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The Global Anti-Street Harassment Movement: Digitally-Enabled Feminist Activism

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Across the world feminist activists have been developing an anti-street harassment social movement to resist and end sexual and gender-based harassment in public spaces. While numerous anti-harassment initiatives have mobilized in the last 10–15 years, deploying a diverse and creative range of online and offline resistance strategies, to date there is no academic research on the movement's emergence. This is a surprising omission given the movement's global reach, and the growing recognition of street harassment as a pervasive and harmful social problem (Fileborn 2014, p. 38). This chapter examines the role of digital technologies – the Internet, social media platforms, and mobile phone technologies – in enabling the formation and global expansion of the movement. Recent years have witnessed much debate concerning the influence of digital

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technologies on the emergence and outcomes of social movements (Shirky 2009; Gladwell 2010; Morozov 2011). Nevertheless, it is evident that such technologies do not determine social movements (Castells 2012, p. 103). Rather, digital technologies *afford opportunities* for activists organizing and participating in collective action. When technological affordances are leveraged effectively, social movements may emerge (Earl and Kimport 2011, p. 10). "Technological affordance" describes the "special technological capacities of Internet-enabled technologies' and refers to the 'actions or uses that a technology makes easier (and therefore facilitates)" (Earl and Kimport 2011, p. 32). Based on interviews with 32 anti-harassment activists, operative in ten countries,[1] this chapter argues that activists have leveraged the affordances of digital technologies to organize and participate in anti-street harassment activism, thus accelerating the movement's formation and development. The chapter refers specifically to 14 anti-street harassment initiatives (see Table 17.1).

To structure my analysis, I draw on R. Kelly Garrett's (2006) work on the mobilizing potential of digital technologies for collective action. Following a review of the social movement literature, Garrett identified three technology-related mechanisms that can facilitate political

Table 17.1 Anti-street harassment initiatives

Group/individual/campaign	Country	Year emerged/initial anti-street harassment campaign
Blank Noise	India	2003
Hollaback!	Global	2005 (in New York)
Girls for Gender Equity	U.S.	2007 (Street Harassment Summit)
Stop Street Harassment	U.S.	2008
Collective Action for Safe Spaces	U.S.	2009
HarassMap	Egypt	2010
Hollaback! London	U.K.	2010
Hollaback! Berlin	Germany	2011
Bassma (Imprint Movement)	Egypt	2012
I Saw Harassment	Egypt	2012
Chega de Fiu Fiu (Enough with the Catcalls)	Brazil	2013
Feminista Jones	U.S.	2014 (#YouOKSis campaign)
Girls Against	U.K.	2015
HarassTracker	Lebanon	2016

participation. Digital technologies help to first, reduce the costs of organizing and participating in collection action; second, promote collective identity, which helps to foster and maintain participation; and third, and relatedly, enable community formation (2006, p. 204). Garrett's framework largely applies to this study; however, to more adequately explain digitally-enabled participation in anti-harassment activism, I also draw on feminist scholarship in this area.

Reduction of Participation Costs

The first mechanism or affordance involves digital technologies' potential to lower the participation or 'transaction costs' for activists organizing, mobilizing and engaging in collective action (Van Laer and Van Aelst 2009, p. 236). According to Shirky (2009), the reduction of transaction costs – time, money, effort or attention – removes the obstacles to group action, thereby enabling the creation of new and efficient forms of collective action (pp. 18, 22, 48). As he puts it, "the collapse of transaction costs makes it easier for people to get together – so much easier, in fact, that it is changing the world" (p. 48). Now that people are less constrained by participation costs, "group-forming has gone from hard to ridiculously easy, [and] we are seeing an explosion of experiments with new groups and new kinds of groups" (p. 54). Similarly, in a study of seven social movement cases, Bonchek (1995) found that the speed and inexpensiveness of the Internet, and its capacity for many-to-many communication, reduced communication, coordination, and information costs, and therefore facilitated group formation, recruitment and retention (pp. 2–4). In a similar vein, I find that anti-harassment activists have benefited from the "cost-reducing affordance" of digital technologies (Earl and Kimport 2011, p. 15), which, in part, explains the formation and development of many and varying types of anti-harassment groups worldwide.

Hollaback! provides an excellent example of the movement's use of digital technologies to resist street harassment, and to organize efficiently and mobilize people rapidly. Hollaback! began operating in 2005 as a blog where people could share their experiences of street harassment.

