Page Proof Instructions and Queries

No.	Query
GQ1	Please confirm that all author information, including names, affiliations, sequence, and contact details, is correct.
GQ2	Please confirm that the Funding and Conflict of Interest statements are accurate.
GQ3	Please note that we cannot add/amend ORCID iDs for any article at the proof stage. Following ORCID's guidelines, the publisher can include only ORCID iDs that the authors have specifically validated for each manuscript prior to official acceptance for publication.
1	Please update "Anonymous" with complete reference details.
2	Please provide complete reference details for "Arxer, 2011."
3	Please provide complete reference details for "Crown Prosecution Service, 2015," or delete the citation.
4	Please provide complete reference details for "Holtz et al., 2012," or delete the citation.
5	Please provide an expansion for "IBSA," if applicable.
6	Please update "blinded for peer review" in the sentence "Ethical approval was first gained . . . "
7	Please provide complete reference details for "Sacks, 1992."
8	Please provide complete reference details for "Kimmel, 1994," or delete the citation.
9	Please provide complete reference details for "Zimmerman, 1988," or delete the citation.
10	Please provide complete reference details for "Jacobs, 2004."
11	Please provide complete reference details for "Dines, 2010."
12	Please provide complete reference details for "Attwood, 2009," or delete the citation.
13	Please provide complete reference details for "Empel, 2011," or delete the citation.
14	The sentence beginning "Other examples might include converting . . . " is provided twice in Note 4. Please check and edit as needed.

15	"Arminen, 2004" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
16	"Beyens, Christiaens, Claes, De Ridder, Tournel, & Tubex, 2013" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
17	"Bies & Tripp, 1996" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
18	"Epstein, 2007" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
19	"Glaser & Strauss, 1967" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
20	"Lewis, Rowe, & Wiper, 2017" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
21	"Maguire & Delahunt, 2017" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
22	"McGlynn & Downes, 2015" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
23	Please provide English translation for the title of the reference "Mogensen & Helding Rand, 2019."
24	"Nichols, 2018" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
25	Please provide page range for the reference "Nowell et al., 2017."
26	"Nurka, 2014" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
27	"Radhika, 2014" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
28	"Strang, 2014" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
29	"Thompson, 2016" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
30	"Veen, te Molder, Gremmen, & van Woerkum, 2010" is not mentioned in the text. Please insert the appropriate citation in the text, or delete the reference.
31	Please provide a 2–3 sentence bio for each author.

"Upskirting," Homosociality, and Craft*man*ship: A Thematic Analysis of Perpetrator and Viewer Interactions

Matthew Hall[1,2] , Jeff Hearn[3,4,5], and Ruth Lewis[6][GQ: 1]

Abstract

"Upskirting" is the action or practice of surreptitiously taking photographs or videos up a female's skirt or dress. In the United Kingdom, it is an offense. However, internationally, laws are uneven. Understanding how perpetrators account for their actions becomes an important question. Here, we present the findings of our thematic analysis of posts on the "upskirting" website, The Candid Zone. Our analysis shows that posters and respondents frame this activity as artistic and technical, providing each other with advice and guidance on where, and how to get the "best" shots. We conceptualize this as form of abuse as homosociality and crafts*man*ship.

Keywords

thematic analysis, gender violence, homosociality, upskirting, craftsmanship

Introduction

In April 2019, "upskirting" became an offense in England and Wales as voyeurism under the Sexual Offenses Act 2003, punishable by up to 2 years imprisonment with more serious cases added to the Violent and Sex Offender Register (Gov.UK, 2019).

[1]Arden University, Coventry, UK
[2]University of Derby, UK
[3]University of Huddersfield, UK
[4]Örebro University, Sweden
[5]Hanken School of Economics, Helsinki, Finland
[6]Northumbria University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

Corresponding Author:
Matthew Hall, Arden University, Arden House, Middlemarch Park, Coventry CV3 4FJ, UK.
Email: mhall@arden.ac.uk

While there have been reports of victims as young as 7 years old and senior citizens (see Oppenheim, 2019), there appears to be little comprehensive data showing the full extent of the problem. Although "upskirting" has received a lot of attention as an apparently new activity, it has a long history in voyeurism and associated photographic activities.[1] Employing the affordances of recording devices such as smart phone cameras, pen or shoe cameras, Google glass, and other forms of spyware equipment, today's voyeurs can take photos or recordings of people in public places unobtrusively and surreptitiously.

"Upskirting" refers to the act of taking photographs or recordings from underneath someone's skirt or dress of their buttocks, crotch, genitals, underwear, or legs, without their consent and usually without their knowledge. The images are generally taken in public, such as on public transport, in the street, in shops and shopping centers, in schools and colleges, as well as in offices, workplaces, and leisure spaces. "Upskirting" is one form of image-based sexual abuse (McGlynn & Rackley, 2017), and cyberviolence more broadly, and, from the emerging research evidence, is overwhelmingly perpetrated by men against women (Oppenheim, 2019; Thompson, 2019a). There have been increasing legal responses internationally, with many laws addressing "upskirting" defined as a form of voyeurism, in Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United States, for example (see McCann et al., 2018; New Zealand Law Commission, 2004; Thompson, 2019b; Whiteman, 2019), yet the global policy response is still uneven and contested, not least because of the difficulties of creating laws capable of regulating some technologies (Bennett Moses, 2013).

A key element of the abusiveness of "upskirting" is that the images are not only *taken* without the woman's or girl's consent but are also *shared* without her consent. This is thus a double abuse. They may be shared via social media within friendship or other groups or via websites dedicated to hosting non-consensual upskirt images. This non-consensual sharing of non-consensual images generates significant harms. McGlynn and Rackley (2017) point to the "profound" (p. 545) and "deeply gendered" (p. 544) harms of image-based sexual assault that can include severe distress and anxiety, mental health effects, and impacts, for younger people, on educational and emotional development. Moreover, its effects are wider, as it contributes to the more general sexual objectification of women and their commodification for sexual consumption by men across societies. Indeed, the dissemination, viewing, and celebration of this misogynistic material on social media and dedicated websites such as The Candid Forum can serve to reinforce these practices as acceptable among site-users. Such online platforms also allow for a new form of the storage, classification, curation, and consumption of women's bodies (or parts of), through multi-users tagging which fosters and reinforces harmful sexist attitudes (Thompson & Wood, 2018). These socio-technologies make the possibility for the sexualization and abuse of women's bodies easily available, instantaneous, mobile, and thus ubiquitous.

