the types of key emotions that were expressed. Chapter Five situates the empirical findings within the context of the 'angry feminist' concept of Chapter Two. It reviews the findings with reference to the research aims. Finally it suggests further avenues of research on the ways that women share their experiences of gendered harassment in public spaces through online activist networks.

Throughout this dissertation researching has been problematic at times because there is no cohesive theoretical framework of gendered harassment. It has been called many things such as street harassment, catcalling, sexual terrorism, sexual violence, or stranger harassment, to name just a few. Therefore I have employed the term *gendered harassment* to refer to how there is a gendered prejudice towards women that is part of a continuum of violence that shapes women's lives (Bates, 2014). This is my own terminology to highlight the prevalence of harassment that women experience as a part of their daily lives. It is important to state here that in basing this research on women's experiences is not to imply that only women are harassed, or that only men are the harassers. At times society has romanticised the harassment that women experience from men, so much so that there has been little research on the subject (Gardner, 1995); this is something that I am seeking to correct in a small way by completing this dissertation.

CHAPTER ONE - LITERATURE REVIEW

The first section of this chapter details what I mean by gendered harassment in public spaces. This is followed by an exploration of the connection between activist communities and the feminist politicisation of women's gendered harassment in these public spaces as part of the discussion on the continuum of male sexual violence (Gardner, 1995). I discuss the nature of community and how modern technology and in particular social media has facilitated the expansion of communities for women. I argue that the Hollaback London webpage is a feminist online community that provides a safe space for women to share their stories. I detail how this intangible community space hosts a metanarrative of women's experiences of their gendered harassment in public spaces. The third section examines the ways that women have been defined as 'emotional women' or 'angry feminists' when they have shared their personal and political stories, in order to undermine their testimonies (MacKinnon, 2005). This chapter concludes with a summary of the exploration of the literature through focussing on representations of women's emotions.

Gendered harassment and public spaces

In this section I discuss gendered harassment with reference to activist Holly Kearl's definition: '[it] constitutes unwelcome words and actions by men in public places that invade the physical and emotional space of unknown women in a disrespectful, creepy, startling, scary, or insulting way' (2015, pp. 6–7). This definition is pertinent as it does not 'couch the injury in euphemism' (Laniya, 2005, p. 100), and considers how these 'unsought male intrusions' can be directed at women's 'feelings, thoughts, behaviours, space, time, energies and bodies' (Wise and Stanley, 1987, p. 71)**.** Philip Hancock et al., state that women's bodies which are often the focus of their harassment are 'recognised as a contested terrain on which struggles over control and resistance are fought out' (2000, p. 1)**.** This objectification of women's bodies is 'deeply rooted in phallocentric hegemony' (Laniya, 2005, p. 100) which places women as the object of the male gaze, which constantly reminds women of the 'ever present relevance of their gender' (Gardner, 1995, p. 9). Simone de Beauvoir

suggests that women's bodies 'provide the inert and passive qualities of an object' (1949, p. 181); evidence of this can be found in the language that is often used to sexualise women in public spaces. Women live through the vulnerability of their bodies, which paradoxically is both the subject and object of the male gaze. Through the experience of men's intrusion women live through the anticipation that their bodies can be injured (Ahmed, 2004).

There have been few studies of women's responses to harassment in public spaces and its emotional effects on them since 'the first outpouring of rage in the late 60s and early 70s' (di Leonardo, 1981, p. 51). This gap in research on women's narratives of their harassment could be related to the way that public spaces such as the street, the park, and public transportation (Laniya, 2005) are used as transitory and are contextually based on people's presence and behaviour in them (Gardner, 1995). Cynthia Bowman (1993) states that instances of gendered harassment are typically perpetrated by strangers, which makes collecting data on and researching the way that women describe their experiences of 'threatening or violent male behaviour' (Stanko, 1985, p. 19) and the intrusion into their personal space rather problematic (Thompson, 1994). Di Leonardo states that 'through looks, words, or gestures the man asserts his right to intrude on the woman's attention, defining her as a sexual object, and forcing her to interact with him' (1981, p. 52). These instances of gendered harassment serve to remind women of the 'ever present relevance of their gender' (Gardner, 1995, p. 9); this interruption into women's daily lives gives the impression that 'the victim is equal to an can be compared with all other women' (Gardner, 1995, pp. 17–18).

Laura Bates, founder of the Everyday Sexism Project, discusses the normalisation of gendered harassment and that it happens 'so frequently that many women report it simply becoming a part of their daily experience' (2014, p. 158). Women's experience of gendered harassment in public spaces is part of a continuum of male violence (Bates, 2014) that dehumanises women (Laniya, 2005) as mere sexual objects. Holly Kearl states that women have 'changed their commutes or their clothes in hopes of escaping harassment' (2010, p. xi). Plummer contends that there is a 'general climate of *sexual fear*'

(1994, p. 77, emphasis in the original) where women fear the harassment escalating further to physical assault or rape (Gardner, 1995). This fear limits women's safe movement through public spaces (Logan, 2015), forcing women to 'negotiate the terms and conditions upon which they may enter these spheres' (Laniya, 2005, p. 107). Ahmed states that women's safety means 'not inhabiting public space or, more accurately, of not moving through that space alone'. Stanko states that women learn to 'internalise and silence many of their experiences of sexual and/or physical intimidation and violation' (1985, p. 17) which means that women's responses to the injustice of feeling unsafe in public space have not been well documented. In order to act against this oppressive silence feminist groups engage with narrative practices, which enables women's voices to be heard.

Women's communities and shared narratives

The women's liberation movement in the 1970s and some of the 1980s was comprised of groups of women working together to politicise relevant social and gender issues, to raise awareness in society and to petition for political change (Laniya, 2005). A tradition of women's storytelling 'took shape within civil rights movements…through its speak-outs and consciousness-raising' (MacKinnon, 2005, p. 59). Women gathered together to discuss social injustices and to share stories of their experiences. Women were able to express their emotions in an environment of 'support, belief, safety' (Sen, 1999, p. 82); they were listened to and supported by other women, who became their community. Plummer states that the culture of women's groups was a chance to 'clear out your head; uncork and redirect your anger' (1994, p. 57, citing Tanner, Leslie B., *Voices from Women's Liberation,* 1970). These feminist groups 'shared political commitments, and provid[ed] a forum for the exchange of ideas'; they were significant for women who wanted to be part of 'feminist analysis and political debate' (Cameron and Scanlon, 2010, p. 4). These sometimes radical feminist groups highlighted the 'tension between men's power and women's resistance' to it (Cameron and Scanlon, 2010, p. 7).

Plummer states that sharing narratives of personal experiences 'make a difference: a difference to our lives, our communities, our cultures, our politics' (1994, p. 16). Bates echoes this idea of making a

difference in her book *Everyday Sexism*, stating that women who share their stories become 'part of a collective experience' that comes with a 'sense of solidarity' because they are 'no longer alone' (2014, p. 173). The Hollaback London activist group inspires women to share an account of their experience in order to regain the 'power that's lost in the moment of harassment' (Ldn.ihollaback.org, 2016). Women lose power over their experience and ownership of their bodies when they are verbally assaulted and harassed by men in public spaces (Bates, 2014). Carly Guest states that **'**narrative practices unite the personal and the political by offering insight into the personal moments that forge a political movement' (2013, p. 41). The highly personal and sometimes traumatic narratives of women's harassment, then, are shared in a supportive and political environment, amongst other women who 'know (and share) your anger' (Ldn.ihollaback.org, 2016). This statement on the Hollaback London website informs women before they have even written their first word that their voices will be heard, by a strong feminist community where women can express themselves freely and as emotionally as they feel they need to be. This supports Penny Summerfield's suggestion that women share narratives of their experience 'in the hope of eliciting recognition and affirmation from [their] audience' (2004, p. 69). In his book *Telling Sexual Stories*, Plummer introduces the concept that storytelling is powerful, and that there is a strong connection between expressions of emotions and empowerment. Plummer goes on to state that over the past twenty years women's narratives have 'become more visible and public as rape victims and other survivors speak out about their powerlessness on a public stage' (1994, p. 154). He reinforces the connection between feminist inspired 'cultures of resistance' (1994, p. 76) and sharing narratives as a 'means for many women to identify what has happened' (1994, pp. 75–6). The alternative has been for women to remain silent as a 'way for the powerless to cope' (1985, p. 19); to avoid the potentially negative reactions of disbelief, accusation and blame for men's behaviour (Stanko, 1985).

The narratives that women write are the evidence of their experiences (MacKinnon, 2005; Scott, 1991); as such women's shared narratives contribute to a metanarrative of male sexual violence which has helped to legitimise gendered harassment as an issue. The effect of these kinds of narratives

establishes women in public spaces as the object of unwanted attention (Kearl, 2010). Women's narratives convey authenticity and presents a challenging and political statement (Papacharissi, 2015; Scott, 1991); the statement challenges gendered harassment as a normalised experience. Feminist collectives have rallied around the injustice of gendered harassment and the objectification of women, who experience public spaces through men's sexualisation of their bodies (Cameron and Scanlon, 2010). Laniya states that 'such astonishing encounters occur in the daily lives of women throughout the world' (2005, p. 92); social media is used a platform to bring these types of injustices to the forefront of political awareness (Laniya, 2005). The Hollaback London website is a platform that enables 'expression and information sharing that liberate the individual' (Papacharissi, 2015, pp. 8–9). Women who share their narratives on this website make their intimate experiences visible (Scott, 1991) as part of what Plummer describes as 'the ceaseless narrating of life' (1994, p. 4). These narratives, once visible in the public domain, form a part of the metanarrative of women's experiences in public spaces. When women write about their own experiences, they are engaging with a vast well of emotion that women everywhere have expressed online. Hollaback London is just one community of women that, along with Everyday Sexism, Stop Street Harassment, and the End Violence Against Women Coalition, creates a space where women can express themselves knowing that they will be believed, listened to and supported. The feminist collective is a sanctuary to many women and the idea of a unified feminist voice is repeated in the way that Hollaback London welcomes and supports women. The personal narratives that women write and share have a nostalgic connection with the women who were part of second-wave feminist activism. These political women were the context in which women's narratives were shared in women's liberation groups, feminist periodicals such as Spare Rib, and Take Back the Night marches which campaigned for safe public space for women (Logan, 2015). All are 'safe spaces' for women to have their experience heard by women in a politically aware and supportive environment.

Activist groups like Hollaback London are part of a broad 'new kind of community of support – one that is not based on locale, or any kind of direct face to face contact, but based on media' (Plummer,

1994, p. 45). Kearl states that awareness of gendered harassment as an issue has increased to include social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube which are 'flooded with stories, images, songs, and campaign ideas' (2010, p. xvi). Fiona V. Gray states that there is a growing use of social media communities to 'share experiences' which helps to 'validate women's individual concerns' (2014, p. 24). Women can sit in the safety of their own home and via a laptop, or a phone app on their way to work, can safely share their experiences. There is also a level of anonymity involved that gives women an additional level of safety. This validation provides the means for women to more easily talk about their negative experiences within the safety and support of an online community (Bates, 2014). One type of online narrative is the blog, which in this research is a component of the Plummer's life-narration (1994) where women typically share moments from their daily lives. Stieglitz and Dang-Xuan conducted research on information and emotion dissemination in the context of blogging and state that 'social media content often conveys information about the author's emotional state' (2013, p. 218). The need to express emotion then could be a potential drive behind women sharing their narratives online.