Emily May, Hollaback!'s co-founder and executive director, described the creation of the blog as a "breakthrough" and an opportunity to create a "bigger, more global conversation" around street harassment (as cited in Keller et al. 2016, p. 5). Hollaback! has since expanded into a global network operating in 84 cities across 31 countries (Vera-Gray 2017, p. 1), deploying a range of online and offline tactics. Potential participants can easily join the network via the organization's website (which I discuss later) and site leaders receive all their training online. During a three-month period, new site leaders participate in a series of webinars, covering topics that include leveraging social media, dealing with the press and organizing on the ground. In addition, each site is provided with a customized website, which they build and populate with local content. To encourage communication, collective identification, and participation, Hollaback! operates a Listserv and a private Facebook group, as well as a shared Google Drive, through which activists can access informational resources and materials for campaigning purposes (D. Roy, personal communication, April 13, 2014). Debjani Roy, deputy director of Hollaback!, sums up the importance of digital technologies for the development of the global network:

> In my opinion, technology is everything… without it we wouldn't be able to organize in this decentralized way; we wouldn't be able to have regular contact with site leaders; we wouldn't be able to work towards understanding what this looks like on a global scale. The speed of information flow is absolutely necessary to building the movement at the pace that it's been growing. It is impossible without it. (personal communication, April 13, 2014)

Hence, it is clear from this testimony that digital technologies have lowered the coordination, communication, and information costs for Hollaback!, enabling the formation and growth of the global network. Throughout the interviews there were many other examples of activists benefiting from the affordances of digital technologies. Above all, new technologies make communication easier, enabling information to be shared rapidly to large numbers of people across time and space. For instance, according to Holly Kearl, founder and executive director of

Stop Street Harassment, "technology is the core because we started as a website and we do most of our work online… So, without the technology it would be kind of impossible to reach each other at this level and this speed" (personal communication, April 24, 2014). This point is echoed by Julia Brilling, director of Hollaback! Berlin, "it wouldn't be possible without technology. That's the thing, it's all Internet-based. All you need is [a] computer and the Internet… it allows you to connect to so many people instantly, so we reach a lot of people just by posting something" (personal communication, January 12, 2016). Digital technologies have similarly played a critical role in Girls Against's communication and out-reach efforts to combat sexual harassment and assault in the live music industry:

> We would be nothing without the Internet. We do everything on there, our campaign is primarily on Twitter. We have a Facebook [page] and do most of our communicating via emails… and messages. That's the only way we've been able to get into contact with important people in the music industry who are going to be the huge catalyst for change. (H. Camilleri, personal communication, February 1, 2016)

Thus, many anti-harassment activists value and effectively utilize the connectivity afforded by the Internet as it enables the transmission of a thought, idea, or information to fellow activists and followers "at a moment's inspiration" (Wellman et al. 2003). Moreover, several groups – among them Bassma, HarassMap and I Saw Harassment in Egypt, and Blank Noise in India – use digital technologies to recruit volunteers and coordinate their volunteer activities. For instance, in Egypt mobile phone messaging services are crucial for the coordination of Bassma volunteers, who form security patrols to prevent attacks on women during protests and religious holidays when mass sexual harassment is common. Co-founder Nihal Saad Zaghloul explains: "mobile phones are very important because this is how we communicate and send each other text messages… We work all day and many of us might not have access to email all day but we have access to SMS [and] WhatsApp" (personal communication, April 4, 2016).

As the quotations above indicate, without digital technologies many anti-harassment initiatives would not have formed and would not be as effective in reaching audiences or in achieving their objectives. This is not to infer that all anti-harassment activists worldwide enjoy equal access to digital technologies, or notice and effectively leverage technological affordances (Earl and Kimport 2011, p. 33). Much has been written about the "digital divide", which shows that Internet access is not equally distributed among groups, but disproportionately benefits the young, affluent, and more highly skilled (Schuster 2013, p. 11; Elliott 2016). According to Joanne Smith, chief executive of Girls for Gender Equity, young people in marginalized communities typically do not have "that kind of a phone to have that kind of an app and in the neighbourhoods that they go home to, they're not going to take a picture of somebody who's harassing them.[2] They're going to find a safe space" (personal communication, April 10, 2014). Hence, digital inequalities exist between movement participants, with privileged actors better able to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by such technologies. Notwithstanding these exclusions, digital technologies have lowered the participation costs for many anti-harassment activists worldwide.

