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Why do girls stay silent? An exploratory research on young women's tolerance toward stranger harassment

Sui LAU

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WHY DO GIRLS STAY SILENT?:
AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH ON YOUNG WOMEN'S TOLERANCE
TOWARD STRANGER HARASSMENT

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LINGNAN UNIVERSITY

2015

WHY DO GIRLS STAY SILENT?:
AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH ON YOUNG WOMEN'S TOLERANCE
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by
LAU Sui

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
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ABSTRACT

WHY DO GIRLS STAY SILENT?: AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH ON YOUNG WOMEN'S TOLERANCE TOWARD STRANGER HARASSMENT

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Master of Philosophy

Stranger harassment has been a rising issue regarding gender equality globally. Nevertheless, this issue has been rarely explored in Hong Kong. This study aims at discovering its prevalence, the frequency of its occurrences, local women's reactions toward it and variables that may determine women's reactions in a local context. Both personal qualities, including gender-related belief, self-objectification and body image, as well as situational qualities, namely perceived situational norms, are examined.

350 self-administered questionnaires were collected from local women aged between 18 and 25, in either pencil-and-paper or online forms. Results showed that more than 80% of respondents reported experiencing stranger harassment at least once in their lifetimes. The frequency of experiencing certain types of harassment decreases as the severity of harassment increases. Unlike the results found by previous studies, active coping strategy has been reported as the most common reaction adopted by local young women, following by passive, self-blaming and lastly benign coping strategy. As for personal qualities that may determine women's reactions toward stranger harassment, self-objectification has been found to be positively linked to benign and self-blaming coping strategies, whereas benevolent sexism, which was one of the measurements of gender-related belief, is positively linked to self-blaming and passive coping strategies. Situational qualities were also found to be related to women's reactions toward stranger harassment. Among the three items that measure perceived situational norms, item B – 'women should expect stranger harassment in that setting' is positively correlated to all three non-active coping strategies. Item C – 'people nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment in that setting' was also found to be positively correlated to active coping strategy. Explanations to the relationships between these variables and women's coping strategies as well as practical implications are discussed.

This study contributes towards a greater understanding of stranger harassment and women's reactions toward it, and fills gap in the literature on stranger harassment in the local context.

DECLARATION

I declare that this is an original work based primarily on my own research, and I warrant that all citations of previous research, published or unpublished, have been duly acknowledged.



Lau Sui

Date: 26.10.2015

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS


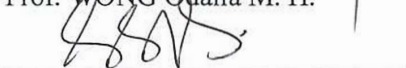
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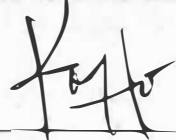
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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 – Stranger Harassment: The invisible issue

Despite living in one of world's safest cities, girls in Hong Kong have been advised not to visit certain places alone or at night by their parents, out of fear that their presence may attract 'too much attention' from strangers. Females are always reminded to dress decently and keep their poise, be cautious, alert, and a bit fearful when travelling to some generally-agreed 'forbidden land', such as Portland Street, Apliu Street, Chungking Mansions...

While these 'unwanted attention', which may include leering, catcalls, whistles or even stalking and touching, pose serious safety threats to women, there is no name or any specific term to describe them in the local Cantonese language.

This issue, however, has drawn enormous attention outside Hong Kong, and is termed 'stranger harassment'.

In 2000, Japan became the first country to address the stranger harassment issue, when female-only carriages were introduced by one of the railway companies in Tokyo, as numerous women reported being groped on the over-crowded public transport (Tokyo trains tackle groping problem, 2000). Other railway companies in Tokyo soon followed (Joyce, 2005).

Not long after, in 2005, several youths created Hollaback! in New York as an online platform for women to share their experiences of stranger harassment and to pinpoint the exact locations of such cases (History + Values, 2015). An anti-stranger harassment blog called Stop Street Harassment also started in the United States in 2008 (Stop Street Harassment, 2015). Both Hollaback! and Stop Street Harassment flourished and turned into international nonprofit organizations that document data, bring activists together, engage in public educations, work with government officials, and mobilize local communities with an aim of ending stranger harassment (Stop Street Harassment, 2015).

The issue continued to gain attention in other countries. Egypt had their first independent initiative concerning stranger harassment in 2010, which strives to mobilize local resources, shift public opinion and combat stranger harassment (HarassMap, 2015). Two years later, an app called 'Not Your Baby' was developed

in Canada to help women cope with sexual and stranger harassments by providing them with facts, personal stories, and recommendations (Not Your Baby App: Phone App Gives Suggestions For Sexual Harassment Responses, 2014).

After years of hard work, awareness of stranger harassment has become global. For example, in 2015, Hollaback! has reached 92 cities in 32 countries, including Argentina, Colombia, India, Nepal, Mexico, and Morocco. Stop Street Harassment has also organized an Anti-Street Harassment week worldwide (Hollaback!, 2014; Meet Us on the Street, 2015), during with local groups held talks, handed out fliers, put up signs, launched exhibitions and initiated demonstrations in various cities in 27 countries, from Bangladesh and Cameroon to the Netherlands, to spread the stop stranger harassment message (Meet Us on the Street, 2015). However, the situation might not be as bright in Hong Kong, as illustrated in the following example. On 19 May 2015, a screenshot from an ordinary girl's Facebook timeline was uploaded to one of the most popular local Facebook pages, 'Human Flesh Search HKG'. The girl complained that she was being stared at, commented on, and evaluated in a sexual sense in the public because of the size of her breasts. While the girl sounded distressed and furious, and was seemingly looking for support, other Facebook users seemed to think otherwise, as seen from their responses and how others felt about those responses.

'Although I sympathize with her, it is just too difficult not to look' - 1799 likes.

'... Being this young, skinny and good-looking with such a well-shaped body, it is just too difficult for people not to look. And it is not a crime. So don't be so pessimistic... As a girl, I am jealous...' - 576 likes.

'What a way to show off. Thumbs up' – 576 likes.

'You will never know the pain of not having those' – 389 likes.

'You are still young. You will have a different idea when you grow up' – 148 likes.

'When you are ugly, you will then complain why no one likes you' – 103 likes.

'Have a breast reduction surgery then' - 84 likes.

'If you don't want it, give me some' – 59 likes.

'Teach me how not to look! I don't want to. But my eyes just go there... Well.

What can we do? Why are we being accused while we didn't actually do anything to you? It is always better to have something for people to stare at than

not. Remove them then. It seems easier for both you and us' – 56 likes (Human Flesh Search HKG, 2015).

Despite the splash it made on the Internet (9503 likes and 931 shares on Facebook), the story received no media coverage at all. It remained invisible to most people, and no one in the real world seemed to care about how the girl was sexually harassed by strangers. Sadly, this is a revelation of the condition of stranger harassment in Hong Kong.

1.2 – Objectives of the Study and Research Questions

Considering the lack of attention towards the issue of stranger harassment in Hong Kong, and the serious consequences it might bring to the safety of women and society as a whole, the current research is proposed in hope to bring the issue to light. With the purpose to raise the awareness of stranger harassment in Hong Kong, along with the hope to enhance understanding in stranger harassment, the following research questions are proposed:

- 1) How prevalent is stranger harassment in Hong Kong? How frequent does it happen and in what forms?
- 2) How do local women cope with stranger harassment?
- 3) What are the variables that may determine the targets' reactions?

1.3 – Significance of the Study

First and foremost, this study aims at making contribution to the field by providing insightful information concerning the prevalence, frequency, as well as local women's reactions towards stranger harassment in Hong Kong, thereby raising awareness on this issue and adding to the very little research focusing on stranger harassment in Hong Kong.

The lack of related studies is not unique to Hong Kong. Bowman (1993) reported that, while cases of stranger harassment against women were recorded as early as in 1875, it was not until the 1990s when sociologists and scholars in western world began to focus on the topic. Bowman (1993), Heben (1995), and Nielson (2000) attributed the lack of attention on stranger harassment from academics to a

lack of legal ground due to the extreme difficulty in arresting the harasser, who may flee the scene instantly, and also the unlikelihood that the public would support a new law that they consider to be restraining the freedom of speech. Bowman (1993) further suggested that stranger harassment as a 'peculiarly female-directed experience', was unbound by law as the existing legal paradigm was shaped by mainly male from their own experiences.

Another reason suggested by scholars is that stranger harassment was regarded as a trivial or harmless part of life, because it was so pervasive that it happened in every woman's life - something women just had to live with, and also because society justified it as a heterosexually romantic experience (Gardner, 1995, pp. 4, 157; Lenton, Smith, Fox, & Morra, 1999; Bowman, 1993). Goffman (1965) and Gardner (1995) also suggested that the location of stranger harassment, namely, public area, was not under the same level of scrutiny for rule of conduct as private area, because public area was regarded as casual routes from one place to the other only, therefore stranger harassment had long been neglected.

These reasons may explain the lack of attention dedicated to stranger harassment in Hong Kong as well. Although there are laws regulating sexual harassment at workplace, there are no ordinances related to gender-based harassment in public areas (Sex Discrimination Ordinance, 1995). The lack of legislation not only hinders the progress of ending stranger harassment, but also fails to help our society define stranger harassment as immoral or unacceptable, leaving the general public numb and unacknowledged about this issue. Besides, the previously mentioned Facebook story may serve as an indication of how trivial the general public regarded stranger harassment as, so far as to blame the victim for complaining about and exaggerating the issue. Some female Facebook users even left comments that showed jealousy because the victim was able to get strangers' attention, which seemingly implies that they welcome this type of attention, because stranger harassment should be a part of women's lives (Human Flesh Search HKG, 2015), and does not deserve any attention from the general public.

Second, this research intends to provide a better understanding on how women react to stranger harassment, as women's reaction toward stranger harassment has rarely been researched, especially in a quantitative way, both locally and globally. Fairchild and Rudman (2008) and Fairchild (2010) might be among the first and only

scholars to have investigated this topic in a quantitative way, and although Gardner (1995) and Kearl (2010) had also written about stranger harassment qualitatively, women's reaction was never their main focus.

Third, there is an urgent need to develop stranger harassment as its own field in the local context, and initiating research solely focusing on this issue in Hong Kong, as review of literature revealed that, while there are quite a number of independent studies focusing on sexual harassment at workplaces in the local context, research containing the keywords 'stranger harassment' and 'Hong Kong' is scant, and is often merely studied as a part of other topics, such as sexual violence (Lee, Lam, & Chan, 2014).

However, while sexual harassment is a better researched area, it hardly makes sense to compare it with stranger harassment, thus making it impossible to transfer relevant literature from the former to the latter. As explained by Pryor (1985) and Terpstra and Baker (1986), this is due to attributes regarded important in sexual harassment being different from those in stranger harassment, as the perpetrator would be a stranger in the latter. Another reason would be that, as proven by various researchers (Crosby, 1993; Feagin, 1991; Feagin, & Sikes, 1994; Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995; Kaiser, & Miller, 2001; Kaise, & Miller, 2003), interpersonal cost was the most common factor that prevented women from confronting discrimination. However, this is unlikely to be the case in stranger harassment.

Gardner (1995, p. 157) further elaborated the different natures of sexual and stranger harassment by stating that stranger harassment depends on the victim's 'diverted attention because of the communication in the public places', while sexual harassment depends on the victim's 'riveted attention' in private area, 'where one's guard is down'. While stranger harassment is characterized by unpredictability and surprise, sexual harassment is more about repeated and predictable incidents happening in specific time and places. The author, therefore, concluded that sexual harassment and stranger harassment 'share no invariable characteristics.'

Fourth, this research also aims at providing grounds for further studies and policy making, not only to encourage women to confront stranger harassment, but also to end stranger harassment. From the experience of Hollaback! (Hollaback!, 2014) and Stop Street Harassment (Stop Street Harassment, 2015), obtaining data about stranger harassment is the first step to ending it. It is hoped that, although the current research may not be able to gather enormous amount of detailed facts on

stranger harassment in Hong Kong, such as when and where such incidents usually happen, it may serve as a stepping stone for more local research to build on.

In short, understanding attributes that may determine women's reactions toward stranger harassment may help contribute to policy-making and further studies that may eventually encourage women to confront stranger harassment, in the hope that such cases would be reduced, making Hong Kong a truly safe city for women.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review and Hypothesis

Various perspectives, theories and, methods have been employed in this study of stranger harassment. This chapter reviews the existing literature in stranger harassment, including sociologists' attempts to conceptualize stranger harassment and women's interpretations of it, and to discuss its prevalence, how it harms women, women's responses to it, as well as individual and situational factors that may determine women's responses.

2.1 – Understanding Stranger Harassment

2.1.1 – *Definition of Stranger Harassment*

Prior to establishing a definition for stranger harassment, it is worthy to note that there are several terms equivalent to stranger harassment, including public harassment, street harassment and gender harassment in public areas. The term 'stranger harassment' adopted in this study follows from Fairchild and Rudman (2008), who were among the first to investigate women's reaction toward stranger harassment with quantitative studies.

Leonardo (1981, p. 51) provided one of the earliest definitions of stranger harassment, emphasizing men's active role in enacting their own will on women, and women's passive role in being subject to them. This definition has become the basis for future work as it contained several crucial observations, including (1) perpetrators are male and stranger, (2) victims are women; and, (3) it happens in public area but not in worksites:

'Street harassment occurs when one or more strange men accost one or more women who they perceive as heterosexual in a public place which is not the woman's/women's worksite. Through looks, words, or gestures the man asserts his right to intrude on the woman's attention, defining her as a sex object, and forcing her to interact with him.' - Leonardo (1981)

Bowman (1993, p. 575) further developed Leonardo's definition in a legal sense, stating that,

'Street harassment occurs when one or more unfamiliar men accost one or more women in a public place, on one or more occasion, and intrude or attempt to intrude upon the woman's attention in a manner that is unwelcome to the woman, with language or action that is explicitly or implicitly sexual.' - Bowman (1993)

This definition not only adopted the essential elements in Leonardo's definition of stranger harassment, but also stressed that the attention is unwelcome to women, and that the language or action used by the harassers is usually sexual, making reference to one's sexual body parts and sex acts, reducing the targets into objects of desire, or aiming at provoking resentment.

In a later work, Gardner (1995, p. 4), from a more qualitative perspective, defined stranger harassment as 'that group of abuses, harrying, and annoyances characteristic of public places and uniquely facilitated by communication in public. Public harassment includes pinching, slapping, hitting, shouted remarks, vulgarity, insults, sly innuendo, ogling, and stalking. Public harassment is on a continuum of possible events, beginning when customary civility among strangers is abrogated and ending with the transition to violent crime: assault, rape, or murder' (Gardner, 1995, p. 4). Such definition can be considered a breakthrough, as it expanded the understanding of stranger harassment from a gender viewpoint, that is, male as the harasser and women as victim, to highlighting the actions usually displayed in such cases. Moreover, Gardner also mentioned the role of communication in public areas in stranger harassment, and explained where stranger harassment begins and ends.

More recently, Fairchild and Rudman (2008, p. 339) provided a simplified definition of stranger harassment, namely it is sexual harassment that 'is perpetrated by men who are not known to the victim (i.e., not a co-worker, friend, family member, or acquaintance) in public domains such as on the street, in stores, at bars, or on public transportation.' Instead of ceasing to limit the harassment to men and women who are strangers with heterosexuality implied, as in Gardner's (1995) work, this definition emphasized the basic observable characteristics of stranger harassment, such as men as harassers, strangers as victims, and location to be public domains, making the definition very concrete and easy for public to follow.

Considering all previous definitions, stranger harassment, in the current study, will be defined as the gender-based harassment perpetrated by men to female strangers in public area. It is crucial to stress that limiting the definition to

harassments that occur between men and women with one particular gender as harassers and the other as victims in the public domains may neglect other potential victims, such as men or sexual minority. However, these groups are out of the scope of the current study. Despite this, their situations are worthy of exploration in future research.

2.1.2 – Describing Stranger Harassment

Apart from establishing definitions, scholars have sought to provide context for the basic understanding of stranger harassment. For example, Gardner (1995, p. 75) divided common practices of stranger harassments into three categories. The first is exclusionary practice, which denies individuals' right to access some, or all, public places, or at least discourages them to do so. The second is exploitative practice, in which individuals face limited freedom or downright instructions, and thus are deprived of the privacy that others may enjoy. The last is evaluative practice, in which individuals are evaluated by strangers and hear comments when such evaluation does not seem warranted. A case of stranger harassment may fall into more than one type.

Heben (as cited in Kears, 2015) proposed another way to categorize stranger harassment practices based on their severity. They include '(1) sexually explicit reference to a woman's body or to sexual activities; (2) profanities that are directed at a woman because of her gender; (3) any comment that fits into these categories combined with racial or ethnic slurs; (4) any comment that fits any of these three categories combined with references to a woman's possible homosexuality; and (5) physical acts, such as following a woman, throwing things at her, or pinching or poking her.' The moderately severe category consists of '(1) sexual innuendoes and (2) references to a woman's gender or body that are not sexually explicit'. Actions like '(1) staring, (2) whistling, (3) all other comments men make to women that are unnecessary or are not political in nature' are included in the third category – least severe.