In this article, we analyze "upskirting" as a form of gender-based violence and a form of online men's homosociality. We examine a selection of data taken from postings on The Candid Zone, a website dedicated to surreptitiously taken photos of women's bodies. Those postings reveal that "upskirting" is construed by posters as a form

of "crafts*man*ship"[2] which uses photographic stills and filmmaking skills. First, we analyze the important roles of misogyny, and crafts*man*ship in the construction of homosociality.

Homosociality and Misogyny

Although upskirt images may be taken by solitary men, the consumption of the images is very often a social act. Dedicated websites, such as The Candid Zone, provide a platform for men to view and comment on—"rate and berate" (Oliver, 2016, p. 8)— each other's pictures. In this respect, "upskirting" can be considered as a performance of masculinity which (re)produces and is (re)produced by homosocial bonds. Homosociality refers to the (explicitly) non-sexual attraction and mutual valuing between those of the same sex and is often used to refer to heterosexual male social bonds (Lipman-Blumen, 1976). Bird (1996) argued that this sort of homosocial inter-action contributes to the maintenance of more dominant forms of masculinity through the affirmation of idealized male identity norms. Hammarén and Johansson (2014) state a further key feature of homosociality is men's (and boys') competition with each other to gain approval and status. Competitiveness may be performed through occupa-tional status, wealth, physical strength, sporting achievements, sexual prowess, and so on. Those with lesser status may seek advice and guidance from their peers, and thereby celebrate peer successes.

Homosociality thrives online. Pioneering studies in this respect include Kendall's (2002) study of the so-called "virtual pub," Olson's (2012) study of online homoso-ciality in the hacker organization, Anonymous, and Whisnant's (2010) study of imag-ined homosocial audiences in viewing pornography online. **[AQ: 1]**More recently, there is now an increasing range of studies on different aspects of (largely younger) men and masculinities online, such as those on Incels, MGTOW (Men Going Their Own Way), and the Manosphere (Ging, 2019; Mogensen & Helding Rand, 2019), along with more focused studies pointing to the harmful and homosocial behaviors of perpetrators (Hall & Hearn, 2017; Henry et al., 2017; Henry & Flynn, 2019; Thompson & Wood, 2018).

A wide variety of studies have shown how homosocial bonds can be predicated on misogynistic attitudes and shape men's relations with women, their sexual attitudes, and behaviors (Bird, 1996; Connell, 1987; Flood, 2008; Sedgwick, 2015). In many different, though certainly not all, social contexts, some men's friendships have been characterized as highly stoic and constrained and policed by personal and social homophobia, thus permitting very limited emotional or physical expression (Magrath & Scoats, 2019). Typically, such friendships might be based on shared activities— around, for example, drinking, gambling, sport, "womanizing," and humor. Some research shows that some contemporary forms of younger masculinities and friend-ships are more fluid, varied, and emotionally expressive (Magrath & Scoats, 2019; McCormack, 2011; Robinson et al., 2018). However, scholarship also indicates that these developments do not equate to a detachment from sexist attitudes and behaviors. Arxer (2011) notes that the "hybrid masculinity" expressed by the men he studied

includes *both* more intimate emotionality *and* sexual objectification of women, which is one of the "hallmark strategies used in homosocial interaction among men to promote patriarchy" (p. 399).[AQ: 2]

Engagements between men around "upskirting" and other forms of sexual violence and abuse indicate that misogynistic attitudes are still expressed as a form of homosocial bonding in which humor and "banter" are integral. For example, Oliver (2016) examines the ways in which, among some young men, rape is a "spectator sport." For example, when high school footballers in Steubenville, Ohio, in the United States raped a young woman in 2012, their offenses became widely known in that community and beyond because some of the young men involved had filmed and photographed the assault and shared images and celebratory comments on Instagram and Twitter (Levy, 2013; Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2013). Levy describes this online communication, which includes victim-blaming, deeply derogatory sexualized comments about the victim specifically and women in general, denial that the men's acts constituted rape (even though the victim was inebriated to the point of unconsciousness and incapable of giving consent), and "jokes" about the offense. One video showed a young man, "drunkenly holding forth about the evening . . . [he] keeps on riffing, and his audience keeps on laughing, for more than twelve minutes" (Levy, 2013). The recordings and knowledge of the sexually violent acts were used among groups of young men to bond and share their apparent humor and delight at the behaviors of these men.

Another high-profile case, this one in the United Kingdom, reveals the ways in which some young men can bond over sexual violence. At Warwick University, a group of young male students was exposed for engaging over the course of more than a year in what came to be known as "rape chat"—sexually violent (as well as racist) comments on a Facebook "group chat" about young women in their friendship group. The so-called chat contained references to gang rape, genital mutilation, and abducting and chaining a woman to a bed. The men had changed their online names to those of notorious serial killers and rapists. It was dismissed by at least one of the men involved as a joke and "how boys talk" (Lee & Kennelly, 2019).

These two recent high-profile examples illustrate how some men use social media to share and generate delight in misogynistic, sexually violent ideas and activity in the name of "chat" or "banter." Concepts of masculinity and masculine friendships also relate to ideas about craftsmanship, skill, and competition, which we discuss below.

Homosociality and Craft*man*ship

Craft*man*ship can be one way to maintain, deepen, and engrain homosociality. Moreover, crafts*man*ship, and the associated pride that can accompany it, have long been associated with the skillful manipulation of tools, with particular significance for working-class men (Balkmar, 2012; Law, 2001; Mellström, 1999, 2004), but this positioning has been taken up, perhaps appropriated, by men with various different class backgrounds, as, for example, in some manifestations of the hipster movement. Crafts*man*ship involves the valuing of conspicuous interpersonal or collective display,

earned through hard and skilled workmanship, usually with tools and technologies, rather than simply direct individualistic bragging. Performance is largely individual but is also directed to what is seen as a potentially appreciative collective audience.