It is important to critically explore women's online communities as the setting for shared narratives, recognising that there are various issues that may influence the content of the narrative, such as emotional contagion, which is the spread of mood and affect through social networks (Stieglitz and Dang-Xuan, 2013). There is the danger of the same opinion and emotions being circulated on feminist websites, which are rooted in activism, where there is an anticipated type of emotion and expression. Penny Summerfield states that the process of story-telling is constructed by the author who makes a selection 'in pursuit of psychic comfort and satisfaction, and in the hope of eliciting recognition and affirmation from his or her audience' (2004, p. 69). Women's narratives may well express heightened emotion that was not necessarily felt at the time of the instance of harassment, but rather as a way of gaining access to a private community that grants entry based on the negative experiences that have been shared by its members. These support networks are defined by the women that use them who recognise the contribution that other women lend to each other's survival (Stanko, 1985) but the

support itself is not a tangible experience. The authors' feeling of community is based on who is online at the moment of sharing their story and the comments that they think that this may garner. The author may not necessarily be able to engage with other women at the time when she may be at her most vulnerable, there is no one actively listening to them tell their story in the sense that there is no immediate connection or sense of solidarity with the feminist collective. There are a growing number of social networks where women can share their stories of their gendered harassment. This may mean that women are choosing which site to share their stories on depending on the activist group's online political presence and the current initiatives the group is promoting on their social media accounts which stimulates interest and interaction. There is, then, no single collection of women's narratives, but rather they are spread out over several social networks and may engage with a hashtag Twitter conversation or be posted on the timeline of their Facebook page rather than in one location. There would therefore be a larger body of literature to draw on if women's narratives were collected in one place rather than on different social networks. The Hollaback London website, on which I draw for the narratives under analysis, has prefaced the entry of the story by asking the authors to state the location where their harassment took place and they are asked to select from the following types of harassment: assault, groping, homophobic, racist, stalking, transphobic, verbal and other. The author cannot proceed in sharing their story without an attempt to complete this information. But this sets the expectations of the author in describing their harassment as a particular type, which may or may not be accurate. Although the requirement to label the particular type of harassment does in part make an effort to consider that there are various reasons for harassment, there is no attempt to collect information on the age, race, or sexuality of the harassed. Having this data would have impacted on this study at the stage of collecting women's narratives, which would have allowed for a comprehensive selection across women's experiences.

It is imperative to place women's narratives in their historical context in order to understand how the past has influenced the present political issues, as well as identifying the way that women's narratives have previously been identified. In the past these have been regarded as anecdotal rather than as

evidence of women's experiences (MacKinnon, 2005). Judith R. Walkowitz (1998) documented historical examples of women's gendered harassment by men in Victorian London. What is significant about Walkowitz's research performed in the 1980s is that she situates her study within the then current political issues of male sexual violence towards women. Walkowitz identifies key themes in women's Victorian narratives that are similar to issues that women write about in their narratives written today: for example, a group of middle class women argued for the right to walk alone in the West End without being annoyed by the 'street impertinences' that men directed towards women who were unescorted (1998, p. 2). In response to their harassment women wrote letters of complaint to major newspapers of the time detailing the 'violation of their bodily integrity', particularly the *Pall Mall Gazette,* whose publication of them caused a social scandal. Walkowitz states that women used their 'indignant' letters of complaint to 'articulate their experience' (1998, p. 2). These narratives exposed the 'emotionally charged' public environment and the question of who had the right to use it, both of which led to adolescent girls being told to modify her 'gestures, movements, and pace' in order to 'show that [they were] not available prey' (Walkowitz, 1998, p. 7). Gardner had previously (1995) written about the advice given to women to modify their behaviour by becoming quiet and as unobtrusive as possible as a method to safely travel through public spaces without harassment. Alongside this Kearl states that women have 'changed their commutes or their clothes in hopes of escaping harassment' (2010, p. xi).

Thus there is a rich history of women sharing narratives in feminist activist groups, enabling women's voices to be heard, which has 'emphasised the political power of listening to women's experiences' (Guest, 2013, p. 41). The significance of historical story-telling is that this emphasised the importance of women's experiences at the time, a development which in turn has affected the contemporary tales that I explore in this research. Each shared narrative forges a link between women, feminism, activism and research because they unite the personal and the political by women articulating an emotional and hurtful experience. Stieglitz and Dang-Xuan comment that 'emotional appeals are effective persuasive devices' (2013, p. 222). Women's narratives are cultural objects that are a part of a

metanarrative of women's lived experiences. This metanarrative is representative of a 'flood of common experiences' (Stanko, 1985, p. 18). Women who share their narratives contribute to the metanarrative on gendered harassment because they too think that it is unacceptable and that change is needed. By telling their tale they also stand alongside their sisters from previous generations, such as Walkowitz's middle class shop girls, who wanted equal access to public spaces. It would seem, then, that little has changed for women, who still use storytelling to argue that their access to public spaces is not equal to that of men. There is still a culture of victim blaming and slut shaming of women who get harassed in public spaces, which is 'rooted in a culture of men's entitlement' that subordinates and objectifies women (Logan, 2015, p. 200).

Emotional women and angry feminists

Plummer states that narratives are 'usually accompanied by strong feelings' (1994, p. 44). These expressions of emotion are typically 'associated with women' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 3). There may be, therefore, a perception that women's narratives will be a 'testimon[y] about pain' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 172). I argue that the way women express emotion, and the strength of that expressed emotion can indicate how women understand the world through the effect of their experiences (Ahmed, 2004).

Culturally women are expected to be more emotional than men and in the emotional hierarchy women can be seen as weak (Ahmed, 2004). Women's emotions can be easily reduced to the more apparent emotions such as anger, and fear which may evoke physical reactions such as getting red in the face, crying, screaming, shouting, or withdrawing into the body. These are elevated emotional reactions that cause women to be perceived as vulnerable which can have the effect of reinforcing women's restricted access to public spaces in the name of safety (Ahmed, 2004). Emotions are linked to social and cultural behavioural practices, so when women display their anger, this is seen as a lack of self-control rather than as a reaction to an intimidation (Stanko, 1985). The cause of the anger is, it seems, less important than the display of anger itself, which is seen as unacceptable behaviour for a woman to express in the first place, let alone in public. Emotional women can then be labelled as being

'evidence of poor reason' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 177) and assigned to the 'irrational woman' category, meaning that women are disparaged as the authors of their own history and judges of their own experience. Women as the writers of their story are tied into cultural conventions when writing about the experience of their harassment whose narratives are often saturated with emotion and in the language that they use. The fact that emotion is a key tool in understanding affect (Papacharissi, 2015) may explain the presence of anger to an extent, although the connection between emotion and narrative does not account for the occurrence of anger in particular as opposed to any other emotion. This is content-generated as opposed to genre-generated.

Ahmed states that 'emotions are what move us, and how we are moved involves interpretations of sensations and feelings' (2004, p. 171). For Bing Liu emotions are 'our subjective feelings and thoughts' (Liu, 2012, p. 28). When women write about their experiences they articulate their emotions, but this does not necessarily indicate that they 'feel' the emotion during the act of writing. It is important to acknowledge that emotion can change over time (Reddy, 2001) and can be subject to the 'forces of society and culture' (Scheer, 2012, p. 195). As such emotional utterances can be strategically modulated to engage with the context in which the narrative is shared. Emotions can be used to emphasise a pertinent political point or to evoke a reaction from the reader who then appropriates the expression as their own (Ahmed, 2004).

The Hollaback London website has 'provided the means for many women to identify what has happened, communicate with sympathetic others about it and to construct narratives to make sense of the experience' (Plummer, 1994, p.75-6). By articulating an emotion women are mobilising it; it is almost as if they don't feel it until they have written it down. Women who have expressed themselves through the medium of writing share the lived emotions that were felt at the time of the experience but also the emotions that they have subsequently felt like guilt, and anger.

The stereotype of the 'angry woman' is typically someone who identifies as a feminist and is perceived to be a bra-burning, placard-carrying, man-hating (Chorley, 2015), political bomb which is likely to

explode at any moment. Performances of anger evoke the stereotype of this 'angry feminist' archetype. When women express anger and are labelled the 'angry feminist' they become a 'representation of both 'the feminist' and of women as (over)emotional' which is consequently seen as making a fuss (Guest, 2013, p. 237 citing Jagger, 1989)**.** To embrace anger puts women in danger of being labelled the 'angry feminist', an undermining trope which could potentially silence their voices (Guest, 2013, p. 219). Anger, though, is a response to the sense of injustice that women feel when harassed in public spaces and feel again when they are silenced, not believed or criticised. But this anger can be a productive force for 'change and action' (Guest, 2013, p. 224). This action could be women joining a demonstration against victim blaming, a march to highlight positive consent, or sharing a narrative of a negative experience. For women who talk about their gendered harassment, anger has become a tool which enables them to translate their pain (Ahmed, 2004). Through the process of telling of their story a sense of power and justice is restored to the writers. Although anger can societally be perceived as negative and as emotional incompetence, its expression in narratives is, especially in supportive feminist communities, can very much be seen as a positive, almost evocative experience.

In conclusion, this chapter has explored the literature on the themes that run through my research. First, through focussing on how women experience their limited access to public spaces due to the constantly looming threat of male violence. Further, within the literature there is recognition of the importance of feminist collectives with a political agenda that can be used to host women's shared narratives, as communities which offer a safe space for expression. Finally, I highlighted different ways in which women have been portrayed when expressing their experiences, which are dominated by the ideas of emotionally vulnerable women or the 'angry feminist'. The literature recognises that these are archetypes of women which seems to discredit women's story-telling. It is within these established recognitions that this research aims to develop an understanding of how women narrate their gendered harassment in public spaces, and which emotions they use to interpret these experiences.

CHAPTER TWO - METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This chapter outlines and justifies the approach that I have taken to conducting this research, detailing the literature search and how data was gathered, examined and interpreted. I have linked the theoretical justification for this research to the content of the literature review, part of which considered the archetype of the man-hating, bra-burning, angry feminist based on second and third wave feminists of the 1960s and 1970s.

Mixed methods

This research was conducted using a two-stage mixed method approach: the first stage was a quantitative analysis of a data sample of narratives, utilising Linguistic Inquiry Word Count (LIWC2015 2015) software to identify key trends. I selected and analysed a sample of narratives categorising the type of discourse of the data source as 'blog'. That is to say, my data sample is a collection of web-based self-reflective narratives, written in an informal and specialised language style. This stage was not intended to delve deeply into the qualitative analysis, but was a means of becoming familiar with the data, sorting it, considering its relationships with other categories (e.g. affect, anger, tone)**.** Throughout this stage the sample of twenty-five narratives was read, re-read, and annotated. The second stage was a qualitative sentiment analysis of two key narratives from within the sample of twenty-five, exploring the presence and absence of expressions of anger. The selection of the two narratives was based on them having the highest and lowest presence of indications of anger in the quantitative data results.

I initially considered using critical discourse analysis to examine the language in the data sample in detail, but this would have been the extent of the research given the maximum word limit of this project. By using sentiment analysis I have been able to conduct a broader type of research, which has enabled me to say more within the limits of the word restriction. Critical discourse analysis is useful for identifying opinions, compared to the insights into emotions that sentiment analysis is capable of producing. The decision to use sentiment analysis was also based on being able to identify a lexicon

of negative sentiment (Liu, 2012). There is a connection between the intensity of expressions of emotion, whether it is positive or negative, and the strength of the sentiment that can be evaluated in document-level identification. The next section details how this research was considered in context, and how this contextualised thinking developed the design of my investigation of women's narratives.

