PSYCHOLOGY MISCELLANY

No.108 - June 2018

Crime and Justice Topics

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1.1. OLDER PRISONERS' EXPERIENCES

"The prison population is getting old" (Hill 2017a p12) [1]. A massive increase in older prisoners in the UK in recent years (ie: individuals over retirement age [2]), due to reasons like harsher sentencing policies [3], an ageing population, advances in forensics allowing conviction of historical offences, and behaviours not previously prosecuted in older offenders are now (Di Lorito et al 2018). This has meant that prisons are the largest provider of residential care for elderly men (Hill 2017a).

Between 2002 and 2014 there has been a 150% increase in prisoners aged 60 to 69 years old (compared to an overall prison population rise of 15%). The number of prisoners aged 80 to 89 years old has risen from 102 in 2015 to 191 in 2017, and 90 to 99 year-olds from five to twelve (Hill 2017b) [4].

There are challenges with this situation - eg: 5% of prisoners over 55 years old are dementia sufferers in the UK (Mental Health Foundation in Hill 2017a). One governor interviewed by Turner and Peacock (2017) said: "You are getting people in their late 60s, 70s—even into the 80s — which is [pause] quite a different level of care. Their needs are different, it's more around medical, health ; not really any control problems as you get with the younger population, no real control problems at all, but a different set of " (p59) [5].

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[1] "Older prisoners have been identified by the United Nations as a special need population because of their unique physical, mental health and social care needs" (Di Lorito et al 2018 p1).

[2] "Research in the general population often defines older age as beginning at age 65, which is consistent with historical standards for retirement and Social Security benefits... However, offender populations are believed to age prematurely due to factors associated with lifestyle, health behaviours, and the impact of incarceration. Thus, the literature on offenders often defines older age as beginning at age 50 or 55" (Smith and Schriver 2018 p105).

[3] Traditionally, there is a leniency bias towards older individuals (appendix 1A).

[4] In the United States, the older prison population has tripled between 2002 and 2011 (to around one-third of the US prison population; Smith and Schriver 2018), increased by one-third in Australia (2000-10), and by 50% in Canada (2001-11) (Di Lorito et al 2018).

[5] "With ageing comes increasing ill-health, and there is now a growing population of frail, older

In terms of the specific needs, Di Lorito et al (2018) found that older prisoners had more psychiatric disorders than the age-matched community in a meta-analysis of nine studies.

Overall, 38% of prisoners were categorised as "any psychiatric disorder" (with a range of 14% to 69%), and this figure is over double that of comparison populations (15%). For schizophrenia, for instance, it is six times greater, but similar for dementia (3.3% in prison vs 3.5% outside).

The studies included by Di Lorito et al (2018) did vary in a number of ways, including, importantly, the age range, and the method of diagnosis (table 1.1).

STUDY	AGE RANGE	DETAILS	ANY PSYCHIATRIC DISORDER (%)
Comalbert et al (2016)	over 50s	France; 138 males; psychiatric assessment by interview	68.4
Williams et al (2010)	over 55s	USA; 360 male and female; self-report	53.2
Fazel et al (2001)	over 60s	England and Wales; 203 males; psychiatric assessment from health records	13.6

Table 1.1 - Three different studies included in the meta-analysis of Di Lorito et al (2018).

Another issue related to the "penal surge" (Wacquant et al 2011) is that many prisoners will die in custody (eg: 141 deaths in custody in England and Wales from natural causes in 2014; Turner and Peacock 2017) (appendix 1C).

One prisoner interviewed by Turner and Peacock (2017) expressed his concerns: "I mean I'm in my 50s now

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prisoners who have multiple co-morbidities, disabilities, or life-limiting conditions. Many have limited mobility, some use wheelchairs, and a few are unable to get out of bed. Their health care needs are frequently complex and include assessment and monitoring, medication and other treatments, and specialist intervention from clinicians outside the prison. Many require assistance on a daily basis with personal care such as bathing, toileting, eating, and drinking" (Turner and Peacock 2017 p60) (appendix 1B).

but if anything was serious [pause] well, the prison
system scares me anyhow because if you are seriously ill,
there is a lack of care [pause] people coming to the end
of their lives and people who can hardly [pause] so I've
seen people die. It's a joke how they treat people, you
know" (p60).

The Prison Service of Great Britain is faced with
the challenge of palliative care provision for the
elderly and dying prisoners. A prison nurse gave an
example of the problems to Turner and Peacock (2017):
"And what I think is probably the most challenging
sometimes is getting on top of symptoms because
symptom control is difficult by the fact that [pause]
some of the medications need two nurses to administer.
You've got to be days ahead to be able to order things to
have them in place" (p61) (appendix 1D).

While one prisoner interviewed in the same study was
aware of the systemic problems: "I don't think that the
staff don't care because, to be honest with you, I think
the staff do care, a lot of them do care about you, but I
think it's just there's no [pause] there's no system in
place for anybody who is in real bad pain" (Turner and
Peacock 2017 p61).

Turner and Peacock (2017) summarised aspects
involved in caring for dying prisoners:

a) Constraints of prison environment - eg: old
prisons do not have lifts or wheelchair areas. A prison
nurse gave an example of the reality: "Mr H, for example,
[was] incontinent, doubly incontinent in the middle of
the night. There was no provision to put him in the
shower and give him a shower. We offered. 'You can't'.
You know, 'Everybody's asleep. It's not happening'. So we
had to, you know, wash him down, three of us trying to
hold him up in a cell like that wide [pause] to wash him,
change him. Nobody had clean kit: We were borrowing off
the rest of the landing at three o'clock in the morning"
(p62).

b) Staffing and resources - Prison officers lacking
the time and skills to build relationships with older
prisoners.

c) Personal and emotional consequences - Prison
officers struggled with an environment that was "more
like a care home than a prison wing". Also the wider
society is not sympathetic as one prison nurse described:
"I know that a lot of people are very [pause] if you sort
of talk to people out in the community that don't have an
understanding of prisons or anything like that, they're
very judgmental toward, 'Well, you know, how could you do
anything to help prisoners? They're not very nice
people'. They're people at the end of the day so you
[pause] it is amazing how you put aside any thoughts or

feelings you have for who they are or what they are, as to care for them for being a person" (p63).

d) Fellow prisoners - Prisoners often have to provide informal care for each other, as described here by one prisoner: "Well, in the past 3 or 4 months we've had two people on here [who] were dying of cancer [...] Night-time there was no care at all for them and it was left to us to look after them, like lift them up, take them to the toilet, etc, etc. And as for this pain relief — what pain relief? That's a joke. You know, but it was basically left to our own devices because at night-time, as you know, we're locked up" (Turner and Peacock 2017 p64).

Other studies have found that prisoners experience end of life differently to the general population, including a greater fear of death (eg: Deaton et al 2012). "Conditions such as bad physical health or psychological state as well as the number of medications taken or the number of illnesses are all aggravated by the stay in prison... and increase the fear of death. Many inmates also consider death to be a stigma for them and for their families because it represents a final sentence. Nevertheless, death can also be seen as an escape to end a sentence that also entails physical and psychological pain and suffering" (Richter and Hostettler 2017 p13).

Older inmates dying in prison raises a number of ethical . Cohn (1999) asked: "What kind of society do we want to be? Society's ethical imperative to provide proper end-of-life care arises from its commitment to care for its members" (quoted in Richter and Hostettler 2017). She argued that ageing prisoners should receive the same end-of-life care as citizens as a whole. While others argue that "the only humane way of dying is to die as a free person being able to decide the important questions of where and with whom dying should take place. In their view, it is not possible to die in a humane way in prison. In addition, at the moment of dying, inmates are no longer subject to the principles of general prevention or of special prevention, because they will cease to exist" (Richter and Hostettler 2017 p13).

1.2. APPENDIX 1A - SENTENCING OLDER OFFENDERS

Older offenders are less likely to be incarcerated than younger offenders after being found guilty for similar crimes, and, if incarcerated, receive shorter sentences (Smith and Schriver 2018).
For example, using data from over 120 000 cases in Pennsylvania between 1989 and 1992, Steffensmeier et al

(1995) found that the likelihood of incarceration for the same crime declined from age thirty onwards. Offenders over sixty years old received shorter sentences compared to other age groups for all crimes except drug-related ones which did not differ.

Blowers and Doerner (2013) compared sentencing among over 50s in over 12 000 federal cases in the USA. Three groups were distinguished - 50-54 year-olds (young-old), 55-64 year-olds (middle-old), and 65 year-olds and over (old-old). Controlling for the type of crime and criminal history, the old-old were half as likely to be incarcerated as the young-old, and when incarcerated had a shorter sentence by just under 10%. "The authors also examined the interaction of race and age and found that Black defendants in the 50-54 age category were less likely to be incarcerated than Whites in the same age category, but when incarcerated, received longer sentences than Whites in the same age category" (Smith and Schriver 2018 p106).

But Steffensmeier et al (1998) found that Blacks received significantly shorter sentences than Whites among older adults in the Pennsylvania data, however, longer as younger adults.

Older female offenders were the least likely to be incarcerated and had the shortest sentences of all in more Pennsylvania data (Steffensmeier and Motivans 2000) (appendix 1E).

Steffensmeier et al (1998) explained the differences in sentencing with their "focal concerns theory", which sees judges as influenced by three focal concerns when sentencing:

- Blameworthiness (related to the degree of harm caused).

- Protection of the community ie: likelihood of further harm.

- Practical concerns and consequences - eg: special needs of the offenders.

"The sentencing of older offenders is likely impacted by each of these focal concerns, with judges possibly believing that older offenders are less blameworthy due to cognitive decline, less of a future risk due to lower crime rates by older individuals, and/or too costly for prisons due to higher rates of medical problems" (Smith and Schriver 2018 p107).

Smith and Schriver (2018) investigated the attitudes of US judges to sentencing older offenders with a survey of 212 of them. The survey included the specially designed Judicial Attitudes Survey (JAS) which has eighteen legal and extra-legal variables related to

sentencing (eg: whether the offence was violent; offender's ability to adjust in prison; offender's current health problems). The survey also included the Ageing Opinion Survey (AOS) (Kafer et al 1980) which covers attitudes towards ageing, to older people generally, and to familiar older people with 45 items.

Around one-third of the sample admitted to being more lenient with older offenders. Smith and Schriver (2018) noted: "It may be that judges do not like to admit to treating groups of offenders differently and would like to be perceived as being impartial and fair during sentencing, supporting the notion that 'justice is blind'" (p113).

There was little difference in the attitude of judges who admitted to leniency and who did not. Both groups chose cognitive impairment, criminal history, the presence of violence and the seriousness of the crime as the most important factors in sentencing.

