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An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

A complete listing of his writings at http://psychologywritings.synthasite.com/ and http://kmbpsychology.jottit.com.

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1. WORK IS CHANGING, THE "NEW SELF-EMPLOYED" AND CHOICE

1.1. WORK IS CHANGING

Terms like the "new culture of capitalism" (Sennett 2006) and the "new spirit of capitalism" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005) suggest that the nature of work is intrinsically different today, but Fleming (2014) warns that such ideas "risk missing some key continuities between present and past logics of capitalist rationality (ie: private property, commoditisation, exploitation etc)" (p877).

However, he does accept changes in recent years, including the breakdown of the division between work and "life" as in the "just be yourself" corporate philosophy in call centres (Fleming and Sturdy 2011). The label "liberation management" has also bee used to describe encouraging employees to be the "true me" at work (Fleming 2014).

Fleming (2014) applied Foucault's concept of biopower to neoliberal work patterns. Biopower "involves extending the economic model of supply and demand and investment-cost-profit so as to make it a model of social relations and existence itself, a form of relationship of the individual to himself, time, those around him, the group and the family" (Foucault 2008 quoted in Fleming 2014). Fleming (2014) coined the term "biocracy" to describe the "employment-level manifestation of biopolitics in neoliberal societies" (p885).

He outlined four elements of it:

i) "Social subjectivity" - An individual's unique personality and characteristics are used "towards capitalistic ends".

ii) "Space" - Signs of non-work are encouraged in the office. For example, in the study of call centres (Fleming and Sturdy 2011), "framing the office as if it was a 'late night party' did not in itself create value, but made it easier for the organisation to capture aspects of inter-personality that was of economic utility

(eg: non-scripted and flexible engagement with customers etc). The firm even claimed that what employees did was not really 'work', since where else can you drink on the job, be sexually promiscuous and use company space to promote broader projects..." (Fleming 2014 p887).

iii) "Time" - A blurring between work and non-work time. Gregg (2011) referred to "presence bleed" (always thinking about work) and "function creep" (working longer hours than formally paid for) in her case study of media and IT employees.

iv) "Economic valorisation" - For example, the use of consumers (gamers) in the gaming industry as their "hacks" are integrated into future games. Kucklich (2005 quoted in Fleming 2014) called this "play work".

1.2. NEW SELF-EMPLOYED

Many individuals in the West who were once classed as employees are now classed as self-employed for the same job. This is presented as an opportunity for "free agents" (Pink 2002), but Fleming (2017) disagrees: "Employment is being fundamentally individualised so that the costs of labour (that firms once covered) are pushed onto the employee with the help of labour-on-demand business models, self-employment, portfolio careers and zero-hours contracts" (p692). These changes have been called "uberisation" (Hill 2015) or the "gig economy" (Sundararajan 2015) [1].

The basis of this process, argued Fleming (2017), other than the growing power of large corporations, the decline of unions, and the desire of workers for freedom, is "human capital theory". "Human capital(ists) are competitive individualists, preoccupied with investing and enhancing in their own economic value. From this point of view, life itself is a personal and permanent commercial project that requires business ambition to generate future income and avoid losses" (Fleming 2017 p692).

This theory is summarised by Becker (2008), who explained that capital goes beyond traditional economic concepts like industrial plant - "Schooling, a computer training course, expenditures on medical care, and lectures on the virtues of punctuality and honesty are also capital. That is because they raise earnings, improve health, or add to a person's good habits over much of his lifetime. Therefore, economists regard

[1] Other similar ideas include "employee society" (Drucker 1993), and "The Brand Called You" (Peters 1999).

expenditures on education, training, medical care, and so on as investments in human capital. They are called human capital because people cannot be separated from their knowledge, skills, health, or values in the way they can be separated from their financial and physical assets" (Becker 2008 quoted in Fleming 2017).

The "dark side" of this view is what Fleming (2017) called the "radical responsibilisation of employment" - ie: the individual is responsible for "improving" themselves. Fleming (2017) continued: "human capital theory might be something of a hoax. Employees do not necessarily become wealthier, smarter or enjoy more self-determination by following its precepts" (p693).

The "Results Only Work Environments" (ROWE) (Ressler and Thompson 2008) with the emphasis on outcomes, has played its part here. Fleming (2017) gave a personal example as an academic: "My employer is largely unconcerned when, where and how I prepare for a Tuesday afternoon lecture, be it in the middle of the night or in the weekend. Indeed, it would be counter-productive to insist I check in at 9 am on Monday morning and be at my desk present and accounted for. As long as I arrive to the lecture hall and do a satisfactory job (which, of course, is measured rather rigorously!) my employer is happy" (p697). But this is "not about giving people more time with the kids. ROWE is not about having more time off... you might even work more" (Ressler and Thompson 2008 quoted in Fleming 2017).

Fleming (2017) outlined some negative consequences of "human capital theory":

a) "Lower incomes and work intensification" - If individuals are "mini-corporations", then they compete by offering better services for less money. The upshot is that individuals pay for "extras" that previously employers did, like training, equipment, and sickness benefits.