Stage One

I began my literature search by investigating how gendered harassment is discussed on social media platforms. I therefore performed a Google Trends search using the terms 'street harassment', 'gendered harassment', and 'harassment of women'. The results displayed data from 1st January 2004 to the date that the web search was performed, which for this research was 13th June 2016. I used the results detailed below in *Figure 1* to identify that the term 'street harassment' is the most common Google Trends query, with a peak in interest in October 2014 with 100 searches performed. Prior to this, the highest peak in Google Trends search results was 24, in August 2014. These results may indicate that key campaigns and instances of action on this issue have raised awareness about gendered harassment and that this was being discussed, and written about. The sharp increase in media attention for this issue at this point in 2014 may be due to the online activity of women's activist groups that campaigned against gendered harassment using Twitter hashtag conversations, such as the Everyday Sexism Project's #ShoutingBack which invited women to share their experiences of harassment in public spaces. This hashtag raised awareness not just on Twitter but on social media in general where this showed real time experiences of women's harassment. Another 2014 example is the highly promoted and widely viewed (Kearl, 2015) video *10 Hours of Walking in NYC as a Woman* which featured a woman walking along the streets of New York while being secretly filmed. The video, which was released on 27th October 2014, shows over 100 instances of harassment and has been viewed over 42 million times to date (August 2016). This video in particular, as opposed to any other campaign so far, has raised awareness by showing evidence of women's experience in public spaces. It demonstrated the 'scope, frequency, [and] specific behaviours'(Kearl, 2015, p. 18) of women's gendered harassment.
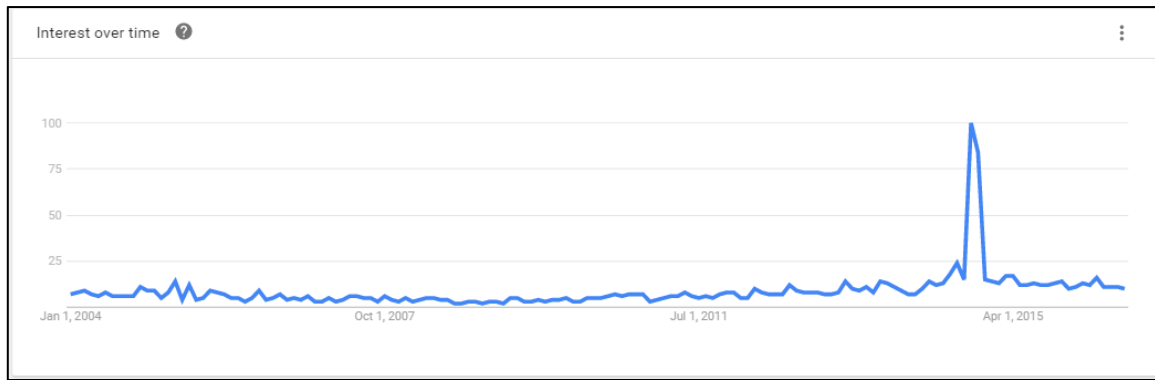
Figure 1 – *Google Trends - Web Search of the term: street harassment - Worldwide, 2004 – present*

I next performed a search using Google Books: Ngram Viewer which displays a graph showing how frequently a phrase has occurred in a corpus of books over a selected period. Using the term 'street harassment', I wanted to ascertain how frequently the subject has been mentioned in literature from 1960 onwards. The search results below in *Figure 2* display data from 1960-2008 which shows that there has been a steady progression from 1960 when 'street harassment' was first discussed in 2.5% of books, magazines and journals that were published and indexed by Google that year, compared to a peak of 121% in 2002 when the term 'street harassment' was mentioned in the corpus of published literature. The graph allows the researcher to click on peaks of data, which then displays a chronological list of the literature where gendered harassment is written about and provides a link to the specific books or journals. This increase in interest in gendered harassment as a subject worthy of publication indicates an increase in awareness of this as a gendered and social issue.

The peak in the data in 1997 almost certainly corresponds to increased discussion about how women experienced public spaces due to the introduction of the Protection from Harassment Act passed in 1997. This gave legal recourse against unwanted behaviour that caused a fear of violence in the person affected (Stanko, 1990). It did not go far enough, however, proving to be hard to enforce due to the difficulty of collecting evidence for prosecution. Because of the inadequacy of protection that this act afforded women who were harassed in public, women's activist groups were formed, such as Hollaback London. This started as a blog in 2005 to highlight instances of harassment and post women's narratives of experiencing harassment in public spaces.

Thirdly, using the results from a Google Books search for the term 'street harassment' I was able to identify key texts relevant to understanding the wider context of my research. Walkowitz (1998) documented evidence of women's harassment in Victorian London and how women protested this, Gardner (1995) studied victim blaming language used by women in interviews about their gendered harassment and Stanko (1990) contends that women's experience of public spaces is restricted due to their fear and anxiety of what she described as 'sexual terrorism at the hands of men' (p. 9).

I also familiarised myself with the groups Hollaback London, Stop Street Harassment, Everyday Sexism and the End Women against Violence Coalition looking into their history, campaigns and literature. The groups' websites and social media accounts discuss relevant information on what gendered harassment is, how women can safely survive the experience and how to perform an intervention safely. These groups have a political focus, in that they draw attention to important social issues, campaign for change and encourage women to work together. By conducting an investigation into these groups and where they situate themselves in the campaign to end gendered harassment, I have deliberately focused on women who identify with being political or being feminist. This narrows the scope of this dissertation from women in general to a specific group of women. I have not excluded

any authors during this research study on the basis of their gender. The emphasis on women's narratives is due to the nature of the feminist collective community who have encouraged and inspired women specifically to share their stories in safety.

Finally, I studied previous research about gendered harassment, investigating how social or cultural reactions to it and its reporting have changed. This knowledge has allowed me to identify the areas that I have focused on in this dissertation: the connections between feminist communities and shared women's narratives, stereotypes of emotional women, and the emotions that women themselves express in their narratives.

In order to ascertain the presence of emotion in the data analysis I initially selected ten percent of the total narratives from the *Hollaback London* website to use as a representative data sample. The website lists narratives in categories which display the narratives chronologically. The narratives were selected from the following categories: Cycling, Rape Threat, Shop, Street, Train, Tube, and Uncategorised. I selected a larger amount of narratives from the categories: Street, Train and Uncategorised because they held more narrative submissions than the others. The sample from the other categories is proportionally smaller. This meant that I ended up with a sample of twenty-five narratives which are all different in terms of length, use of language, tone, and expressions of emotion. I collected the sample of twenty-five by spreading out the selection from the above categories so that the submissions were random and spread across the website's timeline.

In order to create the data sample I copied the text of the selected narratives into a single Word document. I included the titles that women gave their narratives as a part of the text because these were a part of their stories. I recorded the date and time of posting, the username of the storyteller, and the URL of the narrative. This was done solely to enable the narratives to be traced and was not included within the text analysis. I also copied each narrative, both title and text, into a single document of its own. The individual word documents were renamed as the title of the narrative, so that the individual stories could be located easily.

The way that people use words in their narratives can provide 'rich information about their beliefs, fears, thinking patterns, social relationships, and personalities' (Pennebaker et al., 2015b, p.1). It is this rich information that I wanted to uncover through a quantitative analysis of the twenty-five narratives, using LIWC2015 software. My aim was to identify trends in the way that women describe their experiences and the 'various emotion[s]' that women express in the narrative sample (Pennebaker et al., 2015b, p.1). The LIWC2015 software 'derives frequency values' of a collection of words that are sorted into 'psychological and linguistic categories' (Hirsh and Peterson, 2009, p. 25) that are available. LIWC2015 examines word usage in a single document or sample of documents, and the fact that data is then allocated to emotionally analytical categories has been particularly useful. LIWC2015 reads a text document and counts the percentage of words that indicate emotions and thought processes. LIWC2015 has an internal dictionary that decides which words should be counted quantitatively. The researcher can access this lexicon to ensure that this is relevant to their research aims, rather than simply taking this on trust. The range of psychological and emotional words in this lexicon is the main reason that I chose this software to conduct the quantitative analysis. A word might be allocated to more than one category if LIWC2015 has determined that it is related to other emotional categories. This allowed me to evaluate the emotional states that women were in, as reflected in the language used in their narrative. Once the words are counted the sample is analysed qualitatively and compared to Pennebaker et al's., (2015) base line analysis which considers how frequently words are used in different types of discourse e.g. blogs. The collection of sample words were allocated to one or more psychoanalytic category using a 100-point scale ranging from 0 to 100. LIWC2015 created data results that can be exported into Excel, which is suitable for performing a statistical analysis (Roberts, 2015). As mentioned earlier, I chose to use the example of 'blog' as a base line of discourse analysis because it reflects best the nature of a narrative on a public access website that has a theme as well as a diary entry quality. LIWC2015's internal dictionary was particularly useful for performing an analysis of blogging styles because it identified the abbreviated language or 'netspeak' that is commonly used in blog posts (e.g. IMHO – 'In my humble opinion') and can compare

this type of usage to a standard blog post base line analysis. This is relevant to analysing my data set, as I was then able to compare content and tone within individual blog entries and with reference to the blog as a communication medium.

Collecting data on anger in women's narratives by using LIWC2015 software was relatively easy because the internal dictionary is comprised of '230 anger-related words and words stems' (Pennebaker et al., 2015, p. 8) such as abuse, furious, hate, rude, and yelled. The dictionary can also identify variations of a word depending on the verb form that this is expressed in e.g. yell, yelling, yelled. The affective categories are primarily composed of words that reflect an underlying psychological state, trait or process. The anger category, for example, includes clusters of words that have empirical links to someone actually being angry, such as commonly used swear words. The LIWC2015 software analyses the words in a text document, mapping the scale of their entry into a category. These results were exported to Excel to be considered in depth and in context with the narrative sample. I explain in the next chapter how the results were interpreted.

After reviewing the data on the Hollaback London website, I became aware that the number of narratives on the website had increased since I compiled my sample. I gathered a further twenty-five random narratives, which continued to represent ten percent of the overall stories shared, in order to test whether the increased size of the data sample would affect my results. The second quantitative analysis with the sample of fifty did not display a significant difference in the trends identified, therefore I am confident that my continuing to work with just the initial sample of twenty-five is as representative of the metanarrative of women on the website as it can be. Another factor influencing my decision to use the initial sample of twenty-five narratives is that it would allow me time and space to perform a more detailed qualitative sentiment analysis of two of the narratives, looking more extensively into the representation of the types of anger expressed.

Stage Two

The analysis of the two narratives I singled out was performed using sentiment analysis, with the intention of dissecting how anger is expressed by women. The two narratives that were chosen were polar opposites in their quantitative analysis – the first with the lowest indication of anger and the second with the highest. In performing my analysis it was important not to reinforce the notion of the 'angry feminist'. Instead I have interpreted women's anger as a reaction to the harassment, a coping mechanism, instead of assuming that women are angry without cause. One of the main limitations of the current research on gendered harassment is that women's statements have not been investigated in great depth. Although Fairchild and Rudman (2008) did investigate the level of emotion that women expressed, they did not include the key emotion of anger, instead focussing on anxiety and fear. But 'Language is the most common and reliable way for people to translate their internal thoughts and emotions into a form that others can understand' (Tausczik and Pennebaker, 2010, p. twenty-five). It is therefore important to consider which aspects of language are significant for this research, in order to identify the 'social, ideological and political dimension of discourse' and understand how it 'constructs a particular version of reality' (Cameron and Panovic, 2014). By using sentiment analysis, which Liu defines for this purpose as 'our subjective feelings and thoughts' (Liu, 2012, p.28), I have been able to focus on women's narratives which 'express or imply negative sentiments' (Liu, 2012, p.7), specifically the presence of anger. The strength of a sentiment can be linked to the intensity of the emotion: for example, anger in text is based on the highly emotionally language expressions (Liu, 2012). Liu states that sentiment classification is sensitive to the location that the data is extracted from because 'words and even language constructs used in different domains for expressing opinions can be quite different' (2012, p.38). Some of the characteristics of my material must be foregrounded here. First, the narratives that were analysed using sentiment analysis were not written in real-time: the instances of gendered harassment could have happened recently, or been more distantly recalled. Next, the informal writing style means that the data may contain spelling errors and short sentences which has not impacted on the quality of data that has been yielded because the software was able

to identify what word this most likely meant in the context, and include misspelled words in the text analysis. Due to the personal nature of the narratives and the emotion that is implied is present in the data, swearing, using caps lock and repetition have featured. It is perhaps due to the emotive experience of storytelling, and of reliving the experience, that language shortcuts are taken by the writer. It may be felt to be more important to share the story without worrying about whether it is structurally sound or grammatically correct.

I am particularly interested in the style of sentiment analysis because with the rise of social media usage as an everyday communication platform to drive social and political change, 'we have witnessed [a] profound impact on our social and political systems' (Liu, 2012, p.9). The storytelling structure of social media platforms lends itself to public expressions of private emotions, and I am interested in what this might mean for contemporary politics and particularly activist groups and communities that are characterised by their social media engagement. It may well be more empowering for women to share their narrative with an activist group such as Hollaback London who believe in **'**a world where harassment is not tolerated and where we all enjoy equal access to public spaces' *(iHollaback.org, 2016)* than it would be to share it through a personal blog. In the next chapter I discuss and interpret the results of my two-stage analysis, including a broad consideration of emotions and a more specific investigation of anger.