The lenient judges had a slightly higher score on the AOS suggesting a more stereotypical view of older people.

Note that the study used 55 years old as the cut-off point for older offender, and "judges might not view the age of 55 as being sufficiently old" (Smith and Schriver 2018 p114).

1.3. APPENDIX 1B - FRAILTY

Frailty is "a condition characterised by loss of biological reserves across multiple organ systems and vulnerability to physiological decompensation after a stressor event" (Clegg et al 2016 p353), and it is associated with negative outcomes like hospitalisation and mortality. The cumulative deficit model (Mitnitski et al 2001) originally proposed 92 variables involved, which was later reduced to one-third of that (eg: housebound, falls, polypharmacy, memory and cognitive problems). The presence or absence of each variable leads to a frailty index (FI) score (Clegg et al 2016).

Clegg et al (2016) described the development of an electronic FI (eFI) in the UK based on 931 541 patients aged 65-95 years in over 500 primary care practices. All individuals were categorised as fit, or mild, moderate or severe frailty.

For example, individuals rated as severe frailty (compared to the fit) were around five times more likely to be hospitalised in the next year, three times more likely to enter a nursing home in the next three years, and four times more likely to die within a year.

1.4. APPENDIX 1C - NON-NATURAL DEATHS

Liebling (2017) noted three "non-natural" varieties of end of life in prison - suicide and murder ("both violent and represent forms of 'death without dying' as they are often sudden and lack the kinds of preparations or support and accompaniment often associated with the process of dying"), and the "whole life sentence" ("a form of 'dying without death' until the very end").

1. Suicides - Liebling (1999) distinguished three types: psychiatrically ill, lifers and long-termers, and the vulnerable. As well as "imported vulnerability" (risk factors that individuals bring with them into prison - eg: previous suicide attempts), aspects of the prison environment, like safety, relationships, and care for the vulnerable, negatively correlate with distress and suicide (Liebling 2017).

Liebling et al (2005) surveyed twelve British prisons with higher than expected levels of suicide, and found that the "aspects of prison quality most highly correlated with prisoner distress were safety, staff-prisoner relationships, respect, humanity, clarity and organisation, and engagement in personal development projects. A determined 'decency' agenda, a comprehensive 'safer custody' strategy, revised reception and induction procedures, greater use of the Samaritans and mental health in-reach teams, and dedicated suicide prevention coordinators working in all establishments led to considerably better quality of care for prisoners, and a transformed culture in some prisons" (Liebling 2017 p22).

2. Murders - "The effects of murder on others in the same prison, as well as on prisoners in general who inevitably hear of these events, are profound: Prisoners fear for their own safety in a demonstrably unpredictable and unsafe environment (a 'place of extreme peril')" (Liebling 2017 p24). Liebling (2015) found this, and evidence of violence in interviews in high-security prisons in England and Wales (eg: scars on neck from attacks).

3. Whole life sentences - This is more common in the USA than the UK. Liebling (2017) made her view clear: "To imprison an offender for the remainder of his life is to decide at the point of sentence that there is no prospect of redeemability and no case for forgiveness. Whole life sentences or, in America, life without parole serve no legitimate purpose. It is difficult to see how they contribute to 'justice'; what would justice be for these prisoners? Some argue that it is 'worse than the death penalty' (Henry 2012), stripping prisoners of all hope and yet forcing them to endure very long periods in prison without any act or transformation on their part

changing the assessment of their 'irredeemability' (Dolovich 2012)" (p27).
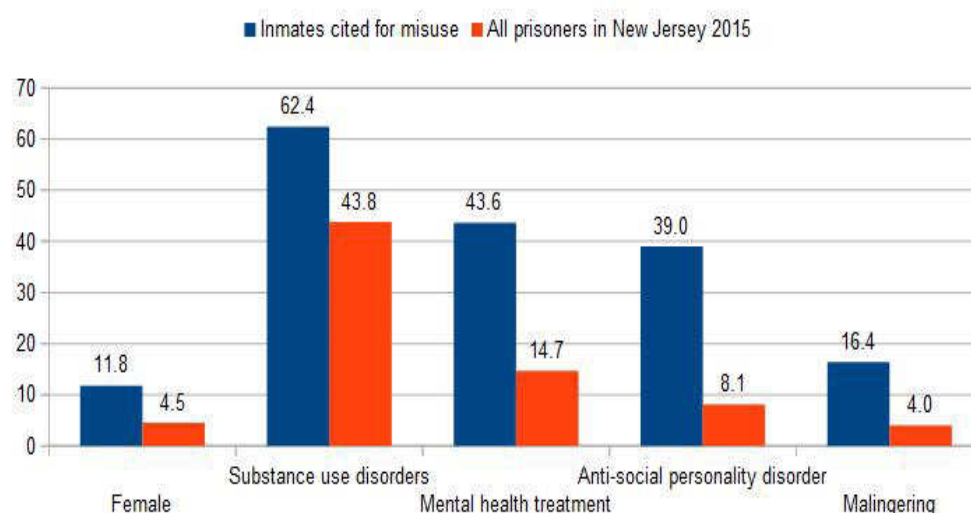

1.5. APPENDIX 1D - PRESCRIPTION MEDICATION

Prescription medications in prison generally are administered as "directly observed therapy" (DOT) (ie: taken in the presence of a medical professional), or "keep on person" (KOP), where the inmates are responsible for administration at the correct time. Medical staff make regular audits in this case (Tamburello et al 2017).

Prescription medications are a risk for misuse and abuse. Tamburello et al (2017) investigated the extent of the misuse in New Jersey state prisons with a sampling of the records of 300 cases of inmates changed with misuse of authorised medication between 2003 and 2013.

The inmates in this sample were more likely to have a history of substance use disorders, anti-social personality disorder, and malingering/deception (figure). The most commonly abused medications were painkillers.

The data were only cases where the authorities had discovered the misuse.

(Data from Tamburello et al 2017 table 4 p455)

Figure 1.1 - Significant differences between inmates who misused prescription medications and general prison population (%).

Many prisoners are short-term, so there is an issue with continuity of care between prison and outside. Rohrer and Stratton (2017) investigated the continuity of care used in Minnesota, USA, for inmates needing

medication for mental illness. In 28 county jails a questionnaire was completed by administrators or health service staff. Almost all jails "frequently" or "always" housed inmates with mental illness, and over half the respondents estimated their prison population to be more than 40% receiving medication for mental illness during incarceration and when released.

The provision of medication varied between an on-site pharmacy at the jail, to mail-order pharmacy or local retail pharmacy use.

County jails tend to be for short-term offenders, so what happened after the inmates left? Twenty-seven jails gave the individuals a supply of medication as the continuity of care process, but only eight provided information about clinics and health service providers.

1.6. APPENDIX 1E - GENDER DIFFERENCES IN OFFENDING

Zimmerman and Messner (2010) asserted that the "evidence indicates that females engage in less criminal behaviour than males across the life course, regardless of racial or ethnic distinctions, and for all but a handful of gender-specific offences... This between-gender variation in offending has been verified cross-culturally, historically, and whether self-report, victimisation, or official data are used... The evidence also suggests that the predictors of male offending are similar to those of female offending"
(p959).

They continued: "gender differences in offending rates are not due to the influence of different social forces, but rather because 'males and females... are differentially exposed to the same criminogenic conditions... or differentially affected by exposure to the same criminogenic conditions' (Mears et al 1998)" (Zimmerman and Messner 2010 p959). This is individual-level analysis.

At the aggregate level of males and females as groups, the gender gap has been decreasing (eg: a reduction in gender gap in arrests for violent offending in the USA in the last thirty years; Zimmerman and Messner 2010).

Zimmerman and Messner (2010) highlighted the following key points:

• The risk factors for male and female offending are the same, but "the magnitudes of the effects of these factors sometimes vary across gender" (p960).

• The gender gap in offending is not constant (ie: variations between times and places).

For example, Steffensmeier and Haynie (2000) found higher levels of female and male arrests for serious crimes in cities with higher levels of economic disadvantage in their study of the 178 largest US cities in 1990.

Zimmerman and Messner (2010) concentrated on the impact of neighbourhood disadvantage using data from Chicago. They found that "the gender gap in violent offending will decrease as levels of neighbourhood disadvantage increase", and this was because "the effect of neighbourhood disadvantage on exposure to delinquent peers should be stronger for females in comparison with males" (Zimmerman and Messner 2010 p961; 962).

Talking about female prisoners, Bartlett and Hollins (2018) stated: "Women prisoners' distinctive early adverse experiences, their adult female social roles and often self-destructive ways of coping with demands and difficulties can combine to create gender-specific responses to imprisonment. Evidence supports working with women to address not only obvious mental illness but also trauma, social support needs, ongoing vulnerability and gendered patterns of offending to maximise the odds of a successful post-release outcome. However, attending to the needs of women already incarcerated would be an inadequate response. Taking the long view will require attention to the root causes of women's distress, with particular attention to maternal mental health, the development of secure parent-infant attachments, safe environment training and universal relationships education" (pp135-136).

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2. MODERN CRIMES AND REACTIONS

2.1. WHY DO OFFENDERS FILM THEMSELVES IN ACTION?

Sandberg and Ugelvik (2017) began: "At first glance, an offender videotaping their crimes seems like a counterintuitive and counterproductive thing to do. After all, when offenders reach for their cameras, they may inadvertently contribute to their own capture and conviction" (p1023). But increasingly, in the "age of the selfie" (Jurriens 2016) [6], offenders are recording their offences, possibly to sell the images, to brag about, or to blackmail victims.

Studying these images has been called "visual criminology" - ie: "the study of ways in which all things visual interact with crime and criminal justice, inventing and shaping one another" (Rafter 2014 quoted in Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017). There is an emphasising that images are not taken in a vacuum.

Sandberg and Ugelvik (2017) studied images taken by offenders in fifty-one Norwegian court cases in order to "understand the act of taking pictures or recording video footage as part of committing a crime in a wider socio-cultural context" (p1027) [7]. From the analysis, three answers to the question, "why do offenders record their crimes" were constructed:

1. "The growth of amateur porn".

Twenty-seven cases (mostly sexual offences) were

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[6] Rainie and Wellman (2012) talked of "networked individualism" made possible by smartphones. "New media technologies are changing our relationships with ourselves, and smartphones have become important tools in the presentation of self... The snapshots we share increasingly make us who we are, and the internet has been described as 'the slate upon which we can write and rewrite our personalities in a perpetual act of self-creation' [Jewkes and Sharp 2003]" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 p1024).