Willis's (1990) notion of symbolic creativity—highlighting how commodities are actively appropriated in processes of identity construction—is of relevance here. The concept of symbolic creativity adds the dimension of craft and the manipulation of things as key in the active process of purposeful image-making (Willis, 1990, pp. 84–89). With some forms of craft*man*ship, there should be no signs of mess or of forced or untidy presentation (Balkmar, 2012). In *The Craftsman*, Sennett (2009, p. 258) notes how getting things into perfect shape can mean removing traces and evidence of previous work or work in progress: "[p]erfection of this cleaned-up sort is a static condition; the object does not hint at the narrative of its making." When such evidence is eliminated, the object appears pristine and well crafted. "Upskirting" is a material hands-on cultural practice, women's bodies are the currency between men, tools, and material objects (Law, 2001). As we show below, notions of crafts*man*ship are employed by men who comment on online fora dedicated to "upskirting" images.

Method

Our dataset is drawn from the internet site, The Candid Zone, which was the largest dedicated "upskirting" and voyeurism website, containing more than 28,000 specific threads with more than half a million posts (as of August 17, 2019). Founded in 2018, The Candid Zone is a moderated internet forum that allows users to share images, videos, and text of women and girls they have "upskirted" or "downbloused"; images of women and girls in short shorts, leggings, tight jeans, bikinis, Spandex, yoga pants; and images of their breasts and feet, which remaining anonymous with a tag, avatar, or pseudonym, which may not bare any resemblance to the offline self.

The posting of images can garner peer-status. Members were categorized by the Candid Zone as either Lurker (someone who views but does not post), Contributor (someone who posts images and/or posts comments), and Shooters/Legend (those members who have taken the photos and videos considered to be the best). Popular and more successful posters are placed on the leader board alongside past leaders and top-rated members. Leaders were awarded points for the number of "thumbs up" or "thumbs down," content views from fellow members, and the number and "quality" of the images and videos posted. However, since December 2019, the site's creator has banned "lurkers" and illegal or stolen content and is paying "shooters," presumably to rebrand the website as superior and distinguish it from other similar website or pornographic online platforms.

Posters from across the globe can begin a thread with the photographs and video recordings they have captured posting in any of the main forum threads which curate women into body parts: Leggings & Yoga Pants, Downblouse & Boobs, Beach & Bikini, Upskirt, Dresses & Skirts, Shorts, Tight Jeans, Uncategorised, and Requests (see Thompson & Wood, 2018, for a consideration of "how online creepshot websites represent a new form of consuming and classifying women's bodies" [p. 561]

through categorisation and organisation, or "folksonomies of misogyny" [p. 566]). In addition to these threads, members can provide and get advice and guidance on the best equipment to use and how to capture the best photographs and specific photographic techniques. For example, there are discussions on camera angles, types of cameras, and video recording devices, such as shoe cameras, the best places to photo "upskirts," such as on the escalator or in a shoe shop, and many others. However, what is unique to The Candid Zone is that it provides both posters and viewers with the ability to engage with the material they encounter through the computer-mediated communication channel, namely, comments, which offers richer insights into this phenomenon.

According to The Candid Zone, members must follow some general rules for posting which include "Too Old/Young, Not Attractive—Let's keep this website full of hot girls," "Personal Info—Please check the picture and make sure no personal information, such as the girl's full name, school name, social media account, etc. is included," "No Porn," "Not in Public—No voyeur content (Bathroom, toilet, changing room etc.)," and "CP—No sexual or suggestive content involving minors." However, the vast majority of images are sexualised for others to enjoy, taken in public spaces, and a significant number of these are claimed to be of teenage girls, for example, "Juicy Teen Pink Skirt Uppie (OC)" and "Highschool Upskirt, Visible Thong & Pussy Lips."

Child pornography is illegal in the United Kingdom under the Protection of Children Act 1978 (PCA 1978) and section 160 of the Criminal Justice Act 1988 (CJA 1988) (Crown Prosecution Service, 2015). Given a significant amount of the forum threads appear to involve minors, we have made every effort to confine the research to text and related images where it was claimed that the victim was above 18 years of age, and also where the victim appeared so. Given The Candid Forum appeared to contain sexualized images of underage females, we approached a member of the U.K. police force for advice, and referred the website to the internet Watch Foundation, a registered U.K. charity with a remit to trace the origin of child pornographic images and work with police around the globe to bring prosecutions.[AQ: 3]

There were a number of threads containing several hundred unique respondents. The first author read through the 10 most popular to identify the thread that aligned to our research question: "How do perpetrators of 'upskirting' account for their actions?" (Holtz et al., 2012). While reading through these threads, preliminary codes were created to identify common ways in which perpetrators accounted for their actions, such as blaming the victim, as has been widely shown for perpetrators of other forms of violence and abuse (e.g., Hearn, 1998), and providing a service to other men, which links with understandings of approaches to violence against women through male peer support (e.g., DeKeseredy, 1990; also see DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2016). However, in this process, the sub-themes suggested homosociality and craftsmanship were key themes in the thread titled "++ (OC) YOU MAY WANT TO SIT DOWN FOR THIS ONE!! ++." In this thread, the original post was an upskirting video of two women walking near a beach, which received 1,101 replies, and 34,583 views from February 2–August 17, 2019. Given the additional richness of these data, we focused on this thread.[AQ: 4]

We adopted an inductive thematic analysis approach (Nowell et al., 2017) as its theoretical freedom makes it a useful research tool for managing complex data, providing rich and detailed analysis. We downloaded all the comments on this thread and cleaned the data by removing hyperlinks and adverts. Having downloaded and cleaned our dataset, all three authors read through our data identifying main themes (e.g., homosociality, craftsmanship). Through discussion between the authors about these themes, further sub-themes emerged (e.g., homosociality: gratitude/respect/courage/envy/advice seeking; craftsmanship: subject/camera angle/lighting; which we contrasted and refined with others; "constant comparison" process). Once we agreed codes to encapsulate these themes, the data were systematically coded, line-by-line using NVivo and these themes are discussed below, after consideration of the ethical issues raised by doing research about online IBSA.[AQ: 5]