On top of this, in order to meet deadlines, individuals produce "unpaid work" (Gregg 2011) or "free work capitalism" (Fleming 2017) (ie: working in their won time).

b) "Debt and a dumbed down economy" - If training/education is the responsibility of the individual, then two options become open to them - debt to pay for such education or "dumbing down" if the education is not pursued.

c) More management, not less" - "Free agents" find themselves "micro-managed, monitored and directly supervised more now than ever" in this unexpected outcome of "radical responsibility" (Fleming 2017). Kleinknecht

et al (2016) gave the explanation that "flexibility in labour markets (ie: easier firing and higher labour turnover) damages trust, loyalty and commitment. This requires more management and control" (quoted in Fleming 2017).

1.3. PERSONAL CONCIERGES

"Taste work" involves mediating between clients and goods and services related to lifestyle, and it is seen in interior decoration, event planning, personal shopping, personal organising, image consultancy, and lifestyle management (Sherman 2011).

In relation to the latter, Sherman (2011) focused on "personal concierges" (PCs), who are usually self-employed women who do tasks for their rich clients, varying from picking up clothes from the dry cleaner (simple errands) to supervising on home renovation.

Goffman (1951) called such individuals "curator groups" who "build and service" the status symbols of the rich (the "symbolising equipment of a class") (quoted in Sherman 2011). Bourdieu (1984) has described them as having a "cultural intermediary" role. For him, "taste" is linked to social position, and is a way that higher class individuals can distinguish themselves from lower class individuals. "Both of these accounts assert that certain kinds of workers are directly involved in the production of both status and selfhood for upper-class people" (Sherman 2011 p203).

Rachel Sherman conducted 23 interviews with PCs (nineteen women) in the New York City area, and performed 160 hours of participant observation in a business that bought gifts on behalf of clients.

The PCs "exercise significant influence over their clients' aesthetic decisions", but the PCs "must customise their aesthetic decisions to particular client desires, matching preferences to markets as closely as possible. When these two imperatives conflict (ie: clients have what concierges consider bad' taste), concierges subtly try to shape their clients' choices, matching those choices to what they think clients' taste should be, given their social position, rather than what it is. In this way they police the boundaries of appropriate taste" (Sherman 2011 p206). Sherman (2011) called this "intervention".

"Violet" described how she made her decisions about what the client wanted: "It really is a lot of detective work, and paying attention to all these little characteristics, and being observant. If you walk into someone's home and it's all white walls and white flowers and all this stuff, you know, if you had to do a project

for them, you’re not going to go out and get, like, red. And it's really, like, being open and absorbing all that information without having to ask all those questions sometimes" (p207). This was what Sherman (2011) called "customisation".

In the case of intervention, "Penelope" told the story of a client who wanted to redecorate his apartment: "...Like, he was insisting on keeping his furniture that was just the worst colour wood, it was that yellowish brown wood [that] I don't even know if they sell anymore... And then he had this rug that didn't make any sense, and this art which just was so bad it was scary, and she set the focus on picking a paint colour that would, like, attempt to bring together all of these really disparate elements that were kind of freaky..." (p209).

PCs considered themselves experts in taste. "They got annoyed when they felt clients were not respecting their expertise, and they judged clients behind their back for having 'bad' taste. But unlike professionals with more autonomy and/or artistic legitimacy, these concierges' power to decide is limited by the class power of their clients..." (Sherman 2011 p210).

Sherman (2010) explored how the "association of concierge work with women's work impedes its symbolic and monetary valuation in the market. In response, concierges primarily use gender-neutral frames to legitimate their product and cast themselves as professionals" (p81). This can be seen in the refusal to perform "domestic services" (eg: cleaning, cooking, child and pet care [2]) - ie: not "dirty" work.

PCs face resistance for their services from women who feel guilty about someone else doing "their" work, and from men who "feel that women should not pay for services women can perform themselves" (Sherman 2010). Hochschild (2005) described this reluctance to commodify every aspect of life as keeping "the wall between market and non-market life".

PCs responded by framing "free time" as having a "market value". One PC said: "Clients will say, 'Why should I pay you to do something I can do for myself for free?' Well, it's a matter of education about the value of time" (p99).

The websites of the PCs emphasised this idea: eg: "I'm the one person that can give you more than 24 hours

[2] This is an "outsourcing" of household tasks, which Coser (1973) "predicted", talking about the end of the traditional servant role: "part-time housework may in the future become a new profession, and the traditional servant’s tasks may be provided on a specialised basis by caterers, dog-walkers, clean-up services and the like. But if that should happen, household workers will little resemble the traditional servant. That role is dying" (quoted in Sherman 2010).

in your day"; "I'm in the business of giving them free time"; "Whatever you need that you don't have time for. It's to give you that time" (p99).

"Violet" described it this way: "If you are making these fantastic salaries or have these wonderful events to go to, you know, if you've got the choice of going to some dinner gala versus doing your laundry, you're probably going with the gala. And getting our service gives you that opportunity, right?" (p100).

"Caroline" showed the emphasis on monetary value: "We have a lot of accountants or other professionals like attorneys that bill at an hourly rate, and they really quickly turn it into, 'Wait a minute, I bill at $250 and you bill at $40, I make money if I hire you'" (Sherman 2010 p100).

1.4. SEX WORKERS

Mai (2013) referred to watching a UK parliament debate in 2009 about migrant sex workers: "As I watched the parliamentary reproduction of the 'trafficking' moral panic in full swing, with its politicised amplification of the number of victims (Davies 2009a) [3], its praise for the anti-trafficking interventions and its ritualistic demonisation of male traffickers my thoughts went to the many female migrant sex workers I interviewed in London. Most feared a visit by anti-trafficking saviours more than coping with the people who enabled them to come and work in the UK, even when their relationship was far from ideal" (p108).

