Sexual harassment on the London Underground:

Mobilities, temporalities and knowledges of gendered violence in public transport

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A few more stops to Walthamstow

It's just a few more stops to Walthamstow

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- Poppy Bird by Bromheads Jacket

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground network. Taking a qualitative approach, 29 semi-structured interviews with women who have experienced harassment and 15 semi-structured interviews with members of the British Transport Police form the basis of this study. The originality of this thesis is two fold. Firstly, it offers an empirical analysis of women's experiences of sexual harassment in the London Underground, in a situation where sexual harassment in public transport has mainly been studied in the Global South. Secondly, using a novel conceptual framework built around the concepts of *space, mobilities* and *rhythm, temporalities* and *knowledges,* this research opens up a new perspective at the intersections of feminist research on gendered violence and a mobilities perspective. The study demonstrates that: urban space and transport are experienced in a gendered way; mobilities and rhythms intertwine with space, shaping how sexual harassment is perpetrated and how women experience it in public transport; that memories and the impact of sexual harassment are negotiated over time and space, and; that knowledge of sexual harassment is situated, varying from different perspectives (victims, police), depending on how a knowledge base is constructed. This thesis as a whole makes an important contribution to our understanding of a particular form of gendered violence happening within the transitory space of an underground in a major Western metropolis. By using the concepts of mobilities, temporalities and knowledges, this thesis provides insight into how women anticipate, experience, react to and remember sexual harassment in transport. It shows how these incidents impact on their mobilities in the city without reducing their reactions to feelings of fear and vulnerability, highlighting that the way in which women negotiate sexual harassment is often done to minimise and resist the impact of these male intrusions and reclaim space in the city.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to David Lewis. It's not quite a book in the British Library, but it's a start. I hope it makes you proud.

And to the women whose experiences are the foundations of this thesis. Thank you for telling me your stories and trusting me to share them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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List of abbreviations

BTP:	British Transport Police
CCTV:	Closed-Circuit Television
NGO:	Non-governmental Organisation
RITSI:	Report It To Stop It
SOCU:	Sexual Offences Coordination Unit
SOU:	Sexual Offences Unit
TfL:	Transport for London

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Piç pronounced Peach

Istanbul 2013. I stood sweating, one arm holding the rail above my head, the rest of me swaying tiredly back and forth, keeping rhythm with the crush of bodies that surrounded and pressed against me. This was typical of my hour-long commute on the 'Metrobus' (a hybrid system between a train and bus) to the school I was working in on the outskirts of the city. In a metropolis of over 15 million people, breathing space on public transport was a rare luxury, and over the past month, I'd come to bear it. But this particular October morning, I was jolted from my attempt at zoning out to pass time when I realised something hard was pressing intermittently against the small of my back. It was jarring; something about it didn't feel quite right. I tried to convince myself that it was someone's bag, umbrella, or elbow. But as it persisted, there was no denying that the man behind me was pushing his erection against me, purposefully trying to disguise his assault with the rocking of the carriage.

Whilst this incident was particularly invasive and memorable, over the course of the year I spent in that majestic city, experiencing some kind of sexual harassment on my commute became a regular occurrence. It normally came in the form of prolonged stares, leering, heavy breathing or whispers in my ear. If I was lucky enough to get a seat there were occasions where the man next to me would spread his legs widely, and press his thigh firmly against mine.

For the vast majority of these experiences I stood silent, partly out of fear, but also not knowing the city well enough to get off at a different stop; not wanting to speak out or make a scene for worry of escalation and a lack of support from bystanders. Gradually I became angrier. I didn't want to put up with this for the rest of my time here. If I had wanted to report any of these incidents, I wouldn't have known where to start. A female Turkish friend advised me that when I felt a wandering hand, I should turn around, look them in the eye and loudly say: *'piç'*, pronounced 'peach', which

translates as *bastard* in Turkish, and this would be sure to humiliate the harasser. 'They don't expect a reaction' she said. It worked like a charm. But my attitude towards the city had changed. At weekends I would make plans that involved the shortest amount of time in transit or avoided it altogether. I felt constantly alert and wary in public space, particularly at night and often timed my journeys to get home in daylight. It also seeped into other aspects of my life. I stopped smiling at male strangers or shopkeepers, and I wore baggier clothes. Making these negotiations became an exhausting part of everyday life. I loved Istanbul. But even when I reflect on it now, my recollections of that extraordinary, chaotic place are often preceded by memories of wandering hands and leering eyes that left me feeling uncomfortable and constricted, in myself and my movements around the city.

After leaving Istanbul, I undertook the MSc programme in Gender and Sexuality Studies at the University of Amsterdam. One particular module titled 'Gender and Sex in the City' was especially significant to me. By exploring the city as a gendered and sexed space whose physical and social structures had the potential to impact interactions and induce fear, freedom and resistance, this permitted me to theoretically ground my own conflicting experiences of urban space as an arena of immense freedom and pleasure and, at the same time, intimidating and restrictive.

I was introduced to literature that explored how city structures impact on social interactions and everyday life, particularly Le Corbusier's (1929) *The City of To-morrow and its Planning*, Kevin Lynch's (1960) *The Image of the City*, Doreen Massey's (1994) *Space, Place and Gender*, and Jane Jacobs' (1961) *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. We also explored how various intersections of identity including race, class and sexuality, can lead to inequality and a struggle for public urban space (Zukin 1995; Binnie & Skeggs 2004; Adler & Brenner 1997; Haymes 1995). Most relevant for this thesis, I was introduced to literature that explored gendered experiences in urban space, considering the city as a traditionally masculinised arena (Hubbard 2004; McDowell 2010; Spain 2014), that remained structured to (re)produce gender inequalities (Watson 2002), and significantly as a space in which women were required to navigate fear and anxieties in order to experience the freedom that the city could offer. In relation to women's engagements with the city, I revelled in sociologist Elizabeth Wilson's (1991) *The Sphinx in the*

City. Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women, sociologist Janet Wolff's (1985) essay *The Invisible Flaneuse?* and the collection of essays by modernist writer Virginia Woolf entitled *The London Scene* (2006). These works appeared to have a common message: whilst the city was/is accessible to women, it often remains fraught with anxieties that intrude on the pleasure that can be derived from public urban life. It became clear that much of the fear women experienced in the city is resultant from the threat or actuality of men's intrusions into women's personal space in public (Vera-Gray 2016; Elkin 2016; Kearl 2010) disallowing them the same anonymity and freedom that men are privilege to in the modern metropolis.

As well as allowing me to make sense of my own experiences, my initial introduction to the city as a site of study has influenced how I approached this thesis. This is the personal and theoretical background I possessed when embarking on this PhD. I was interested in exploring how women experienced sexual harassment in a specific public urban space, and how it impacted on their everyday mobilities in the city over time. I will now briefly contextualise and situate this thesis within its societal context, before outlining its aims and driving research questions and clarifying its original contribution. This introductory chapter concludes by detailing the structure of the rest of the thesis.

Sexual harassment as an endemic societal and global issue

The societal context in which this thesis has been written is not insignificant. Whilst feminists and activist groups have long called for recognition of the prevalence and dangers of sexual harassment, over recent years it has become increasingly visible in public discourse as an endemic societal issue, perpetrated by men against women across different environments. Whilst conducting this research, a number of significant incidents occurred that are worth mentioning in order to situate this thesis within a social context.

On October 7th 2016 an audio and video recording of Donald Trump (then Republican presidential candidate) was leaked to reveal him bragging about using his fame for sexual advances, saying: 'grab them by the pussy', and later dismissing it as 'locker room banter'. The comments caused strong media reactions and widespread backlash calling for such behaviour to be recognised as sexual assault. Though Trump went on

to be elected President of the United States, his inauguration day (20th January 2017) prompted the 2017 'Women's March' as a response to his 'anti-women' comments and proposed policies. Whilst originating in Washington DC, marches took place worldwide, with an estimated 5 million participants globally and acted as one of the biggest demonstrations against sexism that the world has seen.

Later in the same year came a gradual outpouring of allegations of sexual misconduct against Harvey Weinstein. By October 2017, over 80 women had spoken out about the sexual violence they had suffered at the hands of the American film producer. Weinstein's accusers gave traction to the #MeToo movement. Founded by activist Tarana Burke, #MeToo is a viral movement that demonstrates the pervasiveness and magnitude of sexual harassment and assault. The hashtag and its variations caused shockwaves around the globe, with millions of women sharing their stories of harassment and abuse, often for the first time. Sexual harassment or sexual misconduct became a mainstream talking point and the women who spoke out against their harassers and abusers, collectively named 'The Silence Breakers', were named TIME Person of the Year 2017.

Alongside politics and the Hollywood film industry (structured organisations with hierarchies of power), there are also groups and movements that have sought to signify and speak out against the prevalence of sexual harassment in public space as part of women's everyday life. One example is Hollaback!, an international NGO that aims to end street harassment and create a world where public space is equally accessible to all. The organisation and its websites are described as a grassroots photoblog that provides a forum for those who have experienced or witnessed street harassment to document their assaults and/or post pictures of their harassers, with the aim of creating an online public space for women to react, fight back and reclaim power. As well as providing a forum to empower those who have been victims, the organisation has established itself as an expert body in street harassment and is regularly consulted for legislative advice around such behaviour (Gekoski et al. 2015).

In public transport specifically, the occurrence of sexual harassment and violence has also garnered media attention and community action around the world. Sometimes

these movements have been triggered by particular events. In 2012 the gang rape and murder of Jyoti Singh on a bus in New Delhi shook the news on a global scale, raising questions about women's ability to be safe in public spaces and leading to thousands of people across India marching to call for an end to sexual violence and demanding that the government take action. Other times, the recognition of the pervasive and everydayness of sexual harassment in transit has led to action. In some countries, women only carriages have been introduced as a reaction to incessant assaults in transit. In Japan, Tokyo has become infamous for its overcrowded trains and 'endemic groping' and in 2005 'persistent gropers force(d) Japan to introduce women-only carriages' (Joyce 2005). Perth, Australia introduced female-only parking spaces, something that already exists in Germany and Switzerland, and highly populated cities in Egypt, Iran, Indonesia, India, Brazil, Mexico, Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates have all implemented some form of women only transport (Horii & Burgess 2012). Whilst feminist groups around the world highlight that this method endorses segregation and is essentially regressive for gender equality (Gekoski et al. 2015), it signifies the risk of gendered violence in public transport that women around the world experience as a part of everyday life.

Therefore, this thesis aims to address a substantial gap in knowledge concerning women's experiences of sexual harassment in transport, focusing specifically on the space of the London Underground in the UK. Below, I outline the localised context for this research including how the authorities have responded to public concern about sexual harassment in this particular urban space in the context of austerity.

Mind the (gender) gap: Sexual harassment on the London Underground
Whilst women's experiences and fears of violence in transit often mirror the manifestation of gender inequality in other aspects of life (home, workplace, streets), it is important to consider transport specifically as a key facilitator of mobility (Urry 2007). Studies have shown that women are disproportionately impacted by austerity in a multitude of ways (Elson 2012, Women's Budget Group 2017), including limited options and access to safe means of transport. This means that demographics of women most affected by budget cuts to social security benefits cuts are often dependent on public transport and most vulnerable to victimization (Loukaitou-

Sideris 2014). This being the case, it is important to consider how authoritative bodies have approached the gendered nature of travel over recent years.

Transport for London (TfL) is the integrated body responsible for the city's transport system, and is one of the largest transport operators in the world. Over the last decade or so TfL have put in a significant effort into understanding and responding to women's transport needs (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2009). In 2004, TfL initiated its first *Women's Action Plan for London* entitled 'Expanding Horizons' (TfL 2004), prompted by the recognition of the differing demands and issues of men and women using the network. Described by Herbel et al. (2009, 113) as 'arguably the most comprehensive effort by a transport operator to respond to the needs of women riders', the plan described how TfL would improve services for women who used the system, making them more accessible and secure (Herbel et al. 2009). It also called for a greater focus on and interaction with women travellers to explore women's travel needs. This included increasing the percentage of women participating in TfL's labour force; a significant increase in CCTV surveillance; and an inclusion of women's voices in the planning process (Herbel et al. 2009). This was followed in 2007 by a 'Gender Equality Duty' (in response to the government's Gender Equality Act of 2006). For this scheme TfL worked with over 100 women's groups within London to inform the plan which proposed to focus on the five categories: accessibility, safety and security, affordability, information and employment in the transport sector. In 2014, the TfL Safety and Security annual report revealed that one in ten Londoners experienced 'unwanted sexual behaviour' on public transport, but over 90% of those did not report it to authorities (SPA Future Thinking 2014). Prompting the need to tackle both the prevalence of sexual harassment and the issue of underreporting, this led to the creation of Project Guardian and its inclusive campaigns that have been implemented on the London Transport Network by TfL and the British Transport Police (BTP) over the last five years.

To date, Project Guardian is one of the most comprehensive, multi method programmes in the world aimed at reducing sexual harassment on public transport (Gekoski et al. 2015). The project, launched in 2013, pledged to take all reports seriously, identify perpetrators and held the overall aim of reducing all sexual crime on the trains, tubes and buses. To meet this aim, Project Guardian incorporated a

variety of initiatives including: the targeting of 'hotspots', action weeks of officers talking to the public, training packages for BTP and Met Police officers, community engagement, leafleting by officers, school level initiatives, social media campaigns and advertising campaigns (Gekoski et al. 2015). It also trained 2000 police officers and police community support officers to deal with cases of sexual harassment who were dedicated to patrol the transport network. The activist group Hollaback! were consulted on Project Guardian, alongside the End Violence Against Women Coalition, to provide an element of expertise in the field of sexual harassment.

Under the umbrella of Project Guardian, there are two key interventions that are important to consider. Report It To Stop It (RITSI) was a 2015 publicity campaign led by TfL and supported by BTP. RITSI was launched following a survey that exposed the frequency of sexual offences and the phenomena of underreporting. The campaign was deemed a success in raising public awareness and increasing the reporting of incidents (Solymosi et al. 2017). For BTP, this led to an increase in training for officers to handle reports of unwanted sexual behaviour (Solymosi et al. 2017), and the formation of the Sexual Offences Coordination Unit (SOCU), to work alongside the already existing Sexual Offences Unit[1], in order to process and organise the influx of data. Launched by TfL, BTP, Metropolitan Police Service and City of London Police in March 2017 'Every Report Builds a Picture' is the second campaign targeted at encouraging women to come forward and report unwanted sexual behaviour on public transport. It emphasises how reports can be collated in order to identify, arrest and prosecute repeat offenders.

It is against this background and within this global and localised context that this study was undertaken. Despite the increase in recognition of the prevalence of sexual harassment in transit, there are few social scientific studies which explore what sexual harassment in public transport looks like, or, how sexual harassment manifests in a very particular physical and social space, how it is experienced and the impact that it has on women's gendered experiences of mobility.

Aims of the study and original contribution

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[1] A team of officers and staff dedicated solely to the policing of sexual offences.

The primary overarching research questions of this thesis is: *'What are women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground?'*. The secondary research question is: '*How do the BTP police sexual harassment on the London Underground?*'

Sexual harassment as a pervasive societal issue has received significant attention in academia, particularly from feminist scholars (MacKinnon 1979; Kelly 1988; Bowman 1993; Vera-Gray & Fileborn 2018). Its occurrence on public transport has also been given attention, often from a criminological or crime reduction perspective (Gekoski et al. 2015; Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2009; Natarajan 2016; Solymosi et al. 2017). There is also a body of work, predominantly within mobility studies, that explores the unique nature of social interaction in transport environments (Urry 2007; Sheller & Urry 2006; Bissell 2010). However, thus far, there is a scarcity of research that brings together mobility studies and gender studies in order to understand the nature of sexual harassment in this context. The originality of this thesis then, is two fold. Firstly, it offers an empirical analysis of experiences of sexual harassment in the London Underground, which has not been previously studied. This scarcity of research extends to public transport in Western metropolises more generally, with studies of sexual violence in transit predominantly being conducted in the Global South (see Neupane & Chesney-Lind 2014; Horii & Burgess 2012; Lim 2002; Shoukry et al. 2008; Dhillon & Bakaya 2014).

Secondly, trying to make sense of experiences in this particular context led me to use a novel conceptual framework. This framework, built around the concepts of *space, mobilities* and *rhythm, temporalities* and *knowledges* (outlined in detail in Chapter Two) was constructed through a layering and interweaving of the data collection process and regular reviewing of literature. The affective, embodied experience of conducting observations on the Underground and in-depth interviews with women who had experienced sexual harassment on the tube (discussed in Chapter Three) guided me towards particular literature and theorists that were then infused into the analysis process (significantly, Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis*). The key concepts of this framework are used throughout the empirical chapters, to draw out new insights and advance knowledge of experiences of sexual harassment in public transport. What this study contributes to existing literatures is: a demonstration that

urban space and transport are still experienced in a gendered way; mobilities and rhythms intertwine with space, shaping how sexual harassment is perpetrated and how women experience and negotiate sexual harassment at the time; that the memory and impact of sexual harassment is negotiated over time, and; that knowledge of sexual harassment is situated, varying from different perspectives (victims and police), depending on how a knowledge base is created.

The research aims below emerged as the empirical analysis took shape and subsequently guided the organisation of this thesis. As discussed, I was interested in exploring how the city and the Underground can be experienced as sites of mobility and freedom, whilst simultaneously paying attention to how women have to negotiate the risk of everyday forms of gendered violence. This led to the formulation of the first research aim (which is addressed in Chapter Four):

1) To explore how women experience and negotiate London and the Underground in everyday life.

As highlighted above, this research took an abductive approach (Tavory & Timmerman 2014), and it was the data collection process that guided which literature would be reviewed. Whilst reviewing feminist work that has observed how sexual harassment manifests differently across contexts (Madan & Nalla 2016; Karas & Henson 1997) and mobilities studies literature that has uncovered behaviours specific to transport (Urry 2007; Bissell 2010), I saw the possibility of bringing the two areas of study together in order to acknowledge and understand how the temporal and spatial dynamics of the Underground impact on how sexual harassment manifests and how women experience and react to incidents of sexual harassment at the time. This led to the formulation of the second research aim, which is the focus of Chapter Five:

2) To understand the key features of women's experiences of sexual harassment in a transport environment.

As well as exploring *how* sexual harassment happens in transit, I wanted to uncover the negotiations that women undertake in order to 'deal with' the incidents of sexual harassment and claim back their mobility and freedom, specifically considering how

this changes over time and space. Therefore, the third research aim, addressed in Chapter Six is:

3) To understand how women negotiate the memory of sexual harassment, and how it impacts on their mobilities over time.

Finally, as an authoritative body and key stakeholder in the management and reduction of sexual harassment in the London Underground, I wanted to explore how the British Transport Police know sexual harassment on the network, particularly, how this knowledge is formulated and used in practice. This led to the final research aim and the focus of Chapter Seven:

4) To explore how the police know and manage sexual harassment on the London Underground from a situated perspective.

These research aims and the operationalisation of the conceptual framework permits new insights into the temporal, spatial and embodied experience of sexual harassment in public transport. Having outlined the key aims and contribution of this study, I will now detail how this thesis is organised.

Overview of the thesis

Following this introduction, **Chapter Two** locates the thesis in its academic context. This thesis is structured so that the literature relevant for each chapter is presented before the empirical analysis. Chapter Two provides a broader overview of what has been written about sexual harassment and introduces the conceptual framework that underpins subsequent chapters. It begins by offering a review of feminist literature that has worked to define sexually harassing behaviour. Following this, it reviews feminist and criminological work that has analysed how sexual harassment manifests and is experienced across different contexts, specifically the workplace and organisational settings, public space, and public transport. Against this background, the chapter builds a novel conceptual framework based on a mobilities perspective, which underpins the analytical chapters focusing on experiences of sexual harassment in public transport. The conceptual framework draws on the sociological discussions of *space, mobilities and rhythms, temporalities* and *knowledges*.

Chapter Three acts as a guide and explanation to the methodology and research design that have been adopted for this study in order to investigate women's experiences of sexual harassment in public transport. To start this chapter I highlight the methodological orientation that has informed and shaped the research design, focusing on feminist epistemologies and how this has guided ethical considerations, reflexivity and methods in this research. After a discussion on researching urban space, I will outline how semi-structured interviews were used to gather the data for this study, both with women who had experienced sexual harassment on the London Underground, and specialist members of the BTP. I then explain the data analysis process that was undertaken.

Chapter Four draws on women's empirical accounts of everyday life in London and on the Underground. This acts as a contextualising chapter in order to situate experiences of sexual harassment within a rhythmic and gendered urban environment that induces both freedom and fear. This chapter begins by introducing the gendered character of the *flâneur* in order to be able to critically analyse women's past and present mobilities in the city. It also reviews literature and theory relating to the emergence of urban modernity in order to contextualise how the social, spatial and temporal conditions in the metropolis led to the production of new sociabilities and modes of being in public life. The second half of the chapter offers an empirical analysis of material gathered through in-depth interviews, drawing on the concepts of the flâneur and rhythm in order to thematically analyse modern urban 'sociabilities' and experiences in the city. Presenting these accounts of women's lives and movement around the city within the outlined concepts presents a distinct approach to understanding the gendered nature of everyday life in the urban environment and shows how the anticipation and risk of sexual harassment is experienced.

Chapter Five offers an in-depth analysis of women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground. Using a mobilities perspective, with particular focus on Lefebvre's (2004) *Rhythmanalysis* and Cresswell's (2010) concept of *friction,* six illustrative accounts have been presented and analysed in order to draw out three key conceptual observations that are specific to how sexual harassment manifests and is experienced in this public transport environment. Firstly, sexual

harassment is shaped by the rhythms of the city that permeate the Underground: the rush hours, lulls and night time, which facilitate and conceal harassment. Secondly, the sociabilities on the network, shaped by rhythms, mean that women are often unwilling or anxious about 'making a scene' in an enclosed public space and not wanting to disrupt their own urban rhythms and codes of comportment. Thirdly, the transitory nature of the space of the Underground is important, as women often envisage the situation as temporary and act accordingly; the ephemeral nature of the tube also allows the perpetrator to disappear quickly. Essentially, this chapter uses a mobilities framework to connect incidents of sexual harassment to general time-space structures of the city and the transport network, illustrating how the various rhythms come together to produce a circumstance where particular incidents of harassment are perpetrated. The framework illustrates how harassment is, in part facilitated or hindered by the specific spaces and paces of the city.

Chapter Six focuses on what happens *after* the incident of sexual harassment. It explores the impact that the memory of an incident of sexual harassment has on women and their mobilities in the city over time. It starts by reviewing literature that has considered the impact that sexual harassment in public space has on women considering both feminist, sociological and criminological perspectives, with regards to both the immediate reaction to sexual harassment and its long-term impact. This is followed by a discussion of the conceptual framework informing the empirical analysis, focusing on introducing *memory,* primarily as a sociological concept, as it allows a linking of space, time and women's embodied experience. The empirical section uses four case studies to explore how the impact of sexual harassment is a process that is renegotiated by women over time, altering their experiences of mobility in the city. This chapter aims to understand the negotiations that women undertake in order to 'deal with' the incidents of sexual harassment and claim back their mobility and freedom, and how this changes over time and space. It moves beyond discussing women's access, fear and vulnerability and permits an examination of how sexual harassment in public space is negotiated and resisted, and how the experiences or memories are also suppressed and can act to embolden women. More specifically, it uses the conceptual framework structured around space and time, drawing on the literatures on mobilities and temporalities, to offer a unique analysis of the impact of sexual harassment in a transport environment.

Chapter Seven explores police perspectives of sexual harassment on the London Underground Network. It begins by introducing the feminist notions of standpoint theory (Smith 1997; Hill Collins 1990) and situated knowledges (Haraway 1988), explaining how these can assist in offering new insights as to how the BTP 'know', (re)construct and police sexual harassment on the London Underground. There will then be a discussion on the concept of 'police culture' (Loftus 2009) and evidence based policing (EBP) highlighting that 'police knowing' and knowledge are learned, situated and partial. I will then review literature that recognises spatio-temporal elements of policing urban space, drawing on the concepts of hot-spots and mental mapping in relation to policing and offending. The empirical part of this chapter uses data gathered from 15 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with members of the BTP. Firstly it will consider how BTP officers make sense of and know sexual harassment on the London Underground with regards to spatial and temporal dynamics. Then it will explore, through the lens of rhythmanalysis, how they seek out and recognise offenders within the network using their situated knowledge of the environment. The second section of the empirical material focuses on the process of investigating reports of sexual offences, as detailed by BTP officers. This allows for a portrayal of how the BTP (re)construct incidents of sexual harassment in order to police them, leading to a final discussion as to how this knowledge is situated from a policing perspective and culture.

Chapter Eight brings together the findings of this thesis, stating how this research has addressed the research aims and overarching research questions introduced above, and highlights the original contribution to knowledge that this work offers, as well as highlighting scope for future research and policy and practice implications. The following chapter reviews literature that has explored sexual harassment across various settings and introduces the conceptual framework that will be used when moving forward through the empirical chapters of this thesis.

Chapter Two

SEXUAL HARASSMENT IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT: A SPACE, TIME AND
MOBILITIES PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

Sexual harassment as a pervasive societal issue has received significant attention,
including its occurrence on public transport (Gekoski et al. 2015; Loukaitou-Sideris et
al. 2009; Natarajan 2016). There is also a body of work, predominantly within
mobility studies, that explores the unique nature of social interaction in transport
environments (Urry 2007; Bissell 2010). However, thus far, there is little research that
brings together mobility studies and gender studies in order to understand the nature
of sexual harassment in this context.

This chapter locates this thesis in its academic context. It firstly reviews feminist
literature that has sought to define sexual harassment. It then reviews feminist and
criminological work that has explored how these behaviours manifest and are
experienced across different contexts, specifically the workplace and organisational
settings, public space, and public transport. Against this backdrop, the chapter builds
a novel conceptual framework based on a mobilities perspective, which underpins the
analytical chapters focusing on experiences of sexual harassment in public transport.
The conceptual framework draws on the sociological discussions on *space, mobilities
and rhythms, temporalities* and *knowledges*. Whilst these conceptual dimensions are
all present throughout the thesis, they each hold particular prominence in different
analysis chapters: Chapter Four focuses on women's ways of experiencing *urban
space*; Chapter Five explores how experiences and negotiations of sexual harassment
are shaped by *mobilities* and *rhythms*; Chapter Six considers the *temporal* nature of
the impact of sexual harassment, focusing on issues of anticipation and memory, and;
Chapter Seven focuses on the situated nature of police *knowledge* of sexual
harassment on the Underground. This thesis is structured so that the literature relevant
for each chapter is presented before the empirical analysis. This literature review then,
provides a broader overview of what has been written about sexual harassment and
introduces the conceptual framework that underpins subsequent chapters.

Naming and defining sexual harassment in public space

In the 1970's feminist scholars and activists brought to public attention the importance of naming and legally addressing sexually harassing behaviour (MacKinnon 1979; Rowe 1974; Brownmiller 1975; Farley 1978). Whilst sexual harassment has existed as a term in everyday language ever since, it has often referred specifically to behaviour in the workplace and organisational environments (MacKinnon 1979; Loy et al. 1984; Baxter 1987; Martindale 1990; Benson et al. 1982; De Wet et al. 2008), defined as unwanted sexual relations imposed by superiors on subordinates at work (MacKinnon & Siegel 2004, 3). Due to the contextual genesis of the term, there was a general omission of discussions of sexual harassment in public spaces (with exceptions: Kelly 1988; Wise and Stanley 1987). Yet, the importance of considering public spaces and how sexual harassment manifests differently in this context has increasingly been recognised.

As one of the most common forms of violence against women (Kelly 1987; Vera-Gray 2016), various scholars have attempted to define sexual harassment in public space, yet the term remains contentious, with 'stranger harassment' (Fairchild & Rudman 2008), 'street harassment' (di Leonardo 1981; Vera-Gray 2016) and 'public harassment' (Gardner 1995; Kearl 2010) being used, often interchangeably. In 1981 anthropologist Micaela di Leonardo wrote what is considered the first definition of street harassment in her article *Political Economy of Street Harassment*. She writes:

> Street harassment occurs when one or more strange men accost one or more women…in a public place which is not the women's worksite. Through looks, words or gestures, the man asserts his right to intrude on the woman's attention, defining her as a sexual object, forcing her to interact with him. (di Leonardo 1981, 51-52).

This definition has been adopted by numerous scholars (Laniya 2005; Bowman 1993). As one of the most widely used terms, 'street harassment' runs the risk of excluding certain public spaces (Vera-Gray 2016). As an intermediary part of life, and a 'semi' public space, the London Underground (and transport more generally) has its own spatially implicated social interactions that occur within it, meaning sexual

harassment is often perpetrated and experienced in a different way to on the streets. In relation to the London Underground specifically, Solymosi et al. (2017) use the term 'unwanted sexual behaviour' (a term also used by Transport for London and British Transport Police). Yet this term is also potentially exclusionary, as some experiences, whilst intrusive, are difficult to define as explicitly sexual in nature. Recognising the limitations of previous definitions, Vera-Gray (2016, 10) draws on Kelly's (1988) concept of commonplace intrusions and defines these behaviours as 'men's stranger intrusions'. By doing this, she addresses the lack of gendering in commonly used terminology, and the risk of excluding experiences that are not overtly 'sexual'.

The lack of agreement on how to name this form of violence against women creates ambiguity, complications and restrictions for particular research methodologies aiming to address the issue (Vera-Gray 2016). However, the fact that a definition cannot be agreed upon means that it remains a fluid term that encompasses a wide range of experiences, which does not exclude or invalidate individual interpretations of harassment. Sexual harassment is being increasingly described as unwelcome or unwanted sexual attention, both within organisations and the public realm (the Underground included) (Gekoski et al. 2015; Solymosi et al. 2017). In permitting women to describe their own experiences and construct their own definitions, this legitimises subjectivity, has the ability to broaden the scope of behaviours that are considered (Kearl 2010) and 'places women's own understandings of violence at the centre of theory' (Vera-Gray 2016, 14). As well as work that has sought to name and define sexual harassment, there is a significant body of research that has explored how these behaviours manifest and are experienced by women across contexts.

Features of sexual harassment across contexts
Feminist work has theorised sexual harassment as part of everyday life across private and public spheres and has noted that the extent and type of sexual harassment is shaped by the context in which it occurs (Madan & Nalla 2016). Research has also shown that the way in which women react to harassment is in part influenced by the distinct nature of spaces (Krasas & Henson 1997). I will now explore what has been said about what sexual harassment is, or how it manifests and is experienced across different contexts.

Sexual harassment in the workplace and organisational settings

Sexual harassment was first conceptualised in studies of organisational workplace settings (MacKinnon 1979; Baxter 1987). As considered above, much of the early scholarship sought to name sexually harassing behaviour in order to curtail it through official organisational and legal channels (MacKinnon 1979). One of the most common conceptualisations of sexual harassment is that it is an exertion and abuse of power. Farley (1978) asserted that such behaviour was the communication of power between persons. MacKinnon (1979, 162) elaborates on this saying:

> …sexual harassment seems less than an ordinary act of sexual desire directed toward the wrong person than an expression of dominance laced with impersonal contempt, the habit of getting what one wants, and the perception (usually accurate) that the situation can be safely exploited in this way- all expressed sexually. It is dominance eroticized.

A structural power analysis of sexual harassment sees such behaviour as an abuse of hierarchal organisational structures, with men in higher economic positions coercing and exploiting relationships with women in less powerful positions in order to enforce dominance (MacKinnon 1979). However Brant and Too (1994) highlight that in their research it was often co-workers who were reported to be harassing (rather than senior managers). Furthermore, Rospenda et al. (1998) use the term 'contrapower sexual harassment' for when the target of harassment has greater organisational power than the harasser, reflecting intersectional influences of gender, race and class on power dynamics in a workplace setting.

It has also been noted that sexual harassment can constitute a public performance and affirmation of masculinity (Connell 1995). Within traditionally masculinised (Lonsway et al. 2013) and educational settings (Benson & Thompson 1982) peer harassment often reflects performances of hegemonic masculinity for other men, displaying compulsory heterosexuality and acting as a form of 'homosocial bonding' (Kimmel 2008). This is highlighted by Quinn (2002), who focused her analysis on workplace 'girl watching' where men sexually evaluate women in the company of other men.

Lee et al. (1996) state that sexual harassment manifests in two key ways in the workplace. Firstly as a pressure for sexual favours as a condition of employment and secondly, through the more common verbal and physical harassment that create a hostile environment for women to work in. Hand and Sanchez (2000) describe hostile conduct as repetitive unwelcome sexual behaviour, including lewd comments, circulating rumours, and using demeaning language that interrupts a person's ability to do their job. In masculinised environments women were more likely to be touched or grabbed and be subjected to sexualised jokes (Gruber 1998).

Krasas and Henson (1997, 229) suggest there is a response matrix or continuum with regards to reactions to sexual harassment, including four major types: avoidance, diffusion, negotiation and confrontation. For example, in their research on temporary workers they observed that women in insecure and vulnerable employment learnt to tolerate sexual harassment by shifting their 'anger boundaries'. Context was significant again here as to how women experienced and responded to such behaviour. As Schneider (1991) considers, women react based on a fear of the depersonalising and humiliating organisational procedures that they have learnt to anticipate if they were to speak out about their experience. In the workplace sexual harassment is generally perpetrated by men who are known by the victim, and in a setting that is not easy for the victim to detach herself from. Intimacy, economic dependency and a conflation of relationships of power are significant as to how sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced within this context (Schneider 1991). I will now explore the similarities and differences of how sexual harassment occurs in public spaces.

Sexual harassment in public space
Feminist scholars have shown that sexual harassment (or street harassment) is a pervasive part of women's everyday life (Kissling 1991). Fairchild and Rudman (2008) state that street harassment has similarities to sexual harassment in other contexts, yet consider how it is unique in the sense that it is perpetrated by men who are strangers to the victim. Bowman (1993, 523) highlights key features of street harassment: (1) the targets of street harassment are female; (2) the harassers are male; 3) the harassers are unacquainted with their targets (4) the encounter is face to face;

(5) the forum is a public one (in this she includes public transport); (6) the content of speech, if any, are not intended as public discourse.

In public space, sexual harassment is widely considered to include unwelcome physical contact or advances, stalking, lewd gestures and voyeurism, as well as verbal behaviours (Madan & Nalla 2016). Gardner (1995, 121) describes sexual harassment in public space to include 'scrutiny, exhibitionism, enmeshing service encounter, public aid exchanges or greetings with innuendo and romantic overtones and determined following'. Pain (1991, 421) defined such behaviour as 'unwanted intrusive acts perpetrated by men against women, including staring, touching and comments or actions of a sexual nature'. In India, street harassment is often called 'eve teasing' (Dhillon & Bakaya 2014), and a type of cat calling, sometimes understood by men as a form of gallantry and colloquially called *pirópo* is pervasive in Latin America (Bailey 2016). Similarly to sexual harassment in the workplace, feminist scholars have conceptualised street harassment as acts of gendered violence situated within the broader context of inequality (Tuerkheimer 1997).

A number of key features of how women experience incidents of sexual harassment in public space have been identified. According to Bailey (2016), street harassment in the form of remarks is often not explicitly threatening, yet it is a reminder of vulnerability (Tuerkheimer 1997). As women learn to perceive strange men in public space as potentially dangerous (Hubbard 2012), increased feelings of fear and vulnerability can reinforce gender inequality through restricting mobility, or contribute to what Bowman (1993) terms 'the informal ghettoization of women'. Significant theoretical work has also discussed how women perceive such acts as *intrusions* (Bowman 1993; Vera-Gray 2016). These intrusions have been seen as problematic to women's freedom in public space and as invasions of women's right to privacy in public (Gardner 1995).

Swim and Hyers (1999) highlight that women often react to public harassment in a non-confrontational way due to fear of escalation, fear of being perceived as impolite, societal pressure and 'lines' not being crossed by the harasser. Dhillon and Bakaya (2014) state that women's experiences of sexual harassment often include a combination of self-protective strategies and emotional reactions of fear and anger. In

public space, women are unable to predict whether male behaviour may escalate (Stanko 1995). As a semi-public space, sexual harassment in transport has many similarities to street harassment. However, the unique spatial, temporal and social nature of public transport accounts for the specific ways in which sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced in this environment.

Sexual harassment in public transport

From the late 1970's onwards, feminist geographers began critiquing the lack of consideration of gender when approaching social theory and mobility. Their work focused on highlighting that women often have different travel needs to men (Little 1994), and, importantly, they raised awareness of the fear of sexual violence that many women experience when using public transport and how this limited their mobility and freedom (Pain 2001). Subsequently, gender has been recognised by transport authorities to impact on travel and has been considered in the designing and implementation of policy (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2009; Gekoski et al. 2015). The prevalence of sexual harassment in public transport remains a concern for authorities and passengers (Stringer 2007).

Until recently, little was written about how sexual harassment manifests in a transport environment. Recent studies have explored the frequency and nature of sexual harassment in transit (Horii & Burgess 2012), underreporting (Solymosi et al. 2017; Smith 2008), and the impact of sexual harassment on women's future travel (Koskela 1999). Yet there are certain behaviours reported to the authorities that appear prevalent in a transport environment. Gardner et al. (2017) note that most sexual harassment in transit is non-confrontational, although it can be confrontational in the form of groping, touching or leaning (Hsu 2011). Behaviour that is frequently reported to occur includes lewd comments, leering, sexual invitations, stalking, masturbation, frotteurism (rubbing the pelvic area or erect penis against a non-consenting person for sexual pleasure) (Lim 2000) and unwanted sexual touching (Shoukry et al. 2008). In Japan, widespread groping on carriages is termed 'chikan' (Horii & Burgess 2012). Much of this can be considered in terms of what Goffman (1963, 143) calls 'exploitation of contact'. The space is significant here. The overcrowded nature of transport at peak times permits bodily contact and the perpetration of sexual harassment in a particular, embodied way (Neupane &

Chesney-Lind 2014). Smith and Clarke (2000) consider other aspects of the environment, including poor surveillance and supervision, and a lack of patrolling on public transport. Gekoski et al. (2015) also recognise that the context of public transport as an overcrowded, isolating and hard to control environment, may facilitate particular types of sexual harassment.

In their study of violence against women in public transport in Kathmandu, Nepal, Neupane and Chesney-Lind (2014) reported that women were reluctant to respond to sexual harassment due to fear of public condemnation. They also considered how the busyness of the space allows men to offend anonymously, with little risk of exposure. Furthermore, they noted how the motion of transport covered up intentional bodily contact. This analysis highlights important features of women's experiences of sexual harassment in public transport, but little else has been written on this topic. This is significant, as there are clear differences between what is happening in transport in comparison to on the streets and in organisational settings. Commonly committed as a solitary, anonymous act, there is little evidence of sexual harassment being perpetrated as a performance of heterosexual masculinity (Quinn 2002), and neither is there an organisational structure through which men commit these behaviours in order to maintain dominance and power (MacKinnon 1979). Recognising the specific nature of sexual harassment in different contexts shows how the space, and normative social interactions within that space impact how incidents are experienced and perpetrated. However, whilst space is important, there are other aspects that have a significant influence on the manifestation and experience of sexual harassment. The key concepts of the conceptual framework (space, mobilities and rhythm, temporalities and knowledges) outlined below are used throughout the empirical chapters to reveal new insights and advance knowledge in the theorising of experiences of sexual harassment in public transport. What is contributed to existing literature is: a demonstration that urban space is still experienced in a gendered way; mobilities and rhythms intertwine with space, shaping how women experience and negotiate sexual harassment; that temporalities impact the anticipation and memory of sexual harassment; and that knowledge of sexual harassment is situated, varying from different perspectives (victims, police), depending on how a knowledge base is created (for example, within the context of police culture or via particular technologies).