[7] Hidden populations are difficult to study, and snowball sampling is often used. This involves finding a relevant individual who introduces the researcher to others and so on. Black and Champion (1976) highlighted a key problem: "Snowball sampling does not allow the researcher to use probability statistical methods. Elements included as a part of the sample are not randomly drawn. They are dependent on the subjective choices of the originally selected respondents" (quoted in Faugier and Sergeant 1997).

"clearly inspired by established pornographic genre/sub-genres such as rape and humiliation porn, which has been on the rise since the introduction of Internet" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 p1028).

For example, one case involved a man who falsely imprisoned and sexual assaulted a woman. "The episode appears to have been recorded because the offender wanted pornographic videos to enjoy later as a souvenir or as visual memento. It reflects a highly gendered process of sexualisation and pornographication of society" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 pp1028-1029).

2. "An outline culture of humiliation".

Seventeen cases involved using the images to further humiliate the victim - eg: forcing the victim to pose in degrading sexual poses or perform such acts (eg: forcing a woman to suck a dog's penis).

The images became "'a kind of promise that the event will continue' in other forms, 'an infinite reiteration of the abuse' [Butler 2007]" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 p1030).

"The very act of filming or taking pictures furthers the humiliation because it demonstrates the power of the offender to direct or objectify the victim, and turn her or him into an image. It also adds to the pain of a violent or sexual assault by demonstrating to the victims that they are being watched not only by the offenders and bystanders, but also potentially by many others if the images are distributed" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 pp1031-1032).

3. "Snapshot culture" (or "impulsive documentation").

"Today, it has become a reflex for many to pick up their phones when something extraordinary happens... In the lives of even the most hardened offenders, crimes are extraordinary events. As such, and following these new cultural trends, they embody a need for documentation in their own right, independent of any external motivation" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 p1032) [8].

This was noted in 24 cases. For example, an individual smuggling drugs filmed himself while in the aeroplane toilet, and sent the picture to a friend [9].

In conclusion, the behaviour of offenders filming

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[8] This fits with the idea of younger people as "digital natives" (appendix 2A).
[9] I would use the idea of "the self as status symbol", where selfies show that an individual did something or was at an event rather than photographs as memory aids.

themselves "in action" is embedded in the general cultural trend of selfies, documentation, filming and photographing an individual's life. "We narrate our lives and ourselves through taking and sharing pictures" (Sandberg and Ugelvik 2017 p1038).

2.2. ONLINE ABUSE

Online sexual harassment (OSH) can be seen as aimed specifically at women, and "the abuse invokes gender in sexually threatening or degrading ways. The behaviours encompassed by this definition can be active (targeted at specific individuals), passive (not directed at any one individual), verbal and visual" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p336). Examples include negative comments on social networking sites (eg: "e-bile"; Jane 2012), "revenge pornography" (the non-consensual posting of intimate images), cyberstalking, sexually violent threats, and "dick pics" (unsolicited nude images) (Vitis and Gilmour 2017).

Vitis and Gilmour (2017) argued that OSH is different to real world harassment due to "the longevity of digital content and enhanced networkability, indexing in search engines can link nude images and disparaging posts to your name... Networked communities allow large groups to participate in your harassment, and GPS tracking and Keylogger allow stalkers to employ more sophisticated, invasive and effective means of tracking your locations" (p337).

Jane (2012) argued that aggression and violent discourse is the "lingua franca" of the Internet, while anonymity and "the civil libertarian values that predominate in cyber culture... facilitate online harassment" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p337). Vitis and Gilmour (2017) continued: "While these factors undoubtedly play a role in OSH, to privilege technologically deterministic explanations ignores both the gendered prevalence of OSH and its gendered impacts. Research indicates that while men and women both experience online harassment, women, particularly young women, are disproportionally the victims of online sexual harassment" (p337).

The gendered aspect can be seen in, for example, non-consensual sexting and "revenge pornography" which "both draw upon the gendered double standards that surround public displays of nudity, such that women's bodies are inherently sexual (and therefore shameful) and men's are not... The mass shaming and consumption of the visibly naked/sexualised female form in both of these practices... can result in women experiencing personal humiliation and intimidation..., exclusion and punishment from peers and family members..., compromised employment

prospects..., public admonishment and discourses of victim-blaming" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p337).

Lewis et al (2017) described gendered online abuse as an example of violence against women and girls (VAWG), and rejected the idea that online abuse was separate from "real-world" experiences.

Lewis et al (2017) interviewed seventeen women and surveyed over 200 more about online abuse in relation to feminist debate. There was no single pattern of online abuse, but "a continuum of online abuse ranging from concentrated, frequent, highly threatening and hateful to [eg: "I was told I deserved to die a painful death"], at the other end of the spectrum, comparatively sporadic and less inflammatory, unpleasant, non-threatening messages" (Lewis et al 2017 p1469).

In the wider survey, around one-third of "high users" of social media reported "constant abuse", and multiple types of abuse were common (eg: trolling, defamation, physical threats, impersonation).

Much of the abuse was sexualised. "Respondent 198" gave a detailed example: "I was sent messages on a daily basis, sometimes several times a day, on a number of platforms telling me that I was a slut and a whore, that I'm not a real lesbian because I've 'had sex' with men, despite the fact that my only experience with and around men is as a trafficking survivor. I was called a 'cum-whore', a 'bi-slut'; I was told I deserved my rapes, I was told it was 'regret not rape'. I was told that I 'enjoyed it', I was told that a must have just been a horny kid (I was trafficked from the age of 5), I was told that dykes don't like dick so I can't be a lesbian. I was told to kill myself, I was threatened with rape, I was told I like cock, I was told I loved the taste of semen" (p1471).

Lewis et al (2017) summarised: "As with real-world VAWG, forms are multiple and varied. Most women experienced multiple types of abuse and almost half experienced it as a routine part of their online lives. In this way, it is experienced as a course of behaviour rather than a set of individual acts. [...] As with some forms of VAWG, some online abuse seeks to sexually degrade women. Significant features of online abuse are sexual harassment and threats of sexual violence, experienced as degrading violations, and violent pornographic depictions are also used" (p1477).

In terms of the impact of the messages, only 7% of respondents chose the "not bothered" response option, 39% "I shrugged it off", through to 26% said "it was really traumatic and I keep thinking about it even though I don't want to" (figure 2.1). There was a "normalisation": "It has become a part of everyday online life and some

respond by working to 'manage' their emotional reactions to minimise the harm done by it" (Lewis et al 2017 pp1473-1474).
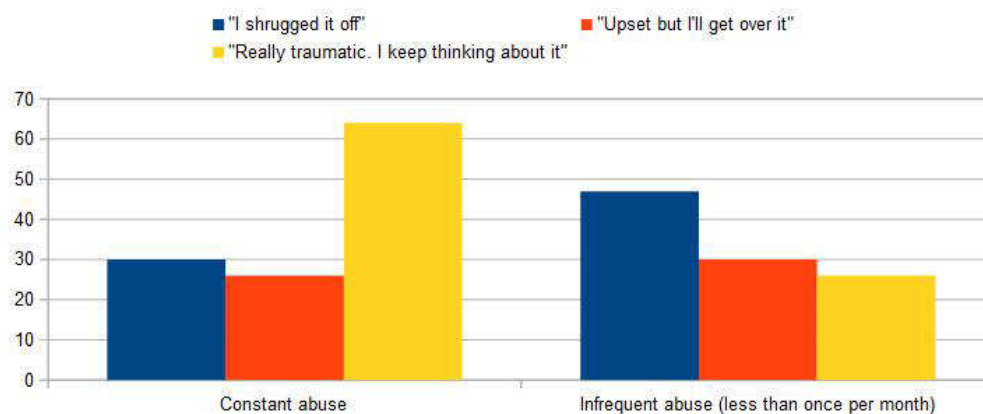
(Data from Lewis et al 2017 table 3 p1474)

Figure 2.1 - Frequency of abuse and response option (%).

About one-third of women did not report the abuse, while nearly half did to formal authorities (eg: police, Facebook).

2.3. REVENGE PORNOGRAPHY

"Revenge pornography" (RP) (or non-consensual pornography) is "the distribution of a sexual image of another individual without their consent" (Bond and Tyrrell 2018). It is a form of online abuse, which Salter (2016) defined as "the misuse of social media and other online communication platforms with the intent to cause harm or offence to another person or persons" (quoted in Bond and Tyrrell 2018) [10].

A survey in the USA of victims found that two-thirds had nude material posted by an ex-partner (Cyber Civil Rights Initiative 2013 quoted in Bond and Tyrrell 2018). Though RP "disproportionately affects women, both in terms of the number of women affected and the amount of social stigma attached" (Cooper 2016 quoted in Bond and Tyrrell 2018), heterosexual and gay men have also reported it (Bond and Tyrrell 2018). Lenhart et al 2016 quoted Patella-Rey 2018) reported that 1 in 25 online Americans had had sensitive images posted without their consent or had been threatened to do so.

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[10] "Once images are uploaded to cyberspace, it is almost impossible to remove them since they are often saved, redistributed, and posted on other websites" (Uhi et al 2018 p52).

Salter (2016) highlighted two points:

i) The "societal attitudes to female victims of revenge pornography are often dominated by victim blaming, in that the breach of privacy which arises from the non-consensual sharing of the images is deemed, in some way, to be the responsibility of the women who produced, or allowed to be produced, the images in the first place" (Bond and Tyrrell 2018 p3) [11].

ii) The relationship between online abuse, RP, and abuse generally. Bond (2015 quoted in Bond and Tyrrell 2018), for example, found that all 69 survivors of domestic abuse in her UK study had experienced online abuse by the perpetrator, and twelve were victims of RP.

In terms of the consequences of RP, they are "far wider than humiliation and embarrassment, and many victims experience professional consequences... having to leave their job after photos have been shared or because they are frightened by a threat that images will be published...; depression, anxiety, and even suicidal thoughts are also common..." (Bond and Tyrrell 2018 p4). In fact, Bates (2014) reported that "revenge porn leaves survivors feeling the same way that many sexual assault survivors do after victimisation" (quoted in Bond and Tyrrell 2018).

Bond and Tyrrell (2018) surveyed 783 members of the police forces in England and Wales in early 2017 about knowledge of and experiences with RP cases. Only 6% of the respondents reported no knowledge, but one-quarter were not confident about collecting evidence for a RP case.

The online questionnaire included five scenarios to test for knowledge of legality in England and Wales:

1 - "A couple have been in a relationship for more than 10 years. In the process of a divorce, one of the partners distributes sexual images of the other via WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger". Illegal (96% of respondents correct).

2 - "A man has taken the Facebook profile picture of his ex-girlfriend and 'photo shopped' the image. The image now depicts the woman naked and engaging in sexual activity". Not illegal (34% correct).