For him, "the anti-trafficking apparatus becomes a new form of moral, socio-economic and political boundary, producing a rigid dichotomy between 'true' victims (Cole 2007), who are allowed to reside amongst us insofar as they did not decide to sell sex, and 'false' victims, who are deported" (Mai 2013 p109).

Based on interviews with men and women in the global sex industry [4] [5], Mai (2013) aimed to go beyond the

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[3] Davies (2009b) challenged the claims of the official police inquiry on sex trafficking in the UK. "Operation Pentameter Two" announced 528 arrests, of which Davies (2009b) reported 122 never happened, 106 released without charge, 47 cautioned for minor offences, 73 charged with immigration breaches, 76 convicted of non-trafficking offences, and the remainder included those who had died, absconded or disappeared from police records. Davies (2009b) claimed 96 individuals arrested for trafficking offences, of which 67 were charged, 22 went to court and fifteen convicted (of whom five were "genuine traffickers").

[4] Weitzer (2010) defined "sex work" as "the exchange of sexual services, performances, or products for material compensation" (quoted in Sagar et al 2016). The "sex industry" not only includes direct services (eg: prostitution) and indirect services (eg: pornography), but also the organisers of sex work (eg: managers) (Sagar et al 2016).

[5] Banyard (2016) was critical of the term "sex work" as hiding "the inherent sexual abuse", and perpetuating the myth that "it is possible to commodify consent". She made her point thus: "If, while having sex with someone, you feel repulsed by them touching you, afraid of what they might do,

"forced/free dichotomy" of the "anti-trafficking paradigm". Data were drawn from 100 in-depth interviews with migrant women, men and transgendered people working in the sex industry in London, and thirty-four in-depth interviews with male agents from Albania and Romania in Rome. The focus was individuals from Eastern Europe.

Two changes within societies set the background for these individuals. One of them is general - post-modernity or late modernity and "objectualisation" (ie: "the increasing orientation towards objects as sources of the self, of relational intimacy, of shared subjectivity and of social integration"; Knorr Cetina 1997 quoted in Mai 2013).

The other change is the specific post-communist transformation. "Since the cultural construction of Western capitalism as an alternative to communism drew on the narrative and visual material disseminated by Western media, participating in Western material culture, watching Western media and migrating to the West became a way to gain access to alternative subjectivities and lifestyles... As a consequence, some young people constructed capitalist democracy as a utopian world of individualised freedom and material luxury where it was possible to change one's personal and social identity overnight by 'making money' abroad and 'performing it' through 'objectualised' deeds – ie: through the possession and display of specific objects, at home" (Mai 2013 p110).

In relation to migration, Mai (2013) described the decision to go as "often a way to (re)start a project of social mobility that became unviable at home because of a range of shared or individual reasons and circumstances, including lack of opportunities for self-advancement; gender, sexual or racial/ethnic discrimination; the outbreak of war; the end of a romantic relationship; or the death of a parent" (p112).

In relation to working in the global sex industry, it was often "the outcome of a long process of

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degraded and humiliated by the sexual acts, hurt by the hateful words they're whispering in your ear, sore because he's the fifth man you've had sex with today, exhausted from it all, traumatised, abused - the fact that you'll get a bit of cash at the end does not change anything. There is no invisible hand in the prostitution market that magically disappears the lived experience of sexual abuse" (Banyard 2016 p12) (appendix 1A).

experimentation across a string of sexual and/or non-sexual jobs in the country of origin and abroad. In most cases, working in the sex industry is resorted to when compared with job opportunities that are seen as unfavourable in terms of time commitment and payment" (Mai 2013 p112). This can be seen in "Olga's" statement: "My best friend... she got married here and helped me to come here and find a job as a cleaner. Then this other friend of mine, a fellow-cleaner... she also worked in a flat... she told me: 'why don't you do this? Only there you can make lots more money!' I thought about it for a long time, I wasn't sure. Sometimes I am happy about it, sometimes I'm not... I am treated as normal when I'm there, no one says: 'you are a prostitute!' It's normal" (p112).

Mai (2013) wanted to emphasise that "the decision to work in the global sex industry is embedded in everyday life opportunities. Within local peer cultures and (much more rarely) specific family circumstances, selling sex can become normalised as another way to 'make money' within people's life trajectories and is the result of careful decisions, rather than of coercion" (p112).

The importance of "making money" and showing it at home is seen in Romanian "Adrian's" comment - "you do not really need money to live, but to prove to others that you are better than them" (p113). This is "objectualisation" in action. So, "performing commodified standards of social respectability becomes a key existential priority for individuals and families, even if this involves fractally working in stigmatised activities such as sex work and its management. On the one hand, men and women engaging in the global sex industry can be seen as particularly vulnerable, as they 'objectualise' their bodies to obtain the (self) recognition of their social respectability. On the other hand, they can also be seen as particularly resilient and innovative, as they challenge their own and their families' respectabilities, moralities and material circumstances by looking for opportunities of self-affirmation abroad" (Mai 2013 p113).