Conceptual framework: Space, mobilities, temporalities and knowledges

The argument of this thesis is that sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced in public transport in a particular way, implicated by transitory nature of the space. To ground this argument I will now review literatures on space, mobilities and rhythms, temporalities and knowledges and outline how these concepts are operationalised to make sense of sexual harassment in this thesis. Throughout, it will be considered how these elements impact on women's experiences of mobilities in urban space: how they pre-empt these acts of gendered violence, experience them, and remember and negotiate them.

Space

Sexual harassment has been theorised as part of everyday life for women in public space (Vera-Gray 2016). There is also literature that shows how being a victim of sexual harassment causes women to experience increased levels of fear and vulnerability, leading them to adopt strategies that restrict their access and enjoyment in public space (Kearl 2010; Bowman 1993; Gardner 1995). This highlights that cities remain structured in a way that (re)produce (gendered) inequalities, and limit women's mobilities and freedom.

There are theories of space that contend that space itself must be conceptualised as active and fluid, rather than static and inert in order to challenge notions of power that occur within it (Lefebvre 1991; de Certeau 1984). Feminist geographers' interest in space has often focused on hierarchies and exclusion, aiming to demonstrate the relationship between socially constructed gender relations and socially constructed environments (Massey 1984; Little et al. 1988) and the limitations this has imposed on women's equality and access. Such work has proposed the idea that space is eventful and in flux and that therefore there exists an inescapable interrelationship between the city (space) and its inhabitants. In her descriptions of cities Elizabeth Wilson (1991, 3) encapsulates the nature of the dynamic city stating 'one never retraces the same pathway twice, for the city is in a constant process of change'.

In his work *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre highlights the conceptual fragmentation that exists around the concept, calling for a reconciliation of physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space) and social space (the space of human interaction) (Merrifield 2006). Space, when conceptualised in such a way is seen as alive and active; Lefebvre (1991, 87) describes spaces as 'great movements, vast rhythms, immense waves- these all collide and 'interfere' with one another…'. Conceptualising space by combining these modalities allows for a more transparent intellectual approach that challenges dominant notions of space as static, often ignoring how space itself is perceived and conceived, and how that can determine the interactions that occur within it. Similarly, Doreen Massey (1984; 2013), a key contemporary thinker on space and place, considers space not as dead and inert, but organic and alive. She has also forwarded the idea that space is dynamic, fluid and important in the way in which we organise our lives and how society interacts. She states:

> …space is the dimension of multiplicity. It presents us with the existence of the other…that means it is space that presents us with the question of the social. And it presents us with the most fundamental of political questions, which is how are we going to live together (Massey 2013, 2).

She regards space as not so much a physical locality, but rather relations between human beings: 'space concerns our relations with each other and in fact social space…is a product of our relations with each other, our connections with each other' (Massey 2013, 2). Drawing on these conceptualisations of space for this study ensures that the London Underground is not simply considered as a static locale or spatial location within which sexual harassment occurs. Rather, the space of the Underground (and the rhythms and sociabilities that occur within it) is seen as generative and active in shaping the way in which sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced.

Urban environments are composed of various spatial domains, often categorised as public, semiprivate and private places, varying from free to limited access. Historically, public space has been regarded as open space. However as the urban environment has evolved, it is important to consider semi-public spaces that are

managed privately or publicly-privately, as such spaces are increasing (Tonnelat 2010). Public spaces are often listed to include streets, parks, cafes and shopping malls, whilst transport is frequently an overlooked element. Public space has always been intrinsic to the urban environment, and has developed and changed over time, and as well as having an array of conceptual definitions, the way it is experienced and utilised varies from culture to culture, often depending on their values and requirements. Goffman (1971) considers public spaces as the realm of unfocused interactions between anonymous strangers. Carr et al. (1992, 3) metaphorically describe public space as 'the stage upon which the drama of communal life unfolds'. The ideas highlighted above of Goffman, Massey and Lefebvre indicate towards a significant aspect of public space: the way in which it impacts human exchange and interaction. This relationship between human interactions and behaviour and the urban environment can be observed in the dialectical relationship between the city, space and gender: the dynamics of the city have an impact on gender relations, and equally, gender relations have an impact upon the dynamics of a city and the way it is used and experienced as a space: urban space is both active in the production of relations, and is itself actively produced.

In her book on street harassment, Gardner (1995, 44) describes a public place as:

> …regions that are simultaneously everyone's and no one's, to which all are theoretically allowed access. Yet they are also sites for mockery and humiliation, the threat of interpersonal violence, verbal insults and injuries, avoidances and shunnings and the mere withholding of the rituals of civility.

This is significant, as despite many spaces being labelled as public and supposedly demonstrating freedom and access to all, they are often exclusionary to certain sectors of the population, whether due to discomfort, intimidation or fear of real danger. Thereby these places remain public but are not freely utilised by particular groups, rather their nature and way they are experienced can be active in limiting certain peoples right to the city. Mitchell (1995) writes how historically women, non-white men, and sexual dissidents have been denied access to public space and have had to fight for access to the public sphere. As a semi-public space, the Underground is accessible to anyone who can pay the travel fare. Yet despite this access, incidents of

sexual harassment on the network show that women's experiences of this space are still fraught with negotiations of the right to be private in public.

This concept of public spaces as sites of struggle and exclusion is well documented and often dominates urban politics, with particular focus on marginalised groups such as people who are homeless (Doherty et al. 2008), young people (Malone & Hasluck 1998; Malone 2002), sex workers (Hubbard 2012), LGBTQ persons (Binnie and Skeggs 2004; Hubbard 2001), ethnic minorities (Peters 2011), people with a lower income (Bancroft 2002) and women (Wilson 2001; Massey 1994). Wilson (1991, 80) argues that whilst women have flourished in the city, they are still negotiating the contradictions of the city and are not 'full citizens in the sense that they have never been granted full and free access to the streets'. Therefore, sexual harassment forms part of the wider gender politics of urban space in which the way it is structured can be seen to restrict the movement and freedom of certain groups of people.

The intersections of gender and space are multifaceted and profound: spatial and geographical aspects impact gender relations, and simultaneously gender is highly instrumental in the formation and production of space. Spatial structures and the behaviours that occur within them impact on women's safety, freedom and enjoyment in public space. Here, it is useful to introduce the concepts of mobilities and rhythms, in order to consider how women have access to, and navigate the city, and how sexual harassment can act as a disruption or friction to their mobilities.

Mobilities: Rhythms and Friction

The mobilities paradigm or 'mobility turn' (Urry 2000) in the social sciences sought to address the complex yet neglected role that mobilities, or the movement of people and things, play in the (re)configuration of social interactions and the social world. Bringing together social science and transport approaches, mobilities studies often connects the concepts of time and space, aiming to challenge the 'static' nature of social sciences, and lack of social consideration of transport planners (Larsen et al. 2006). As Sheller and Urry (2006, 208) state:

> Even while it has increasingly introduced spatial analysis the social sciences have still failed to examine how the spatialities of social life presuppose (and

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frequently involve conflict over) both the actual and the imagined movement

of people from place to place…

Larsen et al. (2006, 3) consider how travel has been seen as '…a neutral set of
technologies and processes...' and has consequently led to an omission of the social
interactions and encounters that occur when on the move. Mobilities studies has
drawn attention to the significance of travel, automobility (Urry 2004, 2006; Lumsden
2015), practices of public transport in urban spaces (Bissell 2018; Urry 2007) and
even movements within and between digital media (Kaur et al. 2018), and the patterns
of movements of intimate relationships (Pearce 2018). As discussed above, the way a
city is built and structured guides the movements and interactions of those living
within it (Hubbard 2012). Sheller and Urry (2006) describe mobilities as a system, or
an amalgamation of interdependent systems. As an essential part of the urban fabric
of any city, public transportation systems enable the movement of people and link
activity in the rest of the city- connecting work, leisure and home.

In relation to urban mobilities, modernity caused a change in how people travelled,
and therefore how they interacted whilst on the move, creating 'new mobilities'
(Sheller & Urry 2006) and sociabilities (Bissell 2010). These experiences of mobility
highlighted below are significant as to how the women in this study experienced and
negotiated sexual harassment within the space of the London Underground. In
Chapter Five I will explore how the nature of these mobilities and rhythms intersect
with the space to foster particular sociabilities and normative ways of interacting,
which in turn shapes how women understood and reacted to sexual harassment on the
tube.

Theorists of urban modernity often suggest that modernisation accelerated the pace of
life in the city (Simmel 1903). A key factor of this is that with modernity came
increased mechanised mobility in the form of the Victorian railway. This led to a
public mobilisation or 'a new connectedness' (Urry 2007, 91), as masses of people
were able to move more freely through extended time and space. As well as this
evolved accessibility, rail travel created new sites of sociability where large numbers
of strangers were together in an enclosed space (Urry 2007; Bissell 2010), the body in
a rail carriage becoming 'an anonymised parcel of flesh which was shunted from

place to place just like other goods. Each of these bodies passively avoided others'
(Thrift 1996, 266). The nature of the carriage moving rapidly through space was also
a source of anxiety, perhaps epitomising the fast paced individuality of the city, with
the railway carriage embodying the notion of confinement and exposure (Barrow
2015).

A limitation on women's mobility was a crucial means of subordination and exclusion
(Massey 1994) and the impact of the introduction of rail travel on women's mobility
and access to public space is substantial. With waiting for and being on transport
providing a legitimate purpose to be in public space, women were able to interact and
engage with strangers, a privilege that was previously reserved for men. However
Victorian rail compartments were both public and highly intimate spaces. These new
spatial and social dynamics, where men and women who were strangers found
themselves in close proximity (Urry 2007) led to intense cultural anxiety and moral
panic around women's sexuality and vulnerability, and the potential for sexual
violence. This was particularly true for women travelling alone who were often
regarded as inviting sexual attention (Barrow 2015; Urry 2007). It is important to
consider that whilst the introduction of rail travel increased mobilities and provided a
legitimate purpose for women to be in the public arena, the lack of safety associated
with the space of the rail carriage and reports that emphasised the danger for female
travellers acted as a paternalistic form of social control, curtailing women's
movements, discouraging them from public space (Barrow 2015).

As well as the development of rail travel, over time there have been significant
advancements in both gender relations and the nature of mobility. The development of
the motorcar and automobility (Urry 2007) has had a significant impact on the design
and everyday experience of cities (Gottdeiner & Hutchinson 2006) and personal
mobility. Graves-Brown (2000, 157) states that the car can be viewed as a 'mobile
personal space' that is not to be challenged or invaded (Lumsden 2009). As Lumsden
(2009, 45) states, 'the private car is an instrument for exercising our right to
unrestricted individual motion'. Unequal access to automobility has been considered,
most commonly in relation to social class (Flink 1970, Gartman 2004). Some work
that has explored the relationship between gender and automobility has considered the
increased mobility and freedom from the domestic sphere that the car has provided for

women (Wosk 2001). Yet others have argued that women have historically had limited access to automobility, with car ownership being perceived as a masculine venture, with male journeying to work prioritised over women's journey's to service the domestic requirements of a household (Lumsden 2009). This has meant that both historically and in the present day, women are more dependent on public transport than men (National Statistics Online 2004; Dobbs 2005).

Evidently, the dialogue around women in public and liminal spaces such as transport has evolved over time. As Wolff (2015, 8) states, these discussions have become 'less and less preoccupied with identifying bounded areas and their exclusions and much more interested in the shifting of boundaries, the negotiation of spaces…' Rather than being confined to the domestic sphere, women's increased journeying and nomadic tendencies have developed, and although access and relative safety have altered significantly over time, the persistence and prevalence of sexually harassing behaviour within transport spaces means that it is still structured in a way (spatially and socially) that permits these behaviours to be perpetrated. The intersections of space and mobilities and their role in shaping such behaviours and how they are experienced by women can be explored more thoroughly by employing the concept of *rhythms*.

Most commonly used within mobility studies (Edensor 2010, 2011; Smith & Hetherington 2013; Bissell 2007) and human geographies (Cresswell & Merriman 2011; Edensor & Holloway 2008; Stratford 2015), Lefebvre's (2004) concept of rhythm is highly useful here. Rhythmanalysis has a focus on the taking place of everyday, as it 'deepens the study of everyday life' (Lefebvre 2004, 73). Lefebvre states that 'Everywhere where there is interaction between a place, a time and an expenditure of energy, there is rhythm' (2004, 15). These rhythms are present in a multiplicity of forms; they can be biological, psychological, social and mechanical; corporeal, natural, institutional and collective (Schwanen et al. 2012), differing in characteristics such as frequency, intensity and regularity. They can be intermittent, volatile and surging (Edensor 2010) and they continuously interact, harmonise and clash with one another. These collections of rhythms '…form the polyrhythmic ensembles from which spatiotemporal consistencies and places emerge' (Schwanen et al. 2012, 2066) essentially constituting the ambiance and feel of a place, which in turn

impacts the sociabilities that occur within it. As Highmore (2002) considers, rhythmanalysis has the ability to reveal the politics of pace.

The concept of rhythm will be employed throughout this thesis to uncover and analyse various aspects of sexual harassment on the Underground, including how women experience and move through urban space; how the rhythms of the city and the Underground mean sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced in particular ways at particular times; how rhythms and temporalities intersect; and how the policing of sexual harassment is largely based on knowledge of the rhythms of the Underground.

Lefebvre is often considered a pioneer for focusing on the spatial aspects of social life and social phenomena, forwarding transformative ways of thinking about space as dynamic and fluid. Lefebvre's interest in rhythms is already apparent in his previous work as he describes spaces as: 'great movements, vast rhythms, immense waves- these all collide and 'interfere' with one another…' (1991, 87). In *Elements of Rhythmanalysis* (2004) he expands on the notion of space as dynamic. Indeed, rhythms fundamentally challenge the notion that space is fixed and demonstrate that the urban field is an object in motion rather than a mute staging. It is both transforming and transformative. This brings us to Lefebvre's insistence that first and foremost rhythmanalysis demands that time and space be regarded as interrelated in order to not only deal with the spatial, but also the temporal order of everyday life. As Mulicek et al. (2016, 116) elaborate 'the city can be defined not only through its spatial attributes but also through its affiliation to a particular spatiotemporal system'. This linking of time and space removes the idea of self-contained moments, and equally establishes that rhythms cannot be detached from one another and should be observed and listened to 'within wholes' (Lefebvre 2004, 24). This holds relevance when thinking of the way the activity of the city above impacts the rhythms of the Underground network. For example, the flow of capital and business hours create 'rush hours' on the tube network, which possess an entirely different ambiance and 'acceptable' mode of behaviour in comparison to the 'night tube' on weekends, where sociabilities and rhythms are largely impacted by the night-time economy. These spatial, mobile and temporal dimensions all impact on how sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced. For example, groping is more common in rush hours due

to the crush of bodies acting as a facilitator and cover for the perpetrator. On quieter tubes, flashing or masturbating is more common.

When considering dominant rhythms regulating everyday city life, urban public transport schedules are an example of institutionally inscribed urban cyclical time (Mulicek et al. 2016; Schwanen et al. 2012). As an essential part of the urban fabric of any city, transport systems act as systems of mobility and are an integral component of the infrastructure of social life. The rhythms of the London Underground are dominated by attributes of rationalisation: punctuality and calculability, which Simmel (1997,177) recognised as necessary to avoid 'inextricable chaos' (one only has to envision London on the day of tube strikes or delays to know this holds true). These regular and repetitive rhythms of the Underground allow a sense of predictability that is highly valued by commuters and creates a sense of certainty or, as Edensor (2010, 8) states, it allows for an everyday 'ontological predictability and security'. Yet this rationalism and functionalism exists in a constant tension with the corporeal rhythms of the autonomous individuals that move through the system, with an ever-present risk of disjuncture.

Lefebvre puts great emphasis on corporeality, claiming that capturing, expressing and understanding urban rhythms is always done through the body. He states that 'at no moment have the analysis of rhythms and the rhythmanalysis project lost sight of the body' (2004, 67). He emphasises the necessity to always locate the body as a first point of reference and 'the tool for subsequent investigations' (2004, 12). As Prior (2011, 205) considers, rhythmanalysis: '…locates the body as a constant reference point for the alliances and conflicts of rhythms-not just the anatomical, physiological body, but the body as being-in-the-world, perceiving, acting, thinking and feeling'. Essentially, Lefebvre suggests that the rhythmanalyst use their body as a 'metronome' (2004, 19), as a continuous position through which rhythms are known and expressed. With regards to polyrhythmia (multiple rhythms), it is significant to consider biological rhythms and how they interact with social rhythms: or, how biological rhythms are impacted by the social environment and vice-versa. Because rhythms are multitudinous and coexist, they can be aligned, or they can be in discord. Lefebvre suggests that the body be used to recognise both when rhythms are operating in their natural state or in 'harmony' (eurythmia) and when there is disruption and breaking

apart of rhythms (arrhythmia). The second is perhaps an easier task as he considers: 'we are only conscious of most of our rhythms when we begin to suffer from some irregularity' (Lefebvre 2004, 77). A recognition of the role of bodily rhythms and their interaction with external rhythms are significant in advancing debates on the negotiation and impact of sexual harassment. For example, in Chapter Six, when looking at the immediate impact of sexual harassment, rhythms show how women's actions (e.g. 'freezing') are not simply a 'natural' corporeal reaction out of fear, but are implicated by uncertainty as to what is happening to them and anticipation of other peoples' behaviour within a particular space. Lefebvre's acknowledgment of the coexistence of biological and social rhythms demonstrates the embodied relationship between individuals and the spatio-temporal nature of the city. The body is the point of contact for these rhythms and often the site of collision and arrhythmia.

Locating this research within Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis brings into focus the tension between individual bodily rhythms, shared social rhythms (habits), mechanical rhythms and rhythms of the city that are collectively active within the space of the London Underground. Paying attention to these rhythms opens up a new angle on understanding incidences of sexual harassment on the tube network. Locating them within the spatio-temporal environment it becomes clear that the rhythmic attributes impact how people move and interact within the space. The London Underground has observable effects on the behaviour of those moving through the network. These rhythms and their impact on sociabilities are necessary to consider when discerning how sexual harassment manifests itself in various ways and helps in analysing the incident itself, perceptions of the incident, (embodied) reactions, and contextualises and locates sexual harassment as a disruption to women's everyday (rhythmic) mobility.

It is important to highlight that many studies of mobilities since the 'mobilities turn' have focused on or recognised the importance of *immobilties*, or how mobilities can be limited and disrupted (Adey 2006; Hannam et al. 2006). Hubbard and Lilley (2004) discuss through the lens of speed politics and modernity that where there is speed, there also exist interruptions and slowness. As highlighted by Sheller and Urry (2006) feminist work has been significant in drawing attention to inequalities in mobility (Ahmed 2004; Skeggs 2004; Morley 2000). As Skeggs (2004, 49) states:

'Mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship'. Therefore, a lack of, or disruption to mobility and access can act to reinforce social exclusion (Cass et al. 2005). As the empirical material presented in this thesis shows, sexual harassment often caused women to slow down or restrict their mobilities, therefore this is an important notion to consider further.

A concept from mobilities studies that is used throughout this thesis in order to conceptualise immobility, or a slowing down of mobility, is Cresswell's (2010) notion of *friction*. In his work on the politics of mobility, Cresswell (2010) deconstructs mobility in to six parts: motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience and friction. Here, rhythm and friction are both recognised as important components. Cresswell (2010) describes friction as a social and cultural phenomenon that can be lived and felt when our mobility is prevented or slowed down, both involuntarily and out of choice (Cresswell 2014). He offers examples of encountering suspicion at border control, or stopping to take in a scenic view. Mobilising the concept of friction with regards to sexual harassment on the Underground, this notion of slowing down holds relevance, as women's mobilities are often interrupted or disrupted, rather than stopped altogether, leading to 'blockages' or 'coagulations' (Adey 2006; Marston et al. 2005) in mobility, which can cause anxiety and frustration. Cresswell (2014) also discusses how those with power can slow down or restrict the mobility of others by increasing friction. This is significant to the discussion in Chapter Four of women's freedom and ability to engage in *flanerie* in the city without the risk of male intrusion, as (fear of) sexual harassment is often experienced as a friction and interference with both women's ideas of and actual freedom and movement in the city. Friction is also used throughout Chapter Five to demonstrate how experiencing sexual harassment can cause a slowing down of women's urban mobilities. The concept of *friction* illustrates how, as discussed above, women's mobilities often remain punctuated with fear and disruption. However, these notions of mobility are not complete without a consideration of the temporal dynamics at play.

Temporalities

For this study, temporalities are significant in a number of ways. Firstly, the circadian temporalities of the city rhythms impact on how sexual harassment manifests

differently at particular times of day. Secondly, the Underground is a transitory, highly mobile place with a temporal nature seemingly dominated by speed, which shapes how women negotiate harassment. Thirdly, women's experiences of time are impacted when they are subjected to sexual harassment. Finally, as time structures human experience, it will be used as a concept in the form of memory in order to analyse the impact of sexual harassment when looking back and looking forward.

The significance of time has been recognised, along with the environment, as impacting human movement and activity (Hagerstrand 1970, 1983; Thrift & Pred 1981;Thrift 1977; Rose 1993). The role of spatial-temporalities (or time-space geography) has, to an extent, has also been considered as a significant factor that impacts women's experiences of (fear of) crime in transit, with particular effort attributed to understanding environmental factors that increase levels of fear and perceived risk (poor lighting, lack of visibility, etc.) (Wekerle & Whitzman 1995; Valentine 1990; Loukaitou-Sideris 1999; Herbel & Gaines 2010; Pain 1997, Gilchrist et al. 1998), and when actual incidents of crime in transit environments occur (Ceccato & Uittenbogaard 2014). Studies have often focused on the impact of the spatial and temporal attributes of criminal activity (Felson et al. 1994; Felson & Boba 2010; Cohen & Felson 1979; Ceccato & Uittenbogaard 2014; Uittenbogaard & Ceccato 2012). In this thesis, it is rhythms that intimately connects space and time, recognising that sexual harassment happens in a particular space, in a particular way at certain times. During morning and evening rush hours the Underground takes on what Bissell (2010) describes as characteristic of commuter train travel, where bodies are densely packed in and pressed up against one another in a confined space. This proximity (alongside the sociabilities it induces) permits sexual harassment to be perpetrated in a particularly physical way, commonly in the form of groping, frotteuring and grabbing. In the evening, particularly at weekends the carriages take on a different, more affable and sociable atmosphere, and sexual harassment is often in the form of alcohol-fuelled interactions, more overt and often verbal. In the middle of the day and late at night carriages are often relatively quiet, to the point where it is not unusual to be alone or with only one other person in the carriage. It is in this spatio-temporal setting that exposure or masturbation is more commonly perpetrated. This highlights how it is necessary to consider not only space, but also temporalities in order to understand the nature of sexual harassment on the London Underground.

As well as occurring in specific ways at particular times, sexual harassment on the Underground is happening within a space of abundant and seemingly high-speed mobility (Urry 2007; Auge 1995). It is fast and repetitive, a system through which an individual can (generally) move with speed and predictability. In such an environment Urry (2007, 98) states 'Time becomes a resource…consumed, deployed, exhausted', or rather, time becomes a resource to be measured and managed. The mechanised movement of rail travel saw a rise in the value of *speed* of travel (Virilio 1986; Thrift 1996), with the presumption that time spent travelling is 'dead time' (Urry 2007, 99) and should therefore be reduced. Whilst this has been challenged, and the pleasures of time spent travelling highlighted (Lyons & Urry 2005), on the London Underground, the normative temporal order (re)produces the notion that the less time spent travelling, the better. This in turn impacts the sociabilities that occur within the space, with Goffman's (1963) concept of 'civil inattention' (a deference owed to strangers in public space) and Simmel's (1903) metropolitan individuality dominating the social scenes in carriages, allowing passengers a predictable journey with minimal unnecessary interaction or interruption. This is significant in three ways. Firstly, as explored in Chapters Five and Six, women did not challenge harassers or immediately report to authorities due not wanting to prolong their journey and further disrupt their mobilities. Secondly, some women were unwilling to speak out when experiencing sexual harassment, for fear of disrupting the decorum of the carriage. Here the temporal nature of the tube has a strong impact on the sociabilities that occur within it, and consequently shapes how women reacted to sexual harassment. Finally, some women felt they did not have time to react before the perpetrator slipped away with the crowd.

Rail travel is said to have changed notions of the relationship between time and space (Thrift 1996; Urry 2007; Watts & Urry 2008). Urry (2007) recognises the sensory perception of speed of travel, and Watts (2006) discusses how the experience and passing of train time has interesting characteristics, including the stretching out and compressing of journey times. The empirical analysis in Chapter Five shows how some women, whilst experiencing sexual harassment, felt like time had slowed down, or their regular and routine journeys were prolonged. In some ways this links back to Cresswell's concept of friction, where mobilities are slowed down, yet it takes a more

abstract and perceptual form in the sense that the journey itself is not physically being prolonged, rather it is impacting what Edensor (2011, 190) considers as 'the subjective experience of the rhythmic and temporal' which 'may vary so that time can drag'.

Another way in which temporalities are key to this research is when considering how the impact of sexual harassment alters and is negotiated across time. This is explored in Chapter Six through the social concept of *memory*. The concept of memory relates to the way in which we reconceptualise the past, present and future. Put simply, memory is significant here as it is the meaning of the past in relation to the present (Adam 1991; Keightley 2010). The temporal aspect of memory relates to how and what is remembered over time and the impact it has (Adam 1991). It helps to conceptualise how incidents of sexual harassment are remembered and negotiated over time and how they impact on women's experiences of urban space. It also highlights how experiences of sexual violence are often re-defined as such after a pro-longed period of time, based both on personal life trajectories and societal context. Chapter Six explores how the memory of an event of sexual harassment impacts on women's future behaviour within the space of the Underground. It aims to understand the negotiations that women undertake in order to 'deal with' the incidents of sexual harassment and claim back their mobility and freedom, and how this changes over time and space. It permits a move beyond discussing women's access, fear and vulnerability and allows an examination of how sexual harassment in public space is negotiated and resisted, and how the experiences or memories are also suppressed and embolden women. It uses the conceptual framework structured around space and mobilities, to offer a unique temporal analysis of the impact of sexual harassment.

It is important to consider how these spaces, mobilities, rhythms, and temporalities with regards to sexual harassment are experienced and known from different perspectives, or, how knowledges of sexual harassment are constructed and situated.

Knowledges
The final empirical chapter of this thesis (Chapter Seven) focuses on police perspectives of sexual harassment on the London Underground. What is significant for this thesis with regards to knowledges is how ways of knowing and what is known

are situated within particular contexts, and are always partial perspectives. It has long been considered important to recognise *how* knowledge is socially constructed and which knowledge claims are privileged within particular environments and contexts (Giddens 1987; Foucault 2002). Feminist scholars have given significant attention to knowledge production and how certain knowledges are privileged and reproduced as authoritative truths (Hill Collins 1990; Smith 1989; Haraway 1988). Feminist standpoint theory (Hartstock 1983; Smith 1989) proposes that women's oppressed and unique standpoint means that their truth claims expose reality. Drawing on standpoint theory, Donna Haraway (1988) formulates her theory of situated knowledges. She states that it is not possible for one group of people to possess objective vision, rather, she claims, all knowledge is partial and situated and therefore must be critiqued.

The concept of situated knowledges is a core part of Chapter Seven, which looks at how authoritative police knowledge of sexual harassment on the Underground is situated and how this positionality impacts on policing tactics and interaction with victims. Considering how police knowledge of sexual harassment is developed, a number of 'ways of knowing' are considered. This includes how knowledge is developed and situated within a particular (police) culture; hierarchies of knowledge production; the subjective knowledge of space or 'mental maps and; the role of technologies in producing 'objective' knowledge.

Knowledge is created within particular contexts or cultures (Sackmann 1991). For this research, it is police culture that is of significance. The nature of police culture has been given significant academic attention (Reiner 1985; Westmarland 2001; Workman-Stark 2017), with 'machismo', cynicism and solidarity being identified as some of its most pervasive traits (Banton 1964; Chan 1997; Silvestri 2017). It is within this culture that knowledges are collectively produced and reproduced. Within the policing context there are numerous forms of knowledge production, often acting in a hierarchy, with certain ways of knowing being privileged over others. Wood et al. (2017, 176) highlight the important relationship between police culture and police knowledge, stating how 'knowing police officers' form their knowledge basis from learnt and practical experience (Fielding 1984). This is a knowledge base that is formed from the development of practitioner reflection and experience and is often

termed 'tacit knowledge' (Schon 1983) or 'craft expertise' (Hargreaves 1999). Another significant form of knowledge production that impacts policing practices is evidence based policing (EBP), an approach that is based on producing scientific evidence to guide principles and practice (Sherman 1998; Lumsden & Goode 2016). However, as a form of knowing, EBP is often critiqued, as it is said to privilege positivist methods due to the perception of a lack of bias (Hope 2009), giving the impression that this knowledge is definitive and abstracted (Wood et al. 2017). Furthermore, as such knowledge is externally produced, one of the critiques is that it ignores the context in which practitioner's practical experience and knowledge develops (Lumsden & Goode 2016), and can act to silence the voice of practitioners (Issit & Spence 2005). This shows that within a particular context and culture there are different ways in which knowledge is produced and privileged. With regards to sexual harassment, this is important to consider, as what officers know (which in turn shapes how they police sexual offences) is culturally and contextually situated.

A significant part of police knowledge is implicitly or explicitly about their understanding of particular spaces and the behaviour that occurs within them. EBP has led to the ability to spatially and temporally locate places where high levels of crime occur, also known as crime 'hot spots' (Ratcliffe & McCullagh 2001). This intertwines with an officer's learnt and experiential knowledge of particular spaces, constituting their 'mental map' of an area. An individual's mental map regards both the physical and emotional perceptions of an environment (Lopez & Lukinbeal 2010; Rengert & Pelfrey 1997). These mental maps are mental conceptions built from memory, yet are inclusive of collective knowledge (Edlund 2017; Rengert & Pelfrey 1997). A police officer's knowledge of particular spaces is built from individual experience situated within a police culture through which officers conceptualise the space and their experiences within it (Fyfe 1991; 1995). For British Transport Police officers, the professional tacit knowledge officers gain through experience, combined with evidence based knowledge, gives officers mental maps of the space of the Underground that are likely to differ significantly from those of the women who experience the harassment. Furthermore, the way officers collate and reproduce their knowledge of sexual harassment is strongly implicated by a number of technologies.

Knowledge is often mediated and gathered through technologies. Both Innes and Colin (2008) and Fyfe et al. (2015) recognise that police work is carried out within a complex web of structural and situational contingencies, and the information, or knowledge that is gathered is given meaning by cognitive agents. Here, it is useful to consider Haraway's (1991) concept of the cyborg, a 'flesh-technology-information amalgam', a hybrid composition abstracted from its territorial setting. It is relevant for two key reasons. Firstly, it allows an analysis of how, as the information travels through varying technologies, the incident or experience becomes increasingly 'decorporialized' (Haggerty & Ericson 2000) as it is transformed through an authorised interpretation of events. Furthermore, Haraway's cyborg allows for a consideration of how, despite the technologically mediated nature of this knowledge, it is then allocated to a cognitive, culturally situated, individual investigating officer. Essentially, the process of policing sexual offences is a combination of information gathered by technologies and humans, and made sense of by technologies and humans. The main technologies that are used by the BTP are CCTV and smart card data, and the role that these play in policing sexual harassment will be considered in detail in Chapter Seven.

As an authoritative body, it is easy to perceive the police as having a holistic oversight of sexual offences within their remit. However, drawing on the theorisations mentioned above, particularly Haraway's situated knowledges, it becomes clear that the way sexual harassment is known by the transport police is partial and subjective, acquired through an amalgamation of technologies and contextually learnt tacit knowledge. This is significant, as what the police know of sexual harassment is collectively formed and then operationalised into policing practice and protocol for managing sexual offences on the Underground. As will be explored in Chapter Seven, this authorised and 'from above' form of knowledge can be at a disjuncture with how women 'know' their own individual experiences.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed definitions of sexual harassment, including a consideration of the strengths and limitations of different terminologies. It then provided an overview of the literature on how sexual harassment manifests and is experienced across different contexts, recognising the lack of research that has focused specifically on a

public transport environment. It then introduced the conceptual framework that forms the basis for this thesis, reviewing the concepts of space, mobilities and rhythm, temporalities and knowledges and relating each of them in turn to sexual harassment. It outlined how each of these concepts plays a role in how sexual harassment is shaped and experienced on the Underground, and explained how these concepts provide a new angle from which to look at sexual harassment on public transport. To summarise: *Space* is conceptualised to be active in (re)producing gender inequalities, in this case, permitting and shaping the manifestation of sexual harassment; *mobilities* and *rhythms* are active across space and show how women's experiences of sexual harassment are shaped by and impact on their movements through this space; *temporalities* allow insight into how, over time, women negotiate the impact and memory of sexual harassment as they move through the city and the Underground, and finally; *knowledges* of sexual harassment differ depending on perspectives that are situated, formed from specific and contextual understandings of space, temporalities and movements.

The aim of this chapter has been to lay the foundations for the subsequent empirical chapters. The next chapter will outline the methodology and research design employed for this research.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

Methodology is the philosophy of methods (Saukko 2003), or a 'theory of how inquiry should proceed' (Schwandt 2007, 193). Methods are the tools used to conduct the research investigation. This chapter outlines the methodology and methods that have been adopted for this research. From the beginning of the research process, the fundamental aim of this study was to explore women's experiences of sexual harassment in the space of the London Underground, including their perceptions of the city and the tube more generally; their actual experience of sexual harassment, how it happened and how they reacted at the time and; how they negotiated the impact of these incidents over time. I also wanted to consider how the BTP as an authoritative body construct knowledge about this particular space and the sexual offences that occur within it. Whilst this study initially set out to take an ethnographic approach, due to the nature of the topic, interviews became the primary method used for data collection. This consisted of 29 interviews with women who had experienced sexual harassment on the Underground, and 15 employees of the British Transport Police with expertise in the area of sexual offences.

In this chapter, I will first discuss my methodological orientation and how feminist epistemologies have influenced the research, particularly researcher reflexivity and the ethical framework. Following this, I will outline how I undertook observations on the Underground in order to understand the nature of the space, and explain how ideas gathered from observations impacted the research and have been integrated into this study. Then, I will discuss the process of conducting semi-structured interviews, including why they are an appropriate method for this study. I will detail the process of recruitment and sampling for interviews with women who experienced sexual harassment on the Underground, whose accounts are used in Chapters Four to Six, followed by members of the British Transport Police, interviews with whom are the foundation for Chapter Seven. Finally, I will conclude this chapter by highlighting the

four themes that emerged from these interviews that will be subsequently addressed in the empirical chapters that follow.

Methodological orientation and feminist epistemologies

Epistemologically this research takes an interpretivist approach. An interpretivist approach is concerned with how people interpret, experience, make sense of and (re)construct the social world (Mason 2002), accepting that multiple realities and truths are accepted to exist side by side (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Bazeley 2013), with the premise that knowledge is constructed in the context of individual histories and social interaction (Schwandt 1994).

Some feminist epistemologies take interpretivist methodologies in order to challenge positivist notions and reject realist approaches that claim to represent an independent social reality (Hammersley 1992). By suggesting that knowledge is subject to critique and negotiation (O'Donnell 2003) this helps to recognise that 'realities' are often from a privileged, patriarchal and partial perspective. Feminist epistemologies have long argued that research done in the wrong way can act to reproduce inequalities and have therefore endeavoured to conduct research that recognises and destabilises (patriarchal) ideologies and power relations. They have sought to find ways to capture and represent women's experiences in order to uncover and examine the social oppression of women. For this research I have taken a relatively conventional approach with regards to methods (predominantly using semi-structured interviews). However, there have been particular feminist epistemologies that have influenced the way this research has been conducted, analysed and presented. Taking a hermeneutic sociological perspective, and drawing on the feminist epistemologies outlined below, this research aims to foreground women's experiences, and recognises that the authoritative voices of police officers are no more objective or representative of 'reality' than those of the women who have experienced sexual harassment.

A key epistemology to recognise here is that of standpoint epistemology. Second wave feminist thinkers (Smith 1987; Hartsock 1983; Hill Collins 1990) introduced feminist standpoint epistemologies, which acknowledge power relations, situated knowledge and the recognition of the value of marginalised standpoints (particularly those of women) (Nielsen 1990; Longino 1993). Feminist standpoint theorists often

focused on researching women's lives as points of enquiry, as stated by Harding (1993, 56): 'starting off research from women's lives will generate less partial and distorted accounts not only of women's lives but also of men's lives and of the whole social order'. As Walby (2001, 486) states: 'Standpoint epistemology makes a claim to authoritative knowledge not through the procedures of science but through the status of the oppressed as the bearer of true knowledge'. This highlights how standpoint epistemologies claim that marginalised groups (women) hold a particular and more truthful claim to knowing (Douchet & Mauthner 2007). Standpoint theory has been operationalised throughout the data collection, analysis and writing up process. It has acted as an epistemological guide in the attempt to reduce the hierarchal nature that is present in sociological research (Oakley 1981), and to give weight and focus to the diversity and complexity of women's experiences and narratives of sexual harassment.

The emergence of standpoint theory was seen as a practical achievement in the sense that 'its knowledge is derived from a committed feminist exploration of women's experiences of oppression' (Stanley 2013, 27). Donna Haraway locates herself in relation to standpoint theory in her essay *Situated Knowledges* (1988, 590) stating: 'There is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions'. Rather than claiming that one (oppressed) group of people hold an objective vision or truth of reality, situated knowledges claims that all knowledge is partial and situated. As highlighted above, both the women and the police officers know sexual harassment from a particular, partial and situated perspective. The theory of situated knowledges then, is useful in order to avoid perceiving the 'authoritative' voice of the police as objective: it allows for these differing knowledges of sexual harassment to be taken at the same level.

When considering the situatedness of knowledge construction, it is also important to consider my own role in this research. Indeed, Douchet and Mauthner (2007) consider how recognising the situatedness of knowledge drew attention to the concept of reflexivity.

Researcher reflexivity

Feminist social scientists have drawn attention to the importance of reflexivity in research (Gelsthorpe & Morris 1990) and feminist research principles have long recognised that research can never be entirely 'objective' or 'hygienic' (Oakley 1981). Therefore, whilst not an exclusively feminist practice, reflexivity is regarded as a key theme of feminist research (DeVault 1996; Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002). Being reflexive allows a disentangling of power relations, and equally of the researcher's own situatedness. The reflexive approach has been considered as a response to realist agendas which 'privilege the researcher over the subject, method over subject matter, and maintain commitments to outmoded conceptions about validity, truth, and generalizability' (Denzin 1992, 20). Anderson (2006, 382) describes reflexivity as entailing 'self-conscious introspection guided by a desire to better understand both self and others through examining one's actions and perceptions in reference to and dialogue with those of others'. Lumsden and Winter (2014) discuss how reflexivity permeates each and every part of the research process, including relationships with participants, data collection and analysis, interpretation and dissemination. This requires the researcher situating herself personally, politically, intellectually, theoretically and autobiographically throughout the process (Carroll 2009).

Burkitt (2012) considers how our emotions as researchers are central to the reflexive process. Stanley and Wise (1979) declared that when embedding feminist principles into the research process emotion should be considered as a research experience. Reinharz and Davidman (1992) state that if the researcher acts appropriately, and with emotional intelligence and care then it fosters an environment in which women/participants develop meaning around their experience. When conducting interviews for this research, a number of women spoke about how sharing their story was their way of 'fighting back'. As one participant stated: 'I'm not an activist, I'm not about to go and wave around a banner, but I see this as doing my bit, like contributing to this is my speaking out'. Another said: 'I think by collecting these stories and making sure that these things we don't talk about, these little stories that have a big impact on our lives, putting them together kind of makes sure they get heard'.

