

# Social Justice Watch 0907

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# Origins

The word “queer” originally meant peculiar or odd, with no specific reference to sexuality. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, “queer” was first used to describe homosexuals by the Marquess of Queensbury in 1894. By the early 20th century, the word “queer” meant homosexual, particularly in the United States. It was used as a derogatory slur against homosexuals.



# Reclamation

During the Stonewall era of the '60s, gay individuals began to refer to themselves as "queer" as an act of defiance. Later, during the AIDS Crisis of the '80s, the term was once again reclaimed by young LGBT+ activists, identifying themselves in the face of tragedy. In 1990, Queer Nation was founded as an activist organization against anti-gay violence. After the rise of the Internet and social media, "queer" gained popularity among young online LGBT+ communities.



Image of friend group after Stonewall, (Fred W. McDurrah, 1969)

## **Excerpt from "Queers Read This," pamphlet by Queer Nation**



*"Being queer is not about a right to privacy; it is about the freedom to be public, to just be who we are. It means everyday fighting oppression; homophobia, racism, misogyny, the bigotry of religious hypocrites, and our own self-hatred... Being queer means leading a different sort of life... It's about being on the margins, defining ourselves... Every one of us is a world of infinite possibilities."*



Materials used by the Queer Nation chapter in Houston

## **Excerpt from "Queers Read This," pamphlet by Queer Nation (cont.)**

*"Using "queer" is a way of reminding us how we are perceived by the rest of the world. It's a way of telling ourselves we don't have to be witty and charming people who keep our lives discreet and marginalized in the straight world. We use queer as gay men loving lesbians and lesbians loving being queer."*



Image of Queer Nation "Kiss-in" (Richard Isaac, 1991)

## **“Queer” creates more inclusive terminology for LGBTQIA+ people**

- “1) It’s gender-neutral.
- 2) It allows us to acknowledge identities left out by “LGBT,” such as intersex people.
- 3) It allows us to include members of the community from cultures that express non-heterosexual, non-cisgender identities with different words and customs.”

*Cory Collins of Tolerance.org*



# Conclusion

While “queer” has been reclaimed mainly by younger generations, it is important to acknowledge its origins. Like any reclaimed slur, this word should only be used by members of the LGBT+ community or when referring to the community.



Image of Queer Nation at Seattle Pride (Richard Isaac, 1992)

# Conclusion

For many people, especially older generations, “queer” is an offensive slur. Please show respect for those who may be offended by this language. Take time to educate yourself on LGBT+ history today, especially in acknowledging the accomplishments of BIPOC LGBT+ people.



Image of March to Olympia, WA (Richard Isaac, 1993)

# Sources

## Research:

Merrill Perlman, "How the Word 'Queer' was Adopted by the LGBT+ Community," Columbia Journalism Review, 2019 ([https://www.cjr.org/language\\_corner/queer.php](https://www.cjr.org/language_corner/queer.php) <https://www.tolerance.org/magazine/is-queer-ok-to-say-heres-why-we-use-it>)

Juliette Rocheleau, "A Former Slur is Reclaimed, and Listeners Have Mixed Feelings," NPR, 2019 (<https://www.npr.org/sections/publiceditor/2019/08/21/752330316/a-former-slur-is-reclaimed-and-listeners-have-mixed-feelings>)

Queer Nation, "Queers Read This," 1990  
(<http://www.qrd.org/qrd/misc/text/queers.read.this>)

## Images:

(Slide 3) Fred McDurrah's photos, <https://loeildelaphotographie.com/en/fred-w-mcdarrah-pride-photographs-of-stonewall-and-beyond-bb/>

(Slide 4) Public Domain, <http://www.queermusichistory.us/mar2010qn.html> via  
WikiMedia

(Slide 5, 9 and 10) Richard Issac's photos, <http://www.rmisaac.com/qn.html>



<https://www.facebook.com/transarmy>

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Samuel Sinyangwe ✅  
@samswey

▼

Police take more money from people through civil forfeiture than the total value of all property stolen in all the burglaries committed nationwide.

[washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2...](https://washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2...)



Shane ✅ @shaneferro · 2d

If you think looting is bad wait until I tell you about civil forfeiture

10:37 PM · 8/29/20 · Twitter for iPhone

If you think looting is bad wait until I tell you about civil forfeiture. [source](#)

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## Abstract

Misinformation often continues to influence inferential reasoning after clear and credible corrections are provided; this effect is known as the continued influence effect. It has been theorized that this effect is partly driven by misinformation familiarity. Some researchers have even argued that a correction should avoid repeating the misinformation, as the correction itself could serve to inadvertently enhance misinformation familiarity and may thus backfire, ironically strengthening the very misconception that it aims to correct. While previous research has found little evidence of such familiarity backfire effects, there remains one situation where they may yet arise: when correcting entirely novel misinformation, where corrections could serve to spread misinformation to new audiences who had never heard of it before. This article presents three experiments (total N = 1718) investigating the possibility of familiarity backfire within the context of correcting novel misinformation claims and after a 1-week study-test delay. While there was variation across experiments, overall there was substantial evidence against familiarity backfire. Corrections that exposed participants to novel misinformation did not lead to stronger misconceptions compared to a control group never exposed to the false claims or corrections. This suggests that it is safe to repeat misinformation when correcting it, even when the audience might be unfamiliar with the misinformation.

The backfire effect hypothesis proposes that mentioning misinformation in the process of correcting can be counterproductive, because the misinformation—not the correction—is what sticks.

A new study provides further evidence against the backfire effect. [paper source](#)

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**Patient's first name**

Shirley

**Patient's last name**

Wu

Enter a valid last name.

That happened to me several times too ("valid" answer requiring at least four letters, etc.). But that's nothing compared to an Indonesian friend also studying in the U.S., who - like many other Indonesians - only has a given name and no surname at all. [link source](#)

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So often, our most masculine-coded institutions, like the government, are despised for doing "women's work"-- caring for the vulnerable, giving "handouts," taking an active interest in health care, and "nannying" people. Instead, they must stick to "law and order" and waging war.

6:55 AM · 9/3/20 · Twitter for Android

581 Retweets 36 Quote Tweets 2,388 Likes



**Kate Manne** @kate\_manne · 1d

Replying to @kate\_manne

You cannot understand fascism without understanding symbolic gender relations, and the fucked-up ideologies they create

"So often, our most masculine-coded institutions, like the government, are despised for doing "women's work"-- caring for the vulnerable, giving "handouts," taking an active interest in health care, and "nannying" people.

Instead, they must stick to "law and order" and waging war.

You cannot understand fascism without understanding symbolic gender relations, and the fucked-up ideologies they create" [source](#)

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## #WhyIDidn'tReport

- I was 14.
- I loved him.
- I thought it was my fault because I didn't say "no"

Now 6 years later,  
I did.

## # Why I didn't report

- . Because I was asleep drugged up
- . Because he told me I should've made it more clear
- . Because I gaslighted ~~gaslighted~~ myself



#WhyIDidntReport:

Because I was  
repeatedly told by my  
peers as well as adults  
that I was only lying  
for attention.

I was only 15.

What stopped you from reporting?  
Take a picture and share your #WhyIDidntReport  
via Instagram stories @whyididnreport



# Intelligence Analyst

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## DESCRIPTION

Amazon's Global Security Operations' (GSO) Global Intelligence Program (GIP) is looking for an entrepreneurial intelligence analyst to join a team of analysts providing high-level tactical and strategic intelligence products to global stakeholders within Amazon Worldwide Operations. Our team is located in the Phoenix, Arizona area.

This role is vital to ensuring that Amazon operations leadership have access to actionable intelligence that informs decision making on a global scale. Ideal candidates will have a proven history of producing accurate intelligence



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geopolitical crises, conflicts impacting operations, and other topics sensitive to Human Resources and Employee Relations

- Analysts must be capable of engaging and informing L7+ ER Principals (attorney stakeholders) on sensitive topics that are highly confidential, including labor organizing threats against the company, establish and track funding and activities connected to corporate campaigns (internal and external) against Amazon, and provide sophisticated analysis on these topics
- Individual analysts will work directly with Sr. Corporate Counsel to compile and provide assessments for use in court filings, up to and including restraining orders against activist groups; intelligence assessments are used by Legal to demonstrate to court of law that activist groups harbor intent for continued illegal activity vis-à-vis Amazon
- Analysts are tasked with independently managing intelligence support relationship with L8 regional leadership, including maintaining regular communications, requirements meetings, and other engagements necessary to establishing product requirements and KPIs
- Analysts must be capable of creating and deploying sophisticated search strings tailored to

Amazon really just explicitly putting out a "Help wanted: union busters" sign  
[source](#)



J

@JtheLetter



Racists don't have to be statues  
for you to throw them in a river

5:53 AM · 10 Jun 20 · Twitter Web App

**27.1K** Retweets **96K** Likes

PSA

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# 消息精选

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"To understand and live in the aftermath of this history are fundamental to building stronger theories and practices of resistance: we can only stand to gain from comparing and borrowing from the experiences and strategies of past struggles." <https://lausan.hk/2020/documenting-chinas-grassroots-uprisings/>

Lausan

Archives of resistance: Documenting China's grassroots uprisings - Lausan Grassroots media play a crucial role in documenting the advent of capitalism in China and the increasing mobilizations against government power by the working class.

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[telegra.ph/In-Views-of-US-Democracy-Widening-Partisan-Divides-Over-Freedom-to-Peacefully-Protest-09-02](https://telegra.ph/In-Views-of-US-Democracy-Widening-Partisan-Divides-Over-Freedom-to-Peacefully-Protest-09-02)

Telegraph

In Views of U.S. Democracy, Widening Partisan Divides Over Freedom to Peacefully Protest

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand Americans' views of democracy in the United States today. For this analysis, we conducted an online survey of 11,001 U.S. adults between July 27 and Aug. 2, 2020. Everyone who took part is a member of...

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[telegra.ph/How-to-Rebuild-Cities-for-Caregiving-09-03-2](https://telegra.ph/How-to-Rebuild-Cities-for-Caregiving-09-03-2)

Telegraph

How to Rebuild Cities for Caregiving

Decades after critiques on how cities fail caregivers, the same problems remain. The new book "Feminist City" calls for reimagining urban infrastructure.

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Providing a new start to those who've fled their homes represents the best of Britain's values. As we know refugees have always helped to keep our communities safe and make our society stronger. They even brought us fish & chips. I'm standing with [@RESCUE\\_UK](#) to [#StandWithRefugees](#) source

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[ NHK ] The Lives of Japanese War Brides in America

[The Lives of Japanese War Brides in America: Part 1](#)  
[The Lives of Japanese War Brides in America: Part 2](#)

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#### NHK WORLD

The Lives of Japanese War Brides in America: Part 1 - NHK WORLD PRIME | NHK WORLD-JAPAN On Demand

After WWII, more than 40,000 Japanese "war brides" married American soldiers and moved to the U.S., risking everything on a future with their former enemies. In the first part of this series, we meet several of these courageous women and learn how they made...