While Gardner (1995) indicated that females in urban areas are more susceptible to stranger harassment compared to those in rural areas, Benard and Schlaffer's (1984) empirical study demonstrated that stranger harassment only occurs in a

‘genuinely public world’, where one may be a stranger to another, and that there is no cases of harassment in places such as small villages.

2.1.3 – Sociologists’ Attempts to Conceptualize Stranger Harassment

2.1.3.1 – Private-Public Split

‘The traditional ideals of femininity and the ideals of masculinity are alike in that both sets tend to be supported for the relevant sex by both sexes. At the same time, the ideals are complementary in that the ones held for women are differentiated from the ones held for men and yet two fit together...It turns out, then, that a woman could only realize the ideals of femininity by holding herself away from the heat, grime, and competition of the world beyond the household.’

-Erving Goffman, *The Arrangement between Sexes* (1977)

The private-public split for women and men has long been established. While women are designated to the domestic sphere with presumed duties in domesticity and family, men are expected to dictate the public domain (Beall, 1997; Biaggio & Brownell, 1996; Fayer, 1997; Kowaleski-Wallace, 1997; Massey, 1994; Oldenburg, 1997; Parsons, 1997; Gillian, 1999). Yet, prior to further discussion on the private-public split, we must first address what public space means. Gardner (1995, p. 3) defined public places as ‘those sites and contexts that our society understands to be open to all; our characteristic behavior and appearance for public places do and are meant to vary from those for private dwellings’. In other words, ‘public space’ is characterized with its supposedly open access for everyone and the change of expectations toward people behaviors from the private sphere.

Goffman (1977) illustrated that the ideals of femininity and masculinity are the source of ‘private-public split’, since such ideals are opposite, yet complementary. According to Goffman, the ideal women, which is the opposite of men can only be achieved by staying in domestic sphere, away from outside world. Fraser (2000), Friedan (1963), and Habermas (1962) pointed out that this gender ideology assigns the public sphere to men, where they dominate, and the private sphere to women, with an expectation both genders rule their own sphere respectively in order to

achieve the ideals of masculinity and femininity. Keep ideal femininity in mind, women should only enter the public sphere with the presence of a man (Guano, 2007; Fraser, 2000; Habermas, 1962; Kowaleski-Wallace, 1997) and women who wander in public sphere alone are often considered to have violated this gendered territoriality (Beall, 1997; Drucker & Grumpert, 1997; Kowaleski-Wallace, 1997). As a result, women in the public sphere thereby are subject to intense surveillance and punishments, and stranger harassment is a form of it (Bauman, 1994; Foucault, 1977; Gardner, 1989; Gardner, 1995; Segovia, 1997).

That the main function of stranger harassment is to reinforce the private-public split and thereby to relegate women to the private sphere was first proposed by McAllister (1978). Bowman's (1993) result further pointed out that stranger harassment is a message to teach women that they 'do not belong in public', since women's mere presence in public sphere is enough for scrutiny. Therefore, the home is the only place for 'women's unchallenged female self', where she may be in charge of her experience – something that she is not supposed to do in the workplace or the public sphere (Gardner, 1995, pp. 11-12). In this sense, the function of stranger harassment is to keep women in line, maintain the private-public split, and reproduce the traditional gender norms, and women who violate and invade men's space should be prepared for public humiliation and evaluation at any time at their own expense (McAllister, 1978; Gardner, 1995, p. 43).

A corollary of this is that stranger harassment evidences the notion that men are the only rightful proprietors, commentators, and possessors of public spaces. The constant intrusion of women's privacy, the exploitation of their presence and the evaluation of them, all embedded in stranger harassment are the manifestation of men's proprietorship, and thus possession of the public space over women (Gardner, 1995).

Nevertheless, the impacts of stranger harassment are not limited to the public sphere. Stranger harassment highlights women's vulnerability, as every single part of her body could be the target of intrusion and violation. Her vulnerability is thus not only manifested in public sphere, but is also transmitted to the private sphere, as stranger harassment carries the symbolic message that male power and control are predominant and omnipresent over women in every spheres (Gardner, 1995, p. 197).

In short, stranger harassment reinforces the private-public split, keeping women in the private sphere and allowing men to dominate the public sphere. Stranger harassment also proves men's role as possessor of the public sphere and men's power over women in both public and private sphere.

2.1.3.2 – Civil Inattention

Before proceeding to define harassing behaviors in the public sphere, it is necessary to understand what the appropriate interactions, that is, non-harassing interactions are in the public sphere. Goffman (1977, p. 327) stated that 'among the unacquainted, the symbol of this arrangement is civil inattention, the process of glancing at another to express that one has no untoward intent nor expects to be an object of it, and then turning the glance away, in a combination of trust, respect, and apparent unconcern.' That is, civil inattention, governs the norms regarding interactions among strangers. Glancing from afar for a very short period is usually the only form of interaction among strangers permitted by our social norms. Staring, for example, is a taboo because a person's eyesight is not supposed to orientate toward another human being, but to those different from our class (Goffman, 1965; Bowman, 1993). Goffman (1965) even suggested that the objects/people stared at by strangers resembled as animals in the zoo.

Civil inattention could only be breached in limited occasions. One of them, as proposed by Gardner (1995), is 'public aid', which refers to when one seeks help from a stranger, such as asking for the time. Another occasion is when two strangers find remarkable similarity between each other, for instance, carrying dogs of the same breed. The similarity allows them to regard each other as kin temporarily. Bowman (1993) suggested another account to justify for the breach of civil attention, namely, when one acts 'out of role' for the time being, such as when dressed in costume. The last would be when one is accompanying a member from the 'open category'. Members from open category may be approached at will and without stranger etiquette because they demand little respect, for example children, pets, or those who differ from the physical ideal – the ugly, the fat, and the physically challenged (Goffman, 1965; Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1980; 1995).

When strangers are acting in inappropriate ways in the public, everyone acquires the right to remark. This is especially the case for women, who are

consistently subject to ‘markers of passage’ - a term used by Gardner (1980) to describe stranger harassment while entering the public sphere. It follows that, either women’s mere presence in the public is regarded as ‘out of role’, or that women are actually considered to be in the ‘open category’ (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995). In any case, stranger harassment serves as a social control to remind women that their sphere is located at home, to regulate their gender behaviors in the public, and to maintain the private-public split as well as the power dynamic behind (Bowman, 1993; Gardner, 1995).

2.1.3.3 – The ‘Situationally Disadvantaged’

Apart from being an ‘open person’ in the public (Gardner, 1980), women may also be categorized as the ‘situationally disadvantaged’. Goffman (1977) suggested that women are a disadvantaged group due to segregation in gender. However, segregation in gender is nearly impossible in the modern world, as social organizations intend to keep men and women in each other’s presence, and women are not physically hidden away. Thus, the segregation could only be revealed by the ritual expressions given to these two sex-classes. One of which would be stranger harassment.

Gardner (1995, p. 16) further developed this idea of women as a disadvantaged group and stated that ‘it is useful to think of women – as well as some other groups – as habitually situationally disadvantaged in public places: Whatever their status or advantage in other contexts, in public places they are subject to public harassment.’ To Gardner, it is not only women, minorities, and the physically challenged who can be classified as ‘situationally disadvantaged’. There are ones who do not belong to certain disadvantaged social groups and yet are subject to ill-treatment in the public spaces (Gardner, 1995, p. 54).

Members of situationally disadvantaged have to earn certain rights that are widely taken for granted by the majority, such as the right to access public space. They may find themselves being expected to avoid situations where they are assumed to know that that they would experience disadvantaged treatments. They may also be advised to avoid revealing their category membership to others by changing their behaviors if possible. When the situationally disadvantaged fail to follow these advice and expectations, they will be accused of flashing category

membership around and looking for trouble (Gardner, 1995, p. 76). Women, as one of the situationally disadvantaged group are subject to all these deprivations. Not only are they deprived of the right to freely and safely access public spaces, which has always been taken for granted by male, by stranger harassment, women are often expected to avoid places where stranger harassment is considered pervasive for the sake of 'protecting themselves'. It is also not uncommon for women to be accused of 'making a big deal out of it' when they advocate for the end of stranger harassment.

2.1.3.4 – Heterosexuality

Private-public split is not the only social norm that stranger harassment functions to sustain. While many romanticize stranger harassment and portray it as a 'love story', in which a man is deeply attracted to a woman and thus attempts to approach her, the 'romantic elements' in stranger harassment is actually nothing but a 'demonstration of the public norms of identifiably heterosexual society' that 'one must be willing to support, sustain, and represent by modeling it in public' (Gardner, 1995, p. 159).

Under the hierarchy of heterosexuality, women and men are habitually obligated to sustain this social norm of heterosexual romance despite his/her own practices. In other words, both genders must perform their social duties of sustaining heterosexuality in the society despite their sexual orientation. Stranger harassment is thus a way for men to display his support for the notion that any romantic attractions should be based on heterosexuality and the 'appearance-based evaluation'. Through stranger harassment, men exercise their right to express what they approve and what they must be willing to approve, namely heterosexuality. It follows that men would bring the matters originally belonging to the private sphere to public, to reinforce and reproduce heterosexuality in the public realm, and as a result, the existing heterosexual hierarchy would be sustained (Gardner, 1995, p. 159).

2.1.3.5 – Social Effects of Stranger Harassment

Stranger harassment can bring a multitude of social effects, four of which were discussed by Deirdre (1994). These include exclusion, domination, invasion, and oppression. First, exclusion is the genderisation of the public sphere by the

reinforcement of the private-public split. The public area is thus allocated to men and his ownership, and men's privileges in the public sphere is institutionalized. This would lead to the establishment of a gender hostile environment to women, resulting in punishment for women who engage in public area, and eventually exclusion of women from it (Williams, 1991; Benard & Schlaffer, 1984; Bowman, 1993; Deirdre, 1994).

Second, through stranger harassment, men exercise domination over women by altering their behaviors so as to approval by men (Collins, 1991, p. 229), giving men the privileges to determine the boundaries of women's participation in public space and to declare women as public participants only when permitted by men (Deirdre, 1994).

Third, stranger harassment is an invasion of women's privacy (Deirdre, 1994; Bowman, 1993; Kissling & Kramarare, 1991). The ability to access public spaces while retaining autonomy and privacy – a zone of interpersonal distance that is crossed only by mutual consent', as described by Bowman (1993), is central to the freedom to be at ease in public spaces. Privacy is also the right of citizenship within certain sphere, as suggested by Deirdre (1994) and Kissling & Kramarae (1991). As women are forced to interact with or be evaluated by men during stranger harassment, her own autonomy and citizenship are violated, implying that women's right to privacy is exploited (Deirdre, 1994; Bowman, 1993; Kissling & Kramarare, 1991).

Finally, Deirdre (1994) defined oppression as 'the absence of choices'. Due to stranger harassment, women are often forced to change or limit their own behaviors and to restrict their own mobility. Their rights to access the public space and thus, their choices to enter public areas are also violated under the threat and exploitation of stranger harassment. The various types of limitations imposed on women's choices are evidence of the oppression placed on women by stranger harassment (Bowman, 1993; Deirdre, 1994; West, 1987).

2.1.4 – Women's Interpretation of Stranger Harassment

Gardner (1995, p. 61) identified two major rhetoric, defined as 'a theme or stance noted consistently through a spate of interaction or with regard to a topic or subject', employed by women to interpret stranger harassment, namely romanticized

and political rhetoric. Romanticized rhetoric is based on the notion that stranger harassment may be interpreted by 'heterosexual romantic or erotic attraction' while politicized rhetoric refers to stranger harassment as the 'continuum with sexual harassment in school and workplace and violence in the home and street'. Nevertheless, Gardner (1995) noticed that, while the majority of women adopt a mixed approach of both rhetoric, they often conclude that their own appearance or behavior is responsible for the harassment, which implies romantic attraction, that is, the romanticized rhetoric, is regarded as the foundation of stranger harassment. This is regardless of the women's identity as feminists or their outspokenness on stranger harassment, an observation that will be further elaborated in the following.

2.1.4.1 – Politicized Rhetoric

Women who hold on to the politicized rhetoric attribute stranger harassment to the longstanding gender inequality between men and women. They believe that women are subject to discrimination and harassment throughout their lives, and stranger harassment is only a segment of all the other discriminatory situations they have to endure, such as rape, domestic violence and sexual harassment in workplace. Emphasis is placed on the undermining of justice for women and the related disadvantages suffered by women if no remedy were found. These feminist women also insist that women should never be held liable for the occurrences of stranger harassment, and their ideal reaction toward stranger harassment would be firm intolerance (Gardner, 1995).

2.1.4.2 – Romanticized Rhetoric

Gardner (1995) identified four types of claims regarding romanticized rhetoric. Firstly, women who believe in the romanticized interpretation describe stranger harassment as non-existent, innocuous or unworthy of noting. They may also claim that not only men, but also women could be the perpetrators in these harassments, and these offenders can be reliably identified by certain 'categories of class, race, appearance, and sexual orientation' (Gardner, 1995, p. 166).

Secondly, such women think that it is men's unalterable nature, to have constant and ineluctable sexual appetency, or it is men's inborn traits to tease and to play, and

thus they come to believe that no change that could be made, and women will just have to endure or cope with stranger harassment. Some may even sympathize with men (Gardner, 1995).

Thirdly, these women regard stranger harassment as a flattery to women – and a reward for their correctly displayed appearance, beauty and femininity. Some women may even deem stranger harassment as a validation of themselves, an appreciation of their own femininity and recognition of their achievement to an ideal woman. Stranger harassment, from their point of view, helps to boost their self-confidence (Gardner, 1995).

Fourthly, stranger harassments are regarded by some women who argue for romanticized rhetoric as simple breaches of etiquette by men due to women, and thus women are the ones to blame. To them, stranger harassment is provoked by women's clothing, attractiveness or their sexually suggestive behaviors. When a woman is dressed or acts in a way far from 'decent', she deserves to be viewed as indecent, and thus men should not be blamed for harassing her (Gardner, 1980).

To sum up, contrary to politicized rhetoric, romanticized rhetoric does not link stranger harassment to a greater gender issue, but rather, it regards stranger harassment as a trivial part in life. Moreover, all four types of romanticized rhetoric emphasizes the absence of men's responsibility in stranger harassment, and little or nothing needs to be addressed regarding stranger harassment.

2.2 – The Penetration of Stranger Harassment into Women's Daily Lives

2.2.1 – *Prevalence of Stranger Harassment*

'Sexual terrorism aptly describes street harassment. As a woman you know it will happen, but you never know for certain when or how it will happen.'

-Hawley G. Fogg-Davis, (2006)

Research has consistently demonstrated that most women would experience stranger harassment some time throughout their lifetimes. For example, in one of the most exhaustive research regarding stranger harassment in recent years, MacMillan, Nierobisz and Welsh (2000) found that the overwhelming majority of their sample of Canadian women (85%) reported having encountered stranger harassment. More

importantly, the authors confirmed, for the first time, that stranger harassment (85%) is more pervasive than non-stranger harassment (51%) for women, leading to their conclusion that stranger harassment has a greater impact on women than non-stranger harassment. Besides, their result also showed that almost 30 % of women faced ‘explicitly confrontational forms of harassment’ and similar amount of them encountered ‘three or more forms of stranger harassment’ (MacMillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000).

Lenton, Smith, Fox and Morra (1999) also found similar results in their research of Canadian women. 91% of their respondents reported experiencing stranger harassment at least once in their lifetimes. 28% of them were subjected to the most severe type of harassment – ‘indecent exposure’, while 77% of them indicated experience of more than one stranger harassment case (Lenton, Smith, Fox , & Morra, 1999).

Two recent studies revealed shocking results as well. Kearl (2010) discovered that the pervasiveness of stranger harassment is universal, as research around the globe showed 70% to 100% of women reporting having experienced stranger harassment. Lord’s (2009) study even showed that all respondents had encountered at least two forms of stranger harassment in the past 2 years before the research.

Regarding the frequency of women experiencing various types of stranger harassment, Fairchild and Rudman’s study (2008) found that 31% of the respondents experienced ‘catcalls, whistles, or stares’ every few days or more. Around 40% of them heard ‘offensive sexual jokes’ or ‘sexist remarks’ once a month, while 35% were sexually touched or stroked once a month. In another study, Fairchild (2010) discovered that 29% of participants reported experiencing ‘catcalls, whistles, or stares’ and ‘unwanted sexual attention’ once a month, while 28% reported ‘catcalls, whistles, or stares’ from strangers ‘every few days or more’.

Although stranger harassment has rarely been chosen as a sole topic of research in Hong Kong, studies from the similar fields may be able to shed some light on the current situation in Hong Kong. A research report on ‘sexual assault on public transport’ (Lee, Lam, & Chan, 2014) indicated that 41.1% of female participants reported being sexually assaulted or sexually harassed on public transport in 2010. Among those with stranger harassment experience on public transport, 64% of them experienced uncomfortable sexual stares, 60% experienced strangers leaning close to

them purposefully and 45% reported unwanted sexual touching. The Mass Transit Railway (MTR) was the most common location for stranger harassment, as 81% of the respondents reported having that experience on MTR trains (Lee, Lam, & Chan, 2014).

Another research published by the Hong Kong Women's Coalition on Equal Opportunities (2013), which aimed at understanding the current situation of domestic violence, sexual harassment and sexual assault faced by Hong Kong women, showed that 43% of respondents reported experiencing sexual harassment. Among them, 73% experienced sexual harassment from strangers or neighbors, and 76% of the sexual harassment incidents occurred in public areas or on public transport.