Some women who Mai (2013) interviewed in London did feel deceived and forced into selling sex, but he argued that the exploitation was more about "unsatisfactory payment and working conditions, rather than to the involvement in sex work per se" (p114). This response was seen in women deciding to return to the sex industry to work independently, like "Teresa" (from Moldova) who did it to "have a good life".

Another aspect of understanding work in the sex industry as embedded in the individuals' lives is the relationship between the women and men. A number of women

lived with men who may have been economically dependent on them, though the men may not have known what the women were doing. Davies (2009) described two types of relationships like this - "working partnership" and "fiancée contract". In the former case, the women were allowed to keep half the money by the men/male agents and relationship is presented as a partnership. With the "fiancée contract", the men kept most of the money to save for s shared future life. Both types of relationship overlap and are complex, but Mai (2013) argued that if "the agreed emotional and economic liaison breaks down, the female partner's perception of being exploited economically is enmeshed with the perception of being subject to emotional disloyalty in the context of a romantic relationship. Therefore, fiancées who found out about other girlfriends/wives/fiancées/ workers wanted their money back and often took revenge by denouncing their lover and agent to the police. On the contrary, when the original agreement was abided to, the situation was not perceived as exploitative and did not evolve into a conflictive state conducing to female sex workers' denunciation of their male partners to the police for pimping or trafficking" (p115). So, is the female sex worker's male partner a "real boyfriend" or a "pimp"? The point is that the answer is not simple as the women perceived and experienced it.

Mai (2013) noted that these experiences were framed in traditional discourses of masculinity and femininity - particularly the "madonna/whore" or "good girl/bad girl" discourse. This is the idea that "bad girls" are there "to have fun with" (Davies 2009), while "good girls" are worthy of love. This quotation from "Neritan" (an Albanian male agent) showed this idea:

> I have two relationships in this moment, one with the woman with whom I work and another with a woman whom I am going to marry. I love them both; the only difference is that one woman is helping the other to be better, economically. One woman is my lover, with whom I make money; the other is my future wife. With my future wife I build my family, while with the other I build my future for me, for her and for her future family... When I met her I really liked her... She told a friend we have in common that she was looking for somebody to take her to Italy, and I took her. Now I am very fond of her, like a sister who helps me, well, we actually help each other. Of course I have to fuck her as it is part of the job, to show her I love her, but the truth is that I am really fond of her. Here we feel free, if one night we want to go out to have a good time, we do it, she does not go to work, we get out and get drunk, we dance and then go home to fuck, like a normal couple (p117).

The "economic necessity" discourse (ie: only working in the sex industry to make money) trumped the

"madonna/whore" dichotomy - ie: it is possible to be a "good girl" and sell sex. For example, a Moldovan teacher who was working in the sex industry to earn money for her children - ie: only if the women "conform to their traditional gender role of caring and nurturing mothers" (Mai 2013).

At the same time, there were "traditional" examples of exploitation in Mai's (2013) interviews, as reported by "Elisa", talking about the male agents: "I realised what was going to happen, but I was scared to say no. They started talking a lot about what they did to other girls who refused to work or escaped... Then I was ashamed because of my family... that they would find out... I really feared for myself at that point. He took my phone and SIM card; I had no contact with anyone else for three months... I kept no money at all. I wanted to run out but I had no money... Also, I did not speak any English and had no idea of where I was" (p116).

Overall, Mai (2013) wanted "to highlight the complexities and the ambivalences of migrants' (inter)subjective, affective and economic investments in the global sex industry. By obfuscating these meaningful complexities and ambivalences, anti-trafficking rhetoric and social intervention demarcate moral, economic and geopolitical forms of sub-alternity and enforce forms of solidarity and support that appeal to the minority and harm the majority of the people they are supposed to help. At the same time, by emphasising the abuse and exploitation of a minority of migrant 'others', the anti-trafficking paradigm conceals the shared socio-economic and cultural vulnerabilities of societies in the West and in the rest of the world, which are being polarised and fragmented by neo-liberal policies inscribing economic success and privilege as an absolute priority" (pp119-120).

Aradau (2004) tried to explain "how a humanitarian discourse, spanning efforts to salvage migrants, boat people, asylum-seekers or trafficked women, can be appropriated within a securitising discourse where migrants, boat people, asylum-seekers or trafficked women are integrated in a continuum of danger" (p252) (ie: the "politics of pity" vs the "politics of risk"). Women trafficked for the sex industry are caught in the middle of these discourses as both illegal migrants and victims.

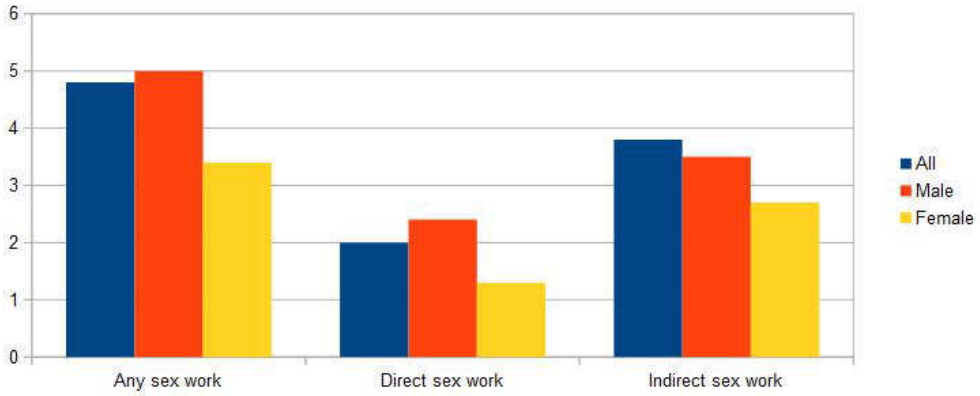
Furthermore, if the situation for these women is complex, then it opens the door to blame. "For Willy Bruggeman, deputy director of Europol, only a restricted category of victims are 'sex slaves in the truest sense'. Other victims have not been entirely coerced or deceived. Although some would never have imagined the slave-like