Reflexivity inherently draws attention to the role of the researcher, and their impact on the research process. An often-neglected side of research and fieldwork is the impact that doing such work, can have on the person carrying out the research. Yet there is an increasing body of literature that highlights the emotional commitment of the researcher to their research and the necessity to consider the emotional (and possibly physical) risks and impact of the research process on the researcher, also known as 'emotional labour' (Carroll 2012; Hochschild 2003), and often brought on by the multiple roles the interviewer embodies when researching a sensitive topic, or the emotionality that is involved (Lumsden forthcoming; Block et al. 1999). Coles et al. (2014) explore the impact that researching sexual violence has on the researcher. One respondent in their research stated that:

> This (research) resulted in scenarios such as travelling on the London Underground crammed in a carriage thinking about the statistics…calculating how many men on the train were abusers, and becoming increasingly agitated and angry (102).

This hit close to home for me. I realised that when using the tube (for leisure) I was always 'switched on', and perhaps hypersensitive to particular behaviours on the tube and beyond it. This was mirrored in my reflexive journal where I had (without realising) started to detail every incident that could be construed as sexual harassment, both on and off the tube. I wrote clearly about how this made me feel after one day I was cat called from a van in the morning; commented on by two men on a dark street who proceeded to shout aggressively at me when I didn't respond to their 'compliments'; and then five minutes later I was wolf whistled at as I walked past a pub. When I got home that evening I wrote:

> How hard it is to walk home unbothered? I feel like I need to just stay in and hibernate tomorrow and just avoid people altogether…I think before starting this (research) these are the things that were always happening but I just brushed them off. It's only when you actually start paying proper attention, like you're properly switched on to it you realise how many 'small' things there are that make you feel uncomfortable and instead of brushing them off you get so angry and worked up and it's exhausting.

Coles et al. (2014, 106-108) highlight that potential coping strategies for researchers include preparation, support and supervision, research management, and self-care. As well as managing my own day to day emotional wellbeing, when carrying out interviews it was important to be emotionally attuned and sensitive to the needs of the participants, whilst also considering the potential impact the process could have on myself as a researcher. I realised the significance of this on one occasion early on in the data collection process when I conducted two interviews in one day. However, I felt I was lacking the energy to emotionally engage in the second. This is reflected in my reflexive diary (which I wrote in before and after every interview). This allowed me to recognise both the impact that the interviews had on me personally, and on my capabilities as a researcher. I subsequently made a conscious effort not to organise interviews too close to one each other. As well as encouraging me to be reflexive throughout the process, the feminist approaches to research highlighted above also impacted on ethical considerations.

Ethical considerations

Due to the nature of the research, the University ethical checklist required me to ask for clearance that was specifically geared towards people who could be classified as vulnerable. The full ethical approval form was submitted to Loughborough University's Ethical Approvals Sub-Committee and granted in November 2016. Guillemin and Gillam (2004, 263) state that the completion of ethics committee application forms is often viewed as a 'formality' or a 'hurdle' in order to get on with the research. However, they also consider that ethical research is more than research that has gained the approval of a research ethics committee. The ethics checklist therefore acted as a guide as to how to proceed with my research in order to conduct an ethical research project. It acted as more than a formality and was referred to throughout the process. I also consulted the Statement of Ethical Practice for the British Sociological Association (BSA) (British Sociological Association 2002, 2017). This highlights the need to take a reflexive approach towards the research project and to think critically about each aspect of the process. The statement also signifies how participation in social research should be based on informed consent given by those being studied or participating.

The informed consent sheet was sent out to potential participants after they initially responded to the call, and was gone through again at the beginning of each interview (both victims of harassment and the police), clarifying each point and giving the participant the opportunity to ask any questions. Recalling incidents of sexual harassment is potentially traumatising and painful for some women. Therefore, interviews were carried out within an ethical praxis relevant for researching sensitive issues, including establishing a lessened hierarchical form of interaction, prioritising the concern for the emotional well-being and rights of participants, and ensuring appropriate levels of anonymity to those taking part in the research (Carroll 2012).

There has been much methodological attention given to how best to research sexual violence in an ethical manner. A feminist approach to research is described by Edwards and Holland (2013, 18) as having a 'special affinity with qualitative interviews'. Interview methodology has been used in the field of violence against women since the 1980's (Campbell et al. 2009) and face-to-face semi-structured interviews were used by some of the early studies of violence against women (Dobash & Dobash 1979; Kelly 1988). Rather than structured 'quantitative' interviews, unstructured and semi-structured interviewing are prominently used as a method of data collection within a feminist research framework, as this allows for rich, detailed answers and a focus on the interviewees' experience and point of view (Bryman 2012). Campbell et al. (2009) offer useful guidelines in their article *Training Interviewers for Research on Sexual Violence: A Qualitative Study of Rape Survivors' Recommendations for Interview Practice*. Though my research focuses on sexual harassment, there are numerous points that I found useful to consider in my own research when approaching interviews. The principles they highlight include: the emotional well-being of the participant always being the paramount concern; giving participants time to tell their story with open ended questions; show patience and respect as stories unfold; engage in a dialogue and encourage participants to ask questions; and finally, be warm, compassionate and understanding (Campbell et al. 2009, 601). Another key point highlighted is that interviewers are prepared for the diversity of victims demographics, their experiences and how the incident(s) in question affected them and impacted their lives, essentially to recognise that there are 'no 'types' of victims' (Campbell et al. 2009, 611). It is perhaps worth mentioning here that whilst I approached and undertook these interviews knowing it was a

sensitive and potentially triggering topic, the interviews proved to be unproblematic and without disruption. Most women spoke frankly about their experiences, and while a number of interviewees said they found it slightly strange to talk and think about sexual harassment in such detail, none seemed distressed or troubled by the topic or wanted to discontinue the interview.

With regards to ethical considerations when working with the police, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed early on in the research process, before data collection began. This was in order for me to be able to be given access to 'wiped' or 'clean' information- for instance statistics on reports of sexual offences without revealing the identity of the victims or breaching confidentiality. An issue that did come up was the possible 'revealing' of police tactics. This is recognised by Holdaway (1983) who considers that one of the difficulties in researching the police is making the findings available for public view, which can be a highly compromising element of police research. In Chapter Seven I discuss how officers recognise potential offenders on the Underground network, and the process that occurs once a report is made. While this information was offered readily by the majority of interviewees, all of whom knew the interviews would form part of a PhD thesis, in a meeting one gatekeeper (also a member of SOCU) raised a mild concern as to 'giving away' their tactics of recognising and catching offenders. Therefore I sent a draft of the chapter to two gatekeepers to review in order to (a) make sure my descriptions of processes etc. were correct, and (b) to ensure I had not revealed any details of tactics that may be compromising to BTP. This is a form of what Bazeley (2013) describes as respondent validation or reporting back. Their feedback included minor clarifying comments that were then incorporated.

The epistemological understandings highlighted above helped to frame the choice of methods used in this research in order to understand how women made sense of their experiences of sexual harassment, as well as allowing a critical analysis as to how the BTP construct their knowledge of sexual harassment on the Underground network. I will now outline the methods that have been used in this project. Firstly I will highlight the role that observations of the space of the Underground played in this research, before moving on to detail the process of preparing for and conducting

interviews with women who had experienced sexual harassment on the tube, and with members of BTP.

Researching urban space: A recognition and embodiment of rhythms

Ethnography, or more specifically *urban ethnography* is a valuable methodology for researching everyday interactions and experiences in the city. It is an approach that can 'convey the inner life and texture of the diverse social enclaves and personal circumstances of urban societies' (Jackson 1985, 157). Urban ethnographies recognise the importance of understanding the everyday context of the city through the immersion of the researcher into the urban setting (Dunier et al. 2014), and observations, often with some level of participation (Brewer 2000), form a core part of most ethnographies. Drawing from this approach, I decided that participant observation in the space of the London Underground was necessary in order to understand and experience the space in which incidents of sexual harassment occurred and to become familiar with its spatial characteristics and the normative social interactions that occurred within it. The way these observations took place and how they have contributed to this thesis are detailed below.

Observations in the Underground totalled approximately 180 hours over a 9-month period between October 2016 and June 2017. The primary aim of these observations was to understand and record the nature (both physical and social) of the space of the Underground, to immerse myself in its rhythms and regulations, in order to contextualise experiences of sexual harassment in the space. Field notes were kept in the form of writing, sketches and photographs. I also kept a reflexive diary throughout the process in order to keep track of the changes and developments in my own perceptions of the city and the Underground.

Initially when I began undertaking these observations, I set out with only my overriding research question in mind: *'What are women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground?'* When conducting these observations and reviewing my field notes, I realised that I had regularly written about flow, movement and time; how these intersected or collided, and collectively made me feel and (inter)act when travelling on the Underground: essentially how these elements

impacted on how I experienced the space. In the diary I was keeping and carrying around on the tube I wrote:

> I feel like the city imposes itself on you. And that feeling is multiplied in the space of the tube. It seems chaotic at rush hour but really there are such particular ways of moving, of being, that if you don't know how to behave or fit in with the ebb and flow you risk causing a disruption. Standing up a bit too early for your stop, walking on the wrong side of the tunnels, not having your card ready at the gates. These are sources of unease, and are all micro tell-tale signs that you don't quite know the ways of the Underground.
> (Reflexive journal, November 2017)

> Doing observations has become difficult because now everything seems so normal and mundane. On my regular routes I'm on auto-pilot- I travel around the network with ease and don't have to think before I move. I've moulded into the city, its tempo and pace, dancing in a very disciplined way with everyone around me. It feels comforting somehow, a sense of belonging like you've figured it out.
> (Reflexive journal, April 2018)

Observations such as these permitted me to understand from an embodied perspective the affective nature of the space and the ebb and flow of urban movement. A core part of qualitative research is a regular reviewing of relevant literature as this permits insightful theoretical contributions, and the analysis of data is greatly impacted by applying different ideas from social theorists. Taking an abductive approach (Tavory & Timmerman 2014) permitted me to interweave the empirical material I was gathering with existing literature and theory, going back and forth between the two in order to try and make sense of my own experiences and those of the women I was interviewing. This became significant approximately halfway through the data collection process when I was introduced to Henri Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis.* The concept of rhythms was reviewed in Chapter Two, so here I will simply explain how it helped me to make sense of the data I had collected up to this point and how it was used subsequently. As Hetherington (2013, 25) summarises: '…city spaces have rhythms that produce patterns of repetition and difference that shape the ways in

which those cities are lived'. For Lefebvre (2004), whilst rhythms exist everywhere, it is the realm of the public, on the streets and amongst the crowds, where the vast compositions of diverse rhythms become apparent: '…public space becomes the site of a vast staging where all these relations with their rhythms show and unfurl themselves. Rites, codes and relations make themselves visible here: they act themselves out' (Lefebvre 2004, 96). Newly reviewing both my field notes and interview transcripts through the lens of *rhythms* allowed me to make sense of my own embodied experiences of the space and, when referring to transcripts of interviews, draw out significant elements that contributed both women's experiences of sexual harassment on the tube, and later, how BTP both know and police the issue.

Due to the nature of the topic, interviews were always intended to form the basis of this research, however, I feel that concurrently embarking on these observations and the consequent recognition of rhythms (as a concept and in existence) are significant in the strength of this thesis and the findings that it presents. It is in this way, through the infusion of empirical material and literature, that mobilities and rhythms became part of a theoretical lens of analysis through which to understand women's experiences of the city and the Underground before, during and after being a victim of sexual harassment.

Semi-structured interviews with women who experienced sexual harassment

This thesis is primarily based on interviews with women who had experienced sexual harassment on the London Underground. Bazeley (2013) suggests when choosing methods for your research, it is important to consider what methods have been employed in other research that have previously investigated a similar phenomenon. Whilst there is no academic research that directly explores experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground, TfL have conducted surveys and focus groups with regards to investigating the regularity of such experiences and also to gauge responses to certain campaigns. Furthermore, research that has been done on women's experiences (of sexual harassment) on public transport most commonly use a survey methodology (Neupane & Chesney-Lind 2014; Horii & Burgess 2012) or take the form of rapid assessments (Gekoski et al. 2015; Stringer 2007). Therefore, by employing qualitative interviews, this research uncovers elements of experiences of sexual harassment in transport that may go unrecognised when using other methods.

Semi-structured interviews provide insight into subjective interpretations, perceptions, beliefs and meanings that people attach to experiences, going beyond what is visible and observable. Commonly coming from a positivist philosophy of science, there are general critiques of qualitative interviews, including that they do not produce objective and scientific knowledge and are at too high a risk of the imposition of the researcher's influence (Kvale 1994). However, Ann Oakley (1981) challenged the dominant idea of 'proper' standardised and objective interviewing techniques as producing more valid results. She argued that the best results from interviewing could be achieved when: 'the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship' (41). Wolf (1996) discusses 'intersubjectivity' in interviews, when the researcher shares their own experiences with participants. The researcher sharing their own experiences may create an environment that encourages sharing and an open dialogue, in comparison to a forced and unnatural format of question and response (Wolf 1996). Oakley (1981, 49) describes this as 'reciprocity', and argues that intimacy and rapport between the interviewer and interviewee cannot be achieved without it. As highlighted by Carroll (2012, 548) a common technique used to build rapport and trust is for the researcher to disclose personal experiences. Many of these interviews (if not all) involved what Oakley (1981) discusses of being 'asked back' by research participants. When this occurred, I engaged and answered honestly, sharing my own experiences. Often I was asked about my own experience(s) of harassment on the Underground or in general; why I decided to do this research; what I had found from interviews so far and; 'what I was planning to do' with the research. Furthermore, a number of participants said how, as no one had asked them about this experience before, getting to finally speak about it made the interview itself feel cathartic or 'like therapy'.

The full interview schedule is attached as Appendix A. The interview questions were open ended, and split broadly into three topics. Firstly, women were asked about their experiences of London and use of the Underground in general. Then, we moved on to discuss the specific incident(s) of sexual harassment, how it made them feel and how they reacted to it at the time. Finally, the interviews focused on reflecting how or if they felt the experience had impacted them over time. The interviews took a semi-

structured approach, therefore the schedule acted as a guide rather than a strict set of questions to abide by. The three themes of the schedule later fed into the empirical chapters that follow the same structure.

A total of 29 women who had experienced sexual harassment on the Underground were interviewed for this research. Participants were recruited via a 'call for participants' disseminated on the social media sites Twitter and Facebook on my personal accounts (See Appendix B). On Twitter, the call was retweeted 111 times: 9 participants were recruited this way. On Facebook, the call was shared 75 times: 6 participants were recruited this way. Significantly, it was posted on a highly followed and active feminist Facebook group page (now no longer in existence): 12 participants were recruited through this page. The call was also published on the NGO Hollaback! Facebook page; 2 participants were recruited in this way. Whilst some participants were secondary connections (friends of friends), no participants were personal friends or acquaintances.

The call for participants did not define what behaviour was inclusive of sexual harassment. Therefore, each participant came forward having self-defined their experiences as sexual harassment. Researchers exploring sexual harassment have highlighted the difficulties in appropriately naming sexual harassing behaviour in public space (Vera-Gray 2016) (See Chapter Two), and unearthing what to many women is perceived as an everyday experience. This highlights the importance of using appropriate and recognisable terminology. As a commonly used term in everyday language and discourse, sexual harassment was utilised (see Chapter Two for an overview of other popular terms).

Interviews were conducted between October 2016 and October 2017. The final sample involved 29 women who had experienced sexual harassment on the London Underground. Women are not a homogenous category, and it is widely considered that the term 'women' needs deconstructing (Henwood & Pidgeon 1995). Stanley (2013, 21) discusses how whilst feminist work has focused on showing women's 'experiences of oppression', it is important to recognise that 'women' do not share an ontological existence or material reality, and their experiences are not unified. This has been particularly highlighted by black feminists who emphasise the need for

feminist research to recognise difference in their analyses of women's experiences (Hill Collins 1986; Lorde 1984). Welsh et al. (2006) considered this in their research on diverse groups of women in Canada, highlighting that women's race and citizenship impacted how they defined their experiences of harassment. Therefore it is necessary to take an intersectional approach and to consider gendered experiences interrelated with varying degrees of class, race, sexuality and other systems of oppression and privilege (Hill Collins 1986; Carastathis 2014; Bilge 2010; hooks 1981). This draws attention to the importance of being transparent with regards to who is speaking in this research: whose experiences are being represented, and whose are not. Participants were between the age of 22 and 45 (the average being 30). 24 of the women were white, three were of Asian descent and two defined themselves as mixed race; 23 were British whilst six identified as non-British nationals; three identified as gay, two as bisexual and 23 as heterosexual. Whilst the study called for anyone who identified as female, all participants were cis-women[2]. Due to the nature of where the call was disseminated it is possible that there is a feminist bias to the participants. The possibility of bias when using a convenience sample means that it is not generalisable and should not be taken as representative of 'all' women's experiences. The class and age structure is also recognised as a possible limitation of this study. The sample presented in this thesis mirrors TfL data that shows the demographic of those who report experiencing sexual harassment on London public transport (TfL 2016, MOPAC 2016). The 2016 TfL Safety and Security report showed that women aged 16-34 were most likely to experience unwanted sexual behaviour on public transport. However, there is literature that suggests underreporting of sexual violence more broadly is exacerbated amongst the elderly (Bows & Westmarland 2015), as well as women who are black and ethnic minority (MOPAC 2016), and migrant women (Rahmanipour et al. 2019). Therefore, taking a purposive intersectional approach to sampling participants is suggested in the recommendations section of the conclusion of the study in order to forefront voices of women who embody a double-minority and potentially experience higher levels of vulnerability and are less likely to report to authorities.

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[2] Cis-gender is someone who identifies with the gender they were assigned at birth.

Each individual who came forward was interviewed. 26 interviews took place face-to-face, with three being conducted via Skype due to geographical difficulties or preferences (one participant had recently moved to Delhi, India; one lived in Birmingham and preferred to Skype and; one lived in Manchester and preferred to Skype). Of the face-to-face interviews, one was done in Leicester, and the other 25 in London. Interviews were conducted in semi-public spaces (quiet cafes or bars) in various locations around the city at the convenience of the participant. Two took place in the British Library (London), and one took place on Queen Mary's University campus. The informed consent sheet (Appendix C) and participant information (Appendix D) were sent to participants after their initial email showing interest, but I made sure to also take a copy to interviews in order to recap or in case they had not read it. It was at the beginning of each interview that the informed consent was signed by both the participant and myself. For Skype interviews, I ensured participants had read and sent the signed form back to me (electronically) prior to conducting the interview. Most interviews lasted around one hour, with the shortest being 36 minutes, and the longest 97 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed by myself.

Interviews with employees from the British Transport Police

I also carried out 15 semi-structured interviews with employees from the British Transport police. These were conducted between October and December 2017. All interviews took place face to face, with all but one being undertaken at one of the BTP offices/headquarters (the other took place in a café). The empirical data and analysis from these interviews is presented in Chapter Seven.

Much has been written about the difficulties of researching the police, and they have notoriety as a secretive or withholding institution (Punch 1979; Loftus 2007; Westmarland 2001). Brown (1996, 180-6) outlines types of research investigators with regards to the police. My investigative position falls under 'outsider outsider' which is defined as '…professional academics who undertake research on behalf of academic institutions…individuals who are independent of and do not receive funding from the police service.' Coming from an 'outsider' position has the potential to create issues of trust and boundaries that limit the research process and findings. Yet

it has been highlighted that in recent years the police have shown an increase in willingness to interact and form partnerships with academics (Lumsden & Goode 2017; Goode & Lumsden 2016). When undertaking this part of the research, few issues were encountered, and for this, a significant amount of recognition should be given to relationships with gatekeepers at the force.

Academics have written of the ways in which the nature of police research has changed over the years (McLaughlin 2006), with an increase in focus on how research maps on to the police's strategic priorities and agenda (Goode & Lumsden 2016). Goode and Lumsden (2016) consider that one of these changes is that much research has moved from being 'on' the police, to 'for', and 'with' the police and that studies on the police run the risk of researchers acting as 'servants of power' (Burawoy 2004; 1611). Therefore it is important to explain the nature of the relationship that was fostered with British Transport Police and how this impacted on the research.

Gatekeepers are integral to the research process in order to gain access to people, organisations and/or the research field. Yet gaining and sustaining entry is often a problematic area for researchers (Johl & Renganathan 2010). The first point of contact was within the first few months of starting the research process. I met with a key (civilian) member of the BTP research team. The role of the BTP employee was likely beneficial, as they were welcoming and understanding as to the iterative and qualitative nature of the work and did not expect (at the early stages) for me to be able to express the exact details of the work and the possible impact and utilisation that it could have for the force. Lumsden and Goode (2017) describe how in their research they were expected by the police to be able to demonstrate how research collaborations were 'worthwhile'. Whilst I was conscious to avoid turning the study into something *for* the police, I equally felt that it would be beneficial to the force and to the women who had/may experience sexual harassment if the knowledge formulated from this research (both the interviews with victims and the police) would have the potential to inform BTP policy and practice.

Over the past three years, a significant amount of rapport was built with three particular members of the BTP, each who acted as a gatekeeper and facilitator at some point in the research process. On average I met with one or more of these gatekeepers

on a bi-monthly basis throughout the process. Furthermore, I was invited to present at a number of research days at the force, some specifically focusing on the policing of sexual offences. This allowed me to meet other officers and make myself and the research known within the force. These relationships that were formed with both gatekeepers and other staff were highly significant in gaining access, and consequently led to a relatively straightforward recruitment process.

Due to the time put into relationships with people on the force, when the recruitment process began it was relatively straightforward. A member of the Sexual Offences Coordination Unit collated a list of 20 individuals with some form of expertise in the policing or managing of sexual offences on the London Underground with whom they thought it would be useful for me to speak. They then disseminated an email (See Appendix E), including a preliminary interview schedule and participant information sheet (See Appendix F and G), informing the relevant individuals that I would be in touch. I then sent out emails to each of these individuals to gauge their interest and try to arrange an interview. Of the 20 individuals on the list that were contacted, 15 were interviewed. Ten were uniformed officers of varying rank, and five were civilian members of BTP staff. Five employees were female and ten were male. 14 were white-British, and one was Asian-British. One interview took place in a café, the other 14 took place in different BTP offices in London, depending on where the individual worked. The majority took place at BTP headquarters in Camden. Interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, and were audio recorded and transcribed by myself. Similarly to the interviews with women who had experienced harassment, whilst the informed consent sheet (Appendix H) and participant information had been sent via email, the informed consent sheet was explained and signed at the beginning of every interview by both the participant and myself.

Data analysis

This research adopted an abductive approach (Tavory & Timmermans 2014) to data analysis, integrating the literature and material gathered throughout the process of data collection and analysis. An abductive approach encourages the moving back and forward between observation and theorising (Tavory & Timmerman 2014). It allows for concurrent drawing together of empirical complexity and the establishment of a useful conceptual framework. As data collection commenced, this involved a constant

engagement and reviewing of relevant literature, allowing for 'theoretical sensitivity' (Strauss 1987, 12). It also permitted me to draw ideas from each individual interview and see if they were explored in the subsequent interviews, through the filter of the conceptual framework highlighted in the previous chapter. Essentially, this approach allowed me to see each interviewee's individual perspective and value, whilst also contextualising it with the others as part of the whole. The analysis of my data was an on-going process, interlinked with data collection, taking the form of what Becker (1970, 27) describes as 'sequential analysis', or taking a 'spiral' approach (O'Reilly 2009).

As is often the case with qualitative data, the initial process of analysis provided rich and deep descriptions of what was happening. As cases were compared and related to one another, codes and themes were extracted and analysed within the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Two. What occurred was an iterative interpretive exploration between the theory and the empirical evidence gathered in this study (Reed 2011). The approach I took to data management was a manual data analysis, allowing for full immersion into the data. While there are numerous benefits to using software for qualitative analysis (Bazeley & Jackson 2013), it is not without its difficulties, particularly for new users (Gilbert 2002). Although, as highlighted above, the observations and concurrent field notes played a significant role in the formation of the conceptual framework, they were not analysed and coded in the same way as the interviews.

When I had completed all of my interviews with women who had experienced sexual harassment, my first 'structured' phase of analysis began. The initial exploration of data allowed me to become familiar with each source. This began with a 'scribble and doodle' approach (Bazeley 2013, 109), underlining, annotating each transcript and highlighting key words, codes and eventually themes. I highlighted what I thought to be key points of the interview including their relationship with the city (did they live there, how long had they lived there, were they visiting; details about the incident of sexual harassment itself (where, when, how, what); and demographics. When trying to organise 29 approximately hour long interviews in order to draw out themes, this can be overwhelming (the vast amount and the complexity of qualitative data). A significant turning point for me in the data analysis phase was when I organised the

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experiences into a visual representation that showed the time of day of the incident, demographics of the individual, what the incident consisted of, and the participants reaction to and impact of the incident. Following this, I felt able to start coding my data. This allowed for new connections to be made and offered new ways of interpreting situations (Maxwell & Miller 2008). Coding took on a cyclical process, feeding in to the analysis and constant reviewing of literature and theory. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996, 32) state, codes are '…organizing principles…they are tools to think with…they can be expanded, changed or scrapped altogether as our ideas develop through repeated interactions with the data'. Codes were predominantly determined by the data (rather than literature and theory), though later rounds of coding were guided more by particular concepts (rhythm, mobilities). The initial round of coding was split into four key themes (which form the empirical chapters of this thesis: women's experiences of London and the Underground more broadly; the incident of sexual harassment; and the impact of the incident of sexual harassment. Similar experiences and reactions were then grouped together and coded again in the attempt to draw out defining aspects of the experiences. A more focused round of coding took place after the conceptual framework became more solidified, allowing me to code the rhythmic (temporal and spatial) aspects of these narratives. Each participant's experience was organised using the below diagram in order to code and structure experiences based on the mobile, temporal and spatial elements of the city, the Underground and the women themselves and how this impacted the manifestation of the incident of harassment.

Figure 1. Analytical framework (visual representation).

With regards to the analysis and coding of the police interviews, this was done after the conceptual framework had been formulated. Therefore coding took on a more focused approach, coding predominantly split into two themes: the pro active policing of sexual offences and the investigative aspect of policing sexual offences.

As Morse and Richards (2002, 115) consider, data looks different once it has been coded. As Kvale (1996) considers, evaluations and interpretations of codes are made sense of given the conceptual framework of the coder. Therefore, by undertaking this process I was able to connect the data and draw out key ideas to integrate and work within the framework.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodology and research design that were adopted in order to research women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground. Firstly I highlighted the methodological grounding of this research project and how it has been influenced by and is congruent to feminist

epistemologies. I then discussed reflexivity and the ethical considerations pertinent to this research. This included recognising the possible sensitive elements of the research topic for victims of harassment, and the nature of working with the police. Following this I outlined the role that observations in the space of the London Underground played in this research. Semi-structured interviews formed the core data for this thesis. As highlighted, there have been no studies exploring this phenomenon using this method therefore detail has been given to the process of recruitment and final sample for both women who had experienced harassment and the BTP. This was followed by a description of the data analysis, highlighting the evolving, abductive nature of this project. This approach led to the formulation of four key themes that are presented in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter Four

FLANERIE AND FEAR IN THE CITY:
CONTEXTUALISING FEMALE MOBILITIES IN URBAN SPACE

Introduction

Since the advent of mass urbanisation and the formation of the modern city, the nature of the urban environment and the way in which it (re) shapes social relations has been a concern of sociologists (Simmel 1903; Park et al. 1925). Early writers on the subject often considered the rural-urban contrast through sets of binaries: traditional-modern, conservative-liberating, restrictive-permissive, familiar-unpredictable (Tonnies 1887). Such work has emphasised that the spatial and temporal aspects of a place have a profound impact on the daily lives and sociabilities that exist within it. As such, space poses significance as it structures and impacts upon mobility and how people move and interact in the city. Feminist geographers have recognised this and their interest in space has often focused on hierarchies and exclusion, aiming to demonstrate the relationship between socially constructed environments and socially constructed gender relations (Massey 1984; Little et al. 1988) and the limitations this has posed to women's equality and mobility. This work has often forwarded the concept that space is eventful and in flux and that therefore there exists an inescapable and dynamic interrelationship between the city (space) and the wellbeing of its inhabitants (Jacobs 1961; Massey 1984). As stated by Hubbard (2006, 3) 'the city is not just a backdrop but an active participant' in the structuring of social relations. With this in mind, London and the Underground are not just taken as the spaces in which women move across and through, but as impacting on their everyday lives and mobilities.

In this chapter, I will firstly outline a key concept that will be operationalised throughout the chapter (alongside the already reviewed concepts of space, mobility and rhythm) in order to critically analyse women's past and present mobilities in the city: the gendered character of the *flâneur*. I will also review literature and theory relating to the emergence of urban modernity in order to contextualise how the social, spatial and temporal conditions in the metropolis led to the production of new sociabilities and modes of being in public life. Then, the concepts of flânerie, space and rhythms are employed in order to analyse empirical material in the form of

women's accounts of their everyday lives and mobilities in London and the Underground. Firstly, it will explore women's accounts of the city more broadly; the freedom, fear and flânerie that can be experienced, highlighting the rhythms that are implicit in creating the urban sociabilities that shape these experiences. Then, it focuses more specifically on women's experiences of the Underground, and how it can be experienced as a site of both anxiety and stress, and comfort and pleasure. The chapter concludes by showing how women's anticipation of gendered violence in public space acts to disrupt and limit their freedom in the city and the possibility of a modern day flâneuse. Filtering descriptions of their everyday lives and movements around the city through this conceptual framework permits insights into the impact of urban sociabilities on women's day-to-day lives, and how the city and the Underground induce both feelings of freedom and fear. It allows an understanding of women's everyday gendered mobilities in urban space, and how the anticipation and risk of sexual harassment impacts on these mobilities. This chapter addresses the first research aim: *To explore how women experience and negotiate London and the Underground in everyday life*.

The flâneur: Modernity, gender and the future of the flâneuse

The concept of the flâneur will be applied in order to reveal the gendered nature of existing in public space that permeates life in the modern city. Many of the character's urban attributes, proficiencies and anxieties are mirrored in women's descriptions of their navigation of contemporary London. Furthermore, the nature of the concept reveals how mobility in the city has historically been and continues to be, a highly gendered experience, with women's conceptions of freedom and anonymity continuing to be disrupted by the perceived risk of sexual harassment in public space.

Coined in the 19th century, a period of mass urbanisation, the concept or character of the flâneur remains a key figure in literature on modernity and urbanisation (Wilson 1991). The experience of the flâneur was recognised as distinctly male: in his element in the crowd, he is an emblematic figure, an 'urban consciousness' (Wilson 1991, 5) that seemingly encapsulates the liberating, sensuous enjoyment that can be found from walking aimlessly and anonymously in the urban spectacle. When considering the origins of the phenomenon, the first thorough description of the flâneur comes from Baudelaire in his 1863 essay *The Painter of Modern Life* (Baudelaire 1964). He

draws his inspiration from Edgar Allen Poe's short story, *The Man of the Crowd* (1840), where the crowd is symbolic of the modern city, and the protagonist acts as a new urban type: the unattached observer. Walter Benjamin further explores the flâneur in relation to modernism in *The Arcades Project* (1982). Used to portray a Parisian character in the city, Baudelaire (1964, 9) describes him as 'the passionate spectator…to see the world, to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world…'. This emphasises two qualities that constitute the act of *flânerie*: walking and looking, yet remaining detached, characteristics that became possible with emergence of modernity. The rise of the modern city became equated with public life and the creation of conditions of co-presence (Crang 2001), leading to the emergence of new sociabilities epitomised by Goffman's (1963) concept of 'civil inattention'. Of all the literature regarding sociabilities and modernity, Georg Simmel's 1903 essay *The Metropolis and Mental Life* is perhaps most notable. He pronounces the new urban condition of 'metropolitan individuality' and the 'blasé attitude' urbanites possess, that he claims is manifested from the existence of increased tempo and exposure to constant external stimuli (Simmel 1903). With his contentment in the crowd and affinity for transient interactions, the flâneur is often proclaimed as the 'modern hero' (Urry 2007, 69). Yet feminist critiques argue that the flâneur is a manifestation of male privilege and leisure (Wolff 1985; Elkin 2016) and that the ability to be private in public was not equally enjoyed by women and men. As Wolff (1985, 40) states: 'these heroes of modernity thus share the possibility and the prospect of lone travel, of voluntary up rooting, of anonymous arrival at a new place. They are of course, all men'.

The elusive flâneuse?

It is inescapable that the flâneur is a highly gendered concept (Massey 1994; Wolff 1985). In her 1985 essay *The Invisible Flâneuse?* Janet Wolff employs the concept of the non-existent 'flâneuse' to symbolise women's restricted participation in public space as well as to highlight the gender bias in classical literature on modern cities. Put simply, women did not have access to public space in the same way that men did. Gendered divisions between men and women in the 19th century were pervasive, and the 'separate spheres model' (Bookman & Morgen 1987) - the binary division between public and private spaces, is crucial to understanding how women have been confined to the private whilst men have been public figures in public space (Wolff

1985; Pain 1991; McDowell 1998). Because of this exclusion, when women did enter the streets, it was often under the endurance of the male gaze (Hubbard 2012). As Pollock (1988, 259) suggests 'the gaze of the flâneur articulates and produces a masculine sexuality, which in the modern sexual economy enjoys the freedom to look, appraise and possess…' Unlike the male flâneur, for women in the 19th century, visibility on the streets was commonly equated with moral laxity and sexual accessibility (Solnit 2001; Gardner 1995). By being in the city alone (particularly at night), women ran risks to their safety, reputation and virtue. Due to the voyeuristic nature of the city and the divisive gender relations of the time, it was impossible for women to stroll unnoticed through the streets (Wolff 1985). Or as Gleber (1998, 81) states'…the female flâneur's desire for her own exploration of the world ends where it encounters its limits in male pedestrians and fantasies, assaulting, annoying, disturbing and perpetually evaluating her in the street'.

Over the past few decades however, counter arguments have emerged contending that there is, and always has been a female flâneur: the *flâneuse.* In her book *The Sphinx in the City* (1991) sociologist Elizabeth Wilson considers the possibility of the flâneuse on the grounds that whilst the public domain was perceived as male dominated and potentially dangerous for women, in comparison to suburban and rural domesticity it provided opportunity and freedom, an escape from restrictive, often exploitative familial and patriarchal relations. With the city providing an escape from the spatial confines of home, women gradually became a more visible part of the urban scene, in part due to modern consumption transpiring as a female leisure activity (department stores, cinemas). This meant that women were permitted to enter the city whilst retaining their respectability (Chaney 1983; Laermanns 1993; Felski 1995). Yet with regards to flânerie, this was a freedom acceptable within the confines of consumerism. Therefore whilst recognising the growth of a female presence in the city, it did not allow women the fleeting, anonymous encounters or purposeless strolling than men were privilege to (Wolff 1985; Solnit 2001).

In her book *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice and London* (2016), Lauren Elkin traces how various women throughout history have engaged with the city. An exemplary illustration is perhaps that of the modernist writer Virgina Woolf, who drew immense vitality, pleasure and inspiration from her

walking in London. Woolf's musings of London are most vividly portrayed in the collection of essays entitled *The London Scene* (2006). In her work Woolf describes the anonymity of London in the 1930's as a desirable aspect of the city, allowing her to be freed from the subjugation of her own identity. Elkin also presents the example of the French novelist George Sand who famously dressed up as a man in order to roam the streets in 19th century Paris. Whilst Elkin uses Sand as an example of how women negotiated and transgressed boundaries and gender constraints, Wolff (1985) claims that this once again proves how women could not stroll alone in the city, pertaining to the idea that the flâneuse was non-existent. Yet Elkin (2016,11) considers that 'perhaps the answer is not to attempt to make a woman fit a masculine concept, but to redefine the concept itself'. Whilst Wrigley (2014) supports this idea of redefinition by demonstrating the flexibility of the concept (with regards to geographical (re) location), other scholars contend that achieving the status of a flâneur is unattainable, yet we each embody and partake in aspects of flânerie: 'Everyone conforms to some degree to the figure of the flâneur but no one actually attains his elusive status' (Coverley 2010, 61), and 'No-one quite fulfilled the idea of the flâneur, but everyone engaged in some version of flânerie' (Solnit 2001, 199).

The concepts of the flâneur and the flâneuse are useful tools of analysis that can be employed to explore gender relations in public urban space and women's right to the city. With their fluidity and continual reworking, the concepts will be engaged alongside rhythms when analysing the accounts of contemporary London presented in the following empirical section of this chapter. By showing how women experience and move through the city and the Underground on a day-to-day basis, I aim to actively redefine how we think about women in public urban space by recognising the freedom and pleasures that coexist and intertwine with the potential dangers of urban life, demonstrating that the anticipated risk of sexual harassment acts to disrupt women's urban rhythms and acts of flânerie.

Gendered mobilities in the city

The remainder of this chapter will use empirical material to portray and analyse women's negotiations of the strain between pleasures and anxieties that exist for them in 21st century London. The city, and everyday life within the city are often perceived as fragmentary, complex and intangible, yet by using the concepts of the flâneur and

rhythmanalysis to analyse the material gathered through in-depth interviews, this allows a new way of apprehending female experiences and mobilities in the urban environment.

This empirical analysis begins by exploring women's accounts of the city more broadly, including the freedom, flânerie and anxieties that can be experienced, and highlighting the rhythms that are implicit in creating the urban sociabilities that foster these experiences. Then, it focuses more specifically on women's understandings of the Underground, and how it can be experienced as both a place of stress and anxiety, and a site of comfort and pleasure. This chapter will conclude by showing how the anticipation of gendered violence acts as disruptive to both the freedom women experience in the city and the possibility of the flâneuse.

Big city life: Freedom, flânerie and rhythms in contemporary London
The flâneur is inextricably linked with modernity, a period of mass movement from traditional rural living to the city (Baudelaire 1863; Simmel 1903; Tonnies 1887; Giddens 1990). This appeal of the urban continues today. Embodying the compelling magnetism of a global metropolis, for many, London whistled promise, and the prospect of life in the city was spoken of as a childhood dream, a next step, arriving and surviving in the city being symbolic of progression and independence. Rachel, a 31-year-old academic who grew up in a small town in Essex described how she felt before moving to London ten years ago:

> It's such a childhood dream to be here and it represents a lot in that way of getting out of the small town. London always seemed like the place to be and I felt like my life was about to begin, all these new opportunities…I was ready to be in the big city.

Grace, 36, also grew up on the outskirts of the city and talked about how as soon as she and her friends finished college they committed to their intentions to move to London: 'This strange little place where I'm from, everyone grows up and wants to come to London…I was always drawn to London, there are so many opportunities here, I understand the pull'. These descriptions mirror the emancipatory appeal of urbanity that began to transpire when the modern city initially came to being in the

mid 19th century, showing that this mentality still lingers today; the city represents and provides opportunities and prospects that are not matched by rural or sub-urban places (Tonnies 1887; Wilson 1991). For Rachel and Grace, their perceptions of London and an anticipation of the possibilities it offered preceded its actuality and seduced them to pursue life in the big city.

For others, circumstance rather than appeal brought them to London. This was the case for both Sheila and Alison who, from the North of England possessed a different perception of the city, occupying a certain 'anti-urban' ideology with regards to London. Three years ago Alison graduated University aged 20 and accepted the first job offer she received, in London: 'London never appealed to me. I'd never wanted to live in London…I struggled but, I gradually got more comfortable and now it feels like home, I love it, there's always something different, that's what I love.' Going through a hard time at home, Sheila, now 36, spontaneously took a summer job with a charity, expecting to hate it and only stay the season. However, she fell in love with the city and restructured her life in order to pursue a fresh start and seven years later she also calls London home:

> I think I had this image in my head of London as being big horrible crazy smelly polluted and unfriendly. But I came to London that summer and I fell in love with the place…I think it's opened my eyes to a very diverse, very vibrant culture and in fact there's always something to do, you're never bored and I've met really great people. I think moving here opened up a whole new world for me and it made me realise that there's a lot more to life.