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[11] "Tolman (2002) suggests that girls and women receive mixed messages regarding their sexuality from society. Girls and women are encouraged to gain popularity, particularly through being sexy; however, if they engage in sexual activity (especially with multiple partners), a loss of status may result. Therefore, girls and women are told they must be sexy while not being sexual, further perpetuating the notion of a sexual double standard for women" (Uhi et al 2018 p61).

3 - "A woman has entered your local police station to report a rape. She further explains that the perpetrators filmed the sexual assault and are now circulating the material online" Illegal (35% correct).

4 - "A man has entered your local police station to report sexual images of him being uploaded online. He explains that a friend of his had taken the image from his phone without his knowledge and posted them onto the Internet". Illegal (50% correct).

5 - "A woman has called 101 to report her images being posted online. The images depict her standing in her underwear". Not illegal (47% correct).

The legislation in England and Wales does not cover individual in underwear or "photo shopped" images to depict nudity etc as illegal (Bond and Tyrrell 2018) [12].
One-third of respondents had been involved in a RP case, and only one-third of these cases had gone to court (Bond and Tyrrell 2018).

With the growth of RP, websites have been created to host such material. These sites can make money from advertising, and they "often do not differentiate or specify how photos were obtained, making it difficult - if not impossible - to identify perpetrator motivation" (Uhi et al 2018 p51).
Uhi et al (2018) preferred the term "non-consensual pornography" (NCP) to RP because the motives are not always revenge against an ex-intimate whether the original pictures were consensual or not (eg: hidden cameras; hacking of victim's digital devices). Uhi et al (2018) emphasised: "The fact that these images are widely distributed without the consent of the victim, and is often times 'justified' as an act of revenge, may serve to contribute to the portrayal of women as an object whose consent is both unnecessary and unwarranted given the presumed betrayal that initiated the distribution of the image" (p51).

NCP websites often allow for comments and ratings of

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[12] The basis of legislation tends to be privacy law, as "the phrases 'protecting intimate privacy' and 'protecting sexual privacy' have become a rallying cry for both activists and sympathetic lawmakers" (Patella-Rey 2018 p787).
However, Patella-Rey (2018) argued that the concept of bodily integrity and its violation is a better way to understand RP. Based on the ideas of Mill (1859), bodily self-determination refers to the fact that "individuals should be free to direct and control their own bodies, while bodily inviolability suggests that individuals have a right to be free from unwanted constraint or exposure. Put simply, the concept of bodily integrity assumes that we have a privileged relationship to our own bodies – a right to determine what happens to them and, above all, how other people relate to them" (Patella-Rey 2018 p787).

the material. "Commenting on and critiquing explicit
photographs allows for the continued objectification of
victims – especially women. This participation in the
evaluation of female bodies reinforces sexual gender
stereotypes and patriarchal ideology by supporting the
sexual objectification of victims" (Uhi et al 2018 p54).

Uhi et al (2018) performed a content analysis of the
comments posted for 134 photographs on seven NCP or RP
websites in 2014 [13]. The researchers noted the amount of
demographic information available with the photograph,
along with the following categories of comments:

- Threatening language
- "Compliments"
- Negative comments about body
- Used "slut", "bitch" or "whore".

One-third of the photographs were accompanied with a
reason for the posting, which was mostly an "ex", but
also because the individual was unfaithful or a "slut".

Details of the person posting was provided in around
one-fifth of cases as was the name of the victim. The
victim's name was more likely to be included when the
reason for posting was included.

Two-thirds of the photographs had commented posted
about them. The researchers noted the following key
points about the comments:

- Reference to the victim's body was the most common type
  of comment (40% of total comments).

- Threatening language was used when the reason was given
  for posting.

- An equal number of "compliments" and negative comments
  about the victim's body (around one-third of
  photographs with comments).

- Giving a reason for posting was associated with more
  views.

- 15 comments included "bitch", "slut" or "whore".

Uhi et al (2018) commented: "By providing a
rationale for posting the photo, the perpetrators are
assigning some culpability to their victims. If
perpetrators are successful in assigning culpability
to their (usually female) victims, it may reduce the
extent to which these women are seen as victims and make
it seem as though the victims are the ones responsible

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[13] 92% of the victims were women.

for the situation. This also may amplify the notion of
women serving as gatekeepers of sexuality, where women
are already being punished for acting in the sexual way
of taking the photo in the first place" (p62).

2.4. ONLINE INFORMAL JUSTICE

"Street harassment", which varies from, say, wolf-
whistling to unwanted physical contact, is another form
of VAWG, though it can also be a "pervasive experience"
for same-sex attracted and gender-diverse individuals
(Fileborn 2017). What can be "supposedly 'trivial' acts
'are objectively degrading, objectifying, humiliating,
and frequently threatening in nature' [Bowman 1993]"
(Fileborn 2017 p1483) [14].
Victims (or survivors) of such harassment have
justice needs, which feminist criminologists have
summarised as (Fileborn 2017):

- Participation - input into their case in the formal
  justice system;

- Voice - expression of the experience in their own
  words;

- Validation - believed and supported by others;

- Vindication - recognition that the offender's actions
  were wrong;

- Offender accountability - consequences for the
  offender's actions.

Where the formal justice system (ie: police and
courts) cannot or will not meet these justice needs, the
online world (eg: social media) may be an alternative.
Fileborn (2014) explored how the site "Hollaback!" might
be able to fulfil the justice needs. But the "success" of
such sites is "highly contingent upon the skills and
social media nous of the victim/survivor. Put simply, not
all individuals are able to effectively use these sites
to garner support or to have their stories heard in a
meaningful way. Not unlike the formal criminal justice
system, these are spaces of limited or partial justice,
with certain voices projected more loudly than
others... Likewise, standards of perceived feminine
'respectability' and 'credibility' continue to be applied
in the online world, influencing who becomes recognized
as a 'deserving' victim [Salter 2013]" (Fileborn 2017

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[14] There is a tension faced by women in the public space generally (appendix 2B).

p1486).

Fileborn (2017) reported her research on social media responses to street harassment in Melbourne, Australia, with an online survey and a focus group. A total of 292 participants completed the survey [15], and fourteen of them participated in the focus group.

A total of 69 individuals reported that they had shared their experiences of street harassment on an online site. Validation was a key reason for sharing, as described by one woman: "It validated me, completely. I had a heap of mainly female friends show solidarity and understanding" (p1491). While a similar respondent talked of the solidarity felt: "I wanted to show solidarity with others who had experienced it, and share in that feeling of a group fighting back against it and saying 'Yes, this happens, it really does'" (p1492). As well as: "It's really cathartic to do this with a big group of people online! Validates your feelings of anger" (p1494).

But Fileborn (2017) noted that "for a number of participants (in some circumstances) disclosing street harassment online was not a productive avenue for having their justice needs or interests met. For some, disclosing online was a retraumatising, rather than healing, experience" (p1497).

All in all, Fileborn (2017) saw online spaces as positive for sharing, but "also clearly a limited avenue of justice in many respects" (p1498).

An online response to OSH can be what Fraser (1990) called "subaltern counterpublics" (ie: online spaces for alternative narratives). Vitis and Gilmour (2017) detailed the example of Anna Gensler's Instagram art project "Instagranniepants". "When men spoke to her in a disrespectful or objectifying manner on online dating sites such as Tinder and OkCupid, she would draw unflattering, 'sad-naked' portraits of them" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p340). This led to rape and death threats, Gensler refused to take these images down. Gensler's work can be described as "critical witnessing" as her images included the comments of men and bear witness to "both OSH defined and interpreted from a woman's perspective and the pervasiveness of this harassment" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p342).

Three types of harassment were evident in this work - assumed consent to sexual advances, objectification, and aggressive threats.

The images used satire as a form of resistance as the men's comments are "juxtaposed against a childish and ridiculous caricature, rendering them non-threatening and

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[15] Mostly women - ie: cisgender women (individuals born women and remained women as compared to transgender women).

absurd" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p345). She also interacted with the harassers, as for example: "a man responds to Gensler's assertion that he is objectifying her with: 'I don't understand why you would try to catch men objectifying women on tinder. I don't objectivity women. Well maybe a little bit. Nothing horrible'. Gensler's response image is titled 'I don't kidnap puppies. Well, maybe a little. Nothing horrible'. In this way, Gensler highlights the absurdity of the situation when the men who objectify and harass her then dismiss her objections and refuse to take her response seriously. She humorously usurps their right to define the situation, by stressing that simply claiming something is unimportant ('Nothing horrible') doesn't make it acceptable" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p346).

The use of shaming tactics can be seen as "a shift towards the celebration of cruelty and humiliation as entertainment", and as "justice by the mob, in which a 'dominant group are asked to take delight in the discomfort of the excluded and stigmatised' (Levmore 2010)" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p348). On the other hand, "online shaming has the potential to provide a disciplinary outlet for those outside the dominant sphere and without legal or institutional methods of recourse" (Vitis and Gilmour 2017 p348).

2.5. JIHADI VIOLENCE

Bhatt (2010) summarised some of the in making sense of "global terrorism", "global jihad" or "salafi-jihadi":

i) "Typologies of omnipresence" - Inconsistencies in description ranging from a "shape-shifting trans-national entity" to "a hierarchical organisation with a clear identity" (Bhatt 2010).

ii) Because of "the inability of current taxonomy to describe convincingly the varieties of politicised religion or contain them within categorical boundaries" (Bhatt 2010), various groups become amassed as part of the same thing.

iii) The use of the "network analogy" "can nourish a political view of a tentacular global structure - or a high velocity phantasmatic intensity - that can strike civilians anywhere" (Bhatt 2010 p43).

iv) The "assumption of ideological familiarity" - ie: all "jihadi" groups are seen as stemming from common or linked ideology.

v) The focus on one type of political violence -

"The focus on human bombs, martyrology and gross events (such as beheadings in Iraq and Afghanistan) can distance attention from the routine violence of religious armed groups and elide the wide forms of political, gender-based and sectarian violence enacted by them in different circumstances" (Bhatt 2010 p44).

Bhatt (2014) rejected the arguments that salafi-jihadi movements are resistance to oppression, or that suicide bombing is linked to "sacrifice" (eg: Devji 2008), rather "salafi-jihadi ideology is characterised by a particular association between political virtue and visceral violence" (p25). This is seen in "sharp oppositions. These contrasting doublets of ideas include ones about the temporal world and the afterlife, authoritarian law and violent chaos, loyalty and enmity, defilement and plenitude, tangible lands and imagined spaces" (Bhatt 2014 p25).

Virtue here refers to the Roman conception of it, which is linked to "a violence, masculine ideal derived from arete, an attribute of the mythic Greek god of war, Ares" (Bhatt 2014 p27).