CHAPTER THREE - RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a discussion of data results of a text analysis of twenty-five women's narratives that share their experiences of gendered harassment in public spaces. I examine the quantitative findings and discuss the key trends that I have identified as significant to women's expression of emotion and specifically in relation to anger. I argue that women's expressions of emotions happen in the safe space that women's online communities provide, where through their written narratives women become the *survivor* rather than a victim of their experience (Plummer, 1994, my emphasis). The analysis of the data results was influenced by Gray's (2014) thematic narrative approach. This interpretive approach takes the narratives as Papacharissi's 'political performances of the self' (2015, p. 96). Emphasis is placed on the key emotional themes that are present in the narrative sample, interpreting these toward an understanding of how women have shaped their experiences of gendered harassment through their narratives.

Quantitative trends

Throughout the collection of women's narratives there was a common theme of frustration and concern for their safety. Women wrote about the instances of intrusions into their lives by detailing what they were wearing and the setting they were in, almost as an explanation to the effect that they had done nothing to deserve their harassment. Women frequently mentioned a feeling of sadness that followed from an awareness of the effect that it would have on them and on restricting their experiences in public spaces. There were indications that women regretted not being able to stand up for themselves and challenge the man openly masturbating in the same train carriage as them, or shout back at the man who shouted at them in the street.

Authentic

Authentic is one of the four main summary language variables that LIWC2015 identifies, along with analytical thinking, clout and emotional tone. Papacharissi (2015) states that investing emotion into narratives conveys significant authenticity which is indicative of presenting a political statement. The

idea of women's personal narratives being linked to the political has been discussed earlier in the literature review. The data results in comparison to the 'blog' baseline display a high level of authenticity, which Tausczik and Pennebaker (2010) state as the degree to which an author tempers their words for their audience.

Narrative	Authentic
Blog baseline	60.93
1	92.56
2	94.62
3	94.91
4	90.22
5	86.38
6	95.44
7	93.59
8	90.68
9	98.19
10	91.42
11	83.21
12	74.62
13	88.91
14	82.75
15	50.1
16	90.96
17	91.64
18	98.11
19	93.3
20	96.17
21	34.18
22	93.09
23	86.96
24	95.86
25	94.95

Table 1: LIWC2015 results on Authentic language variable category

The significance of the authentic data results is that there are twenty-three narratives which score higher than the blog baseline of 60.93, with the highest figure being 98.19. This means that twenty-three out of the twenty-five narratives show a high rate of authenticity, and that they therefore have only marginally filtered the story detailing their gendered harassment. The high rate of authenticity in the sample twenty-five is important because this suggests that authenticity is a hallmark of narratives

shared into the feminist community. The authors may have felt no need to amend their language or the content of their story because of the well-established supportive environment that they know they are contributing to. The connection to a political community is relevant because the collection of narratives often contains comments about gendered harassment as an issue, not just reflections on the instance of harassment that took place as an irruption into their lives.

Narrative 9 titled 'I am 13' has the highest rate of authenticity, and is a young woman's story of being harassed by a group of men on the London underground. The author is factual in the details of her harassment, detailing briefly what happened. She states that the feminist in her took over and granted her the impetus to respond. The author is aware that there is an issue with her age, that not only is she being harassed due to her gender but that because of her age this is doubly inappropriate. The high rate of authenticity in this narrative shows that the author has not edited her response, but is writing the story of her experience in the knowledge that the feminist community of Hollaback London is surrounding her and supporting her, and that she is able to share this disgust of inappropriate behaviour in a safe space. The young women's narrative is actively commenting on this inappropriate behaviour, and challenging her harasser with the iteration of her age. This is her political statement attesting that her harasser has done something wrong, that she is challenging it and drawing attention on a wider scale to the commentary that was aimed at her.

The narrative with the lowest rate of authenticity of 34.18 is narrative twenty-one, titled 'What do you want', and is only a few lines of text succinctly describing harassment of a woman and her friend. It is brief rather than edited, and looks like it may have been written on a phone rather than a computer because of the lowercase text and short sentences. This narrative also contains an instance of the woman shouting back at the harasser, responding to the initial persistent hello greeting by asking what the harasser wants. This simple question renders the harasser speechless. The author does not seem to gain anything positive from this interaction, and reflects that she should have been more forthright in her response to him and details what she should have said to him.

There is a difference between the two narratives beyond than the presence or lack of authenticity, in the style and tone of the narratives as well as the language content. It is worth considering that LIWC2015 cannot distinguish the difference in narrative style here, rather that it interrogates the content of the narrative.

Anger

The psychological process category of anger is used in this section to consider whether the 'angry feminist' archetype exists within the sample of women's narratives of gendered harassment. I consider the connection of anger with other significant categories such as power, which I discuss further on in this chapter. Ahmed (2004) states that anger is an interpretive feeling of the pain that women feel, which acknowledges the injustice of their gendered harassment experience. This interpretation of emotion does seem to be indicative of the level of authenticity present in women's political narratives of gendered harassment because women write about their personal experiences. It is worth noting that data results do not indicate any correlation between the positive emotion and anger categories, where the author feels a sense of empowerment or relief after expressing anger, which I initially thought would be the case. There is in fact no significant feeling of catharsis amongst the women who have unburdened themselves when they have written using their anger to describe their gendered harassment. This lack of cathartic release for the author is evident in that there is no conclusive connection between the anger and power categories. There is no indication in the data results which informs the researcher whether this is correlative rather than causative. It could indicate that the more anger is experienced the less powerful the narrative author becomes, rather than this being cathartic to have expressed, this could in fact show a lack of power, and a loss of control.

Narrative 8, titled 'He made a yelping kind of shout and followed me up the street', shares the lowest figure in the anger category of 0.00 with narrative 6 'Groped on the Piccadilly Tube', which I discuss in detail later in this chapter. Narrative 8 details an instance of harassment outside a tube station, and is quite detailed in its information, including a description of the outfit the author was wearing. This narrative is well-structured, and factual in the description of the harasser, the author's surroundings

and the bystanders to the harassment. The author states that she 'loudly and firmly' told her harasser to 'LEAVE ME ALONE, PLEASE'. The presence of capitalised language is insightful into the forcefulness of her request but there are no exclamation marks attached, so the statement, although firmly and clearly delivered, is not considered by the software to indicate any presence of anger-related words.

Narrative	anger
Blog baseline	0.68
1	3.3
2	0.67
3	2.05
4	0.46
5	0.31
6	0
7	2.74
8	0
9	0.88
10	2.1
11	0.65
12	0.52
13	1.67
14	0.51
15	2.9
16	4.03
17	1.18
18	2.09
19	1.33
20	0.56
21	2.06
22	2.06
23	0.58
24	3.1
25	2.49

Table 2: LIWC2015 results on Anger psychological processes category

This narrative displays one of the highest figures in the tone language variable category, with a score of 91.62. The relationship with the anger category and the emotional tone category indicates the mental state of the author and the language used to express this state (Liu, 2012). The data results show that when there is a low presence of anger in a narrative, there is a high level of emotional tone. There is perhaps a more elegant use of language in the narratives with a lower rate of anger, where

the emotional tone is more considered and controlled. Although women are often described as being associated with displays of emotion the data indicates that out of twenty-five narratives there are in fact only three narratives where the emotional tone variable category shows a higher intensity than in the blog baseline. This does not conclusively indicate that women are not emotional, or that women who speak out about their gendered harassment only use expressions of emotion to describe their experiences.

Ahmed (2004) states that anger is creative and that this emotion can create a language with which to respond to the instance of harassment, which could include swearing at the harasser in order to express that associative anger with the instance at which harassment takes place. It is, then, perhaps an obvious conclusion to draw that a higher presence of anger would also indicate a higher presence of words in the swear word category. To shout and swear would naturally be associated with anger; it is a way to release energy and perhaps for the author to reclaim their state of uninterrupted being. There are thirteen narratives out of the twenty-five which have a higher rate of swearing than the base rate of 0.35 in blogs. Most of these examples contain swearing from the harasser rather than the author, although one notably responds to the harasser's inappropriate suggestions with a 'fuck you', which the author states is all that she can manage. This narrative, number sixteen, is discussed extensively using sentiment analysis later in this chapter.

Power

There are 518 words in the LIWC2015 dictionary for the power category, such as assault, begged, compliant, denies, order, unwanted, and weak. Although the software identifies examples of power words there is no indication as to whether these words are examples of power or powerlessness. Narrative 14, titled 'It's not even that that hurts, it's the fact that there was 10 people within hearing distance who did nothing', has the highest result in the power category with a score of 3.59, compared to the 2.07 blog baseline. After reviewing the content of this narrative, which is written in short punchy sentences, it is a clear example of what MacKinnon describes as a 'narrative structure of machine

language: and then he, and then [I], and then he' (2005, p. 60). The author criticises her own reactions for not shouting back or making a scene and asks 'but fuck it, how could I?' The author describes feeling powerless, and that the witnesses to the instance did nothing to stop the situation where a 14-year old young woman was asked how much she charged for her services. The author is sexualised and robbed of her 'safety, agency and power' (Logan, 2015, p. 208) in this moment, stating that she felt shamed by the experience. The author also states that a group of adults should have come to her defence, and that the community Hollaback London is 'really properly important' because it has helped her to reclaim her power by shouting back through her narrative, when she felt that she could not do so safely in person at the time. The author's message is political in that she states her hope that bystanders will prevent this from happening in the future. This narrative has a low presence in the power category with a score of 0.51, which is one of the lowest indications of power in the narrative sample. This could indicate that, because the author reflected on the power of the feminist community in which she shared her narrative, she was able to control her emotions more effectively. It would be interesting to consider whether using more anger words is a way of feeling more powerful, or if this is a reaction to feeling less powerful.

Narrative	power
Blog baseline	2.07
1	0
2	1.33
3	1.37
4	3.25
5	2.19
6	0.82
7	2.74
8	3.05
9	2.65
10	3.5
11	1.61
12	3.42
13	1.67
14	3.59
15	1.09
16	0
17	1.78
18	2.62
19	0.67
20	1.13
21	2.06
22	0
23	2.89
24	1.33
25	0.62

Table 3: LIWC2015 results on Power psychological processes category

In her book *Passing By: Gender and Public Harassment* Carol Brooks Gardner refers to the interviews that she conducted with 293 women, stating that she identified fear as a constant emotional theme. Stanko states that 'women's fear stems from their powerless and precarious position: being vulnerable to men's threatening, sexually harassing or violent behaviour' (1985, p. 12). The connection that Stanko makes here is relevant and insightful because in the data results there is an indication of women's lack of power in over half of the narratives, in comparison to the 2.07 blog baseline, with three narratives showing a 0.00 score in the power category. The other half of the data sample scores moderately higher than the baseline with five narratives scoring over 3.00. If, then, women's powerlessness is accompanied by the feeling of fear meaning that women who feel fear are more cautious and might not move through social space as freely as they might otherwise have, then fear

is an emotion that 'works to contain bodies within social space' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 70). This reinforces the idea that women's movement through public spaces is curtailed by their experiences of intimidation (Gardner, 1995). Ahmed (2004) described the physical reaction of fear as the fierce pumping of the heart, and as a sweaty adrenalin fuelled bodily reaction. This is perhaps before the reaction of their anger is expressed as shouting, raising the voice, using a dominant tone in order to reclaim power and take control of the situation. It would seem then that feeling fear is to a certain extent about being women in public space, whereas when women express anger this seems to be more frequently identified with being a feminist.

A tale of two narratives

Following the discussion above regarding the main emotional trends that were identified in the data results I now move on to discuss the narrative content of two accounts of gendered street harassment. I use sentiment analysis to consider the significance of expressions of emotion and statements made by the author. My theoretical justification for the reading of these two narratives more closely is based on the context of the literature review that introduces the 'women who have come before', starting with the man-hating bra-burning typically angry feminists of the 1960s and 1970s. This expression of a hope for societal change is the context in which the two narratives are situated: in women's liberation, feminist collectives and amongst collaborators who work towards a goal of raising awareness of gendered harassment as an issue. There is therefore a discussion of the connection between expressions of emotion and the political sensibility of women's communities.