Finally, the Hong Kong International Violence Against Women Survey (Broadhurst, Bouhours, & Bacon-Shone, 2012) found that 6.3 % of participants experienced at least one form of sexual violence, which was defined as 'unwanted sexual touching', 'forced sexual intercourse', 'attempted forced sexual intercourse', 'forced sex with some else' and 'other sexual violence' from strangers.

It is obvious from the literature reviewed above that stranger harassment is a pervasive problem affecting most women, and it does not only occur in western world, but also globally and in Hong Kong.

2.2.2 – How does Stranger Harassment affect Women?

The high prevalence of stranger harassment implies that close attention should be paid to the actual harm suffered by women from stranger harassment, which could be grouped into four types - negative emotional outcomes, fear of rape/fear in public area, restricted mobility, and making necessary life decisions.

Firstly, stranger harassment could bring various negative emotional impacts on women. Many studies have showed that sexist discrimination may cause stress, anxiety, as well as depression on women (Foster, 2000; Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott, Wilkins, 1995; Swim J. , Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001). Women who heard sexist jokes reported more disgusted feeling than those who heard non-sexist joke.

A recent study by Bastomski (2011) focusing solely on stranger harassment also demonstrated that about half (50.5%) of the targets of stranger harassment felt ‘anger or/and frustration’ while more than a quarter (27.3%) of them experienced ‘fear or/and threatened’.

Apart from the negative emotions women may feel, researchers suggested that stranger harassment may make women feel disgraced, embarrassed, angry and helpless. (Bowman, 1993), which may lead to them associating their own bodies with ‘shame, fear and humiliation’ (Young, 1990). Stranger harassment not only lowers women’s self-esteem, but also upsets women’s satisfaction with her sexuality (Bowman, 1993; Young, 1990), and even reduce women’s achievement in a number of areas (Hyde & Kling, 2001; Leaper & Friedman, 2007).

Secondly, stranger harassment dips women in to a fear of rape or a fear of public areas. Various research also revealed that stranger harassment increases women’s fear of rape and perceived risk of rape (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008; Ferraro, 1996; Ferraro, 1996; Fisher & Sloan, 2003). For example, Lenton, Smith, Fox, & Morra (1999) attempted to calculate a ‘Fear Index’ for women by including four elements – ‘how afraid women felt walking alone after dark in their own neighborhood’, ‘using public transportation alone after dark’, ‘passing by groups of men women did not know themselves after dark’ and ‘walking alone to a car in an underground parking garage at night’ in a formula. They concluded that women with no stranger harassment experience showed less fear than those who have been harassed before. Further, when comparing their most upsetting stranger harassment incident, women with the more severe ones expressed greater fear (Lenton, Smith, Fox , & Morra, 1999).

MacMillan, Nierobisz and Welsh (2000) also concluded, in their study of harassment targeted at Canadian women, that women are 17% to 23% less likely to feel safe when they have experienced more than one type of harassment. They also found that women with experience of being harassed by acquaintances would feel less safe in only one scenario described in their study, namely, when walking alone in parking garages. However, women who experienced stranger harassment would express much lower sense of safety in all four scenarios, the other three being

walking alone at night, using public transportation at night, and staying home alone at night (MacMillan, Nierobisz, & Welsh, 2000).

Thirdly, stranger harassment limits women's physical mobility. Literature concerning fear of rape suggested that the typical strategy employed by women to cope with their fear of rape is to change their own behaviors and limit the places, time and ways of their travel (Hickman & Muehlenhard, 1997; Krahe, 2005; Warr, 1985).

Researchers focusing on stranger harassment also suggested that women may strategically avoid places where they expect harassment to occur, or people who seem likely to cause it. They may choose particular times, locations, and companies, or look for semi-public places where there are more women to avoid stranger harassment (Gardner, 1995). They might also create their own 'personal geography of public space' (Gardner, 1995, p. 202), in which they divide public spaces into zones according to the level of threat from stranger harassment in that area, and as a result, their freedom of movement is limited and their freedom and safety in public space denied (Bowman, 1993). Gardner (1995) noted that some women might even make life decisions, such as moving, changing jobs, quitting school and getting married just to protect themselves from stranger harassment.

Regardless of the type of harassment or specific behaviors faced by the victim, the violation brought by stranger harassment alone is enough to produce extreme feelings, although the severity of negative feelings experienced may vary (Livingston, Wagner, Diaz, & Liu, 2013). Even if the event is not regarded as harassment, or if the type of harassment behavior changes, the damages brought on women would still be present, as demonstrated by Schneider, Swan and Fitzergerald (1997), in their study, which revealed that the negative outcomes brought by stranger harassment did not vary even if women did not deem the event sexually harassing.

2.3 – Tolerance or Confrontation toward Stranger Harassment

2.3.1 – *Women's Strategies toward Stranger Harassment*

Despite being victims of harassment and its harms, women seemingly are not fighting back. Research on sexual harassment showed that most women did not confront the events (Fitzgerald, Swan, & Fischer, 1995; Magley, 2002). For example,

Gruder (1989) found that, less than 20% of women confronted sexual harassment while Swim and Hyers (1999) discovered that, in a laboratory setting where women received three sexist remarks in total, only less than 10% of the participants confronted all three remarks. 45% of them confronted at least one, while 55% of women did not confront any of them. Woodzicka and LaFrance (2001) reached a similar result, with 52% of women ignoring sexually harassing questions asked in the experiment.

In general, women tend to respond passively to harassment, as found in Hyers's (2007) study on women's reaction toward discrimination, where only 40% of the women in the sample adopted assertive responses, defined by the author to include three actual reactions – 'questioning the perpetrator, direct non-verbal responses, and direct verbal responses' while the rest (60%) adopted non-assertive strategies. Similarly, Gardner's (1995) qualitative study revealed that almost every woman adopted the passive strategy at least once by ignoring the harassment regardless of race or class, and Fairchild and Rudman (2008) found that women were less likely to respond actively than passively.

The situation is similar in the local context. After being harassed by strangers or acquaintances, 56% of the women adopted passive responses, characterized by acting as if harassment did not happen, accepting it, and the absence of reactions toward harassers (A Survey on Hong Kong Women's Experience of Sexual Violence 2013, 2013). In Lee, Lam and Chan's (2014) survey specifying stranger harassment in public transport in Hong Kong, none of the women said they would report the incidents to the police, while only 6% of them might seek help from friends or other passengers. The majority (31.9%) would only stare at harasser as an expression of anger.

Although the majority of women choose not to respond actively toward stranger harassment, it does not mean that they would accept such actions. In Swim and Hyers's (1999) study on women's reaction toward sexist remarks, they found no relationship between mentioning confrontation in private and actually confronting remarks, implying that the thought of confrontation may not translate into action. Moreover, for women who did not actively respond, 75% regarded the confederate as prejudiced, and 91% had negative feelings toward the confederate when asked to rate

him in private. These are indications that the absence of confrontational responses from women may not necessarily imply that they accept harassment.

2.3.2 – Women’s Strategies and their Impacts

While women tend to remain silent towards stranger harassment, researchers recommend otherwise. Active coping strategies, like confrontation not only help to buffer negative feelings and, enhance one’s positive self-image, but can also promote changes to society by encouraging the ending of stranger harassment. For example, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) and Livingston, Wagner, Diaz, & Liu (2013), both of which focused on women’s reactions toward sexism and stranger harassment, showed that women who adopted active coping strategies, such as confronting the perpetrators, suffer less from negative emotion than those who did not actively respond, and both concluded that active responses buffer women from the negative feeling stemmed from the sexist events.

The result is even more obvious in Hyers’ (2007) research on women’s reaction toward various kinds of discrimination. While 71% of those who assertively responded showed satisfaction toward their own reactions, only 31% felt the same among those who did not assertively respond. 29% of the former expressed their wishes to make a different response in the future and 54% of the latter did so. While 22% of non-assertive responders described making a plan on how to respond to future perpetrators, no assertive responders did. When being asked about the likelihood of looking for social support and discussion on the events with others afterwards, 62% of non-assertive responders did so, compared to only 35% for the assertive responders.

Despite higher interpersonal cost, women who assertively responded described ‘benefit of educating the perpetrator’ and the feeling of argentic when facing unsatisfactory situations in their diaries (Hyers, 2007). The author concluded that women who did not assertively respond revealed less closure to the events, as they might still feel angry for or regret leaving the perpetrator uneducated after the incident. Their higher likelihood to plan for future responses and look for social support by discussing the events with others showed the incident might still affect them even after their interactions with the penetrators (Hyers, 2007).

Also, women who confront sexism will enjoy the benefits of acquiring a positive self-image, more self-satisfaction, higher self-esteem, and higher self-affirmation as they take actions on their own belief instead of being overpowered by others (Swim & Hyers, 1999; Crosby, 1993). On the contrary, rape victims who did not fight back against the perpetrators, as Medea and Thompson's study (1974) discovered, not only suffered from emotional distress and the sense of disempowerment, but also had a higher risk of feeling depressed than those who resisted but failed to protect themselves. The latter may even enjoy 'a degree of psychic liberation.'

Lastly, confrontation against sexist events may yield benefits beyond the individual. Various research have suggested that active coping strategies might educate the perpetrators, who will be less likely to act in similar ways in the future, and thus help combat sexism or harassment in society (Czopp & Monteith, 2003; Czopp, Monteith, & Mark, 2006; Swim & Hyers, 1999).

Apart from the perpetrators, active coping strategies may also cause an impact on bystanders, as they may change their perceptions toward the sexist or discretionary incidents, and become less prejudiced and less tolerant toward discrimination (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaugh, 1994; Landrine, Klonoff, Alcaraz, Scott, Wilkins, 1995; Swim & Hyers, 1999). Furthermore, confrontation may also help expose the injustices associated with prejudice, which will in turn encourage others to express their dissatisfactions with sexism by being a role model (Crosby, 1993; Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaugh, 1994; Lalonde, & Cameron, 1994; Swim, & Hyers, 1999). This will help to change society's underestimation of sexism, alter social norms on defining acceptable behavior which may include sexually harassing actions, change the assumption that women are satisfied with how the society is treating them, since they remain silent when facing prejudice, and ultimately help combatting sexism. Another way confrontation may help to reduce sexism is to facilitate the acknowledgement of a certain action as sexist. Once the acknowledgement is formed, women may gather and act on a common goal, leading to social movements that combat discrimination (Crosby, 1993; Kaiser, & Miller, 2004).

2.4 – Individual and Situational Determinants of Women’s Reactions

2.4.1 – *Adoption of the Framework with Individual and Situational Qualities*

To study women’s reactions toward stranger harassment comprehensively, both personal and situational qualities should be considered. This idea was first proposed by Pryor, LaVite and Stoller (1993) who suggested that ‘sexual harassment is a behavior that some individuals perform some of the time’. It implies that although some men are more likely to engage in sexual harassment behavior, it still takes situational qualities to urge them to carry out the harassment and thus, the presence of both individual and situational factors is essential to the occurrence of sexual harassment. The authors referred to this approach as a ‘person by situation interaction’, stating that only the combination of both personal qualities and situational qualities would be sufficient to lead to sexual harassment.

The ‘person by situation interaction’ approach has been widely utilized in the field. For example, Wesselmann and Kelly (2010) studied university males’ likelihood to engage in stranger harassment based on this approach. By combining personal and situation qualities, the authors were able to conclude that university male who scored high in a measurement called Likelihood to Sexually Harass (LSH) and who were in groups were the most likely to demonstrate stranger harassment behavior.

At the same time, Hyers (2007) at the end of her research, suggested that both individual and situational differences should be explored in the investigation of factors that influence women’s reaction toward prejudice. The author provided some examples of personal factors, such as one’s feminist ideology and adherence to gender role, as well as some situational factors, for instance the severity of stereotypes to women and domination of female in that setting. Similarly, Farichild (2010) pointed out that although women may have varied perceptions and emotions towards stranger harassment due to individual differences, situational context can change women’s perspective towards the events as well.

Considering the widespread use of the ‘person by situation interaction’ approach in past literature, and its usefulness in studying harassment and women’s reaction toward discriminatory events or harassing incidents, it will be adopted in the current study.

2.4.2 – *Individual Qualities.*

There are three factors under the category of personal qualities in the ‘person by situation interaction’ approach, namely, gender-related belief, body image and self-objectification. These will be discussed below.

2.4.2.1 – Gender-related Belief

Researchers discovered that gender-related belief intervenes with women’s reaction toward stranger harassment mainly in two ways, namely, by preventing women from labelling a sexist event, and by stopping women from confrontation under the consideration of their gender role.

Fitzgerald, et al. (1988) suggested that women must first identify an event as sexist before they may choose to confront. However, various studies suggested that adherence to traditional gender belief either encourages women to deem sexual harassment acceptable or normal, thus discouraging them from acknowledging the damage they sustained from stranger harassment (Gutek & Koss, 1993; Malovich & Stake, 1990; Murrell & Dietz-Uhler, 1993; Popovich, Gehlauf, Jolton, & Godinho, 1992; Pryor, 1987; Tagr, & Hayes, 1997); or convince them that sexism is not a current issue in the society anymore (Brooks & Perot, 1991; Jensen & Gutek, 1982; Swim & Hyers, 1999; Swim, & Cohen, 1997). Both of these work to reduce the likelihood for women to identify sexism and to publicly respond to it (Crosby, 1993).

Therefore, one’s perspective of the role of women is an important factor in women’s reaction to stranger harassment. Using Attitudes toward Women Scale (AWS), Moore, Griffiths and Payne’s research (1987) revealed that sexist humor was regarded as less funny by the participants with more liberal perspectives on women’s role than by those with more traditional beliefs, although both group rate sexist jokes to be funnier than non-sexist ones.

This result is similar to that of Henkin and Fish (1986), who found that cartoon with the characteristics of degrading women was rated less humorous by those with liberal attitudes toward women than by those who held traditional views, as

measured by the AWS. They also discovered a negative relationship between a liberal attitude towards women and the score of humor of sexist cartoon, regardless of the cartoon victims' or the aggressors' gender.

A more recent study by LaFrance and Woodzicka (1998) also indicated that participants who held hostile sexism displayed more pleasure toward sexist humor than those who were less sexist. Thus, a female's non-verbal and verbal responses to these sexist jokes may be predicted by their gender attitude.

Besides preventing women from labeling events as sexist, traditional gender role belief also discourages women from the confrontation attempts, as women who actively respond are risking a violation of the gender expectation on a disadvantaged group, which is in addition to the risks of being stereotyped as 'difficult, offensive or oversensitive' in intergroup relationships (Barrett & Swim, 1998; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Jones, Farina, Hastorf, Markus, Miller, & Scott, R. A., 1984; Latting, 1993; Stephan, & Stephan, 1985).

Therefore, the effect of gender role belief is to construct gender expectations and force women to follow them via sexual pressure. Such expectations include being passive and considerate (Heilman, 2001; Korabik, Galen, & Watson, 1993; Prentice, & Carranza, 2002; Rudman, 1999; Rudman, 1998; Rudman L. , 2001; Smith, Ulch, Cameron, Cumberland, Musgrave, & Trembla, 1989), considering others' feelings and ego before their own (Gilligan, 1982), helping to settle relationships (Henley, 1997; Henley, & Freeman, 1989; Rudman, 2001), and adopting strategies that do not include assertive or confrontational elements during communication. Any active response by women would lead to the risk of violating these expectations, and thus, the gender role. Considering its key role in determining women's reactions against stranger harassment, scholars like Lenton, Smith and Morra (1999) and Fairchild and Rudman (2008) suggested that future studies should explore the possible contribution of women's gender role belief to their tolerance toward stranger harassment.

2.4.2.2 - Self-Objectification

Self-objectification is the sexual objectification of oneself. Sexual objectification, according to Bartky (1990, p. 25), 'occurs whenever a woman's body, body parts, or sexual functions are separated out from her person, reduced to the

status of mere instruments, or regarded as if they were capable of representing her'. This definition emphasized the detachment of women's body from the person, and as a result, women's bodies can be treated as objects that may be used by others, and women can be reduced to her body or body parts only.

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) emphasized that all forms of self-objectification share one feature, namely all women who self-objectify have had the experience that they as persons are treated as body parts, and their predominate functions are for others' uses and consumptions. The authors thus proposed that self-objectification, in which women's bodies are not only be perceived as a biological system, but also 'exist within social and cultural contexts, and hence are also constructed through sociocultural practices and discourses', often comes after sexual objectification when women have been socialized to take up a peculiar view of themselves, to regard themselves as objects that are subject to gazing and evaluations, as well as to look at their physical body from an observer's view (Fredrickson, & Roberts, 1997, p. 174).

By adopting this view of their own bodies, women may perceive stranger harassment as flattery or innocuous, since stranger harassment has become a positive reinforcement that women should expect from men on their bodies (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008).

Through empirical studies, Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) demonstrated a positive correlation between self-objectification and sexual harassment, yet only for women who adopt common strategies, which are characterized by passive, self-blaming and benign responses toward stranger harassment. However, such correlation was not observed for those who use uncommon, namely active strategies, such as confronting the harasser.