This relates closely to Simmel's (1903) theorisation that the urban initially induces shock and fear, yet is often learnt to be appreciated. Indeed, an agglomeration of the opportunities and encapsulating urban buzz captured these women into constructing their space within the cityscape. Far from being exceptions, the allure of London as a city of prospects is far reaching and attracts individuals from all over the world contributing significantly to the diversity and multiculturalism of the city. These aspects were highlighted as a defining factor in what contributes to the character of the city, and an element that many were proud of. Kreeda, a 25 year old working in student welfare who has grown up in London with Indian parents similarly said 'It's

so diverse. I'm not saying there isn't racism or homophobia but I feel for the most part it's a very accepting city'. When I asked Annie, 26, what kept drawing her back to London she said 'I think it's the multiculturalism of London, that's what I really like is the mix of people, you don't get that elsewhere'. Sammi, 37, who grew up in London and is of British and Indian descent said what she liked about the city was: 'its cultural diversity and acceptance…my experience of leaving London was always accompanied by a sharp rise in cultural ignorance, nationalism and whiteness. I would suddenly be complimented for being exotic.' This diversity and acceptance of difference contributes significantly to the appealing anonymity that London provides, ensuring a certain degree of ephemeral freedom when roaming the city. As Dora, 30, stated 'In London, everyone and no one fits in. Everyone and no one stands out'.

 It is within this urban context that, despite the historical elusiveness of the flâneuse, it can arguably be seen to exist in contemporary London. When Kath, 40, spoke of the freedom she experienced in London she said: 'it's that anonymity first of all, that makes you feel a bit freer. It's partly the size and sheer volume of people and the extent of transience'. Two of the flâneur's most significant qualities are that of anonymity, and of strolling through and observing the urban spectacle. A number women described how this was one of their favourite aspects of life in London and some specifically highlighted the pleasure in doing this alone, as a solo venture, something Alison, from Huddersfield, would not have previously considered appealing: 'I do stuff on my own now. I didn't used to like my own company but now I walk around, explore, go to a few exhibitions by myself, that's what I love…I used to get really lost, but it was fun!' Becky, 31, further highlighted how this sort of activity was linked specifically with urban space: 'Cities are good places to be if you like the outdoors. In London you can walk everywhere if you're central. I try to walk everywhere and to take different routes. I like to be outdoors and walking'. When I asked Grace to describe what she liked about living in London she answered:

> It's like the whole world has opened up. Where can I go, what can I do? And that's what I love about London. You wander around and you don't know what you're going to see around the corner, who you're going to bump into. I sometimes think, I haven't had time to just walk around for a while, so I go around and walk the streets and see what's going on.

Made possible by significant developments in gender relations and a lessening of spatial confinement, women undoubtedly have access to traverse and enjoy the public spaces of the city, contradicting Wolff's (1985) argument against the flâneuse, that women could not stroll alone in the city. These experiences and the ability to walk unnoticed are in part permitted by one of the core attributes of urban life: anonymity, which is also described as one of the most salient characteristics of the flâneur (Baudelaire 1964; Wilson 1991). Living in the city was described by participants as permitting a certain amount of privacy and freedom, which, as Demi, 38, described 'gives people the space to be able to be who they are, or who they want to be'. Dora came to London from France 11 years ago when she was 19 and recalls how she felt liberated walking through the streets in comparison to other cities she'd lived in:

> The first thing I noticed when I moved to London…well I like to wear small dresses and when I first moved here I noticed I wasn't getting harassed for wearing short skirts. I didn't get harassed on the streets, nobody gave a shit. The amount of shits people did not give was amazing.

Becky, born in London and moving back to the city aged 23, reiterated this saying 'I feel a certain amount of freedom in the anonymity; nobody gives a shit about what you're doing…nobody cares'. This links again to Simmel's (1903) 'metropolitan individuality' and 'blasé outlook': the notion that modern urbanites treat those around them with ambivalence and indifference due to a filtering out of excess external stimuli. Laya, 40, who moved to London seventeen years ago considers this almost directly, as she stated: 'I don't think that people in London are particularly unfriendly, it's just the rush of the city and the stresses of living here that make people retreat into themselves…that shield, it's a necessity, a resilience or protection thing'. It became clear that Londoners themselves recognised that this attitude is often perceived as rude and unwelcoming by those unaccustomed to the fast and indifferent pace of the city. Sammi recognised how the collective enactment of such sociabilities creates certain expectations:

> I think this anonymity might have something to do with the fact that we're quite rude, for want of a better word. I think a lot of people who come from

elsewhere say Londoners keep themselves to themselves, mind their own business…but it's quite normal and I do enjoy it. No one bothers you, it's a social norm you get used to, and I quite like it! You can go about your business and expect to not be interrupted.

There is a clear correlation here with Goffman's (1963) theory of 'civil inattention' and those who have come accustomed to this mode of being appreciate that whilst this type of sociability being may seem averse and hostile, they emphasise the functional significance of this affective and subtle manner of communication (Bissell 2010). This favourable notion towards sociabilities such as a 'blasé outlook' and 'civil inattention' demonstrate a mode of being in the city that resonates with the comfort that the flâneur draws from being able to be anonymous in the crowd. The women describe their enjoyment at how being in a diverse metropolis affords them the privilege and pleasure of anonymity. This imitates Baudelaire's (1964, 9) depiction of the flâneur who likes 'to be at the centre of the world, and yet to remain hidden from the world…'

As well as this pervasive anonymity, there were substantial references to the fleeting social intimacies that occur constantly in everyday urban life due to living in a state of almost constant co-presence (Crang 2001). Eliza, 32, considered this saying:

> I think the lovely thing about London is that actually we're probably more used to people being in our personal space. I don't think twice if I'm squashed into a space and people are touching my arms and stuff… I think most people in London will have an experience of a stranger being in their personal space, not on purpose but out of necessity. So I think we're more tolerant of it than people in other places, which I think has its strengths and weaknesses but I think sometimes it's a really good thing to be tolerant of other people.

Correlating directly with the flâneur's desire for transient and anonymous interactions, Becky describes the comfort that can be drawn from these types of abbreviated and fleeting urban sociabilities:

You're never alone when you live in the city and I like that. I don't like isolation…in the city there's always people around, even if they're strangers and anonymous, there are these fleeting possibilities...It's comforting, it really is. I think it's an odd type of community but I enjoy it.

The melancholy caused by these fragmented glimpses into the lives of others, the sense of a brief, anonymous, transitory connection is a privilege only afforded to those living in the modern metropolis, and traditionally, only to men (Wilson 1991; Elkin 2016). It is one of the features of the flâneur that holds most dear: detachment; the ability to observe and be observed, without interacting. Alongside the descriptions of strolling and exploring the city for leisure, the pleasure that women attribute to these fleeting interactions perhaps demonstrates that they are indeed embodying certain attributes and engaging with the city in a similar way to the flâneur, giving hope to the attainability of the modern day flâneuse. Yet conversely, it takes little imagination to see how the permutation of co-presence, anonymity and transient exchanges can also leave women exposed to less desirable, intrusive and non-consensual interactions. These apparent freedoms will be brought back in to debate when women articulate how the risk of sexual harassment acts to disrupt and challenge their negotiations of the city.

Rhythms are also significant here as to how women experience the city as a place of comfort and freedom. Knowing a rhythm or becoming accustomed to the rhythmic ensemble of a place is significant. As Laya states: 'I'm fairly fearless when I travel around London because I know its rhythms. And it really does have its own rhythms'. Here, adopting the pace of the city and knowing its intricacies is described as offering a sense of accomplishment and belonging. This knowing of the city was considered with specific regard to adapting to its spatio-temporal nature. Rach, 30, a bartender living in Bristol and travelling to London regularly for work said 'I still feel excited when I arrive and don't have to check where I'm going, that I'm moving quickly…there's an excitement and a sense of achievement that you've conquered London'. As discussed by Lefebvre (2004), the rhythmic ensemble of a space constitutes significantly to how it is experienced, and the rhythmical attributes of speed and pace are often considered one of London's defining elements. Rach elaborates, saying: 'It's fun and exciting but also exhausting, so I couldn't live here

because everything is always open and it's busy busy busy, go go go all the time.' Grace similarly described the city as having a '24/7 culture…people are always around and it's constantly going'.

Many women, both those who grew up in London and those who have come to experience the city as a place called home, described the pleasure in having a knowledge of these city rhythms and intricacies and this often led to a feelings of ownership of the streets and public space. Kath who recently moved to Leicester, talked about the realisation that she had a 'London walk', which she re-embodies when she 'steps back into London, like a skipping rope'. She described her 'London walk' as 'rude and rapid, speeding and weaving with no eye contact…in London I stride with purpose and ownership wherever I go, I take no prisoners, these are my streets'. Grace, now 36 has lived in the city since she was 18 and similarly described how having knowledge impacts upon her attitude to navigating the city: 'I think there's a bit of arrogance that comes from kind of growing up in London, knowing London…it's my claim to the city'. These accounts demonstrate a perception of ownership of the streets that comes with being aware and accustomed to the city or as possessing urban competency. This consequential sense of ownership is derived at least in part from implicitly knowing, embodying and performing (consciously or subconsciously) particular dominant rhythms that are present and active in parts of the city. Being accustomed to the complexities and rhythms of the city was significant in women's confidence and conviction in the city, permitting them to experience and act out particular versions of flânerie. However, despite the freedom that the rhythms and sociabilities can provide, they can also act to induce feelings of fear and isolation. As highlighted in historical literature regarding urban life, the public domain and particularly the city was initially perceived as a dangerous and mentally damaging arena, particularly for women (Massey 1994; Hubbard 2012). Whilst the contemporary city is now hailed as a desirable and profitable place to live (Zukin 2009), women highlighted concerns that they pertained as specific to life in the city, particularly fear, isolation and the pressure of high paced life. These elements were emphasised by Emmy, 31, who lived in London for a year before moving to a village in the Midlands. She said:

I wanted to be based in London but it wasn't for me. There were bits I hated, especially getting the rush and stress of getting the tube everyday. I found it a very isolating place to be and I think I didn't feel that safe.

A high proportion of depictions of fear and discomfort came from those who did not live in the city. This relates back to the notion that knowledge, familiarity and being accustomed to the rhythm of a place assists in feeling safe, competent and more at ease (Hornsey 2012). Ellie, 30, who travels to London occasionally for work from her home in Brighton recognised this saying:

London is too hectic for me. I can find it quite fast and frightening and I definitely feel less safe. I'm sure that has a bit to do with it not being my home, with it being unknown, but it can be quite a scary place.

As well as feelings of fear, a more commonly emphasised notion was that of the city being 'hard work'. Whilst for some the urban temporalities of London created a sense of importance and excitement, others highlighted how this unforgiving rapidity (which is characteristic of many a modern city) acted to created sociabilities and interactions that led to feelings of isolation. Dora spoke of this saying:

It can be a harsh place, tough, and incredibly difficult to live in if you're feeling down or not doing so well. When things were not going well for me I felt like the city was just chewing me up and was about to spit me out, it was awful. And when you're down, nobody gives a shit. If you're crying on the tube no one is going to ask you, which is great if you want to be alone but not when you're at a point where you just need somebody to say it's going to be ok. Nobody is going to tell you that, they're going to look away.

This reveals the contradictory nature of sociabilities in the city: at the same time there is the provision of freedom and anonymity that is so desired by some and remains elusive in other forms of living. Yet this can simultaneously lead to experiences of isolation and loneliness. This brings together the dominance of rhythms and of the flâneur as an anguished urbanite, who, whilst enjoying the freedom of the crowd, finds his aimless strolling has no place in the fast pace and time conscious city

(Wrigley 2014; Coverley 2010). Furthermore, Becky, studying for her Masters and working as a manager in financial services, talked openly about her anxiety disorder and how at times she has felt that the nature of life in London exacerbated certain issues:

> I was trying to do as much as I could to keep up with London, and I think the city really drives that. It's immensely stressful and expensive and people's nervous systems are all jacked up and you can't stop. You never feel as successful as you probably are. It's just constant.

This feeling of no escape from the accelerated rhythms (from which certain sociabilities manifest) within the city reveals a hierarchy (Lefebvre 2004) in the multiple rhythms at play. The dominance of the fast paced, temporal, cyclical pattern of daily life in London overwhelms the corporeal desire to slow down and the individual ability (or will) to retract. This meant that even many of the women who talked enthusiastically about their lives in London still recognised the need to remove themselves occasionally and specifically signified the need for somewhere with a slower pace. Grace stated: 'It feels like it's constantly going, which can get a bit too much…every now and again I'm like ok, I need to take some time out and go away for the weekend…no people, no sirens, no rushing'. Similarly, Laya said: 'I like to go back home to the countryside because that pace there is obviously totally different. It's slower and people stop and are nice to one another'. This emphasises once again the significant impact that the rhythmic composition of a place can have on people's everyday lived experience. As a specific, transitory space, the Underground has its own rhythms that implicate women's experiences of mobility in the city, therefore this is given specific attention below. This develops an understanding of the space as in motion, composed of rhythms that create the character and nature of the Underground, which subsequently impacts on the interactions that occur within it.

Rhythms of the Underground: Predictability, collectivity and pleasure
Simultaneously replicating and facilitating the (institutional) time conscious rhythms of the city above, the Underground is a rapid, regular transport network. As a far-reaching mobility system it is an integral component of life in London, enabling increased access and playing host to the everyday mobilisation of bodies around the

city. The network is often seen as being dominated by the fast paced circadian beat of commuters, with an impersonality and insolence that imposes itself (Bissell 2010). Yet with more intimate observation and analysis it becomes apparent that there are innumerable rhythms, individual and collective that concurrently exist and interact in tension with one another. The nature and hierarchy of these rhythms (their impact upon sociabilities on the network) will also be explored throughout succeeding chapters.

The necessity and role of the Underground was emphasised by most participants that lived in London and its regularity and predictability were considered as one of the systems most defining and favourable features. Each tube stop has real time computerised updates that signify when the next train will be arriving, accompanied with regular updates in the form of voice announcements. At peak times, and even off-peak, there is rarely a gap of more than 5-10 minutes between departures, with trains often arriving every 1-3 minutes in central areas of the city. Ruth, 33, described her appreciation of how accurately she could calculate her commute when she lived in London: 'I'd leave my house at 7.20, walk for 20 minutes, then the first train would take 26 minutes, then the Waterloo and City Line would take 8 minutes. I did that every day for three years. The convenience was amazing'. Comparing London transport to Bristol, Rach said: 'I prefer the tube. Buses are never on time or they just don't show up. The tube…you don't have to wait more than two minutes, and you know it'll be there. That makes it so convenient'. This shows a partiality to rhythmic attributes that are equated with the modern city. The predictability of the environment was also highlighted as allowing for ease of travel. Demi stated: 'For people who use it everyday…you don't really need to pay any attention, it's like wallpaper, you're on auto-pilot'. Sara, 40, who works at the BBC described how she is 'obsessively routine…I stand in the same spot on the platform because I know where the doors open. It's always the same' and Carla says how she enjoys using the tube because 'I don't have to think much…it's easy to work out, it's not complicated'. This signifies the success of Harry Beck's[3] vision for tube users to become self-governed and therefore more efficient, within a legible environment (Hornsey 2012; Lynch 1975). As well as allowing for a maximised use of time, these aspects also permitted a sense

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[3] Harry Beck was the creator of the now world famous topological tube map.

of security and safety, particularly at night. Sara said: 'the tube is so consistent and reliable that it makes you feel safe, the familiarity and predictability makes you unconcerned. It's like a cocoon from the streets, it's indoors and regulated'. Rose, 27, similarly considered:

> The tube is so familiar, why would I be frightened of it…when something is familiar there's less fear and the tube is so familiar and reliable, it's always the same. Every time I go on the tube I have a very similar experience to the last time I was on the tube.

This is arguably the most dominant and visible (or felt) rhythm of the network that encourages the individuals that travel within it to move in a synchronised and self-governed way, which in turn permits the fast and efficient movement as a collective. Yet despite the clear benefits of efficiency and punctuality, it will become apparent when looking at incidents of sexual harassment on the network that this pressure of predictability and time efficiency is highly influential as to how women negotiate their experiences of sexual harassment that happen in transit. Equally impacting is the way in which the Underground's materiality, its architecture and the way the system is structured (both the trains themselves and the stations) dictates or at the least encourages a particular homogenous mode of being. Certain collective behaviours and movements through the space that maximise both capacity and speed are encouraged, fostered and embodied. Like the city, rapidity is a dominant rhythm on the Underground. Not just in the mechanical speed of the trains as considered above, but equally the ebb and flow of individual bodies moving as a collective within the network, that are similarly moving to minimise time in transit. Annie, 28, whose job as a tutor required her to travel all over the city, captured this saying:

> I always feel like I'm in a rush, even when I'm not, on the tube it just always feels like that, maybe because everyone else is rushing. So you're annoyed if you miss a train, even though you have plenty of time and there's another one in two minutes. So often I think it's quite a stressful experience that makes you very aware of time.

Demi, who visits from regularly from Birmingham for business trips also described her movements through the network as dominated by speed:

> On the Underground I'm always moving quite fast, I'm part of the movement, I can't hep it, I'm kind of powering through, walking up the escalators and wherever I go I'm looking ahead for the most efficient paths through the crowd without getting in the way of anyone else.

As well as speed, some women considered how on the Underground they felt a change in their persona when travelling, particularly at rush hour. Ruth said 'that journey does turn you into an aggressive and confrontational person because everyone else is, it's sort of infectious'. Chloe, 38, considered: 'I don't think I'm a very nice person on the tube, I'm rushed and unforgiving, I want to get through'. Grace described how when she embarks upon the part of her commute that is on the tube: 'I switch and I'm in work mode, I fight to get on, I get more aggressive, I push in and don't let anyone in'. Sheila mirrored this saying: 'Sometimes on the tube I want to lose my temper…with tourists, when it's rush hour and they're holding you up because they don't know what they're doing at the ticket barriers, you just want to swear at them!' This has strong connotations towards Simmel's (1903) idea that the nature of the metropolis changes individual's behaviour (metropolitan individuality) and Bissell's (2010) consideration of the affective nature of commuting. Often these frustrations were brought out by disruptions to the fast paced rhythms: 'You should know which direction you're going in, and always have your Oyster card ready at the gates because otherwise that holds people up and you can create a back log that stops the flow of people going' said Kreeda. Similarly, Cris, who works as a nurse and often travels in rush hour said: 'You get your card ready, the barriers can slow you down but it should be easy, you tap your card down and that's usually quite smooth but you get annoyed at people when they aren't as ready as you'. Ruth, remembering her first few week commuting in London said:

> If for some reason you've not got your ticket ready you want the ground to swallow you up because you know you're holding people up, even if it's a nanosecond, it's just the awkwardness of having to take that step backwards…you learn to try and avoid it.

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Other elements that women highlighted as significantly contributing to keeping the flow of people moving, described by Tess, 30, as 'tube etiquette', were that of standing on the right side of the escalator, and taking up as little space as possible in the carriages. This demonstrates how much of the corporeal movement that can be observed when moving through the network has become embodied and self-governed by regular users of the tube. This implementation of the social rules of the Underground was expressed by some of the women who described how they took pride in calling people out if they were acting in a way that was deemed inappropriate for the space. This included telling other passengers to take off backpacks, to move down the carriages and to give up seats for elderly people or pregnant women. This pervasiveness and (social) policing of others demonstrates how dominant rhythms and modes of behaviour are established, embodied and (re)enacted, epitomising how users of the Underground discipline one another into conforming to the social norms and rhythms of the space. It also signifies the tension that exists between rhythms that have manifested themselves as social organisation and how individual corporeal rhythms can act to disrupt the normative flow and movement of people.

Yet despite (or because of) the normative rhythms of the network being dominated by its fast paced and transitory nature, women spoke of how the rhythms of the underground and the anonymous interactions it induces allowed a sense of comfort and pleasure whilst on the move that can be paralleled to the activity of the flâneuse. Whilst (if she existed at all) she traditionally roamed the city on foot, these accounts reveal that, due to the sociabilities on the network, fragments of the character of the elusive flâneuse are being embodied and experienced on the Underground. Rose hinted at this saying: 'I can be completely disconnected from everybody else, and that's allowed in this space, there's no obligation for me to interact with people'. Furthermore, she discusses the fleeting intimacies of urban life that were so enjoyed by the flâneur, saying: 'I've actually had some really nice experiences on the tube…little smiles when you catch someone's eye. And those moments can make you feel good'. Alison also captures the possibility of being alone in the crowd saying: 'Sometimes I extend my journey home so I have more time on public transport…even though you're surrounded by so many people it's my alone time'. Despite its apparent

hostility and rapidity, the Underground itself can indeed be experienced as a site of comfort and at times, even pleasure.

Anticipating sexual harassment: A disruption to freedom and flânerie

Despite women displaying and enacting in forms of modern day flânerie and discussing how the city (and the Underground) provided them with freedom, anonymity and pleasure, they also spoke of how the risk and actuality of sexual harassment impacted upon their negotiations of the city and how they experienced public space. Grace, who spoke strongly about her feelings of ownership of the streets considered:

> I do feel I have access to everything in London. But I will say that with that comes a constant reassurance to myself that I have this access, rather than it just being, I have to reassure myself…I have a place here, I can do this…it's like this internal monologue that just takes up headspace. I really want to get to the point where it doesn't enter my head.

Chloe had similar sentiments saying: 'Having to think about these things…it's an invasion of your mental space' and Eliza, who considered: 'Worrying about these things is annoying because it kind of distracts you from your personal zoning out time'. One of the core characteristics of the flâneur is his ability to be aimless and aloof in public space, which, whilst obtaining access, most women still struggled with. Furthermore, many of the women recognised the gendered nature of this jarring tension as something that impacted women and that men often remained unaware of. Janice summarised this notion saying, about sexual harassment: 'for most men it's just not in their sphere of expectation. For women we almost expect it and then accept it'. Gillian spoke about how her male friends are always surprised and disbelieving when she recounts stories of sexual harassment, and Demi talked about how when she spoke male colleagues about sexual harassment in public space they saw it as a joke, and she said 'it's not a joke. You don't know what it's like to have to watch yourself all the time.' Ally expressed her exasperation saying:

> I find it frustrating that men have no idea what it's like, and so they're so dismissive of sexual harassment because they've never been followed home,

they've never had someone expose themselves, shouted at. Men don't
understand that it isn't a one off, these are regular, multiple experiences.

This highlights that men's daily existence in the city is generally void of (potential) gendered violence from strangers in public space, that most women navigate as an everyday, often subconscious state of being. Therefore traversing the city in an aimless and uninhibited way like the flâneur appears to be something women do not yet have the ability to enjoy. Whilst many women highlighted that the city provides them with freedom, anonymity and pleasure, the perceived risk and anticipation of gendered violence exists as a reminder to an underlying apprehension and a need to assess and negotiate one's presence and safety in urban space. Yet looking at this through the lens of the flâneur and the flâneuse challenges discourses that only express the danger, fear and victimisation that women experience in urban space. Whilst these elements exist, to only pay attention to the negative aspects is to ignore women's complex and practiced negotiations of the multitudinous aspects of urban life, that they embody and enact in order to be active, free and if desired, anonymous participants in the city.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the research aim '*To explore how women experience and negotiate London and the Underground in everyday life.*' It began by outlining the concept of the flâneur and the flâneuse, drawing upon literature that discusses women's presence in public urban space. Using the concept of the flâneur and Lefebvre's notion of rhythms, this chapter then presented and analysed empirical material in order to portray the tensions that exist with the possibility of a claim for the modern day flâneuse in London. These accounts given by women came together to co-create a representation of the rhythmic attributes of the city and the Underground, and how they impact urban experience. Finally, both these themes were drawn together to demonstrate how the anticipation and perceived risk of sexual harassment acts as a disruption to the freedom and normative rhythms of life in the city (and on the Underground), revealing the complex and often contradictory nature of women's experiences and negotiations of mobility in urban space. It becomes clear women embody particular elements of the character of the flâneur or flâneuse, enjoying the freedom and anonymity that the city provides. However, their movement

through urban space involves the anticipation of male violence, the negotiation of which hinders their perceived freedom in the city. This shows how mobilities in the city remain highly gendered. This chapter has allowed for subsequent chapters to have a contextualised understanding of how the women in this study experience urban space and the London Underground on a day-to-day basis.

Chapter Five

THE RHYTHMS OF A CITY, THE UNDERGROUND AND SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Introduction

The nature of social interaction in transport environments has received significant attention, particularly in mobility studies (Urry 2007; Thrift 1996; Bissell 2010, 2018). Sexual harassment has been recognised as a pervasive issue that impacts women's experiences of public transport (Natarajan 2016; Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2009, 2014; Solymosi et al. 2017; Gekoski et al. 2015). Yet there is little research that brings together a mobility studies' perspective and sexual harassment on transport. This chapter does this, and explores how the rhythms of a city and transport shape experiences of sexual harassment. Recognising and analysing the rhythms at play on the London Underground opens up new conceptual understandings and empirical observations on how sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced on public transport.

Thus, this chapter will employ rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre 2004) and a mobilities perspective to explore sexual harassment on the London Underground, analysing how incidents manifest in particular ways within the spatial and temporal context of the tube. This addresses the research aim: '*To understand the key features of women's experiences of sexual harassment in a transport environment.*' The rhythms of the wider pulse of the city, rules of public behaviour in urban transport, and its fast, transitory nature will be considered. I will discuss how the concepts of rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre 2004), friction (Cresswell 2010) and mobility can expand understandings of sexual harassment on public transport. As the more general conceptualisations of rhythms and friction were discussed in Chapter Two, they will be drawn upon here only in relation to the three key conceptual observations outlined below that appear to be characteristic of experiences of sexual harassment on public transport.

There are multiple rhythms interacting on the Underground, often in tension with one other. These include the circadian rhythms of the city that permeate the Underground and rhythms of the Underground itself. These rhythms create particular sociabilites that occur within the network as a fast paced, transitory environment. Acting in tension with one another, these rhythms lead to the three conceptual observations around which the empirical section of this chapter will be framed. Firstly, sexual harassment is shaped by the rhythms of the city that permeate the Underground: the rush hours, lulls and night time, which facilitate and conceal harassment. Secondly, the sociabilities on the network, shaped by rhythms, mean that women are often unwilling or anxious about 'making a scene' in an enclosed public space and not wanting to disrupt their own urban rhythms and codes of comportment. Thirdly, the transitory nature of the space of the Underground is important, as women often envisage the situation as temporary and act accordingly; the ephemeral nature of the tube also allows the perpetrator to disappear quickly. Taking a mobilities perspective helps to highlight these unique features of sexual harassment in public transport and takes conversations on this topic forward both conceptually and in terms of prevention. Each of these three key aspects will now be theorised before moving on to the empirical analysis of women's illustrative accounts.

Firstly, the rhythms of the city permeate the Underground, and are used by perpetrators to facilitate and conceal sexual harassment in various ways, at different times of day. Spaces where strangers are confined create particular sites of sociability (Urry 2007) and as Bissel (2009) considers, travelling by train is often characterised by the density of people being transported in close proximity. This is particularly observable in morning and evening rush hours, when passengers are confined and pressed up against one another on platforms and in the rail carriage, demonstrating a deceleration or friction of rhythms in contrast to the desire of commuters to be moving quickly (Urry 2007). The density of bodies permits particular types of sexual harassment to be perpetrated (groping, frotteuring) whilst the offender moves with the choreographies of the crowd, and synchronises with the rhythmic motion of the carriage, often without visibly transgressing from the dominant and acceptable way of behaving. Here, the normative physical friction that occurs between passengers is exploited to perpetrate and conceal a particular type of harassment. Other exploitations of the rhythms of the city and the tube include perpetrators moving

through the network in a non-suspicious way (See Rach's account below); and enacting overtly sexual behaviour when the space/carriage is isolated at off-peak times (See Grace's account). This concealment of harassment causes distress and confusion to women as they attempt to negotiate the seeming ambiguity and uncertainty of their situations.

Secondly, within the space of the Underground there are acceptable modes of behaviour. The rhythmic flow of movement through the tube network shows regulated bodies coming together to move as a 'polyrhythmic' (Lefebvre 2004) collective. Hornsey (2012, 686) describes how the Underground is designed to function with 'the logic of a factory assembly line'. Consequently, disorder that creates a disruption or *friction* to people's journeys is often treated with disdain (Edensor 2011). Lefebvre considers that whilst often acting in repetitive harmony and creating the ambiance of a place, there is the potential for rhythms to collide with one another. He describes this as *arrhythmia,* when a place (or body) departs from its 'normal state' (Lefebvre 2004, 78). This is most common when the exterior rhythm of rationalised time and space comes into contradiction with lived and embodied rhythm (Lefebvre 2004; Cresswell 2010). Goffman (1959) considers how places and performances are bound up with each other, which he also terms 'space specific behaviour'. Urry (2007, 38) also considers how 'people know how to behave on the move'. One of the most observable interactions on the tube is Goffman's (1963) concept of 'civil inattention', a deference owed to strangers in a crowded public space. Whilst necessary for self-preservation (Manning 1992), civil inattention can create a hostile environment and foster feelings of indifference, isolation and a lack of individual or social responsibility (Le Bon 2004), as was explored by Simmel (1903) with his conceptualisations of 'metropolitan individuality' and the 'blasé outlook'. Excessive stimuli in the city means that 'people are forced to develop an attitude of reserve and insensitivity to feeling' (Urry 2007, 22). When women identify they are being sexually harassed or assaulted, this fear of breaking the codes of comportment and creating a social friction has weighty implications. As explored below, each of the women's accounts describes an unwillingness to overtly react for both fear of embarrassment, and the apprehension that their fellow passengers will react with ambivalence or condescension.

Finally, as Urry (2007, 109) considers, railway stations and trains are '…places of unexpected social interchange as people's lives from distant parts are contingently brought together, often only for 'brief encounters' before the characters move away'. This ephemeral nature of transport has a significant effect on how women experience sexual harassment in transit. Women seem to barely have time to process or react to the incident, and equally are occupied with the notion that the situation is temporary. This appears to impact women's decisions to engage with their harasser, on the premise that the journey, and therefore the interaction, will soon be over. This desire to get to their destination without extra aggravation also reflects Goffman's (1963) concept of 'allocation involvement' where in travel environments the main focus of the individual is to get to their destination, and other involvements are secondary and worth avoiding if possible. Thus, women enact a resistance to the friction caused by harassment: they refuse to slow down and to let their mobilities be disrupted. It is also worth considering how the perpetrators themselves exploit the transitory, anonymous nature of the space in order to 'slip away' after they have committed their offence. Here, a lack of friction, and the constant movement of both trains and individuals occurring within the network acts to enable the perception that the harasser is untraceable amongst the anonymous and moving crowd.

To summarise, the concept of friction can be used alongside rhythm to demonstrate *how* sexual harassment happens on the Underground, and how women experience these interactions in the space of the tube. The framework allows connecting instances of sexual harassment to general time-space structures of the city and the transport network, illustrating how the various rhythms come together to produce a circumstance where particular incidents of harassment are perpetrated. The framework illustrates how harassment is, in part, facilitated or hindered by the specific spaces and paces of the city.

Experiences of Sexual Harassment on the London Underground
The Underground is often considered as a microcosm, yet the network remains porous to the rhythms of the city (Urry 2007; Ceccato & Uittenbogaard 2014). Therefore it is necessary to consider the multitude of urban rhythms that impact upon incidents of sexual harassment, and how they manifest and are experienced on the tube. The interacting rhythms that became apparent through empirical analysis are as follows:

the (varying) rhythms of London that fluctuate throughout the day; the mechanical, repetitive rhythms (Lefebvre 2004) of the Underground system and the actual motion of the carriages in transit, and the tube's 'ambiance'; women's rhythms as they move through the city at different times; and the rhythms of harassment and how it is perpetrated (there are also the concurrent rhythms of offending and policing that will be explored in Chapter Seven). Acting in a hierarchy, these rhythms impact upon the interactions that occur within the network at particular locations and times, leading to sexual harassment being perpetrated in particular ways.

This chapter will draw on women's experiences of sexual harassment to draw out three key observations. Firstly, how the rhythms of the city and the tube facilitate and conceal sexual harassment. Secondly, attention will be drawn to how women do not want to disrupt the public decorum or 'civil inattention' and sociabilities on the tube, which in turn impacts their immediate reaction to harassment. Thirdly, these cases will highlight how women experience the incidence as temporary and fleeting.

'Facilitation' and 'Concealment' of Sexual Harassment: The Impact of the Rhythms of the City and the Tube
The rhythms of the city permeated the Underground and facilitated and conceal sexual harassment in various ways, at different times of day. Lefebvre (2004) considers that the rhythms of the city are, above all, dominated by the flow of capital and productivity: the daily grind. In London this is principally true at 'rush hour', in the centralised area of the city in particular, where passengers are pressed up against one another on platforms and in the rail carriage. This density of bodies permits particular types of sexual harassment to be perpetrated, most commonly frotteuring (rubbing against someone with an erection) or groping. Ruth's (33) daily commute took place in inner-city London, starting at Waterloo and finishing at Bank, one of the busiest Underground stations located within the City of London (the central business and financial district). It is necessary to recognise how the rhythms of the city above impact upon the rhythms of the Underground. Considering the interaction between the spatial and temporal, Ruth's journey on the tube is influenced significantly by the fact she is travelling within the heart of the city on a popular commuter route, at peak time. Overcrowding on the morning rush hours, between 7.30am and 9.30am, is caused by the mass, daily influx of commuters and, like most transport systems, the

tube is regulated in a way that aims to increase the speed of those moving through it (Edensor 2010). Lefebvre (2004, 43) asks us to try and distinguish a hierarchy amongst the 'tangled mess' of rhythms, to observe and feel whether there is a 'determining rhythm'. In this space, at this time, the dominant rhythm is the corporate city rush that permeates the Underground. Ruth described how she was wedged between other commuters in a busy morning rush hour carriage:

> I felt someone's hand touch me really closely on my pubic bone…So somebody had gone in with the tips of their fingers and palm up and gone underneath … I felt the fingers move from side to side like a pendulum on my pubic bone.

Here, whilst implicated by the wider macro rhythms of the city and the Underground network, rhythms and friction became more intimate, individual and corporeal (Lefebvre 2004). The interviewee described how despite the normality of 'people touching you, being in your personal space' on the tube, this felt different 'there was no way this was accidental…it felt deliberate'. Thus, the rhythms of the tube facilitated and concealed the invasion of her body and space. Sheila (36) described a similar experience implicated by the busyness of the network (a consequence of the rhythms of the city). As a man got on the tube in a tourist area of the city she said: 'I could see him looking at me…as people kept getting on and the carriage was getting more crowded, he kept moving closer towards me'. The perpetrator uses the nature of the Underground to conceal his intentions. He exploits the fluctuating rhythms of the tube to move almost imperceptibly towards her, without departing from the customary movements of a traveller negotiating space in a busy train carriage. He uses this technique to position himself behind her.:

> He had a hard on and he was rubbing against me … But because it was so crowded in there I couldn't immediately … in my head I was thinking it was a bag or an umbrella or something, because nobody would do that would they… he was stood behind me at this stage rubbing on my leg and bum … I think I was frightened you know, I didn't want to make a fuss on the tube … I was tempted to turn around but what if it is just a bag or umbrella, then I'll look really stupid.

The normative amount of static friction (Cresswell 2010) between bodies expected within the space of a tube carriage acted as a cover. During morning rush hour, the rhythms of harassment were only subtly out of line with the 'correct or regular movements of the daily commute' (Cresswell 2010, 25), permitting the digression from normal behavior in that space to go unnoticed by bystanders and even initially by the victim. This related to Lefebvre's (2004) claim that rhythms both *reveal* and *conceal.* Despite the invasiveness of these incidents, the way in which the perpetrator moved with the choreographies of the crowd and synchronized with the rhythmic motion of the carriage, instilled enough uncertainty that the women questioned what was happening and therefore did not react overtly. Without visibly transgressing from the dominant and acceptable way of behaving, the normative physical friction that occurred between passengers was exploited to perpetrate and conceal a particular type of harassment.

The modus operandi of sexual harassment differed depending on the time of day. Other exploitations of the rhythms of the city and the tube included perpetrators enacting overtly sexual behaviour when the space/carriage was isolated at off-peak times. This came most commonly in the form of masturbating or exposure. Grace was 14 years old when she was on an empty off-peak tube on her way home on the outskirts of the city. With significantly fewer people and a relative slowness, these interacting rhythms create an atmosphere that impress upon the social interactions occurring within the station. Grace spoke of how Upminster station has a noticeably different feel to it in comparison to congested areas, where Londoners appear ambivalent, even repugnant towards to one another (Simmel 1903). Here, people notice each other and brief, even momentary interactions with strangers are not uncommon. She described how a man got on the next carriage and stared at her through the interconnecting doors. She felt uneasy, but wasn't sure why. His behaviour was almost barely outside the realm of 'normal' yet by protracting a sustained gaze, civil inattention (Goffman 1963), was breached enough to make her uncomfortable. At the next stop, he got on her carriage, and sitting away from her, started to masturbate under a sheet of newspaper. To an outsider, his predatory actions would be almost imperceptible; he exploited the nature of the space, at a particular time (for example, this behaviour would have been difficult to perpetrate unnoticed in

a busy rush hour carriage) and, by not directly touching her, he did not interject the public transit norms of non-verbal or nonrepresentational modes of communication (Bissell 2010, 271).

Romanticized sexual harassment (Gardner 1995) appeared more commonly at night. Spontaneous, ambiguous interactions, often fuelled by alcohol, are a part of the night-time economy (Brands et al. 2013). With many Londoners using the tube as way to get home late at night, these interactions permeated even the conspicuously anti-social nature of the Underground. Whilst in many circumstances such fleeting interactions can be a source of connectedness (Hubbard 2012; Urry 2007), in these situations they acted as the foundation for anxiety or fear. Jules was on her way home from a late work event on a Friday night when a man got on to the train and started talking to her. She said 'I was happy to chat, I thought he had recognised me as a fellow gay person and just wanted to have a drunk chat'. However, he quickly propositioned her for sex and became aggressive when she said no:

> He got grumpy and kept grabbing at me, so I stood up and walked and sat on a different chair, and he followed me. At this point I was sitting down and he was standing over me, leaning in…I'm not sure if he was trying to kiss or touch my face, but he kept doing that and coming towards my face. I put my hands firmly in the middle of his chest, pushing him away, saying no, go away.

Rose described how she was on a late night Saturday tube that was full of drunk people. She considered how the nature of the network changed at this time of night and became a more social space. She stated 'There's a different vibe…after a night out people are less embarrassed and less polite, there's license to do whatever they want to do…maybe more pushy in their conversation'. She described how a man she had got chatting to during her journey 'suddenly out of the blue leant down and kissed me right on the lips'. She pushed him away and he got off the tube at the next stop. She said: 'He wasn't being malicious, he was just overstepping the mark, an idiot, he was drunk…he just thought he had the right to do that'.

At this time of night, Simmel's (1903) 'blasé outlook' or Goffman's (1963) notion of 'civil inattention' (which are observable in rush hours) lose a part of their functionality and passengers become more willing to interact with those around them. As Urry (2007, 109) states, trains can indeed be 'places of unexpected interchange'. Fleeting or prolonged interactions are observable when travelling on the tube in the evening, often impacted by alcohol consumption, and the ambiance of the carriage.