Bhatt (2014) concluded: "The political vision of salafi-jihadis projects an intriguing association between the worlds of the living and the dead. It is difficult to view this as a religious conception, so removed is its discursive apparatus regarding violence, death and sacrifice from the lineages it claims. The literalist, rote-like nature of salafi-jihadi political material is dogmatic in the extreme regarding its righteousness and its ideology of enmity. That its producers feel compelled to repetitively generate more justifications for their ideology is the clearest demonstration of the extent to which this ideology is so widely rejected. Rather than presenting a recognizable ethical project, salafi-jihadi ideology promises a world of imagined material reward and noble social status that only enmity and violence can supply" (pp44-45).

2.6. APPENDIX 2A - DIGITAL NATIVES

"Digital natives" (DNs) (Prensky 2001) (or "homo zappiens"; Veen and Vrakking 2006) [16] are individuals born after 1984 in "an age of omnipresent digital media" (Kirschner and De Bruyckere 2017 p136). These individuals are perceived as being able to "cognitively process multiple sources of information simultaneously (ie: they can multi-task)" (Kirschner and De Bruyckere 2017 p135).

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[16] Other names include "Net generation", "iGeneration", or "AppGeneration" (Kirschner and De Bruyckere 2017).

Kirschner and De Bruyckere (2017) provided evidence that DNs are a myth as is their ability to multi-task. A number of studies have found that DNs' knowledge of technology is limited beyond the use of office suites, emailing, messaging, surfing the Internet, and social networking sites (eg: Margaryan et al 2011). In fact, Romero et al (2013) found that older students ("digital immigrants"; born before 1984) showed more characteristics attributed to DNs than younger ones.

In terms of multi-tasking, performing two cognitive tasks simultaneously and at equal efficiency is rare for anyone, based on controlled experiments. Ophir et al (2009), for example, studied students who self-identified as proficient multi-taskers by asking them to concentrate on a rectangle of one particular colour on the computer screen and ignore other shapes and colours. It was found that "faced with of distractors, heavy multi-taskers were slower in detecting changes in visual patterns, were more susceptible to false recollections of the distractors during a memory task, and were slower in task-switching. Heavy multi-taskers were less able than light/occasional multi-taskers to volitionally restrain their attention only to task relevant information" (Kirschner and De Bruyckere 2017 p139).

Kirschner and De Bruyckere (2017) observed that "what people really mean when they say that a person is able to or are even good at multi-tasking is that this person, be it children, adolescents or young adults have, through practice, developed the ability to quickly switch between carrying out different tasks or using different media" (p139).

2.7. APPENDIX 2B - WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC SPACE

Fanghanel and Lim (2017) examined the tension for women "between the imperative to be free - to reclaim the night - and the obligation to be safe in public spaces" (p342), as summed up by a woman on a "Reclaim the Night" march in Australia in 2012: "I wear flat shoes, I don't wear high heels, I make sure I'm in a group when I'm wearing them. I don't drink alcohol anymore" (quoted in Fanghanel and Lim 2017).

Femininity in public space is constructed through "dispositifs", a Foucauldian term to describe "any apparatus that has 'the capacity to capture, orient, determine, intercept, model, control, or secure the gestures, behaviours, opinions, or discourses of living beings' (Agamben 2009)" (Fanghanel and Lim 2017 p357). These dispositifs produce a "sexual vigilance" that involves "discursive imperatives to be properly feminine, to adhere to established gender norms, to protect and safeguard the self and constructions of the self"

(Fanghanel and Lim 2017 p342).

The researchers also made use of Boutellier's (2004) concept of "safety utopia" - "an impossible desire for a 'vital society' in which 'liberal freedom is to be unreservedly celebrated' but around which boundaries of security are tightly set. In other words, Boutellier suggests that — partially through the capitalist, neo-liberal imperative to self-determine — we exist in a state of perpetual (antagonistic) ambivalence, simultaneously desiring both absolute liberty (in a classically liberal sense) and the promise of absolute safety" (Fanghanel and Lim 2017 pp345-346).

Fanghanel and Lim (2017) interviewed seventeen women and seven men involved in "SlutWalk" anti-rape protest marches in the UK in 2011 and 2012 [17]. "Sophie", for example, summed up the tension between the "neo-liberalised imperative to care for the self and to be free within a prescription of freedom through the operation of compulsory sexual vigilance: 'I think women should obviously be allowed to wear what they want, when they want to wear it. But I also think you have a personal responsibility to protect yourself. And not putting yourself into situations that could be considered dangerous...'" (Fanghanel and Lim 2017 p348).

While asserting the right to wear whatever she wanted, "Lucy" showed her "investment in appropriate femininity"... "And you shouldn't be judged on what you wear... Whereas for me I always believe in a little bit of discretion and a little bit of dignity. And... I don't see a lot of dignity in a lot of what these people are wearing today" (Fanghanel and Lim 2017 p348).

Fanghanel and Lim (2017) noted that some of interviewees dealt with the tensions by constructing "the amorphous perpetrator outside of the realm of rationality - a figure who, in a risk-aversive criminological culture, cannot be reasoned with or rehabilitated" (p350) - ie: "there are arseholes out there" ("Karen"; Fanghanel and Lim 2017 p352).

Fanghanel and Lim (2017) observed: "If the figure of the 'arsehole' is offered as the antagonistic solution to explaining sexual violence against women in general, it is done so within a socio-cultural setting where possible

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[17] "SlutWalk describes itself as a 'worldwide movement against victim-blaming, survivor shaming and rape culture'... 'Whatever we wear, wherever we go! Yes means yes and no means no!' is the iconic chant that can be heard at this and other anti-rape protest in cities around the world. Such a chant is a direct response to the rape culture, the victim-blaming discourses, and the safekeeping advice that targets women's bodies in public space. Making claims both to the freedom to occupy public space ('wherever we go') and the right to dress freely ('whatever we wear') can be seen as an explicit rejection of an imperative to be sexually vigilant that emerges through safekeeping discourses. Yet, what also appears here, and what therefore marks the limit to this freedom, is the fettered expression of female sexual desire" (Fanghanel and Lim 2017 p347).

solutions to the problem of sexual violence must be reconciled within a democracy that values liberty, emancipation, self-actualisation, and so on. It is the unsatisfactory offering that seeks to resolve the conundrum of how to live with rape culture" (p356).

To sum up, Fanghanel and Lim (2017) stated, "the imperatives to be safe and to be free to occupy public space function in part through the normalisation of specific femininities and the demonisation of certain others. These imperatives are, we suggest, constructed in antagonistic tension with each other, highlighting the problem posed by, and to, the female body in public space" (p356).

2.7.1. Contested Sexual Violence

Harrington (2016) treated "sexual violence as a contested social construction in her critical discourse analysis of mainstream digital news texts, opinion pieces, and reader comments on the allegations of sexual violence against Julian Assange (founder of Wikileaks) (table 2.1).

- "According to court proceedings and leaked police reports, Ms. A alleges Assange pinned her down and spread her legs during a sexual encounter while preventing her reaching for a condom... Later he agreed to wear one, but she believes he deliberately damaged it so as to have unprotected sex... She alleges that several days later, he pressed his naked erect penis against her, although she had rejected previous sexual advances... These allegations resulted in one charge of unlawful coercion and two separate charges of sexual molestation... Ms. W alleges Assange penetrated her without a condom while she slept after a night in which he had repeatedly failed to convince her to allow unprotected intercourse.... Ms. W's allegation resulted in a charge of rape..." (Harrington 2016 p89).

Table 2.1 - Outline of allegations of sexual violence against Julian Assange.

Many of the discussions revolved around "real rape". Previous research on news media (eg: O'Hara 2012) showed a particular stereotype at work, where rapists are depicted as "other", and certain victims (eg: sexually active women) if not to blame, are not entirely innocent (Harrington 2016). Ross and Carter's (2011) analysis of British and Irish news media between 1995 and 2000 showed that, despite improvements, "women's voices, experiences and expertise continue to be regarded by news industries as less important than those of men" (quoted in Harrington 2016).
Harrington (2016) analysed digital content on "The

Guardian" and "The New York Times" websites between August 2010 and December 2013. She found thirty-three "rich texts which explicitly addressed whether the allegations amounted to rape", and she sampled comments to articles.

Harrington (2016) discussed different themes from her analysis, including:

a) "Assange as a sexy outlaw" - His image as "a free speech outlaw... informed scepticism of the allegations" (pp94-95). He was called the "Ned Kelly of the "digital age" by "The Guardian", and some commentators "framed the allegations as political smears". While a "New York Times" article described one of the complainants as a "groupie".

b) "Scrutiny of the complainants" - "Assange's defence drew upon the 'women scorned' trope to imply that the complaints only emerged because the complainants wanted revenge after discovering each other's relationship with Assange" (p96). His lawyers also referred to the women initiating consensual sexual relations, not complaining of physical injury, and taking time to come forward with the complaint.

Articles discussed the online vilification of the complainants, which included the women's part in a supposed US "honeytrap to bring down Assange".

c) "Disputing feminist definitions of sexual violence - "Several articles picked up on the notion that feminists seek to criminalise ordinary heterosexual encounters from Assange's defence, who argued that Swedish law arose from undue feminist influence and the allegations would not be treated as crimes in England" (Harrington 2016 p98).

In a "Guardian" article the defence team was paraphrased: "After three 'utterly consensual' sex acts, she had objected to Assange having sex with her again without a condom, but 'she let him continue'. 'It's not natural to call this rape'" (p99).

d) Reader's comments - "Many commenters argued that feminist definitions of sexual violence ruined sex, effectively deploying the 'feminist killjoy' trope noted in Braithwaite's (2014) study of online gaming forums [18]. In this case, commenters argued that feminists want to

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[18] Meyer and Cukier (2006 quoted in Harrington 2016) calculated that feminine names in chat rooms generally received 100 sexually explicit or threatening language messages to four for masculine names. While, referring to the gaming community, Braithwaite (2014) noted that "the 'casual-to-vitriolic anti-feminism and misogyny in these discussions' does not arise from 'digital space as a different kind of space', rather digital space provides new opportunities for misogynist sentiment to 'circumscribe participation and self-presentation'" (Harrington 2016 p91).

redefine normal sexual activity to the detriment of men"
(Harrington 2016 p102).

For example, a comment on the "Guardian" website
said: "it's rather sad to see how many women on these
threads are unwilling to take responsibility for their
actions when it comes to sex. If you are drunk you are
still responsible for giving consent, if you don't want
sex without a condom check it yourself whether your
partner has it or not. Having second thoughts and regret
the day after is a poor excuse for trying to ruin
someone's life with a very serious accusation like rape"
(pp102-103).