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[telegra.ph/How-Manny-from-Diary-of-a-Wimpy-Kid-galvanized-political-activism-on-TikTok-09-04](#)

Telegraph

How Manny from Diary of a Wimpy Kid galvanized political activism on TikTok

Manny Heffley became a political symbol for young TikTok users to support Black Lives Matter protests around police brutality

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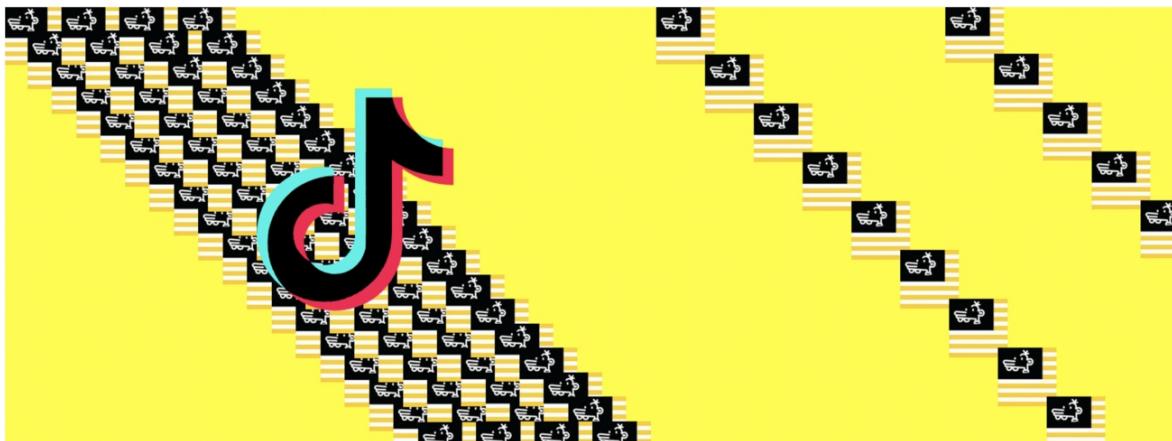
None

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# How Manny from Diary of a Wimpy Kid galvanized political activism on TikTok

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*Manny Heffley became a political symbol for young TikTok users to support Black Lives Matter protests around police brutality*



(Source: @AlyssaKann/DFRLab via Wikimedia)

As protests against police brutality continued across the United States, a minor character in a graphic novel series for teens became a meme against police brutality on TikTok. Amid the possibility that TikTok could be banned in the United States, the meme's popularity is representative of broader political activism efforts on TikTok that such a ban could curtail.

The meme, depicting Manny Heffley — a stick-figure character from Jeff Kinney's Diary of a Wimpy Kid series — with the acronym “ACAB” (“all cops are bastards”) has become an enduring symbol for a wide array of digital activism efforts occurring on TikTok in support of Black Lives Matter and against U.S. President Donald Trump. After TikTok users garnered widespread media coverage trolling the Trump campaign’s June 2020 Tulsa rally, users came up with a slew of similar digital protest actions to engage in, from filling up online shopping carts with Trump merchandise in an attempt to harm the

online store to messing up Trump campaign survey data. The Manny meme evolved quickly on the platform, spurring racial justice petition-signing as well as satirical pursuits like redesigning the U.S. flag to depict Manny.

While TikTok is perhaps best known among U.S. consumers for popular dancing videos, the platform's rising popularity among young people means content evolves quickly. As *New York Times* technology reporter Taylor Lorenz put it, "the app has become an information and organizing hub for Gen Z activists and politically-minded young people." The versatility of the short-video format — where users' memes can riff on combinations of visuals, audios, and text that become increasingly referential as a meme evolves — combined with the political activism present on much of TikTok allowed the Manny symbol to unfold in tandem with political events.

President Trump's August 2020 executive orders against TikTok could result in the platform being banned in the United States if it is not acquired by a U.S. company. The Electronic Frontier Foundation described a possible TikTok ban as violating the First Amendment, since TikTok is "a popular means of communication and expression," while supporters of Trump's proposal point to broader national security concerns related to TikTok's ownership and design. Manny's symbolic popularity, however, shows how young Americans' use of TikTok for digital activism in novel ways may soon be eliminated. The complicated evolution of the Manny meme from joke to genuine rallying symbol reveals how some young people are discussing political action, engaging in protest, and organizing their ranks for the presidential election.

### **The spread of Manny on TikTok**

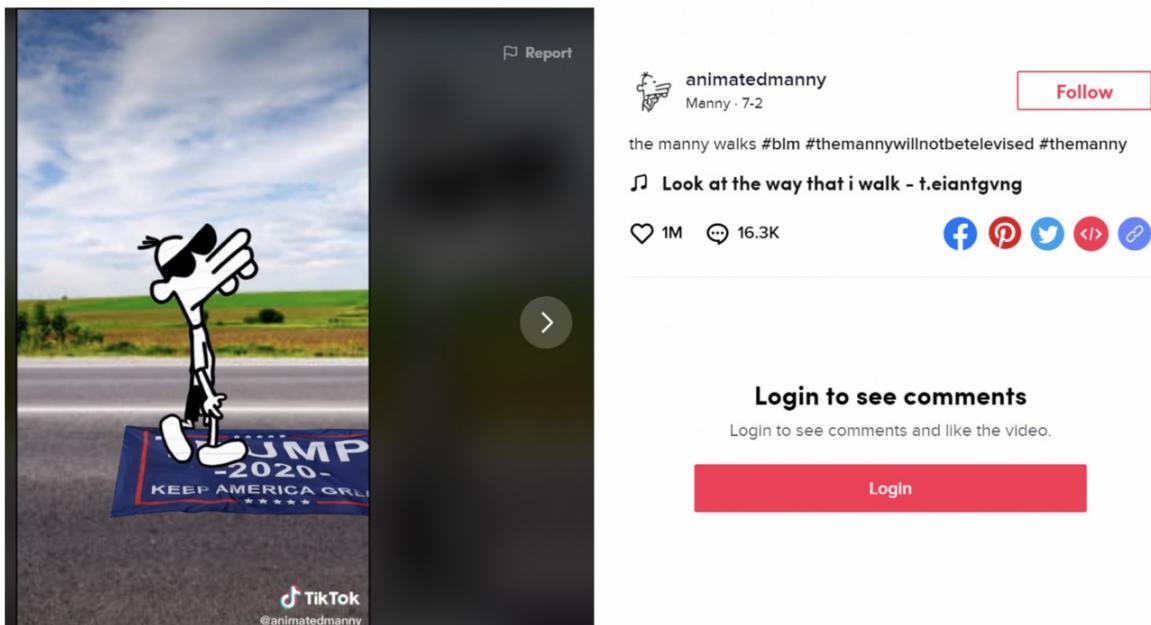
Manny seems to have first migrated to TikTok in early May 2020. By June, the symbol had been explicitly connected on TikTok to police brutality and protest through a video called "THE MANNY WILL NOT BE TELEVISED." In this video, a voice can be heard saying,

The Manny will not be televised... Look how pissed off the Manny is — look how mad he is. He's tired of police brutality, he's tired of this fucked-up situation, he's tired of American imperialism... Fuck that man, he's tired of curfews too... Molotovs man, burn the racists down.

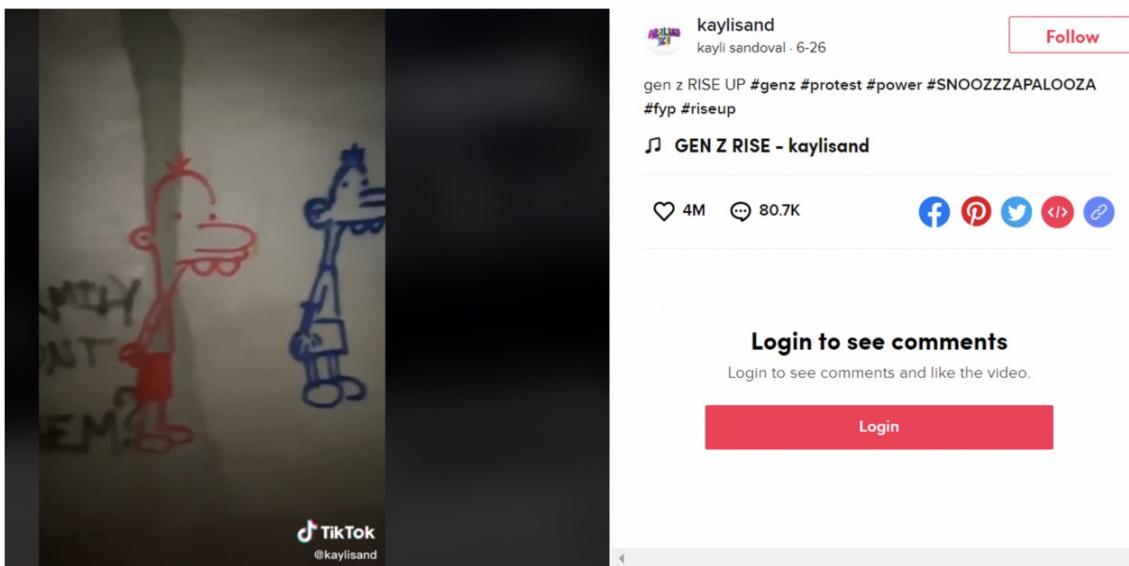
Over 6,000 videos have since used the audio from the video, whose title is a

reference to the famous Black Power slogan popularized by Gil Scott-Heron's song and poem "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised."

"THE MANNY WILL NOT BE TELEVISED" became one of several popular hashtags and phrases used in conjunction with the Manny symbol. At the time of publication, Manny-specific hashtags such as #TheManny, #MannyHeffley, #TheMannyWillNotBeTelevised, #TMWNBT, #MannySaysDefundThePolice, and #MannyFlag have been viewed upwards of 100.9 million times on TikTok.



In one popular Manny video, with over 1 million likes, an animated Manny steps on a Trump sign. (Source: animatedmanny/archive).



Amid footage of Americans protesting and audio glorifying Gen Z as “the most powerful generation our world has seen,” the Manny symbol pops up in a video which has garnered 4 million likes. The audio in this video, “GEN Z RISE,” has been used by over 3,000 other TikTok videos. (Source: kaylisand/archive)

Users made videos telling viewers to sign a petition every time they see a Manny icon, which numerous commenters stated they complied with every time they saw a Manny in a video. Others used the symbol to mobilize people to rally against police brutality, advocate for defunding the police, and crowdsource donations. The symbol also proliferated in sometimes surprising ways, with TikTok videos displaying Manny-related memes in the form of cakes, hand-embroidered t-shirts, Manny tattoos, and earrings being sold with proceeds donated to Black Lives Matter legal defense funds.

The meme evolved further after a TikTok influencer created a petition to change the U.S. flag to a black-and-yellow version showing Manny, which led to TikTok videos of people wearing black and yellow on July 4 in honor of the proposed flag and playing a “new national anthem,” the Wiz Khalifa song “Black and Yellow.”

Another way users participated was by changing their profile picture to that of Manny or the Manny flag. In a sample dataset of 159 accounts that had used at least one Manny-associated hashtag, 8 percent of the profile pictures were of Manny or the Manny flag, while an additional 14 percent of the pictures were in support of BLM.