In addition to lowering the financial, temporal, and spatial costs associated with participation, feminist scholars point out that digital platforms, such as blogs and social media applications, afford new opportunities for women and girls to share their experiences in ways that were not previously possible (Keller et al. 2016, p. 6). For young women, especially – a demographic highly affected by street harassment[3] (Fairchild and Rudman 2008, p. 338) – online platforms may provide less intimidating avenues for political engagement than more traditional forms of participation (Harris 2008, p. 492). Further, in the context of street harassment and sexual assault, the Internet can be a "safe space" for women to resist gender oppressions (Fileborn 2014, pp. 33–34). For example, through an analysis of posts to the Hollaback! website, Keller et al. (2016) showed that, protected by the anonymity of the Internet, women were empowered to speak about, and thus make visible, often silenced experiences of street harassment. Moreover, digital technologies allow feminist activists to circumvent traditional media platforms and to counter mainstream narratives that silence women's experiences of street harassment,

and enable and normalize sexual violence (Fileborn 2014, p. 33; Clark 2016, p. 789). For instance, Juliana de Faria, journalist and founder of Chega de Fiu Fiu (in English: Enough with the Catcalls), Brazil, submitted an article on street harassment for publication in a women's magazine but was told that the topic was "too politically correct." She explains:

> Thank God for the Internet era: I decided to do it on my own. I decided to go with an online campaign, because I had no money… and I thought it would be an easier and cheaper way to engage people… [The campaign] went viral and several women started writing [to] me. They were sharing their fears and traumas with street harassment, and many of them were sharing their stories for the very first time. (J. de Faria, personal communication, December 4, 2015)

While digital technologies enable activists to bypass mainstream media, at the same time actors and their efforts to resist street harassment may gain positive media coverage from initially unreceptive and even hostile media, helping to promote their cause to a wider audience. For instance, as also discussed in Chap. 1, Chega de Fiu Fiu's 2015 Twitter campaign, #primeiroassedio (in English: #firstharassment), generated more than 82,000 tweets and retweets in five days, attracting significant media attention. The project has since been featured in more than 200 Brazilian and international media outlets, and de Faria has received much international recognition from, for example, the Clinton Foundation and *Cosmopolitan* Magazine who nominated her "one of the most inspiring women in the world" (Chega de Fiu Fiu 2015).

In sum, digital technologies have reduced many of the costs associated with participation, enabling the proliferation and maintenance of new and varying anti-harassment groups worldwide, and affording women new opportunities to speak about and resist street harassment. This is not to infer that there are no longer any costs or barriers to anti-street harassment activism. Many of the interviewees identified a lack of time and money as perennial constraints to participation. Moreover, anti-harassment activists, like most women speaking out about sexism, are at risk of misogynistic online harassment or 'gendertrolling' (Mantilla 2013, p. 565), which can curtail or alter women's political participation. For example, following multiple death threats online, Feminista Jones, who

devised the viral hashtag campaign #YouOKSis, decided to redirect her campaigning efforts into offline spaces, such as schools and youth groups (personal communication, February 12, 2016). Hollaback! has taken a different approach; in response to years of gendertrolling, initially in the form of abusive emails, which then escalated into rape and death threats, the leadership team launched HeartMob in 2016 – a platform where users can provide support and show solidarity to victims of online harassment (HeartMob 2017). Finally, it is worth reiterating that while digital technologies have reduced participation costs significantly for many activists, not all actors resisting street harassment have equal access to these technologies.

Promotion of Collective Identity

In this section, I argue that the global anti-street harassment movement has developed a collective identity among movement adherents through digital technologies, which has fostered and sustained political participation. Collective identity refers to "the sense of shared experiences and values that connects individuals to movements and gives participants a sense of 'collective agency' or feeling that they can effect change through collective action" (Staggenborg 2011, p. 22). This is particularly important for anti-harassment activists, who may experience feelings of isolation in a context where street harassment is normalized and trivialized. Digital technologies assist in the development of collective identities by making concerned individuals aware of similar struggles (Garrett 2006, p. 205) through, for example, shared "frames of reference" promulgated on organizations' websites (Van Aelst and Walgrave 2004, p. 95). Holly Kearl, for instance, explains how she came to identify with the experiences, values, and goals of anti-harassment groups through researching the rise of websites resisting street harassment: "I had felt unsafe and annoyed by harassers in public spaces for years before I found out there were groups taking action. So, knowing others were trying to make public spaces safer, a goal I wanted for myself, helped draw me to [the movement]" (personal communication, December 2, 2015).