The "feminist killjoy" theme appeared in the debate
"over whether sex with a sleeping partner constituted
rape. Commenters conflated the possibility of bringing
sex crime charges against someone for sexual contact with
a sleeping person with the outlawing of all sexual
contact between sleepy partners. Thus one commenter
complained, 'Oh the pity; the joy of being awakened for a
second round of love making by a passionate partner,
arousing one from slumber is under threat. How sad that
it has come to this, lawyers in our beds'" (Harrington
2016 p103).

Harrington (2016) summed up: "My analysis of digital
news coverage and reader comments about the rape
allegations against Assange shows fierce disagreement
over constructions of sexual violence. Many texts
uncritically repeated Assange's defence, which deployed
stereotypes about rape victims and perpetrators along
with anti-feminist rhetoric. Major themes drawn from the
defence and repeated in news coverage and comments
represented Assange as a free-speech outlaw fallen victim
to extreme feminist definitions of rape and malicious
women scorned. Thus, the case became a flash-point for
debate over feminist constructions of sexual violence"
(p104).

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3. BETTER LIARS VERSUS FALSE CONFESSORS

3.1. LYING

"Inhibitory control, or inhibition, is involved in a wide range of situations and can emerge in different forms, from avoiding a desirable piece of chocolate cake (impulse control), to focusing on a task at hand (motor inhibition), to disregarding obtrusive thoughts (memory suppression). These seemingly different types of self-control acts are believed to share a common origin that influences inhibitory abilities in unrelated domains" (Fenn et al 2015 p112). "Inhibitory networks" in the pre-frontal cortex and anterior cingulate cortex seem to be the common or "overlapping" brain areas involved (Fenn et al 2015).

The "inhibitory spillover effect" (ISE) (Tuk et al 2011) is where inhibiting a physiological state, like the urgency to urinate, improves cognitive impulse control. For example, Tuk et al (2011) varied the urgency to urinate by asking participants to drink water or not before a decision-making task. Participants who had drunk the water (high bladder control condition) were more likely to choose a delayed reward (eg: £20 next week over £10 tomorrow).

Fenn et al (2015) investigated the ISE with lying. Truth-telling is seen as the "default mode" and individuals who lie must inhibit that.

Twenty-two US students were randomly allocated to drink five glasses of water (700 ml) or not before waiting 45 minutes (without access to a toilet). Then they either told lies or the truth about two of their opinions (eg: gun control) to an interviewer. The participants' real attitudes had been established previously in questionnaires. Observers rated whether the participants were telling lies or not using behaviour cues to deceit.

High bladder control participants showed fewer behavioural cues to deception when lying. The researchers argued that bladder control activated "inhibitory networks" in the brain, and this made inhibiting behavioural cues of deception easier.

3.2. FALSE CONFESSIONS

A false confession is "when an innocent person makes a false admission of guilt and subsequently produces a post-admission narrative, which includes details about how or why the crime was committed" (Frenda et al 2016 p2047). These may be involved in up to a quarter of wrongful convictions (Frenda et al 2016).

False confessions do not arise only in situations of physical coercion (eg: torture), but often only psychological coercion is needed (ie: the "inordinately stressful and mentally taxing experience" of arrest and interrogation) (Frenda et al 2016). Sleep deprivation is one factor that can reduce resistance to psychological coercion.

Frenda et al (2016) showed this in a laboratory experiment. Eighty-eight US students completed a questionnaire on a computer in the laboratory, and as part of this process were warned not to press the "escape" button as the data would be lost (session 1). One week later, in the evening, the participants completed another set of questionnaires on the computer (session 2) before sleeping at the laboratory or being kept awake for eight hours. In the morning (session 3), the participants were accused of pressing the "escape" key in session 1 [19]. The dependent variable was the participants' acceptance that they had done it (ie: false confession). The independent variable was sleep deprivation or not.

It was found that 18% of the rested participants admitted to pressing the "escape" key compared to 50% of the sleep-deprived individuals. "It should be noted that despite the robust effect of sleep deprivation on false confession, participants' false admissions did not include a detailed post-admission narrative, which is commonly obtained in a criminal confession" (Frenda et al 2016 p2048).

Individuals classed as impulsive (from answers to the questionnaires in session 1) who were sleep-deprived were most likely to falsely confess (nearly 100% of such participants). Among sleep-deprived individuals, high ratings of sleepiness in the morning were related to likelihood to falsely confess. Frenda et al (2016) concluded that "sleep deprivation sets the stage for a false confession by impairing complex decision making abilities — specifically, the ability to anticipate risks and consequences, inhibit behavioural impulses, and resist suggestive influences" (p2048).

This laboratory experiment was low in ecological

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[19] The false accusation about pressing the "escape" key was originally used by Kassin and Kiechel (1996).

validity because the consequences of false confession were "ambiguous and unknown to the participants" (ie: not the same as during police interrogation). Furthermore, there was not a true confession condition. "Sleep deprivation may increase confession rates of both innocent and guilt suspects" (Frenda et al 2016 p2048).

3.3. JURORS' PERCEPTIONS OF LYING SUSPECTS

Law enforcement officers have developed their own "in-house practices" for interrogation, which come from "years of experience and intuition but without scientific grounding" (Brimbal and Jones 2018). In the USA, for example, these practices are "confrontational tactics", which include "isolating a suspect, confronting the suspect with overwhelming evidence and indubitable accusations, presenting false evidence, and implying leniency in exchange for co-operation... While not overtly physically coercive, these techniques are still psychologically coercive in nature..., but are used because they can produce admissible and probative confessions" (Brimbal and Jones 2018 p157). But such confessions can be both true and false.

The "scientific response" has been the development of "investigative interviewing" which aims to expose lies through detailed questioning [20].

How do jurors evaluate suspects who are exposed as lying during interrogation? Brimbal and Jones (2018) pointed out that jurors pay less attention to other evidence when there is a confession, but inconsistent statements during questioning may make jurors pay more attention to other evidence. This fits with the Heuristic-Systematic Model (Chaiken 1980) of decision-making. There are two modes of decision-making - systematic and heuristic. The latter is rapid decision-making with little thought (as when there is a confession), while systematic processing is a slower, more thoughtful consideration of information (as when there is inconsistency/lies in the suspect's statement).

Brimbal and Jones (2018) tested this idea in two online mock juror experiments.

Study 1

One hundred and fifty-five volunteers were recruited from the Amazon Mechanical Turk online platform for a four-condition independent design experiment.

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[20] How do individuals come to trust strangers in everyday life (appendix 3A)?

Participants read about a case of murder where the defendant's fingerprints at the victim's home, and gunshot residue on their clothing were reported.

Two independent variables were manipulated in the text of the police interrogation - confession or not, and lies or not.

- Condition 1 (no lies, no confession) - The suspect explained the evidence (eg: had visited victim; been to shooting range).

- Condition 2 ((no lies, confession) - The suspect confesses to the crime.

- Condition 3 (lies, confession) - The suspect confessed to the crime giving details of the situation of the murder, but later retracted the confession.

- Condition 4 (lies, no confession) - The suspect claimed to have never visited the victim and denied using a gun.

It was expected that participants would pay more attention to the other evidence in condition 4 in particular.

The dependent variable was a verdict of guilt or not. Overall, 60% of the participants chose a guilty verdict, but this varied between conditions - 36% (condition 1), 72% (condition 4), 74% (condition 2), and 58% (condition 3).

"Exposed lies, but not a confession, affected perceptions of supporting evidence. In line with more systematic processing of evidence..., participants thought that the fingerprint and photograph evidence were more indicative of guilt in the conditions where the defendant had lied about this evidence than in the conditions without exposed lies... Overall, these results suggest that the police may not need to elicit a confession to secure a conviction, if a suspect is interviewed with an investigative interview, and his or her exposed lies can be presented to jurors" (Brimbal and Jones 2018 pp165-166).

Study 2

This was a replication of Study 1 with 255 more online volunteers and a different case about planting a bomb.

The overall rating of guilt was 52% with the variations based on the conditions as follows - 14% (condition 1), 63% (condition 4), 63% (condition 3), and 72% (condition 2). These findings supported Study 1 (Brimbal and Jones 2018).

3.4. IMPROVING EYE-WITNESS RECALL

Face-to-face police witness interviews are social interactions, and so interviewees are faced with the cognitive demands of recall, and managing "the social elements of the retrieval environment, including social signals during an interview that may implicitly influence their cognition" (Taylor and Dando 2018 p2). The social characteristics include (Taylor and Dando 2018):

- Anxiety of the situation (eg: two police officers versus one witness).

- A desire to please. "Even when witnesses are unsure, have not encoded the requested information, or experience a retrieval failure, the demand characteristics of a face-to-face interview can result in witnesses guessing, acquiescing, and/or reporting script consistent, but nonetheless incorrect information" (Taylor and Dando 2018 p2).

- The mere physical presence of others interferes with accuracy of recall, particularly for complex information.

- Eye contact can disrupt cognitive performance.

Consequently, Taylor and Dando (2018) argued for the use of virtual environments/computer simulations, where individuals communicate as avatars. They showed the benefits of this technique in an experiment. Thirty-eight adults watched a two-minute video of a mock crime (table 3.1), and 48 hours later were interviewed either face-to-face (FtoF) or avatar-to-avatar (AtoA). All interviews followed the same sequence (eg: free recall before probed recall/questioning). The witness information was scored as correct, erroneous (eg: recall brown jacket as black), or confabulated (ie: reporting information not present in video).

- "The film depicted the theft of a car left unattended by the driver with the window open. The perpetrator accessed the car by leaning through the open window. He started the car, and drove it across town, searching through the contents of the car including the owner's wallet as he drove. He then parked the car in a residential area".

(Source: Taylor and Dando 2018 p3)

Table 3.1 - Details of video watched.

Participants in the avatar condition recalled around more correct information, and less erroneous and

confabulated information than the face-to-face condition. Altogether, they were significantly more accurate.

Taylor and Dando (2018) explained: "The avatar may have reduced the social task demands, releasing additional cognitive resources for the task of responding to cued requests. This notion is supported by the post-interview feedback, which reveals that participants found it far easier to say 'I don't know' to the avatar than participants in the FtoF condition who communicated directly with the interviewer. This indicates the social demands experienced by witnesses... were ameliorated by context and the physical absence of the questioner, which may have resulted in improved speaker-listener co-ordination" (p7).