Ethics

Ethical approval was first gained from the (blinded for peer review) University Research and Ethics Committee. Collecting data from the internet typically presents ethical challenges around respect for privacy and dignity of individuals and communities (British Psychological Society [BPS], 2017, p. 6). The BPS (2017) suggests that without consent "observation of public behaviour needs to take place only in public situations where those observed 'would expect to be observed'" (pp. 6–7). While The Candid Zone requires free membership sign-up, it is open to anyone, and all posts are publicly available.[AQ: 6]

Although scholars (Hookway, 2008; Rodham & Gavin, 2006; Walther & Boyd, 2002) argue that every effort should be made to obtain consent, it would be almost impossible to identify and contact the posters because each member has a pseudonym and there is no direct contact facility. Thus, gaining consent from each poster would be almost impossible without very substantial detective work, as would be consent from victims/survivors. Yet privacy issues are still applicable for those whose images are posted on The Candid Zone and similar sites. We, therefore, only draw on the text, and we have anonymized our dataset as far as possible removing any in-text personal details, vernaculars, or references. We also do not draw upon, or reproduce, any of the visual material as we do not want to further compromise the dignity of those pictured, even though that restricts analysis and interpretation in some cases because meanings are conveyed through the interaction of visual material and written text. This approach restricts the analysis in some cases because meanings are conveyed through the interaction of visual material and written text.

In addition, researching such topics raises ethical issues for researchers in terms of their well-being, given their exposure to voluminous quantities of upsetting and offensive online material. The authors have access to their own institutional support networks and talking openly between us and with colleagues was considered part of the self-care strategy (Kumar & Cavallaro, 2018).

We anonymized the online electronic written talk using "video creator" (VC) to refer to the person who posted the initial video and "respondent" (R1–R14) to refer to

those who responded to VC's initial post. We present the extracts of written talk in full as they appear on The Candid Zone including spelling and grammar mistakes and colloquial language.

Exemplars of Homosociality and Craft*man*ship

Homosociality and craft*man*ship were the two key themes identified, along with a number of sub-themes which are listed with the frequency with which they appeared in the dataset.

Table of (Sub)Themes.

Theme	Sub-theme	Number of occurrences
Homosociality		
	Gratitude	952
	Respect	763
	Advice seeking	298
	Risk taking	239
	Envy	165
Craft*man*ship		
	Subject	642
	Camera angle	94
	Lighting	76

The extracts we present below are exemplars of the specific themes we identified through data analysis. We begin by presenting the analysis of the text that accompanied the video and photographic stills.[3] The VC was held in high esteem by all respondents, although in differing ways. As Sacks (1992) pointed out, those who speak first provide the context in which all other responses should be read:[AQ: 7]

> VC: I don't really ever do skirts and uppies, but I mean look at this amazing beauty. She has to be a model, right? Anyway, I don't shoot dresses and skirts because I don't think they shape the ass the way I like. But, this is an exception! The dress kept riding up which is why she was constantly pulling it down. It was a really windy day so I'm sure it was really drafty up in there. It was also fairly cold which is why she had serious goose bumps on those long legs for days. I was doing a follow[4] and felt like I was getting way too obvious so I went out in front and stopped at this vendor table and just hoped they would also stop . . . and they did! I couldn't believe my good fortune. They gave me all kinds of opportunity to get close ups. The denim girl was a bonus . . .

A number of things in VC's text stand out. First, the victim(s)[5] is objectified "this amazing beauty. She has to be a model, right?" We were surprised that, in general, comments about the women whose images were taken tended to focus on their attractiveness and that there were relatively few disparaging, abusive comments (although there were some). Instead, they take their sexual objectification of the subjects (women

and girls) seriously, with no reference to the abusive or objectionable nature of their activities.

Relatedly, the objectification and filming of the victim is also presented as an opportunity, as in "I don't really ever do skirts and uppies, but I mean look at this amazing beauty." This statement "justifies" his actions within the peer-group (Sweeney, 2014). In other words, it is presumed that any member of the group would have taken the opportunity in this situation.

Second, what is also evident is that the victim is presented as complicit "They gave me all kinds of opportunity to get close ups." In other words, she is deemed to have invited attention by choosing to wear a "dress" on a "windy day," which "kept riding up." Berkowitza and Cornell (2005) argue victim-blaming protects the perpetrator against self-destructive impulses such as guilt, so that any risk of internal harm can be externalized. Indeed, victim-blaming was common in all The Candid Zone forums, as, for example, in other posts in the thread, "Women always find a reason to bend over," "this attention whore."

It also became apparent in our analysis that VC's craft*man*ship bolstered his peer-status. Mikorski and Szymanski's (2017) online survey research with 329 heterosexually identified undergraduate males found that male peer-group status was interlinked with their sexual objectification of females. Those who had intimate interactions with females deemed attractive by their peers enjoyed higher esteem. This was also evident in our dataset and we return to this later.

The final point to notice is that VC invokes "risk"; "I was doing a follow [physically following a woman/en with a view to do upskirting photography] and felt like I was getting way too obvious." Smiler's (2006) survey research with 688 heterosexual U.S. adults aged 18–82 years old (340 males), found men's risk taking and dominance of women were the only two consistent correlations with presumed masculine traits. By presenting the filming as risky, VC invokes his masculine credentials as a means to increase his status within the group.

Presenting his video "work" of the objectified "amazing beauty" as skilled and "risky," VC lays out his homosocial credentials. However, it is only homosocial approval and recognition that will determine his peer-group status (Kimmel, 1994). In the following section, we present a range of responses: gratitude, respect, courage, envy, advice seeking, and admiration for his video skills (crafts*man*ship). We begin with gratitude:[AQ: 8]

Gratitude

R1: Very nice work on this one. I thought they'd catch on to you with how "interested" you were in the bracelets, but you did your thing. Awesome post and thanks for sharing!