Thus, the nature of sexual harassment on the underground network was shaped by the rhythms of the city and its spatio-temporal variations. Different incidences of sexual harassment, on one hand, blended in with the rhythms of the city, such as the jostling of bodies in the crowded rush hour carriages, or the informal, sometimes alcohol-fueled chatter in the night trains, facilitating and concealing it. On the other hand, experiences of sexualized groping seemed out of place in the morning commuter train, making it difficult for women to initially recognize what was happening to them and to formulate a response to it. Thus, the reinforcement and disruption between the rhythms of the city, the tube and sexual harassment caused distress and confusion for women as they attempted to negotiate the ambiguity and uncertainty of the situation in a confined, transitory environment.

'Civil Inattention' on the Tube: Sociabilities and Mobilities

On the Underground there are acceptable modes of behaviour or sociabilities, many of which are resonant of Simmel's (1903) 'metropolitan individuality', that are implicated by the fast-paced commuter rhythms. The prevailing norm of civil inattention, observed to permeate public spaces (Goffman 1971) is reinforced by the norm of not disrupting the journeys or trajectories of fellow passengers (Edensor 2010). These norms structured women's experiences of sexual harassment on the tube, as they felt unable to speak out or 'make a scene'.

Eliza was a victim of frotteuring. She described how she 'just wanted to push him away, shout at him.' However, she was worried that reacting overtly would disrupt the social order of the carriage, saying: 'I didn't want to deal with the embarrassment or humiliation of people looking at me, judging me and probably not even helping'. This feeling overrode her bodily desire to respond to the incidence, showing the pervasiveness of normative rhythms and the sociabilities they construct. A response in

this context would risk losing face (Goffman 1955), which can result in embarrassment and tension. Consequently, she made the decision not to 'cause a scene'. This was mirrored by other participants who, after experiencing sexual harassment on a busy carriage, felt unable to react overtly, particularly as this would have entailed disrupting the main aim of everyone in the carriage, to get from one place to another as quickly as possible. Emmy stated how she felt unable to speak out: 'It's really hard to break that silence…there's no eye contact…there's no talking, everyone's in their own world'. This resonates with Bissell's (2010) articulation of rail carriages having affective atmospheres, with commuters being susceptible to semiconsciously adopting collective behaviours. This made it harder for women being harassed to transgress these dominant socio-spatial norms. Neglecting to recognise the pervasive impact of such social norms is to disregard the nuances of spatio-temporal mobilities that interact with women's agency when they are forced to negotiate such experiences.

The transitory and mobile nature of the tube carriage makes it what Auge (2006, 31) describes as 'placeless'- 'places which are marked by an abundance of mobility'. As highlighted above by Emmy, the sole purpose of being on public transport is in order to get somewhere else (Urry 2007). Consequently, travellers generally want to minimise the time they spend in such spaces (Bissell 2010). This links to what Goffman (1963) terms 'allocation involvement' where in travel environments the main focus of the individual is to get to their destination, while other involvements are secondary and worth avoiding if possible. Indeed, this had an impact on how some women reacted to their experiences of sexual harassment in transit, as they did not want to disrupt their own trajectories. When a man rubbed up against Charlie during evening rush hour, she stated:

> I wanted to get off the tube, but also I didn't because I wasn't where I wanted to be…I was entitled to be there and using it to get home, getting off would have slowed me down.

Carla who was on her way to meet a friend for dinner, describes similarly how, when a man started masturbating across the carriage from her, she made the decision to stay

where she was: 'Walking away wasn't an option, and I was already late, so I just kind of looked away and stayed on until my stop'.

These accounts underline the impact of normative sociabilities, specific to public transport, on women's agency, as they negotiate experiences of sexual harassment. When women notice they are being sexually harassed, the fear of breaking the codes of comportment and creating friction in the social situation and for everyone's journey had significant implications. Women describe an unwillingness to overtly react for both fear or embarrassment, and the apprehension that their fellow passengers will react with ambivalence or condescension. Furthermore, when dealing with their experiences of sexual harassment whilst in transit, women actively refused to cause further disruption to their own journeys or mobilities.

It has been noted that women do not react to sexual harassment in transit for fear of escalating the situation and for embarrassing themselves (Neupane & Chesney-Lind 2013, Horii & Burgess 2012). The women on the London underground were not typically fearful of aggravating the situation during the commuter rush hour, which probably tells something about the specificity of a Western metropolis at a particular time of day. However, they did not want break the code of civil public conduct, in particular fearing that fellow passengers would be annoyed and unresponsive due to their main aim in the environment being to get quickly and without disruption to their destination. Furthermore, the women also did not want to disrupt their own trajectories, which links with what Gardner (1995) observed in relation to the women who felt they were managing power by not reacting during or after experiencing sexual harassment. Despite their discomfort and agitation, these women refused to slow down and disrupt their own trajectory and mobile rhythms, resisting the friction that was posed by this intrusion.

The 'Transitory' and 'Fleeting' Nature of the Underground
Finally, as Urry (2007, 109) states, railway stations and trains are '…places of unexpected social interchange as people's lives from distant parts are contingently brought together, often only for "brief encounters: before the characters move away'. This ephemeral nature of public transport has a significant effect on sexual harassment, with normative rhythms and regular mobile patterns permitting cover for

deviant behavior. Some of the women who participated in the research described how their experiences of sexual harassment on the Underground were initially shrouded by uncertainty as to what was happening. This held particularly true for experiences of harassment during rush hour. This uncertainty led to them barely having time to process or react to the incident in a way that they felt was appropriate. Kath was groped between her legs on a busy evening tube:

> I'm like, I'm reasonably sure I'm being assaulted…You sort of second-guess yourself don't you, which I think is a significant thing about the tube … because you've got that window. Is that? Maybe they're not doing it deliberately ... Second-guessing, maybe he doesn't like the draft near the door … all this … going on in my head … it's that fatal period of: is it? By the time you've worked it out, you've missed your window to make a fuss.

Kath highlights the significance of temporality and transience here, stating that there is an appropriate 'window' in which to make a fuss, which, due to her taking time to realize what was happening, she missed. Demi also stated that 'by the time I really realized, like properly, what was going on, that he was like actually rubbing against me, it was too late to say anything because it was my stop'. Cris described a man assaulting her during rush hour:

> I was so engrossed in my book I wasn't aware of the people coming and going around me … then slowly I felt this growing pressure on my pelvis. I didn't even really notice at first I don't think until it was really hard …This old man's fist was pressing into me … I was in shock, like is this really happening, how did I not notice? I think then we pulled into a stop and he either got off or moved away…But this is the thing with the tube and being used to having people in your personal space, even after I was still like did that happen? Did he mean to?

These experiences highlight or challenge the notion that women often do not react overtly simply out of fear (Pain 1991). This is not to argue that women do not experience fear when being sexual harassed. Rather, it contributes to feminist work that has insisted that women should not be portrayed as inherently fearful and passive,

highlighting other factors that implicate women's experiences and reactions (Nehta & Bondi 1999). As Koskela (1997) claims with regards to women's reactions to street harassment, feelings of fear and boldness are often experienced simultaneously. Alongside this, these examples demonstrate that within this rhythmic and transient space, a situation is created where *uncertainty* is an equally significant feeling that must be negotiated.

Another significant aspect of the ephemeral nature of a transport environment is that women are occupied with the notion that the situation is temporary. This impacted women's decisions to engage with their harasser, on the premise that the journey, and therefore the situation, would soon be over. Chloe described her decision to stay where she was whilst a man rubbed against her from behind, in the hope that the interaction would not be prolonged: 'I thought just hang in there and wait for the next stop, then he might leave…but stop after stop he didn't'. Moving between stops, the tube carriage was temporarily isolated from the 'outside world', increasing the notion of entrapment (Urry 2007) and Chloe's sense of being unable to remove herself from the situation without disrupting the carriage. Yet the fluctuating nature of the transit environment permitted her punctuated moments of hope that the perpetrator would disembark. This demonstrates how the conflict between the rhythms of being physically stationery, whilst simultaneously moving through space impact upon women's reactions to sexual harassment in a transitory environment. Similarly, when a man was pushing up against her, Layla described how at every stop she thought about trying to leave the situation by using the flux and influx of people to move away: 'I kept thinking at the hustle and bustle of each stop I could move or get off', but she didn't, explaining 'I just kept thinking, well only three, two, one more stops to go'. Reflecting on an experience of a man masturbating on an empty carriage when she was 14, Grace remembers thinking: 'only one stop to go, how long can that take? Apparently a really, really long time'.

Whilst time is said to be compressed by high-speed rail travel (Urry 2007), these examples illustrate the interaction and friction between various rhythms (particularly the mechanical speed of the tube and Grace's psychological rhythms), and what Edensor (2010, 190) considers 'the subjective experience of the rhythmic and temporal' which 'may vary so that time can drag'. In this instance, the harasser's

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abnormal behaviour acted as a friction; it slowed down of her perception of time, as she experienced the distance between stops in a different way, yet still used the idea of temporariness in order to deal with the situation.

The perpetrators also exploited the transitory, temporary nature of the space in order to 'slip away' after they had committed their offence. As Ruth stated:

> Then the doors opened and everyone got off…the guy got off…everyone carries on with their journey…the tube, it's such an ephemeral thing, you're not there for long, you just get through it like oh it'll be over in a minute…And then you think, the moment's passed, there's nothing I can do about it.

Eliza similarly discussed how after groping her on a rush hour tube the man 'slunk away down the carriage…he got off and then disappeared into the mass of people'. Here, a lack of friction, and the constant movement of both trains and individuals occurring with network acted to enable (at least the perception) the harasser to disappear into the network.

Thus, the transient nature of public transport shaped the women's experiences of and reactions to sexual harassment. The fleeting nature of the encounter between the victim and the perpetrator resulted in the women not having sufficient time to mentally process what was happening to them and to formulate a response before the situation was over. Further, the anticipation that the situation would soon resolve, as the train would reach the next stop as the moment-to-come (Bissell 2007), influenced women not to react to the situation. These features of the transport space and the fleeting momentary time, imbued with anticipation of the journey and situation being over make it understandable why women do not react to or challenge sexual harassment in these environments, where the encounter soon dissolves and the perpetrator disappears.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the research aim: '*To understand the key features of women's experiences of sexual harassment in a transport environment.*' Literature that was reviewed in Chapter Two suggested that the way in which sexual harassment

is perpetrated is linked to the environment in which it occurs (Madan & Nalla 2016). Therefore, this chapter sought to uncover key features of sexual harassment in a public transport environment in a Western metropolis. As Lefebvre (2004, 39) states 'Rhythms respond to one another'. The characteristic traits of the Underground are truly temporal and rhythmic, rather than merely visual. Three key conceptual observations have been outlined as significant in how sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced on the Underground, these being: how the rhythms of the city and the Underground facilitate and conceal harassment; women's fear of disrupting the social nature and decorum of the space; and women considering the situation as fleeting and temporary. The empirical material above shows how the rhythms of the city, the Underground, its affective atmosphere and the collective of people moving through it impact on the perpetration and experiences of sexual harassment in a particular time and space. Situating these findings against existing literature that has explored sexual harassment in other contexts, it is evident that there are clear differences between what is happening in transport in comparison to on the streets and in organisational settings. Commonly committed as a solitary, anonymous act, there is little evidence of sexual harassment being perpetrated as a performance of heterosexual masculinity (Quinn 2002), and neither is there an organisational structure through which men commit these behaviours in order to maintain dominance and power (MacKinnon 1979). As a semi-public space, sexual harassment in transport holds many similarities to street harassment. However its unique spatial, temporal and social nature means that sexual harassment that occurs in transit is perpetrated and experienced in a specific way, facilitated and constricted by the environment. Being static within a moving space is particularly pertinent, as this feature allows sexual harassment to be perpetrated in a particular way that would not be possible, or experienced in the same way, in the streets or workplace.

Taking a rhythmanalytical perspective of sexual harassment on the Underground within a mobilities framework has permitted these insights to be made. A mobilities approach is particularly pertinent here as the Underground is a moving, transitory space, with the corresponding sociabilities of such an environment. Applying this perspective has allowed for an increased understanding in the discerning features that are particular to sexual harassment on public transport. For example, women's apparent passivity or 'freezing' in the face of harassment is, in part, because of the

spaces and paces of the network causing confusion and uncertainty around what is happening to them. These observations challenge dominant discourses that focus on women's fear in the face of sexual harassment. This is not to say that women do not experience fear and vulnerability, but it is important to recognise that these feelings often intersect with confusion, uncertainty, embarrassment, anger and frustration, that become exacerbated within a transitory environment.

These examples also illustrate the social impact of rhythms in a concrete way, and show how women's mobilities are disrupted by this form of gendered violence. This chapter has explored in depth, *how* incidents of sexual harassment are perpetrated and experienced within a transitory environment.

Chapter Six

NEGOTIATING THE IMPACT OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT: REMEMBERING AND RESISTANCE ACROSS TIME AND SPACE

Introduction

This chapter will explore the impact that the memory of an incident of sexual harassment has on women and their mobilities in the city. By doing so, it addresses the research aim: '*To understand how women negotiate the memory of sexual harassment, and how it impacts on their mobilities over time.*' It starts by reviewing literature that has considered the impact that sexual harassment in public space has on women considering both feminist, sociological and criminological perspectives. The review will discuss both the immediate reaction to sexual harassment and its long-term impact. This will be followed by a discussion of the conceptual framework informing the empirical analysis, focusing on introducing *memory,* primarily as a sociological concept (Adam 1991; Misztal 2003; Jedlowski 2001), as it allows a linking of space, time and women's embodied experience.

The impact that sexual harassment has on an individual is not a static experience and the concepts of memory, rhythm and friction allow for an exploration of the temporal experience of sexual harassment and how it changes across time and space. The empirical section uses four case studies to explore how the impact of sexual harassment is a process that is renegotiated by women over time, altering their experiences of mobility in the city. This chapter aims to understand the negotiations that women undertake in order to 'deal with' the incidents of sexual harassment and claim back their mobility and freedom, and how this changes over time and space. It moves beyond discussing women's access, fear and vulnerability and permits an examination of how sexual harassment in public space is negotiated and resisted, and how the experiences or memories are also suppressed and embolden women. As well as exploring how the incident impacts women over time, the concept of memory also allows insight into how the incident itself transforms over time, as women recognise or redefine their experiences as sexual harassment or assault. Using the conceptual framework structured around space and time, drawing on the literatures on mobilities

and temporalities, this captures the multiple movements of memories of sexual harassment.

The impact of sexual harassment in public space

When considering the immediate impact of sexual violence, the focus is usually on fear (Warr 1985; Keane 1995; Stanko 1992; Pain 1991). At the moment when sexual harassment occurs women can experience fear in a very bodily, corporeal way. Gardner (1995, 211) describes how reactions to public harassment are often physical-flinching, muscle tension, and internal- stopping breathing, feeling numb, feeling like jelly. Fitting this experience Lefebvre (2004, 31) writes how the body can experience a disruption of rhythms or *arrhythmia*: as 'in suffering, in confusion, a particular rhythm surges up and imposes itself: palpitation, breathlessness, pains in the place of satiety'. Linked with this bodily and emotional experience of fear, it is also important to recognise another aspect of the embodied experience of sexual harassment. The persistence of a culture of victim blaming that supposes for a woman to be harassed/assaulted/raped, she has somehow brought this on herself can cause women to engage in self-blame- even if only momentarily (Allison & Wrightman 1993; Koskela 2010). This plays to the idea that it is women's responsibility to keep themselves safe. Therefore, when experiencing sexual violence, women fear being held to blame (by bystanders or authorities) and consequently remain silent (Suarez & Gadalla 2010; Solymosi et al. 2017). How this moment of self-blame permeates women's lives over time will be explored in the empirical section of this chapter.

Whilst it is necessary to recognise the immediate embodied consequences of fear of sexual violence, some popular feminist work (i.e. see Brownmiller 1975) has been criticised for portraying all women as passive in the face of violence (Pain 1991). Poststructuralist feminist literature has taken a different approach to female fear of violence, taking into account structures of power and individual's agency (Mehta 1999; Weedon 1987). This allows for a consideration of women's resistance existing alongside, or without fear. Koskela (2010, 305) considers 'It is so frequently said that women are afraid that it seems almost indecent to say that they are not'. She considers how women's fear is often regarded as normal, while boldness and defiance is considered to be risky. Yet it is essential to recognise that it is not an innate female quality to be fearful (Valentine 1992; Koskela 2010; Sandberg 2013). Indeed, much

of the literature omits how women's negotiations of sexual harassment are often situated between the binaries of confrontation and passivity. 'Not reacting' to incidents of sexual harassment is in itself an active choice. Gardner (1995) describes how women she spoke to in her research on street harassment felt they were managing power by pretending nothing was happening. Sandberg & Ronnblom (2013) also recognise how women in their research expressed an ambivalent attitude towards their own fear, and how that ambivalence can be framed as an expression of resistance. This negotiation also applies to other subtle responses. For example, Hsu (2011) highlights how (in the US) passengers who were subject to harassment rarely abandoned transit altogether, but responded in a 'minor way' such as moving to a different space in the carriage.

Existing literature on the longer term impact of sexual violence focuses predominantly on how it causes increased awareness of vulnerability and how this leads to heightened levels of fear (Pain 1991; Keane 1998). The behavioural impact caused by increased fear of sexual violence is also recognised. The traumatic nature of rape and its long lasting effects has been considered (Pain 1991; Gordon & Riger 1989), and there is research that explores the impact of sexual harassment as an everyday occurrence (Kearl 2010; Vera-Gray 2016). Pain (1997; 1993), Painter (1992) and Valentine (1992) have all recognised how experiences of sexual harassment in general bolster fear of public spaces and strangers as unpredictable, leading to women adopting strategies to avoid further victimisation in public space (Keane 1998; Hall 1985). These behavioural adaptations for fear of gendered violence are seen as significant as they decrease women's freedoms and quality of life (Pain 1991; Riger et al. 1978; Warr 1985). Keane (1998) frames this fear and its adaptations as a mobility restrictor, and Ceccato (2017) and Loukaitou-Sideris (2014) also recognise this fear as impairing mobility.

These fear-induced behaviours can be big or small. Pain (1997) describes how the spatiality of fear used to be omitted from consideration, yet there has been gradual recognition of how fear can be space specific and attached to (particular) public places (Valentine 1989; Keane 1998). Much of the literature suggests women employ tactics to avoid places they see as dangerous or precarious (Keane 1998). Kearl (2010, 5) states (of sexual harassment) '…its negative impact on women can be as extreme

as causing them to move neighbourhoods, change jobs because of harassers along the commute, and stay home more than they would do otherwise'. Gardner (1995) also supports this describing how some of her respondents made notable life decisions (jobs, where to live, protection) based around the risk of sexual harassment. Put simply, harassment by strangers causes women to restrict or alter their use of public spaces (Valentine 1989; Pain 2000;Vera-Gray 2016). The spatial limitations created through fear link to what Cynthia Grant Bowman (1993) describes as 'the informal ghettoization of women'.

As Bates (2014) considers, these often-extensive strategies in public space are so normalised and everyday they can go unrecognised. This is particularly true with regards to smaller 'micro-behaviours' that women adopt in public space. Hsu (2011) highlights women employing small behaviours on public transit such as using a bag to avoid unwanted touching. It is important to remember that this is again experienced and negotiated through the body, specifically, the female body. Sexual harassment can lead to an increased awareness of the potential vulnerability of the female body (Phakade et al. 2011), which can lead to impacting women's everyday sense of embodiment in public space. As Kearl (2010, 4) states of sexual harassment in public space it: '…reminds them that they live in a society in which, because they are female, men are allowed to interrupt them at any time…' Embodiment literature has written extensively of gendered differences and how the female body is often experienced as vulnerable (Young 1980; Butler 1990; Bartky 1991; Grosz 1994; Bordo 2003) and therefore restricted in movement and motility (Young 2004; Valentine 2001). Incidents of sexual harassment therefore can significantly impact how women experience and present their body in public space.

Pain (1997, 238) highlights how women can be aware of the constraints imposed upon them by (fear of) violence, and are often angry about it, and are sometimes 'ingenious in their efforts to limit the effect of these constraints'. This highlights that even those who experience fear often take active measures to negotiate their right to the city. Yet it is important to note that not all women feel victimised or fearful in the long term after experiencing sexual harassment. When considering the space in which sexual harassment occurs, Koskela (2010, 309) recognises how women who are harassed in a space they use regularly, often do not then perceive the space as

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dangerous, due to its familiarity: 'making use of space a part of one's daily routine erases the myth of danger from it'. This idea of ownership and routinisation of space is prevalent in the empirical material presented in this chapter. Whilst this literature is useful in understanding and situating the possible impact of women's experiences of sexual harassment in transit, the concept of memory will now be introduced as, alongside the concepts of rhythm and friction, it allows for a recognition of how women actively negotiate their experiences of sexual harassment over time, in order to minimise the impact it has on their use of urban space and public transport.

Memory and sexual harassment

The concept of memory

The concept of memory relates to the way in which we reconceptualise the past, present and future. Put simply, memory is significant here as it is the meaning of the past in relation to the present (Adam 1991; Keightley 2010). What is useful for the subsequent empirical analysis in this chapter is the temporal aspect of memory, how and what is remembered over time and the impact it has (Adam 1991). It helps to conceptualise how incidents of sexual harassment are remembered and negotiated over time and how they impact on women's experiences of mobility in urban space.

The recognition of memory as significant to how the present is lived is most commonly attributed to psychoanalysis and cognitive psychology. Yet these disciplines have been criticised for ignoring the social context of remembering (Misztal 2003). From a sociological perspective, Durkheim (1971, 1973) is recognised as drawing attention to the need to consider how individual memory is connected to collective identity, an idea that was expanded upon by Halbwachs (1950, 1992) who forwarded the notion that memories are inscribed within social frameworks which support them and give them meaning. Subsequently, memory studies in sociology has focused attention on collective remembering and the social context of individual remembering (Misztal 2003; Olick & Robbins 1998, Oakley 2016). Yet the role of remembering in social life from a more individual perspective, whilst retaining the notion that individual remembering takes place in a social context has also been given attention. In what is considered one of the earliest studies of memory by a sociologist (Lengermann & Niebrugge 2009), in her book (originally published in 1916) *The Long Road of Woman's Memory* (2002) Jane Addams

considers personal recollection as individual subjectivity linked to social structure and recognises remembering as an individual, subjective, emotional, cognitive and social process. She considers the individual as active agents with the capacity for memory. Misztal (2003) echoes this, conceptualising memories as the embodied accomplishments of agents in a complex world. Essentially, a sociology of memory contributes to the sociological understanding of the temporal dimension of human affairs (Jedlowski 2001).

This highlights how remembering is not just about exploring the past, but also understanding the present (Adam 1991; Misztal 2003). It is about memory and its relationship with contemporary lived experience. Adam (1991, 35) considers how 'the act is always rationalised from the present in the direction of the past', and Keightley (2010, 56) states, remembering is '…a process of making sense of experience, of constructing and navigating complex temporal narratives and structures and ascribing meaning not only to the past, but to the present and future also'. Jedlowski (2001, 29) considers how the response to subsequent events is 'affected by previous acquisitions'. This highlights how memory is intrinsically linked to temporality: they cannot be detached from one another, and memory is reformulated constantly over time. Indeed, contemporary conceptualisations recognise that the past never remains 'one and the same' (Jedlowski 2001; Misztal 2003). Memory makes the past a lived process that is reconceptualised and negotiated in everyday experience (Keightley 2010). As Jedlowski (2001, 30) states:

> …on the one hand the flow of life over time entails effects that condition the future, on the other it is the present that shapes the past, ordering, reconstructing and interpreting its legacy, with expectations and hopes also helping to serve what's best for the future.

This highlights that it is memory that allows the simultaneous interaction of different temporalities. The past constitutes the present, particularly when these memories are traumatic or emotional.

Trauma and emotional memory

The study of traumatic memories has been rooted in medical discourse and psychoanalysis (Misztal 2003). Traumatic memories is 'a descriptive term for recall of negative personal experiences' (Tromp et al. 1995, 608) or life events that are 'new, unexpected and potentially threatening' (Christianson 1992, 284). Trauma is also a commonly used term in sociological memory studies. Pickering & Keightley (2009, 241) describe it as a term for the lack of control over memory. Trauma is said to escape full consciousness (Caruth 1995) and therefore traumatic memories are more fragmented and less coherent (Sotgiu & Galati 2007). Rape is regularly used as an example of trauma (Burgess & Holmstrom 1974; Frazier 1990; Brown et al. 2009). Memory processing is disrupted by traumatic events and as considered by Pickering & Keightley (2009), memory disruption leads to stress and anxiety later. Hardy et al. (2009) have also considered how memory of sexual assault is often fragmented, and Caruth (1995, 8) considers that 'the impact of the traumatic event lies precisely in its belatedness'. This draws attention to temporality: it is not just about the initial moment of experiencing trauma, but equally how it manifests and impacts over time, or as considered by Amilivia (2009, 140) '…trauma does not lie in the event itself but is the product of subjective, intersubjective and cultural processes'. Indeed, it has been widely recognised that trauma has continuing repercussions (Prager 2003; Alexander et al. 2004; Pickering & Keightley 2009) and that traumatic memories can impact 'a person's perception of life afterwards' and 'interpretations of subsequent events' (Leydesdorff et al. 1994, 15).

Sotgiu et al. (2014) argue that traumatic memories should be distinguished from emotional memories. Tromp et al. (1995) describe how emotional memories with intense affect are remembered more accurately and are more accessible than neutral events. The accounts recalled below in the empirical section of this chapter, are perhaps better framed, as Pickering & Keightley (2009) theorise, as painful or emotional memories, rather than trauma, as they have been integrated into the women's lives and participants were able to recall them in detail. Therefore, it is more appropriate to frame sexual harassment as an 'emotionally intense event' (Misztal 2003, 81). Intense events are significant as 'remembered experience is constitutive of our successive selves as these inform our sense of identity through time' (Pickering &

Keightley 2009, 238). How women consequently negotiate urban space can be linked to their memories of sexual harassment.

Another significant aspect of traumatic or emotional memories particularly related to sexual violence is how these experiences are re-defined and acknowledged over time. Legal and societal definitions of rape, sexual assault and sexual harassment are obscure territory, and consequently they are often not recognised by victims as such when they initially happen. Even when, by legal definition, experiences meet the criteria for rape or sexual assault, women often do not label their experiences for what they are (Bondurant 2001; Fisher et al. 2003). This has been written about extensively with regards to unacknowledged rape, particularly when perpetrated by an intimate partner (Kahn et al. 2003; Layman et al. 1996; Jaffe et al. 2017). Cleere and Lynn (2013) write about this in relation to sexual assault, highlighting that unacknowledgement is also common with other forms of sexual violence (not rape alone). Literature considers this 'denial' as avoidance, or as a coping mechanism in order to deal with a traumatic encounter (Roth & Newman 1991). Due to the initial disengagement with experiences, the labelling of incidents often happens over time (Cleere & Lynn 2013). This re-definition and recognising experiences for what they are is said to be an important part of recovery (Botta & Pingree 1997). Significantly, it allows women to direct blame towards the assailant rather than themselves (Cleere & Lynn 2013; Fraizer & Seales 1997; Bondurant 2001). Redefinition over time can be caused by numerous factors including a shift in societal attitudes and the individual's life trajectory. Botta and Pingree (1997) also highlight how the sharing of common stories is an important way in which women recognise and redefine their experiences as assault or rape (this resonates with the outpouring of stories as a consequence of the #MeToo movement). As explored below in the empirical section, memories of sexual harassment are reconceptualised over time as women negotiate the impact of their experiences on their urban mobilities.

The impact of memories of sexual harassment on women's urban mobilities
Memory 'functions in every act of perception, in every act of intellection, in every act of language' (Terdiman 1993, 9) therefore it is the 'essential condition of our cognition and reflexive judgement'. It is closely connected with emotions because emotions are in part about the past and because memory evokes emotions (Misztal

2003, 1). Warr (1984) spoke of women's greater propensity to transfer past experiences and memories of victimisation to present situations. This links to women being increasingly fearful in public space after experiencing sexual intrusion (Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink 2009; Koskela 2010). Neal (1998, 4) also considered how trauma can cause individuals to experience 'maladaptive responses' which include fear and feelings of vulnerability. If memory is an aspect of our everyday consciousness then it is understandable that women experience public urban space differently after experiencing victimisation. This can often be highly disruptive to women's freedom and pleasure in the city. As Sotgiu et al. (2014, 527) state, remembering negative emotional events can contrast the individual's plans and expectations, which leads to unpleasant feelings. This demonstrates the 'everyday' element of emotional memories recurring across space and time and impacting present mobilities. With specific relation to sexual violence in public, Pain (1997) describes how fear of crime is dynamic- it is influenced, often deeply, by life stage and life events, and is temporally and spatially situated.

Yet these memories and the impact that they have can also be negotiated. Benjamin (1968) considers how memory and the metropolis are interwoven as memory shapes, and is in turn shaped, by the urban setting. 'Mental mapping' is a term lodged within urban studies, geography and social psychology (Lynch 1960; Tuan 1975) that regards remembering, knowing and negotiating restrictions in the urban environment (Middleton 2009). It emerges out of an individual's own engagement with the space (Ingold 2007). This holds relevance as women, over time, renegotiate the spaces in which they experienced sexual harassment. Koskela (2010) highlights in relation to women's fear and boldness in public, that their feelings are based on both intuition and learned knowledge. Women must then constantly renegotiate the memory and risk of sexual harassment in order to claim back space and minimise disruption to their urban mobilities. Incorporating the concept of memory allows for the role of the past in the present to be considered. Alongside the concepts of rhythm and friction, this permits an in-depth and nuanced understanding of how space and time intersect in shaping the repercussions of sexual harassment.

Rhythms of the body and embodiment of memories

Prager (1998) argues that memories are embodied in a person's sensations, feelings, techniques and gestures. This highlights the interlink between the body and memory, or 'the body and its habitual and emotional experiences as both a reservoir of memories and a mechanism for generating them' (Misztal 2003, 79). Time is also a social and embodied experience. Therefore, experiencing and remembering sexual harassment is an embodied practice that alters over time and space. In relation to rhythms, Lefebvre (2004, 29) places significant emphasis on the importance of foregrounding the body and throughout his work it is a central and recurring theme. He claims that 'at no moment has the analysis of rhythms…lost sight of the body'.

As explored in previous chapters, Lefebvre describes disturbances to the harmony of diverse rhythms as 'arrhythmia' (2004, 30). He states how irregular rhythms produce antagonist effects: 'it throws out of order and disrupts; it is symptomatic of a disruption…' (2004, 52). When women experience sexual harassment, reactions are often highly physiological and an immediate state of arrhythmia is often experienced. This manifests in a number of ways, as will be explored below, including freezing and anger. The friction (Cresswell 2010) and disruption that this causes is also immediate.

The social space is also significant in relation to immediate physical reactions to sexual harassment. Physiological bodily rhythms coexist with and are conditioned by the social environment, as we train ourselves and are trained to behave in a number of ways according to space (Lefebvre 2004). As Lefebvre writes on 'dressage', he discusses a disciplining and training of the body. This is interesting to consider when women are anxious about reacting overtly due to breaking the social etiquette of the tube. He describes how we contain ourselves by concealing the diversity of our rhythms, stating 'Humans break themselves in like animals. They learn to hold themselves' (2004, 48). This is the regulation of rhythms that are learnt and embodied over time (Edensor 2010). Again, a friction is revealed as women may *feel* a certain way (fear, anger etc.), yet often act in a way that is against their own rhythms, conforming to the space in which the body is situated. The body as situated in public space is also significant when considering how rhythms of the body are impacted in the longer term when moving through public urban space. The memory of sexual harassment impacts on the rhythms of the body and causes certain sensations

(particularly fear or vigilance) when moving through particular spaces. This detracts from possibilities of contentment, freedom and ownership of public space, with physical ramifications as to women's mobilities in the city.

The notion of rhythms and friction reveal how time, space and memory interrelate to impact how women react to sexual harassment and how they make sense of space on a temporal continuum. Actively negotiating these incidents across time, women reconceptualise their experience in order to minimise friction to their urban mobilities and embodied sense of self.

Negotiating the memory and impact of sexual harassment
The empirical material for this chapter is presented using a case study format. Four women's accounts are analysed in order to illustrate how, following an experience of sexual harassment on the London Underground, women negotiated the impact of the incident over time. Adam (1991, 9) states: 'there can be no un-doing only 'making good', since moments past cannot be lived again'. The significance of considering sexual harassment through the lens of temporality is summarised by Sheila, who reported her experience two years after it happened:

> It's like a process you go through, like the stages you go through when you're grieving but a different process. For me anyway, I'm sure it's not the same for everybody, I started off feeling violated, and then I felt shocked at the same time and upset and I went on to feeling angry, like how dare someone do that to me, I was just minding my own business on a tube train. Then you feel determined that you want to do something, then when you've finally done that, gone to the police or done something else that makes you feel better, then you start to accept what happened.

The significance of temporality with regards to the impact of sexual harassment is often overlooked. Memory is significant as it brings, or prolongs the past into the present (Bergson 2011; Misztal 2003). It also demonstrates that the past is not a fixed entity and its impact changes over time and, as shown by the women below, can be continually re-negotiated. Following this description Sheila spoke about how, after seeing a campaign video about sexual harassment, she realised that what happened to

her was sexual assault, and consequently reported it (two years after the incident). This shows that the memory itself is not fixed, and can be redefined over time (Cleere & Lynn 2013). It also demonstrates the non-linear impact of sexual harassment, which can be revealed through the concepts of rhythm and friction. This is significant when considering the various ways in which incidents were negotiated by women over time and space. It allows recognition of how sexual harassment has disrupted women's freedom, and also how they have resisted and minimised disruption (or friction). It highlights that women are not passive victims, but have active agency in their negotiation of public space after experiencing sexual harassment.

Kath

As a 40-year-old, born and bred Londoner, Kath has travelled on the Underground her whole life. Yet she describes how two particular experiences of sexual harassment that were committed by the same man, a few weeks apart, disrupted her freedom in a city that she knows and loves. Travelling in the early evening, Kath recalls her thought process and reaction to a man putting his hands between her legs, and then over her body:

> I'm like, I'm reasonably sure I'm being assaulted… Then a couple of stops on I'm like yeah I'm definitely being assaulted and now I haven't done anything about it, I've not moved, I'm frozen and he's had his knuckles between my legs for a few tube stops…

This experience is dominated by uncertainty. As Gardner (1995, 154) states 'caught between a number of possible lines of action, a woman can be frozen into inaction'. Whilst freezing appears to be an intense corporeal, physical reaction, it is also what Koskela (2010, 306) describes as 'reasoning'. Not moving is an embodied reaction implicated by social, spatial, temporal complexity, and its occurrence reveals an active tension, or friction between rhythms. Lefebvre (2004, 47) also recognises that although freezing may seem instinctive and natural 'the representation of the natural falsifies situations. Something passes as natural precisely when it conforms perfectly and without apparent effort to accepted models, to the habits valorised by a tradition…' Freezing and 'inaction' are most commonly linked as embodied

responses to fear, yet Kath's elaboration shows that surprise and uncertainty are, in her case, more implicating:

> You sort of second-guess yourself don't you, which I think is a significant thing about the tube…because you've got that window. Is that? Maybe they're not doing it deliberately, I don't want to make a fuss…you don't want to be oversensitive and accuse someone when they're going about their business…. I have to make a conscious, active choice. The opposite of submissive, I have to make an active decision, and to do that I have to be sure of what's happened and I have to make that choice quickly, in that window, before it becomes really awkward. Second-guessing, maybe he doesn't like the draft near the door…all this shit going on in my head…It's that fatal period of: is it? By the time you've worked it out, you've missed your window to make a fuss.

Lefebvre (2004, 52) says about how irregular rhythms produce antagonist effects 'it throws out of order and disrupts; it is symptomatic of a disruption…'. Caused by the surprise and uncertainty that Kath experienced, this freezing prevented her from acting overtly. She also highlights how the transitory nature impacted on her reaction: 'it's nonsense but I have explicitly thought this in my head…oh well, it's only three stops to Baker Street, how much worse can it get?' This highlights the significance of the spatial and temporal complexity of negotiating such an experience on the tube. Kath also discusses how this particular reaction unsettled her due to it being incongruent with her sense of self:

> It bothers me, I consider myself to be a strong feminist, I'm known for having a big mouth and an attitude. I'm known for being a bolshie bird, and I consider myself to be one, because I wouldn't take that kind of crap elsewhere, yet…again it happens.

This mirrors Gardner's (1995, 12) ethnographic work in which she states 'women with highly developed politicized feminist consciousness were not always satisfied with their methods of handling harassment'. Memories form our identity (McQuire 1998) as we construct coherent selves that have consistency over time. This formation of self takes place in everyday, individual experiences. As Wilson et al. (2009)

consider, it involves the memory of the past self, an awareness of the present self and the anticipation of the future self. In Kath's subsequent experience of sexual harassment, all these elements are at play.

Adam (1991, 71) considers that living beings are, from the depth of their temporal being, practising centres of action rather than perpetrators of fixed behaviour. This is supported by Kath's account of her subsequent experience. She describes how a few weeks later, the same man gets on at the same stop (Kilburn), which Kath describes as 'her station', and situates himself directly behind her on the tube, and puts his hands on her again. She states: 'I thought if I let this go, I'm going to live in fear of him'. This highlights that 'action' is not an immediate, instinctive reaction, but a deliberate response impacted by her previous experience:

> I turned around and I went get the fuck away from me. I said you've done this
> to me before, your hands are all over me and I'm not having you do this to me
> on my journey to work, I'm not living in fear of you, I'm not having it and he
> was like you crazy woman what are you talking about? And I said if that's the
> case the you'll have no problem moving away from me then do you, so move.

Adam (1991, 147) states how 'we are shown to relive the past and to learn from it; to use it for future action'. Here, for Kath, the memory of the first incident impacts directly on her actions. Furthermore, rather than it being a one off, she sees it as something that may be repetitive and intrusive to her urban mobilities.

Yet she also discusses the difficulty in negotiating reactions saying: 'I end up feeling guilty because I've caused a fuss'. This highlights the importance of not considering 'speaking out' or being active' as the most preferable way to react. Kath summarises this saying: 'You're damned whatever you do…the 'right' way to act, it's never fixed either and you're constantly negotiating for your space and renegotiating for your righteousness'. She says 'It makes it sound like you've failed if you don't shout about it' yet also considers the difficulties that come with acting overtly:

> Every time you laugh it off, every time your mates find it funny, you have in
> your head the idea that you've failed to conform to what a righteous victim

looks like, you're not an ideal victim because you didn't say no. But you're also in a catch 22 because by taking control of that you're acting in a way that people aren't supposed to behave, you're being loud and out of place…And it's that constant battle to stake your claim, mark out your own territory…And it is so much about space and how you're able to stake out your territory, how much you compromise.

Kath found it: 'challenging to my idea that I was free, to go about my business as I please…they've taken your space away and that's definitely a lot of it and why you might feel so violated or uncomfortable'. As well as it causing her to question her sense of self, it also affected her sense of urban competency and ownership of the city. However, the comparison between her two experiences shows how her initial reaction to the first incident was freezing out of surprise and uncertainty; she processed this reaction, and in the subsequent incident she is therefore more prepared and confronts her harasser, despite this causing her some anxiety and internal friction.