The limitations with this study include:

a) The quantity of information recalled was measured, not the type of information and its usefulness to police.

b) Watching a video of a crime is different to the real thing (eg: no fear; smells; environmental cues), and it includes both includes and excludes information that a real-life witness would see. This low ecological validity is a problem for all such studies.

c) The participants were young adults in London recruited via social media or on campus.

d) Familiarity with a virtual environment was not controlled.

e) Despite using a standardised interview protocol, "interviewer variability is know to impact on the outcomes of interviews with witnesses and victims, particularly in face-to-face contexts where individual social and verbal behaviours are often unconscious" (Taylor and Dando 2018 pp7-8).

f) Participants in the AtoA condition reported less confidence about their recall, though confidence is not necessarily a predictor of accuracy (Taylor and Dando 2018).

g) An avatar of a person sitting at a table was used in the AtoA condition. Other research has found that avatars rated as more attractive increased trust (Taylor and Dando 2018).

3.5. APPENDIX 3A - TRUST

FeldmanHall et al (2018) observed that "deciding

whether to trust is a daily activity occurring with
varying levels of consequence, from telling trivial
secrets to loaning significant amounts of money. Choosing
to place one's own well-being into the hands of another
typically necessitates first-hand experiences
demonstrating the integrity of a partner's reputation.
However, people are frequently confronted with situations
in which they must decide whether to trust a stranger in
the absence of any prior experience" (pE1690). The
authors argued that, based on associative learning,
stimulus generalisation is one possible explanation.
Stimulus generalisation is where "value can spread or
transfer between stimuli that perceptually or
conceptually resemble one another" (FeldmanHall et al
2018 pE1690). In other words, if a stranger looks like a
familiar trustworthy person, we are more likely to trust
them than if they look like a familiar untrustworthy
person.

FeldmanHall et al (2018) showed that behaviour in
their experiments with 91 US individuals. Participants
played a trust game on the computer. This involved the
participant deciding how much of their stake ($10) to
share with a stranger. The amount was multiplied four
times and then the partner could decide how much to give
back. The computer showed pictures of the supposed other
players. Over a number of trials the participants played
with individuals who were either high trustworthy (gave
half the money back), somewhat trustworthy (gave half the
money back sometimes), or not at all trustworthy (rarely
gave half the money back).
In subsequent games, the participants played with
strangers whose faces were morphed versions of the
original players. "Critically, subjects believed the
morphs were real people and potential partners for the
next trust game, ensuring that the decision to trust was
not affected by conscious awareness that the morphs
were derivatives of the players from the preceding trust
game" (FeldmanHall et al 2018 pE1692). Trustworthiness
was measured by allowing the participants to choose who
they played with. It was found that "as perceptual
resemblance to the original trustworthy player increased
subjects were significantly more likely to choose the
morph as a partner for a future trust game... The
opposite generalisation pattern was observed for
untrustworthy morphs; the greater the perceptual
similarity to the original untrustworthy player, the less
likely subjects were to select the morph for a second
trust game" (FeldmanHall et al 2018 pE1692).
When this experiment was repeated in a brain
scanner, activity was observed in areas of the brain
related to the perceptual similarity of objects.

FeldmanHall et al (2018) concluded: "Together these

findings suggest that when deciding whom to trust humans rely on an efficient, albeit rudimentary, learning heuristic that facilitates adaptive engagement. A similarity-based generalisation mechanism can be highly adaptive because it enables many stimuli — in this case, unfamiliar individuals — to acquire value from minimal learning" (pE1696).

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4. JUVENILE STALKING

        Adult stalking has been researched far more than adolescent or juvenile stalking [21]. "The lack of attention to juvenile stalking may be explained in part by the popular misconception that, by virtue of their age and development, juveniles are not capable of engaging in behaviours as egregious as stalking" (Purcell et al 2009 p451) [22].

        Purcell et al (2009) provided the "first systematic examination" of juvenile stalking using data from Melbourne Children's Court in Australia. Restraining order applications between the beginning of 2004 and the end of November 2006 were examined. There were 299 relevant cases.
        Stalking was defined as "multiple unwanted intrusions" (eg: phone calls, text messages; unwanted approaches and following) that persisted for more than two weeks.
        Two-thirds of the perpetrators were male, and two-thirds of the victims were female. Most (98%) victims and perpetrators were known to each other.
        Purcell et al (2009) distinguished six types of stalking:

        i) An extension of bullying (28% of cases) - equal distribution of victims and perpetrators based on gender.

        ii) Retaliation (22%) - gender equality of perpetrators, who were responding to a perceived "injury".

        iii) Rejection (22%) - mostly male perpetrators after an intimate relationship ended. Third parties were also targeted (eg: new boyfriend).

        iv) Disorganised and disturbed stalkers (20%) - multiple victims at the same time for no obvious reason.

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[21] For example, the National Stalking Helpline in the UK received calls about over 200 stalking cases using tracking devices and technology. Overall, the Helpline received 4337 calls or emails between December 2016 and November 2017, of which three-quarters of victims were female. For the same period, the police recorded 4613 stalking offences, but the National Crime Survey in March 2015 found that 1.1 million people had experienced stalking in the previous year (4.9% of women and 2.4% of men aged 16-59 years old) (Lyons 2018).
[22] Juveniles have been studied extensively generally in criminology (appendix).

More often these were males, and who committed other offences as well.

v) Predatory stalkers (5%) - almost all males who "aimed at imposing unwanted sexual contact on the victim". Thus, high level of sexual assault.

vi) Intimacy-seeking stalkers (2%) - mainly males, non-threatening, but longer in duration.

Purcell et al (2009) noted higher levels of threats and violence than in adult stalking, and more female perpetrators.
The data were cases at one court in one country, but also only included stalking behaviour that was investigated by the authorities.

Roberts et al (2016) found only three studies of stalking with adolescent samples, but two of them involved the same sample (Purcell et al 2009 above, and Purcell et al 2010). The other study (Fisher et al 2014) was based on data from Kentucky, USA. It estimated that 5% of high school students had stalked someone in the previous year (Smith-Darden et al 2016) [23].

Spitzberg (2002) stated that "the difference between stalking and mere annoyingly persistent romantic pursuit is a relatively fine line and makes the definition of stalking problematic" (quoted in Smith-Darden et al 2016). Problems related to the definition include (Smith-Darden et al 2016):

• Whether there needs to be fear by the victim;

• What behaviours should be present (eg: surveillance; intimidation) [24];

• How many different forms of behaviour simultaneously;

• How frequently these behaviours occur.

Smith-Darden et al (2016) concentrated on the risk of violence with juvenile stalking. They used data from a US longitudinal study of 11-17 year-olds. A final sample of 1236 adolescents completed the questionnaire, which began: "People sometimes go after relationships without realising that the other person does not want one. How often have you pursued, or has someone else pursued you,

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[23] In US national surveys the prevalence of victims aged 12-17 years old is around 2% (Ybarra et al 2017).

[24] Research with adults has distinguished fourteen common behaviours (Smith-Darden et al 2016).

in order to start or continue a relationship that wasn't wanted" (p3). Then the adolescents responded to fourteen stalking indicators (table 4.1) for the last year. Finally, there were questions about violence related to stalking, dating violence, and violence generally.

- Listening to their messages, reading their e-mails
- Following them around
- Taking photographs of them without their knowledge
- Spreading false rumours about them
- Trying to be friends with their friends, get to know their family without invitation

(Source: Smith-Darden et al 2016 table 1 p3)

Table 4.1 - Examples of stalking indicators.

The majority of respondents reported little or no stalking behaviour (non-perpetrators; NP) (62.5% of males and 76.9% of females). The remainder were divided into two groups:

a) "Hyper-intimacy" stalking (Spitzberg 2002) perpetrators (HIP) (eg: unwanted expressions of affection) - 31.1% of males and 23.1% of females. A small amount of violence, and females were more violent than males.

b) Comprehensive stalking perpetrators (CSP) showing all fourteen stalking behaviours - only males (6.4% of sample [25]), and these individuals reported more violence of all kinds (appendix 4B).

No data were collected on motives for stalking, the relationship between perpetrator and victim, cyberstalking, or the duration of the behaviours (Smith-Darden et al 2016). All measures were self-reported with no independent verification.

Ybarra et al (2017) preferred to talk of "stalking-like" behaviour in their online survey of 1058 14-21 year-olds in the USA (part of the "Growing Up with Media" longitudinal study began in 2006). Six stalking-like behaviours were included:

- Hyper-intimacy - eg: calling multiple times a day.
- Following (wihout victim knowing).
- Intrusive pursuit - contact (eg: talk, text) when victim did not want it.

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[25] Fisher et al (2014) reported 6.5% in their sample.

- Aggression.
- Threats.
- Surveillance - eg: downloading tracking programme for victim's mobile phone.

     Around one-quarter (23.4%) of respondents admitted to one of these behaviours ever, and another 12.4% to two or more of the behaviours. For females, the rates were 26.4% and 10.2% respectively, and 20.6% and 14.4% respectively for males.
     In terms of the motives, 8% of the sample admitted to "malicious intent" ("frighten, upset, anger, or annoy the other person"), while 12% of individuals had stalked more than one person in their lives.
     Stalking-like behaviour was associated with alcohol use, anger, and lack of empathy (figure 4.1).
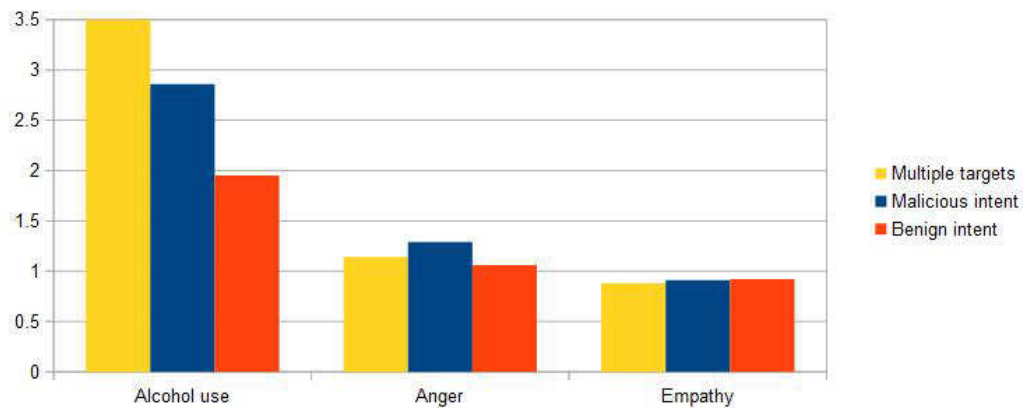
(Data from Ybarra et al 2017 tables 3 and 4 p198)

Figure 4.1 - Odds ratios of characteristics of stalking-like perpetrators (where non-perpetrators = 1.0).

     This study had the following key limitations:

- A limited number of stalking-like behaviours studied.