conditions under which they would have to work, they knew they were going to be employed in the sex industry. Others thought they were recruited to work in the service or entertainment industry, but were instead forced into prostitution. Often depicted as 'happy hookers of Eastern Europe', what connects all of these women is that they knowingly accepted to be illegal migrants. They are thus seen to be not entirely innocent and so not deserving of whole-hearted pity" (Aradau 2004 p261).

1.4.1. Students

The "Student Sex Work Report" in the UK was set up to investigate student participation in the sex industry through an online survey. Sagar et al (2016) reported on 6773 respondents, mostly undergraduates, with a mean age of 21 years old.

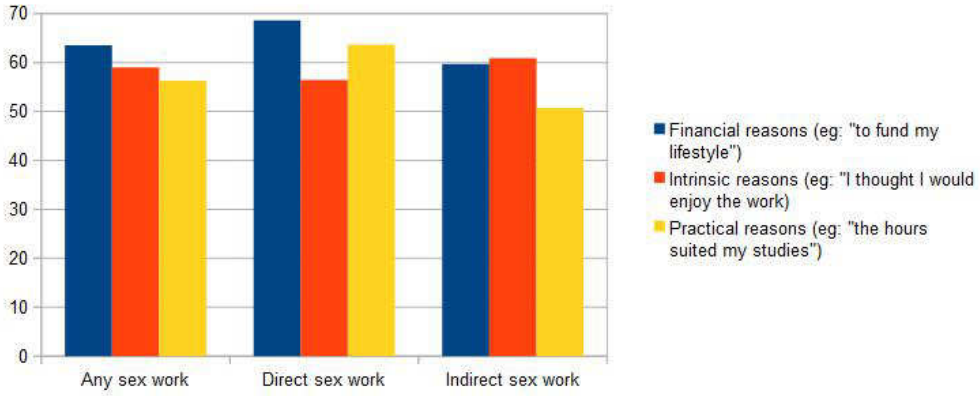
One in five respondents had considered involvement in the sex industry, and 5% had actually undertaken activity (with more males than females) (figure 1.1).



(Data from Sagar et al 2016 table II p706)

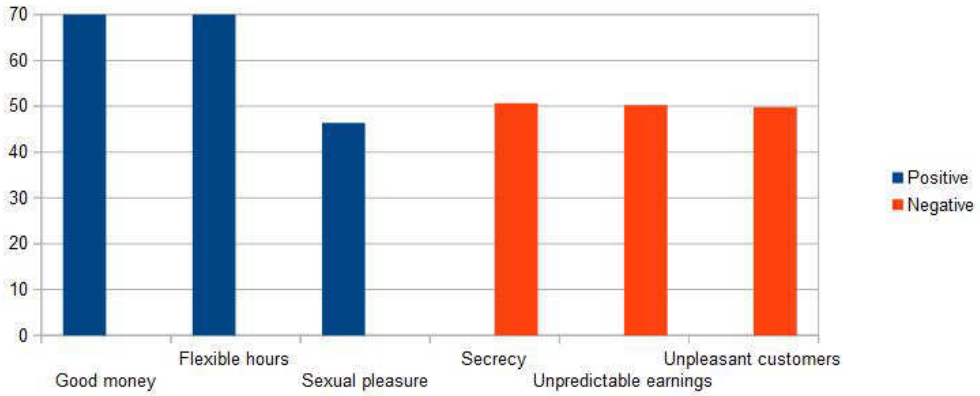
Figure 1.1 - Percentage of students in the sex industry.

Of those involved, financial reasons were most important (eg: "to cover my basic living expenses"; "to avoid getting into debt"), and only 14% reported that they felt forced to (figure 1.2). Both positive and negative aspects of the experience were reported (figure 1.3).



(Data from Sagar et al 2016 table III p709)

Figure 1.2 - Percentage of students giving reasons for working in sex industry.



(Data from Sagar et al 2016 table IV p710 and V p712)

Figure 1.3 - Most popular positive and negative aspects of any sex work reported by students (%).

Sagar et al (2016) summed up: "Students' participation in the sex industry was highly diverse in terms of the types of activities they were involved in but also in terms of the regularity with which they were involved in it. Most students who performed sex work did not do this on a full-time basis and in fact for most this work was not a regular source of income" (p713).

The researchers admitted that, although the sample was larger than previous studies, it was voluntary: "Student sex workers might have felt especially motivated to participate in the survey as it might have felt more 'relevant' to them, but they also might have avoided it due to the risk for stigmatisation and 'being found

out'. Either way, the proportion of students involved in the sex industry could be deflated or inflated" (Sagar et al 2016 p715). In other words, how representative was the sample of the general student population? The percentage of those involved in the sex industry was within the range of previous studies (eg: Roberts et al 2012).