Ellie

Now 30 and living in Brighton, Ellie recalls her 12th birthday when she was visiting London with her Mum. Excited to be in the city and feeling grown up in her new tight, sparkly dress, she wanted to be independent, so sat away from her Mum on the tube. Over the journey, she remembers being stared at intently by a man sitting opposite her, who, as she got up to leave put his hand up her dress, and tried to follow her. She discusses her immediate reaction to what happened:

> There was a whole load of stuff going on about how I felt about that at the time…I felt ashamed, I didn't want to make a scene and I certainly didn't want to ask for my Mum either…I was 12, I was grown up…but yeah certainly an element of, I don't want anyone to see this is happening, so I'm just going to act normal…

The space is significant here, as is Lefebvre's (2004) notion of 'dressage' and the concealment of inner rhythms. Ellie, whilst experiencing a state of disruption and arrhythmia, forces herself to act in line with the social etiquette of the space. For her, her immediate reaction at the time was fear and self-blame, as she focused instantly

on her own appearance: 'I was so…scared but also immediately ashamed of what I was wearing and conscious, and wishing I'd dressed down and wished I'd never bought that stupid dress and it was horrible.' Historically women and girls have been advised to manipulate their dress and behaviour for the sake of remaining safe and preventing crime (Hanmer 1978; Gardner 1990). Pain (1997) also considers how constantly reinforced notions about how women should be and present themselves in public space can lead to embodied knowledge that includes the inclination to internalise and engage in self-blame. Being 12 years old, for Ellie, this moment took on particular significance: 'It's the first time I can remember in my life, being looked at like that. And I knew that he wasn't just being starey, he was looking at me in a predatory, frightening way'. As a 'first' the moment becomes a significant and emotional memory that impacted her subsequently:

> I just felt it was the first time I was more aware of myself…because I absolutely placed all the blame on me. I didn't blame him…it was my fault because I was wearing that dress and so no, it didn't make me frightened of men, I just learnt to never dress like that again…It impacted me for ages afterwards…just feeling very ashamed, is the only way I can describe it. I just felt really ashamed, I never…well I mean I wear tight clothes now, but for a long time afterwards I would never have worn anything like that again, like got my legs out…

The immediate feeling of shame became a prolonged and embodied memory that permeated into the broader context of her life. As well as implicating her *presentation* of self (Goffman 1959), it also had an affect on her *sense* of self: 'I still feel that really strongly when I look back, that's the first time anyone looked at me like that….I never thought about my self in that way, never ever, it was the first time ever'. This links to work that has considered how our own bodies are brought into consciousness when we experience pain or discomfort (Leder 1990; Scarry 1987; Cregan 2006) or what Lefebvre (2004) would describe as a state of arrhythmia. For Ellie, being aware that she is being sexualised disrupts her sense of self, making her incredibly aware of her body and what she is wearing.

Drawing attention to temporality, she also discusses the time it took to speak about the incident:

> I was so ashamed. I didn't talk to anyone about it at all, until a few years ago when I told my Mum… yeah, years later, about 5 years ago I brought it up to my Mum, I was like, it was so horrible Mum…I have lived with this, it was really scary.

This relates to what Pickering and Keightley (2009, 238) consider with regards to traumatic memories, where traumatic experience and the consequent repressed memory means it is difficult to 'make storyable'. This shows the significance of temporality as to how such an experience is negotiated. The passing of time (13 years in this case) allowed feelings of shame to dissipate enough to share the experience. Furthermore, the phrase 'I have lived with this' shows how this memory has become imbedded into her 'autobiographical memory' (Misztal 2003, 78) as something that she has been required to negotiate across time and space. Ellie reflects on how her judgment of the incident has altered over time:

> As an adult looking back on it, I'm like mate, you did not need to feel guilty or ashamed, tell your Mum. But I know I would never have in that situation. If that happened to me now, I'd be much more like, what's your problem get away from me…it wouldn't frighten me as much, that kind of thing, but yeah we get used to it…

She recognises that now she would act differently, yet also, as Adam (1991, 143) states, how '…the contemporary reliving is always inclusive of the intervening years, that these years are fundamentally implicated and resonate through the experience. The relived experience is different because of it'. This also links with literature that discusses how traumatic or emotional memories of sexual assault are redefined over time allowing victims to redirect blame towards the perpetrator (Cleere & Lynn 2013; Bondurant 2001).

The spatial-temporal dimension is also significant in Ellie's account. She discusses how it impacted her perception of the space of the tube, saying: 'It totally made me

petrified of the tube. And I suppose the thing about that as well was that I wasn't regularly using the tube'. Volkan (2002, 45) considers how people establish connections between past trauma and present or future threat. As a non-frequent traveller on the tube, there is no familiarity (Edensor 2010; Urry 2007) or logic of it being relatively safe, therefore this incident became a significant memory intrinsically associated with the space and increased her level of fear of the Underground. Ellie recognises this saying how as time has gone on she is less fearful of the space, in part due to this familiarity: 'my memories of it as a child are definitely…always something horrible…as an adult I don't notice that nearly as much, and I guess I've kind of got used to it'. This highlights the intersection between space, time and memory with regards to the impact of sexual harassment. Yet she also indicates how the incident has impacted her in the longer term, permeating into her adult views of the tube:

> I'm sure that incident has to do with how I feel about the tube now, in that it's not…I wouldn't choose to go on the tube everyday if I can avoid it. I'm fairly, well very cautious about travelling alone because I've had a number of things happen to me…sometimes I might have to get a tube back on my own…but in that situation I don't feel safe.

Fear of a particular place can lead to avoidance or constrained behaviour (Ferraro 1996), which can become a 'routine activity' (Keane 1998, 63). Also noting 'avoidance' as significant in women's patterns of mobility, Gardner (1995, 202) describes how women have their own 'personal geography of public space', or a subjective 'mental map': essentially a perceived knowledge built from experience and memory over time of where is safe. Reflecting on the incident 13 years later, it is clear that the memory of that experience has impacted on her feeling of freedom in urban space.

Becky
Becky is 31 years old, living in London and working in Canary Wharf. She describes an incident that happened around three years ago. On her way to work on a busy tube, a man grabs her backside with both hands. She describes her immediate reaction saying: 'I turned around and I went, what are you doing? I nearly took a photo of him

but I wasn't feeling that brave… And as soon as I challenged him, he said oh I'm so sorry'. The image of the passive body of the commuter situated within an anonymous and transitory space is exploited by the perpetrator. There is an assumption that women will not speak out, and that if they do the anonymity of the environment will act as a cover (as discussed in Chapter Five). Yet despite this, Becky reacted in an overt way, confronting her harasser. Yet she also hints at how her desired reaction was hindered by fear. This links to Koskela's (2010) claim that feelings of fear and boldness are rarely either/or. It is important to recognise that allowing women to talk about their boldness does not deny their fear. Following this initial reaction, Becky arrives at her stop and immediately goes to report the incident.

> I got off the tube and I went to the guys on the platform and said that guy's just assaulted me. And he left the building. They were the loveliest people. They took me up to the control room and put me on the phone to BTP…and at that point I was actually fine, I just wanted to report it because it's important to report these things.

The fact that it was her regular journey (Northern line to Bank and then DLR to Canary Wharf- South Quay) and she knew the staff allowed her a sense of familiarity and reassurance: 'you feel…it's kind of like a community because you go through the same stations everyday. And the station staff rarely change and you kind of get used to it'. The memory and built up knowledge of the space as safe and repetitive (Lefebvre 2004; Edensor 2010) gave her the confidence and encouragement to speak out immediately. After reporting, Becky went to work, and then to running practice. She describes how on the way home she felt a 'delayed reaction' of 'feeling his hands pressed against my bum'.

> And I remember I took a picture of myself on the tube, which I think I still have…on the way home from training. I was like this is what it looks like to feel like this… And I never posted this picture anywhere, I just took the picture on my phone and was like this is what I look like when I've been violated.

McQuire (1998) discusses how photography is used as a form of remembering and preservation. Her own negotiation of the experience was to make it more permanent and solidify the memory and how it felt. She monumentalises this moment and makes it significant in order to validate her own experience. Whilst her negotiation and ownership of the experience led her to feel empowered, she recognises how the process of reporting and going to court can be drawn out and time consuming, creating a friction between the desire to 'move on' and the desire for 'justice':

> The thing about not going to court, I can totally understand because it's an arduous process, spending 18 months waiting and then having to tell a police officer every time you book a holiday, and waiting and being told you need to keep this week free…I think I had moments where I was like I don't like this. And moments in the process of going to court…emotionally it kind of did get to me but I wasn't really aware of that when it was happening.

The process of going to court meant that the incident was still an everyday part of her life to be negotiated. As McQuire (1998, 164) states: 'Distance from the past is less than a simple measure of chronology'. In the long run, Becky considers how this incident has emboldened her claim to space. Crime prevention research has described how women who have been victims of crime subsequently adopt behaviours to avoid being victimised again (Gekoski et al. 2010; Ball & Wesson 2017; d'Arbois de Jubainville & Vanier 2017). The impact that this has on mobility and therefore quality of life is recognised (d'Arbois de Jubainville & Vanier 2017; Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2014). Yet as Koskela (2010, 205) states 'Women are not merely objects in space where they experience restrictions and obligations; they also actively produce, define and reclaim space'. Becky described how the incident caused her to adapt her behaviour on the tube:

> Ever since, if a man's…like I remember there was this guy, and he was very tall and his hand brushed my bum and I said listen I'm really sorry but this has happened to me, and I told him what happened to me and I just get a little bit freaked out, would you mind raising your hands. And he said that's not a problem, and for the rest of the journey he had his hands up like it's fine.

I did get really uncomfortable when men stood too close to me and I'd be like can I have a bit of space please, that did bother me.

It also links to Koskela's (2010) notion of 'reasoning', where anxiety is managed by strategies in order to maintain courage and increase confidence, and how women make the space feel like their own through 'mode and style', projecting the message that they are not afraid. Employing such 'strategies' (Kearl 2010) to avoid harassment is part of women's every day rhythm and movement around the city, to such an extent that strategising public space in such a way is a 'taken-for-granted' (Phadke et al. 2011). As Kearl (2010, 18) states 'it tends to become a part of their existence and something they must learn to cope with if they want to be able to participate in public life'. Gardner (1995) states that even routine pleasures in public space will be experienced with the knowledge of what can occur.

Rachel

Rachel is 31 and has lived in London for the past 10 years. She was travelling back from work in Birmingham to Walthamstow in London, heading through an underground tunnel for the tube in Euston around 11pm. A man asked her for directions and when she stopped and responded he accosted her, pushing her against the wall and trying to kiss her. She describes her initial reaction to the incident:

I was like what the fuck…what's happening and then he grabbed me really hard around my neck, and I was in the tunnel still at this point, it was quiet and then I started struggling, but I was laughing I think out of shock. And also by that point I…I should say there's context to this, I was quite badly sexually assaulted about 6 months before that…Yeah and I guess smiling is sort of my way of defence in situations like that, like if I come across as friendly and normal then it'll all go away…

The effects of previous experience impact her reaction here. As Wilson (1999, 102) states: 'we find that the past is not left *as* 'past,' because individuals carry their pasts around with them'. Wanting the situation to deescalate is congruent to literature that considers sexual harassment as invoking fear of a more severe attack (Pain 1991; Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink 2008; Gardner et al. 2017). Therefore, smiling, cooperating

and being 'passive' is in fact an active choice. When he wouldn't stop, she describes how she elbowed in the stomach and told him to leave. She then talks about how she tried to push it out of her mind and carry on with her journey:

> And then I stopped thinking about it. You know that classic thing of pushing it away. It was that thing where you start minimising…I guess, you just think I can't really cope with that being a horrible thing so I'm going to make it a not horrible thing. And you also have to carry on with your life, you don't want to sit there thinking about it all the time…I guess my approach is just let it be over really.

This links to what Jedlowski (2001) describes as the spontaneous process of forgetting what is problematic and painful. It is also resonant of literature that highlights how, as a coping mechanism, women often do not define experiences of sexual assault as such (Roth & Newman 1991). However it also highlights an element of resisting the disruption of mobilities by normalising or suppressing the incident itself. Whilst this can be said to play into the normalisation of sexual harassment, it can also be conceptualised as an active decision to minimise disruption to mobilities. Mehta & Bondi (1999) found that women in their research spoke about not letting sexual violence impact or ruin their lives. It is a negotiation that allows the incident to be put into the past, rather than continuing to play an explicit role in the present. Rachel also talks about how the notion of 'speaking out' or overtly reacting is problematic for her: 'I've tried learning to shout and speak out but it's just not me…And I don't think the burden should be on the person that's experiencing it to have to speak up in a certain way…'. This links with the pressure for women to report experiences of sexual harassment to authorities. There are a number of reasons recognised as limitations on women reporting incidents of sexual harassment in transit (Ceccato 2017; Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink 2009; Solymosi et al. 2017; Gekoski et al. 2015). What is often not considered is the implicit message that comes with encouraging women to report sexual harassment. Whilst there are clear benefits that come with reporting (particularly in the long-term with regards to policing), it dictates that the burden lies with women to speak out in order for sexual harassment to be combated. Rachel recognises this saying:

My friends…said why don't you just speak up and I don't actually find that a supportive response because it makes me feel like I've been really inadequate…and my husband, he was really adamant that I had to report it. And I was so like, why are you blaming me? And he turned it into being a bit about that…but I felt really guilty that I didn't.

Literature that considers the impact of sexual violence in public often focuses on 'space based avoidance' (d'Arbois de Jubainville & Vanier 2017, 194; Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink 2009; Ceccato 2017). Memory helps us to navigate environments (Foster 2009), and Rachel's regular use and habitual memories of the space is part of her individual 'map of everyday experience' (Koskela 2010, 309). She retains the knowledge that it is normally a safe space and is therefore able to maintain her regular use of the tube. For Rachel, although she did not adopt any avoidance behaviours or curtail her physical urban mobilities, the experience was not without spatial implications. Context and space impact the recall of particular memories. Holloway and Hubbard (2001, 48) consider how people's images and perceptions of a familiar place remain fairly stable. Yet a departure from the normal experience can prompt the need for an individual to reassess how they should act and behave within that particular space. Rachel describes how the memory of the incident repeatedly intrudes upon her as she passes through the tunnel where it happened and has led her to interact differently in the tube network:

I still feel pretty safe on the tube. But I walk through that tunnel pretty much every time I commute, and pretty much every time I sort of see him in my head, you know. And it's not uncomfortable but I would say that now, in Euston station I note when there aren't people around and also, I just wouldn't be friendly to anyone, I really wouldn't. I've given up on that.

The way she describes seeing him can be linked to literature on traumatic or emotional memory where 'mental images of the past spill over the present (Volkan 2002, 45). Hardy et al. (2009, 786) discuss this in regards to sexual assault, where women subsequently experience 'intrusive imagery'. Keightley (2010, 57) describes how memory can be an involuntary response to sensory perceptions in the present. Rachel states:

> I still use the tube, but it has a little bit in the sense that I guess it just reminds me to always be careful. But it has also made me think I'm not going to take this shit anymore, now I've processed it I actually now would just go and tell someone.

This links to what Pain (1997, 234) described as an 'assiduous state of vigilance' with regards to women's behavioural adaptations. Negotiating space in a mobile environment can become habitual, requiring little attention which can in turn become a source of pleasure (Edensor 2010). Yet Rachel describes how due to this incident she has now become more aware of this particular space of the London Underground. Whilst habits allow a diminishment of self-monitoring (which women already experience more than men (Young 1980), this incident of harassment has taken away both feelings of safety, and automaticity that permits a sense of 'zoning out', relaxation and enjoyment (Urry 2007), with her urban rhythms consequently becoming disrupted. Rachel says:

> It's so connected to you and your own personal self. And at the same time I wouldn't ever want to stop doing stuff…so in my head there's now a very clear line as to any approach from a man in particular that makes me feel threatened, it doesn't matter whether or not they thought it was threatening.

Relating to the memory of trauma, Pickering and Keightley (2009, 238) consider how the handling of traumatic events can lead to the development of stronger personalities. The subtlety of this links to Lefebvre's (2004) concept of 'secret' or psychological rhythms. Recognising this shows how using fear as a collective way to describe women's reactions can generalise and erase the negotiations such as vigilance and cautiousness or an emboldened use of space.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on how the memory of an experience of sexual harassment impacts women's mobilities in the city across space and time. Using the concept of memory brings in to focus the importance of recognising temporalities, addressing the research aim: '*To understand how women negotiate the memory of sexual*

harassment, and how it impacts on their mobilities over time.' It has allowed an exploration as to how the past experience of harassment impacts on present negotiations of urban space and transport, and how both the memory and its impact are renegotiated over time. As time passes women (re)define their experiences, sometimes recognising them only later as sexual harassment or sexual assault. Whilst this recognition caused a sense of being wronged or victimised, this should not be obscured with inducing fear and vulnerability. These accounts show that incidents of sexual harassment and their conceptualisations were often transformed by women into a positive action force in order to make sense of what happened to them and to embolden their claim to public space.

Cregan (2006, 14) states how: 'the focus has moved firmly towards the complexity of the individual and focused on that individual's body: often at the expense of the complexity of the social'. Yet the conceptual framework of rhythms, friction and memory has allowed for a consideration of both the bodily reaction *and* the social, spatial and temporal dynamics at work when women react to sexual harassment, and the impact it has across time. The fact that these incidents are happening in a transport environment- a moving space- again brings to the forefront the significance of a mobilities perspective in drawing out aspects of these experiences. It becomes clear that immediate reactions to sexual harassment are often shrouded with doubt and uncertainty, shaped by the spatio-temporalities of the Underground and the sociabilities they induce. As time passes these experiences become imbedded into women's autobiographical memory (Misztal 2003). This highlights two key points. Firstly, these experiences act to alter mobilities as the memory reminds women of their potential vulnerability in public space. However, these accounts also show how, over time, women can become emboldened by these experiences and use the memory to actively reclaim boundaries and ownership of their personal space in public space.

This chapter has shown that the impact on mobility is multi-layered, and spatially and temporally implicated, revealing how sexual harassment forces women to constantly renegotiate their relationship with the city. It is more subtle than being passive or active, disempowered or empowered: the analysis of these women's experiences of sexual harassment and its impact over time, shows that there are latitudes in-between the two. It has shown how not simply focusing on female fear of victimisation can do

justice to these negotiations that women incorporate into their lives in order to negotiate disruption that poses a threat to their pleasure and freedom in public space.

Chapter Seven

TIME, SPACE AND SITUATED KNOWLEDGES: POLICING SEXUAL HARASSMENT ON THE LONDON UNDERGROUND

Introduction

This chapter will explore police perspectives of sexual harassment on the London Underground Network. Firstly, I will introduce the feminist notions of standpoint theory (Smith 1989; Hill Collins 1990) and situated knowledges (Haraway 1988) and how these can assist in offering a new perspective as to how the British Transport Police (BTP) 'know', perceive, (re)construct and police sexual harassment on the London Underground. There will then be a discussion on the concept of 'police culture' (Loftus 2009) and evidence based policing (EBP) highlighting that 'police knowing' and knowledge are both learned and situated. I will then review literature that recognises spatio-temporal elements of policing urban space, drawing on the concepts of hot-spots, and mental mapping in relation to policing and offending. Following this, I will then draw attention to literature that explores the way technologies are used in policing, specifically closed circuit television (CCTV) and smart card data.

The empirical section of this chapter uses data gathered from 15 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with members of the BTP. The majority of participants were officers of varying rank, including members of the proactive team and the investigative team. Other participants were civilian members of BTP, including those working in data analysis, media and communication and research. All participants specialised in the policing and management of sexual offences on London transport. The presentation of empirical material will firstly consider how BTP officers make sense of and know sexual harassment on the London Underground with regards to spatial and temporal dynamics. Then, focusing on what BTP term the 'proactive' arm of its sexual offences unit, I will explore through the lens of rhythmanalysis how they seek out and recognise offenders within the network (often without a report of harassment) using their situated knowledge of the environment and its associated spatial behaviours. The second section of the empirical material focuses on the

process of investigating reports of sexual offences, as detailed by BTP officers. This will be followed by a consideration of police perceptions of successes or 'moments of rightness' (Thrift 2006) and the limitations and frustrations (including technologies and victim engagement) that constitute the investigative process. This allows for a portrayal of how the BTP (re)construct incidents of sexual harassment in order to police them, leading to a final discussion as to how this knowledge is situated from a policing perspective and culture. This permits a new understanding of the policing of urban space, and more specifically, public transport.

Policing urban space: Situating police knowledge

Situated knowledges

This chapter focuses on how the police know and (re)construct incidents of sexual harassment so that they can be investigated and policed. Therefore it is important to recognise that the acquisition of knowledge occurs within a particular context (Hawkesworth 1989), in this case, an organisational, policing context, or culture. As Cope (2004, 202) states: 'Police knowledge is contextual and subjective'. A number of scholars have emphasised the role that the 'knower' plays in establishing knowledge claims (Kotzee 2013; Pritchard 2013), a notion specifically applied to policing by Wood et al. (2017). In order to analyse the empirical material presented below, I will introduce two key feminist theories: feminist standpoint, and situated knowledge. Feminist standpoint theory (Hartstock 1983) proposes that the reality perceived by different segments of society is varied. It views women as 'the oppressed' in society meaning that from their unique standpoint their visions and truth claims expose reality. In the late 80's and early 90's the theory was well received and adopted by other feminist scholars (Smith 1989, Hill-Collins 1989, 1990, 1986) and despite strong critiques, feminist standpoint theory remains intrinsic to a discussion of situated knowledges. Donna Haraway locates herself in relation to standpoint theory in her essay *Situated Knowledges* (1988, 590) stating: 'There is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions'. Rather than claiming that one (oppressed) group of people hold an objective vision or truth of reality, situated knowledges claims that all knowledge is partial and situated. It retains the feminist notion of critiquing knowledge claims and how they are justified (Hartsock 1981), whilst permitting a consideration for the

situatedness of each observer within a political, historical and social context. The concept of situated knowledge allows an insight and critique as to how sexual harassment is known to the police and consequently managed and investigated. Employing this feminist perspective is not done with the aim of exposing or negatively portraying the work of the police. Rather, taking on the feminist mentality of critiquing objective knowledge claims (as can often be presented from an authoritative perspective), recognising that knowledge is always situated, relational and engaged (Smith 1987) allows insight into how sexual harassment is policed on the London Underground and why. It also exposes how both the perceived successes and limitations of policing sexual harassment on the network are situated within a police culture and mentality, often at odds with the women who experience harassment.

Police culture and the construction of police knowledge

In her book *Cultural Knowledge in Organizations* (1991) Sackmann describes culture as the collective construction of social reality, or, how people make sense and know things. The concept of police culture was first observed in the seminal ethnographic studies of police occupational culture by sociologists and anthropologists that explored the structure and norms of police organisations (Banton 1964; Manning 1997; Holdaway 1983; Smith & Gray 1985). This methodological approach has continued to offer insight into police cultures (Young 1993; Innes 2003; Westmarland 2001). In his influential work on the police, Reiner (1985) describes police culture as values, norms, perspectives and craft rules, whilst also arguing that it should not be considered as monolithic. Chan (1996, 110) expands on the idea of multiple cultures existing within an organisation, arguing for an understanding of police culture that recognises 'the interpretive and creative aspects of culture, allows for the existence of multiple cultures, and takes into account the political context and cognitive structures of police work.' Whilst there appears to be emerging consensus that police culture is in transition (Workman-Stark 2017) and that what it means to be a police officer and do policing has changed over time (Silvestri 2017), there are aspects of police culture that were identified in early works (Banton 1964; Skolnick 1966; Westley 1970; Cain 1973) that continue to be seen as significant in more recent studies (Loftus 2009; Bacon 2014). Some of the key aspects of police culture that have been highlighted over time include cynicism, solidarity, and a 'cult of masculinity' or 'machismo' (Manning 1978; Chan 1997; Reiner 2010; Loftus 2010; Westmarland 2001).

The idea that police culture has been dominated by a 'cult of masculinity' (Silvestri 2017) holds particular relevance when considering the policing of sexual offences. As a historically male dominated organisation where work or 'crime fighting' was perceived to involve danger, physicality, strength and force (Silvestri 2017; Reiner 2010), women in the police were often seen as more suited to 'specialist work' with vulnerable women and children (Schulz 1995; Silvestri 2017). Westmarland (2017, 315) describes how now women are prevalent within the police they have 'become 'gendered experts' who can talk 'sympathetically' to those victimised by sexual assault'. Walklate (2001) describes this as 'feminised policing', whilst others discuss how the policing of sexual offences is perceived as 'gendered work' (Brown & Campbell 1991; Westmarland 2001; Workman-Stark 2017). Moving forward, it is important to note that BTP sits separately to other police forces in the UK, with its own history, structure, strategy and vision (British Transport Police 2018). Therefore, it could be argued that to an extent they possess their own form of police culture, and, as one of the first UK forces to recruit women (in 1971) the context of policing here may not be as masculinised as other forces. Therefore BTP should not be regarded as 'typical' or representative of shifts in police culture (and the policing of sexual offences) more broadly. However, it is likely that there are tenets of traditional policing highlighted above that implicate BTP policing of sexual offences, as will be discussed in the empirical section of this chapter. To summarise, the policing of sexual offences has often been considered as a specific type of police work that goes against the norms of traditional police culture (Westmarland 2001), requiring a particular, situated, gendered knowledge.

Wood et al. (2017) consider how knowledge plays an important role in police practice, whilst Holgersson and Gottschalk (2008) describe the work of police officers as knowledge intensive. Therefore it is important to consider *how* knowledge is socially constructed (Giddens 1987; Foucault 1977), and which ways of knowing or knowledge claims are privileged within this environment. Wood et al. (2017) highlight the relationship between police culture and police knowledge and how this emphasises the importance of context in shaping the knowledge officers possess. They state: 'Police knowledge cannot be gained in the abstract. For knowledge to be established, we require 'knowing agents', and within the specifics of policing they

state that this requires 'knowing police officers' (176). Fielding (1984, 574) describes police officers as having a specialised and situated body of knowledge built from experience, that is then drawn upon and applied to specific situations. Terms such as 'familiarity knowledge', 'tacit knowledge' (Schon 1983; Holgersson & Gottschalk 2008; Nutley et al. 2003) and 'craft expertise' (Hargreaves 1999) are all types of knowing that are applicable here. Within this paradigm of thought, there is a recognition of both the learned and situatedness of police officer's knowledge of crimes that occur within particular spaces. Indeed, Schon (1983) argues that the development of professional knowledge should focus on practitioners' reflections and experiences, rather than the imposition of external knowledge. Yet evidence based policing (EBP), an approach that favours scientific expert knowledge, has emerged and become influential over the last 20 years, and is often privileged as way of knowing over practitioner or 'craft knowledge'.

EBP was first introduced by Sherman (1998). Based on producing scientific evidence to guide principles, method and practice (Avby et al. 2014; Peterson & Olsson 2015; Lumsden & Goode 2016), it is an approach that aims to help guide police practice and the effective distribution of police resources. Despite claims that EBP produces knowledge that can lead to best practice, it is not without its critiques. One of the proclaimed issues is the focus on a 'gold standard' hierarchy of methods or 'neo-positivist quality assurance frameworks' to establish 'what works' (Lumsden & Goode 2016, 4). This has led to positivist methods being privileged due to the perception that they are less biased and more politically neutral (Hope 2009). However, this has been acknowledged by the College of Policing who recently amended their definition of EBP to include all methods (College of Policing 2018). Another key criticism of EBP is that it favours externally produced and scientifically based knowledge over 'craft' practitioner knowledge (Issit & Spence 2005; Lumsden & Goode 2016). Wood et al. (2017, 175) argue that much of the police science discourse (within which EBP is situated) 'gives the impression that knowledge is something definitive, uncontested and abstracted from those creating and applying it in particular circumstances'. They call for the recognition of police practice as culturally mediated. This is echoed by Lumsden & Goode (2016) who highlight how EBP can ignore the context in which practitioners' practical experience and knowledge develops. Issit & Spence (2005) expand on this considering how the

imposition of externally based knowledge can silence the voice of practitioners. This highlights that there are different structures of varying power that influence the construction of knowledge production and draws attention to the various ways in which knowledge is produced with regards to policing. Moving forward, it is significant to remember that an officer's knowledge and how they perceive and police space and crimes is constructed, learnt and situated within a specific culture and environment.

Hot spots and mental maps: Officers and offenders

There is an abundance of literature that explores the spatial aspects of crime (Brantingham & Brantingham 1981; Tompson & Townsley 2010; Cohen & Felson 1979). Much of this literature focuses on how environmental factors and spatial characteristics have a significant impact on the location in which a crime is committed, leading to a recognition that crime is highly concentrated in terms of place. This is the core idea around crime 'hotspots', which are defined as areas that have a 'higher than expected level of criminal activity' (Ratcliffe & McCullagh 2001, 331). Yet much of this work focused entirely on space with an omission of temporalities. Gradually, there has been an increased acknowledgment of the significance of time on levels of crime (in space) (Ratcliffe 2004), or, as Tompson and Townsley (2010, 26) state 'the need for temporal sensitivity'. Felson & Boivin (2015) consider daily spatio-temporal shifts, and recognise daily population flows, or metropolitan movements that are shifting, in relation to crime. Felson and Poulson (2003, 1) go as far as to say 'crime varies greatly by hour of the day- more than any other variable'. Taking such a perspective allows insight into the distribution of offences in space *and* time and permits a knowledge and policing of places of high criminality. With an increasing focus on EBP (Sherman 1998, 2013), the identification of hot spots can help inform police practice and allow for a focusing of resources. After being recognised as a 'hotspot', an area then becomes a site for focused police activity (Ratcliffe 2004). Despite being recognised as a good use of police resources and being conducive to crime reduction, there are studies that consider how such an approach risks simply displacing crime (Green 2006; Short et al. 2009; Braga et al. 2012). As considered by Weisburd et al. (2006), does hot spot targeting simply move offenders around the corner?

'Hotspot' policing is evidence based policing in action: it is a policing strategy based on the spatial-temporal dynamics of crime. As well as allowing for more space and time specific policing, such information also informs police's perceptions and understanding of a space. Brantingham and Brantingham (1981, 93) use the term 'cognitive mapping' to describe 'the process by which people acquire, remember and use information about their environment.' This notion has also been termed 'mental mapping', which is defined by Holloway and Hubbard (2001, 48) as summarising '…each individual's knowledge of their surroundings in a way that is useful to them and the type of relationship they have with their environment'. The term mental map focuses on the perceptual elements one has of one's environment (Lopez & Lukinbeal 2010; Gould & White 1974). This applies to both the physical environment and the environment as perceived through emotions (for example, the spatial mapping of fear (Ley 1972)). Rengert and Pelfrey (1997, 195) state that: 'the interpretation of the environment is a function of social and cultural values and constraints. That is, emotion, fears, beliefs, prejudices, and misconceptions interact with the objective environment to form our image of the environment'. Edlund (2017, 81) states we carry around inner maps of our environs', recognising that they are both mental conception and built from memory, yet are also inclusive of collective knowledge. Rengert and Pelfrey (1997) also consider how the process of mental mapping means that no two individuals mental maps of the same environment are exactly alike, yet there are similarities between groups. Therefore, whilst mental maps are highly individual and subjective, they are often formed partially through collective understanding, or culture.

The need to acquire local knowledge is a traditional component of policing (Punch 1979; Fyfe 1991). Loftus (2009, 1500) discusses how the officers she observed on patrol had 'impressive, detailed knowledge of their respective areas', something that was considered amongst officers as being 'street wise'. Holdaway (1983, 36) highlights the significance of territoriality in the police and how they perceive particular spaces or 'grounds' as their own. Yet it is important to recognise that this knowledge is situated, and that mental mapping is inherently subjective and based around memory (Gotz & Holmen 2018). In *The Image of the City,* Lynch (1963) considers how our knowledge of city spaces are point of view perceptions. In their research in Philadelphia, Rengert and Pelfrey (1997) consider how the image or

mental map that public service cadets had of their city impacted on how they perform their job. With regards to their research on perceptions of space and crime, Lopez and Lukinbeal (2010, 37) state that 'the urban image is a partial, simplified, idiosyncratic, and distorted representation of the actual environment…' They reveal how police and residents perceive the city space and crime within that space differently. They attribute this difference in perceptions, in part, to police's knowledge of historical factors of past crimes and dangers. This highlights the significance of both memory and situated knowledge in the formation of the perception of a particular space. Indeed, police culture acts as a lens through which officers conceptualise urban space and society (Evans et al. 1992; Fyfe 1991, 1995). It 'informs a distinctive interpretation of the urban landscape' (Fyfe 1991, 259). Essentially, the perception and knowledge of a particular urban space is both learnt through experience and memory, and situated within the context of policing crime. This highlights the importance of recognising that the mental maps and knowledge that police officers possess of particular spaces and crimes that occur within them, is formulated and developed within a police culture.

Fyfe (1995) also highlights how police's mental maps allow officers a set of expectations as to what constitutes normal activity in a particular area, and how best to police it. Paperman (2003) briefly considers how policing the subway (specifically in relation to the Paris metro) is based heavily on the types of behaviour that can be anticipated. She also considers how 'they are struck by…the flux of the crowd, the collaboratively generated rhythms of passengers, the pacing of pedestrian traffic, the common lines of gaze (404). The ability of the police to perceive deviations in behaviour is an observational competency, built up from a knowledge of the space and the 'normal' behaviour that occurs within it. At a more micro level, Paperman (2003, 402) also considers how 'emotion interpretation is a learned competency in police work'. This is significant in how 'emotions' (what Lefebvre terms 'invisible rhythms') of offenders manifest themselves in physical ways, and how officers develop techniques to detect these indicators. Such perceptions are a 'professional accomplishment' (Paperman 2003, 401). There has been some research that considers these elements of policing specifically in relation to transit networks. Felson and Cohen (1980) recognise that some offenders on mass transit use it as part of their daily routine activities (for example, committing sexual harassment or assault when

already commuting). In her study of the Paris metro police, Paperman (2003, 415) discusses how 'through observing the routines and regularities that compose and organize public life in the subway, the metro police build distinctive features into their work'. As Paperman (2003, 415) suggests '…the police read patterns and variations in public order in the subway with a disciplined gaze that is methodically applied and scrutinized to better detect deviance'. This combination of policing knowledge of space and offender mobility and behaviour allows for a nuanced and efficient targeting of offenders within a complex space (Townsley & Pease 2002).

Committing a crime generally requires movement from the offender (Bernasco 2014), and an understanding or knowledge of the space in which a crime is committed. As discussed above, particular spaces at certain times can attract or permit crime. Mental mapping is also significant here. If a mental map can later be 'decoded to allow spatial behaviour to take place' (Rengert & Pelfrey 1997, 195), offenders use their knowledge and memory (their mental map) in order to act in a way 'appropriate' to the space. Offenders often operate within the temporal and spatial constraints of their own daily lives (Ratcliffe 2006) and therefore, many crime journeys resemble offender's daily routines. Bernasco (2014) discusses how transportation science emphasises travel behaviour and habitual travel patterns. Repetition (which is a rhythmic attribute) is significant here. The way offenders use an environment and select victims has been learned; they use accumulated knowledge to evaluate and choose targets (Brantingham & Brantingham 1981), often returning to locations that they know have high chances of success. These 'crime journeys' (Bernasco 2014), or urban mobilities and rhythms of the offender are highly significant to the police. With the recognition of the repetitive nature of offender travel, police can utilise this knowledge, 'predicting where future crime events might occur based on an antecedent event' (Tompson & Townsley 2009, 26).

The role of technologies in policing urban space
The prevalence of surveillance and visualising technologies, in particular CCTV, is a distinguishing aspect of modern society. In relation to modernity, CCTV is one of the prominent features of the power of the visual, and its disciplinary power is often related or compared to Foucault's writings on panopticism (1979). As Haraway (1988, 585) states 'vision is *always* a question of the power to see'. In relation to the

city, Haggerty and Ericson (2000) describe surveillance as the subplot to the increased anonymity that the urban provides. Walby (2005) considers how the socio-technical dynamics of surveillance coordinates lived realities and states that 'visualization is essential to knowledge reproduction and therefore bound up in the exercising of social power' (192). Crang (1996) further discusses how CCTV implicates social arrangements and transforms the meaning of being visible, who is visible and when. As part of this, it has been considered as a valuable tool in deterring or reducing crime (Webb & Laycock 1992; Burrows 1979; Welsh & Farrington 2003) or how its presence can reduce fear of crime and make people feel safer (Loukaitou-Sideris 2014). Furthermore, the presence of CCTV is said to encourage those who have been victimised to report crimes to authorities (Welsh & Farrington 2003). There have also been a number of studies focused on CCTV control rooms (McCahil 2002; Norris & Armstrong 1999) and how CCTV videos are conceptualised and interpreted by those watching them (Walby 2005). Less, however, is written on how it is used by the police as an investigative tool.

Norris and Armstrong (1999) describes how CCTV operators rely on normative behavioural codes of conduct specific to the spaces they are surveying in order to recognise deviance. Furthermore, 'operators utilize their already existing understanding of who is most likely to commit crime' (Norris & Armstrong 1999, 119). This highlights the significance of memory and a situated knowledge built on past occurrences within a particular space. Therefore whilst CCTV can often prove relatively ineffective for detecting suspicious behaviour in complex and crowded environments (Webb & Laycock 1991), it can still be useful in providing information about a sequence of events (Ashby 2017), or to contextualise other evidence (Levesley & Martin 2005). As Leman-Langlois (2002, 26) states 'a police force may be interested in collecting images for their informational content, to build files, understand relationships, create chronologies etc.'. In relation to rail networks specifically, Ashby (2017) notes that camera recordings were deemed to be useful in the investigation of sexual offences, and in relation to BTP investigations, he deems it 'a powerful investigative tool' (441).

Whilst it is important to recognise the utility of CCTV in the investigation of crime, it is equally essential to consider the direction of visual flow: what and who is being

watched, and by whom. As Walby (2003, 193) states: 'CCTV cameras involve a relationship of power between the watcher and the watched'. Essentially, CCTV allows the police greater control over the environment (Goold 2004, 3). Furthermore, the way in which what is seen is interpreted and given meaning (by the police) is significant, as 'translation is always interpretive, critical, and partial' (Haraway 1988, 589). The way in which videos depicting criminal activity are (re)interpreted by investigating officers is considered within institutionalised knowledge and discourse. What happened before inevitably gets reinterpreted (Smith 1978) and the existence of an objective, passive vision must be questioned (Haraway 1988).

Another relatively recent technology that should be considered with regards to police investigations is that of 'smart card' data. Many transit systems across the globe have introduced smart cards as a form of payment for travel. The information that can be garnered from these cards is significant (Bagchi & White 2005). Haggerty and Ericson (2000, 616) go as far as considering that the information they can provide creates 'data doubles'. A significant amount of research has explored the functionality of smart card use on public transport, most commonly in order to understand commuter travel patterns (Smith et al. 2013; Ma et al. 2013; Kieu et al 2014; Goulet-Langlois et al. 2018). Much of this is done with a consideration for transport service providers so they are able to manage resources and improve customer service. In their research exploring urban structure and the spatial arrangement of urban hubs, Roth et al. (2011) looked specifically at London Oyster card data, analysing the origin, destination and corresponding time of the trip in order to capture the flow of individuals around the city. Bagchi and White (2005, 465) consider how 'transport providers can 'construct' the trips that people make over the course of the day or longer and examine travel behaviours…' Despite the use of smart card data for understanding travel patterns, there has been little academic research that explores how such data can be and is used in police investigations to ascertain the movements of suspects and victims. An exception is Fyfe et al. (2015), who detail how police investigations proceed when looking for a missing person. They state how public transport companies are often contacted because of their ability to track the use of phones and travel cards, specifically using the example of Oyster cards in London.

Both Innes et al. (2008) and Fyfe et al. (2015) recognise that police work is carried out within a complex web of structural and situational contingencies, and the information, or knowledge that is gathered is given meaning by cognitive agents. As Coleman and McCahill (2011, 28) state, 'surveillance technologies only make sense when understood within the social relations in which they operate. The power of surveillance is therefore the power of social forces acting in and through surveillance practice'. The information gathered through surveillance is not observed and interpreted by passive, objective recipients, but by police officers who possess their own mental maps and perceptions of the space, situated within a police culture.