**BLACK  
LIVES  
MATTER**



Black Lives Matter and Manny-related profile pictures on TikTok.  
(Source: localbandboy/archive, upper left; 6post66/archive, upper middle; katlianoz/archive, bottom middle)

Some people — including the creator of the Manny Heffley character, author Jeff Kinney — have criticized the meme as trivializing racial justice movements fighting racism and police brutality. Kinney deleted his first tweet addressing the meme, although his second tweet on the topic remains online. In the deleted tweet, he stated, “I don’t like it. The Black Lives Matter movement needs to be taken seriously. This isn’t helping.” Kinney added in the second tweet that “assigning a cartoon character to [the BLM movement] trivializes it.”

In an August 31 interview with the DFRLab, Kinney echoed these sentiments, saying that he had taken down the tweet only because it was starting to attract trolls. “I know that memes are a very effective tool for communication, but I can’t stand the trivialization of the Black Lives Matter movement,” he said. He called the Manny flag a “more positive incarnation” of the character, but said that he “didn’t like that initial use of the character [with the ACAB acronym]... I think it hurts the Black Lives Matter movement.”

Some TikTok users further politicized the symbol after criticism in late June 2020. For instance, @themannyspotted, one of the many Manny-specific TikTok accounts, published “The Manny-festo” on June 28 in response to the criticism, with the narrator stating. “‘The Manny’ isn’t its own movement, but rather a symbol of unity used by people who are for the greater movement. We hope to contribute to, and not distract from, what’s going on... We strive to provide smiles, information, and resources that aid the people fighting for change.”



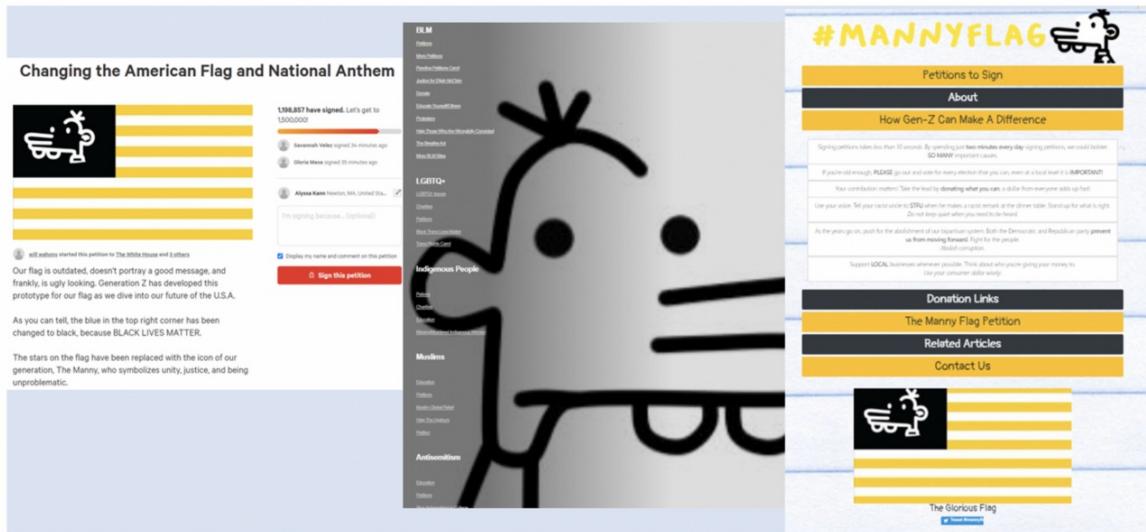
Stills from “The Manny-festo” video by @themannyspotted. (Source: themannyspotted/archive)

Other users defended the symbol by stating that it is a way to engage users who otherwise would not be active on these issues, and serves a symbol of Generation Z’s power to organize. As Kristin Merrilees referenced in a June 23 post to Medium, the Manny symbol is evocative of “Kilroy was here,” the symbol graffitied by U.S. soldiers during World War II; indeed, many TikTok videos specifically depicted Manny graffiti.

By late June, the Manny meme seemed to have reached its peak, both on TikTok and off. A query on Google Trends indicated that June 26 and June 27 had the highest searches of “the Manny” and “the Manny will not be televised” in the United States.

### The Manny’s amplification across the internet

In addition to its spread on TikTok, Manny spread elsewhere on the internet. For instance, the satirical Manny petition that advocated changing the U.S. flag and national anthem to reference Manny was signed by 1.2 million people.



Left: the petition that championed changing the U.S. flag to one depicting Manny and changing the national anthem to Wiz Khalifa's song, "Black and Yellow." Middle: the Manny-themed social justice card included petition, donation, and education links to Black Lives Matter and 14 other topics. Right: a Manny website listed genuine petitions and included a rallying political message for Gen Z. (Source: Change.org/archive; mannyflag.org/archive)

Although the petition was a joke, the creator of the petition, TikTok influencer Will Wahony updated it to include a genuine petition that proposed a law to penalize police officers for shooting unarmed citizens, and ended the petition's description with a mobilizing credo:

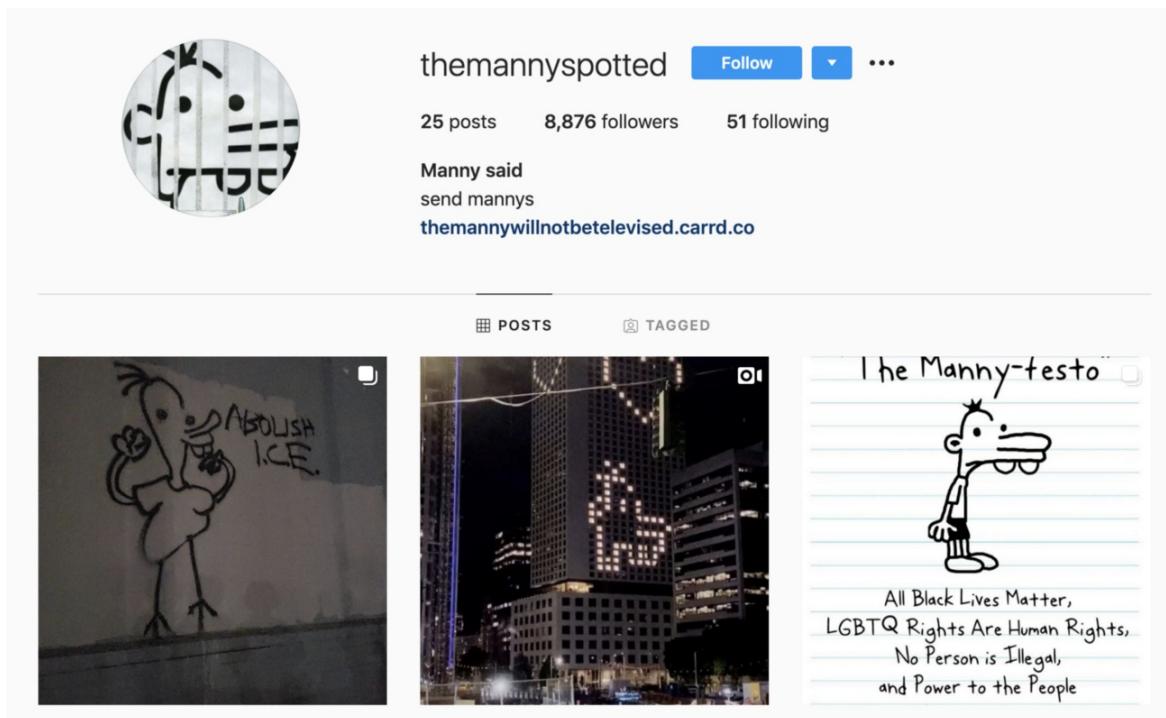
Generation Z is the future. We can do something great. Look at how easy it is to come together with our knowledge about social media. We just need to be coming together for the right things. Let's change the world, one Manny at a time.

On June 27, Wahony also created a website for the Manny flag, [mannyflag.org](http://mannyflag.org), with genuine petitions to sign, causes to donate to, and a call for Generation Z to become more civically active.

Manny's influence was not limited to Wahony's involvement, although his 1.5 million followers likely helped the meme's social justice message grow. In line with the idea that users must sign a petition every time they see the Manny, some accounts on TikTok linked a Manny-themed social justice card in their profile bios to facilitate the process, which contained links not only to BLM petitions

but also to petitions for a range of topics including advocating for indigenous, LGBTQ+, and encryption rights; providing aid to Yemen; abolishing the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) agency; and helping Palestine. The card also contained information on how to vote, although some users that shared the card acknowledged they had yet to reach voting age. In total, the card included 58 unique petition, donation, resource, and education links spanning 15 social justice topics.

The Manny meme also spread across social media. On Twitter, there were 1,680 mentions of #themannynotbetelevised or #themanny from May 15 to August 15, 2020, spiking on June 26 with 620 mentions, according to a query using the Meltwater Explore social media monitoring tool. New Instagram and Twitter accounts devoted to Manny Heffley and his family were created to disseminate BLM and anti-police content, and YouTube videos of animated Manny TikToks and the new national anthem were posted. Manny-related merchandise was even sold on Redbubble and Amazon. While the Manny meme did not receive much mainstream news coverage, *Global Times*, a Chinese-state associated outlet, wrote an article about the Manny flag petition, and two Kremlin-linked outlets posted about it on social media. Some accounts attempted to trick *Fox News* into writing about Manny when they apparently sent the news organization tips, but, as of publication, there have not been any *Fox News* articles about the Manny.



Instagram account curating Manny sightings online and offline.

(Source: themannyspotted/archive)

The digital prowess of many Gen Z — who created social media accounts, websites, petitions, Urban Dictionary entries, and more for Manny — likely contributed to the symbol's staying-power online and helped portray Manny not just as a meme but as a symbol of a broader movement. While Kinney says he saw many talented people on TikTok pushing the Manny meme, he still worried it was undermining Black Lives Matter as a movement. "I would really encourage those people to use their talents in a really meaningful way, especially in this moment," he told the DFRLab. "Because they can work against the thing they're trying to promote by being unserious."

Online, the line between humor and serious matters is blurred; the successful mobilization around Manny lies in its ability to straddle the two — engaging otherwise apathetic individuals to act politically through comedy, and mobilizing individuals who are already politically active with levity. And amid the possibility President Trump could succeed in banning TikTok in the United States, some accounts have even incorporated the Manny into their discussion of the ban.

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*Max Rizzuto is a Research Assistant with the Digital Forensic Research Lab.*

*Follow along on Twitter for more in-depth analysis from our #DigitalSherlocks.*

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# How to Rebuild Cities for Caregiving

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Decades after critiques on how cities fail caregivers, the same problems remain. The new book “Feminist City” calls for reimagining urban infrastructure.



A mother pushes a bicycle carrying her daughter after picking her up from a nursery school in Tokyo. Photographer: Yoshikazu Tsuno/AFP via Getty Images

The following is an edited excerpt from *Feminist City: Claiming Space in a Man-made World*, out July 7 from Verso Books. Its ideas have taken on new resonance in a world in which a pandemic and racial justice protests have elevated the conversations around child care, public space and radically rethinking equity policies.

When I started my master's degree with a child under one year of age and no way to afford daycare (wait lists for subsidized spots were outrageous), I scrambled to find time to complete my work. Luckily, I met Anneke. We had classes together and discovered that we were both the primary caregivers for very young kids. I started bringing Maddy to Anneke's house two days a week and we took turns watching the kids while one of us left for a few hours to study. The little bit of extra time afforded by what I liked to call Toronto's "smallest babysitting co-op" made a huge difference. At the time, I thought that we were just lucky. I didn't realize that we were part of a long tradition of mothers and other caregivers coming up with ingenious arrangements for doing care work in the city. These creative practices of "getting by" have informed feminist urban interventions since the nineteenth century.