Consequently, the Internet promotes collective identification as activists observe, learn from each another, and validate each other's actions, which can occur rapidly, and concurrently in numerous places and in numerous ways (Van Laer 2007, p. 8). For example, Julia Brilling was inspired to launch a Hollaback! chapter in Berlin after identifying with content posted on Hollaback! London's website. She explains, "This [was] so good to read. It was so healing, it was so inspiring. It was like 'oh my God, this happened to me as well' and I never knew I could talk about it… This empowerment, this feminist space, this safe space, the community, it's just so helpful" (personal communication, July 26, 2014). Thus, for this activist, the shared sense of "we-ness" or solidarity in having recognized certain shared attributes as salient and important (Nip 2004, p. 206) prompted her to take action against street harassment.

Many of the interviewees commented on the fact that prior to the Internet, women in different sites had little or no awareness of similar struggles against street harassment elsewhere. Emily May, for instance, observes that before the advent of social media only disparate, localised initiatives emerged around street harassment. Yet, "now you're really seeing globally folks having these similar shared experiences and addressing them all around the world in approximately the same timeframes, which is to say within the past ten years or so"[4] (personal communication, May 11, 2016). This explosion in anti-street harassment activism coincides with a renewed interest in feminism in the U.K., the U.S., and other countries, and in response to persistent sexual objectification of and violence against women (Evans 2015, p. 1). Within this context, several interviewees attributed the growth in anti-harassment activism to women's recognition of shared experiences, and the inspiration they have drawn from the actions of others resisting street harassment. As May explains: "it's kind of like success begets success and somebody will say 'oh, it's happened to me' and they'll look around and see other initiatives and they're like 'well, I can do something about this. Maybe I can try this, nobody's doing this thing'" (personal communication, May 11, 2016).

While some scholars doubt the capacity of technology to build identities analogous to those of face-to-face interactions (Pickerill 2003, p. 25), my research indicates that the Internet has promoted collective identification among geographically dispersed women resisting street harassment.

Nay El Rahi of HarassTracker, Lebanon, confirms this view: "[the Internet] makes us feel part of a bigger effort to counter this… very global issue… Knowing that other people are… trying to basically limit its effects, makes us feel that we're on a… continuum of struggle" (personal communication, May 2, 2016). Similarly, Juliana de Faria writes "the Internet… holds the movement together. Because thanks to this incredible tool, we women from all around can share very similar experiences and look, together, for a solution to the problem" (personal communication, December 4, 2015). Hence, for these activists the Internet is a space for sharing experiences, values, and knowledge, enabling women in disparate sites to connect to the movement. This is further evidenced by Feminista Jones' hashtag campaign, #YouOKSis, which provides a space for dialogue and support for black women around their experiences of street harassment. As others have argued elsewhere (Nip 2004, p. 206), #YouOKSis enables direct interactions between women with shared grievances to interpret their experiences and debate possible solutions. Analyzing a sample of tweets from a #YouOKSis Twitter discussion (thetrudz 2014), shows the forging of a sense of common identity and shared meanings around black women's encounters with street harassment. For example, in interpreting understandings of street harassment, several tweeters suggested that the practice entails male entitlement and domination of women's bodies, space, and time. In discussing the prevalence of street harassment, participants typically associated it with pervasive patriarchy and misogyny in society, and discussions on vulnerable targets of harassment prompted several people to reflect that black girls and young black women are most susceptible. The Twitter discussion also generated an exchange of ideas concerning strategies for affecting change.