R2: Good god that is just fantastic work!!!! Very nicely done, and another big thanks for the share.

People experience gratitude when they receive or feel something beneficial when somebody else does something kind or helpful (Emmons, 2004). Gratitude can be

experienced through several different means such as recognition of a sacrifice, giving compliments, showing appreciation, acknowledgment of skills and talents, and so on. Kashdan et al. (2009) point out that although on the whole women and girls tend to benefit more than men and boys from receiving gratitude and find it easier to show gratitude, in some contexts (e.g., male communities, teams), the men concerned may derive similar advantages. Thus, in these exemplars, it is clear that R1 and R2 both show gratitude.

Often gratitude is accompanied by respect. In the following two posts, we can see both R3 and R4 showing respect although in different ways:

Respect

R3: Standing ovation for you sir! Very well done! Hundreds of ups for you

R4: Bravo—absolutely superb work. The quality of the subject and the video is outstanding!! Well done, and thank you so much for this amazing contribution, it will go down in history as one of the greats!

Here we see R3 showing masculine respect for VC's abilities, qualities, and achievements "Standing ovation for you sir!" The use of "sir" in this context is readable as a highly gendered term used by men of disparate backgrounds to confer respect and homosocial bonding. Notice also that R3 normalizes his respect, aligning it with others in the forum through noting the number of "thumbs up" VC has received "Hundreds of ups for you." Ample research identifies the significant relationships between masculinity and respect from male peers in areas such as sports (Wheaton, 2000), education (Harris, 2010), and alcohol consumption (Hunt et al., 2005). Hammarén and Johansson (2014) argue that respect may be performed through recognition of, for example, occupational status, wealth and sexual prowess.

Although R4 also shows respect, what is also noticeable is that R4 invokes VC's crafts*man*ship—"Bravo—absolutely superb work. The quality of the subject and the video is outstanding!!"—a point we return to later.

Respect for VC's abilities, qualities, and achievements was expressed as envy for some viewers.

Envy

R5: This is dream stuff, talk about right place, right time, you lucky bastardepic cap[6] and thanks for sharing

R6: If only this happened to me sir!

Although not explicitly stated, one might presume that R5 and R6 envy VC's status with other male viewers given VC's was the most popular thread on the website. But what both responses show is envy for VC being in the "right place" at the "right time" as R5 "This is dream stuff . . . you lucky bastard" and R6 "If only this happened to me

sir!" make explicit. Envy is a complex and powerful feeling where the person has a desire for another's qualities or advantage. Studies such as Guignard (2018) argue that women tend to report envy when comparing their own attractiveness with other women, where men tend to report envying other men with greater financial resources, skills, and status with other men.

Invoking envy, gratitude, and respect help to elevate VC's status within this community of viewers in this particular context. In the following two exemplar posts, the posters recycle the "risk" element in the video that VC referred to in his accompanying text:

Risk Taking

R7: VC I sauté[7] you!! That was an awesome and fearless follow of a stunning subject! Thank you

R8: You are really a brave man

We showed earlier how VC invoked risk through "risk taking." "I was doing a follow' and felt like I was getting way too obvious." This was repeated by many posters similarly to R7 and R8 "That was . . . fearless" and "You are a really brave man." These exemplars clearly demonstrate how the recognition of risk taking—being caught, especially as "upskirting" is illegal in many countries—increases the person's masculine peer-group status, as made explicit by R7 at the outset: "I sauté you!!" (see Smiler, 2006).

So far, we have presented elements of homosocial approval and recognition (Kimmel, 1994). However, in the remaining exemplar posts, we see how recognition of VC's technical skills—crafts*man*ship—bolster his homosocial status. We begin with advice seeking which also refers to camera skills and video content.

Advice Seeking

R9: This is superb mate. How did you record that? Can you mention about this? Your techniques? I want to do that but i dont know. Because people could see me if i try to video recording with my camera. i will be waiting for your answer ! Thanks.

R10: awesome content! and nice ass camera too btw, really good. what did you use?

R9 and R10 seek advice, respectively, on recording techniques and appropriate equipment to avoid being caught. Many posters sought advice and guidance on how to film videos and take photographs, what equipment to use, where to film or photograph, and so on. Given the illegality of this activity in many countries, knowledge about how to execute the activity is not widely shared. S. Epstein's (1995) study of AIDS activism demonstrated that where there is an absence of specialist knowledge, this gap is often filled with lay expertise. We can see in these posts that advice-seeking positions VC as a lay expert (Hammarén & Johansson, 2014).

As we have argued, homosocial peer-status may be maintained and elevated through specific actions deemed as having exceptional quality. We have shown the

specific ways in which homosocial status is displayed through gratitude, respect, courage, envy, and advice seeking. A further way that homosocial status may be bolstered is through peer recognition of technical skills: crafts*man*ship. The following exemplars show how VC's skills—subject, camera angle, and lighting—contribute to his homosocial status. We begin with the subject in the video.

Photographic Skills

> R11: Good God i thought I was sitting down. Excellent capture of a perfect body and perfect beauty. A+

> R12: Simply superb piece of work from you!!! This truly is one of the best OC[8] works here. She was the perfect subject . . . fit hot body . . . long legs . . . awesome wide thigh gap and the shortest of skirts!! And the view of her bare ass and her tiny thongs was mind blowing hot!!! Looking forward to more contris[9] like this from you. Thanks for sharing

We can see in R11's and R12's posts their admiration for the quality of the subject in the film. For example, R11 refers to the subject's physical and facial attractiveness. Jefferson (1991) showed the presence of items on a list adds clarity and weight to arguments and points being made.

References to the subject's physical and facial features were common in our dataset and clearly constitute sexual objectification of the woman in the video. As Arxer (2011) notes, sexual objectification can be seen as a hallmark of homosocial interaction, and in particular, recognition of the VC's video skills. Although the posters sexually objectify the subject, they also focus on the quality of VC's photographic skills

> R13: wow you hit pure gold. Great subject, great angle, and great lighting. A big thanks for this one.