Yet, many decades after trenchant critiques of how cities and suburbs fail mothers and other caregivers, the same problems remain. Under neoliberalism, most of the "solutions" generated for those problems have been market-based, meaning they require the ability to pay for extra services, conveniences, and someone else's underpaid labor. Very few changes, especially in North American cities, have reimagined and reworked the built environment and other aspects of urban infrastructure in ways that take care work seriously.

In Europe, "gender-mainstreaming" approaches to urban planning and budgetary decisions have a longer history. Essentially, these frameworks mean that every planning, policy, and budget decision has to be considered with the goal of gender equality as the departure point. For example, policymakers must ask how a decision will potentially enhance or undermine gender equality. These approaches push cities to consider how decisions support or stymie the care work that literally keeps society functioning.

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The city of Vienna has adopted a gender mainstreaming approach in several areas, such as education and health care. But it has had a profound effect on urban planning. Echoing the experiences of women around the world, and my own experiences too, women responded to a 1999 transit survey with their stories of complex journeys balancing care and paid work: "I take my kids to the doctor some mornings, then bring them to school before I go to work. Later, I help my mother buy groceries and bring my kids home on the metro." Transit use illustrated some of the vast discrepancies between men's and women's use of city services and spaces. Vienna attempted to meet this challenge by

redesigning areas to facilitate pedestrian mobility and accessibility as well as improving public transport services. The city also created housing developments of the sort imagined by feminist designers, including on-site child care, health services, and access to transit. With the objective of making sure that everyone has equal access to urban resources, Vienna's gender mainstreaming approach is "literally reshaping the city," as a 2013 CityLab article put it.

Taking a gender-centered perspective on planning doesn't have to be limited to wealthy global north cities. Women in informal settlements in global south mega-cities are also working to reclaim urban planning. Faced with critical challenges such as poverty, lack of secure tenure, poor sanitation, and few sexual and reproductive health services, women have often banded together to form collectives that help them improve economic opportunities and advocate for security of housing and tenure. For example, the Shack Dwellers Federation of Namibia is a collective offering "shared security of tenure and housing to their members, thereby improving women's opportunities to get better public services and generate income," as Prabha Khosla explained it.

Gender mainstreaming is slowly making its way into more cities. Recently, news media seemed amused to report that some Canadian and U.S. cities were using a gender analysis on their snowplow budgets and schedules. While it's fair to say that snow doesn't discriminate, decisions about which roads and areas to prioritize for clearance reveals a lot about which activities are valued in the city. In most cases, cities plow major roads leading to the central city first, leaving residential streets, sidewalks, and school zones until last. In contrast, cities like Stockholm have adopted a "gender equal plowing strategy" that instead prioritizes sidewalks, bike paths, bus lanes, and daycare zones in recognition of the fact that women, children, and seniors are more likely to walk, bike, or use mass transit. Stockholm's vice mayor for transport , Daniel Helldén, described the plan to Canadian media, arguing that instead of plowing in ways that reinforce car-centered behavior, Stockholm's method encourages everyone to use alternative modes of transportation. Instead of replicating the status quo, their plan looks forward to "how you want your city to be."

## Beyond 'gender mainstreaming'

Gender mainstreaming has its limitations. City officials in Vienna note there's a danger of reinforcing already existing gender norms and roles around paid and unpaid work. For example, in Seoul, efforts to make working women's

commutes easier—with everything from “high heel friendly” pavements to “pink” parking spots designated for women—have not been matched by state efforts to balance inequities in domestic and child-care labor. Taking gender as the primary category for equality can also be limiting. While the typical urban citizen has too often been narrowly imagined as a white, cis, able-bodied, middle class, heterosexual man, the imagined female citizen of gender planning has been similarly limited. A married, able-bodied mother with a pink- or white-collar job has usually been the imagined beneficiary of gender-sensitive planning. This woman is increasingly likely to represent a minority in most contemporary cities, suggesting that there are large groups of women whose needs may be unmet by gender mainstreaming.



Parking in Frankfurt International Airport, Frankfurt, Germany, in 2015, designated specifically for women. The Ladies Parking section had bigger parking bays, insinuating they require less skill to maneuver their vehicle safely into the parking spot. Photographer: Horacio Villalobos/Corbis News

Geographer Brenda Parker, writing about the experiences of low-income African American women in Milwaukee, argues that gentrification and cutbacks to urban social services result in “intensification” effects that get written on the body in the form of exhaustion, illness, and chronic pain. Navigating the city isn’t just

tiring in terms of negotiating treacherous stairs and overcrowded transit. These inconveniences are layered with the time- and energy-sucking work of traveling to food pantries and churches; meeting with social workers, teachers, and food stamp offices; and the endless waiting at agencies and health clinics.”

Combined with over-extended, poorly paid work days, this labor meant that even the basic responsibilities and joys of parenthood fell out of reach. One of Parker’s interviewees, “Audra,” shared her experience: “You’re spending fourteen hours a day on an eight-hour-a-day job. So when you get home you’re too tired to help them with their homework.” These struggles are only exacerbated by gentrification. Low-income women of color are more vulnerable to displacement, getting pushed into under-serviced areas where the benefits of urban living—interconnected access to places of employment, schools, services, retail, transit, and home life—are decidedly thinned out. These areas may also be zones where air pollution and issues such as contaminated water further affect the work of mothering.

Confronted with a dearth of support from city policy and infrastructure for their lives, low-income women are forced to find ways to weave care and paid labor together. In Parker’s Milwaukee research, women “took their babies with them while they drove the bus for work; … not uncommonly, two or three families lived together in a one- or two-bedroom apartment. There, women watched each other’s children while one person ‘provisioned’ the household through paid labor.” In Johannesburg, women sometimes made the heartbreaking decision to have their children live with relatives because the limited range of choice in places to live and work hampered their ability to give their children access to amenities or good schools. These kinds of strategies have long been described by Black feminist writers like bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins, who contend that Black women’s social reproductive work has mostly been subject to punitive measures by the state, such as having children taken away or being subject to “workfare” policies, which impose sometimes-onerous conditions for receiving public benefits. Feminist activism around domestic labor has typically centered the white, heterosexual married woman and ignored the particular needs and concerns of women of color.

While it can be dangerous to romanticize the survival strategies of low-income people of color, their tactics and resistance strategies push feminists to think beyond gender mainstreaming. In *Urban Black Women and the Politics of Resistance*, Zenzele Isoke explores how Black women resist and rework the

meanings of urban space and urban politics in what she calls a “despised” city: Newark, New Jersey. Facing long-term disinvestment in their communities and high levels of state violence, Black women in Newark, argues Isoke, use practices of “homemaking” in the city to reconfigure a “hostile and deeply racialized landscape.” Here, homemaking means “creating homeplaces to affirm African American life, history, culture, and politics. Homeplaces are political spaces that black women create to express care for each other and their communities, and to remember, revise, and revive scripts of black political resistance.”

## **Imagining a care-full urban future**

Let’s face it, relying heavily on the state for radical transformation is a waste of time, and perhaps even dangerous for Black and Indigenous people and people of color who have been deemed expendable or positioned as “problems” to be solved or disposed of in the “progressive” city. Isoke’s study illustrates the power of forging alliances across diverse communities to combat racism, sexism, and homophobia to “confront and transform [the] structural intersectionality” of oppressions in the city. I want cities to enact policies and create spaces that make care work and social reproduction more collective, less exhausting and more equitable. However, I know we have to look for deeper change and more expansive imaginings of the city. We have to look in the spaces and communities that are already practicing ways of caring that bust the binaries of paid and unpaid work, public and private spaces, production and social reproduction.

What would care-full urban futures look like? It’s clear that the time has come to decenter the heterosexual, nuclear family in everything from housing design to transportation strategies, neighborhood planning to urban zoning. This means that city planners and architects can’t take the white, able-bodied cis man as the default subject and imagine everyone else as a variation on the norm. Instead, the margins must become the center. Although the lives of an aging widow in the inner suburbs and low-income lesbian moms renting in a gentrifying neighborhood will look different, interventions to improve access to city services and amenities for one will likely benefit the other. Accessible transportation, plowed sidewalks, affordable housing, safe and clean public bathrooms, access to a community garden, a livable minimum wage, and shared spaces for things like meal preparation would relieve burdens on many kinds of households, not to mention contribute to other important goals such as environmental sustainability.

A feminist city must be one where barriers—physical and social—are dismantled, where all bodies are welcome and accommodated. A feminist city must be care-centered, not because women should remain largely responsible for care work, but because the city has the potential to spread care work more evenly. A feminist city must look to the creative tools that women have always used to support one another and find ways to build that support into the very fabric of the urban world.

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# In Views of U.S. Democracy, Widening Partisan Divides Over Freedom to Peacefully Protest

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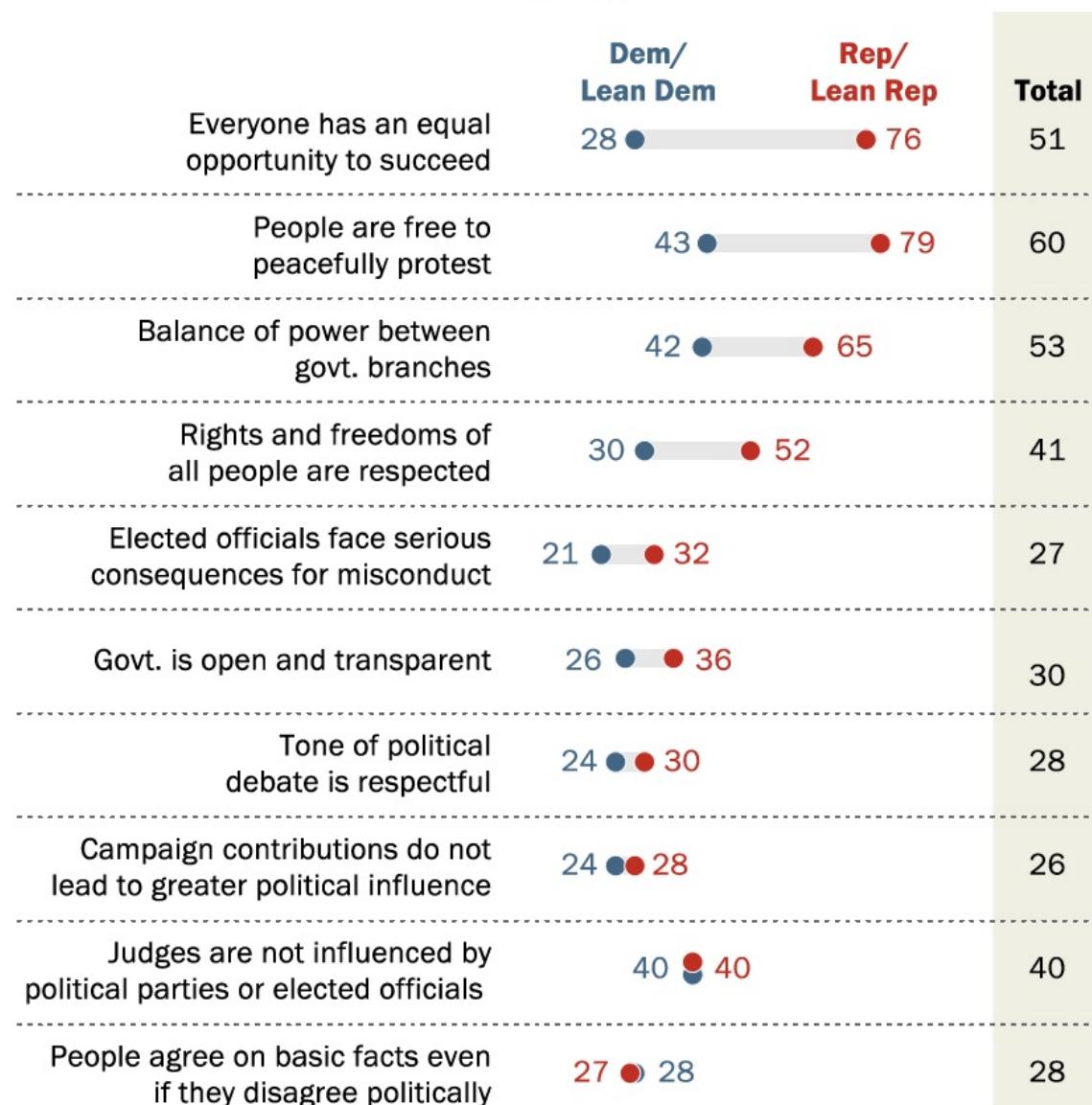
Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand Americans' views of democracy in the United States today. For this analysis, we conducted an online survey of 11,001 U.S. adults between July 27 and Aug. 2, 2020.