Community Creation

In this section, I argue that digital technologies have facilitated the formation of various anti-harassment communities, which, in turn, have enhanced political participation. Online communities play an important role in the emergence and development of social movements because of their ability to swiftly connect and organize a member base without

regard to geographical location, as well as enabling efficient recruitment of new members (Caren et al. 2012, pp. 170, 187–188). The growth of the Hollaback! network illustrates this point well. While Hollaback! does not actively recruit participants, potential new members can easily sign up by clicking on a "Join the Movement" button on the organization's website (Hollaback! 2016b). Users are directed to a page with suggestions on ways to participate, for example, being an effective bystander, sharing a story of harassment, volunteering at a local Hollaback! site, or starting a new site (Hollaback! 2016c). Those interested in launching their own sites are encouraged to familiarize themselves with Hollaback!'s community values, which espouse a commitment to collective agency, mutual respect, tolerance and trust, solidarity, diversity, intersectionality and participatory, non-hierarchical structures (Hollaback! 2016d). The global expansion of Hollaback! since its inception in 2005 demonstrates how the Internet makes it easy for people to join a community, and to rapidly comprehend and assume the community ethos, and how this "instant ethos" enables many likeminded individuals to quickly connect (Gurak and Logie 2003, p. 31). The Hollaback! site leaders that I interviewed explicitly commented on the sense of community, support, and solidarity they experienced, and how this promotes knowledge exchange and sharing of best practices. For instance, according to Julia Brilling:

> That's the strength of Hollaback! because we are this community… it's so important, we have great conversations, we have our online groups, the way we communicate… is so good, and what's also really, really good, and that's what I love about Hollaback! is that it manages to be… transnational and local at the same time. And it's not only a great resource of knowledge and inspiration, it's a great network. (Personal communication, July 26, 2014)

Julia Gray, co-founder of Hollaback! London, makes a similar point:

> Social media's created a network and the way that the Hollaback online network works means that it's so much easier to spread the word… People are really using it and it's brilliant. It means that people feel like they're not alone because they just go onto the Internet and see that there's this whole

network there… [This] online community has been incredibly important in spreading the message and providing people with that sort of solidarity and that support. (Personal communication, March 28, 2014)

Whilst some contend that online interactions lack the level of trust necessary for establishing strong community ties that are fundamental for collective action (Diani 2000, pp. 391, 397), it is clear from the quotations above that community creation is possible in an online environment, and that community membership has positive impacts on activism. In addition to the existence of a Hollaback! community, I found that a sense of community exists among members of the wider movement, which is based on recognition of and solidarity with others resisting street harassment. As Jasmeen Patheja, founder of Blank Noise, puts it: "because of our shared vision in some spaces or because we know we exist, there is a sense of a global community… and that has only happened through the presence of web. It's more than knowing that X exists, it's sharing and standing there in solidarity with X" (personal communication, December 21, 2015). This reveals an important function of online communities – their ability to foster a sense of belonging among people who do not (or hardly) know each other offline (Wellman and Gulia 1999, p. 341). This sense of collective belonging and identification can help to reduce feelings of isolation experienced by movement participants (Schuster 2013, p. 17), and help to bolster their motivation. This view was articulated by Holly Kearl: "it can feel so isolating and lonely because most people don't get the issue, they don't understand… So, knowing there are other people out there who are fighting the same battles and maybe making progress as well, just knowing that's happening can be very helpful" (personal communication, December 21, 2014). A point echoed by Nihal Saad Zaghloul: "I think that really helps me to continue because it gets really hard sometimes and you feel like you're really alone… and you see the successes of others and then you learn and try to re-strategize" (personal communication, April 4, 2016). Thus, for these interviewees, digital technologies have enabled the creation of a global community of anti-harassment activists. This sense of collective belonging has helped to sustain their morale and participation in the movement.

Additionally, as feminist scholars suggest, digital story-sharing platforms are building communities among women who share their personal experiences of street harassment and sexual assault (Keller et al. 2016, pp. 7, 12; Rentschler 2014, pp. 71, 76, 78; Schuster 2013, pp. 16–18). In the case of Hollaback! (and Stop Street Harassment), for instance, street harassment victims can go online, tell their story and get support from readers who may have faced similar experiences (Wånggren 2016, p. 407). Moreover, interview research with people who had submitted a story to the Hollaback! website found that when participants read other people's accounts of harassment, they "felt that their own experience was validated." Further, reading others' stories helped the participants to realize that it was not their fault, allowing them to shift the blame and burden of the experience, and to feel part of a community (Dimond et al. 2013, p. 483).