1.4.2. Other Issues

Any understanding of an individual woman working in the sex industry has to be in the context of male-female relations and sex and sexuality generally.

For example, pornography, which Andrew Durham described as "what men and boys do to - rather than with - their partners" (Cochrane 2010). It is also a "porntopia" (Hammaren and Johansson 2007) - "the place where [young men] can get even, where women get what they 'deserve' and the guys never have to be tested or face rejection. And so the pornographic universe becomes a place of homosocial solace, a refuge from the harsh reality of a more gender equitable world than has ever existed. It's about anger at the loss of privilege - and an effort to restore men's unchallenged authority. And it turns out, that anger is worse among younger men" (Kimmel 2008 quoted in Cochrane 2010).

A sense of entitlement in relation to sexual coercion was found in a United Nations survey (Partners for Prevention) in six Asian countries (eg: Bangladesh, China) This involved 10 000 men and three thousand women aged 18-49 years surveyed between 2010-2013. Overall, 10&% of the men admitted to raping a woman who was not their partner (and this was 25% including partners). Of these men, three-quarters said that they "sexually entitled" (Hodal 2013).

Jeffreys (1996) coined the term "sexual corvée" in reference to the wearing of high heels to describe that as women gain power in public sphere they must "compensate men for their lost power by creating sexual delight for them as they totter about" (Betts 2008 p13). Betts (2008) defended her wearing of such shoes - "Feminism counts for nothing if it is not a guarantee of choice. While I choose to pursue politics proper in a state of high seriousness, so I see no contradiction for the politics of dress to be pursued in a spirit of high camp" (p13). She used the term "homovestite" for "a woman who gets a kick out of hamming up her femininity - content to be an object of the male gaze so long as I get to feel in control of matters, and give just as good as I get" (p13).

1.5. APPENDIX 1A - GENERAL PARTNER VIOLENCE

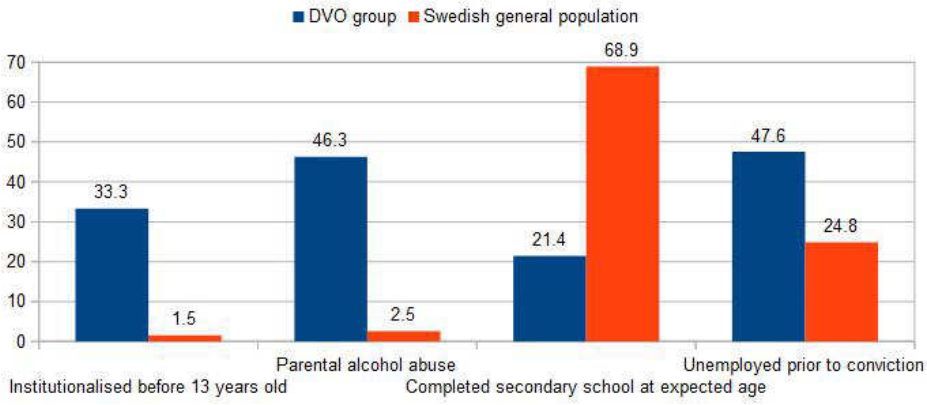
"Partner violence" (or "dating violence" or "courtship violence") covers "physical, sexual, and/or psychological violence between dating partners" (Sjodin et al 2017). Victimisation rates can be up to 20% of female teenagers depending on the definition used by the study (and usually with school, college and community populations) (Sjodin et al 2017).

Sjodin et al (2017) reported data from the Development of Aggressive Anti-Social Behaviour Study (DAABS) in Sweden with 262 male inmates aged 18 to 25 years old. The offenders were divided into three groups based on offences:

- Dating violence offender (DVO) group - convicted of violent crimes towards female partner (n = 42);
- Known victim offender (KVO) group - victim was known but not partner (n = 85);
- Unknown victim offender (UVO) group - violent crime towards stranger(s) (n = 135).

A comparison group of the general Swedish population was also used.

The DVO group was significantly different to the general population in being institutionalised during childhood, having parents who abused alcohol or substances, not completing school, and being unemployed (figure 1.4).



(Data from Sjodin et al 2017 tables 1 and 2 p87)

Figure 1.4 - Percentages of DVO group and general population showing certain characteristics.

But the DVO group did not vary from the other offender groups. "Young male offenders of dating violence are overall more similar than different from other young

male violent offenders, especially with regard to mental health, aggressive anti-social behaviours, and psychopathic traits" (Sjodin et al 2017 p89). This fitted with Holtzworth-Munroe & Stuart's (1994) "generally violent-anti-social" sub-type of adult intimate partner violence offender [6].

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2. ISN'T SCIENCE GREAT

2.1. URINATION

Urination has been studied in a number of animals, including in rats in zero gravity (Ortiz et al 1999).

Yang et al (2014) focused on the time to empty the bladder [7] by filming sixteen animals and viewing 28 videos of urination posted on YouTube. Despite the difference in bladder size (eg: elephant = 18 litres versus cat = 5 mL), the average time taken was 21 seconds (with a range of thirteen seconds). Assuming 5-6 urinations per day, this is a total of two minutes (or 0.2% of an animal's day), which is "a negligible portion compared with other daily activities, such as eating and sleeping, for which most animals take care to avoid predation. Thus, urination time likely does not influence animal fitness" (Yang et al 2014 p11936).