My two narratives were picked for being outliers at both ends of the range of anger. I discuss their relation to some of the main themes from the literature review and I explore how these themes, of the 'angry feminist' and 'emotional women', fit into the metanarrative of women's gendered harassment. Narrative 16 has a strong expression of anger, and has a much higher score compared to the blog baseline. This is relevant because the material provides a lot of scope for looking at what kinds of anger are expressed and by whom they are expressed: does the expression of anger relate to

women's vulnerability in public spaces, and is there a link to fear of male violence being directed at them, or it escalating should they react to this? Does the absence of anger in narrative 6 indicate that the woman is in control of her situation and her emotions, or is this an emotion that she was not able to safely feel at the time, due to not wanting to be perceived as being overly emotional in a public space? Along with these questions I considered the way in which the author has represented herself in the content of the narrative, and whether she identifies herself through her language as a victim or a survivor (Plummer, 1994).

Narrative 16 – 'Ok but I just want you to suck my cock'

'Ok', he says, 'but I just wanted to know if you'd suck my cock'

Two guys walking behind me, talking loudly, 'I can't see if she's fit, get her to turn around'. I try to ignore them, they get my attention, I turn round. One of them pulls a disappointed face. The other still wants to know if I fancy his friend. I reason with them, I try to explain you can't shout at women in the street, its impolite. 'Impolite?' the first one asks. 'Ok', he says, 'but I just wanted to know if you'd suck my cock'. All I can mange is 'fuck you'. I feel scared but as soon as they are 10 metres away I am furiously angry. As usual.

Figure 3: '*Ok but I just want you to suck my cock',* http://ldn.ihollaback.org/

As I discussed in the section on anger above, I selected narrative 16 to conduct an in-depth sentiment analysis because this narrative has the highest score of anger in the data results. I analyse the narrative focussing on the expressions of anger in relation to her experience of gendered harassment. It is worth noting that narrative 16 has a high score in the language variable authenticity category, in comparison to both the base line data and all the other narratives in the data sample. As I stated earlier, this indicates that there was likely little or no attempt to self-edit the narrative content. This is relevant when discussing the expressions of anger present in the narrative, suggesting the account is representative of the raw emotions that the author felt at the time of the instance of harassment, and afterwards in the telling of her story.

The title of this narrative: 'Ok but I just want you to suck my cock' is impactful due to the crudeness of the language. It seems to be sexually demanding statement aimed at the author by the man who is

harassing her in this encounter. It is an impersonal request, sexually aggressive and possessive in terms of the author's bodily autonomy and existence in a public space. It is as if she has become subject to this kind of sexual request *because* she is in a public space. This statement demands of the woman a form of endorsement for male sexual identity: his attractiveness and therefore his power is more important than the author's. The title of the piece is taken from the main body of the narrative and is repeated in the text of the narrative by the author, which seems to be an important thing to note. The author has selected perhaps the most impactful statement of her harassment and used this to set her narrative in the context of reducing her to a sexualised object. I discuss this further below, in the context of her narrative as a whole.

The author begins her narrative by indicating her vulnerable position, with two men situated behind her, where she cannot see them. The author describes the men as talking loudly: this is pertinent as it draws attention to their presence in the public space being more dominant than hers. The author is therefore able to hear them and their discussion about her. The request for the author to turn around so that one of the men can ascertain her attractiveness is directed towards the other man, the conversation is about her as the object: the author appears to be superfluous to the conversation that is being had *about* rather than *with* her. There could be a distortion in the author's observation of the two men speaking loudly which could indicate that she feels threatened by their language and their dominance in the previously quiet public space. In terms of content rather than delivery, the men reduce the author to the status of her body and whether the men can identify her as 'fit, or not'. This discussion between the two men seems to be a consideration of whether the author, the object of their male gaze, fits in the beauty category and perhaps therefore her place in the public space (Wolf, 1990). The power behind the men's discussion of the author's beauty is rooted in power dynamics which allow them to decide whether a woman is sexually attractive and therefore worthy of their time. Foucault states that 'the gaze that sees is the gaze that dominates' (1963, p. 45), therefore the focus of the two men's gaze and discussion of the author's attractiveness is a dominant assertion of power over her bodily autonomy in a public space.

The author is unbalanced by the active/male discussion about her figure, and the projection of male phantasy onto her (Mulvey, 1975). She states that she tries to ignore them, which seems to indicate that she has tried to regain her power in the situation, by remaining removed from the men and their objectification of her. There is perhaps a consideration that if she ignores their interruption, they will leave her alone and she can then go on her way. The author's movement through public spaces is affected by an act of male aggression. She doesn't seek to stop their behaviour, just to suffer it so that she can escape. The author describes herself as turning around to face the men, she becomes the focus of their attention. When one of the men appears disappointed by pulling a face, this is a judgement of the woman's body, which does not communicate his disapproval of her directly to her, but rather it seems to be an expression directed to the other man about her.

The author states in her narrative that 'the other [man] still wants to know if I fancy his friend', although this seems to be the first time that one of the men has interacted directly with her. This could mean that even though she may have failed to fit into their understanding of 'beauty' and therefore desirability, the men continue to prey upon her. Laniya states that these sort of instances 'loudly resonate in a woman's mind, reminding her that… to many men she is still just a body to be possessed and intruded upon' (2005, p. 106). The author's continued harassment indicates the need for the men to have the woman verify the sexuality of one of the men and therefore of his power, that she would need to confirm the status of attractive or desirable, so that this would qualify his opinion of himself, and validate the interruption on this basis. This could then be an exercise in male dominance over the author in public, that she somehow owes them her time, and that this is a display of male power over the woman.

The author states that she 'reasons with them'; she places herself in a higher moral position to the two men; she is the reasonable one and they are behaving poorly. She refuses to play their game by seeking to change the way that the game is played, and in doing so she seeks to regain some of her power. She is placatory and appeals to a more mature nature, or to an understanding of her right to

exist in the same public space as them without being accosted. When the author states that she tried to explain that it is unacceptable to shout at women in the street, she did in fact explain, but here she is justifies the men not listening to her words, and the importance behind them. This moment is perhaps reminiscent of the angry feminist who stands up and says that there is an issue that needs to be changed. The issue in this instance is her harassment through their sexual objectification of her body. She admonishes them for their behaviour and states that their behaviour is 'impolite', implying that treating women as a whole in this manner is not socially acceptable. One of the men questions her idea of them being impolite, as if this is an alien concept or as if to say that their behaviour does in fact not fit into that description. When he repeats the term back at her in the form of a question: 'Impolite?' he questions her rationale in questioning his behaviour, and that what she says is truth or that there is a lack of awareness in the issue that she is drawing their attention towards. One of the men seems to ignore her plea for civility and asserts his sexual dominance with the request 'But I just wanted to know if you'd suck my cock'. When the man makes this sexually demanding question of the author, he uses the placating language of 'but' and 'just', which is meant to but does not indicate that his desire to ascertain this information is trivial, only a small question, and that the woman is being unreasonable by failing to allow this as only a small request. The man's question is also a negation of her complaint to be spoken to civilly, to be respected to be afforded permission to travel through public space without interruption. It is an expression of male power and reduces the woman to a sexual service that she could potentially provide.

The author states that her verbal response of 'fuck you' is 'all I can manage'. It seems that the author struggles with her reaction, that she is perhaps initially shocked into silence by one of the men's sexually dominant request. Her reaction is emotive, and using swearing language shows her anger at the invasion but is also a way to tell the men to leave her alone. Swearing is indicative of the emotional force of the anger that the author goes on to explain that she felt at the time. She is perhaps limited in her use of language in her response due to the shocking sexual request from one of the men. The author felt such a high rate of anger, with a score of 4.03, that she found it difficult to communicate

at all, let alone to consider the safety ramifications of responding to the situation. The author is consumed by a sense of social injustice to the extent that she can only use swear words in order to vocalise her outrage. The author states that she feels scared immediately following the verbal interaction, which may be a fear of the sexual request by the men or fear of what could happen because she shouted back at them and the anticipation of a possibly violent response. The author may feel more comfortable in expressing her emotions such as this fear because of the safety of the online space, where there are no harassers, and where she feels able to show her vulnerability. The men or the author, it is not clear, leave the area and it is at this point that the she becomes safe again or less in danger and is able to feel angry. The author does not simply describe this as being angry but 'furiously angry'. This description is full of energy and power, possibly indicating that this is the cause of the high score in the anger category. The author perhaps feels such an intense anger because of the fear that she had previously felt (Ahmed, 2004, p. 65). When the author states at the end that this is how she usually feels, this furious anger, she is implying that this is a typical experience in her life and that she has felt such intense emotions like furious anger before. Gardner (1995) suggests that women think about and fear the frequent instances of harassment in their lives, planning for them as a potential future event.

Throughout the author's account there are indications of her intensely felt emotions, which fluctuate from frustrated at the initial interruption via shock at the sexual suggestion to fear when she manages to reply to them and, lastly, anger that is a strong emotion the she implies she has felt before. Her story is marked by the details by which she describes the interchange between the two men that place her as the object of their gaze. It features some of the patterns identified by the literature on gendered harassment which I identified previously. The author initially responds to the men and their questioning of her sexual attractiveness by an attempt to ignore the situation, which although this may be her attempt to protect herself she also risks angering them (Laniya, 2005). As soon as the men have directed their conversation to include her, she becomes the emotional woman and responds to them with an accusation of their impolite behaviour, which harkens back to the advice that women

were given in order to 'cope with or avoid harassers' (Kearl, 2010, p. xiii). Her challenge to them is situated in her emotional self that wants to be left alone on her journey through public space. Her demeanour changes from emotional woman to angry feminist as soon as the men direct a sexualised comment to her, questioning whether she would become the sexualised phantasy that the men have been discussing around her. This play in sexual politics leaves the author with the intensely felt anger, which gives her the energy that she needs to respond with a 'fuck you' which, as she states, is all that she can manage as her response. The author then identifies with being both scared, at the interchange certainly but potentially for any escalation to the situation, and 'furiously angry'. Her furious anger is perhaps a response to the social injustice at being sexualised and trivialised by the two men or as a result of her loss of power. The author's initial emotional reaction developed in this moment to that of the angry feminist, who challenges unwanted behaviour and who can make her voice heard. Although this may have allowed her to express herself in the moment of her upset, she is left feeling that she has been in this place and felt these emotions, this powerlessness before. The author seems to be deflated at the end of her narrative. One wonders whether she did feel better for sharing her narrative on the *Hollaback London* website, and whether her sharing this intimate moment of her life with other women who have experienced the same sort of interruption allowed her to feel like a survivor rather than a victim of the harassment, an outcome which the literature documented as one possible result of sharing in the meta-narrative.

Narrative 6 – 'Groped on the Piccadilly Line tube'

Groped on the Piccadilly Line tube

I had boarded a Piccadilly Line tube carriage at Gloucester Road. It was early evening rush hour so the carriage was very packed. A couple of minutes into the journey I noticed the man standing next to me was groping my thigh. I looked into his eyes and he winked at me. I was almost too surprised to react but was able to move away from him and was relieved when he got off at the next stop. I felt awful afterwards, I don't know how to describe it but I just felt ashamed and gross. I really wish this wasn't a common occurrence on the underground. We shouldn't have to feel afraid all the time.

Figure 4: '*Groped on the Piccadilly Line tube*', http://ldn.ihollaback.org/

As I discuss above I selected narrative 6 to conduct an in depth sentiment analysis because it scored 0.00 in the anger category and presents an informative contrast with narrative 16. I analyse the narrative focussing on her lack of anger and consider whether the author tells her story through the means of controlled expression as an expression of power rather than through being emotionally reactive to the instance of gendered harassment. It is worth noting the other statistics from the data results for this narrative, which show that there is a high spike in the anxiety category of 1.64 which is the second highest score in comparison to both the base line data and the other narratives in the data sample.

The title 'Groped on the Piccadilly Line' is effective as a prefiguring of the narrative in that it is descriptive, bold, clear, and factual. The author clearly indicates the geographical location and immediately there is a sense of limited escape from a small impersonal transitory space. This narrative is an example of 'around 15% of Londoners who have experienced unwanted sexual behaviour on the transport network' (TfL Safety and Security Survey, cited by Btp.police.uk, 2016).