> R14: She's such a pretty girl with nice long legs. The dress is an exceptional choice on that body. HQ[10] video work here! Great angles, clear views of face and her sweet ass. Six minutes isn't nearly long enough.

Amateur films and photographs, now frequently posted on social media platforms, are often compared with professional standards. That is not to say that viewers expect the same standards of amateur videos and photos, but the quality or likeability may be compared with commercially produced material (Zimmerman, 1988). Jacobs (2004) highlights a similar relationship between commercial porn production and amateur pornography recorded on mobile devices.**[AQ: 9][AQ: 10]**

Dines's (2010) study of pornography highlights how commercially produced pornographic films and images are highly edited to make the subject appear more aesthetically pleasing than perhaps they would appear in "real life." This is often done with lighting, specific camera angles, makeup, pubic hair grooming/removal, and so on. Such practices have become mainstream in society and in amateur home movies and photos, and are an element of what has been termed the pornografication,

pornographization (Attwood, 2009), or "mainstreamification" of pornography (Empel, 2011).[AQ: 11][AQ: 12][AQ: 13]

Because commercially produced porn acts as a benchmark by which to compare amateur produced videos and images, those of high quality are often celebrated through positive audience responses or by the viewer clicking on the thumbs up icon found on most pornographic websites. We see this in R11–R14's responses. All gave VC a thumbs up and praised his video (e.g., "wow you hit pure gold"; "you nailed with this one!!!!"; "absolutely superb work") and specific photographic skills (e.g., "Great subject, great angle, and great lighting"; "the angles are simply incredible!"; "great camerawork"; "The quality of the subject and the video is outstanding!!"; "looks like a professional photo session"). These comments invoke elements of crafts*man*ship, bolstering homosocial status.

Discussion

"Upskirting" is certainly a form of gendered violation, both initially in real life (IRL) and then subsequently as internet-based. As we have shown, the dissemination of this misogynistic material celebrates and reinforces these practices as acceptable and the classification of practices into "upskirting," "downblousing," and so on can be seen as misogynistic, as they foster and reinforce harmful sexist attitudes (Thompson & Wood, 2018). This raises some rather more complex, somewhat nuanced issues in normalizing sexual objectification of women than is the case with more obvious and direct forms of violence and misogyny.

In the form in which it is currently constituted, "upskirting" is a relatively recent phenomenon—even if, historically, there are continuities with, for example, the so-called "peeping tom," "what the butler saw," and other forms of voyeurism. It also continues the trajectory of the collection of photographic pin-ups and the isolation of body parts in pornography, but now such that they are self-made and self-distributed, as with DIY pornography, thereby extending the production of pornography from a specialist industry to the wider (male) public. In a different way, it also constitutes stalking, both IRL and online. It enacts the male gaze, as in narrative, photography, and film (Mulvey, 1975), with such visual power extended through the widely available and linked technological prosthetics of cameras and internet.

We found less highly sexualized and overtly gross textual commentary (although there was certainly some), and more comments about and "appreciation" of the "beauty" of the physical appearance of the women and girls. The commentaries to the visuals include, *in their own terms*, evaluative appreciations of the woman *as beauty and body*, while the homosocial appreciation of the man is *as expert in visuality*, that is, in terms of his expertise in representing the woman as body. There is a close overlapping and blurring here between, first, patriarchal and sexist assessments of woman, body, beauty, appearance, clothing and indeed detailed transgression thereof (Kaite, 1988); second, the homosocial evaluation of technical expertise, skill, and technique; and, third, the process of representing (Hearn & Melechi, 1992), men making "women"—all within a specific "visual ontology" (Oyewumi, 1997).

"Upskirting" is constituted in and by homosocial masculinity, drawing on notions of craftsmanship. The homosocial element is created through creating in-group identity, which is bolstered by positioning the activity as risky and requiring courage. Also, unlike, say, "revenge porn," "upskirting" largely seems to involve strangers or relative strangers; indeed, the intrusion into the woman's personal and body space seems to be part of the attraction, in both senses, for many of the men. Homosocial misogyny is reproduced through women as currency, initially close up, then at a relative distance, in a dispersed way among an online community of men who are probably strangers to the woman.

More specifically, "upskirting" entails both reinforcing and breaking gender norms, dehumanizing women, transgressing social boundaries with invasive action into women's space and world, along with (supposedly) polite, serious, crafted, studied normalization of misogyny. We call this latter aspect, "polite misogyny," in contrast to those forms which are more commonly recognized as misogyny, involving the explicit degradation and abuse of women. In using the word, polite, here, we refer to how certain actions may appear to or be regarded by those actors themselves as more cultured and refined than more directly and explicitly rude, coarse, or vulgar behaviors. This polite misogyny may appear to have some commonality with what some see as notions of chivalrous, gentlemanly behavior whereby the male gaze appraises and "appreciates" the female body, as if it were an object, an antique vase or a fine wine. The appraiser is imbued with a sense of skillful, knowledgeable judgment, the "upskirter" becomes a skilled craftsman, taking pride in his pursuit, rather than a perverted "peeping tom." Polite misogyny, as reported here, may involve showing respectful consideration to other "upskirters," overwhelmingly men, while obscuring, at least for some, the obvious misogyny to those "upskirted," overwhelmingly women. There is a parallel here with the practice of hunting and killing animals as prey, where the display of such trophies is appreciated and admired, by some, as evidence of courage, skill, even bizarrely "civilization," even while the "capture" involves abusive violation (Thompson & Wood, 2018). Violence and violation bring their own, sometimes paradoxical, aesthetics and styles (Appelbaum, 2017; Bennett, 2005; Burr & Hearn, 2008).

While there is no doubt a place for policy and legal interventions in response to "upskirting," formal regulations do not provide an easy solution, and regulation of anonymous public postings is mired in complexity. At the same time, attention needs to be given to the ways in which masculinities are reproduced online and offline to create homosocial environments which use objectification of women as currency between men, and how cultural and social structures, norms, and practices enable these environments to flourish.