Everyone who took part is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the ATP's methodology. Here are the questions used for this report, along with responses, and its methodology.

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## Americans have negative views of many aspects of the political system; Democrats are particularly skeptical

*% who say each describes the country **very/somewhat** well*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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In assessing the state of U.S. democracy, Americans continue to give their country negative ratings for living up to several key democratic ideals and

principles. And in some cases, these assessments have turned less positive since 2018.

Notably, the share of Americans who say the phrase “people are free to peacefully protest” describes the United States very or somewhat well has fallen from 73% to 60%, with the decline coming almost entirely among Democrats.

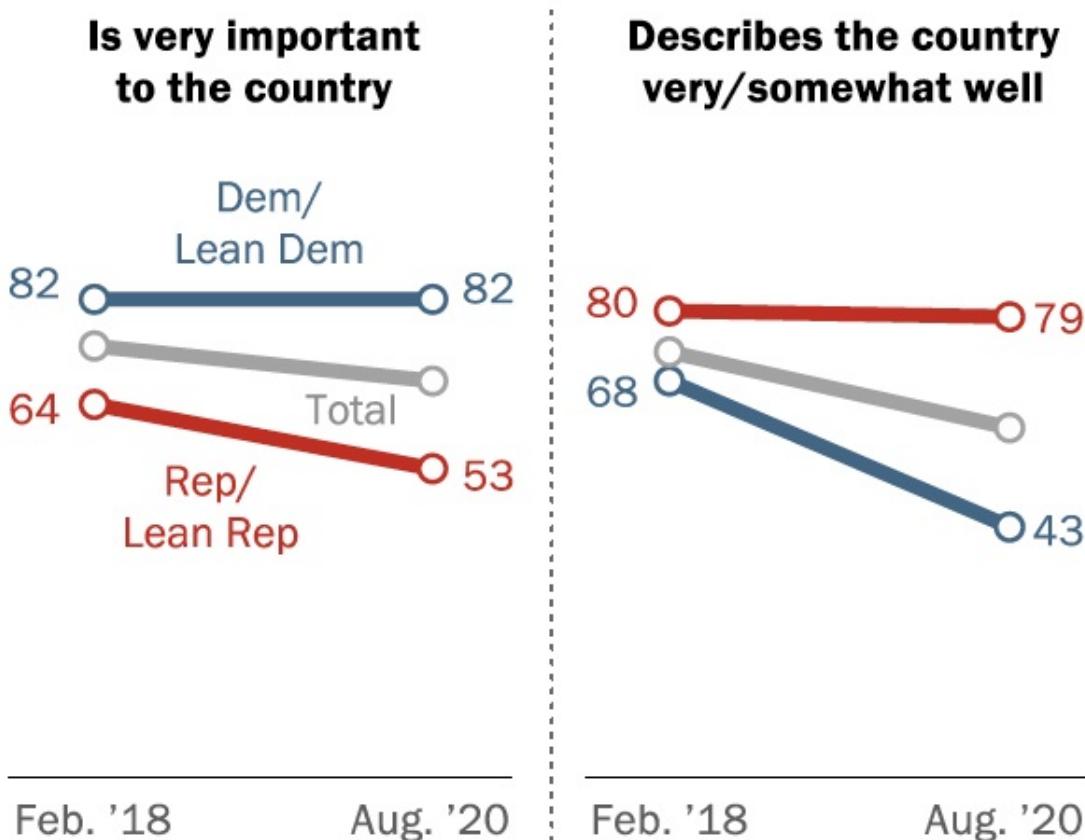
As was the case in Pew Research Center’s 2018 study of U.S. democracy, large majorities of Americans agree on the importance of a number of democratic principles – including that the rights and freedoms of all people are respected, that elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct and that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.

However, there continue to be sizable gaps between the shares of Americans who say these principles are very important and the shares saying the U.S. is doing well in living up to them. And fewer Americans see some principles as very important – notably, including the freedom to peaceful protest – than did so two years ago.

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## Partisan divides on ‘peaceful protest’ grow larger

% who say that ‘people are free to peacefully protest’...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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(NOTE: This survey examines the public’s views of several core democratic ideals and principles, including the freedom to peacefully protest. It was *not* designed to ask about reactions to specific events, including the current protests against police violence occurring in a number of cities. In June, following the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police officers, Republicans and Democrats had very different views of the demonstrations to protest Floyd’s death.)

Among the public overall, 68% say it is very important for the country that people are free to peacefully protest, down from 74% two years ago. In this case, the decline has come entirely among Republicans. Only about half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (53%) say it is very important for the country that people are free to peacefully protest, while 33% say this is somewhat important; 13% say it is not too or not at all important. Two years ago, 64% of Republicans said that it was very important that people are free to protest peacefully.

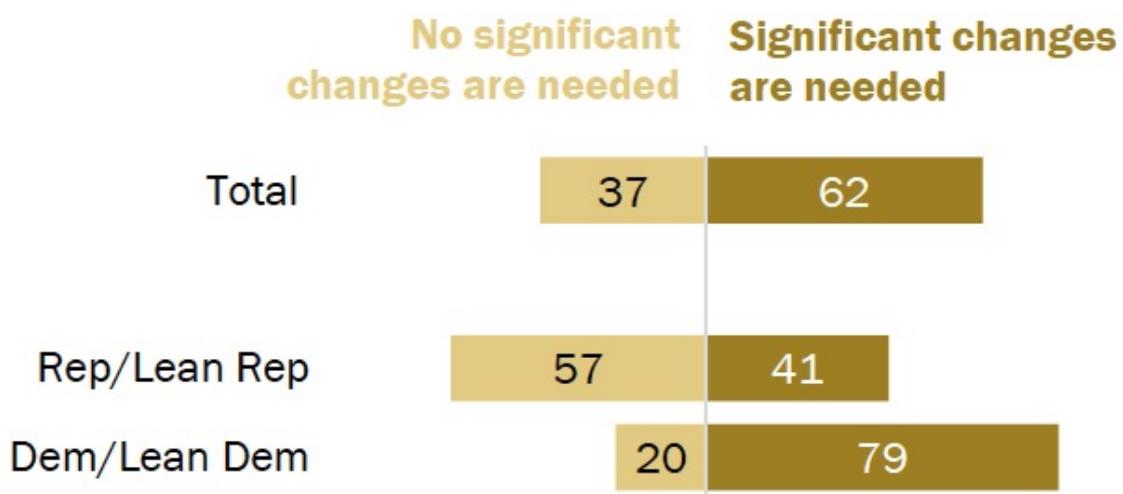
Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, there has been no change in views in the importance of being able to protest peacefully: 82% currently say this is very important, and the same share said this two years ago. As a result, the current 36 percentage point partisan gap in the shares saying peaceful protest is very important is twice as wide as it was in early 2018 (18 points). On a similar question from a Pew Research Center telephone survey conducted in the weeks before the 2016 election, the share of Democrats saying people having the right to nonviolent protest was very important for maintaining a strong democracy was 17 points higher than among Republicans.

As a result, Democrats have become far less likely to say the U.S. is doing well in allowing peaceful protests, while continuing to say this is a very important principle. Among Republicans, by contrast, a large majority continues to say the U.S. does well in allowing such protests, but a declining share says this is very important to the country than did so two years ago.

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## **Wide partisan gap on whether design of U.S. govt. needs ‘significant changes’**

*Thinking about the fundamental design and structure of American government, % who say ...*



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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These are among the findings of the survey of views of U.S. democracy and the political system, conducted July 27-Aug. 2 among 11,001 U.S. adults on Pew Research Center’s American Trends Panel. The survey also finds:

**Majority says significant changes are needed in structure of government.** A 62% majority of the public says that significant changes are needed in the fundamental design and structure of American government to make it work for current times; 37% say the design and structure of government serves the country well, and significant changes are not needed. While views among the public overall have changed little since 2018, Democrats and Republicans have

moved further apart in their opinions. Currently, 79% of Democrats say significant changes in the structure of government are needed, compared with 41% of Republicans.

**Fewer than half of Americans say the rights and freedoms of all are respected.** An overwhelming share of Americans (85%) say it is very important that the rights and freedoms of all people are respected. Yet only 41% say this describes the country very well (10%) or somewhat well (30%). Republicans (52%) are more likely than Democrats (30%) to say this describes the country well; among members of both parties, however, fewer say this than did so two years ago.

**Declining share of Americans view respectful political debates as very important.** Slightly more than half of adults (54%) say it is very important that the tone of political debate is respectful, down from 61% two years ago. The shift has come about equally among Republicans and Democrats. Few people in either party (30% of Republicans, 24% of Democrats) think this description – the tone of political debates is respectful – describes the country well.

### **Sharp decline in share of Democrats who say ‘people are free to peacefully protest’ describes this country well**

Republicans and Democrats differ widely in evaluations of some aspects of the U.S. political system. But for many others, members of both parties give the country low ratings.