Moreover, in the case of stranger harassment, Fairchild and Rudman (2008) discovered a positive correlation between passive coping strategy and self-objectification as well as between self-blaming coping strategy and self-objectification. Although the authors suggested that it is the passive and self-blaming responses that make women self-objectify themselves. They also stated that they could already be highly self-objectified before the harassing events, since their responses reflected their acceptance of sexual objectification as normative.

2.4.2.3 – Body Image

A topic that has rarely been covered in literature is the relationship between body image and women's reactions to stranger harassment. Therefore, to explore this unknown but potential relationship, one of the hypothesis in the current study is that body image may determine women's reaction toward stranger harassment in two ways, by intervening with their self-esteem and their perceived control over their own sexual lives.

The positive relationship between women's body image and their self-esteem is well documented (Caldwell, Brownell, & Wilfley, 1997; Molloy & Herzberger, 1998). Such relationship may cause women with lower body image to sacrifice their need for esteem in order to gain acceptance from others, because they may feel a stronger 'need to belong' (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, Downs, 1995; Rudich, & Vallache, 1999). Dodd, Giuliano, Boutell and Moran (2001) also suggested that lower self-esteem reduces women's likelihood to confront sexist remarks, as they may have a stronger need to be liked than to be respected.

Secondly, according to Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington and Davies (2002), adolescents with a lower body image are around twice as likely to believe that they have fewer choices of sexual partners, limited control over sexual relationships, and are fearful of negotiating condom use than their counterparts who have a satisfactory body image. The result is that the former is 1.6 times less likely to use condom in sex in the past month, and the absence of protection during vaginal intercourses.

Although such evidences may seem indirect, it does shed some light on the potential connection between women's reactions towards stranger harassment and body image, as the latter may have significant effect on women's self-esteem and perceived control over their own sex lives. Thus, it is worth exploring the possibility of body image being one of the personal qualities that determine women's responses to stranger harassment.

2.4.3 – *Situational Quality*

According to Pryor, LaVite, and Stoller's (1993) 'person by situation interaction' approach, the situational qualities deserve as much as attention personal

qualities do. However, the relationship between women's perceived situational norms and women's reactions to stranger harassment has rarely been explored. Pryor, Giedd, & Williams' (1995) did prove that even men with proclivity to sexually harassment would only behave in this way when they find the situational norms tolerant, if not supportive. And borrowing from two studies on prejudice; participants are more comfortable to express their discriminatory remarks when the situational norms are found to be more permissive to prejudice (Ford T. E., 1997; Ford, Boxer, Armstrong, & Edel, 2008).

Besides perceived permissiveness in the group or in the environment, the presence of bystanders and the perception of how bystanders think of the event may also affect women's reaction towards stranger harassment. Fairchild (2010) concluded that, when accompanied by a group of girlfriends and a male friend, 53% and 28% of respondents reported that they would be more likely to verbally respond to stranger harassment respectively. The author suggested that it was because companions reduce the fear and the perceived threat from women and thus active response is encouraged.

It is obvious that perceived permissiveness of prejudice and the perceived likelihood of receiving help may influence one's decision-making regarding reactions against discrimination. Another finding from Fairchild's (2010) study was that 24% of the women reported that they are more likely to verbally respond to stranger harassment events in a bar/restaurant. The author explained that women might be more inclined to verbally respond because 'sexual attention through flirting' has been acknowledged as 'a more accepted practice' in those situations. Along with the previous studies on sexual harassment and sexist events, this study attempts to shed light on the potential linkage between perceived norms in the situations and women's reaction toward stranger harassment.

2.5 – Hypotheses

With reference to the literature regarding to women's coping strategies toward stranger harassment reviewed in this chapter, the hypotheses of the study will now be introduced as follows:

- 1) Women with more traditional gender-related belief will be more likely to adopt some or all non-active coping strategies (i.e. passive, benign and self-blaming coping strategies).
- 2) Women who are more self-objectified will be more likely to adopt some or all non-active coping strategies.
- 3) Women with more positive body image will be more likely to adopt active coping strategy; or less likely to adopt some or all non-active coping strategies.
- 4) Women's perceived situational norms will be correlated to women's coping strategies toward stranger harassment.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

In this chapter, the research design, sampling procedure, and sample of this study will be introduced, followed by an illustration of procedure for carrying out the research, all measures used in the questionnaire, and finally, the analysis methods.

3.1 – Research Design

This research utilizes a self-administered questionnaire survey to investigate the prevalence of stranger harassment, women's reactions toward stranger harassment and predictors of women's reactions. Quantitative method is used as it can provide a general picture of how common stranger harassment is and how women react to it. Moreover, quantitative method is also helpful in predicting women's responses toward stranger harassment by generating reliable statistical results. It also consolidates the foundation of quantitative studies on this field as few quantitative research has been done regarding women's reactions to stranger harassment. Although causal relationships cannot be established, a self-administered questionnaire survey allows for access to a larger sample at an affordable cost, which is essential for studying prevalence.

3.2 – Sampling Produces and the Samples

The target population of this research is women between the ages of 18 and 25 who are also Hong Kong permanent residents. As a study aimed at revealing the general conditions of stranger harassment and women's reactions toward it in a local context, this research only targets at local female. For the purpose of this research, persons with permanent residency in Hong Kong are defined as 'local'. Young women are chosen as the target in this research, as previous studies confirmed that they are more likely to fall victim to stranger harassment (Lenton, Smith, Fox , & Morra, 1999), and thus constitute a sub-group of women most affected.

Both paper-and-pencil questionnaires and online questionnaires are used to facilitate access to the target population. Paper-and-pencil questionnaires were

mainly distributed on university campuses – including hostels at Lingnan University, lectures of Sociology and Social Policy Department courses at Lingnan University, lectures at the Community College at Lingnan University, and lectures at The Open University of Hong Kong. Online questionnaires were distributed by snowball sampling. A number of eligible respondents were initially recruited, and upon completion of the survey, they were invited to voluntarily deliver the questionnaires to their acquaintances who fitted the target population criteria.

Table 3.1 presents the socio-demographic information of the 350 samples in this research. As the target population is local young women, all respondents must self-identify as female, as instructed on the cover page of the questionnaire, to take part in this study. Thus, all the respondents in this research are as female. The mean and the standard deviation of their age are 21.28 and 1.7 respectively. The majority of the respondents have never been married while very few of them reported married. The high ‘never married’ rate is most likely because the target population was set to be young adults, between 18 and 25 years old while median age of marriage for local female is 29.8 (Census and Statistics Department, 2012). Three quarters of the respondents have acquired a bachelor degree or above. More than 10% of them hold a higher diploma or an associate degree. 3.2% of them reported an education level of secondary school or below. The majority of respondents have a tertiary education background, as data collection was mainly conducted on university campuses.

A similar case holds for employment status. More than three-quarters of the respondents are full time students. 12.3% have a full-time job. 1.1% reported as housekeeper and 1.7% are unemployed. When being asked if they hold a paid job, such as part-time jobs, more than half of them said yes while 28.3% said no. The most common occupation/position is shop and market sales worker, followed by technician/associate professional, clerk, professional, unskilled blue collar and craft and related trade worker. The large percentage of missing data is probably due to the majority of respondents being full-time students. About half of the respondents reported earning HKD\$10,000 or below monthly. 9.7% of them are earning HK\$10,000-20,001 per month. 2.0% of them have monthly income of \$20,001-30,000.

Table 3.1 Descriptive Statistic for Socio-demographic Variables (%) (n=350)

Variable	Percentage
Marital Status	
Never Married	81.1
Married	0.6
Missing Data	18.3
Education Level	
Primary School or Below	0.3
Secondary School	2.9
Higher Diploma/Associate Degree	13.1
Bachelor Degree or Above	75.7
Missing Data	8
Employment Status	
Full Time Employment	12.3
Housekeeper	1.1
Full Time Student	76.9
Unemployed	1.7
Missing Data	8
Acquire a Paid Job	
Yes	52.0
No	28.3
Missing Data	19.7
Occupation/Position	
Professional	5.1
Technician/Associate Professional	8.6
Clerk	8.0
Shop and Market Sales Worker	15.7
Craft and related Trade Worker	0.3
Unskilled Blue Collar	0.6
	3.4
	10.6

Others	47.7
Non-Applicable	
Missing Data	

Monthly Income

Non-Applicable	8.0
\$10,000 or below	51.4
\$10,001 - \$20,000	9.7
\$20,001 - \$30,000	2.0
Missing Data	28.9

Variable	M	SD	Range
Age	21.28	1.7	18-25

3.3 – Data Collection and Survey Procedures

Before filling in the questionnaire, respondents were informed either verbally and through a cover page (paper-and-pencil survey) or only through a cover page (online) about the purpose, the target population and the contact person for this study. They were also reassured that their participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and that they would not be subjected to any punishments or negative consequences due to their refusal or withdrawal from this study, and that the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses were guaranteed. For respondents taking the paper-and-pencil questionnaires, they were asked to identify as voluntary participants who fitted in the target population, before being given a questionnaire. After the completion of the questionnaires, respondents were asked to return their questionnaires to their lecturers, the investigator, or the collection boxes especially set up for this purpose. For online survey participants, they were required to report their gender, age range, as well as whether they have acquired permanent residency in Hong Kong. After filtering out ineligible respondents, the remaining would be asked to complete the questionnaire.

The data collection period lasted for one month in February 2015. In the end, 350 questionnaires were collected. 234 of them were paper-and-pencil questionnaires, and 116 were online questionnaires.

3.4 – Variables and their Measures

According to the literatur discussed in Chapter 2, three personal qualities have been found likely to be correlated to women's coping strategies toward stranger harassment. They are gender-related belief, self-objectification and body image. Women's perceived situational norms were also found to be potentially correlated to their coping strategies. The hypotheses may be revisited below:

- 1) Women with more traditional gender-related belief will be more likely to adopt some or all non-active coping strategies (i.e. passive, benign and self-blaming coping strategies).
- 2) Women who are more self-objectified will be more likely to adopt some or all non-active coping strategies.
- 3) Women with more positive body image will be more likely to adopt active coping strategy; or less likely to adapt some or all non-active coping strategies.
- 4) Women's perceived situational norms will be correlated to women's coping strategies toward stranger harassment.

3.4.1 - Women's Experience of Stranger Harassment

In order to examine the frequency that women experience stranger harassment, the current study makes use of an amended version of Fairchild and Rudman's (2008) modified Sexual Experience Questionnaire, which was originally proposed by Fitzgerald, Gelfand and Darsgow (1995) as Sexual Experience Questionnaire to measure women's experience of sexual harassment. The advantage of using a checklist, as suggested by Swim, Hyers, Cohen and Ferguson (2001), is that, by presenting a list of incidents and asking respondents to report their experience by checking the list, participants may be encouraged to report more comprehensively, as

it may help them identify sexist events they have not noticed before, and remind them of trivial events, thus allowing them to report such events with less effort.

The modified Sexual Experience Questionnaire contains nine items, such as ‘catcalls, whistles, or stares’, ‘unwanted sexual attention’, and ‘crude or offensive sexual jokes’, with five frequency options – once, once a month, 2-4 times per month, every few days, and every day. Since different cultural context may cause variations regarding women’s frequency of experiencing stranger harassment, five frequency options may not be able to capture the local conditions accurately. Therefore, the frequency options are increased to seven in the current study, including never, once, once to twice a year, every few months, 1 to 3 times a month, 1 to 3 times a week and more than 4 times a week, which are coded as 0 – 6, to cover a wider range of potential answers.

Amendments are also made to the modified Sexual Experience Questionnaire, according to reports from various countries (Hollaback! Ottawa Team, 2013; Hunter, 2012; Roszak & Gober, 2012; Hollaback! Croatia, 2012; Black, et al., 2011), so that eleven items are measured for this study, as follows:

- (1) Stared at you sexually (e.g. leering at you, stare excessively);
- (2) Made sexually explicit yet non-language noise to you (e.g. catcalling, whistling, making kissing noises);
- (3) Verbal harassment (e.g. making comments about your appearance, sexually explicit comments, sexist comments to you);
- (4) Made vulgar or obscene gestures (e.g. waving to you to ask you to approach, grabbing his own crotch, imitating a part of a sex act)
- (5) Purposely blocked your path;
- (6) Followed You;
- (7) Took a candid photo of you;
- (8) Exposed their sexual body parts to you (e.g. exposing their genitals or buttocks to you);
- (9) Masturbated in front of you;
- (10) Touched or grabbed you in a sexual way (e.g. touching your waist, groping your buttock, brushing against your breast); and
- (11) Sexually assaulted you.

Examples are provided for some items, so that respondents can easily understand the terms and recall the events. After the pilot study, because some respondents reported that they were unsure about the definition of public area, examples of public area were added to the question for clarification. Data collected in the scale is mainly used to illustrate how frequent women experience various types of stranger harassment. However, it was also used as a measurement to present women's frequency of experiencing stranger harassment as a whole in the analysis. The sum of the code of frequency in all eleven items will be calculated as the measurement.

3.4.2 – Women's Reactions toward Stranger Harassment

The modified Coping with Harassment Questionnaire created by Fairchild and Rudman (2008) is adopted in this study to measure women's reactions toward stranger harassment (i.e. active coping strategy, passive coping strategy, benign coping strategy and self-blaming coping strategy). The original Coping with Harassment Questionnaire was designed by Fitzgerald (1990), to measure women's coping strategies toward sexual harassment, and the modified version adopted items that were suitable for stranger harassment and excluded those that were more descriptive to sexual harassment, such as 'I told a supervisor or department head'.

In the modified Coping with Harassment Questionnaire, four items are used to measure active coping strategy, such as 'I let him know I did not like what he was doing' and 'I reported him'. Seven are used for passive coping strategies, for instance 'I just let it go' and 'I pretended nothing was happening'. There are also five items measuring benign coping strategy, examples being 'I considered it flattering' and 'I treated it as a joke', and four items adopted for self-blaming coping strategy, such as 'I realized that I had probably brought it on myself' and 'I realized he probably would not have done it if I had dressed differently.' Respondents are instructed to recall their typical reactions during stranger harassment and rate the statements on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (not at all descriptive) to 7 (extremely descriptive).

For the purpose of this study, this scale is translated into Chinese by two translators separately. Back translation is conducted to further ensure the accuracy of the translation. After the pilot study, respondents reported confusion over whether

they should answer the questions if they have never experienced stranger harassment. Thus, in the main study, respondents who have never experienced stranger harassment were instructed to imagine their reactions and rate the statements. The reliability for the subscales of active, passive, benign, and self-blaming coping strategies were 0.59, 0.89, 0.83 and 0.73 respectively.

3.4.3 – Gender-Related Belief

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick, & Fiske, 1996) is adopted in the current study to measure respondents' gender-related belief. This represents a change from previous studies regarding women's responses toward sexist events (Swim, & Hyers, 1999; Henkin, & Fish, 1986; Moore, Griffiths, & Payne, 1987; Murrell & Dietz-Uhler, 1993; Baker, Terpstra, & Larntz, 1990), in which the Attitude of Women Scale (Spence, & Helmreich, 1972) is mostly adopted. The reason is that this aging scale has begun to show ceiling effects, as some of the items have become too transparent, such as 'Men will always be the dominant sex', causing respondents to be obscured from endorsing the bluntly sexist statement due to normative pressure (LaFrance, & Woodzicka, 1998). Moreover, LaFrance and Woodzicka (1998) suggested that one-dimensional scales might not be able to capture the increasingly complex gender attitudes. Therefore, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, a more current and dimensional scale is adopted to measure gender-related belief in the study (Russell, & Trigg, 2004).

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory measures both benevolent and hostile sexism. While the former is featured by 'protective paternalism, idealization of women and desire for intimate relations', the latter emphasizes on 'dominative paternalism, derogatory beliefs and heterosexual hostility'. This scale measures these two types of sexism using two subscales with 11 items each on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly). The higher the respondents score in each subscale, the more sexist they are in that category (Glick, & Fiske, 1996). In this study, this scale is translated in to Chinese by two translators separately with a back translation conducted afterwards. For the scale as a whole, the reliability is 0.71 while it is 0.70 for both hostile and benevolent sexism.

3.4.4 – Self-Objectification

The Objectified Body Consciousness Scale (McKinley, & Hyde, 1996) is adopted in this study to measure women's self-objectification. This scale has been widely used (Fairchild & Rudman, 2008) and measures three factors – 'surveillance', which occurs when women view their own bodies as a third party observer, 'body shame', which represents women's feeling of shame when their bodies do not conform and 'appearance control belief', which is related to whether women can control their own appearance. Each factor is measured by eight items on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly), and respondents with a higher score are more self-objectified (McKinley, & Hyde, 1996). This scale has been translated into Chinese by two translators separately with back translation to ensure its accuracy. Although all three scales are used in the study, only the scores of surveillance and body shame are summed up to compute the self-objectification index to represent women's degree of self-objectification, as suggested by Fairchild and Rudman (2008). The reliability of all subscales is satisfactory. It is 0.71 for both the body shame scale and appearance control scale and 0.79 for both surveillance scale and self-objectification index.