Yang et al (2014) discussed their findings: "How can an elephant empty its bladder as quickly as a cat? Larger animals have longer urethras and therefore, greater hydrostatic pressure driving flow. Greater pressures lead to higher flow rates, enabling the substantial bladders of larger animals to be emptied in the same duration as those of their much smaller counterparts" (p11934).

They continued: "Why is urination time 21 secs, and why is this time constant across animal sizes? The numerical value of 21 secs arises from the underlying physics involving the physical properties of urine as well as the dimensions of the urinary system" (Yang et al 2014 p11936).

2.2. DEFAECATION

Yang et al (2017) calculated the average duration of defaecation as 12 seconds (with a range of seven seconds - ie: 5 - 19 seconds) based on observing mammals at Zoo Atlanta and dogs at local parks in the USA, and watching nineteen relevant YouTube videos.

The start of defaecation was measured from the

[7] Small animals (eg: bats, rats) cannot generate jets, so they urinate using a series of drips (Yang et al 2014).

appearance of the tip of the faeces, and is constant across the different body sizes of mammals (eg: the rectum of an elephant is 40 cm in length and nearly ten times that of a cat) (Yang et al 2017).

Lewis and Heaton (1997) categorised faeces by seven types (known as the Bristol Stool Chart), from "hard nuts that are hard to pass" (Yang et al 2017) (type 1) to "constituting a watery-like liquid" (Yang et al 2017) (type 7).

2.3. FEMALE EJACULATION

The involuntary emission of fluid by some women during sexual arousal or orgasm is described as "female ejaculation", or colloquially, as "squirting". Between 10-40% of women studied may experience this at some time (Salama et al 2015).

There is disagreement over the nature of the fluid omission. It could be a product of vaginal hyper-lubrication, from the Bartholin's or Skene's (paraurethral) glands, or urine (Salama et al 2015). One problem is that the amount of fluid recorded by studies varies from 0.3 mL to over 150 mL, and Salama et al (2015) felt that the extremes "result from different physiological mechanisms".

Consequently, these researchers concentrated in their study on "massive liquid discharge" ("at least, that of a glass of water") by seven female volunteers in France. The participants completed a detailed questionnaire about their medical and sexual histories, gave urine samples, underwent ultrasonographic examinations, and produced "squirted" fluid.

Biochemical analysis of this fluid showed that it was mostly urine, which the researchers took to "support the hypothesis that squirting and the so-called 'female ejaculation' essentially are two distinct events" (Salama et al 2015 p665). They continued: "the ultrasonographic observation of a remarkable bladder filling during sexual arousal followed by the complete bladder emptiness after squirting in all participants strongly supports the hypothesis that squirting is an involuntary urine emission" (Salama et al 2015 p665).

So, "squirting" (large fluid emission) is "coital urinary incontinence" according to this theory, and "female ejaculation" (small fluid emission) is related more to prostatic-specific antigen.

As with many studies on this topic, the sample was small, and the participants were either volunteers or referred by doctors (table 2.1).

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
1. Agreed criteria for inclusion and exclusion in study (eg: "regular liquid expulsion during arousal or orgasm that was comparable with, at least, that of a glass of water, which abundantly wetted bed sheets"). 2. Volunteers or willing referrals by doctors (overcomes ethical concerns of consent). 3. Seven women showing similar behaviour. 4. Ultrasonographic examination of the bladder before arousal, during, and after emission. 5. Control of variables. 6. The women could masturbate (n = 2) or have sex with their partner (n = 5). 7. Appropriate medical services involved. 8. Detailed questionnaire on medical and sexual histories prior to study.	1. Terms used for inclusion have subjective element - eg: "regular" (how often), "glass of water" (what size glass). 2. Sample not representative of general population. Who takes part in such research? 3. Small sample, partly because of recruitment difficulty, and the cost of the study. 4. The women had to stop sexual arousal to be examined. Volume of emission was reported as less than at home. 5. Unnatural situation - masturbation or sexual activity knowing that would have to stop halfway through. 6. Uncontrolled variable of sexual stimulation alone or with partner. 7. No urodynamics examination for urinary abnormalities prior to study. 8. No information collected on the experiential aspect of "squirting" (ie: positive and negative impact on women's lives).

Table 2.1 - Key strengths and weaknesses of Salama et al (2015) and similar studies.

2.4. PENIS SIZE

Pre-copulatory female mate choice drives the evolution of desirable traits in males of a species. For example, if females prefer to mate with males with longer horns, then this sexual selection pressure acts to lead to longer horns in future males.

Can this evolutionary-based argument be applied to human penis size? Before clothing, the human penis was visible to potential mates, and this "observation has generated suggestions by evolutionary biologists that the comparatively large human penis evolved under pre-mating sexual selection" (Mautz et al 2013 p6925) (eg: Miller 2001).

Put simply, there is a relationship between penis size and sexual attractiveness of males. However, surveys asking women about their preference have mixed results, partly because direct questioning is "susceptible to

biases of self-censorship and pressure to conform to socially desirable responses to sensitive issues" (Mautz et al 2013 p6925).