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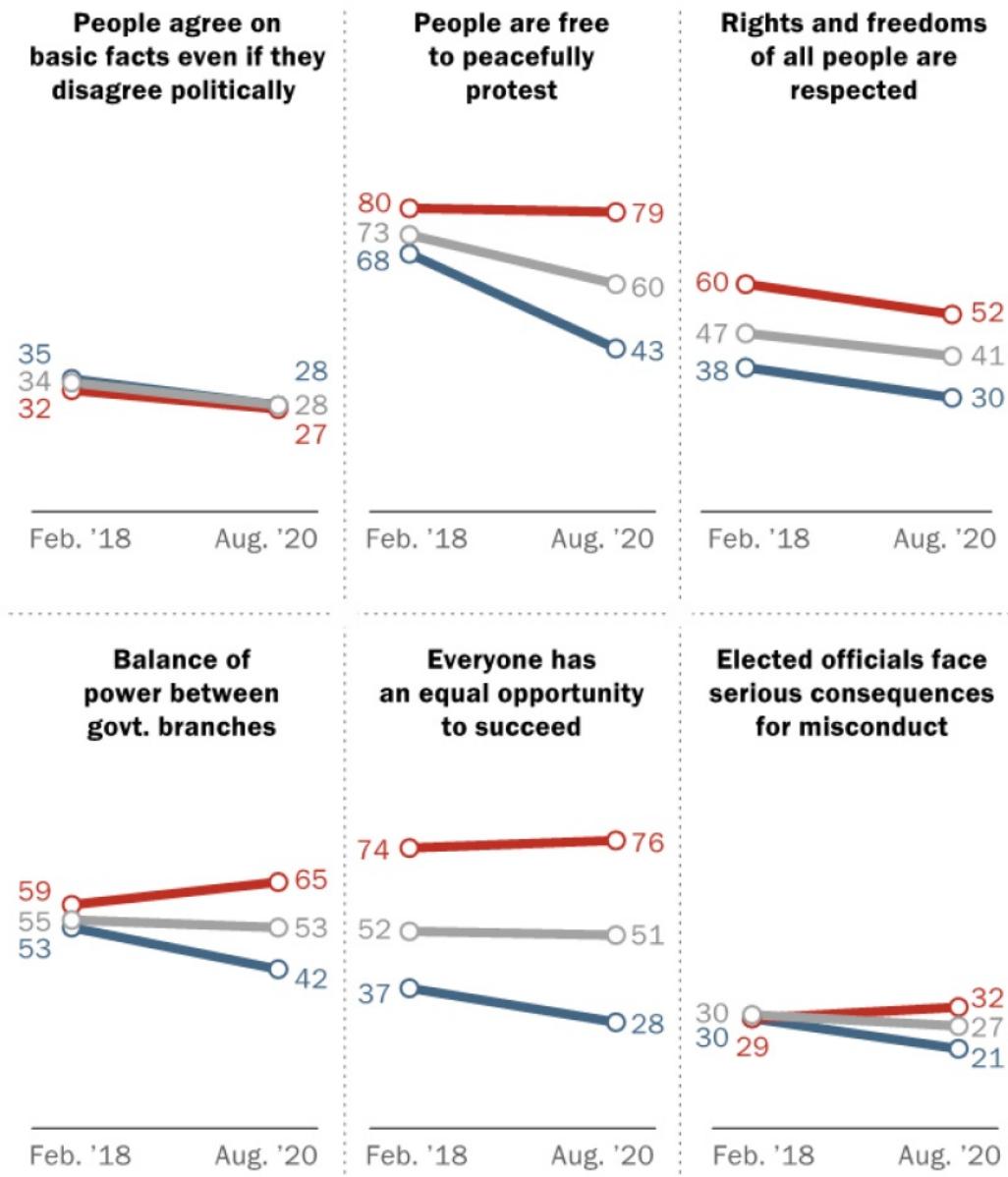
## **Democrats and Republicans move further apart in evaluations of U.S. democratic performance in several areas – especially on freedom to protest peacefully**

*% who say each describes the country **very/somewhat well***

Total

Rep/Lean Rep

Dem/Lean Dem



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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For example, just 27% of Republicans and 28% of Democrats say the phrase “people agree on basic facts even though they disagree politically” describes the country very or somewhat well. The shares expressing this view have declined modestly in both parties since 2018.

Small shares of Republicans (28%) and Democrats (24%) also say the phrase “people who give a lot of money to elected officials *do not* have more political influence than other people” describes the country well.

Yet there are substantial differences on other items: On 10 items included in the survey, the widest gaps are on whether “everyone has an equal opportunity succeed” (76% of Republicans say this describes the U.S. well, compared with 28% of Democrats) and “people are free to peacefully protest” (79% of Republicans, 43% of Democrats).

And the partisan differences on these items – especially on the freedom to protest peacefully—have widened since 2018. Two years ago, majorities in both parties (80% of Republicans, 68% of Democrats) said people had the right to peacefully protest; since then, the share of Democrats saying this describes the country well has declined 25 percentage points, while remaining largely unchanged among Republicans. The partisan gap on this item has increased to 36 points – three times what it was two years ago.

The share of Democrats who say everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed – already low, at 37% in 2018 – has fallen 9 points to 28%. Republicans’ views are largely unchanged since then (74% then, 76% now).

Democrats and Republicans also have moved further apart in their views of the balance of power between branches of government. In 2018, majorities of Republicans (59%) and Democrats (53%) said the phrase “the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government each keep the others from having too much power” describes the U.S. very or somewhat well. Today, 65% of Republicans express this view – a 6-point increase since 2018. The share of Democrats saying this has fallen 9 points to 42%.

There has been a decline in the shares of *both* Republicans and Democrats who say the phrase “the rights and freedoms of all people are respected” describes the country well. Just 52% of Republicans say the rights of all people are respected, down from 60% two years ago. Even fewer Democrats say this (30%), and there

has been an 8-point decline since 2018.

Since 2018, Democrats' evaluations of how well the U.S. is doing in living up to its democratic principles have declined on seven of 10 items. In contrast, Republicans' perceptions of U.S. democratic performance have remained about the same – or become more positive – on eight of the 10 items.

Across all 10 items, the average partisan gap in evaluations of democratic performance was about 9 percentage points in 2018. Across the same 10 items today, that gap is now 16 points.

**Fewer than a third of Americans say politicians face consequences for misconduct and that money *doesn't* buy greater political influence**

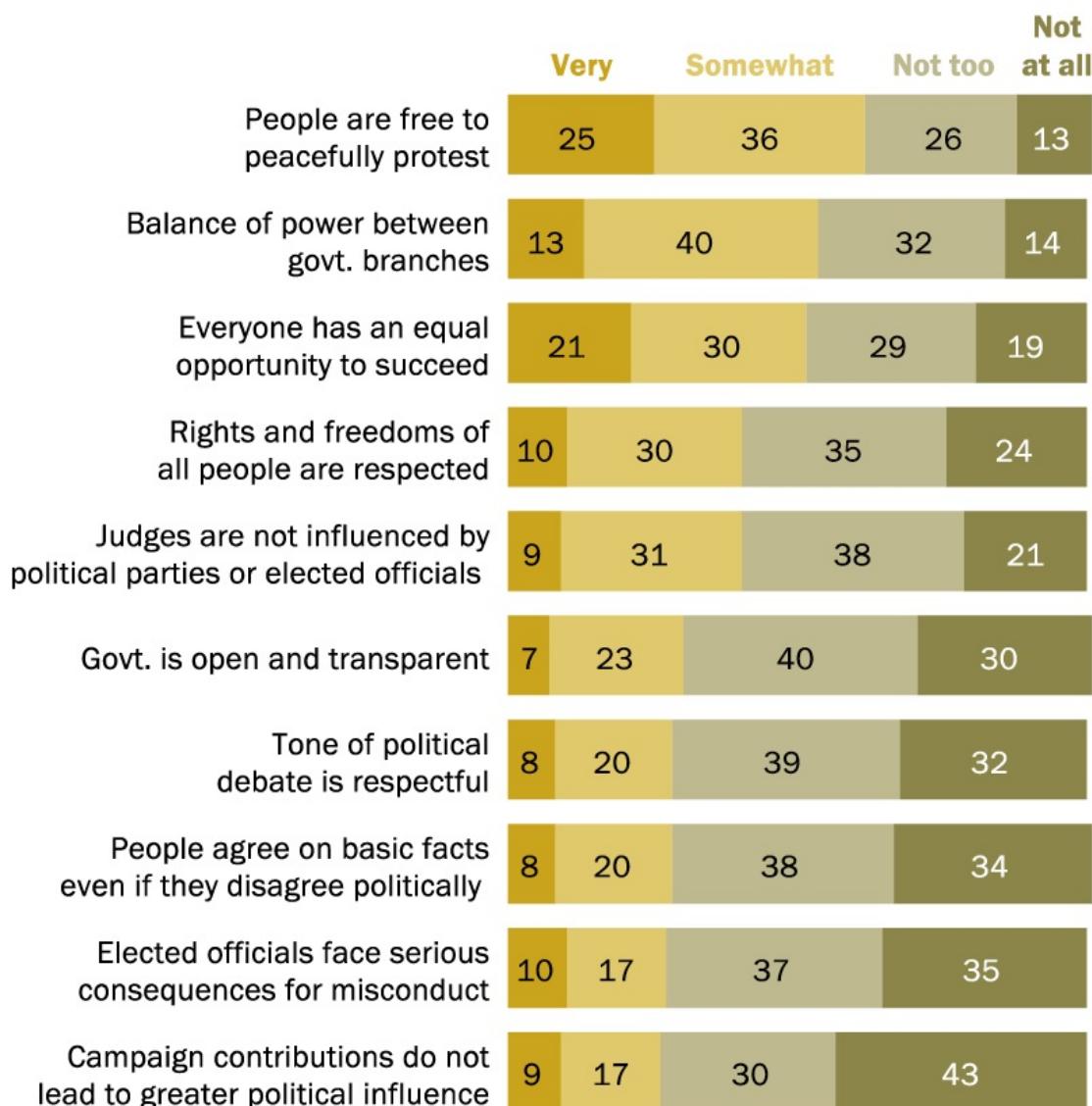
Looking at the public's evaluations of how well the nation is doing upholding democratic ideals, the overall picture is largely negative.

Clear majorities say the country is doing well in only two areas: People are free to peacefully protest (60% say this describes the country very or somewhat well), and the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government keep one another from having too much power (53%).

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## Public broadly critical of numerous aspects of political system, from govt. transparency to campaign funding

*% who say each of the following describes the country \_\_ well*



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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About half say everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed (51%), while

almost as many (48%) say this does not describe the country well.

In six other areas, majorities of Americans say the country is not doing well. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) say the phrase “the rights and freedoms of all people are respected” describes the country not too well or not at all well.

Even larger majorities say the country is not performing well when it comes to the government being open and transparent (69% say this does not describe the country well), the tone of political debate being respectful (72%), people agreeing on basic facts even if they disagree politically (72%), elected officials facing serious consequences for misconduct (73%) and that campaign contributions do not lead to greater political influence (also 73%).

Views of the influence of campaign donations are especially negative. About four-in-ten (43%) say the idea that campaign contributions do not result in greater political influence describes the U.S. “not at all well” – the highest share among the 10 items included in the survey.