Collecting our data directly from a unique forum thread where perpetrators and viewers discuss "upskirted" photos and videos has given us some insight into a relatively new community of abusers without requiring them to agree to be interviewed, which might have changed and restricted what they would have felt able to share with a group of university academics. Obviously, data are not intended to be generalized outside this group of perpetrators and viewers, although these accounts provide new insights into how these perpetrators and viewers account for their actions.

Acknowledgments

Declaration of Conflicting Interests[GQ: 2]

Funding

ORCID iD[GQ: 3]

Matthew Hall https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7651-1219

Notes

1. There is long history of (mainly) men making use of technological innovations to represent sex and sexuality and promote voyeurism. Pornographers, in particular, have done so in a more or less organized way. Rosen (2010) examines how pornography and technology have enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. Increasingly complex technologies have developed from the peep show, photography, film, and video. Early filmmakers were quick to exploit voyeurism and sexual display on the screen, with sexual themes figuring in clear, conscious, and sometimes less conscious ways (Hearn, 1992, ch. 8; also see Kittler, 2010; Thompson & Wood, 2018).
2. We have emphasized man in craftsmanship because our dataset only contained "men" and many of these presented "upskirting" as a skilled activity.
3. The photographs were single frames from the video of the victims' genitalia, presumably for closer examination by viewers.
4. The use of the term, a follow, is especially interesting in conveying a supposed professionalism, by way of nominalization, that is, conversion (zero derivation) of a verb to a noun. Other examples might include converting "to ask" to "an ask" or "to report" to "reports," meaning people who report to someone. The reverse process, verbification, of changing a noun to a verb, as in "to task" or "to action" can also carry connotations of managerialism (see Poole, 2013). Both processes are examples of antimeria. The use of the term, a follow, is especially interesting in conveying a supposed professionalism, by way of nominalization, that is, conversion (zero derivation) of a verb to a noun. Other examples might include converting "to ask" to "an ask" or "to report" to "reports," meaning people who report to someone.[AQ: 14]
5. Two women were caught on camera, but the main focus was on one in particular.
6. Short for capture.
7. Presumably a misspelling for "salute" or a mixing of "salute" and "santé."
8. Presumably shorthand for "original content."
9. Presumably shorthand for "contributions."
10. Presumably shorthand for "high quality."

References

Appelbaum, R. (2017). *The aesthetics of violence*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Arminen, I. (2004). Second stories: The saliency of interpersonal communication for mutual help in Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *36*(2), 319–347.[AQ: 15]

Balkmar, D. (2012). *On men and cars: An ethnographic study of gendered, risky and dangerous relations*. Linköping University Electronic Press.

Bennett, J. (2005). *Empathic vision: Affect, trauma, and contemporary art*. Stanford University Press.

Bennett Moses, L. (2013). How to think about law, regulation and technology: Problems with "technology" as a regulatory target. *Law, Innovation and Technology*, *5*(1), 1–20.

Berkowitza, R., & Cornell, D. (2005). Parables of revenge and masculinity in Clint Eastwood's Mystic River. *Law, Culture and the Humanities*, *1*(3), 316–332.

Beyens, K., Christiaens, J., Claes, B., De Ridder, S., Tournel, H., & Tubex, H. (2013). *The pains of doing criminological research*. ASP/Vubpress.[AQ: 16]

Bies, R. J., & Tripp, T. M. (1996). Beyond distrust: "Getting even" and the need for revenge. In R. M. Kramer & M. A. Neale (Eds.), *Trust and organizations: Frontiers of theory and research* (pp. 203–219). Sage.[AQ: 17]

Bird, S. R. (1996). Welcome to the men's club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity. *Gender & Society*, *10*(2), 120–132.

British Psychological Society. (2017). *Ethics guidelines for internet-mediated research*. https://www.bps.org.uk/sites/bps.org.uk/files/Policy/Policy%20-%20Files/Ethics%20Guidelines%20for%20Internet-mediated%20Research%20%282017%29.pdf

Burr, V., & Hearn, J. (Eds.). (2008). *Sex, violence and the body: The erotics of wounding*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and power*. Polity Press.

DeKeseredy, W. S. (1990). Male peer support and woman abuse: The current state of knowledge. *Sociological Focus*, *23*(2), 129–139.

DeKeseredy, W. S., & Schwartz, M. D. (2016). Thinking sociologically about image-based sexual abuse: The contribution of male peer support theory. *Sexualization, Media, & Society*, *2*(4). https://doi.org/10.1177/2374623816684692

Emmons, R. A. (2004). Gratitude. In M. E. P. Seligman & C. Peterson (Eds.), *The VIA taxonomy of human strengths and virtues* (pp. 553–568). Oxford University Press.

Epstein, R. (2007, February). The truth about online dating. *Scientific American Mind*. https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/the-truth-about-online-da/[AQ: 18]

Epstein, S. (1995). Expertise: AIDS activism and the forging of credibility in the reform of clinical trials. *Science Technology Human Values*, *20*(4), 408–437.

Flood, M. (2008). Men, sex, and homosociality: How bonds between men shape their sexual relations with women. *Men and Masculinities*, *10*(3), 339–359.

Ging, D. (2019). Alphas, betas, and incels: Theorizing the masculinities of the manosphere. *Men and Masculinities*, *22*(4), 638–657.

Glaser, B. J., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Aldine.[AQ: 19]

Gov.UK. (2019, April 12). *"Upskirting" law comes into force*. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/upskirting-law-comes-into-force

Guignard, F. (2018). Envy in Western society: Today and tomorrow. In R. Roth & A. Lemma (Eds.), *Envy and gratitude revisited* (2nd ed., pp. 109–123). Karnac Books.

Hall, M., & Hearn, J. (2017). *Revenge pornography: Gender, sexuality and motivations*. Routledge.

Hammarén, N., & Johansson, T. (2014). Homosociality in between power and intimacy. *Sage Open*, *4*(1), 1–11.

Harris, F. (2010). College men's meanings of masculinities and contextual influences: Toward a conceptual model. *Journal of College Student Development*, *51*(3), 297–318.

Hearn, J. (1992). *Men in the public eye*. Routledge.

Hearn, J. (1998). *The violences of men*. Sage.