Another method is to present drawings of male figures with different flaccid penis length for women to rate (eg: Dixson et al 2010). But such studies tend to use photographs, and do not take into account height and body shape. Mautz et al (2013) rectified this in their research.

They presented 105 heterosexual Australian women at one university with projected life-size, computer-generated male figures, which varied flaccid penis size, shoulder-to-hip ratio (body shape), and height. These three traits each had seven versions, which gave a total of 343 different figures, of which each participant saw fifty-three randomly chosen. Each figure was rated from 1-7 for attractiveness.

Male figures with larger penis size were rated as more attractive, but to a point. "Penis size had a stronger effect on attractiveness in taller men than in shorter men" (Mautz et al 2013 p6925). Height and shoulder-to-hip ratio were found to be equally as important as penis size for attractiveness, and they showed the same relationship (ie: increased size = increased attractiveness to a point). Male attractiveness was ultimately a product of the three traits, and so sexual selection works on them all.

Key criticisms of Mautz et al (2013) included:

- Not real pictures of humans
- Sample not representative of general population
- Images viewed alone in a darkened room.

Altogether, low ecological validity, even if control of variables was high.

2.5. "PUP PLAY"

"Puppy play" or "pup play" is "a form of role-play in which adult humans adopt characteristics that mimic the behaviour of young dogs" (Wignall and McCormack 2017 p801). It is often presented as a "kinky sexual activity" [8], where "individuals tend to adopt a submissive role,

[8] Newmahr (2011) defined kinky or kink as "the collection of activities that involve the mutually consensual and conscious use, among two or more people, of pain, power, perceptions about power, or any combination thereof, for psychological, emotional or sensory pleasure" (quoted in Wignall and

imitate the posture of a dog, and wear a collar and other 'gear' associated with owning a dog" (Wignall and McCormack 2017 p801). Aggrawal (2011) classified it as a form of zoophilia, but Wignall and McCormack (2017) were clear that "websites and blog posts written by people in the pup community contend that pup play does not involve sex with real animals, nor do the individuals involved have any desire to have sex with real animals" (p801).

Wignall and McCormack (2017) undertook semi-structured in-depth interviews with thirty gay and bisexual men in the UK who reporting engaging in "pup play". A number of key points emerged from the interviews, including:

a) "Pup play" is distinct from "zoophilia and the furry community".

b) "Pup play" includes both sexual and non-sexual elements, and seven interviewees explicitly rejected the sexual element.

c) "Pup 'headspace'" - Participants talked of "an escape from the world into a different mindset" (participant 17), and about "giving into your instincts" (participant 10). Terms like "pup brain" and "pup mode" were also used.

Participant 12 summed it up well: "The headspace is relaxing. It's a way of letting go. 'Oh, you have a big interview tomorrow? Who cares, I'm going to act like puppy'. It's also nice the other way around. You're in the middle of a presentation? Who cares, you just need to remember that yesterday you were a puppy crawling on the floor" (Wignall and McCormack 2017 p807).

Wignall and McCormack (2017) summarised "pup play" as a kink sexual activity within the framework of "leisure sex" [9], where the "headspace" was very important.

Wignall (2017) reported interviews with twenty-six gay and bisexual men in the UK about "Pup Twitter" ("pup

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McCormack 2017).

[9] Attwood and Smith (2013) referred to "leisure sex" to describe contemporary relationships and sexual practice. Wignall (2017) noted that "viewing sex as a leisure activity allows for a recognition of risk alongside the pleasures of the activity" (p34), while Attwood and Smith (2013) talked of "significant benefits (and costs) for individuals and society, offering considerable potential for productivity, development of skills and knowledge, and thereby might engender self-confidence, identity and community through achievement" (quoted in Wignall 2017). McNair (2013) talked of a "democratisation of desire" which challenges pathological classifications of certain consensual sex acts, and where casual sex ("hooking up") is common (alongside the greater acceptance of gay and lesbian individuals) (Wignall and McCormack 2017).

play" online community using Twitter [10]). Twitter was used "to Tweet about past or future sexual encounters, to post explicit sexual images, to communicate with other members (both sexually and non-sexually), and to post life updates (eg: work-related information, life events, everyday activities). The mixture of posts helped to contribute to the sense of community for participants" (Wignall 2017 p28).

Twitter was popular for the "pup play" community because it allows the creation of multiple profiles. Many participants reported having different Twitter accounts, like "Bruce" who said: "I have two accounts: a pup one and a non-pup one... I use the non-pup one for work based things and it's very much non-kinky" (p30). Similarly, "Carl" explained: "I already had one Twitter account, but I didn't want to blur my kink and vanilla life too much, so that's the driving reason behind my kinky/Pup Twitter. It was a way of keeping them both separate" (pp30-31).

However, "Steven" described the problem of trying to keep the accounts separate: "I make sure I post different things on my normal and my Pup Twitter profiles. I have cross posted before though. A sexual scene aimed at my pup account, but posted it from my normal account. I was on the underground and didn't realise – it was only six hours later that I decided to check my accounts and realised. I think I lost about four followers. It was vanilla [non-kinky] porn so it wasn't too bad, but it could have been much worse" (p31).

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[10] Baym (2015) outlined five characteristics of an online community - a shared sense of space; interactions are for the same purpose; advice and support are provided; a sense of shared identity among members; and interactions involving more than two individuals.

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