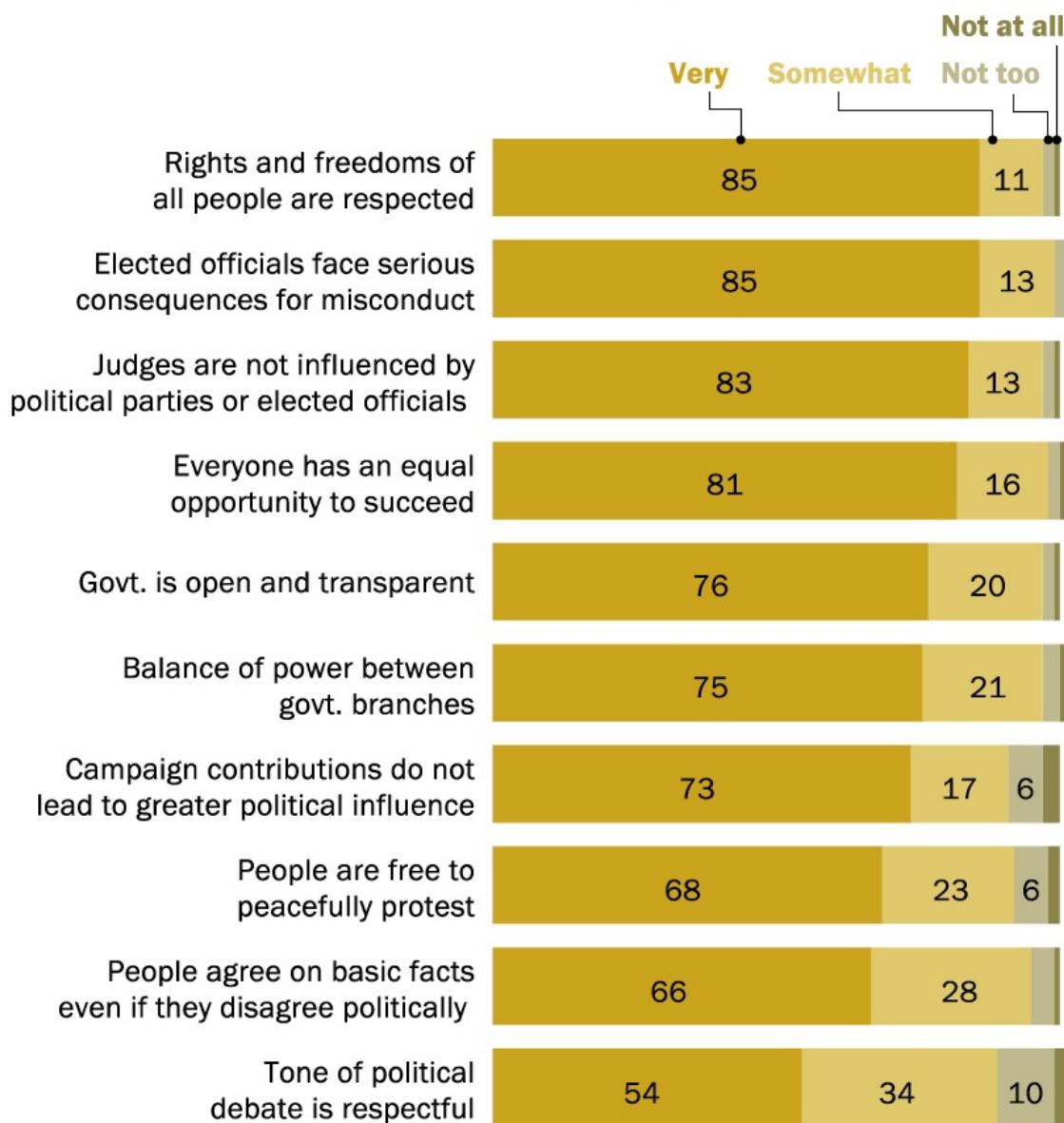
## **Views of the importance of democratic values and principles**

The public places great importance on a broad range of democratic ideals and principles. Across most of the 10 democratic values asked about in the survey – including respecting the rights of all, ensuring that governmental branches keep one another from having too much power, and ensuring elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct – large majorities say these are *very* important for the country.

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## Sizable majorities say several democratic values and principles are ‘very important’ for the country

% who say it is \_\_ important for the country that ...



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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In all cases, overwhelming shares say these values are *very* or *somewhat* important; few Americans say they are not too or not at all important.

However, there is considerable variance in the shares saying each is very important.

Overwhelming majorities say it is very important that rights and freedoms of all people are respected (85%) and that elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct (also 85%).

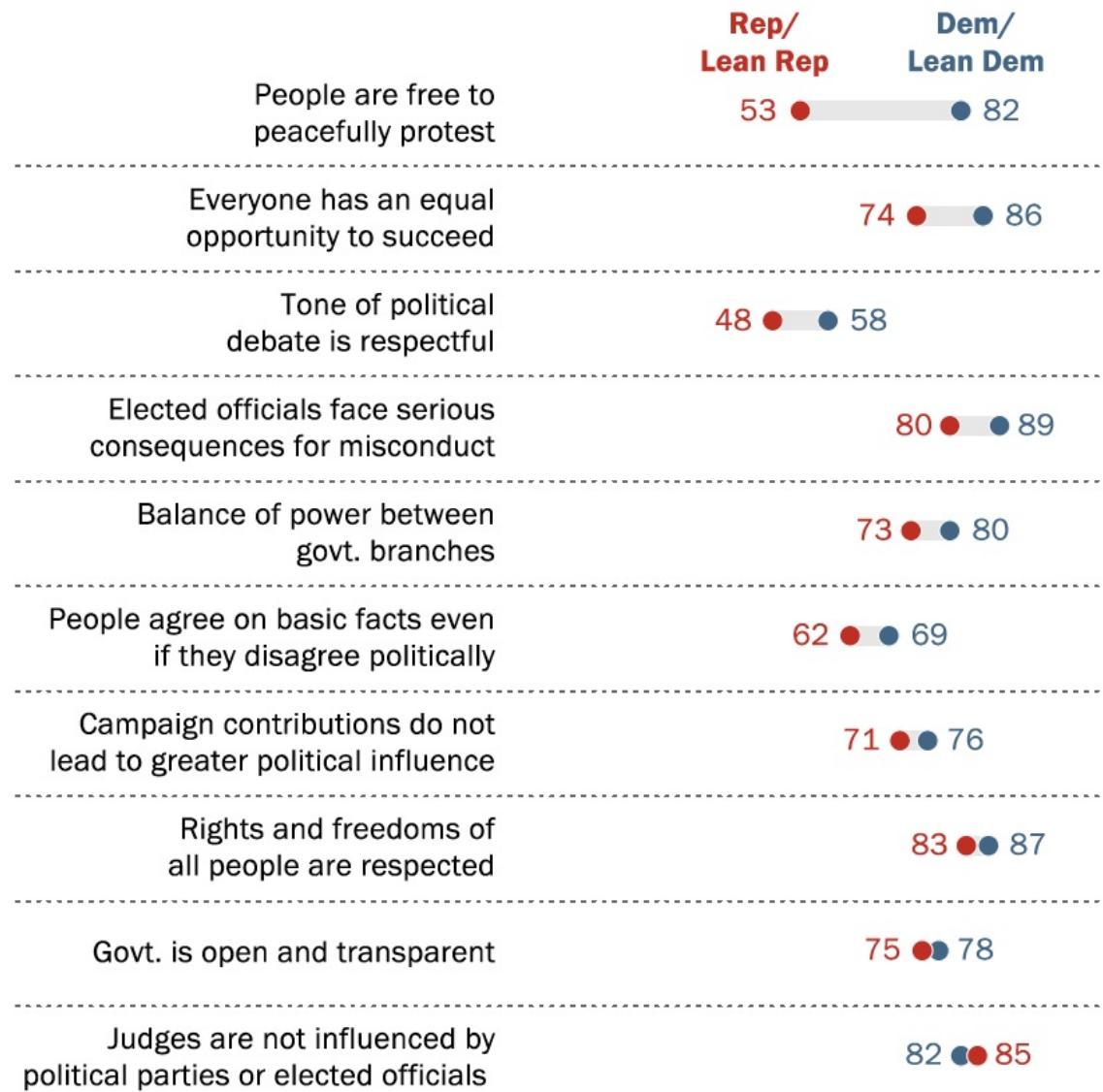
Large majorities of adults also say it's very important that judges are not influenced by political parties or elected officials (83%), everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed (81%), government conducts its work openly and transparently (76%), and that the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government keep each other from having too much power (75%).

Compared with the other principles, people place less importance on respectful political debate (54% say this is very important). Still, a large majority says this is at least somewhat important (87%).

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## Partisans agree on importance of many democratic values, but differ on freedom to peacefully protest

% who say it is **very important** for the country that ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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Though majorities of Republicans and Democrats say most of these principles are *very important* to the country, there are notable differences on several items.

And, as is the case with evaluations of the nation's performance on democratic principles, one of the widest gaps is on the freedom to protest peacefully. While 82% of Democrats say this is very important, only 53% of Republicans say the same. This 29 percentage point partisan gap is the largest of the 10 items.

Democrats are also more likely than Republicans to say it is very important that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed (86% vs. 74%) and that the tone of political debate is respectful (58% vs. 48%).

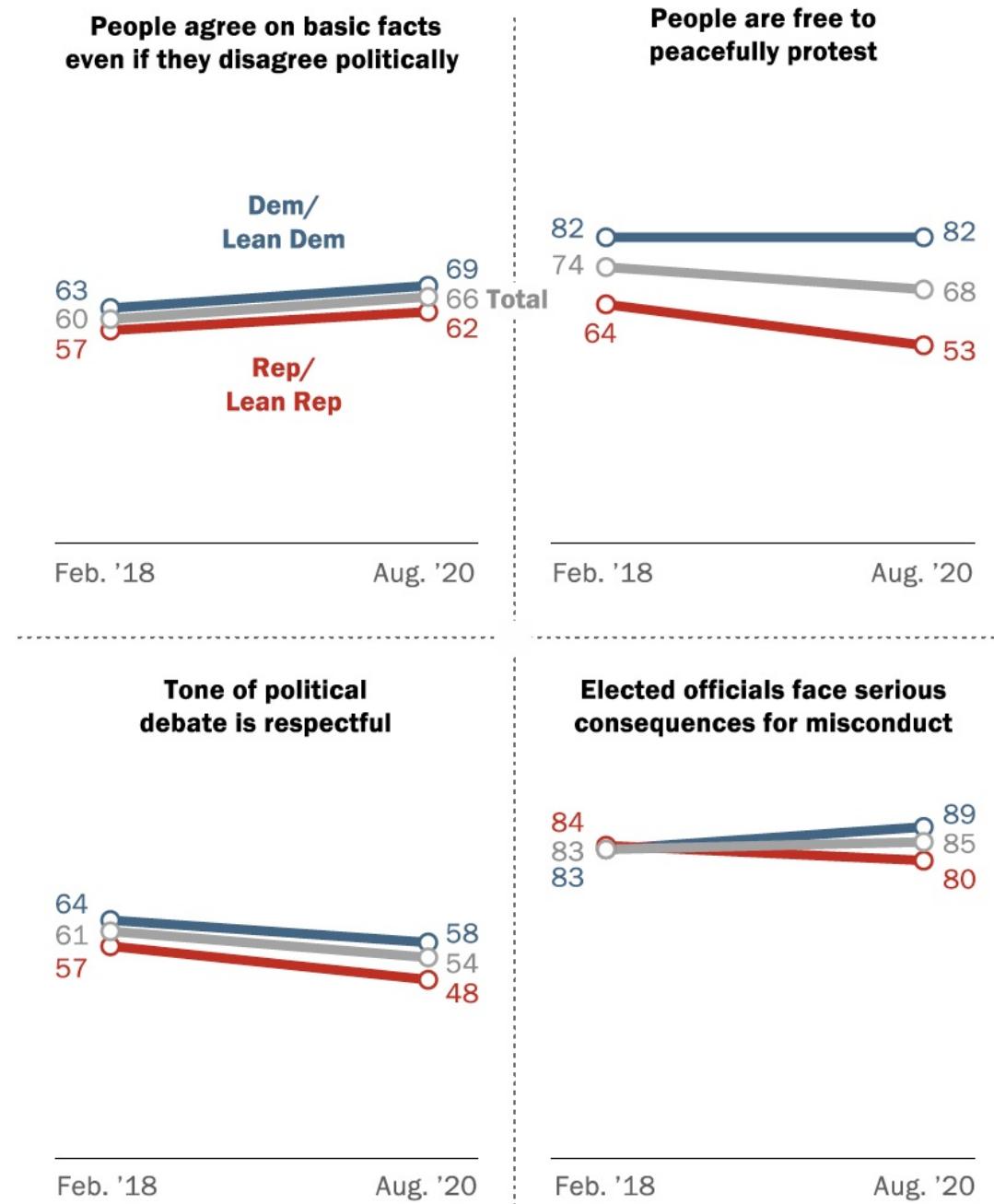
The partisan differences are less pronounced on several other items. Comparable majorities in both parties say it is very important that campaign contributions do not lead to greater political influence, the rights and freedoms of all people are respected, government is open and transparent, and judges are not influenced by parties or elected officials.