Hearn, J., & Melechi, A. (1992). The transatlantic gaze: Masculinities, youth, and the American imaginary. In S. Craig (Ed.), *Men, masculinity and the media* (pp. 215–232). Sage.

Henry, N., & Flynn, A. (2019). Image-based sexual abuse: Online distribution channels and illicit communities of support. *Violence Against Women*, *25*(16), 1932–1955.

Henry, N., Powell, A., & Flynn, A. (2017). *Not just "revenge pornography": Australians' experiences of image-based abuse. A summary report*. RMIT University.

Hookway, N. (2008). Entering the blogosphere: Some strategies for using blogs in social research. *Qualitative Research*, *8*(1), 91–113.

Hunt, G. P., Mackenzie, K., & Joe-Laider, K. (2005). Alcohol and masculinity: The case of ethnic youth gangs. In T. M. Wilson (Ed.), *Drinking cultures* (pp. 225–254). Berg.

Jefferson, G. (1991). List construction as a task and a resource. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Interactional competence* (pp. 63–92). Irvington Publishers.

Kaite, B. (1988). The pornographer's body double: Transgression is the law. In A. M. Kroker (Eds.), *Body invaders: Sexuality and the postmodern condition* (pp. 150–168). Macmillan.

Kashdan, T. B., Mishra, A., Breen, W. E., & Froh, J. J. (2009). Gender differences in gratitude: Examining appraisals, narratives, the willingness to express emotions, and changes in psychological needs. *Journal of Personality*, *77*(3), 691–730.

Kendall, L. (2002). *Hanging out in the virtual pub: Masculinities and relationships online*. University of California Press.

Kittler, F. A. (2010). *Optical media*. Polity.

Kumar, S., & Cavallaro, L. (2018). Researcher self-care in emotionally demanding research: A proposed conceptual framework. *Qualitative Health Research*, *28*(4), 648–658.

Law, J. (2001). *Machinic pleasures and interpellations*. Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University.

Lee, D., & Kennelly, L. (2019, May 28). Inside the Warwick University rape chat scandal. *BBC News*. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-48366835

Levy, A. (2013, July 29). Trial by Twitter: After high-school football stars were accused of rape, online vigilantes demanded that justice be served. Was it? *The New Yorker*. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/08/05/trial-by-twitter?subId1=xid:fr1576604404259cgd

Lewis, R., Rowe, M., & Wiper, C. (2017). Online abuse of feminists as an emerging form of violence against women and girls. *The British Journal of Criminology*, *57*(6), 1462–1481. [AQ: 20]

Lipman-Blumen, J. (1976). Toward a homosocial theory of sex roles: An explanation of the sex segregation of social institutions. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, *1*(3), 15–31.

Magrath, R., & Scoats, R. (2019). Young men's friendships: Inclusive masculinities in a post-university setting. *Journal of Gender Studies*, *28*(1), 45–56.

Maguire, M., & Delahunt, B. (2017). Doing a thematic analysis: A practical, step-by-step guide for learning and teaching scholars. *The All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education*, *9*(3), 3351–3364. [AQ: 21]

Rodham, K., & Gavin, J. (2006). The ethics of using the internet to collect qualitative research data. *Research Ethics*, *2*(3), 92–97.

Rosen, R. (2010). *Beaver street: A history of modern pornography: From the birth of phone sex to the skin mag in cyberspace: An investigative memoir*. Headpress.

Scheper-Hughes, N., & Bourgois, P. I. (2013). *Violence in war and peace*. John Wiley.

Sedgwick, E. K. (2015). *Between men: English literature and male homosocial desire*. Columbia University Press.

Sennett, R. (2009). *The craftsman*. Yale University Press.

Smiler, A. P. (2006). Conforming to masculine norms: Evidence for validity among adult men and women. *Sex Roles*, *54*(11–12), 767–775.

Strang, F. (2014, October 10). Celebrity 4chan shock naked picture scandal: Full list of star victims preyed upon by hackers. *The Mirror*. www.mirror.co.uk/3am/celebrity-news/celebrity-4chan-shock-naked-picture-4395155**[AQ: 28]**

Sweeney, B. N. (2014). Sorting women sexually: Masculine status, sexual performance, and the sexual stigmatization of women. *Symbolic Interaction*, *37*(3), 369–390.

Thompson, C. (2016, June 28). Skirting around the issue paper: Problematizing the representation of upskirting in Australian media and political discourses [Conference presentation]. Rethinking Cybercrime 2016: UCLAN Cybercrime Research Unit, University of Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.**[AQ: 29]**

Thompson, C. (2019a). *Everyday misogyny: On "upskirting" as image-based sexual abuse* [PhD thesis, University of Melbourne].

Thompson, C. (2019b). Skirting around the issue: Misdirection and linguistic avoidance in parliamentary discourses on upskirting. *Violence Against Women*, *26*, 1403–1422.

Thompson, C., & Wood, M. A. (2018). A media archaeology of the creepshot. *Feminist Media Studies*, *18*(4), 560–574.

Veen, M., te Molder, H., Gremmen, B., & van Woerkum, C. (2010). Quitting is not an option: An analysis of online diet talk between celiac disease patients. *Health*, *14*(1), 23–40. **[AQ: 30]**

Walther, J. B., & Boyd, S. (2002). Attraction to computer-mediated social support. In C. Lin & D. Atkin (Eds.), *Communication technology and society. Audience adoption and uses* (pp. 153–188). Hampton Press.

Wheaton, B. (2000). "New lads?" Masculinities and the "new sport" participant. *Men and Masculinities*, *2*(4), 436–458.

Whisnant, R. (2010). From Jekyll to Hyde: The grooming of male pornography consumers. In K. Boyle (Ed.), *Everyday pornography* (pp. 114–133). Routledge.

Whiteman, M. (2019). Upskirting, bitcoin, and crime, oh my: Judicial resistance to applying old laws to new crimes—What is a legislature to do? *Indiana Law Journal*, *95*, 66–78.

Willis, P. (1990). *Common culture: Symbolic work at play in the everyday cultures of the young*. Open University Press.

Author Biographies

[AQ: 31]