The author begins her narrative with the repetition of the geographical location from the title, but also details that she had boarded a train carriage at which station. The author uses good grammar and sentence structure, which may indicate that she was able to write her story without reliving her emotions and could calmly tell her story in the manner of a crime report. The author identifies the location of the harassment as a tube carriage, which indicates that the space was impersonal, enclosed, and designed to move people from one place to the other. The author describes the time of day as 'early evening rush hour', a busy time of day to travel, and that the carriage 'was very packed' which indicates that there was little in the way of personal space. The data sample shows that instances of gendered harassment on the London Underground are mentioned in a number of narratives, and has a category specifically for this type of space, where the lack of physical space in the carriage and the anonymity of the travel method seem to combine to create an environment when harassment is likely to occur.

The author moves on in her story to identify her male harasser who, standing next to her, was 'groping' her leg. The author here clearly owns the word for what the man is doing to her, recognising that she was not imagining it and that she could name it. The word groping is also an unequivocally negative description of physical contact. Her language could imply their proximity to one another and that she did not have much room to move. The author identifies herself as the object of the man's sexual behaviour the moment that she notices him groping her thigh: he has invaded her space and has now claimed ownership of her body. She describes herself as looking at the man (into his eyes): here she may be attempting to reassert her agency over her own body, and she is expressing her dominance. Alternatively, this could be her looking at him to question whether this is in fact happening to her. The author states that the man winked at her in response to her looking at him, which implies that he wants to have his behaviour perceived as indicative of a playful lack of responsibility, and himself as a jack-the-lad, a stereotype which includes sexual suggestiveness. This may be the sort of harasser who typically accuses the woman, as object, of not being able to take a joke, or who claims that it is banter.

She then states that she 'was almost too surprised to react' which could indicate that there was a level of anxiety, shame or simply shock at the man's behaviour, or perhaps her own lack of a response to his behaviour. In the same sentence the author details that she moved out of his space and away from him, ending the groping and moving into a safer space. The author also states that she only felt relief when he got off the train at the next stop. This indicates that she experienced a level of anxiety in his presence in the carriage, even if not in close proximity to her, after the physical assault had ended; that by still being in the same space as the harasser the author was still caught up in the experience and in her emotions. The author's reaction to move out of his space, quietly and without drawing attention to the instance of assault and harassment, could be perceived as a passive reaction to his sexual power over her body. It could also indicate that she was strong enough to resolve her harassment by claiming another physical space as a place of safety.

The author describes that she 'felt awful afterwards' which may indicate that she feels ashamed at being sexually assaulted and over lack of ownership of her body. She expresses her inability in being able to accurately describe how she felt beyond her initially feeling awful: 'I don't know how to describe it'. This is the only indication of being unable to describe her story or how she felt in the text. She goes on to explain that as well as feeling awful, she identifies herself as feeling 'ashamed' and 'gross'. She uses the word gross to describe her disgust for what happened to her, her lack of control over the space she occupies, and the physical reaction to her body being violated. She states that she 'felt ashamed' which could hint at a diminishment of her confidence, apprehension about the reception to her narrative, and/or a desire to minimise her reactionary feelings.

The author reflects on gendered harassment being a 'common reoccurrence on the underground', and there is almost a tired sort of exasperation at the end of the narrative when she states that 'we shouldn't have to feel afraid all of the time'. Here she has associated her experience with that of other women. She is knowingly engaging with the 'emotional women' who can understand how she feels. She is hopeless when she states that 'I really wish that this wasn't a common occurrence' and that she is wishful of being in a space where this does not happen. The author relates to other women who have suffered harassment and there is a political awareness and desire that her personal experience should not be felt at all, let alone all the time.

The author tells her story of being sexually assaulted by a man on the tube without referencing an expression of anger. She does identify that she felt surprised, relieved, awful, ashamed, gross and afraid. There seems to be an underlying level of frustration that LIWC2015 did not recognise as anger, because of the language that the author used not being on the list of over 300 words associated with this emotion. This may be an indication that she is perhaps more of an emotional woman rather than an angry feminist, perhaps due to the surprise that she felt when she was groped and the fact that she does not articulate how she felt to her harasser. The importance of moving away from the molestation, and the man, and into a safer space is more important than calling him out for his

behaviour. I suspect that it would have been harder for her to draw attention to the man sexually touching her, because there is an almost anti-social feeling on the tube, where people generally do not make eye contact with their fellow travellers. This could well be due to the small space, or the fact that this space is transitory, with people more concerned with getting where they want to go. The author may feel afraid of the response that saying something might engender, in case it leaves her in a worse situation that she was in before. Her tone is analytical and explains her reactions and emotions clearly. The verbs that the author uses are in the past tense which may indicate that this instance of harassment was not recorded a real-time experience and that time may have passed between the harassment occurring and the telling of her story about it. The author clearly states that instances of this sort of harassment happen all the time on the tube, which could indicate that because this space is itself transitory, where people move in and out of this space frequently on their way somewhere, and that as she states space is limited at certain times of the day that harassment is more likely to occur. The male harasser winking seems to imply that he thought he could get away with his actions perhaps because of this attitude, or perhaps because of the tightly crammed train carriages where people are often forced into proximity. When the author recognises that she is one of many women who suffer gendered harassment she identifies herself as being aware of the issues, that there is a link to women's experiences and the sharing of their stories, because she is in the process of sharing hers. There is an acknowledgement that she and other women should not have to live their lives in fear. This is an almost desperate plea, rather than an angry one, that these instances of 'little rapes' and the 'general climate of sexual fear' that women live in should not be the norm (Plummer, 1994, p. 77). Her narrative, then, holds a political dimension: not only in sharing her narrative and contributing to the metanarrative of women's gendered harassment, but also to state that women experience a collective sexual oppression by men where the relations of power determine the way that groups experience and travel through public spaces together (Cameron and Scanlon, 2010) and are such that they are advantageous to men.

CONCLUSION

In summary, this research has presented a two-stage analysis of twenty-five women's narratives of their gendered harassment in public spaces. This research had two central aims: to catalogue the words women used to describe their experiences, and to analyse and interpret how women use emotion to narrate their accounts. In consideration of these aims this dissertation has worked with the concepts of gendered harassment, women's experience being lived through fear, feminist communities, 'angry feminist', and shared narratives. It has explored how women narrate their embodied experiences through analysing the types of emotion they express. The conceptual framework of this research is situated within Sara Ahmed's work on the politics of emotion and the empirical work of Plummer on storytelling. Ahmed's concept of an 'emotional hierarchy' which considers a display of anger as a sign of weakness or irrational thought is pertinent as the consequence of women displaying anger, fear or anxiety as a response to their harassment is for them to potentially be labelled 'irrational'. The findings of this study suggest that far fewer women perform the role of 'angry feminist' than I anticipated which was far fewer than the prevalence of the stereotype in the media seem to suggest, proving that there is more to women's expressions of emotion than this angry archetype. This has implications for research on theories of feminist identities and women's lived experiences of public space. There is now a need for further research into how online feminist communities support women, making use of their shared narratives to raise awareness of the issue and contribute to both social and criminal justice changes.

Meanwhile, until such changes occur, this dissertation hopes to have added to the scholarship on women's narratives as a 'strategy for survival' (MacKinnon, 2005, p. 61).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - *Source**: Google Trends - Web Search of the term: street harassment - Worldwide, 2004 – present*, https://www.google.co.uk/trends/explore?date=all&q=street%20harassment

Appendix 2 *- Source: Google Books NGram Viewer - Web Search of the phrase: street harassment, 1960 – 2008,*

https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=street+harassment&year_start=1960&year_end=2000&corpus=15&smoothing=3&share=&direct_url=t1%3B%2Cstreet%20harassment%3B%2Cc0

Appendix 3 - LIWC2015 full data results of narrative sample

Narrative Filename	Hollaback category	Segment	WC	Analytic
Control group: Blogs			3206.45	49.89
1 a group of guys who looked about 18.docx	Rape threat	1	91	77.57
2 Are you a good climber princess.docx	Uncategorised	1	150	64.41
3 At the bus stop.docx	Street	1	146	92.84
4 Clapham High Street Stalker.docx	Shop	1	431	69.84
5 From men staring at you on the underground tube for so long that you feel like you want to scream at them.docx	Street	1	319	28.32
6 Groped on the Piccadilly Line tube.docx	Uncategorised	1	122	54.68
7 He called me a bitch and walked on.docx	Uncategorised	1	73	75.23
8 He made a yelping kind of shout and followed me up the street.docx	Uncategorised	1	197	80.16
9 I am 13.docx	Uncategorised	1	113	15.83
10 I just want to walk down the street.docx	Street	1	428	32.47
11 I like your hair like that.docx	Uncategorised	1	310	37.82
12 I looked up to see him masturbating openly opposite me.docx	Tube	1	965	74.47
13 I turned around to look at him and he was just broadly smiling.docx	Cycling	1	120	10.15
14 Its not even that it hurts.docx	Tube	1	195	12.04
15 NO YOUR PROBLEM.docx	Train	1	276	27.23
16 Ok but I just want to suck my cock.docx	Uncategorised	1	124	29.04
17 Personal Space.docx	Tube	1	338	59.42
18 There is something about being violated like that that just makes you freeze.docx	Train	1	191	25.21
19 They were making obscene gestures and laughing.docx	Uncategorised	1	150	40.12
20 Tube Perve.docx	Tube	1	177	84.63
21 What do you want.docx	Street	1	97	38.08
22 You know you want it.docx	Street	1	97	49.66
23 You still touched me without my consent.docx	Street	1	173	24.73
24 your girlfriend.docx	Rape threat	1	226	49.15
25 You're not that hot.docx	Street	1	321	31.08