Overall, however, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say eight of the 10 items surveyed are *very important* to the country.

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## Declining share of Republicans say people's freedom to peacefully protest is very important for the country

% who say it is *very important* for the country that ...



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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There have been some significant shifts in the way partisans view the importance of certain democratic values over the past two years.

In 2018, roughly three-quarters of adults said it is very important for the country that people are free to peacefully protest, including 82% of Democrats and 64% of Republicans. The same share of Democrats says this today, but the share of Republicans who say this today (53%) has declined by 11 percentage points – the biggest decline across all 10 items.

Republican and Democratic views on basic facts and respectful political debate have moved together.

In 2018, 63% of Democrats and 57% of Republicans said it was very important that people agree on basic facts even if they disagree politically. Today, those shares are higher among both parties; 69% of Democrats now say it is very important, while 62% of Republicans say the same.

And today, smaller shares of Republicans and Democrats say it is very important that the tone of political debate is respectful. Just about half of Republicans say it's very important (48%), and 58% of Democrats say the same.

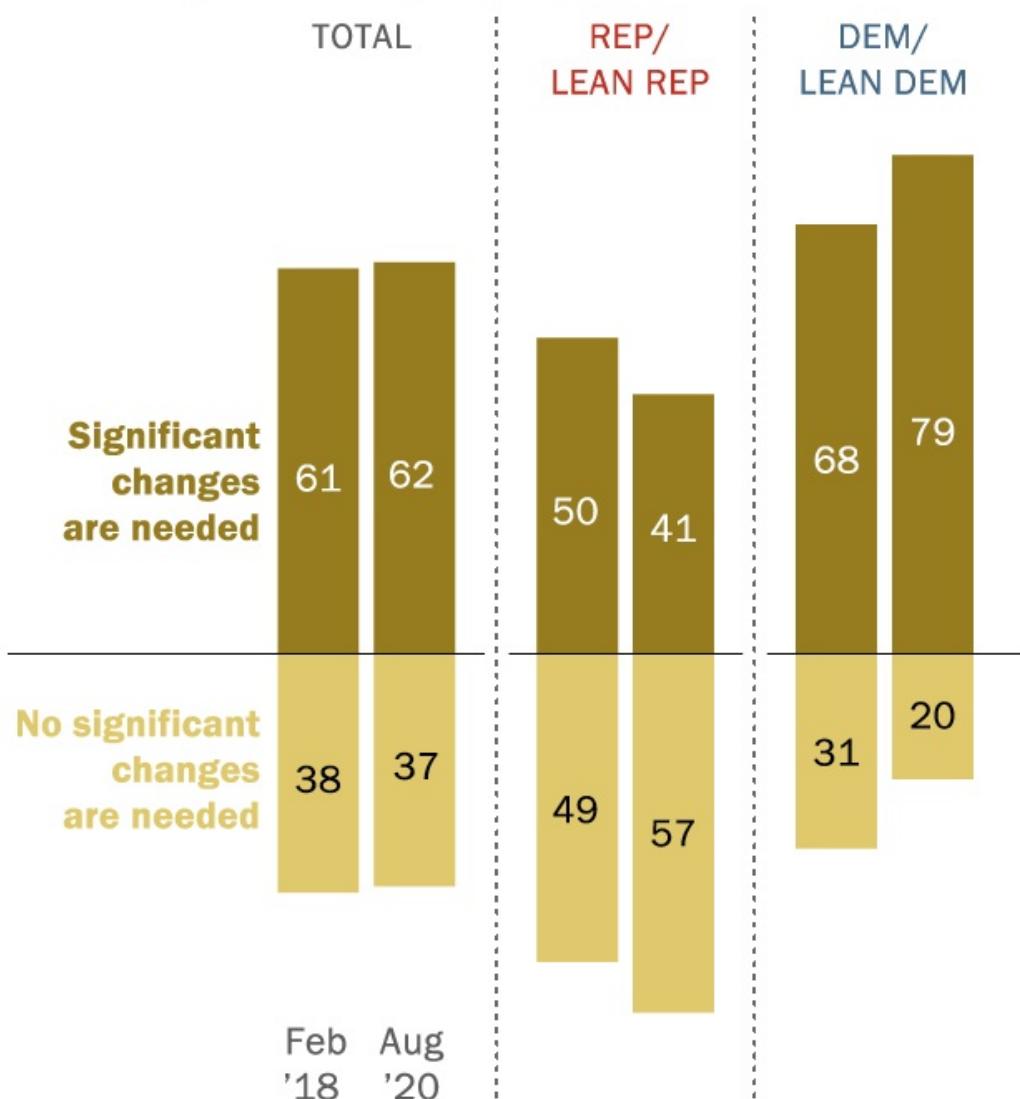
In 2018, there was no partisan gap on the principle that elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct. But today, there is a 9 percentage point gap. Democrats have grown *more* likely to say it is important that elected officials face repercussions for misconduct (83% in 2018 vs. 89% today) while Republicans have become less likely to say this (84% then, 80% today).

## **Majority of Americans say fundamental changes in structure of government are needed**

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## Partisans move further apart on whether government needs structural change

*Thinking about the fundamental design and structure of American government, % who say ...*



Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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A majority of Americans (62%) say that when thinking about the fundamental design and structure of government, significant changes are needed to make it work for current times; 37% say the design and structure of government serves the country well and does not need significant changes.

These overall opinions have changed little since 2018, but Republicans and Democrats have moved in opposing directions. In 2018, half of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents said significant changes to American government were needed; today, that share has dropped to 41%. A majority (57%) now says no significant changes are needed.

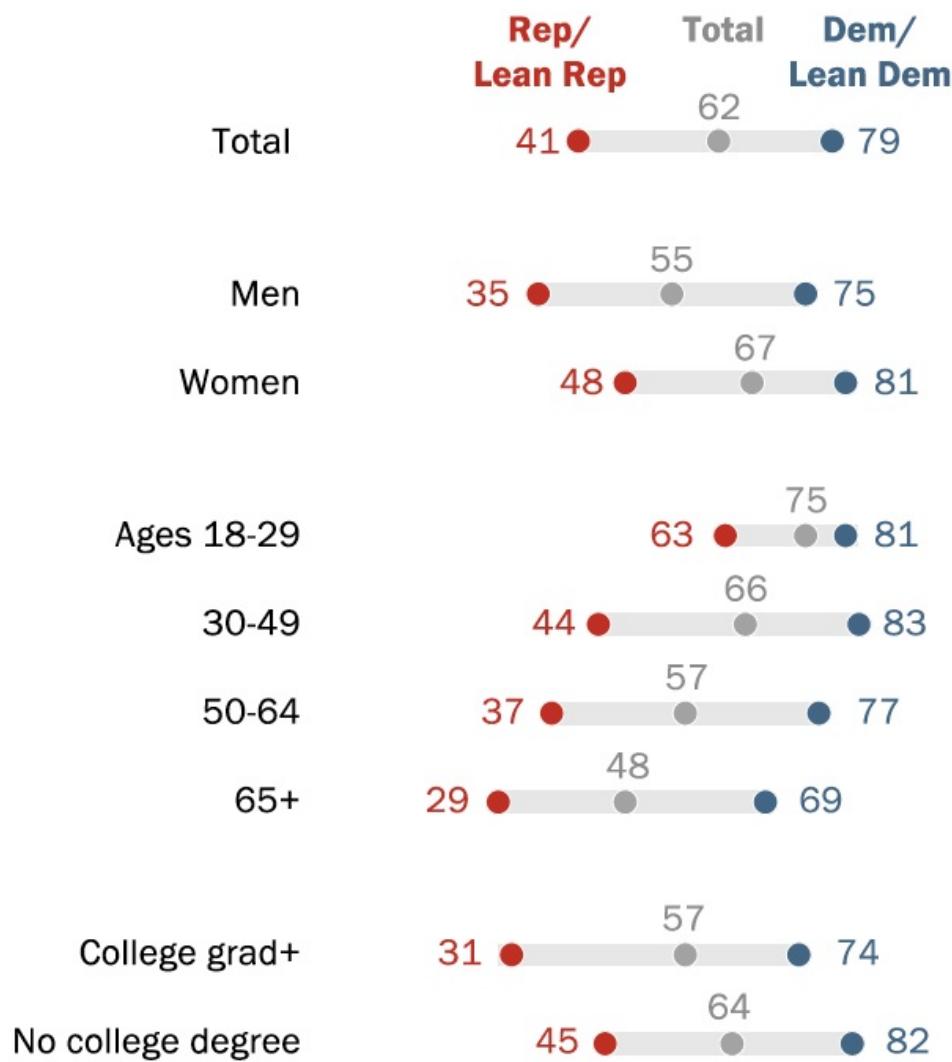
At the same time, Democrats have grown *more* likely to say significant changes are needed. In 2018, 68% of Democrats said substantial change was necessary. Today, 79% of Democrats say changes are needed to make government work for current times.

Though partisanship is the biggest factor in views on whether the fundamental design and structure of American government needs significant changes, there are similar demographic divisions within each partisan coalition – especially among Republicans.

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## **Majorities of young Democrats and Republicans say changes are needed in the design of the U.S. government**

*% who say significant changes are needed to the fundamental design and structure of American government*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27-Aug. 2, 2020.

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Women in both parties are more likely than men to say government needs significant changes to work in current times. Nearly half of Republican women (48%) say such changes are needed, compared with 35% of Republican men. The gender gap among Democrats is more modest: 81% of Democratic women say this, compared with 75% of Democratic men.

Among Republicans, there are sizable age divides in views of government. A majority of Republicans under 30 years of age (63%) say government needs major changes. This sentiment is far less pronounced among older age groups: 44% of Republicans ages 30 to 49 say this, compared with 37% who are 50 to 64 and just 29% of those 65 and older.

Majorities of Democrats in all age groups say fundamental changes are needed in the design of government, though this view is more widespread among those under age 50 (82%) than those ages 50 and older (74%).

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