3.4.5 – *Body Image*

The Multidimensional Body-Self Relations Questionnaire created by Cash (2000) has been widely adopted to measure body image. For the purpose of this study, only the appearance evaluation subscale and appearance orientation subscale of the Questionnaire are used. Appearance evaluation subscale measures how satisfied one feels about his/her appearance with seven items, with a higher score suggesting a higher satisfaction. Meanwhile, appearance orientation subscale measures how much one invests into their appearance with 12 items. Respondents with higher scores place more importance, attention and work to their appearance. The items are rated on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (disagree strongly) to 7 (agree strongly) (Cash, 2000). During the analysis, appearance orientation subscale is not included as it is found to be similar to the Objectified Body Consciousness Scale, and the appearance evaluation subscale alone is enough to represent body image. This scale has also translated by two translators separately, with back translation

conducted to ensure accuracy. The reliability for appearance evaluation subscale and appearance orientation subscale are 0.68 and 0.81 respectively.

3.4.6 – Perceived Situational Norms

Various studies have attempted to develop items to measure perceived norms. For example, in Bingham and Scherer's (1993) study, three items were developed to measure how respondents perceived sexual harassment in the work climate with a 5-point scale. For the current study, three items are used to measure women's perceived situational norms, namely item A - stranger harassment is common; item B - women who visited that setting should expect stranger harassment; and item C - people nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment. I hypothesize that item A and B will be positively correlated to some/all women's non-active coping strategies toward stranger harassment, and item C will be positively correlated to women's active coping strategy. In order to measure the variances in these items and thus calculate how it may correlate to women's coping strategies, all questions will be asked three times, corresponding to three different locations, namely, bars/nightclubs, stores, and parks. Since this research aims at discovering the relationships between perceived situational norms and women's reaction toward stranger harassment, locations were selected based on the variances of women's reactions toward stranger harassment in those areas, instead of other factors, such as the prevalence of stranger harassment in them. Three locations are selected from a list of five suggested by Fairchild (2010) as they elicited different reactions toward stranger harassment from women. Bars/nightclubs are ranked as the location where women are most likely to verbally respond to stranger harassment. Stores rank third. Parks are ranked as the least likely location. Respondents are then asked to rate the statements regarding to their perceptions of situational norms in those areas on a 5-point Likert scale, from 1 (not descriptive at all) to 5 (extremely descriptive).

3.4.7 – Women's Reactions in Different Situations

In order to measure women's coping strategies under different situations, a shortened version of modified Coping with Harassment Questionnaire by Fairchild and Rudman's study (2008) with eight items is created for this study – using two

items with the highest loading in each factors (active coping strategy, passive coping strategy, benign coping strategy, and self-blaming coping strategy). Similar to the measurement of perceived situational norms, this shortened scale will feature three times, corresponding to the three different locations mentioned in Section 3.4.6. However, since respondents expressed confusion toward the questions after the pilot study, relevant activities and identical details regarding stranger harassment are assigned to all locations to specify the scenario (e.g. When you are drinking in a bar/nightclub, a man walks up to you, leers at you and makes sexually explicit remarks to you; when you are shopping in a store, a man walks up to you, leers at you and makes sexually explicit remarks to you; and when you are taking a walk in a park, a man walks up to you, leers at you and makes sexually explicit remarks to you). Respondents are asked to rate the statements on a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (not descriptive at all) to 7 (extremely descriptive). The reliabilities of the shortened scale describing situation in bars/nightclubs are 0.65 for active coping strategy, 0.73 for passive coping strategy, 0.76 for benign coping strategy, and 0.83 for self-blaming coping strategy. The reliabilities of the scale in stores are 0.65 for active coping strategy, 0.74 for passive coping strategy, 0.79 for benign coping strategy and 0.92 for self-blaming coping strategy. Lastly, the reliabilities of the ones in parks are 0.68 for active coping strategy, 0.74 for passive coping strategy, 0.84 for benign coping strategy and 0.93 for self-blaming coping strategy.

3.4.8 – Socio-demographic information

Socio-demographic information are collected in the questionnaire, including age, marital status (1=never married, 2=married, 3=others), education level (1=primary school or below, 2= secondary school, 3=higher diploma/associate degree, 4=bachelor degree or above), employment status (1=full time employment, 2=housekeeper, 3=full time student. 4=unemployed), acquiring a paid job (1=Yes, 2=No), occupation/position (0=non-applicable, 1=managers/executive, 2=professional, 3=technician/associate professional, 4=clerk, 5=shop and market sales worker, 6=craft and related trade worker, 8=plant and machine operator assembler, 9=unskilled blue collar, and 10=others), and monthly income (0=non-application, 1=\$10,000 or below, 2=\$10,001-\$20,000, 3=\$20,000-\$30,000, 4=\$30,001-\$40,000, 5=\$40,001-\$50,000 and 6 = \$50,001 or above)

3.5 – Data Analysis

Since the current study examines a large number of variables, various statistical techniques are employed for the analysis. Specifically, descriptive analysis is used to analyze the sample, the prevalence of stranger harassment, and the frequency of women experiencing various type of harassment. Bivariate correlation is used to test for correlation among variables for preliminary findings. One-way ANOVA is used to test relationships between women's reactions toward stranger harassment and demographic variables. Repeated measure ANOVA is used to measure the differences among women's coping strategies in general and in different situations as well as women's perceived situation norms. Independent T-test is used to compare the mean between coping strategies used by women who have and have never experience stranger harassment. Finally, multiple linear regression is used to examine all the hypothesis. It is first used to examine hypothesis (1) to (3) - the relationship between personal qualities (i.e., body image, self-objectification and gender-related belief) and women's coping strategies toward stranger harassment. Secondly, it is used to examine hypothesis (4) - relationship between women's perceived situational norms and their coping strategies in corresponding situations. Women's frequency of experiencing stranger harassment is also added to the multiple linear regression between personal and women's coping strategies as an independent variable, as it may eliminate the opportunity that the variable may appear to relate to coping strategies only due to its high correlation with women's frequency of experiencing stranger harassment.

Chapter 4 – Research Findings

This Chapter discusses the results revealed by this research. First, the correlation among variables will be discussed and the prevalence of stranger harassment in Hong Kong will be illustrated. Then, results on how young women react to stranger harassment, how they perceive situational norms in various situations and how they react under different situations will be demonstrated. Finally, the effects of personal (i.e. gender-related belief, self-objectification, and body image) and situational qualities (i.e. perceived situational norms) on young women's reactions toward stranger harassment will be explained at the end of the chapter.

4.1 – Correlation among Variables

Table 4.1 presents the bivariate correlations among key variables. There are several significant positive correlations worth mentioning. For examples, passive coping strategy is positively correlated to self-objectification index and benevolent sexism. Benign coping strategy is positively correlated to self-objectification index, appearance evaluation and experience of stranger harassment while self-blaming coping strategy is positively related to self-objectification index, hostile sexism, benevolent sexism and experience of stranger harassment. It is also noteworthy that the frequency of experiencing stranger harassment is positively related to appearance evaluation, hostile sexism and benevolent sexism at a significant level. After analyzing the data with one-way ANOVA, it showed that there are no significant relationships between demographic variables and respondents' coping strategies to strange harassment. Therefore, demographic variables need not to be considered as factors that may affect women's reactions toward stranger harassment in this study.

Table 4.1 Bivariate Correlations among Variables (2-tailed)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Active	1								
2. Passive	-.46**	1							
3. Benign	-.15**	.53**	1						
4. Self-Blame	-.01	.36**	.54**	1					
5. Self-Objectification Index	-.04	.13*	.12*	.16**	1				
6. Appearance Evaluation	.06	.01	.12*	.07	-.22**	1			
7. Hostile Sexism	-.00	.01	.01	.11*	.11*	.01	1		
8. Benevolent Sexism	.06	.14*	.05	.26**	.29**	.01	.12*	1	
9. Frequency of Stranger Harassment	-.01	.08	.21**	.15**	.10	.29**	.15**	.15**	1

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

4.2 – Prevalence of Stranger Harassment amongst Young Women

This section discusses the prevalence and the frequency of women's experience with various types of stranger harassment. According to the questionnaires collected, 83.4% (n=338) of respondents reported experiencing stranger harassment at least once in their lifetimes while 66.6% reported such experience regularly, at least once or twice a year.

Table 4.2 shows the frequency of women reporting experiences of various types of stranger harassment. Respondents' frequency of experiences decrease as the severity of harassment escalates. 'Being stared sexually' is the most common type of stranger harassment encountered by young women (70.7%), followed by 'being made sexually explicit but non-language noise' (51.9%) and 'verbal harassment'

(47.6%) when comparing women's reported cumulative frequency, which means how many women experience this type of stranger harassment at least once in their lifetimes. However, it is worth noting that more than a quarter (28.5%) of respondents reported being touched or grabbed in a sexual way at least once in their lives, while 3.8% had been sexually assaulted. Both of these types of harassment can be considered as the most severe types of stranger harassment, and more attention should be paid to their prevalence.

Generally speaking, 17.3% of the respondents reported experiencing sexual stares at least once a month. Noise is also quite commonly used, as 31.3% and 24.9% of women reported experiencing sexually explicit but non-language noise and verbal harassment at least once a year respectively, and for the more aggressive types of harassments, 13.0 % of the respondents reported being blocked on their paths purposely at least once a year.

Table 4.2 Reported Frequency of Women’s Experience on Stranger Harassment (%)

Various Type of Stranger Harassment	N	At least once in lifetimes	Once	At least once a year	More than once a month
Sexual Stares	345	70.7	12.8	40.6	17.3
Sexually Explicit but Non-language Nosie	345	51.9	16.5	31.3	4.1
Verbal Harassment	345	47.6	17.7	24.9	5.0
Vulgar/Obscene Gestures	345	24.5	12.0	10.5	2.0
Purposely Block your path	345	35.0	18.3	13.0	3.7
Follow You	344	18.9	12.2	5.2	1.5
Take Candid Photos	344	13.4	7.3	4.6	1.5
Expose Sexual Body Parts	345	12.3	9.6	2.1	.6
Masturbate in front of you	344	5.6	4.4	.9	.3
Sexual Touch/Grabbing	344	28.5	16.9	9.3	2.3
Sexual Assault	344	3.8	1.7	1.8	.3

4.3 – Young Women’s Reactions toward Stranger Harassment

Women’s reactions toward stranger harassment will be examined in this section with repeated measures ANOVA. Table 4.3 shows the results of pairwise comparison on women’s reactions toward stranger harassment. Significant differences are observed among all the reactions. Active coping strategy has been reported as the most common reaction women adopted to cope with stranger harassment, following by passive, self-blaming and finally benign coping strategy with significant differences among all of them.

Table 4.3 Pairwise Comparison Results of Women’s Reaction to Stranger Harassment

Women's Reactions to SH (I)	M	SD	Women's Reactions to SH (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)
Active	4.09	1.05	Passive	.56***
			Benign	1.76***
			Self-Blaming	1.37***
Passive	3.54	1.25	Active	-.56***
			Benign	1.19***
			Self-Blaming	.81***
Benign	2.34	1.04	Active	-1.76***
			Passive	-1.19***
			Self-Blaming	-.38***
Self-Blaming	2.73	1.10	Active	-1.37***
			Passive	-.81***
			Benign	.38***

$p^{***} < .00$

Significant difference also exists between respondents who have and have never experienced stranger harassment. Table 4.4 is a summary of the independent T-test results. It shows that respondents who have experienced stranger harassment and were instructed to recall their reactions on the survey are less likely to predict that they would use active coping strategy, $t(325) = -2.21$, $p = 0.03$ and more likely to adopt passive coping strategy, $t(328) = 2.20$, $p = 0.03$ than those who have never experienced stranger harassment and were instructed to answer by imagining how they would react. However, this difference is not found in benign or self-blaming strategies. This implies that there is no difference in the likelihood of adopting benign or self-blaming coping strategies between respondents who have and have never experienced stranger harassment.

Table 4.4 Independent T-test Results of Women’s Reactions between respondents who have and have Never Experience Stranger Harassment (2-tailed)

Reactive	Respondents	N	M	SD	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>
Active	Experienced	273	4.02	1.06	-2.21*	325
	No Experience	54	4.37	.95		
Passive	Experienced	276	3.61	1.21	2.20*	328
	No Experience	54	3.20	1.34		
Benign	Experienced	276	2.37	1.05	.89	328
	No Experience	54	2.23	.98		
Self-Blaming	Experienced	277	2.72	1.11	.49	329
	No Experience	54	2.64	1.07		

* $p < .05$

4.4 – Young Women’s Perceived Situational Norms

Three items are examined to understand young women’s perceived situational norms, namely, item A - ‘experiencing stranger harassment is common’, item B - ‘women should expect stranger harassment’, and item C - ‘people nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment’. Each of them is tested under all three selected scenarios, namely, bars/nightclubs, stores, and parks, using the Repeated Measures ANOVA technique.

Firstly, significant differences can be seen for all items among three selected different locations, including bars/nightclubs, stores and parks, $F(1.85, 588.65)=638.20, p=0.00$. Table 4.5, which shows the result of the pairwise comparisons among these three locations, further indicates that women perceive bars/nightclubs as the location where stranger harassment is most common, followed by parks and stores.

Table 4.5 Pairwise Comparison Results of Young Women’s Perceived Situational Norms – ‘In (location), experiencing stranger harassment is common.’

Locations (I)	M	SD	Locations (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)
Bar/Nightclub	4.04	.80	Store	1.87***
			Park	1.62***
Store	2.17	.76	Bar/Nightclub	-1.87***
			Park	-.26***
Park	2.42	.94	Bar/Nightclub	-1.62***
			Store	.26***

*** $p < .00$

Secondly, ANOVA analysis also demonstrates significant results for item B - 'women should expect stranger harassment' among the three selected locations, $F(1.17, 378.56) = 553.87, p = 0.000$. Table 4.6 shows the results of the pairwise comparison, indicating significant differences between bars/nightclubs and stores as well as between bars/nightclubs and parks. However, there is no significant difference between stores and parks. Yet, one may still conclude that bars/nightclubs are rated the most likely location where women should expect stranger harassment, compared to stores and parks.

Table 4.6 Pairwise Comparison Results of Young Women’s Perceived Situational Norms – ‘Women who visit (location) should expect stranger harassment in that setting’

Locations (I)	M	SD	Locations (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)
Bar/Nightclub	3.46	1.14	Store	1.69***
			Park	1.67***
Store	1.77	.71	Bar/Nightclub	-1.69***
			Park	-.03
Park	1.80	.75	Bar/Nightclub	-1.67***
			Store	.03

*** $p < .00$

Thirdly, Repeated Measure ANOVA also shows significant differences among the three locations on item C - ‘people nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment’, $F(1.47, 470.15)=143.07, p=0.00$. The results of the pairwise comparison of how young women perceive this item among the selected locations, as presented in Table 4.7, shows that, stores are rated the highest in the likelihood of receiving help from people nearby during stranger harassment. Parks are the second, while bars/nightclubs are rated the lowest. The differences among all three of them are significant. Thus, women believe they are most likely to receive help in stores, and least likely to do so in bars while facing stranger harassment with parks rated as in between them.

Table 4.7 Pairwise Comparison Results of Young Women’s Perceived Situational Norms – ‘People nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment in (location).’

Locations (I)	M	SD	Locations (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)
Bar/Nightclubs	2.81	1.00	Stores	-1.01***
			Parks	-.76***
Stores	3.82	.91	Bars/Nightclubs	1.01***
			Parks	.26***
Parks	3.57	1.00	Bars/Nightclubs	.76***
			Stores	-.26***

*** $p < .00$

4.5 – Young Women’s Reactions toward Stranger Harassment in Different Situations

Young women’s reactions under different situations – bars/nightclubs, store and parks are also assessed. Firstly, there are significant differences among the reactions in all three locations – in bars/nightclubs, $F(2.52, 790.84)=171.34, p=0.000$, in stores, $F(2.27, 730.40)=284.54, p=0.000$ and in parks, $F(2.22, 11.66)=265.68, p=0.000$. Secondly, the respondents said they would most likely to adopt active coping strategy, followed by passive strategy, and finally both benign and self-blaming coping strategies in all three situations. The difference between benign and self-blaming coping strategies is not significant.

4.6 – Personal Qualities and Women’s Reactions toward Stranger Harassment

Multiple linear regression is used to examine the relationship between coping strategies and personal qualities. Active, passive, benign, and self-blaming coping strategy are set as the dependent variables, while hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, body image, self-objectification, and frequency of encountering stranger harassment are the independent variables.

Table 4.8 shows the relationship between gender-related belief (i.e., hostile sexism and benevolent sexism) and women’s coping strategies towards stranger harassment. It shows that there is no main effect between hostile sexism and any of the coping strategies. However, benevolent sexism has a positive effect on self-blaming coping strategy and passive coping strategy, $\beta=0.11$, $p=0.076$, although it is in a marginal lever for the latter.

Table 4.8 Multiple Linear Regression Result Predicting Coping Strategy by Personal Qualities

IV \ DV	Active (β)	Passive (β)	Benign (β)	Self-Blame (β)
Self-Objectification Index	-.04	.10	.15*	.13*
Appearance Evaluation	.05	.02	.10	.10
Hostile Sexism	.00	-.02	-.02	.07
Benevolent Sexism	.07	.11	-.03	.20**
Frequency of Stranger Harassment	-.03	.04	.15*	.08
R ²	.01	.03	.06	.11

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

As for the relationship between self-objectification and women’s coping strategies towards stranger harassment, a positive relationship is found between self-objectification and benign coping strategy, as well as between self-objectification and self-blaming coping strategy, as shown in Table 4.8. However, there is no main effect between body image and any coping strategies. Therefore, gender-related belief and self-objectification are found to be related to women’s reactions toward stranger harassment while body image is not.