In addition to serving a validation function, Carrie Rentschler (2014) argues that these cultures of support may augment site visitors' own capacities for reporting and responding to street harassment and assault, suggesting that the online testimonial culture around sexual violence encourages others to disclose their experiences (p. 76). Juliana de Faria confirms this view:

> A friend of mine complained over Facebook about being harassed on the streets of São Paulo. I was blown away!!! It was the very first time IN MY LIFE that [I'd] seen someone speaking out about it publicly. And in a matter of five minutes, her Facebook post had more than 100 comments of other women. They were sharing similar stories and I felt empowered to share mine too. (Personal communication, December 4, 2015, original emphasis)

Indeed, the growth in anti-harassment activism worldwide can, in part, be attributed to women sharing their stories through online communities, which has made the problem more visible and promoted collective identity among street harassment victims and survivors. As Jasmeen Patheja explains:

> I think that a lot of it has happened online and one thing influencing another in terms of one testimony… there's a sense of somebody sitting somewhere else connects with the fact that this has been their experience too, so I guess that if you were to look at the past decade, there's been an overall consciousness raising in understanding and sharing and building dialogue on street harassment because people have also come forward and shared their experiences… one story's affecting the other and it spreads. (Personal communication, December 21, 2015)

While some might view online disclosures of street harassment experiences as little more than 'slacktivism' (i.e., "feel-good online activism that has zero political or social impact") (Morozov 2009), the importance of community validation and support in a context in which victims of street harassment generally lack recognition is important (Rentschler 2014, p. 78). Moreover, accusations of slacktivism assume that actors lack the appetite to commit themselves more fully to a cause (Christensen 2011). However, such assertions rest on traditional (i.e., gendered) definitions of what counts as political participation and where it should be located (Harris 2008, p. 483). Besides, once an individual has participated in a movement, regardless of the size of the contribution, their sense of commitment and obligation to the cause is likely to increase, as well as their sense of community belonging, thus potentially inducing more sustained political action on the issue (Garrett 2006, pp. 206–207; Harlow and Harp 2012, p. 200). Indeed, several of the interviewees explained that their activism was born out of sharing their experiences of harassment online. For instance, Jessica Raven, executive director of Collective Action for Safe Spaces, became politically active through sharing her harassment stories on Twitter and, consequently, developing a feminist consciousness of sexual violence and misogyny. She explains, learning about "the ways that toxic masculinity make women, in particular, and LGBTQ and gender non-conforming people feel unsafe and feel controlled, especially in public spaces… motivated me to want to do more" (J. Raven, personal communication, January 5, 2016).

Conclusion

This chapter examined the ways in which activists' usage of digital technologies has facilitated participation in anti-street harassment activism and, thus, influenced the movement's emergence and global development. I argued that anti-harassment activists have leveraged the cost-reducing affordance of digital technologies, resulting in easier, faster and more widespread activism. This, in part, explains the proliferation of new anti-harassment groups and innovative forms of activism. Additionally, digital technologies have afforded new opportunities for women to participate in anti-harassment activism, and to circumvent mainstream media narratives that minimize street harassment. Digital technologies have also enabled the creation of a collective identity among women over a large, disparate geographical area. Through learning about similar struggles elsewhere and a perception of belonging to a broader group of people with shared grievances, women have been inspired to mobilize against street harassment across the globe. However, future research could test this proposition more directly by examining the extent to which anti-harassment activists exhibit the three elements of collective identities in social movements identified by Taylor and Whittier (1992): a sense of 'we' based on shared characteristics, an oppositional culture to the dominant order, and a collective consciousness around the movement's goals and actions (Nip 2004, p. 206). With regards to the latter element of collective identities, future research should pay particular attention to the ways in which the movement's commitment to intersectionality – the recognition of multiple and overlapping, or intersecting, forms of oppression (Crenshaw 1989) – might impede or interfere with the forging of a common political agenda among different groups of women (Laperrière and Lépinard 2016, p. 375). Finally, I have argued that digital technologies have enabled the formation of communities of (primarily) women resisting street harassment. Online communities have encouraged and helped sustain anti-harassment activism through their ability to quickly connect a member base and to foster community identification and solidarity.

Notes

1. Brazil, Chile, Egypt, Germany, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Peru, the U.K., and the U.S.
2. One of the ways to respond to street harassment advocated by Hollaback! (2016a).
3. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) and gender non-conforming people, are also particularly susceptible to street harassment.
4. Although there is a long history of sporadic feminist resistance against street harassment, especially coinciding with the Suffrage movement in the early 1900s and with second wave feminism between the 1960s and 1980s, it was not until the 2000s that numerous grassroots efforts emerged focused on street harassment specifically (Kearl 2015, pp. xii–xvi).

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