Alongside situated knowledge, the previously introduced concept of social memory (in the form of mental maps and learnt knowledge of space) will be employed through the remainder of this chapter. Rhythms (Lefebvre 2004) will also be integrated, and are particularly useful when considering how the police officers recognise potential offenders within the space of the Underground. The concept of rhythm can also be used to reveal the complexities of the investigation of a report of a sexual offence, drawing attention to the spatial and temporal elements that implicate the 'success' of the process.

POLICING SEXUAL OFFENCES IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT

The empirical section of this chapter draws upon interviews with members of BTP who specialise in the policing of sexual offences. Firstly, how the police 'know' and map sexual harassment on the Underground will be explored. Then, using a rhythmanalysis perspective, I will analyse how the police use their intimate knowledge of the space of the Underground in order to detect offenders based on their spatial behaviours and rhythms. Following this, the investigative process of sexual offences will be explored, looking at the procedure, how information is gathered and interpreted, how the police construct 'success stories', and limitations and disjunctures in knowledge that occur throughout the process. Lastly it will conclude with a discussion of how police knowledge is situated and how this impacts on the policing of sexual harassment on the London Underground.

Police constructions of sexual harassment on the London Underground

Knowledge is developed by continuities and changes within police institutions (Wood et al. 2017), yet it is also impacted by external organisational, cultural and political forces. With regards to the formulation of a knowledge base of sexual offences on the Underground, it is important to consider a few particular interventions. Report It To Stop It (RITSI) was a 2015 publicity campaign led by Transport for London (TfL) and supported by BTP as part of the operation 'Project Guardian', aimed at tackling unwanted sexual behaviour on public transport. RITSI was launched following a survey that exposed the frequency of sexual offences and the phenomena of underreporting. The campaign was deemed a success in raising public awareness and increasing the reporting of incidents (Solymosi et al. 2017). For BTP, this led to an increase in training for officers to handle reports and victims reporting unwanted sexual behaviour (Solymosi et al. 2017), and the formation of the Sexual Offences Coordination Unit (SOCU), to work alongside the already existing Sexual Offences Unit[4], in order to process and organise the influx of data. The most recent campaign 'Every Report Builds a Picture' emphasises how reports can be collated in order to identify, arrest and prosecute repeat offenders (This will be explored further when looking at the investigative side of policing sexual offences). It is within this context, with sexual offences as a BTP 'high priority crime', [5] situated within the force agenda of reduction of risk and harm, that the empirical material was gathered.

Knowing and mapping sexual offences on the London Underground
The recognition of the scope and frequency of sexual offences and the subsequent campaigns led to a significant increase in reporting by victims[6] (Solymosi et al. 2017). The increase in reporting has permitted BTP to create a substantial knowledge base of where and when incidents of (reported) sexual offences occur on the network. As one Detective Inspector (DI) (3) stated, the increase in reporting allowed BTP to be 'smarter' about how the issue is policed. Drawing on interviews with BTP, I will now detail how they come to 'know' sexual harassment on the Underground network, with regards to how this knowledge is gathered, managed and spatially and temporally mapped through a combination of tacit understanding and technologies. This

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[4] A team of officers and staff dedicated solely to the policing of sexual offences.
[5] This is how it was described by numerous police interviewees
[6] The term 'victims' is used as this is the language used by BTP.

construction of knowledge will be analysed using the theories related to situated knowledges.

It is important to establish the sequence of events that occur once a report of unwanted sexual behaviour has been made, as this constitutes the creation of data and consequently knowledge around sexual offences. It also allows an insight into the trajectory of the report of an incident of sexual harassment. Here, it is useful to consider Haraway's (1991) concept of the cyborg, a 'flesh-technology-information amalgam', a hybrid composition abstracted from its territorial setting. It is relevant for two key reasons. Firstly, it allows an analysis of how, as the information travels through varying technologies, the incident or experience becomes increasingly 'decorporialized' (Haggerty & Ericson 2000) as it is transformed through an authorised interpretation of events. Furthermore, Haraway's cyborg allows for a consideration of how, despite the technologically mediated nature of this knowledge, it is then allocated to a cognitive, culturally situated, individual investigating officer. Essentially, the process of policing sexual offences is a combination of information gathered by technologies and humans, and made sense of by technologies and humans.

A sequence of events is set in motion once an initial report of unwanted sexual behaviour is made to the BTP control room. Only if the report meets the crime recording standards (does it amount to a criminal activity?), is it then logged as a crime. Here, the initial report is immediately appropriated by an organisational 'crime-fighting' perspective and assimilated into a system that has the potential to disregard or marginalise particular incidents, potentially leading to what Haraway (1991, 159) terms a 'doctrine of experience'. However, due to sexual offences being 'high priority', all crimes are 'screened in', meaning that once a report has been established as a crime, it is mandatorily allocated to an investigating officer. The control room drops each incident into a queue for the Sexual Offences Unit (SOU) via Niche, a centralised crime recording system used by BTP. Using this tool, management and intelligence officers have a daily review of the crimes that have occurred, and consequently, each 'job' must then be allocated to an individual officer for investigation (the investigative process will be explored in-depth later in this chapter).

Importantly, the raw data collected on Niche is also available for intelligence officers and analysts to do 'back end searches'. This means setting up parameters and criteria for searches, allowing data to be pulled out that provides a 'numbers perspective' as to how many offences have occurred in certain locations at particular times. It is using this technology that data analysts at BTP turn 'a numbers perspective' into visual representations (in the form of graphs and charts) to illustrate trends and spatio-temporal hotspots. Whilst this technologically generated information is regarded as highly valued and integral to the BTP knowledge base, one officer (7) stated: 'we always already know what it's going to say, where and when it's happening most. These locations and hot spots of sexual offences are built up over time, not measured over night'. This highlights how officers negotiate their own learnt, tacit knowledge of the space on top of 'official' statistics. One DI (2) described this as a 'loop' process, whereby officers carry out their work based on this information, whilst also continually feeding their own experiences of patrols of the spaces back into the system. Essentially, this collation of information works in conjunction with officer's 'craft' knowledge, and they continually map on to one another, constituting how sexual harassment is known to BTP. This illustrates how sexual harassment is policed based on an amalgamation of data gathered and interpreted through technologies.

Yet it also reveals that the authoritative and omniscient knowledge BTP may seemingly posses is actually a situated construction. Haraway (1991) considers this in relation to medical research, insisting that cultural assumptions and practices always penetrate knowledge that is seen as 'value neutral' or objective. It is important then to bear in mind that the authoritative knowledge held by BTP is not necessarily a reflection of the reality of sexual harassment on the underground, but a constructed, partial form of knowledge that creates a situated vision of sexual offences on the London Underground.

Sexual offences on the London Underground: Where and when
Holloway and Hubbard (2001, 43) consider how people have subjective understandings of their surroundings. They recognise that what we know of our environment is not only formed from being in that place, but also how we experience it vicariously (e.g. through media representations or maps). The gathering and

interpretation of this data on sexual offences therefore impacts how officers perceive particular spaces of the Underground, (re)shaping their mental maps of the environment. It is based on the information accumulated from past reports that the police can recognise focused spatio-temporal hotspots (Ratcliffe 2004), defining areas that have high levels of offences and consequently make decisions as to where and when to 'pro-actively' police the network in search of offenders. These hotspots are inherently linked with the rhythms of the city that permeate the Underground Network. Both morning and evening rush hours are known as peak times for offences and concurrent with this temporal dynamic are spatial elements, with offences concentrated in busy, central locations. Specific lines on the network that were highlighted were the Central line, Victoria line and Jubilee line, all of which serve central hubs of the city and therefore become intensely overcrowded at peak travel times. Specific Underground stations that were mentioned include Bank, Liverpool Street and Stratford. An officer (11) summarised this stating:

> What's flagged up as the worst places? Stratford, and Mile End to Oxford Circus, Central. If you look at our figures that's the worst…our offending patterns are rush hour so 8 to 10, then it comes down again and then there's evening rush hour, and it doesn't come down quite so much, and then it goes up a bit again in the evening when people are drunk. Clear spikes on the underground are rush hour because it gives them the environment for that. Central line I think just because it's absolutely rammed through there.

It is these areas that are the focus of pro-active patrols. Despite this wealth in knowledge of 'hotspots', there remain particular difficulties that arise when trying to map and understand crime in 'interstitial' (Newton 2004) or transitory spaces. As Ashby (2017) considers, an issue for transport crime is that offences can occur between two locations. Beauregard and Busina (2013) recognise that 'journey to crime' research often assumes that an entire criminal act takes place in the same location, whereas 'the reality is often different for crimes in which the victim is mobile' (2053). Furthermore, Michaud and Morselli (2011) also highlight that there can be multiple crime sites for the same crime. This is exacerbated with offences being committed in transit, as described by a data analyst in SOCU:

On the Underground it's lines so it's a bit different, so I've tried some different things about how to visualise it, so I actually find that using them as lines is easier because particularly if there's say a sexual touching or something like that, that can go over several stops so it's not like you can pinpoint and say that happened here, it actually happened for 10 minutes between here and here so you have to see it as a line rather than a point. (SOCU Data Analyst)

This notion of incidents of unwanted sexual behaviour occurring in transit draws attention to the mobile and rhythmic nature of such offences and the implications that this has for both victims and the police. The following section will explore what BTP know about *how* offenders perpetrate sexual offences within this environment, and how they use this knowledge in order to proactively police the network.

The rhythms of policing sexual offences: What and how

The rhythms of offending have received little to no attention. Yet this is implicitly how sexual offences are being proactively policed on the Underground. Schon's (1983) concept of 'reflexive practice' illustrates the significance of insider problem solving. The on-going process of the production of the officer's mental maps of the space, and the behaviour that occurs within it demonstrates this. Tilley and Laycock (2002, 20) describe 'situational tactics' or situational crime prevention, describing it as useful 'in strategies that target problems concentrated on particular places, victims, products or methods'. The way in which sexual offences are 'pro-actively' policed on the London Underground demonstrate this. What is termed the 'proactive arm' of the sexual offences unit consists of teams of plain clothed officers, who, on a twice-daily basis during morning and evening rush hours patrol 'hotspots' on the network. With regards to knowledge production, the fact that they are plain clothed is highly significant. As Paperman (2003) considers, whilst uniformed officers are a useful deterrent and can make people feel safer, these officers often struggle to learn the features and indicators of crime.

The observational power that is permitted to officers in plain clothes allows for the accumulation and production of knowledge about how offenders act before, during and after sexual offences are committed. Here, the body becomes an operational tool

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(Westmarland 2017). The tactics used by plain clothed BTP officers are highly space specific, based on the rhythmic attributes and concurrent social behaviours that are expected within that space: 'They will blend into the crowd and fit in, watching for people who aren't travelling from A to B' (Detective Chief Inspector). The notion of managing visibility (Paperman 2003) was recognised by members of the proactive team. As one DI (1) stated: 'we have to accept that we act differently and then we can be spotted so you've got to check your own behaviour as well as trying to look for others'. Becoming competent at managing visibility requires an intimate knowledge of the spatial norms and rhythms of the space. This links back to the idea that detailed knowledge of a space is a central and valued concept of policing (Loftus 2009; Fyfe 1991; Holdaway 1983). The understanding of the network and the space specific behaviours that occur within it are the core element of this method of policing sexual offences. Visibility is significant, as BTP officers repeatedly refer to offenders on the network acting in a contrasting way to 'normal' commuters:

> The thing to look out for is the unnatural behaviour, because most people are reading, tapping into a phone, earphones, they know where they get off, they know where to stand on the underground, they know they're going to get on there, they know they're going to get off there, they could do it in their sleep. And these people aren't looking to get on the train, they might miss a train, they might swap what platform they're on, they don't care whether they go westbound, eastbound, southbound, northbound, so they don't fit in, they'll be wandering up looking at people or they'll be stepping back. Because normally you want to step forwards because you want to get on the train don't you? So if you've got someone like stepping back behind and walking up and down, that's like, and if they don't get on the first train, they're acting, you're here for a different reason to everybody else and everybody else's reason is to get from A to B as quickly as possible. So they do stand out. Yeah they don't fit in. (Detective Inspector 2)

With regards to crime in transit, it has been noted that offenders can linger at stations for long periods of time without arousing suspicion (Newton et al. 2014; Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2002; Block & Block 2000). However, in the case of the Underground, this lack of movement is in contrast to the normative rhythms of the network, and

therefore it creates a friction and suspicion for officers who are highly alert to behavioural differences. As one officer (9) stated 'we're looking for individuals who seem to be going nowhere'. In fact, there is such a continual construction of and comparison to the normal way of acting on the London Underground network that this has turned into a formal policing procedure. The subtle nature of this knowledge links to what Paperman (2003) terms 'interpretive competencies', or what a number of BTP officers called 'getting your eye in'. As an officer (14) described: 'you're getting your eye in comes in, which is you spot the behaviour that's not right. So you don't spot the offender from a description, you're looking for what stands out, what's different'. He details these movements more specifically in relation to a particular incident:

> There's one guy stood a foot and a half behind everyone else, and he's not looking at the announcement board, he's not looking at the direction of the train, he's not with anyone, he's not checking his phone, he's not lost, what's he doing? And it's that, why does he stand out above the baseline and what's different about him? And it's something as subtle as that, him being a foot back behind, that's all, it's out of place.

This particular observation led to the confrontation of a man who followed a young girl on to a carriage, who, once the officers pulled him off the train (before an offence was committed) it transpired had his penis out of his trousers, covered by his briefcase. This highlights another significant aspect of the nature of pro-actively policing sexual offences. In this example, the police intervened before an offence was committed and consequently, no arrest was possible.[7] This is an example of a scenario that one DI (4) described as relatively common, saying: 'I underestimated the moral dilemma that causes some of our officers. Do they allow the assault to happen, giving them the opportunity to arrest and convict the offender? Or do they intervene before the incident itself takes place?' What happens instead of an arrest is arguably contrary to traditional police culture. In the past (and debatably to this day) the prevalence of 'machismo' (Reiner 1978; Silvestri 2017) or masculinised law and order culture (Lumsden & Black 2018; Loftus 2009) within the police has been implicit in how sexual offences have been conceptualised and dealt with by officers (Gregory & Lees

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[7] In this case, because his bag covered him until the police asked him to move it, no arrest for exposure was possible.

1999). In this particular scenario (which was echoed in other accounts given by officers), the protection and vulnerability of the potential victim was prioritised over an arrest. Loftus (2009) considers how such ethical dilemmas go against the traditional police culture of prioritising arrests or convictions, which are considered 'authentic policing experiences'. As one officer (11) states:

> Depending on the situation, obviously if it's a vulnerable person or a young person or something, we're not going to wait for the offence to happen, we're going to stop that from happening, and it may mean that we will never get an offence or a conviction for it, but we've stopped it…it's that sort of fine line between the judgement of whether something's going to happen.

As well as highlighting the negotiation of moral ambiguity that can occur in police work (Innes 2002), this also demonstrates how an officer's situated knowledge permits a particular way of knowing that can lead to intervention. Through a consolidation of information gathered from previous reports from victims, familiarity of the space through observation, and a perception of offender rhythms, this forms the knowledge base upon which officers proactively police sexual offences on the Underground. Having an authoritative and organisational stance, it is possible to conceive that BTP have a holistic vision of sexual offences. Yet it is important to recognise that this knowledge is partial and interpreted (Haraway 1988), therefore can still be problematic and contested. The way this (partial) knowledge is operationalised within investigations is significant, and will be explored in the following section.

Investigating sexual harassment on the London Underground

The process of investigating reports of sexual offences
In a criminal investigation 'the narrative the police construct ties people, places, objects and phenomena together in a plausible chronology that provides details as to what happened and a degree of explanation as to why' (Innes 2002, 682). Once a report of sexual harassment is reported, it is inevitably (re)constructed into a crime, which can be investigated and potentially punished. This process is undertaken by what is often referred to by BTP as the 'reactive' or 'investigative' arm of the Sexual Offences Unit. Innes (2002, 672) explores the process of police responses to homicide

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stating that an investigation is 'oriented around an ordered sequence of actions…' Similarly, following a report of a sexual offence, a particular process takes place in order for officers to be able to (re)construct the before, during and after of the incident at hand. Fyfe et al (2015) describe is as the 'process structure'. As considered by Chan (1996, 114):

> Cultural knowledge in the form of police stories presents officers with ready made schemas and scripts that assist individual officers in particular situations to limit their search for information, organize information in terms of established categories, constitute a sensibility out of which a range of actions can flow, and provide officers with a repertoire of reasonable accounts to legitimate their actions.

The way the information is gathered and interpreted has been established over time, within a particular police culture, and it is within this context that it has been established what counts as knowledge (Haraway 1988). The report most commonly comes in through text or phone call to the control rooms, and is passed on to the sexual offences unit and allocated to an investigating officer. The details of the occurrence is in the form of a 'very short blurb, the modus operandi or what happened. But they're generally pretty rubbish, like victim on Central line train, man rubbed himself against them' (Detective Inspector 3). The first port of call is to contact the victim and arrange to take a statement or their account of the events, with the aim of collecting enough information (location, time, offender description) in order to be able to request the relevant CCTV footage. Here,

> 'A police officer must have the ability to let the victim tell his story in a way that seems best to the victim, at the same time as he gets enough information to be able to make a judgement of what has happened' (Holgersson & Gottschalk 2008, 369).

This highlights the negotiation officers must undertake in order to privilege the victim's story and version of events, whilst simultaneously ensuring that the necessary and relevant detail is gathered. CCTV is viewed as a 'biggie' in the investigative process (although its limitations are explored below). As one officer (8)

stated, once what is presumed to be the correct footage has been accessed, the investigating officer must locate the offender:

> There's an art to it… And we call it 'getting your eye in'. It takes a bit of time to get your eye in… The cheat when you're doing CCTV is if you know that the victim and the suspect were together at some point on CCTV then that's straightforward, you call the victim and say can you send me a photo of you, and then I find you and I find them.

As Haraway (1988, 583) states, there is no passive vision: '…all eyes, including our own organic ones, are active perceptual systems, building on translations and specific ways of seeing…' Here, the victim is also being watched, drawing attention to the power that is possessed by those who are watching (van der Meulenn & Heyen 2016) and how in anti-violence initiatives, women are often targeted in surveillance and prevention efforts (Mason & Magnet 2012; Koskela 2012). This also links with what Coleman and McCahill (2011, 13) discuss as using digital technologies for 'accruing information from bodies, gestures, traits'. Another officer (11) states:

> You can try and work on a description but it's quite tricky because what you'll probably get is a white male, with a bit of stubble, in a blue suit at Bank station at half past 7 in the morning. Could be anyone. So then when you're getting your eye in comes in which is you spot the behaviour that's not right. So you don't spot the offender from a description, you're looking for what stands out, what's different.

Bayley and Mendelsohn (1969, 93) consider how it is important to realise that measuring people against their surrounding is an essential part of police activity. Here, the body, and how it moves, is turned into a flow of information (Haggerty & Ericson 2000). This links back to what was highlighted by the proactive patrols, where not conforming to the rhythms and expected mobile behaviours of the space are a cause for suspicion. Using these tactics, after the suspect has been located and identified, they are tracked to the point where they exit the system using an Oyster or contactless card. This allows for a visual of the suspect 'tapping out'. Following this, Oyster data is requested from TfL, which, if granted, allows for an identification of

the suspect. As Haggerty and Ericson (2000, 617) state: 'non-criminal justice institutions are being called upon to augment the surveillance capacities of the criminal justice surveillance system'. Whilst identifying the suspect is a significant moment in the investigative process, there are further limitations to overcome for the investigation to be considered 'success' by the police.

'Every Report Builds a Picture': The successes and limitations of policing sexual offences from a situated perspective

It is important to consider that what is perceived as a limitation or a success with regards to an investigative outcome is situated within a police culture. As Workman-Stark (2017) considers, culture impacts which stories get told. When, during interviews, officers were asked to recall a 'successful' investigation, four officers spoke of the same case. This account is constructed below:

> At a central station, a woman witnessed a man taking photographs up a schoolgirl's skirt on the escalator. When she had confronted him, he ran away. She then reported the incident to TfL staff at the station who contacted BTP. After gathering information from the witness on the time, location and man's appearance, CCTV was requested, granted and used to identify the man tapping out of the system using an Oyster Card. This Oyster data was then requested from TfL, and, as the card was registered, they were able to identify the man. A house, phone and computer search was conducted, and an arrest was made. In custody, the man admitted to the accusation, and further admitted to having thousands of indecent images stored on his laptop. It further transpired that he had been filming his teenage child's friends using covert cameras. This led to a sentence of 4.5 years.

This was described by officers as the ideal outcome to an investigation. Thrift (2006) uses the term 'moments of rightness' in order to capture 'successful moments' in relation to encounters with commodity (297). The term can be used here with regards to how this particular investigation is constructed by officers as a profound success. All the lines of enquiry were established, followed through and led to an arrest and conviction. This links back to what, within a police culture is seen as 'real police

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work' (Silvestri 2017; Reiner 2010). It is interesting to consider how this was described as a success story, privileged over the incidents that officers described where they prevented an incident from occurring, but did not lead to an arrest or conviction. Coleman and McCahill (2011, 23) discuss the level of knowledge and skill needed for the 'politics of prevention' and the anticipation of risk through recognising offenders' behaviour patterns and spatial movements in order to intervene before an incident occurs. Yet despite the intricacy and detailed knowledge that is required to police and prevent in this way, these stories were not given as much weight as those that led to an arrest and conviction. This highlights that, whilst sexual offences are indeed embedded and prioritised within BTP police work there is still a particular way in which the work is perceived, constructed and narrated that remains congruent to a traditional police culture (Loftus 2009).

At any point in the process detailed above, the investigation has the potential to be disrupted or stopped. This can often be due to a disjuncture or difference in perceptions of sexual harassment on the Underground. To highlight this, various aspects (and consequences) of the 2017 campaign 'Every Report Builds a Picture' will now be explored. Launched by TfL, BTP, Metropolitan Police Service and City of London Police in March 2017, 'Every Report Builds a Picture' is the second campaign targeted at encouraging women to come forward and report unwanted sexual behaviour on public transport. The online film shows a businessman with a blurred, pixelated face. His face gradually becomes clear as women call the police with a description and different segments of information about the man who has sexually harassed them. In the final moments of the video, the police arrive at his workplace to arrest him. The accompanying still images of the campaign can be seen below in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Still images from the 'Every Report Builds a Picture' campaign

The focus of this campaign brings to the forefront a number of relevant points with regard to disjuncture between differing perspectives. Firstly, it links again with what is considered to be a success or 'moment of rightness' (Thrift 2006) for the police. Whilst there are cases that go against traditional police culture of focusing on arrests, this campaign focuses on the end goal of arresting and prosecuting offenders. If from the moment a report is allocated to an officer, this is considered as the ideal outcome, there are difficulties throughout the process whilst interacting with victims.

The police hold a contextualised understanding of the criminality of these actions, and an awareness of the information that is needed, as well as the need for speed and efficiency. A number of officers expressed frustrations towards the information that victims provided them with when reporting. The transitory nature makes it difficult for victims to remember, for example, which train they were on. In their study of crime on the London Underground, Newton et al. (2014) highlight how victims of theft in transit systems often have imprecise knowledge of where an incident occurred, causing difficulties in recording and mapping offences. As one staff member (15) stated: 'a general member of the public won't think about the BTP policing pattern'. Therefore, the information provided by victims can often be highly limited. One officer (11) expressed his frustrations:

> We get jobs sometimes where people ejaculate on women's clothing, they get off the train and they're like oh god. And I don't know why, but people wash

their clothing, and I don't know what goes through their minds. I'm blinkered because I'm the police but surely you'd be thinking I want to solve this, I'll keep that, but they wash it. I don't know what they're thinking…when does your head set in? You've got the DNA! Why are you washing it, come on, give us a chance!

As a police officer his immediate reaction is to construct an incident into a crime, as something that can be solved. Whilst he is self-reflexive and conscious to his own positionality, it does not prevent him from perceiving the incident in a particular way and consequently critiquing the victim's reactions as limiting to an investigative procedure. This highlights a pragmatism that is seen as a major characteristic of police culture (Reiner 2010). Other officers expressed frustrations around victims reporting an offence, but not wanting to 'take it further', whether this be immediately, or further down the line of the investigation:

A lot of people seem to think that once they've reported it that's the end of their involvement and once you explain the process a lot of people say oh well I don't want to give a statement I only wanted to report it, but they believe that you can do something…I mean you can identify a trend in offences and maybe identify that you've got somebody out there, but to actually take the matter through to arresting somebody and prosecuting somebody, without the victim it's not going to happen. (Officer 9)

This shows that the police have knowledge of the process of the criminal justice system that most victims are unlikely to possess. Whilst officers repeatedly stated that they recognised how the campaign(s) explicitly asked women to report incidents no matter how small, it remained that they had certain expectations of victims in order to achieve their 'moment of rightness'. It also draws attention to another way in which the police hold a particularly situated perspective. The core message of the campaign shows the focus on 'repeat offenders'. Using Niche (the centralised crime recording system) BTP officers have access to data that permits them to collate information and have a broader picture by linking incidents based on reports:

One thing I'll say we're very good at is linking offenders. We've got our own intelligence analysts who will feed key words, so if a guy had green trainers on, or if he was carrying a large brown bag, key identifiers…things like that, bright orange trainers, not many people are going to have orange trainers so if you sort of put that into the system and two victims have mentioned bright orange trainers then it's fair to say, I mean people are creatures of habit, people will travel between point A and Point B and back again generally so there's something you can look at. And things like hair, things that don't change. There are different ways to identify series linked offenders. And that is something we're doing very well at the moment. (Detective Inspector 1)

This is knowledge that the police are privilege to that can lead to catching an offender that has committed multiple crimes: an ultimate 'moment of rightness'. Yet whilst the police construct narratives out of women's individual stories and portray them retrospectively as a collective, women who are victims of a sexual offence often perceive their experience as an individual, solitary incident, rather than located within a web of concurring events. Often, they are likely unaware that the police have constructed a 'data double' (Haggerty & Ericson 2000) of their experience for broader investigative purposes. This can be linked to what Haggerty and Ericson (2000, 606) conceptualise as the 'surveillant assemblage', which they describe as 'abstracting human bodies from their territorial settings and separating them into a series of discrete flows. These flows are then reassembled into distinct 'data doubles' which can be scrutinized and targeted for intervention.'

A final disjuncture to consider is that of access to technologies. As Haraway (1991) considers, technologies open up how we see and read the world. With the Underground being a CCTV rich environment it is embedded within the investigative process of sexual offences, and viewed by officers as a highly useful tool. However it is not without its limitations. CCTV on the network is owned by numerous external bodies (mostly rail operators) and therefore BTP must request access to specific footage. Due to the temporal nature of the tube network, this in itself can prove difficult. Unless the victim can provide an exact time (almost to the second) of a moment where she may be on camera with the offender, with the high density of trains and individuals passing through each station, even with a good description the

investigative officer may end up trawling hours of CCTV. Furthermore, the recordings are only held for a certain period of time. Temporalities and the speed and flow of surveillance information are significant here, as if a report comes in a long time after it has been committed, there is no chance of CCTV evidence, and the investigative routes are limited. As one DI (2) describes:

> So most of the stuff on the platform is 14 days retention so you've got 14 days to get your request in. On board CCTV is about 72 hours and you have to know the carriage number and the head set number of the train to get it. So you're up against it. So the speed of the allocation of the crime has got to be fast otherwise you lose it, and that's why they get stressed, because they're getting another one and another one and they're trying to get hold of the victim, takes them 4 or 5 times and the victim is busy or whatever and you can't get hold of them, you can't guess a carriage number, so sometimes an investigation won't proceed because you couldn't get hold of the victim, you couldn't get a carriage number, it all happened on board the train, we don't know where the suspect got off, it's gone. And the officers can't help it but they're a bit deflated by that because you know, this happened and they want to do something about it and they just can't.

This highlights the structural limitations officers have with the technologies that are available to them (Colman & McCahill 2011). Many of these issues are specific to, or at least exacerbated due to the transitory environment that is the remit of BTP.

The policing of sexual offences by BTP is guided by the knowledge that is available to them. It is a situated perspective located within and guided by a police culture of 'crime prevention'. The desire for arrests and prosecutions creates certain trajectories that are followed once a report of an offence has been made. The course of investigations and the analysis of information available is undertaken by situated agents and therefore the route taken and desired outcome is often formulated by the investigator. The experiences of women are mapped by the police and reconstructed into an event that, due to the disjuncture that often occurs between police perspectives and victim perspectives, are often be experienced as limiting and problematic by both the police, and the women themselves.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the research aim '*To explore how the police know and manage sexual harassment on the London Underground from a situated perspective*'. Using Donna Haraway's notion of situated knowledges has permitted a critical analysis of police knowledge, how it is generated and then operationalised in terms of policing sexual offences on the Underground. Exploring how police knowledge is constructed in the form of evidence based policing (e.g. hotspots) and officer's 'craft' tacit understanding has allowed for an analysis of what constitutes their mental maps of the Underground and their understanding of the social behaviours and mobilities that occur within it and how they consequently police the space both proactively and in investigations. It has shown how the police's situated vision of sexual offences on the network as a whole is still produced primarily by an accumulation of officer's tacit knowledge, augmented with various technologies. Whilst reports are collated on an accessible computer system, technologically mediated visual maps of reports and offences are relatively limited. This is implicated by the mobile and transitory nature of the space of the Underground that makes it difficult to visually map where offences occur. The police therefore rely significantly on their 'mental maps' and embodied, tacit knowledge of the space. Furthermore, a recognition of the role of technologies involved in the (re)construction of women's reports into a criminal investigation with a desired outcome highlights the successes, limitations and disjunctures as perceived by the police. Significantly, this chapter has illustrated that whilst police perspectives become an authorised interpretation of events, they remain partial and situated. That is not to say that they are 'false' or lacking in validity, rather it is a call for the recognition that authoritative knowledge is situated, mediated through specific technologies, tacit understandings and mental maps that are located within a policing culture. There are two key aspects highlighted above that contribute to the police's situated knowledge of sexual offences that coalesce to create a particular, partial vision through which BTP understand and manage these incidents. Firstly, these experiences of sexual harassment or assault are inevitably conceptualised by the police as a crime, and secondly; due to their accumulated knowledge of sexual offences on the Underground network, investigating officers are often looking to connect cases in order to target and punish repeat offenders. Consequently, the experience/report of unwanted sexual behaviour is framed and acted on in a particular

way by the police. For the women who make these reports, these are individual experiences of victimisation in a public space, derived from unequal gender relations and often highlighting their general sense of vulnerability. However, for the police, whilst they may be aware of the endemic, societal nature of acts of gendered violence, once a report of unwanted sexual behaviour is taken, it is filtered through a policing agenda and becomes about catching individual offenders.

It is also interesting here to consider the argument as to whether hotspot policing (Sherman et al. 1989) diffuses or displaces crime. As highlighted above (and in previous chapters), the spatio-temporal, or rhythmic dynamics of the Underground mean that sexual harassment is perpetrated in a particular way, at a particular time, in a particular place. Therefore it is unlikely that the same offenders/offences will simply be displaced, as it is the rhythmic ensemble that permits the offence to be perpetrated in a way that is unnoticed by bystanders, and also regularly confuses the victim into passivity. Furthermore, the fact that the police are pro-actively patrolling the network undercover, rather than in uniform is of significance in this regard as it means that offenders are likely to have little knowledge of police activity. The unlikelihood of displacement is further exacerbated by the Underground being a space defined by an abundance of mobility. These offences are commonly perpetrated *on the move*, across both time and space, meaning displacement, as it is often discussed (Weisburd et al. 2010; Short et al. 2010), would be unlikely in this scenario.

This chapter also contributes to a body of literature that explores changing nature of police culture. As highlighted above, police culture has been dominated by machismo or a 'cult of masculinity' (Silvestri 2017), a characteristic that is potentially in conflict with the policing of sexual offences (Westmarland 2017). The interviews with members of the BTP were absent of traces of machismo, and no officers or staff expressed, implicitly or explicitly, that the policing of sexual offences is not 'real police work'. However, it is important to recognise that BTP are a specialist force, with their own organisational culture and vision and this does not necessarily hold true across different forces. Suffice to say, sexual offences are, at least within BTP, no longer seen as form of 'gendered work' (Westmarland 2001). Yet despite this, officers' perceptions of success or 'moments of rightness' (Thrift 2006) appear to

remain in line with the traditional policing mentality of crime fighting or 'real police work'.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This thesis explored women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground. The overall aim was to contribute to the understanding of a particular form of gendered violence occurring within a specific transitory, urban space and how this impacted women's everyday mobilities in the city over time. This study was conducted within the societal context of sexual harassment being increasingly recognised as an endemic form of everyday gendered violence. As highlighted in the introduction chapter of this thesis, recent events and movements, including the 2017 women's marches and the #MeToo movement, have brought the issue of sexual harassment into the mainstream media and public discourse.

Whilst the pervasiveness of sexual harassment has only recently become so visible in everyday conversation, the body of theoretical and empirical feminist, sociological and criminological work on the issue has been growing significantly since the 1970's. Feminist literature has sought to name and legally define the issue (MacKinnon 1979; Brownmiller 1975), with an initial focus on workplace and organisational environments (Baxter 1987; Martindale 1990). More recently, attention has been given to sexual harassment occurring in public space (Bowman 1993; Gardner 1995; Vera-Gray 2016), with a recognition of the different ways in which sexual harassing behaviour both manifests and is experienced in this context in comparison to arenas with organisational power structures. Feminist geographers drew attention to the need to consider gender when approaching social theory and mobility (Little et al. 1994), recognising how fear of gendered violence impacted women's use of public transport. Recent studies of sexual harassment in transit are often concentrated in non-Western contexts (Horii & Burgess 2012; Hsu 2011; Lim 2000; Neupane & Chesney-Lind) 2014), with the few studies in Western settings often using surveys or rapid assessments (Gekoski et al. 2015; Stringer 2007). From reviewing this existing literature, a number of factors became clear. Firstly, it became apparent that there are no studies exploring experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground. Secondly, in-depth research that explored the nature of sexual harassment in transit

were most commonly undertaken in the Global South. Furthermore, based on research that had explored how sexual harassment happens differently across contexts, it seemed likely that sexual harassment occurring in the London Underground would manifest and be experienced in a particular way. Finally, it became clear that there was little research bringing together mobility studies and gender studies in order to understand the nature of sexual harassment in this context.

The originality of this thesis then, was two fold. By offering an empirical analysis of sexual harassment on the London Underground, this thesis has filled a gap in knowledge of sexual harassment on public transport in a Western metropolis. Whilst there are some aspects of these experiences that are likely specific to the Underground, other elements are transferrable to other forms of public transport and other cities. Secondly, trying to make sense of experiences in this particular context led me to use a novel conceptual framework built around the concepts of *space, mobilities* and *rhythm, temporalities* and *knowledges* (outlined in detail in Chapter Two). Situating this thesis at the intersections of a gendered violence approach and a mobilities perspective has meant that, as shown throughout the empirical chapters, I have been able to draw out novel insights and advance knowledge of experiences of sexual harassment in public transport. This study had a number of contributions to existing literatures. Firstly, it demonstrated that urban space and transport is still experienced in a gendered way. Secondly it shows how mobilities and rhythms intertwine with space, shaping how sexual harassment is perpetrated and how women experience and negotiate sexual harassment at the time. It then highlights that the impact of sexual harassment changes over time and space as women negotiate their memory of the incident, and finally, it shows that knowledge of sexual harassment is situated, varying from different perspectives (victims and police), depending on how a knowledge base is created. This mobilities perspective has allowed a focus on the significance of *movement* in all aspects of these experiences. These incidents are anticipated as women move through the city; they happen whilst women are on the move, in a moving space; they consequently impact how women move in the Underground and around the city after they have happened, and; the way the police target offenders and are limited by the space is dominated by aspects of movement.

This concluding chapter firstly returns to the primary research question (*What are women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground*?), secondary research question (*How do the BTP police sexual harassment on the London Underground?*) and research aims that were detailed in the introduction and addressed throughout the thesis. I will then highlight the original contributions to knowledge that this thesis offers, outlining how these empirical contributions can be situated against existing literatures and research in particular disciplines to advance understandings of sexual harassment in public transport, particularly sociological, feminist and crime reduction perspectives. Following this, I present recommendations for future research including: taking a holistic approach to a city's transport network; paying attention to experiences on rural transport; an exploration/assessment of multi-agency approaches that have been adopted to police and regulate sexual offences in transit; an assessment of the successes/limitations of anti-sexual harassment campaigns from women's perspectives; research into the impact of bystander apathy; research into offender perspectives, and; taking a purposive intersectional approach to sampling participants in order to forefront voices of women who embody a double-minority. Finally, I will present practical recommendations for policy and practice, relating to campaigns targeting sexual offences that were previously highlighted, including: to create campaigns that inform (potential) victims of information that would be useful to police investigations if they wish to report, and; to move campaigns away from victim responsibility, instead targeting either bystanders or offenders to create a hostile environment for the perpetration of sexual offences.

Revisiting the research question and research aims

The overarching research question for this research (*What are women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground?*) has remained the same throughout the process, with the secondary question of *'How do the BTP police sexual harassment on the London Underground?'*. The research aims that have guided the structure of this thesis were formulated and addressed using an abductive approach (Tavory & Timmerman 2014) over the course of the data collection and analysis process. Initially outlined in Chapter One, the four aims were:

1. To explore how women experience and negotiate London and the Underground in everyday life.

2. To understand the key features of women's experiences of sexual harassment in a transport environment.

3. To understand how women negotiate the memory of sexual harassment, and how it impacts on their mobilities over time.

4. To explore how the police know and manage sexual harassment on the London Underground from a situated perspective.

These aims were addressed chronologically in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven. By taking this approach and addressing these aims highlighted above, this study has made various contributions to knowledge. Firstly, it has contributed to understandings of women's everyday experiences in public urban space. Secondly, it has contributed to our understanding of how sexual harassment manifests and is experienced in a particular way in public transport. Thirdly, it has contributed to knowledge on the impact of sexual harassment on women's mobilities over time. Finally, it has contributed to understanding how police knowledge concerning sexual offences in transport is constructed and implemented in practice. The following section will outline these contributions to knowledge, situating the findings against the relevant literature that has been reviewed in this thesis.

Key contributions to knowledge

The research aims highlighted above come together to address the core research question: '*What are women's experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground',* and the secondary question: '*How do the BTP police sexual harassment on the London Underground?*' Each of these aims has led to a particular contribution to knowledge. These will now be detailed and related to existing literatures. Finally, there will be a discussion that argues for the value of rhythmanalysis as a conceptual lens in gendered and criminological research.