4.7 – Perceived Situational Norms and Women’s Reactions toward Stranger Harassment

As before, respondents are asked to consider their possible responses for three items, item A - ‘experiencing stranger harassment is common’, item B – ‘women should expect stranger harassment in that setting’, and item C - ‘People nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment’ at three locations - bars/nightclubs, stores and park. In this analysis, the three items under perceived situational norms are the independent variables, and the dependent variables are the four coping strategies.

Table 4.9, 4.10 and 4.11 show the multiple linear regression results between the items and the coping strategies in bars/nightclubs, parks, and stores respectively. For item A, there is no main effect between this perceived norms and any coping strategy, expect for the benign coping strategy in stores, with $\beta=0.19, p<0.01$.

Table 4.9 Multiple Linear Regression Result Predicting Coping Strategy by Situational Qualities in Bars/Nightclubs

IV \ DV	Active (β)	Passive (β)	Benign (β)	Self-Blame (β)
Item A	.08	.06	.00	.01
Item B	-.07	.22**	.23**	.17*
Item C	.06	.06	.06	-.07
R ²	.01	.07	.06	.04

* $p<.05$, ** $p<.01$

Table 4.10 Multiple Linear Regression Result Predicting Coping Strategy by Situational Qualities in Stores

IV \ DV	Active (β)	Passive (β)	Benign (β)	Self-Blame (β)
Item A	-.02	.04	.19**	.11
Item B	-.07	.14*	.19**	.18**
Item C	.21**	.03	-.16**	-.17**
R ²	.05	.03	.14	.10

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 4.11 Multiple Linear Regression Result Predicting Coping Strategy by Situational Qualities in Parks

IV \ DV	Active (β)	Passive (β)	Benign (β)	Self-Blame (β)
Item A	.01	.08	.06	-.01
Item B	-.07	.16*	.20**	.21**
Item C	.15*	-.02	-.09	-.09
R ²	.03	.04	.06	.06

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Multiple linear regression results for item B indicate that respondents who believe that they should expect stranger harassment are more likely to adopt passive coping strategy in all three example locations, including bars/nightclubs, with $\beta=0.22$, $p < 0.01$, stores with $\beta=0.14$, $p < 0.05$ and parks with $\beta=0.16$, $p > 0.05$. Benign and self-blaming coping strategies are also more likely to be adopted by respondents holding a stronger belief that they should expect stranger harassment in any of these three locations.

Lastly, multiple linear regression results for item C suggest a positive relationship between respondents who believe someone will help them and adopting

active coping strategy in both stores, with $\beta=0.21$, $p<0.01$, and parks with $\beta=0.15$, $p>0.01$, but no main effect in bars/nightclubs. Similar outcome is found for self-blaming coping strategy, but with negative correlation in both stores, $\beta=-0.17$, $p>0.01$, and parks with $\beta=-0.09$, $p=0.09$. Again, there is no main effect for in bars/nightclub.

To summarize, item B – ‘women who visit (location) should expect stranger harassment in that setting’ is found to be positively related to all non-active coping strategies (i.e. passive, benign and self-blaming coping strategies) in all three locations. Item C – ‘people nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment in (location)’ is found to be positively related to active coping strategy in stores and park, but not bars/nightclubs, and item A - ‘experiencing stranger harassment is common’ is not related to any coping strategies.

In summary, correlations are found among the variables, and data demonstrates the prevalence of stranger harassment in Hong Kong. From the analysis, it can be seen that women choose to adopt coping strategies in the following order – active, passive, self-blaming, and lastly benign. Women’s perceived situational norms in various situations and their reactions under those situations are also illustrated. Lastly, gender-related belief and self-objectification are found to be related to some non-active coping strategies, while body image is not related to any coping strategies. Women’s perceived situational norms, items B and C, are also related to women’s coping strategies although there is no relationship between women’s coping strategies and item A.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

This Chapter will discuss the results and findings from Chapter 4, which is helpful in understanding the general conditions of stranger harassment in Hong Kong, and why women respond to them in various ways as well as how these findings may help to bring changes to the society by revealing implications not previously considered. The chapter will conclude with the limitations of the current study and suggestions for further research.

5.1 – Stranger Harassment and Women’s Reactions in Hong Kong

As one of the first studies solely focusing on stranger harassment in Hong Kong, this research sheds light on the general situations of stranger harassment in the local context. More than 80% of the sample in this study experienced stranger harassment in their lifetimes. This result cannot be directly compared to the number (80% and 90%) revealed by both MacMillan, Nierobisz and Welsh (2000) and Lenton, Smith, Fox and Morra as the target population was limited to 18-25 year old women in the current study. The other two studies, on the other hand, recruited women aged above 18 and aged between 18 and 65 respectively. However, to a certain extent, this study still confirms the Bowman’s (1993) observation that stranger harassment is a near universal phenomenon. Bernald and Schlaffer (1984) held a similar view, and suggested that stranger harassment belongs to a ‘genuinely public world’, and could only be absent in places where people always know one another and strangers do not exist. Furthermore, the high prevalence of stranger harassment found in this study proves that stranger harassment in Hong Kong is a severe issue penetrating the everyday lives of the majority of women. Therefore, it deserves attention from the society and a greater level of awareness from the public, neither of which have been achieved.

While the existence of stranger harassment is universal, the frequency that Hong Kong women experience such harassment is less than that of their counterparts in the western world. Fairchild and Rudman (2008) as well as Fairchild (2010), found that American women might experience certain types of stranger harassment

on a monthly or even weekly basis, as 30.9% and 29.2% of their respondents experienced catcalls, whistle, or stare every few days or more respectively. Furthermore, more than 70% and about 60% of their respondents, respectively, claimed that they experienced harassment in forms of ‘unwanted sexual attention’, ‘crude or offensive sexual jokes’, ‘sexist remarks or behaviors’, and ‘seductive remarks or ‘come on’ once a month or more. In contrast, less than 10% of Hong Kong women reported experiencing any types of stranger harassment, except for ‘sexual stare’, more than once a month in the current study, and the difference in such frequency between Hong Kong and United States women is found to be significant. It may be concluded that, while stranger harassment is a regular occurrence in the western world, Hong Kong women may encounter stranger harassment more as a random event.

Nevertheless, findings indicate that one out of four Hong Kong young women experience sexual touching or grabbing at least once in their lifetimes. This result is worrying as sexual touching or grabbing is one of the most severe types of stranger harassment and an unlawful act, and yet, a significant number of local women are subject to it.

Another objective of this research is to examine how local young women respond to stranger harassment. Unlike results in previous literatures, in which passive reactions were found to be the most common reaction for women (Fairchildm, & Rudman, 2008; Gardner, 1995), local young women reported most likely to use active coping strategy. Future cross-cultural research should be done to investigate the reasons behind as it may not only help understand this difference between western and local women, but also reveal more insights to why women react to stranger harassment in certain ways.

5.2 – Understanding Women’s Strategies toward Stranger Harassment

The current study proposes two perspectives, personal qualities and situational qualities as well as four factors, gender-related belief, self-objectification, body image and perceived situational norm, to examine why women confront or tolerate stranger harassment. Their relationship will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2.1 – Gender-related Belief and Women’s Strategies toward Stranger Harassment

In this study, benevolent sexism is positively related to passive and self-blaming strategies. It is a confirmation of Fairchild and Rudman (2008)’s proposal of potential linkage between women’s gender-related belief and these two non-active strategies, stating that women with traditional gender role beliefs are more likely to avoid confrontation and attribute responsibility of the harassing events to themselves. Gardner (1989) explained this by pointing out that women are socially controlled to be ‘nice girls’, a term used by Fox (1977), initially for private space and then for public places. Therefore, similar to the ‘nice girls’ in private space, women are also keen on believing that they should not verbally respond to the harassers in order to fulfill their ‘nice girls’ model in the public space. Gardner’s insight may also be used to explain why only benevolent sexism is related to passive and self-blaming coping strategies, but not hostile sexism, as benevolent sexism is characterized with subjectively positive views regarding women in the traditional gender role, including idealizing women, which is consistent with the idea of ‘nice girls’, while hostile sexism is more about degrading beliefs toward women with hostility.

Since gender-related belief is found to be related to women’s reaction toward stranger harassment and the main function of stranger harassment is to sustain private-public split, it is necessary to discuss the local conditions of gender stereotyping and gender division of labor in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of the relevant topic. Although Hong Kong is progressing in a direction toward gender equality, gender stereotyping is still found common by the recent studies (Policy 21 Limited, 2011; Women's Commission, 2009). The gender stereotyping and gender division of labor in Hong Kong follows the binary divide of the private/public split, which relegates women to the private sphere featured by domesticity and designates men to dominate in the public sphere. Regarding women’s roles in the private sphere, recent research found that at least half of the respondents agreed that women should put more focus on family than career (Policy 21 Limited, 2011; Women's Commission, 2009). Almost 40% of them believed that it is men’s duty to be the breadwinner while women should be the carer of the family (Policy 21 Limited, 2011). Women’s greatest contribution is still believed to be related to family by the majority of those surveyed (87%), such as ‘educating the children’, ‘taking care of families’, and ‘housework’ (Women's Commission, 2009).

Research also shows that duties to take care of family and to finish housework remain the main reasons preventing women from obtaining full time jobs (Policy 21 Limited, 2011).

While society still puts much emphasis on women's roles and duties in the private sphere, their roles in public sphere is undermined and they are subjected to various unfair treatments. According to a local survey conducted by Policy 21 (2011), over 70% of respondents agreed that it is common for women to face discrimination in workplace. Similar amount of respondents acknowledged situations in which men are being paid better than women of the same rank. The majority also stated that being a women in the workplace constitutes obstacles to promotion and development. According to data provided by the Census and Statistics Department (2015), women constitute only 33.7% in the category of 'managers and administrators' while men take up 66.3%. Women also need to deal with the perception that staff do not prefer a female supervisor and that sexual harassment is prevalent in the workplace, both of which are agreed by around 30% of the respondents. In addition, 70% of respondents agreed that employers do choose not to hire pregnant women - almost 30 % of them considered this situation to be frequent (Policy 21 Limited, 2011).

As discussed previously, gender stereotyping and gender division of labor remain common and severe in Hong Kong. This worrying condition reinforces the private-public split for both genders and discourages local women to perform in public sphere. While serious gender stereotyping and rigid adherence to traditional gender-related belief found in local context discourage women to confront stranger harassment, the sustainment of private – public split fuels stranger harassment. Since stranger harassment, as with other types of violence against women, is on a continuum with gender inequality, putting an end to stranger harassment or encouraging women to confront them requires a more massive social change, which will be discussed in section 5.4.

5.2.2 – Self-Objectification and Women's Strategies toward Stranger Harassment

Findings from the current study also proved that self-objectification may lead to benign and self-blaming coping strategies, which is consistent with the findings in Fairchild and Rudman's study (2008). Although Fairchild and Rudman (2008) believed that it is these two non-active coping strategies that encouraged the self-

objectification of women, they also admitted that it could be the opposite – highly self-objectified women are more likely to adopt benign and self-blaming responses. This can be easily explained, since self-objectified women internalize others' objectification toward their selves, they may adopt a third person view on their own bodies and consider their physical selves as objects that are subject to evaluations, thereby more likely to regard stranger harassment as harmless or even flattering (Fredrickson, Roberts, 1997). As suggested by Gardner (1995), women who go out of their way to perfect their appearance are more likely to believe that stranger harassment events are evidences for their success in maintaining 'beauty', and are thus less likely to doubt the nature of stranger harassment. Similarly, self-objectified women are less likely to blame the penetrators for the harassments, as they view their own physical selves as objects from a peculiar way, and thus, attribute the responsibility of the harassments back to their own bodies and themselves.

Since this research has established a positive relationship between self-objectification and some of the non-active coping strategies adopted by local women against stranger harassment, it is worth to explore local women's conditions regarding to self-objectification, which stems from the internalization of objectification (Fredrickson B. L., & Roberts T., 1997). With the mass media being one of the most effective agencies contributing to women's objectification, previous research shows that local women receive much more sexually objectifying treatment from it, than local men do (The Social Sciences Research Centre, 2009). In a study supported by the Equal Opportunity Commission in Hong Kong, most of the top 10 impressions regarding female gender portrayal in local media are related to female body and the sexualization of women, such as, 'female figure', 'female's appearance', 'exposed', and 'sex'. When being asked to state the impacts of these portrayals on a personal level, most of the respondents named 'increased consciousness of appearance', followed by 'personal attitudes and values towards appearance and sex', 'personal behavior in achieving certain appearance standards', 'higher personal expectation on female appearance' and 'psychological impact', which are mostly characterized with objectification or self-objectification of women. Respondents named more impacts, that are related to women's self-objectification, under each of the categories, including 'being more demanding on own figure', 'low body esteem by applying the portrayal model to compare own figure or other's figure', 'trying hard to keep fit', and 'adding pressure to women', etc. Most impacts

stated at a personal level overlapped with those mentioned at the peer and community level, implying that the media's influence on objectifying women and causing women's self-objectification affects the majority of public in Hong Kong (The Social Sciences Research Centre, 2009). As a positive relationship between self-objectification and women's adoption of benign and self-blaming coping strategies has been found in this study, measures to eliminate objectification against women on local media may help discourage women's tolerance toward stranger harassment, which will be further discussed in the section 5.4.

5.2.3 – Body Image and Women's Strategies toward Stranger Harassment

Body image is hypothesized to be related to some/all non-active coping strategies as previous literature proved that body image could cause impacts on how women perceive their controls and powers over their own bodies and sexual lives (Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, & Davies, 2002). However, findings from this research suggested that body image is not related to any coping strategies.

Yet, body image is related to stranger harassment in other realm, as current findings show a positive correlation with women's frequency of experiencing stranger harassment. This confirms the results of Lord (2009), who explained that women with more experience in stranger harassment tend to attribute these events to their physical attractiveness, and thus, they consider the high frequency of encountering stranger harassment a symbol of their attractiveness, and thus their body image is enhanced. Both the current study and Lord's (2009) explanation are consistent with Gardner (1995), whose interviewees regarded stranger harassment as helping women as it raised their satisfactions toward their bodies and their self-confidences. Gardner, however, disagreed with this notion, as these 'compliments' only reinforced men's right to determine the standard of beauty solely and their rights to freely judge women's appearances and to deliver comments on it.

5.2.4 – Perceived Situational Norms and Women's Strategies toward Stranger Harassment

Perceived situational norm is another factor examined in this study. Respondents were given three choices, namely item A if women believe that stranger

harassment is common in that setting, item B - if women perceive that women who visited that setting should expect experiencing stranger harassment, and item C - if women consider that they will receive help from people nearby when stranger harassments occur to them in that setting, and asked to rate the descriptiveness of each item for three different settings, namely, bars/nightclubs, stores, and parks.

At first glance, item B may seem to follow from item A. However, results from the current study indicate a significant difference between these two. Specifically, item B is found to be positively related to all non-active coping strategies across all proposed situations. In other words, women who score higher on the item 'women should expect stranger harassment in that setting when they visit them' are more likely to adopt passive, benign, and self-blaming coping strategies in those settings. The difference may be due to the fact that item A being a seemingly factual question to the respondents, while item B is more likely a moral question to them.

As suggested by Gardner (1995), women might be more concerned with avoiding situations in which others perceive that she should not feel safe in, rather than avoiding the actual stranger harassment events. By entering sites or situations that others do not regard as secure for women, they may be perceived as disrespectful women who do not care about being harassed, or they will have their morality doubted by others, who may question why they enter such sites or situations in the first place.

Drawing from the idea of public-private split, stranger harassment is a means of social control for the genders to remain in their respective spheres. Considering men's dominance over public sphere, stranger harassment would be more prevalent in the settings that are traditionally characterized as men's sphere. Therefore, sites and situations that are widely regarded as unsafe are the likely settings that are traditionally dominated or accessed exclusively by men. In other words, when women believe that they should expect stranger harassment in a situation, it is possible that this situation is traditionally perceived as men's space, and women are subject to moral judgement as they "invade" such space.

Such moral judgments may divert people's attention from why men harass to whether women should enter these places. Consequently, women may internalize these thoughts, and believe that they are 'wrong' and should take responsibility of the harassing events as well, leading to their adoption of self-blaming coping strategy.

Secondly, when women enter situations where they already expect stranger harassment to happen, they may accept dealing or bearing with these events as a part of their duties, because they are the ones whose morality is questioned. Thus, they may define stranger harassment as acceptable or innocuous, and adopt the benign coping strategy. Thirdly, even if they do not accept harassment or their responsibility in it, they may find themselves holding less power to defend their selves and therefore adopt passive coping strategy, as it is unlikely that others will sympathize or agree with her. These serve to explain why women would elect the non-active coping strategies for item B.