Clout	Authentic	Tone	WPS	Sixltr	Dic	function	pronoun	ppron	i	we	you	shehe	they	ipron	article	prep	auxverb	adverb	conj	negate	verb	adj	compare
47.87	60.93	54.5	18.4	14.38	85.79	53.1	16.2	10.66	6.26	0.91	1.32	1.5	0.68	5.53	6	12.6	8.75	5.88	6.43	1.81	17.03	4.53	2.17
54.38	92.56	25.77	30.33	16.48	93.41	57.14	18.68	12.09	7.69	0	0	0	4.4	6.59	18.68	6.59	4.4	3.3	2.2		20.88		1.1
63.05	94.62	25.77	30	12	86.67	50.67	16	14	7.33	0.67	1.33	2	2.67	4.67	6.59	14	7.33	4.67	6.67	0.67	17.33	5.33	3.33
58.13	94.91	2.2	10.43	12.33	81.51	45.21	15.75	14.38	8.9	0	3.42	1.37	0.68	8.88	7.71	11.68	9.81	6.78	8.41	2.1	18.46	3.27	0.7
48.14	90.22	56.44	16.58	16.24	92.58	57.08	16.94	13.46	9.05	0	1.16	2.32	0.93	3.48	9.28	13.69	6.96	4.18	7.19	0.93	14.38	5.8	2.55
80.99	86.38	25.77	24.54	11.6	93.73	59.87	20.06	15.36	6.58	0.63	0	0	3.13	4.7	3.76	16.3	9.4	6.58	9.72	2.82	18.5	3.13	2.19
18.36	95.44	7.09	15.25	16.39	86.07	56.56	15.57	13.11	9.02	0.82	0	8.22	0	2.46	8.2	13.11	9.02	6.56	6.56	2.46	18.03	6.56	0
44.56	93.59	1	12.17	8.22	98.63	58.9	23.29	13.7	13.7	0	0.51	3.05	0	1.37	8.22	16.44	2.74	1.37	8.22	0	20.55	5.48	2.74
43.95	90.68	91.62	17.91	17.26	90.36	51.27	17.26	13.2	9.64	0	0	0	0	4.06	9.64	12.18	3.55	2.03	7.61	0	17.26	2.03	2.03
39.52	98.19	25.77	14.12	9.73	93.81	69.03	25.66	18.58	11.5	0	0	4.42	2.65	7.08	5.31	15.04	10.62	8.85	7.96	1.77	21.24	0.88	0
19.38	91.42	1	17.83	15.19	95.33	61.21	19.16	10.28	8.64	0	0	1.17	0.47	8.88	7.71	11.68	9.81	6.78	8.41	2.1	18.71	1.74	0.7
52.58	83.21	92.59	25.83	14.52	88.71	54.84	19.03	13.87	8.71	0.32	0	3.23	0	5.16	5.16	12.58	6.45	6.77	9.68	0.65	18.71	1.74	2.58
41.8	74.62	21.02	30.16	20	91.71	58.76	15.23	9.02	6.32	0.41	0	1.76	0.52	6.22	7.88	17.62	7.98	5.28	6.74	1.55	16.58	3.83	2.49
20.24	88.91	2.89	20	13.33	91.67	63.33	21.67	18.33	10.83	0	0	7.5	0	3.33	2.5	14.17	6.67	15	10	1.67	15.83	0.83	0
16.49	82.75	18.23	11.28	9.74	91.79	62.05	20.51	13.2	8.72	0	0	1.03	0	10.77	5.13	10.77	11.79	8.21	8.72	3.59	21.54	2.05	0
44.24	50.1	1	13.14	18.12	93.84	60.14	20.65	12.68	7.25	0.72	1.45	2.9	0.36	7.97	5.43	11.96	8.7	6.16	7.61	3.26	15.94	3.99	1.45
37.35	90.96	1	11.27	6.45	97.58	54.84	23.39	12.1	8.72	0	3.23	4.03	4.03	1.61	3.23	12.9	5.65	4.03	8.06	1.61	25	5.65	2.42
28.7	91.64	4.62	16.1	13.02	92.9	59.47	17.16	11.83	8.58	0	0	2.96	0.3	5.03	9.17	14.5	7.69	6.8	7.4	1.78	17.75	4.44	1.48
66.01	93.09	25.77	19.4	15.46	95.88	61.86	24.74	19.59	10.31	0	4.12	3.09	2.06	5.15	4.12	18.56	6.19	2.06	7.22	3.09	12.37	3.09	3.09
99	34.18	1.48	12.12	11.34	95.88	58.76	27.84	16.49	4.12	3.09	6.19	3.09	0	11.34	5.15	13.4	8.25	3.09	5.65	2.82	22.68	2.06	1.03
26.72	96.17	1	22.12	18.64	90.96	54.8	12.43	10.17	6.78	0	0	3.39	0	2.26	9.04	16.95	7.91	3.39	5.65	0.67	14.69	6.21	2.82
32.05	93.3	25.77	37.5	16.67	90	61.33	20	15.33	10	0.67	0	0	4.67	4.67	6.67	14	10.67	6	7.33	0.67	22	1.33	0.67
11.44	98.11	1.39	17.36	14.14	93.72	63.87	21.99	12.04	8.9	0.52	1.05	1.57	0	9.95	5.76	14.66	10.99	6.28	7.33	3.66	18.32	7.85	3.14
28.17	86.96	47.12	24.71	16.76	87.28	63.01	20.81	15.61	8.67	0.58	5.2	1.16	0	5.2	5.2	15.03	10.98	5.2	7.51	5.78	16.76	3.47	3.47
41.26	95.86	2.44	22.6	17.26	93.81	57.96	20.8	15.04	10.62	1.77	1.33	0.88	0.44	5.75	5.75	16.37	7.08	4.87	9.29	0.88	16.81	7.96	3.54
41.38	94.95	25.77	16.89	13.08	94.08	55.45	19.31	13.4	8.41	1.25	1.25	1.25	1.25	5.92	5.3	12.15	9.35	6.23	7.79	2.18	22.43	5.3	1.87

interrog	number	quant	affect	posemo	negemo	anx	anger	sad	social	family	friend	female	male	cogproc	insight	cause	discrep	tentat	certain	differ	percept	see
1.51	1.89	2.27	5.79	3.66	2.06	0.27	0.68	0.44	8.95	0.46	0.4	0.91	1.31	11.58	2.28	1.56	2.82	3.31	1.56	2.58	1.04	2.2
2.2	4.4	3.3	6.59	3.3	3.3	0.68	3.3	0	16.48	1.1	2.2	1.1	4.4	14.29	4.4	3.3	4.4	3.3	0	3.3	6.59	2.2
0.67	6.67	2.67	4	2	2	0	0.67	0.67	13.33	0.67	0	1.33	3.33	10	1.33	0	1.33	4.67	0.67	3.33	5.33	1.33
0.68	2.74	1.37	6.85	2.05	4.79	0	2.05	0.68	12.33	0	1.37	0	4.11	2.74	0	0	0	0	2.05	0.68	2.74	2.05
0.7	1.39	0.46	4.87	3.25	1.62	0.7	0.46	0.23	10.21	0	0	0.93	3.94	6.96	1.39	0.93	1.16	0.93	1.86	4.41	2.09	
2.19	1.25	2.51	5.33	2.19	2.19	0.31	0.31	0.31	15.05	0	0	0.31	2.51	8.78	1.88	1.57	2.82	2.51	0.63	2.51	5.64	1.25
1.64	0	1.64	4.92	1.64	3.28	1.64	0	0	4.92	0	0	0	4.1	12.3	4.1	1.64	0.82	0.82	3.28	4.1	1.64	
0	0	6.85	7.5	2.5	5	1.67	1.67	0	8.33	0	0	8.33	8.33	10.83	2.5	0	5	4.17	0.83	0.83	8.33	4.17
0.51	1.02	2.54	7.11	5.58	1.52	0.51	0.51	1.03	9.64	0.51	0.51	0	3.55	8.63	1.02	0.51	4.06	0.81	1.02	8.12	3.05	
0	0	0	6.85	1.37	5.48	0	2.74	1.37	17.81	1.37	1.37	0	5.48	5.48	1.37	1.37	2.74	0	2.74	1.37	1.37	0
5.31	2.65	0	3.54	1.77	1.77	0	0	0	13.27	0	1.77	0.88	6.19	10.62	2.65	0.88	2.65	1.77	0	1.77	4.42	0.88
1.4	1.4	2.8	6.31	1.4	4.91	1.4	2.1	0.7	6.07	0.23	0.23	0.23	2.34	14.25	3.04	2.34	2.8	3.97	2.34	3.97	2.1	0.23
0.65	1.94	0.97	7.42	5.81	1.61	0.65	0.65	0.32	10.97	0	0.97	0.32	4.19	8.39	1.29	0.97	3.23	2.9	0.97	2.9	4.84	1.61
1.55	0.83	2.69	4.87	2.28	2.59	0.52	0.52	0.21	9.22	0	0	0.62	2.49	13.26	3.32	1.76	2.49	4.04	0.93	3.83	2.38	1.04
1.67	0	0	7.5	2.5	5	1.67	1.67	1.67	8.33	0.1	0	0	8.33	10.83	2.5	2.5	5	4.17	0.83	4.17	4.17	4.17
3.08	2.05	2.56	3.59	1.54	2.05	0.51	0.51	1.03	7.69	0	0	0.51	2.56	16.41	2.05	2.56	3.08	3.08	3.08	4.62	4.1	1.54
1.81	0.36	1.81	10.51	3.26	7.25	0.72	2.9	0	11.23	0	0.72	0.36	3.99	11.96	2.54	1.81	2.9	0.72	0.36	3.62	4.71	1.45
0	4.03	0.81	9.68	1.61	8.06	0.81	4.03	0.81	19.35	0	1.61	2.42	3.23	18.55	5.65	0.81	4.84	0.81	0.81	8.06	5.65	1.61
2.07	0.3	1.78	6.21	1.78	3.85	1.18	1.18	0.89	9.47	0	0.59	0.3	4.73	9.76	0.89	0.89	2.96	0.3	1.48	4.44	1.18	0.3
1.05	0.52	3.14	4.19	0.52	3.66	1.05	2.09	0.52	5.24	0	0	0	1.57	19.37	3.14	2.62	4.71	6.28	0.52	6.28	5.76	0.52
2	3.33	0.67	5.33	2.67	2.67	0.67	0.52	0	8.67	0	0	0	0	10.67	1.33	2.67	1.33	0.67	2	2.67	6.67	1.33
1.69	2.26	3.95	5.65	0.56	5.08	1.69	0.56	0.56	6.21	0	0	1.13	3.95	10.73	1.69	0	1.13	2.82	2.82	2.82	2.26	0
6.19	0	1.03	6.19	0.56	4.12	1.03	2.06	0	25.77	0	1.03	0	4.12	8.25	2.06	0	4.12	2.06	0	1.03	4.12	1.03
2.06	0	3.09	6.19	3.09	3.09	1.03	2.06	0	16.49	0	1.03	1.03	5.15	12.37	2.06	2.06	2.06	3.09	0	3.09	4.12	1.03
0.58	0.58	1.73	2.31	1.73	0.58	0	0.58	0	9.25	0	0	1.16	1.16	11.56	2.89	0	0.58	0.58	1.73	5.2	7.51	0
1.77	1.33	1.33	6.19	1.77	4.42	1.33	3.1	0	9.73	0	3.1	0.88	1.77	13.72	2.21	4.42	0	2.65	1.77	3.1	4.42	0.88
2.18	1.25	2.18	7.79	3.74	3.74	0	2.49	0	11.21	0	0	0.31	2.18	11.53	2.18	0.93	0.31	2.49	1.87	4.67	5.3	1.56

hear	feel	bio	body	health	sexual	ingest	drives	affiliation	achieve	power	reward	risk	focuspast	focuspresent	focusfuture	relativ	motion	space	time	work	leisure
0.75	0.64	2.16	0.74	0.61	0.17	0.54	6.87	2.2	1.27	2.07	1.49	0.46	4.25	10.95	1.6	14.23	2.15	6.43	5.86	2.04	1.5
2.2	2.2	2.2	0	2.2	0	0	6.59	3.3	0	1.33	3.3	0	9.89	8.79	2.2	17.58	4.4	9.89	3.3	0	1.1
2.67	1.33	1.33	0.67	0.67	0	0	6.67	0.67	2	1.33	2.67	0	10.67	5.33	1.33	22	3.33	14.67	4	0	0
0.68	0	2.05	0.68	0.68	1.37	0.68	6.85	1.37	0.68	1.37	2.05	2.05	6.16	6.85	0.68	22.6	6.16	10.96	5.48	0	0.68
1.62	0.7	1.39	0.93	0.23	0.46	0.46	4.87	0.23	0.23	3.25	0.93	0.7	5.1	5.16	0.46	19.95	4.64	8.35	7.42	1.16	2.09
3.45	0.94	0.94	0	0.63	0.31	0.31	5.64	0.63	1.57	2.19	0.31	0.94	1.57	13.17	2.19	18.18	3.45	10.03	4.7	1.25	1.57
0	2.46	1.64	1.64	0	0	0	4.1	0.82	0.82	0.82	0.82	0.82	10.66	4.92	0.82	19.67	2.46	8.2	8.2	0	0
1.37	0	1.37	1.37	0	1.37	0	5.48	0	1.37	2.74	1.37	0	12.33	4.11	1.37	23.29	6.85	12.33	0	0	0
4.06	1.02	1.52	0.51	0	0.51	0.51	6.09	0.51	0	3.05	1.52	1.02	9.64	5.08	1.02	19.8	4.57	9.64	5.58	0.51	0.51
3.54	0	0.88	0	0	0.88	0	5.31	0.88	0.88	2.65	0.88	0	7.96	8.85	0.88	23.01	3.54	16.81	2.65	0	0
0.47	1.4	0.7	0.23	0.47	0	0	6.31	0.7	1.17	3.5	0.47	1.17	2.57	15.42	0.7	16.36	3.27	6.78	6.31	2.1	0.47
1.94	1.29	3.87	1.29	0.32	2.26	0	4.84	0.65	0	1.61	1.29	1.29	8.39	5.16	1.29	18.39	4.52	8.71	5.16	0.32	0.32
0.93	0.41	1.24	0.73	0.21	0.21	0.1	8.29	1.76	1.45	3.42	1.45	0.52	6.11	6.74	1.04	15.75	2.59	7.25	6.32	2.28	0.31
0	4.17	5	5	0	0	4.17	4.17	0	1.67	1.67	0	0.83	10	4.17	0	19.17	2.5	11.67	5.83	0	0
1.03	1.54	1.03	0	0	1.03	0	5.13	0.51	0	3.59	0	1.03	8.21	11.28	2.05	15.38	1.54	7.69	6.15	0.51	0
1.81	0.72	2.54	1.45	0.72	0.36	0.36	5.43	1.45	0	1.09	0.36	2.54	6.16	9.78	0.72	13.41	0.72	9.78	3.26	0.36	0.36
3.23	1.61	3.23	2.42	0	2.42	0	4.84	0.81	2.42	0	1.61	0	1.61	21.77	1.61	12.9	3.23	6.45	3.23	0	0
0.59	0	0.59	0.59	0	0	0	5.92	0	1.18	1.78	2.96	0	7.4	8.88	0.89	19.82	1.78	13.02	5.03	2.96	0
1.05	1.05	1.05	1.05	0	0	0	7.33	0.52	2.09	2.62	0.52	1.57	8.38	6.81	1.05	17.28	2.62	7.33	7.33	1.57	0
4.67	0	1.33	0.67	0	0.67	0	4.67	0	0	0.67	1.33	2.67	13.33	3.33	0	18	2.67	11.33	4	0	0.67
1.69	0.56	3.39	1.69	1.13	1.13	0	5.08	0	1.13	1.13	0.56	2.26	7.34	3.95	0	24.86	2.82	10.73	11.86	1.69	0
3.09	0	1.03	1.03	0	0	0	9.28	7.22	0	2.06	0	0	9.28	9.28	0	18.56	4.12	10.31	3.09	1.03	0
3.09	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.12	6.19	1.03	19.59	1.03	13.4	5.15	0	0
0	6.94	0	2.89	0	0.58	0	4.62	0.58	0.58	2.89	0	0.58	6.36	5.78	0.58	13.87	2.31	6.36	5.78	1.73	0.58
0.44	3.1	2.65	0.88	0.44	0.88	0.44	8.85	4.87	0.88	1.33	1.33	0.88	7.52	6.64	0	16.37	2.21	10.62	3.54	0.44	0.44
2.18	0.93	2.49	0.62	0.93	0.62	0.62	5.61	2.18	1.25	0.62	0.93	0.62	8.1	11.84	1.56	17.13	4.05	6.54	6.54	1.87	0.93