Contributing to research on women's everyday experiences in public urban space
Much has been written on women's everyday experiences in urban space, particularly within the realm of feminist geography (Massey 2013; Little et al. 1994; McDowell 1984, 1994). This body of literature, and especially that which focuses on sexual harassment specifically, often focuses on women's fear and vulnerability in urban space (Bowman 1993; Kearl 2010). However, feminist sociologists have also

highlighted how the city can act as a site of pleasure and emancipation for women (Wilson 1991). I was interested in exploring how the city and the Underground can be experienced as sites of mobility and freedom, whilst simultaneously paying attention to how women still have to negotiate the risk of everyday forms of gendered violence. By using the conceptual character of the flâneur to analyse women's experiences of everyday life in London and of using the Underground, these accounts revealed how the rhythms and sociabilities of the city and the Underground specifically, permitted pleasure, anonymity and freedom, yet concurrently acted to induce isolation and fear. The tensions that exist for women in urban space manifest in relation to the pervasive risk of sexual harassment, which acts as reminder to an underlying apprehension and a need to assess and negotiate one's presence and safety in urban space. Looking at this through the lens of the flâneur challenges discourses that only express the danger, fear and victimisation that women experience in urban space. Whilst these elements exist, to only pay attention to the negative aspects is to ignore women's complex and practiced negotiations of the multitudinous aspects of urban life that they embody and enact in order to be active, free and if desired, anonymous participants in the city. This chapter showed how the rhythmic attributes of the city and the Underground impacted on women's everyday urban experiences, both permitting them the anonymity to engage in aspects of flânerie, whilst also inducing feelings of stress and isolation. It also demonstrated how the perceived risk and anticipation of sexual violence in public space disrupted their normative rhythms and feelings of freedom in the city, an experience that they recognised as being strongly gendered. This study then, extends our knowledge of the gendered nature of moving through urban space. Importantly, this research also contributes more specifically to debates on women in transport- spaces beyond, or more accurately, in-between the public and private dichotomy. As discussed in Chapter Two, women's use of and access to transport has increased over time, and the way in which women experience and are perceived in these spaces has received substantial attention, particularly from feminist geographers. This thesis has also recognised throughout how the structure of urban space and social practices and interactions are intertwined. The Underground is a space of nomadism and transition where the social traits of the public realm become compressed and altered in time and space. This study has allowed for an examination of women's mobilities in a liminal space, showing how women's freedom of movement between home, work and leisure continues to be questioned and

challenged as they temporarily inhabit spaces of transition. The experiences presented in this research then, construct the city and the Underground more specifically as a space of tension between freedom, and anxieties that are imposed by male travellers, often resulting in anxieties for women themselves and reproduction of deep-rooted cultural anxieties surrounding the risks women face in public space.

Contributing to our understanding of how sexual harassment manifests and is experienced in a particular way in public transport

A further original contribution of this thesis is that it has uncovered particularities in the ways in which sexual harassment manifests and is experienced within a transport environment. While feminist work has highlighted how sexual harassment happens differently across contexts including the workplace, educational settings and public space (Madan & Nalla 2016; Karas & Henson 1997), and mobilities literature has uncovered general behaviours that are specific to transport (Urry 2007; Bissell 2010, 2018), connecting these two bodies of work and taking a spatio-temporal approach via the concepts of rhythms (Lefebvre 2004) and friction (Cresswell 2010) has allowed conceptual observations to be made as to how sexual harassment manifests and is experienced by women in a public transport environment.

Firstly, sexual harassment is shaped by the rhythms of the city that permeate the Underground: the rush hours, lulls and night time, which facilitate and conceal harassment. Secondly, the sociabilities on the network, shaped by rhythms, mean that women are often unwilling or anxious about 'making a scene' in an enclosed public space and do not want to disrupt their own urban rhythms and codes of comportment. Thirdly, the transitory nature of the space of the Underground is important, as women often envisage the situation as temporary and act accordingly. The ephemeral nature of the tube also allows the perpetrator to disappear quickly. Essentially, using a mobilities framework has connected incidents of sexual harassment to general time-space structures of the city and the transport network, illustrating how the various rhythms come together to produce a circumstance where particular incidents of harassment are perpetrated. The framework illustrates how harassment is, in part, a spatio-temporal issue, facilitated or hindered by the specific spaces, paces and times of the city. By drawing on women's first hand, in-depth accounts of these experiences, the thesis draws attention to space and motion as affective and as playing

an active role in the shaping of social relations and gendered inequalities. These findings contribute to feminist work that has focused on how sexual harassment is perpetrated and experienced across contexts, addressing the gap that has existed around public transport environments. It highlights that whilst there are similarities across contexts (for example, sexual harassment on the streets and in transit is committed by men who are strangers to the victim), there are discerning features that are particular to the transport environment. This is also a significant contribution to mobilities studies that seeks to address the complexity and impact of social actions and encounters that happen on the move (Urry 2000; Urry & Sheller 2006). Therefore, a mobilities perspective has been particularly pertinent for theorising experiences of sexual harassment that are happening in a transport environment: a moving space. The approach permitted an exploration of how the urban and transport rhythms coalesce and intertwine to shape and facilitate the perpetration of, women's experiences of, and responses to, sexual harassment. A mobilities perspective brings to the forefront how these experiences are shaped by the fact they are happening in a mobile environment.

Contributing to knowledge on the impact of sexual harassment on women's mobilities and connecting it to temporalities

The thesis also provides insight into the impact of sexual harassment and how women negotiate the memories and impact of these experiences over time. When considering the impact of various forms of sexual violence, feminist work has commonly focused on increased levels of fear (Warr 1985; Keane 1998; Stanko 1995; Pain 1991). This is also true for work that has looked specifically at the impact of sexual harassment in public space (Gardner 1995; Kearl 2010). The findings of this study then, permit a move beyond discussing women's access, fear and vulnerability and allow an examination of how sexual harassment in public space is also negotiated and resisted, and how the experiences or memories are also suppressed and embolden women. Many of the women in this study experienced feelings of fear and vulnerability (both at the time of the incident and over time), yet made active negotiations to resist the impact of sexual harassment on their mobilities. These negotiations were varied, including: trying to think as little about the incident as possible; reporting incidents of sexual harassment to authorities; shouting back at harassers in the future in order to claim back ownership of space, and; demanding personal space when travelling on the

Underground. This study therefore, has contributed to a body of feminist literature that aims to understand fear of violence by taking into account structures of power alongside individual's agency (Nehta & Bondi 1999; Weedon 1987; Koskela 1997). This does not detract from the fact that sexual harassment is experienced as highly intrusive and disruptive (across time) to women's mobilities. Rather it demonstrates women's resistance to the impact of sexual violence existing alongside, or without fear.

This study has also demonstrated that the impact sexual harassment has on an individual is not static and unchanging. The concepts of memory, rhythm and friction have demonstrated the temporal experience of sexual harassment and how it changes across time and space. By taking this approach, this thesis has shown that the impact on mobility is multi-layered, and spatially and temporally implicated, revealing how sexual harassment forces women to constantly renegotiate their relationship with the city. It is more nuanced than the binaries of being passive and active, disempowered or empowered. The analysis of these women's experiences of sexual harassment and its impact over time shows that there are latitudes between the two. It has shown how not simply focusing on female fear of victimisation can do justice to these negotiations that women incorporate into their lives in order to reduce disruption to their pleasure and freedom in public space. This is a significant contribution to work within the realm of feminist geography that focuses on how women experience and negotiate the city in a gendered way after experiencing an incident of sexual harassment (Koskela & Pain 2010; Loukaitou-Sideris & Fink 2009). Using the concept of memory has also highlighted how the incident of harassment itself is remembered differently as time passes. Incidents of sexual harassment or assault can be re-defined over time, based on the individual's life trajectory and societal context. The concept of memory then, serves to show both the fluidity of the impact of sexual harassment, and the fluidity of the memory itself.

Contributing to understandings of how police knowledge concerning sexual offences in transport is constructed and implemented in practice
Another contribution of the study can be found in its exploration of the construction of police knowledge of sexual harassment including how this knowledge is constructed and how it is used in practice. Feminist scholars have given significant

attention to knowledge production and how certain knowledges are privileged and reproduced as authoritative truths (Hill Collins 1990; Smith 1989; Haraway 1988). Through her theory of situated knowledges Donna Haraway (1988) states that it is not possible for one group of people to possess objective vision, rather, she claims, all knowledge is partial and situated and therefore must be critiqued. Yet there is scarce research that applies such ideas to police knowledge both with regards to sexual offences and more generally in relation to operational policing. Using Haraway's theory of situated knowledges has allowed for a deconstruction of policing practices and a critique of the police as holding an objective, holistic view of sexual offences. The contribution to studies of policing is significant here in a number of ways.

Firstly, it reveals how knowledge is produced with regards to the requirement of police to build an evidence base on a particular crime or criminal behaviour. This thesis therefore, contributes to debates around the hierarchy of knowledges that implicate police practice (Wood et al. 2017; Holgersson et al. 2008; Lumsden & Goode 2016; Issit & Spence 2005). Evidence based policing (EBP) (Sherman 1998) is an approach that is based on producing scientific evidence to guide principles and practice. Whilst EBP has led to the ability to spatially and temporally locate, map and police places where high levels of crime occur in the form of 'hot-spots' (Ratcliffe & McCullagh 2001), analysing police interviews through the lens of rhythmanalysis revealed the tacit and embodied nature of policing sexual offences. It became clear that practically learnt or 'craft' knowledge (Schon 1983; Hargreaves 1999) of the space of the Underground and the normative behaviours that occur within it explicitly impact on how sexual offences are policed. Pro-active, plain-clothed officers identify potential offenders based on the rhythmic attributes and concurrent social behaviours that are expected within that space. Offenders then, are not identified by their physical appearance, but because their behaviours and movements do not fit with the social norms (of which the police have an astute, learnt, situated knowledge) of the particular space of the Underground. This is a significant contribution to debates within the realm of policing studies around knowledge production and policing practices. At a time in which EBP is increasingly privileged due to its perceived objectivity (Lumsden & Goode 2016; Issit & Spence 2005), this research demonstrates that practitioner reflection and experience is still highly intertwined and therefore should be valued within policing methods.

Secondly, it contributes to a body of literatures on police culture/s (Reiner 1985; Westmarland 2001; Chan 1997; Silvestri 2017). As a historically male dominated organisation where work or 'crime fighting' was perceived to involve danger, physicality, strength and force (Silvestri 2017; Reiner 2010), the policing of sexual offences has previously been described as 'feminised policing' (Walklate 2001) or 'gendered work' (Westmarland 2001; Workman-Stark 2017). This study contributes to these debates in two ways. Firstly, the majority of officers interviewed were male, and at no time was it explicitly or implicitly stated that the policing of sexual offences was not 'real police work' (Reiner 1985). This demonstrates that the policing of sexual offences is no longer seen as specialist gendered work (Schulz 1995; Silvestri 2017; Westmarland 2017), at least within the British Transport Police[8]. However, despite the significant efforts that are being made to police sexual offences, officers' perceptions of success or 'moments of rightness' (Thrift 2006) appear to remain in line with the traditional policing mentality of crime fighting or 'real police work' (Silvestri 2017; Reiner 2010). Stories of arrests were privileged over the incidents that officers described where they prevented an incident from occurring, but did not lead to an arrest or conviction. At times, this mentality, likely created by and embedded within police culture, led to feelings of frustration for the officer and disjuncture in understanding with victims. This study highlights that whilst sexual offences are indeed embedded and prioritised within BTP police work there is still a particular way in which the work is perceived, constructed and narrated that remains congruent to a traditional police culture (Loftus 2009).

Finally, the role of technologies in the investigative process was explored. Whilst much has been written of the role of surveillance technology in crime reduction (Webb & Laycock 1992; Welsh & Farrington 2003; Loukaitou-Sideris 2014), little at all has been written as to how technology is used by the police as an investigative tool. Furthermore, research into the role of smart card data has primarily been done to establish travel patterns (Bagchi & White 2005; Roth et al. 2011), but again has

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[8] It is important to note that BTP are separate from other police forces and therefore, as signified in Chapter Seven, are likely to have their own form of police culture. Consequently, whilst this research demonstrates how BTP perceive sexual offences, this is not generalisable to other forces.

barely been explored in relation to police investigations (with the exception of Fyfe et al. 2015). This research has highlighted the importance of various technologies in the police investigative processes. It has shown that these forms of surveillance technologies are integral to the investigative process of sexual offences on the London Underground. For example, without CCTV footage and Oyster card data, there is little chance of identifying the perpetrator and consequently investigative routes are limited. It also demonstrates how the initial incident of sexual harassment (as the woman experiences it) is then transformed through an authorised interpretation of events that constitute the investigative process. This is particularly true with regards to the linking of offences in order to catch 'repeat offenders', something that is narrated by officers as a 'moment of rightness' (Thrift 2006). During this process the information is gathered and processed through various technologies (CCTV, Oyster data) leading to the experience of sexual harassment becoming decorporialised or disembodied and (re)constructed as a crime. However, it also demonstrates how despite the technologically mediated and authoritative nature of this process, it is undertaken and understood by a culturally situated, individual, investigating police officer and therefore remains a partial and subjective (re)construction.

As highlighted above, police knowledge of sexual offences is constructed via a coalescence of officer's tactic knowledge, an organisational evidence base of sexual offences, and access to certain technologies, and filtered through a police organisational culture. The channels through which the police formulate their knowledge of sexual harassment is highly consequential, as this manifests into how sexual offences are policed and disciplined. It is particularly pertinent when comparing how police knowledge differs from that of the victim, and the tensions that this can cause (for both victims and the police). These tensions were apparent on a number of levels.

Victims primarily have access only to knowledge of their own individual experience. This implicates the high rates of underreporting, as many women saw their experiences as isolated, random, 'one-offs' and therefore did not report to authorities as they thought the nature of the incident and the space would make it impossible to identify or locate the offender. Yet with a knowledge base of previous offences and repeat offenders, if a report is logged the police immediately situate the incident

within an already existing 'map' of prior offences. This allows them to connect incidents and establish patterns of offending. Therefore, offences are viewed collectively as well as individually, offering the police a different perspective of the situation of sexual offences on the Underground and subsequently adding to and developing their knowledge base and impacting how they police and manage sexual offences. This finding contributes to the body of literature that explores varying perceptions of crime, showing how different groups and individuals perceptions vary depending on their mental maps (or understanding of a space) and their situated knowledges of crimes that have occurred within that space, and importantly the impact that this can have on rates of reporting. It pertains to discussions around power and access to knowledge and crime prevention and management.

Once an individual experience of victimisation is reported it becomes appropriated by the structures and procedures of a policing organisation and takes on a certain trajectory (detailed in Chapter 7). Once a victim reports a sexual offence, the police immediately transform the incident into a crime- something to be investigated and solved with the tools, technologies and knowledge they have available to them. Significantly, once an incident is situated within a policing remit the aim is to arrest and prosecute the offender. Yet difficulties arise here with regards to the disjuncture of expectations from both the victims and the police. The police expressed two significant frustrations, firstly, that when victims reported they did so with imprecise information. Secondly, officers experienced frustration due to high levels of victim disengagement at varying stages, leading officers to feel that they had wasted time and resources on the investigation. The police perspective emits a form of pragmatism that is seen as a major characteristic of police culture (Reiner 2010), showing that it still exists within the BTP and impacts police practice. Conversely, women also expressed frustration towards the police on two similar levels. TfL led campaigns (Report it to Stop it and Every Report Builds a Picture) encourage victims to report incidents, no matter how small, with no guide as to what information is necessary for the investigation to proceed. Consequently, for some women, this led to disappointment and frustration when their cases could not progress due to a lack of information. For others, when their case was furthered, they did not expect the demand on them to be so significant and time consuming (often due to a lack of knowledge of criminal justice procedures). Constructed out of situated knowledges,

these expectations from both parties causes a conflict and tension that impact on the process of reporting and policing sexual offences.

Space, mobilities, temporalities and situated knowledges come together to shape and define these experiences of sexual harassment. Situated knowledges show how space, mobilities and time are experienced, used and transformed from different perspectives. The police look at time and mobilities in order to identify offenders and patterns in offending across space. They also encounter particular temporalities as problematic in their investigative procedures that are intrinsically linked to the fact that the Underground is a space defined by an abundance of mobility. From their perspective, women experience incidents of sexual harassment as disruptive to their urban rhythms, something which is exacerbated by the fact that these incidents happen whilst they are on the move. Employing a mobilities perspective to this particular form of gendered violence has drawn out these aspects to show that it is the spatio-temporalities and movements or *rhythms* of the Underground that define so much of the way in which sexual harassment is perpetrated, experienced and policed.

The value of a rhythmanalysis perspective

Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis (2004) has been employed to look at a multitude of aspects of everyday life in urban space (Cronin 2006; Edensor 2011; Hetherington 2013; Meyer 2008; Prior 2011). It has also been used to explore various inequalities (Schwanen et al. 2012; Reid-Musson 2018). Yet to date there is little research that uses a rhythmanalysis perspective to explore gendered experiences or gender inequalities of everyday life in urban space. Lefebvre has been criticised for failing to acknowledge gender inequalities, spatialities and subjectivities in his work (Kipfer et al. 2012; Reid-Musson 2018), or the non-neutral nature of rhythms. Yet these scholars have also recognised that 'Lefebvre's ideas hold for what might be loosely labelled intersectional research…that seeks to identify gender, sexuality, race and colonial categories of inequality and difference in order to undo them' (Reid-Musson 2018, 885). For this research rhythmanalysis has provided a framework through which to draw out new insights into often less perceptible aspects of gendered experiences of sexual harassment in a public urban space. The result of this is two fold. Firstly it demonstrates how the city, public and liminal spaces often remain contested and negotiated. Secondly, taking a rhythmanalysis perspective has also permitted a bridge

between the corporeal bodily experience of sexual harassment and the role of spatio-temporal dynamics, therefore contributing to feminist discussions regarding how women experience and react to sexual violence in public spaces. Furthermore, this thesis has shown how a rhythmanalysis perspective is useful in criminological research. As discussed in Chapter Seven, recognition of the significance of spatio-temporalities in relation to offending and policing is embedded in both criminological research and police practice (Ratcliffe 2004; Felson & Boivin 2015; Loukaitou-Sideris 1999). Whilst this research has looked specifically at the rhythms of policing sexual offences on the Underground, a rhythmanalysis perspective could be applied to various other circumstances related to offender, police and victim rhythms in order to understand the significance of intersections of spatio-temporalities and individual's movements. To summarise, this research highlights the value of a feminist, criminological engagement with rhythmanalysis.

Limitations, recommendations and policy implications

As a relatively under researched topic, when I first began this project on sexual harassment on the London Underground there were numerous avenues that this research could have explored. Therefore, there are important aspects that future research could investigate in order to expand our knowledge of sexual harassment on public transport and in public space/s.

Firstly, a key expansion of this research would be taking a holistic approach to examining the city's public transport network (considering trains, buses, trams etc.). Embarking on such extensions would act to determine differences between transport modes or systems across settings, and therefore help to establish local or situated needs in terms of combatting such behaviour. This also applies to geographical variation as well as transit type. As shown in Chapter Five, sexual harassment was perpetrated in different ways depending on spatio-temporal aspects. Therefore, it is not unrealistic to assume that rural and urban transport are likely to host a different scope of behaviours. A multi-sited approach would allow for insight into this. Furthermore, cross-cultural studies would be highly beneficial in order to draw attention to the socio-cultural aspects that foster the perpetration and tolerance of sexually harassing behaviours in transit.

A second recommendation for future research is to explore the multi-agency approach that is adopted to police and regulate sexual offences on public transport. Whilst this study has explored both women's experiences and police perspectives, including the voices of other relevant agencies and stakeholders (including, for example, TfL, criminal justice representatives, activist groups, offenders) would likely reveal the complex nature of the combatting of sexual offences, and increase the understanding of issues that are currently encountered. Chapter Seven revealed the disjuncture between police and victim perspectives. Taking this approach and encompassing the voices of all those active in fighting sexual offences in public transit is likely to create a knowledge base that can assist in the more effective managing and combatting of sexual offences within a complex environment.

It would also be beneficial to evaluate the successes and limitations of the anti-sexual harassment campaigns so far (detailed in Chapter Seven). Whilst Solymosi et al. (2017) conducted a study to assess the success of the Report it to Stop it campaign, this took the approach of a realist evaluation. It would be highly beneficial if there were research that gathered women's perspectives on the nature of the campaigns, including women who have experienced sexual harassment in transit and subsequently did or did not report, and female travellers more generally. This research would be able to inform TfL and BTP in order to impact on future campaigns.

Another important avenue for future research is that of bystander behaviour or bystander apathy. The impact of bystander behaviour on shaping experiences of sexual violence has been recognised in various contexts, including on campus (Baynard et al. 2007; Coker et al. 2011), in the workplace (McDonald & Flood 2012) and on the street (Hollaback! & Cornell University 2014). This thesis has drawn attention to the space specific norms and behaviours that regulate interactions on the tube, and consequently impact on how women react to incidents of harassment. The issue of bystander apathy on transport is recognised as a possible solution by activist groups (iHollaback!.com), and during the BBC 100 Women week in 2017 that focused on combatting sexual harassment in transit, it was combatting this particular issue that was given a significant amount of weight as a potential avenue to minimise such perpetrating behaviours. Conducting focus groups either with the broader population of people who regularly use the tube, or more specifically with people who

have witnessed sexual harassment and intervened or not, would be useful in gaining a more in-depth understanding as to what impacted these decisions.

Whilst this study has revealed how sexual harassment is perpetrated on the Underground network and how the police come to know and combat offender behaviour, there is a lack of research that explores the offenders' perspectives. Whilst there are significant practical issues that come with interviewing offenders, doing so would likely offer valuable insight into motives and modus operandi.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the sample of women included in this study. 29 women who had experienced sexual harassment on the tube were interviewed for this research. Whilst age, ethnicity and sexual orientation of the participants were varied, all the women in this study were cis-gendered and able-bodied. Furthermore, as highlighted in Chapter Three, the majority of women were recruited online, with a significant number being from feminist or activist groups on Facebook. Whilst it does not act to jeopardise the findings of this study, it provides food for thought for future research. Gendered experiences are interrelated with varying degrees of class, race, sexuality and other systems of oppression and privilege and consequently women's experiences are far from homogenous. Therefore, taking a more purposive intersectional approach and bringing to the forefront the voices of women who embody a double minority would allow insight into the multi-layered nature of gendered violence in public space. Utilising different methods such as surveys would be potentially beneficial to access a broader range of experiences, as would speaking to activist groups whose work focuses on violence against trans-women, ethnic or religious minorities or women with visible disabilities.

Policy implications
Whilst there is a vast amount of scope for future research, it is possible from this study to provide useful insights that can be put forward as practical guidance for policy and practice with regards to the policing of sexual offences on the Underground network. Highlighted below are the recommendations that have been established.

This thesis is the first in-depth, academic study of sexual harassment on the London Underground. By focusing attention on women's accounts of sexual harassment, it has been able to reveal the nuances and often overlooked or misunderstood aspects of their experiences. Consequently, this has significant potential to impact the knowledge base that officers possess around victim experiences. As a high priority crime, BTP officers are given specific training with regards to sexual offences that occur within their remit. Gatekeepers at BTP have requested that when this research is concluded, I present key findings and recommendations to both officers and various stakeholders.

Firstly, as highlighted above, a multi-agency approach towards reducing and preventing sexual harassment is highly important. Having sat on the BTP Sexual Offences Scrutiny Panel, it is clear that there are various stakeholder and agency perspectives at play, including: TfL (as the governing transport body), BTP, train operators, representatives from the criminal justice system, activist groups, as well as victims and offenders of sexual offences. A continued working together can only act to initially understand, and subsequently diminish disjunctures that limit or hinder the policing and reduction of sexual offences on the London Underground. Therefore, a continued working partnership between stakeholders is recommended.

Chapter Seven highlighted two TfL led campaigns targeting unwanted sexual behaviour on public transport (Report it to Stop to Stop it and Every report Builds a Picture), both of which focus explicitly on reporting. If indeed campaigns are to focus on the (under)reporting aspect of sexual offences (the problems of which are discussed below) then in order to make these campaigns successful in practice, there are a number of issues that this research has brought to attention. Firstly, Chapter Seven highlighted problems that the police face when, following a victim reporting an incident of sexual harassment, the victim then cannot provide the necessary information for an investigation to go forward, or disengages at some point in the process. BTP are already focusing on the issue of victim disengagement, however this is a significant issue to consider for future campaigns (the content of which is predominantly decided by TfL) that encourage women to report. To date, there is little information in the public realm that informs (potential) victims as to what details would be needed by the police in order to conduct a successful investigation.

Consequently, there are many situations where, following a report of harassment, both the police and victims, from their situated positions, experience frustration and disappointment at the process. Similar to victim accounts informing officer training (as highlighted above), disseminating police knowledge of what information would be useful in an investigation would likely reduce the disconnect that currently exists and consequently save both time and resources. This is not just beneficial for the police- it permits women to make an informed decision as to whether to report, knowing what will be expected of them.

With regards to the focus on reporting, this research offers a second recommendation. Both campaigns (Report it to Stop it and Every Report Builds a Picture) emphasise the importance of reporting incidents of unwanted sexual behaviour. Whilst breaking the silence around this normalised form of gendered violence is significant, a number of women in this study said that such a focus made them feel guilty about not reporting their experiences. Arguably, asking women to 'report it to stop it' implicitly places the responsibility of stopping sexual harassment with the women who have already been victimised. What would be beneficial and progressive would be campaigns that moved away from victim responsibility and focused on the issue of bystander intervention (something that activist groups such as Hollaback! are already campaigning for), or better still, campaigns that targeted (potential) offenders. This could come in the form of signage/posters on the tube highlighting the illegality of particular behaviours; the punishment they risk receiving if caught; or raising awareness of the proactive policing that occurs on the network. Doing so would assist in making the tube a hostile environment for offenders and consequently have the potential to reduce or prevent such incidents occurring in the first place.

Concluding thoughts

I began this research process with a knowledge foundation built from my own experiences of sexual harassment and an academic enthusiasm for exploring gendered lives in urban space. A desire to understand women's experiences and negotiations of this intrusive behaviour has driven this research from the beginning. From an academic perspective, this research exploring sexual harassment on the London Underground is justified firstly by the lack of empirical studies on the subject, and secondly how by looking at the issue through a novel conceptual framework, which

involves *space, mobilities* and *rhythm, temporalities* and *knowledges,* it has drawn out previously unrecognised or misunderstood aspects of these experiences. This thesis as a whole makes an important contribution to our understanding of a particular form of gendered violence happening within a specific, transitory space. It provides insight as to how women anticipate, experience, react to and remember sexual harassment in transport and how this impacts on their mobilities.

Although I was primarily interested on focusing on women's experiences, my initial encounters and subsequent interviews with the BTP demonstrated that they possessed a uniquely situated knowledge of sexual harassment on the Underground. Significantly, by exploring this through the conceptual framework of *space, mobilities* and *rhythm, temporalities* and *knowledges* new critical insights have been offered as to how police knowledge is constructed, situated and implemented into policing practices.

The title of this thesis is: *Sexual harassment on the London Underground: Mobilities, temporalities and knowledges of gendered violence in public transport*. Transport networks are an essential part of everyday life, yet it becomes clear that they remain structured in a way that can act to permit the perpetration of sexual harassment in a particular way. The approach taken in this study has allowed an investigation into experiences that are often perceived as 'everyday' and unavoidable negotiations of the city for women. It has drawn attention to the dangers of what is considered a mundane form of male violence. Yet it does so without reducing women's experiences to feelings of fear and vulnerability by highlighting the impact that it has on mobilities and the negotiations that women undertake in order to resist the impact of these intrusions.

For me, one of the most surprising stages of this research process was the ease with which I was able to find participants: women who wanted to share their stories, but had never been asked. This work takes a step towards de-normalising sexual harassment in a specific public space, and to understanding the phenomenon and the impact that it has on women's everyday mobilities. For now, the Underground remains a site of the city that is contested on a day-to-day basis by women who are forced to negotiate both the risk and actuality of sexual harassment as they travel for

work or leisure. Access to the city is not enough. We worry about the risk of taking a tube late at night. We worry whether our position in the carriage makes us vulnerable. We worry about not reacting to perpetrators. We worry about overreacting. We worry about escalation- that they'll get angry, or follow us home. We worry whether they chose us because of what we were wearing, or because we smiled. We worry about not reporting. We worry about reporting, if it will make us late for work or if the police will take us seriously. We become fearful. We become vigilant. We try to forget about it. We try and get on with our day. To have these negotiations considered as everyday and trivial is not good enough: sexual harassment is intrusive, disruptive and inescapably gendered. To experience the anonymity, chaos and pleasure that urban spaces offer is to have a right to the city. Like the flâneuse, we demand the right to be private in public, to be female in public without the fear of repercussion in the form of male violence.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview schedule (Victims)

Experiences and Perceptions of Sexual Harassment on the London Underground Network

Interview Schedule

[Start by introducing researcher and the project. Go over the Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet, highlighting right to withdraw consent, anonymity and confidentiality. Also highlight those issues which researchers would be obliged to report to the authorities. Ask if ok with recording device being used and inform participant of storage of data]

-Introductory questions, use of the underground-

1. Could you start by telling me how you use the London Underground?
2. Do you prefer it to other transport options?
3. How do you typically see people interacting on the tube?
4. Are the things that you like about how people typically act on the tube?
5. Are there things that you dislike?
6. Think of your last journey on the tube. Can you describe how you feel about the physical space of the Underground (the carriages, stations)?
7. Do you think the Underground is a 'safe' space? How does it compare (safety wise) with other modes of transport e.g. walking, buses, taxis?

-move on to the incident of sexual harassment-

8. In your own words, how would you define sexual harassment?
9. Can you tell me your story about your experience(s) of sexual harassment on the London Underground?
10. How did the incident make you feel at the time?

11. Could you tell me what you remember about the physical space where the incident happened?

12. What did you do when the incident happened?

13. , and looking back, why did you act that way?

14. Were there any bystanders when the incident occurred? If so, what was their reaction?

15. Did you talk to the police/authorities?

16. If yes, how did the police/authorities respond?

17. Did you talk to friends and family about the incident?

18. How did they respond?

19. Why do you think the person harassed you?

-move on to questions looking back at the incident-

20. How do you think this experience has affected you?

21. Have you changed the way you travel?

22. Have you changed anything about your behaviour?

23. Do you think you would have acted differently elsewhere had the same thing happened (on the street, at work, in a pub)?

24. What do you think should be done to stop sexual harassment on the London Underground?

25. Finally, if you haven't already mentioned, can you tell me a few details about yourself:
    a) age
    b) ethnicity
    c) occupation
    d) Where do you live in London?

26. Do you have anything you want to add that hasn't been covered, or any questions you want to ask me?

[Thank participant for their time and go over the right to withdraw, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and who to contact post-interview if they wish to withdraw]

Appendix B: Call for participants (Victims)

Loughborough University

Have you ever experienced sexual harassment on the London Underground?

Are you willing to talk about your experience with a researcher from Loughborough University?

Specifically I am looking for:

- Self-identifying females who have experienced sexual harassment, of any kind, on the London Underground,
- Are over the age of 18, and
- Who are willing to participate in an interview to contribute to PhD research exploring experiences of sexual harassment

If you are interested in taking part or for more information, please contact Sian Lewis at s.lewis@lboro.ac.uk

Thank you

Appendix C: Informed consent (Victims)

![Loughborough University logo]

**Experiences and Perceptions of Sexual Harassment on the London
Underground Network**

**INFORMED CONSENT FORM
(to be completed after Participant Information Sheet has been read)**

Taking Part

Please initial box

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I
understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and
that all procedures have been approved by the Loughborough University
Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee.

☐

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.

☐

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

☐

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study, have
the right to withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and will
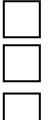not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.

☐

I agree to take part in this study. Taking part in the project will include being
interviewed and audio recorded.

☐

Use of Information

I understand that all the personal information I provide will be treated in
strict confidence and will be kept anonymous and confidential to the
researchers unless (under the statutory obligations of the agencies which
the researchers are working with, it is judged that confidentiality will have to
be breached for the safety of the participant or others or for audit by
regulatory authorities.

☐

I understand that anonymised quotes may be used in publications, reports,
web pages, and other research outputs.

☐

☐

I agree for the data I provide to be securely archived at the end of the project.

_____ _____ _____

Name of participant   [printed]   Signature   Date

_____ _____ _____

Researcher   [printed]   Signature   Date

Appendix D: Participant information (Victims)

Loughborough University

Experiences and Perceptions of Sexual Harassment on the London Underground Network

Adult Participant Information Sheet

This document provides information to participants about the research project titled above.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study explores experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground. It seeks to understand why sexual harassment happens on the London Underground, how it affects the victims and the issue is managed and policed.

The findings from this research will help organisations (activist groups, transport organisations, police) to prevent sexual harassment and help those who have experienced it.

Who is doing this research?

Sian Lewis is a doctoral student in the Department of Social Sciences at Loughborough University. These interviews form part of a doctoral thesis on the experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground.

What will I be asked to do?

You are invited to participate in a face-to-face interview with the primary researcher (Sian Lewis).
The interview will involve a series of questions focusing on your work at British Transport Police that focuses on policing sexual harassment on the London Underground.
The interview will be open for you to provide other details that you feel are relevant to the subject in question.
The interview will be audio recorded and your data anonymised and kept confidential. No one outside the research team will have access to the data or information provided during the interview.

Once I take part, can I change my mind?

Yes. You can withdraw at any time, including during the interview and you do not have to explain your reasons for withdrawing.

How long will it take?

The interview will take approximately thirty minutes.

What personal information will be required from me?

You will be asked about your role and work at British Transport Police, particularly with regards to policing sexual harassment on the London Underground.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

The research will remain confidential. Your name will be anonymised so that you cannot be identified from the research. Audio files will be deleted from the audio recorder once transcription is complete.
The data will be stored and subsequently disposed of in line with Loughborough University's Data Protection Policy.

I have some more questions; who should I contact?

If you have any further questions about the study you can contact Sian Lewis using the contact details provided below.

Primary Researcher: Sian Lewis, Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough

University, Leicestershire, LE113TU. S.Lewis@lboro.ac.uk

Supervisors: Dr Paula Saukko, Loughborough University, p.saukko@lboro.ac.uk,

01509223357

Thomas Thurnell-Read, Loughborough University, t.thurnell-read@lboro.ac.uk,

01509223881

What will happen to the results of the study?

The results will be published as part of a PhD to be submitted by 2018 to the University of Loughborough. They may also be included in academic journals and/or conference papers.

What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?

Please contact Ms Jackie Green, the Secretary for University's Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee:
Ms J Green, Research Office, Hazlerigg Building, Loughborough University, Epinal Way, Loughborough, LE11 3TU. Tel: 01509 222423. Email: J.A.Green@lboro.ac.uk

The University also has a policy relating to Research Misconduct and Whistle Blowing which is available online at http://www.lboro.ac.uk/committees/ethics-approvals-human-participants/additionalinformation/codesofpractice/ .

Thank you

Appendix E: BTP email

BTP are working in collaboration with Loughborough University to support a research project into sexual harassment on the London Underground network. This study will explore experiences of sexual harassment on the LU and seeks to understand why sexual harassment happens on the LU, how it affects the victims and how the issue is managed and policed.

Sian Lewis is a doctoral student in the Department of Social Sciences at Loughborough University and will be undertaking this research.

As part of Sian's research she is looking to conduct face to face interviews over the next two months with individuals who have experience and knowledge of policing sexual harassment on the LU, including yourself. These interviews will last for approximately 30 minutes.

Attached is the interview schedule including a list of questions which will be asked during the interview, please note that not all the questions may be relevant to yourself. Also attached is the participant information sheet which provides some additional information about the study and the interview process.

Sian Lewis will be in contact to arrange a suitable time and date if convenient.

Appendix F: Interview schedule (BTP)

Loughborough University

Interview Schedule
for Interviews with British Transport Police (BTP) Staff.

Policing Sexual harassment on the London Underground

[Start by introducing researcher and the project. Go over the Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet, highlighting right to withdraw consent, anonymity and confidentiality. Ask if ok with recording device being used and inform participant of storage of data]

Introductory Questions

1. Can you tell me about your role at BTP and how long you've worked here?
2. Do you/have you worked specifically in the sexual offences unit?
3. If yes, what interested you in this role?
4. If yes, can you talk me through the training process for this unit?
5. Were you involved with Project Guardian?
6. If yes, can you tell me about your role and experience working on this project?
7. Were you involved with the Report it to Stop it campaign?
8. If yes, can you tell me about your role and experience working on this project?
9. In your opinion, can you tell me why you think combating sexual harassment on the underground is an important issue?

Sexual offences: What, where who, and why?

10. Can you talk me through the different forms of sexual offences you are aware of/have dealt with on the underground?
11. From your experience do you feel that sexual harassment on the underground happen at particular times or places?
12. Does sexual harassment on the underground involve particular groups of people? (Who are the victims and who are the perpetrators?)
13. Why do you think sexual harassment occurs on the underground (social and spatial)?

Victims and Reporting

14. Can you tell me about the current reporting process for sexual offences?
15. What kind of incidents do you think are most commonly reported?
16. In your opinion, what are the main barriers to reporting?
17. Do you feel the current system for reporting is victim-friendly?

Closing questions

18. Overall, do you think tackling sexual offences is a high priority for BTP?
19. What more do you think could be done to tackle sexual offences on public transport by BTP?
20. What more do you think could be done by other organisations/the public, to tackle sexual offences on public transport?
21. Do you have anything you want to add that hasn't been covered, or any questions you want to ask me?
22. Finally, if you haven't mentioned, could you state your age, gender and ethnicity?

[Thank participant for their time and go over the right to withdraw, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, and who to contact post-interview if they wish to withdraw]

Appendix G: Participant information (BTP)

![Loughborough University logo]

Sexual Harassment on the London Underground Network

Adult Participant Information Sheet

This document provides information to participants about the research project titled above.

What is the purpose of this study?

This study explores experiences of sexual harassment on the London Underground. It seeks to understand why sexual harassment happens on the London Underground, how it affects the victims and the issue is managed and policed.

The findings from this research will help organisations (activist groups, transport organisations, police) to prevent sexual harassment and help those who have experienced it.

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What will I be asked to do?

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The interview will involve a series of questions focusing on your work at British Transport Police that focuses on policing sexual harassment on the London Underground.
The interview will be open for you to provide other details that you feel are relevant to the subject in question.
The interview will be audio recorded and your data anonymised and kept confidential. No one outside the research team will have access to the data or information provided during the interview.

Once I take part, can I change my mind?

Yes. You can withdraw at any time, including during the interview and you do not have to explain your reasons for withdrawing.

How long will it take?

The interview will take approximately thirty minutes.

What personal information will be required from me?

You will be asked about your role and work at British Transport Police, particularly with regards to policing sexual harassment on the London Underground.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

The research will remain confidential. Your name will be anonymised so that you cannot be identified from the research. Audio files will be deleted from the audio recorder once transcription is complete.
The data will be stored and subsequently disposed of in line with Loughborough University's Data Protection Policy.

I have some more questions; who should I contact?

If you have any further questions about the study you can contact Sian Lewis using the contact details provided below.

Primary Researcher: Sian Lewis, Department of Social Sciences, Loughborough

University, Leicestershire, LE113TU. S.Lewis@lboro.ac.uk

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What will happen to the results of the study?

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What if I am not happy with how the research was conducted?

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Thank you

Appendix H: Informed consent (BTP)

Loughborough University

Sexual Harassment on the London Underground Network

INFORMED CONSENT FORM
(to be completed after Participant Information Sheet has been read)

Taking Part

Please initial box

The purpose and details of this study have been explained to me. I understand that this study is designed to further scientific knowledge and that all procedures have been approved by the Loughborough University Ethics Approvals (Human Participants) Sub-Committee.

☐

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form.

☐

I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

☐

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in the study, have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage for any reason, and will not be required to explain my reasons for withdrawing.
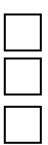
☐

I agree to take part in this study. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed and audio recorded.

☐

Use of Information

I understand that all the personal information I provide will be treated in strict confidence and will be kept anonymous and confidential to the researchers unless (under the statutory obligations of the agencies which the researchers are working with), it is judged that confidentiality will have to be breached for the safety of the participant or others or for audit by regulatory authorities.

☐

I understand that anonymised quotes may be used in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs.

☐

I agree for the data I provide to be securely archived at the end of the project.

☐

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   [printed]   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____

Researcher   [printed]   Signature   Date