Finally, results indicate that women who believe that people nearby will help her when she encounters stranger harassment, that is, item C, are more likely to adopt the active coping strategy in two of the three hypothetical locations - stores and parks. Results also demonstrate that respondents believe that it is more likely for them to receive help during stranger harassment in stores than in parks, probably due to the nature of stores being categorized as a semipublic space, and parks resembling open streets. As women are less likely to believe that they will find people to help defend her in open space, they may predict that they will be more likely to receive help in stores, than in parks (Gardner, 1995).

As to why women who agree with this norm are more likely to respond actively, the belief of securing helps from others may relieve their worries from the potential negative consequences of active coping strategies, including, retaliations from penetrators and being perceived as inappropriate, rude, or aggressive (Swim, Ferguson, & Hyders, 1999; Jack, 1991). With help from others, penetrators are less likely to fight back, and thus, women may feel safer and more confident to react actively. On the other hand, bystanders' help also implies their sympathy toward women and their recognition of women's actions, meaning that such reactions are not regarded as disrespectful, but are justified in others' eyes. Thus, women may be encouraged to actively respond to the penetrators.

However, unlike in stores and parks, the active coping strategy is not seen in bars/nightclubs, which may be explained by referring to Fairchild's study (2010), in which a quarter of the women reported more likely to verbally respond to stranger harassment in bars/restaurants. The author suggested that sexual attention and flirting are acknowledged as accepted practices in those situations already, thus allowing women to express their feelings to the harassers. Women then feel less threatened

and more confident to say no and to actively respond because it is a part of accepted interactions in such situations. Moreover, the exchange of sexual attention and flirting are usually regarded as private interactions between two people, so, women may be less likely to consider involving others or asking for their help when responding to the harassers. Another possible explanation could be that women assume that people in bars/nightclubs are extremely unlikely to offer help in case of stranger harassment, and thus they have ruled out this opportunity entirely.

5.3 – Contributions to Methodology

One of the findings in the current study is that women who have never experienced stranger harassment and were instructed to answer the questions by imagining their coping strategies are more likely to predict themselves to adopt active reactions, and less likely to use passive coping strategy than their counterparts who have experienced stranger harassment and were instructed to fill in the questionnaires by recalling those events.

This is consistent with Swim and Hyers's research (1999) in which 1% of the women in their sample predicted that they would ignore sexist comments in the survey and yet, 55% of them did so in a laboratory setting which was controlled to be identical to the situations described in survey. It indicates that hypothetical or scenario questions may not accurately measure and reflect respondents' actual behaviors, at least in the field of women's coping strategy toward sexist events, as respondents seem to overestimate their likelihood to employ active response.

In an attempt to more accurately reflect women's response, the retrospective recall method and diary method are recommended. Retrospective recall survey along with the check-list method, such as the one used in this study, can assist respondents in recalling trivial or unnoticeable harassing events and reporting their experiences and their reactions they have in reality. On the other hand, diary method, which requires participants to keep a record of their daily experience, is rather resource-demanding, especially when studies aim at generalizing prevalence of stranger harassment. Nevertheless, it records respondents' real-life experience and their reactions accurately and completely without the concerns of recall bias. The diary method has also been adopted in many studies regarding women's response to sexist events (Swim, Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001; Hyers, 2007; Swim, Hyers, Cohen,

Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003).

5.4 – Practical Implications on Improving the Current Situations

The objective of this study is to achieve a better understanding of the relationship between stranger harassment and women's reactions. It also aims at encouraging women's active reactions and eventually facilitating the end of stranger harassment by providing relevant data. Therefore, suggestions on how society, policy makers and various stakeholders should make changes in order to end stranger harassment will be described in this section.

Current findings show that perceived situational norm of whether women believe people nearby will help when they experience stranger harassment is the only factor that is related to women's active coping strategy. This implies that acknowledging potential help from others is crucial to women's active reaction. While the most powerful and ultimate assistance would be the law enforcement authority, previous studies have repeatedly discovered that the police may not be helpful in this matter and women are aware of it. In Lenton, Smith, Fox and Morra's research (1999), less than 9% of their respondents sought help from the police, and most of the police officers admitted that there was nothing they could do if the harasser did not cause any physical harm or issue an explicit threat to the woman. In Osmond's (2013) study, few women chose to report harassment cases to the police, as they generally did not believe that the police would take their cases or stranger harassment, seriously. Similarly, in Hong Kong, none of the women who experienced stranger harassment in public transportations reported the incidents to the police (Lee, Lam, & Chan, 2014). With little help from law enforcement authorities, women lose one of their most powerful resorts of help, and thus acquire less confidence in actively responding to the harassing events. More importantly, the unhelpful manner of the police may also become a role model for other social control agents, or even the general public in dealing with stranger harassment. Thus, policy-makers may consider renewing the instructions to their law enforcement officers, so as to change their attitude toward stranger harassment, and directing them to actively offer help to women. Legislation against stranger harassment would also be a very effective method to obligate the police to intervene with stranger harassment. This will be further discussed later.

Another source of help women may regularly count on would be the social control agents in the current setting. As suggested by Gardner (1995), women will be more confident to actively deal with stranger harassment in semi-public places, as they are more likely to have someone with authority to count on. Therefore, shopkeepers, restaurant managers and workers on public transportations in nightclubs, etc. can all play a part by being more aware of stranger harassment and offering help to women facing such incidents. Nevertheless, it is up to the administrative authorities, such as owners of the sites, to realize the severity of stranger harassment and be willing to make an effort to renew their site policies. The government may help to encourage the administrative authorities to enact changes by launching campaigns, delivering new guidelines, or even including measures against stranger harassment as a new requirement for issuing or renewing licenses for operating those sites.

The government should also make an effort to raise consciousness in society. As the last resort for women to acquire help during stranger harassment events, general public may not be ready to help. As mentioned in Lee, Lam & Chan (2014), the majority of bystanders did not offer any help to harassment victims on public transportation in Hong Kong. Instead, they were unsure about how to react, or even acted as if nothing had happened. It indicates that people in Hong Kong is not aware of their role in helping to combat sexual violence and sexist events toward women, and they are not familiar with how to react as a witness in an episode of stranger harassment. In response to that, policy-makers should launch campaigns to educate the general public about their role and what to do when they notice a stranger harassment case, with the aims of changing their perceptions, and having them as the main agencies to help ending stranger harassment. This will not only empower women, as they may then enjoy more resources to cope with stranger harassment actively, but it will also facilitate the end of such cases.

Women in this study are also found to be more likely to adopt all non-active coping strategies when they face stranger harassment at certain sites or situations, if they believe that their counterparts should expect stranger harassment when visiting those settings (item C of perceived situational norms). The implication of this is that in some public places, harassment could resemble “entrance fees” – an expected price to pay - to women. Further, women may feel less justified to actively defend themselves as if they are not supposed to appear in those settings.

Redefining the norms is the only way to discourage women's non-active coping strategies and to suppress stranger harassment in those settings. One way to redefine the norms is for site owners to renew their policies in a way that is more sensitive to stranger harassment with proactive measures to prevent it. This could be done by instructing the staff to offer help to women in case of stranger harassment, setting up zero-tolerance policies, or blacklisting harassers. The most effective way to redefine norms, of course, would be enact laws against stranger harassment. Since law serves as a reflection of moral standards in the society, legislation against stranger harassment will let the general public understand that it is stranger harassment that is immoral, but not women visiting those settings.

Finally, the current findings indicate that self-objectification is found to be positively related to benign and self-blaming coping strategies while benevolent sexism is positively related to passive and self-blaming reactions. Encouraging women to take on active coping strategy would require a more massive social change. As self-objectification stems from the internalization of objectification from others, society has to stop portraying women as objects merely for men's pleasure. Then, women's value will not rest on the beauty standard governed by men or the heterosexual interests expressed by men. This will allow women to realize that stranger harassment is neither a compliment nor their fault, and they will cease to react in a benign or self-blaming way. To be specific, the mass media, as mentioned previously, is one of the agencies making the most contribution to women's self-objectification, and thus measures should be taken up against it. As suggested by Gallagher (1995), five strategies should be employed, as follows:

1. to increase female employment at various levels in the media industry in order to ensure that female's voices are included in their output;
2. to develop pressure groups for organizing campaigns with consumer actions taken up to influence the industry and the public;
3. to educate the general public with media and the mechanisms that cause gender stereotyping in their content;
4. to encourage media organizations to follow guidelines regarding to fair portrayal of female; and
5. to develop a new set of ethics based on reinterpretations of 'freedom of expression' with consideration of women's human rights , stemmed from international debates.

At the same time, gender-related belief assigns roles to genders and sets expectations for them. Women are assigned the role of being passive, weak and subordinate; whereas men are assigned the exact opposite. Since violation of the gender expectations may put someone under enormous social pressure, it is crucial that our society unlearn gender belief and hold a more egalitarian view toward gender, so that women will overcome all the barriers preventing them from reacting actively, and eventually be completely free from stranger harassment.

5.5 – Limitations

As with all types of research, the current study has its own limitations. First of all, sampling bias may occur, as only local female between the ages of 18 and 25 are selected. Most of the respondents are also studying or holding a bachelor degree. Therefore, the sample in this research is not representative of the female population in Hong Kong. The prevalence found in this study may not reflect the exact situation in Hong Kong, and the findings from this research cannot be generalized to all women in Hong Kong.

Another limitation stems from the methodology used in this research - instructing respondents to recall the incidents (or imagining the scenarios only if they have never experienced stranger harassment) may lead to recall bias, which is defined as ‘systematic error due to differences in accuracy or completeness of recall to memory of past events or experience’ (Last, 2001, p. 153). In this case, recall bias may occur when participants are not able to recall all of their stranger harassment experience, or can only recall the most severe, unpleasant or unforgettable events, as well as their reactions in those events instead of their general experience. While this bias may be partially corrected by the application of the check-list method, in which a list of potential stranger harassment incidents is provided to respondents to remind them of rather trivial incidents, the possibility of recall bias still cannot be ruled out (Swim J. , Hyers, Cohen, & Ferguson, 2001), and data reported by respondents may not be completely accurate.

5.6 - Suggestions for Further Studies

The prevalence of stranger harassment in Hong Kong and the lack of literature on women’s coping strategies have made this topic worthy of further study. The

current study has taken a first step in this direction, but the findings are limited due to time and resource constraints. As mentioned in the previous sections, results from the current study may not be generalizable to the entire female population in Hong Kong due to its narrow target population. Future studies should include women from various demographic backgrounds in order to provide comprehensive findings on current condition of stranger harassment in Hong Kong as this issue involves women from all walks of life, and they may have diverse thoughts and considerations regarding stranger harassment, and may thus react differently.

Second, qualitative methods could be used in future investigations of stranger harassment and women's coping strategies. While the quantitative method used in this study is able to provide solid numbers, statistics, and establishments of relationships and predictions for the issue, qualitative methods are able to offer comprehensive illustrations and detailed explanations on both men's and women's accounts, as well as social discourses regarding stranger harassment. Similar studies are relatively common in the western world, but scarce in Hong Kong. As culture has a great deal of influence on stranger harassment and women's reactions toward it, qualitative studies from the western world may not be able to authentically represent the situations in Hong Kong. Therefore, further qualitative work is suggested to enrich the understanding of this topic in the local context.

Third, more variables that may predict women's coping strategies toward stranger harassment should be explored in future studies. In the current research, only a few relationships have been found to be associated with active coping strategy. While this concurs with Fairchild and Rudman's (2008) result that, compared to other coping strategies, it may take more agencies for women to employ active reactions. Gardner (1995) stressed that a woman has to consider many factors before actively reacting to stranger harassment, such as her own identity, how she defines the reactions, and the implications behind the reactions and reactions' consequences. They are not examined in this study because it is difficult to quantify these factors without any qualitative basis. Therefore, it is crucial for the future studies to continue looking into the determinants of women's active coping strategy by not only investigating more factors, but also the interactions among them.

On the other hand, the current study, as with previous studies, has focused on sexism or gender-related belief toward women. However, it is possible that the gender role belief toward men also acts to urge women to respond passively. Future

research may take it into consideration and explore the potential connection between gender role belief toward man and women's reactions toward stranger harassment.

Another possible factor for future study is the relationship between body image and stranger harassment. As noted by Gardner (1995), even those who claimed to be 'feminists' might eventually suggest that women's physical attractiveness causes stranger harassment. Therefore, future studies may further assess this linkage between the frequency of experiencing stranger harassment and body image, as well as the prevalence of the idea of attributing stranger harassment to one's physical appearances.

Appendices

Appendix A – Questionnaire (Chinese Version)

問卷編號：_____.

嶺南大學 - 社會學及社會政策系

有關女性在公眾地方的個人經驗之研究

您好，非常感謝您對本研究的參與。

本人乃嶺南大學社會學及社會政策系的研究生，現在正進行一項有關女性在公眾地方的個人經驗之研究，這項研究針對 **18-25 歲乃香港永久性居民的女性**。研究內容為填寫問卷，需時約 15 分鐘。

您的參與全屬自願，您亦並無責任參與本研究。您可以拒絕填寫問卷、或隨時終止問卷，有關決定將不會引致任何不良後果。您於此研究提供的資料將祇被用於學術研究用途，並絕對保密，所有個人資料均不會被公開。

本問卷包括八部分，每一道題目均無標準答案，您的答案亦無分對錯。請根據您個人的經驗和感受回答問卷。

再次感謝您的參與，您的參與對這項研究極為重要。如您對這項研究有任何查詢或意見，請與 劉遂 Alla Lau 聯絡。電話：61633776 / 電郵：allalau@ln.edu.hk

日期：_____.

A) 下列句子形容了人們對自己身體外表的感覺。

請以 1 至 7 分來回答您有多同意以下句子。

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
非常 不同意	不同意	有點 不同意	中立	有點同意	同意	非常同意

		非常 不同意	不 同意	有 點 不 同意	中 立	有 點 同 意	同 意	非 常 同 意
1.	我很少著意自己的外觀。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	我認為衣服舒適比好看更重要。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	我重視自己身體的感覺多於它的外觀。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	我很少和別人比較外觀。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	一天內，我時常想著自己的外觀。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	我時常擔心身上的衣服會否令我好看。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	我很少擔心自己在他人眼中看來怎樣。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	我比較關心自己身體能做什麼，多於它看起來怎樣。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	當我無法控制自己的體重，我覺得自己一定出了問題。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	當我沒有嘗試把自己打扮成最好看時，我會感到慚愧。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	當我不是在最好看的狀態時，我會覺得自己是一個遜色的人。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	如果其他人知道我真正的體重的話，我會感到羞愧。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	當我沒有做適當的運動時，我不會擔心自己是不是出了問題。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	當我運動量不足時，我會質疑自己是否夠出色。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	即使我不能控制自己的體重，我還是覺得自己是一個不錯的人。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16.	當我沒有維持應有的身形時，我會感到羞愧。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	我覺得人沒有能力對自己先天的外貌作出顯著的改變。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	身形良好的很大原因是本來便有這樣的身材。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	我覺得只要人們願意努力，他們便可以得到自己理想的外表和身材。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	我真的不認為，我能對自己的外觀有很大的控制。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	我覺得基因是決定體重的重要因素。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	不管我多努力改變自己的體重，它最終很可能也是一樣的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	如果我很努力，我可以得到理想的體重。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	人的身形大部分取決於基因。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B)

下列是九項在公眾地方(如：街道、餐廳、酒吧、圖書館等) 陌生人可能對您作出過的行為。請以 0 分至 6 分來回答，您受到這些對待的頻繁次數。

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
從未	一次	每年 1 至 2 次	每隔數月	每月 1 至 3 次	每星期 1 至 3 次	每星期 4 次或以上

		從未	一次	每年 1 至 2 次	每隔 數月	每月 1 至 3 次	每星期 1 至 3 次	每星期 4 次或 以上
1.	帶有性意味地看著你 (如：色迷迷地瞪著你、上下打量)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	向你發出具性意味但非言語的聲音 (如：吹口哨、發出接吻聲)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	向你說出令你不舒服的言語 (如：對你的外表作出評價、猥瑣露骨的言語、有性別歧視的言語)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

4.	向你做出猥瑣、低俗的手勢或動作 (如：向你招手來示意靠近、抓住自己的胯下、模仿性行為中的一段)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	故意擋你的路	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	跟蹤你	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	對你偷拍	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	在你面前猥褻露體 (如：對你展露他的臀部或性器官)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	在你面前自慰	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	具性意味地觸碰或撫摸你 (如：撫摸你的腰、捏你的臀部、擦過你的胸部)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	對你作出性侵犯	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

- C) 如果您**曾受到**以上任何一項的對待，請**回想**您通常會怎樣回應以上的行為；
如果您**未曾受到**以上任何一項的對待，請**想像**您會怎樣回應以上的行為；
並請以 1 分至 7 分來回答，以下這些句子對您的反應形容得有多貼切。

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
十分不貼切	不貼切	有點不貼切	中立	有點貼切	貼切	十分貼切

		十分不貼切	不貼切	有點不貼切	中立	有點貼切	貼切	十分貼切
1.	我就此作罷，裝作不在乎。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	我猜想對方是出於好意。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	我為遭遇這樣的情況，而感到愚蠢。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	我不作任何反應。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	我舉報了對方。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	我猜想對方只是開玩笑。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	我裝作沒事發生。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	我把此事告訴他人。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