home	money	relig	death	informal	swear	netspeak	assent	nonflu	filler	AllPunc	Period	Comma	Colon	SemiC	QMark	Exclam	Dash	Quote	Apostro	Parenth	OtherP
0.49	0.59	0.39	0.15	2.09	0.35	0.92	0.33	0.42	0.11	24.18	10.29	4.15	0.43	0.1	0.59	1.16	0.99	0.71	3.85	0.9	1
0	2.2	0	0	2.2	2.2	0	0	0	0	15.38	3.3	4.4	0	0	0	0	0	2.2	2.2	0	3.3
0	0.67	0	0	2	0.67	0	0.67	0.67	0	19.33	2	6.67	0.67	0	2	0	0	2.67	1.33	2.67	1.33
0.68	0	0	0	4.11	2.74	0	0	0	0	23.29	8.22	6.16	0	0	0	0	0	3.42	1.37	2.67	0
1.16	1.86	0	0	0.7	0	0	0.46	0.23	0	12.76	4.87	6.03	0	0	1.37	0.7	0	0.46	0.23	2.74	0
0.68	0	0	0	0.63	0	0	0.31	0.31	0	13.79	4.08	2.82	0	0	0.46	0	0	1.25	4.7	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0.51	1.02	0	1.37	0	17.26	4.06	3.55	0	0	0.31	3.55	0	1.37	0	2.03	0
0	0.51	0	0	1.52	0	0	0.51	0.51	0	15.07	8.22	4.11	0	0	0	0	0	1.37	0	0	0
0	0	0	0	1.77	0.88	0.88	0	0	0	9.84	6.56	0.82	0	0	0	3.55	0	0.88	2.65	0	0.88
0	0	0	0	1.29	0	0	0	0	0	15.04	7.08	3.54	0	0	0	0	0.88	0	3.5	0.93	0
0.93	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13.55	5.84	3.27	0	0	0.97	1.29	0	2.58	1.29	0.65	0.65
0	0.63	0	0	0.21	0	0	0.1	0	0	13.87	1.61	4.52	0.32	0	0.93	1.29	0	0.83	1.35	1.87	0.21
0	0	0	0	1.29	0	0	0.32	0	0	13.47	3.01	4.97	0.1	0.21	0.1	0.93	0	2.56	3.08	0	0
0	0.23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.5	4.17	5.83	0.83	0	1.03	0	0	0	1.67	0	0
1.48	0	0	0	0.51	0.51	0	0	0	0	19.49	4.62	7.69	0.51	0	0.72	0	0	1.45	3.26	1.45	0
0.36	0	0	0	1.45	0.72	0.36	0.36	0	0	17.39	4.71	2.17	0	0	0.72	3.26	0.36	1.45	3.26	1.45	0
0	0	0	0	5.65	4.03	0	1.61	0	0	33.06	8.06	8.87	0	0	0.81	0	0	5.65	9.68	0	0
1.48	0.3	0	0	0.3	0.3	0	0	0	0	14.2	5.33	4.14	0	0	0.3	0.59	0	1.48	2.37	0	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10.99	5.24	1.57	0	0	0	0.52	0	3.66	3.66	0	0
0.36	0	0	0	1.33	0.67	0.67	0	0	0	12	4	2.67	0	0	0	0	1.33	1.33	1.33	1.33	0
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.3	3.95	4.52	0	0.56	0	0.56	0	0	1.69	0	0
0.83	0	0	0	1.03	1.03	0	0	0	0	19.59	5.15	3.09	0	0	3.09	0	0	8.25	0	0	0
0.1	0	0	1.03	0	0	0	0	0	0	16.49	5.15	4.12	0	0	0	0	0	4.12	3.09	0	0
0	0	0	0	1.16	1.16	0	0	0	0	8.09	4.05	1.16	0	0	0	0	0	0	2.89	0	0
1.73	0.44	0	0	0.44	0.44	0	0	0	0	12.83	3.1	2.65	0	0	0.88	0.44	0	1.77	1.77	1.77	0.44
0.62	0	0.31	0	2.8	0.62	0.31	0.62	0.31	0	21.5	3.74	5.61	0	0	0	2.8	0.93	1.25	6.23	0.62	0.31

Appendix 4 - Annotated narratives

> **'Ok', he says, 'but I just wanted to know if you'd suck my cock'[1]**
>
> Two guys walking behind me, talking loudly[2], 'I can't see if she's fit, get her to turn around'[3]. I try to ignore them[4], they get my attention, I turn round[5]. One of them pulls a disappointed face[6]. The other still wants to know if I fancy his friend[7]. I reason with them, I try to explain you can't shout at women in the street[8], its impolite[9]. 'Impolite[10]?' the first one asks. 'Ok', he says, 'but I just wanted to know if you'd suck my cock[11]'. All I can mange[12] is 'fuck you[13]'. I feel scared[14] but as soon as they are 10 metres away I am furiously angry[15]. As usual[16].

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[1] The title is written as matter of fact, storytelling, explanation, has a shock factor, it is an impersonal, sexually aggressive, suggestive of sexual assault, rape and bodily ownership. The author states that such a request leaves her feeling fear and anger. It is an interruption that sexualises and objectifies her, her presence is to confirm the male's attractiveness. 'But' is a justification for the demand as a seemingly reasonable request with placating language.

[2] Two men are identified as the harassers, woman is in a vulnerable position, sense of danger, **anxiety and fear – are they present?**

[3] The conversation is not directed to that woman but as a request to the other man who talk between them about her, making her the subject and as the focal point of the interaction. They discuss her physicality, her body, and attractiveness.

[4] The woman describes being unable to continue on her way with their behaviour drawing attention to her, her movement through public spaces is hindered by an act of male aggression.

[5] The woman interacts with the two men, physical awareness of her proximity in the space as she turns towards them.

[6] A physical indication of men feeling there is an expectation that she should respond, as if they are owed that information and it is her responsibility to reply.

[7] The use of the word 'still' indicates a second demand.

[8] She is the reasonable one, she is placatory and appealing to a more mature, or understanding awareness of her right to exist in the same public space as them.

[9] 'Impolite' meaning unacceptable or uncalled for. Here she is justifying the men not listening to her words, or that they were interrupting her when she was speaking to them. Either way there is a refusal to understand that it is harassment and unacceptable.

[10] Questioning the validity of her reaction. It could be an expression of dominance, anger, possession, ownership, sexuality, identity.

[11] 'But and Just. Negation of her complaint to be heard, to be respected to be afforded permission to share their space without incident. His desire to know this is more important than how she feels and her presence in public spaces. This demand is sexual, intimate, shocking, dominant, demanding attention, and displays a male dominance in the space.

[12] *Manage – misspelt

[13] It seems that the author struggles to react, is emotive, and uses swearing language shows her anger at the invasion but also to tell them to leave her alone.

[14] This is a personal admission in the safe space of women's communities to admit that she is scared.

[15] They or she, it is not clear, leave the area and she becomes safe in public space without their threatening presence. It seems like this safety allows her to admit that she is angry. Not angry but 'furiously' angry. A powerfully felt emotion that is descriptive and implies an extreme reaction. This has huge implication for women withholding emotion, could not be expressed in front of men where it was not safe.

[16] This implies that this kind of harassment has previously occurred, expected and feared.

Groped on the Piccadilly Line tube[1]

I had[2] boarded a Piccadilly Line tube carriage at Gloucester Road[3]. It was early evening rush[4] hour so the carriage was very packed[5]. A couple of minutes into the journey I noticed[6] the man standing next to[7] me was groping my thigh[8]. I looked into his eyes[9] and he winked at me[10]. I was almost too surprised to react[11] but was able to move away from him[12] and was relieved when he got off at the next stop[13]. I felt awful afterwards[14], I don't know how to describe it[15] but I just felt ashamed and gross[16]. I really wish this wasn't a common occurrence on the underground[17]. We shouldn't have to feel afraid all the time[18].

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[1] A bold title, clear, straight forward and factual. Also a geographical location and indication of limited escape from a small impersonal space.

[2] Past tense – not a real time experience.

[3] Geographical location, repetition from the title, recognising the location as that of an unpleasant experience, almost in the manner of a crime report.

[4] Time of day, indicates busy period of travel with many people moving through a network of tunnels and carriages. Limiting in terms of movement, and more importantly from exiting in times of emergency of threat

[5] Indicating that space may have been an issue where people are forced into small spaces together

[6] Subjective: personal observation

[7] Identifying male harasser – also 'next to' could be crammed in together without much room to get away

[8] Sexual assault, physical contact, 'Me' and 'my', her body, *groping* used again, not touch, owning the word for what it is, recognising that she was not imagining it and that she could name something that was wrong

[9] Looking for an indication for justification? In shock? Or perhaps as a challenge, because eye contact is a dominant challenge, in denial?

[10] Suggestive, sexual, ownership, laddish behaviour, predatory, joking

[11] 'Almost' surprised reaction – disbelief, to establish if it was happening, as a justification for non-act, rabbit in headlines analogy, freezing is a common experience

[12] The woman reacted by moving out of his space, quiet, with minimal fuss and without drawing attention to the instance of assault and harassment, moved into a safe space away from the physical intrusion

[13] **Relief** felt when he was longer posing a threat of intimate intrusion, instantly in a safer space and perhaps relief that nothing worse has happened, or that it was over.

[14] **Awful** – physical reaction, what does awful indicate that she is aware that she was harassed, that she survived a stressful experience, or guilt/shame over being touched inappropriately, and over lack of ownership of her body – the sheer audacity!

[15] She is unable to relate her feelings clearly, stunned, and perhaps in shock

[16] 'Just' **felt** abused, physical reaction, dirty after being groped, aware of the bodily intrusion.

[17] 'I really wish' – hopeful, wistful of being in a space where this does not happen, enclosed space, the underground - geographical location again

[18] Key indication of **fear**, 'We' – connection to all women and their similar experiences of intrusion, the feminist voice, that women live in fear, 'all the time' – relates to the incidences of occurrence perhaps particularly on the underground