9.	我認為，我的衣著若非如此，對方很可能不會這樣做。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	我裝作不知情。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	我讓對方知道我對他所做的事有何感受。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	我認為這是一種讚美。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	我嘗試忘記整件事。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	我不會追究。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	我把事件歸咎於自己。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	我視此為玩笑。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	我讓對方知道我不喜歡他這樣做。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	我意識到這很可能是自招的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	我想對方一定很喜歡我。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	我無視這件事。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

D)

請依您對自己身體的感覺和看法，以 1 分至 5 分來回答你有多同意以下這些句子。

1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	中立	同意	非常同意

		非常不同意	不同意	中立	同意	非常同意
1.	我的身材很性感。	1	2	3	4	5
2.	我喜歡自己不多加修飾的樣子。	1	2	3	4	5
3.	大多數人都認為我長得很好看。	1	2	3	4	5
4.	我喜歡自己沒穿衣服時的樣子。	1	2	3	4	5
5.	我喜歡我的衣服穿在我身上的樣子。	1	2	3	4	5
6.	我不喜歡我的身材。	1	2	3	4	5
7.	我的體態上不吸引。	1	2	3	4	5

8.	出現在公眾場合前，我總會先留意自己的樣子。	1	2	3	4	5
9.	我會謹慎地選購衣服，讓自己看來最好看。	1	2	3	4	5
10.	一有機會，我就會照鏡子來檢查自己的儀容。	1	2	3	4	5
11.	出門前，我通常會花很多時間來梳整打扮。	1	2	3	4	5
12.	對我而言，保持儀容好看十分重要。	1	2	3	4	5
13.	我很少使用美容化妝品。	1	2	3	4	5
14.	當我的打扮不對，我會感到很不自在。	1	2	3	4	5
15.	我常常不在乎好不好看，便穿上順手拿到的衣服。	1	2	3	4	5
16.	我不在乎別人對我外表的看法。	1	2	3	4	5
17.	我對自己頭髮的護理打扮特別用心。	1	2	3	4	5
18.	我從不在乎自己的外表。	1	2	3	4	5
19.	我一直試著改善自己的外表和身材。	1	2	3	4	5

E)

以下題目均在描述現今社會裏男人、女人和他們之間的關係。
詳細閱讀題意後，表明您個人同意或不同意的程度。

0	1	2	3	4	5
非常不同意	不同意	有點不同意	有點同意	同意	非常同意

		非常不同意	不同意	有點不同意	有點同意	同意	非常同意
1.	男人無論多有成就，都要有女人愛他才算真正完整。	0	1	2	3	4	5
2.	很多女人假借平等做訴求，實際上是在要求特殊待遇，例如制定偏袒女性的雇用條款。	0	1	2	3	4	5
3.	災難時，女人不一定應該比男人先被營救。	0	1	2	3	4	5
4.	大部分女人把無心的言行解讀成有性別偏見。	0	1	2	3	4	5
5.	女人太容易被冒犯。	0	1	2	3	4	5
6.	很多時候，人們不一定要和異性戀愛，才能得到真正的快樂。	0	1	2	3	4	5

7.	女性主義者並不是追求「女人要比男人更有權力」。	0	1	2	3	4	5
8.	很少男人像大部分女人般純潔。	0	1	2	3	4	5
9.	女人應該受到男人的珍愛與保護。	0	1	2	3	4	5
10.	大部分女人不能完全瞭解並欣賞男人為她們所作的一切。	0	1	2	3	4	5
11.	女人會藉由控制男人來獲取權力。	0	1	2	3	4	5
12.	每個男人都應該有一個他愛慕的女人。	0	1	2	3	4	5
13.	男人沒有女人也是完整的。	0	1	2	3	4	5
14.	女人會誇大在工作上遇到的問題。	0	1	2	3	4	5
15.	女人一旦獲得男人的承諾，通常會嘗試管束他。	0	1	2	3	4	5
16.	當女人在公平的競爭中輸給男人時，她們通常會歸咎於被性別歧視。	0	1	2	3	4	5
17.	好女人應該受到她的男人尊崇。	0	1	2	3	4	5
18.	事實上，非常少女人會，從先對男人性暗示，及後又拒絕男人對她作進一步的行動中，得到樂趣。	0	1	2	3	4	5
19.	女人比男人傾向有較高的道德敏感度。	0	1	2	3	4	5
20.	男人應犧牲自己的幸福，為自己的女人提供其經濟所需。	0	1	2	3	4	5
21.	女性主義者對男性的要求完全合理。	0	1	2	3	4	5
22.	女人比男人傾向有較高雅的文化素養和品味。	0	1	2	3	4	5

F) 請試想像，如果您遇上以下情況，您會有什麼反應。

然後，請以 1 分至 7 分來回答，以下這些句子對您的反應形容得有多貼切。

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
十分不貼切	不貼切	有點不貼切	中立	有點貼切	貼切	十分貼切

a) 當你在一間酒吧/夜店內喝酒時，一名男子走近，色眯眯地看著您，並對您說出具性意味的言語。

		十分不貼	不貼切	有點不貼	中立	有點貼切	貼切	十分貼切
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		切		切				
1.	我就此作罷，裝作不在乎。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	我讓對方知道我不喜歡他這樣做。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	我認為這是一種讚美。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	我不會追究。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	我意識到這很可能是自招的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	我猜想對方是出於好意的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	我把事件歸咎於自己。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	我讓對方知道我對他所做的事有何感受	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b) 當你在一間店舖內購物時，一名男子走近，色眯眯地看著您，並對您說出具性意味的言語。

1.	我就此作罷，裝作不在乎。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	我讓對方知道我不喜歡他這樣做。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	我認為這是一種讚美。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	我不會追究。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	我意識到這很可能是自招的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	我猜想對方是出於好意的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	我把事件歸咎於自己。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	我讓對方知道我對他所做的事有何感受	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c) 當你在一間公園內散步時，一名男子走近，色眯眯地看著您，並對您說出具性意味的言語。

1.	我就此作罷，裝作不在乎。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	我讓對方知道我不喜歡他這樣做。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	我認為這是一種讚美。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	我不會追究。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	我意識到這很可能是自招的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	我猜想對方是出於好意的。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7.	我把事件歸咎於自己。	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	我讓對方知道我對他做的事有何感受	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

G) 請以 1 分至 5 分來回答，以下這些句子對你來說有多貼切。

1	2	3	4	5
十分不貼切	不貼切	中立	貼切	十分貼切

		十分不貼切	不貼切	中立	貼切	十分貼切
1.	在_____內，遇到陌生人性騷擾的情況很普遍。					
a.	酒吧/夜店	1	2	3	4	5
b.	一間店舖	1	2	3	4	5
c.	公園	1	2	3	4	5

2.	到_____的女生，應該早預料到會遇到上陌生人性騷擾的情況。					
a.	酒吧/夜店	1	2	3	4	5
b.	一間店舖	1	2	3	4	5
c.	公園	1	2	3	4	5

3.	如在_____內遇上陌生人性騷擾的情況，身邊的人會幫助我。					
a.	酒吧/夜店	1	2	3	4	5
b.	一間店舖	1	2	3	4	5
c.	公園	1	2	3	4	5

H) 個人資料

請以刪去/加上勾號的方法來標明你的答案

年齡：_____ 婚姻狀況：從未結婚 / 已婚 / 其他 (如：離婚、喪偶)

教育程度： 小學或以下
 中學程度
 高級文憑/副學士
 大學或以上

就業情況： 全職工作
 家庭主婦
 有受薪工作(如：兼職工作)
 沒有受薪工作
 全職學生
 有受薪工作(如：兼職工作)
 沒有受薪工作
 待業

職業/職位： 經理及行政級人員
 專業人士
 技術員及輔助專業人士
 文員
 服務工作及商店銷售人員
 工藝及有關人員
 機台及機器操作員及裝配員
 非技術工人
 其他：(請註明) _____
 不適用

每月收入： \$10,000 以下
 \$10,001 - \$20,000
 \$20,001 - \$30,000
 \$30,001 - \$40,000
 \$40,001 - \$50,000
 \$50,001 以上
 不適用

Questionnaire no.: _____.

Lingnan University – Department of Sociology and Social Policy Department

A Study regarding to Females' Personal Experience in Public Area

Greetings! Thank you very much for your participation.

I am a research postgraduate student at the Department of Sociology and Social Policy in Lingnan University. I am currently conducting a research on females' personal experience in public area, which **targets at 18-25 year-old female, who are permanent residents of Hong Kong**. To participate in this research, you are requested to fill in a questionnaire, which would take approximately 15 minutes.

Your participation in this research is totally voluntary, and you are under no obligation to take part in this research. You are free to refuse filling in questionnaires, or withdraw at any point. Such decision will not lead to any negative consequence. All data collected in this study will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only. All personal information will not be disclosed.

This questionnaire consists 8 parts. There is no model answer to any of these questions. There are also no right or wrong answers. Please answer the questions by referring to your own experience and feelings.

Thank you very much for your participation again. Your participation is essential to this study. If you have any questions or suggestions towards this study, please kindly contact Sui Lau, Alla. Telephone No. : 616337776 / E-mail: allalau@ln.edu.hk

Date: _____.

A) The following statements describe how people feel about their appearance and body. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the numbers from 1-7.

You may also circle NA if you find the statement non-applicable to you.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree Somewhat	Strongly Agree

1.	I rarely think about how I look.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I think it is more important that my clothes are comfortable than whether they look good on me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I think more about how my body feels than how my body looks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I rarely compare how I look with how other people look.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	During the day, I think about how I look many times.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I often worry about whether the clothes I am wearing make me look good.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I rarely worry about how I look to other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I am more concerned with what my body can do than how it looks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	When I can't control my weight, I feel like something must be wrong with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	I feel ashamed of myself when I haven't made the effort to look the best.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	I feel like I must be a bad person when I don't look as good as I could.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	I would be ashamed for people to know what I really weigh.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I never worry that something is wrong with me when I am not exercising as much as I should.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	When I'm not exercising enough, I question whether I am a good enough person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Even when I can't control my weight, I think I'm an okay person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	When I'm not the size I think I should be, I feel ashamed.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	I think a person is pretty much stuck with the looks they are born with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	A large part of being in shape is having that kind of body in the first place.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	I think a person can look pretty much how they want to if they are willing to work at it.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	I really don't think I have much control over how my body looks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	I think a person's weight is mostly determined by the genes they are born with.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	It doesn't matter how hard I try to change my weight, it's probably always going to be the	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	same.							
23.	I can weigh what I'm supposed to when I try hard enough.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	The shape you are in depends mostly on your genes.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B)

The followings are nine potential actions that **strangers** may have done to you **in public area (e.g. on the streets, in the restaurants, bars, or libraries, etc)**. Please report the frequency of experiencing these events by circling the numbers from 0 to 6.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Never	Once	Once to twice in a year	Every few months	1 to 3 times in a month	1 to 3 times in a week	More than 4 times in a week

1.	Stared at you sexually (e.g. leering at you, stare excessively)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	Made sexually explicit yet non-language noise to you (e.g. Catcalling, whistling, making kissing noises)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Verbal harassment (e.g. Making comments about your appearance, sexually explicit comments, sexist comments to you)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Made vulgar or obscene gestures (e.g. waving to you to ask you to approach, grabbing his own crotch, imitating a part of a sex act.)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Purposely blocked your path	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Followed You	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Took a candid photo of you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Exposed their sexual body parts to you (e.g. Exposing their genitals or buttocks to you)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Masturbated in front of you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	Touched or grabbed you in a sexual way (e.g. touching your waist, groping your buttock, brushing against your breast)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Sexually assaulted you	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

C) If you **have experienced** any of these events mentioned above, please **recall** how you usually respond to them;
if you **have never experience** any of them, please **imagine** how you would respond to them; and
indicate how descriptive the following statements would be to your responses by circling the numbers from 1-7

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Descriptive at all						Extremely Descriptive

1.	I just 'blew it off' and acted like I did not care.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I assumed he meant well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I felt stupid for letting myself get into the situation.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I did not do anything.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I reported him.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I assumed he was trying to be funny.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I pretended nothing was happening	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I talked to someone about what happened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I realized he probably would not have done it if I had dressed differently.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	I acted like I did not notice.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	I let him know how I felt about what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	I considered it flattering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I tried to forget the whole thing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I just let it go.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	I blamed myself for what happened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	I treated it as a joke.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	I let him know I did not like what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	I realized that I had probably brought it on myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	I figured he must really like me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	I just ignored the whole thing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

D)

Please refer to how you feel and think about your body, and indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the numbers from 1-5.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

1.	My body is sexually appealing.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I like my looks just the way they are.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Most people would consider me good-looking.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I like the way I look without my clothes on.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I like the way my clothes fit me.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I dislike my physique.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	I am physically unattractive.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Before going out in public, I always notice how I look.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	I am careful to buy clothes that will make me look my best.	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I check my appearance in a mirror whenever I can.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Before going out, I usually spend a lot of time getting ready.	1	2	3	4	5
12.	It is important that I always look good.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	I use very few grooming products.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I am self-conscious if my grooming isn't right.	1	2	3	4	5

15.	I usually wear whatever is handy without caring how it looks.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	I don't care what people think about my appearance.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	I take special care with my hair grooming.	1	2	3	4	5
18.	I never think about my appearance.	1	2	3	4	5
19.	I am always trying to improve my physical appearance.	1	2	3	4	5

E)

The statements on this page concern women, men, and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by circling the numbers from 1-5.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Strongly Agree

1.	No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	0	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for 'equality'.	0	1	2	3	4	5
3.	In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.	0	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Women are too easily offended.	0	1	2	3	4	5
6.	People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.	0	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.	0	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Women should be cherished and protected by men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.	0	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.	0	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.	0	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Men are complete without women.	0	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Women Exaggerate problems they have at work.	0	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.	0	1	2	3	4	5
16.	When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.	0	1	2	3	4	5
17.	A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.	0	1	2	3	4	5
18.	There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	0	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.	0	1	2	3	4	5
20.	Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.	0	1	2	3	4	5
21.	Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.	0	1	2	3	4	5

22.	Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.	0	1	2	3	4	5
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F) Please image how you would respond if you experience the following scenario, and indicate how descriptive the following statements would be to your responses by circling the numbers from 1-7.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Descriptive at all						Extremely Descriptive

a) When **you are drinking in a bar/nightclub**, a man walk up to you, leer at you and make sexually explicit remarks to you.

1.	I just 'blew it off' and acted like I did not care.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I let him know I did not like what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I considered it flattering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I just let it go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I realized that I had probably brought it on myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I assumed he meant well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I blamed myself for what happened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I let him know how I felt about what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b) When **you are shopping in a store**, a man walk up to you, leer at you and make sexually explicit remarks to you.

1.	I just 'blew it off' and acted like I did not care. °	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I let him know I did not like what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I considered it flattering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I just let it go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I realized that I had probably brought it on myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I assumed he meant well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I blamed myself for what happened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I let him know how I felt about what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c) When **you are taking a walk in a park**, a man walk up to you, leer at you and make sexually explicit remarks to you.

1.	I just 'blew it off' and acted like I did not care. °	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I let him know I did not like what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I considered it flattering	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I just let it go	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I realized that I had probably brought it on myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I assumed he meant well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I blamed myself for what happened.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	I let him know how I felt about what he was doing.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

G) Please indicate how descriptive the following statements would be to you by circling the numbers from 1-5.

1	2	3	4	5
Not Descriptive at All	Not Descriptive	Neutral	Descriptive	Extremely Descriptive

1.	In _____ , experiencing stranger harassment is common.					
a.	A bar/nightclub	1	2	3	4	5
b.	A store	1	2	3	4	5
c.	A park	1	2	3	4	5

2.	Women who visit _____ should expect stranger harassment in that setting.					
a.	A bar/nightclub	1	2	3	4	5
b.	A store	1	2	3	4	5
c.	A park	1	2	3	4	5

3.	People nearby will help me if I experience stranger harassment in _____.
----	--

a.	A bar/nightclub	1	2	3	4	5
b.	A store	1	2	3	4	5
c.	A park	1	2	3	4	5

H) Demographic Information

Please indicate your answers by deleting the inappropriate or putting a tick in the box corresponding to your answer.

I)

1) Age:_____. 2) Marital Status : Never Married/Married/Others (e.g. Divorced, Widowed)

- 3) Education level: Primary School or below
 Secondary School
 Higher Diploma/Associate Degree
 Bachelor Degree or above

4) Employment status: Full-time employment

- Housekeeper
 Have paid jobs (e.g. Part-time Jobs)
 No paid jobs
- Full-time student
 Have paid jobs (e.g. Part-time Jobs)
 No paid jobs
- Unemployed

5) Occupation/ Position: Managers/Executive

- Professional
 Technician/Associate Professional
 Clerk
 Shop & market Sales Worker
 Craft & related Trade Worker
 Plant & machine operator/assembler
 Unskilled blue collar
 Other : (Please specify:_____.)
 Non-applicable

6) Monthly Income: \$10,000 or below

- \$10,001 - \$20,000
 \$20,001 - \$30,000
 \$30,001 - \$40,000
 \$40,001 - \$50,000
 \$50,001 or above
 Non-applicable

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