- The questions on intent could influence the responses (eg: malicious intent included four consequences), and depended upon the individual's honesty and/or insight about their behaviour.

- Differences in behaviour based on targets of stalking not explored.

- The sample was recruited online, and thus may have been more "Internet literate" than the general population (Ybarra et al 2017).

APPENDIX 4A - DIFFERENT TYPES OF CRIMINOLOGY

Criminology in the 20th century was mostly a "criminology of males" (Rocque and Posick 2017), and it was often "adolescent limited" (Cullen 2011) (ie: juvenile delinquency) (appendix 4C). It has also had "a single-minded focus" on urban crime (Rocque and Posick 2017).

Feminist criminology developed a challenge to the first preoccupation, life course and developmental criminology the second, and "a new field of rural criminology has recently begun to expand criminological horizons outside the inner city" (Rocque and Posick 2017 p482).

One example of rural criminology is the highlighting of "agricultural crime" (eg: theft and vandalism of farm property; Swanson 1981). However, crime is much less than in urban areas, and Lee (2008) proposed that civic involvement of the community is the protective factor.

Singer (2014) concentrated on the area between the urban and the rural - the suburbs - in his study of Amherst (New York), named the safest city in America in 1996 by "Money Magazine" (Rocque and Posick 2017). Singer (2014) introduced the idea of "relational modernity". In suburban and affluent areas, strong, pro-social adults help adolescents "become relationally modern and adapt to a complex and changing world. They help the youth cope and make it through challenges rather than responding punitively to missteps, as is the default in the inner city. Of course, that does not mean crime and delinquency does not occur in these suburban places; it is just that the response is different and, in turn, this response makes repeat missteps less likely" (Rocque and Posick 2017 p482). This is a version of control theory (eg: Sampson and Laub 1993).

How juvenile delinquency is handled in Amherst is key - limited use of the formal criminal justice system - much like white-collar crime. "Adults in suburbia rely on the formal system only as a last resort, as opposed to the first option that characterises 'zero-tolerance policies in urban schools and neighbourhoods that ensnare poor and minority youth' [Pattillo 2015]. Thus the 'cumulative continuity' [Moffitt 1993] seen in much criminological research may be stemmed by treating delinquency different" (Rocque and Posick 2017 p485).

APPENDIX 4B - HUMAN AGGRESSION

Human aggression in comparison to other animals has been viewed in two opposing ways (Wrangham 2018):

i) "Hobbes-Huxley paradigm" - humans are violent

animals and society must contain this;

ii) "Rousseau-Kropotkin paradigm" - humans are naturally peaceable and violence is a product of the modern world.

Wrangham (2018) argued that this division persists "because too many evolutionary anthropologists mistakenly conceive of aggression as unitary and that a well-established distinction between 'proactive' and 'reactive' aggression holds the key to a resolution" (Daly 2018 p633). "Proactive aggression" is rare outside of humans (maybe chimpanzees) - "a controlled and apparently planned use of violence, unmotivated by anger or even great emotional arousal, in a context in which the chances of having the tables turned so that the aggressor becomes a victim are low" (Daly 2018 p633) (eg: bullying; premeditated murder). On the other hand, "an angry reflexive response to frustrations and threats" (Daly 2018) (ie: "reactive aggression") is less among humans than chimpanzees.

But proactive/reactive is but one distinction (others include affective/predatory, and cold/hot), and how to distinguish between the two (ie: there is a point where they blur) (Daly 2018). One way distinguish is by the "aims" of the aggression, according to Wrangham (2018), but this "opens a can of worms... 'Aims' are invisible psychological constructs and difficult to identify with certainty even in articulate human beings, let alone other animals. A possible escape is to say that words like 'intended' and 'aim' are not meant mentalistically, but are shorthand for what evolutionary biologists call adaptive function" (Daly 2018 p634).

APPENDIX 4C - WHO ARE THE CRIMINALS

The Dunedin longitudinal study begun in New Zealand in 1975 has collected a vast amount of data over the years. It showed that "just over a fifth of the population accounts for the bulk of the social costs: crime, welfare payments, hospitalisations, cigarette purchases, fatherless child-rearing, and other indicators of social dysfunction" (Starr 2018 p513). Looking back to age three years, when the study started, this fifth scored low on early language skills, neurological health, and self-control, for instance, and grew up in poverty, suffering maltreatment (Starr 2018).

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5. REPLICATION GENERALLY AND CRIMINOLOGY SPECIFICALLY

5.1. GENERALLY

Replication is "the use of subsequent studies to purposefully assess the same questions as original studies. Replication is the main arbiter by which research findings are adjudicated because it protects against false positives. It has been referred to as the Supreme Court of science (Collins 1985)" (Pridemore et al 2018 p21).

Replications takes two forms (Christakis and Zimmerman 2013):

a) Direct - The same method and type of data are used as the original study (appendix 5A).

b) Conceptual - Testing the original idea/theory with different methods and types of data (ie: test of generalisability of original study).

Pridemore et al (2018) outlined a strong case for replication. "Replication is important because it strengthens confidence in the scientific record [26]. It helps turn an initial observation into more widely accepted knowledge. Replication plays a key role in verifying scientific hypotheses and results and in assuring findings are generalisable beyond the specific circumstances of a particular study... Replications act like a kidney, filtering out inaccurate or irreproducible findings that otherwise pollute our understanding of a phenomenon... The systematic accumulation of knowledge is central to the scientific method, and replicability is a key element in this process. Replications that confirm original results increase certainty in the existence and size of an effect" (Pridemore et al 2018 p21).

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[26] Chadwick (2006), talking primarily about psychology, noted a "general distrust in our own subject of anything that has not received two laboratory replications" (p65). He described a paranoia behind "scientific psychology". This is seen in Popper's (1959) idea of falsification - "the nearest thing to a true theory is one that hasn't betrayed you yet. Any proposition is bound to let you down finally, but we cling on to ones that haven't let us down yet" (Edmonds and Eidenow 2002 quoted in Chadwick 2006).

"Replication crises" have appeared in recent years in many academic fields. For example, Begley and Ellis (2012) could only replicate the findings of one-tenth (6 of 53) high-cited cancer trials. While Nuijtens et al (2016) reported inconsistencies in reporting and interpreting p-values in thirty years of psychology articles, and the Open Science Collaboration (OSC) (2015) only replicated the findings of one-third of 100 psychology studies from three leading journals.

Gilbert et al (2016) challenged the OSC findings, and the idea of replication crises. For example, the OSC used different methods to the original in a number of replications. Where methods and protocols were the same, there was replication of findings in 60% of cases, but only 15% when different methods and protocols used (Pridemore et al 2018). Furthermore, Patil et al (2016) found that over three-quarters of the OSC replications were within a 95% confidence interval of the original effect size.

Klein et al (2014) reported the "Many Labs Project" that replicated sixteen classic psychology studies in over thirty different laboratories and pooled the data. They successfully replicated 85% of the original findings.

O'Boyle et al (2014) coined the term "the chrysalis effect" to describe "the tendency of dissertation results in the field of management to become more likely to support hypotheses when eventually published in journals. Unsupported dissertation hypotheses tended to disappear or change direction when published, while newly supported hypotheses appeared (the latter may occur more generally and sometimes be facilitated by a publishing process that leads authors to state findings in terms of hypotheses that were generated as part of the manuscript review process)" (Pridemore et al 2018 p20).

The majority of published studies report statistical significant results, and few of them are replications, "so nearly all test novel hypotheses. One must be sceptical that such a large proportion of novel hypotheses are correct... Some sizeable fraction of these novel findings—much greater than the 5% false-positive rate conventionally accepted when setting statistical significance at 0.05 — must, in reality, be non-significant" (Pridemore et al 2018 p20).

In highly cited medical studies, Ioannidis (2005) found replications for less than half, and the effect size was often weaker. This has been called "the decline effect" (Ioannidis 2008), where initially findings are stronger in size than replications.

5.2. SPECIFICALLY

Pridemore et al (2018) concentrated on replication in criminology. They stated: "Replication is important in criminology because our evidence base is tenuous, many of our topics are highly politicised, and translation of our findings can produce harm if they are incorrect" (Pridemore et al 2018 p22) (appendix 5B).

Pridemore et al (2018) investigated the amount of replications in fifty-two criminology journals up to 2015. They found 178 actual replications, which was half of one percent of the total articles. Around three-quarters of the replications claimed to have reproduced the original findings, 10% failed to do so, and the remainder had mixed results. Note that only 16% of the replications were direct, and the majority were conceptual replications.

Pridemore et al (2018) warned: "Research that is replicable can still be wrong... Thus, truth may be over-estimated because replications come to the same erroneous conclusions as original studies" (p25).

On the other hand, studies may be conceptual replications without using the word "replication" (Pridemore et al 2018). Schmidt (2017) called these "disguised conceptual replications".

Criminology research often uses secondary data, which, Pridemore et al (2018) pointed out "even when analyses are perfectly executed, we are at the mercy of an imperfect data-generation process and the inevitable human errors, such as spreadsheet coding and transcription errors, that occur when manipulating it... and that might lead to irreproducible results" (p26). Miles and Irvine (1979) described secondary sources as "developed in support of the system of power".

Pridemore et al (2018) argued that "the lack of replication research is an epistemic culture that discourages it. Cultural impediments to undertaking and publishing replications derive from structure and practice... Grant funding and space in leading journals are scarce resources. Universities incentivise research production, including grants and top-tier publications. Funding agencies, journal editors, and journal reviewers reward innovation and discourage replication. Journals also favour positive findings (except in the case of positive replications, in which case the likely response is 'Thanks, but we already knew that'), further reducing the likelihood of publication when the original result is not reproduced" (p27). This is "publication bias", which Fanelli (2012) suggested was getting worse. Dissertations that have non-significant results were much less likely to become published articles (eg: 30% less in the case of

educational research; Pigott et al 2013).

Replication is not helped by the "researcher degrees of freedom" (Pridemore et al 2018), which, on the positive side, is the flexibility that researchers have, but, on the negative side, includes questionable research practices, varying from falsifying data to selective reporting to arbitrarily excluding outliers.

5.3. APPENDIX 5A - GENERAL EXAMPLE OF DIRECT REPLICATION

Omega-3 fatty acids (eg: docosahexaenoic acid; DHA) (found in fish, for instance) is seen as a dietary essential, and low intake may have negative consequences, particularly for children's behavioural and cognitive development (Richardson et al 2012).

If this is the case, then DHA supplementation could prove beneficial. Richardson et al (2012) outlined a randomised double-blind, placebo-controlled trial to test this (known as the DOLAB study [27]) (figure 5.1).
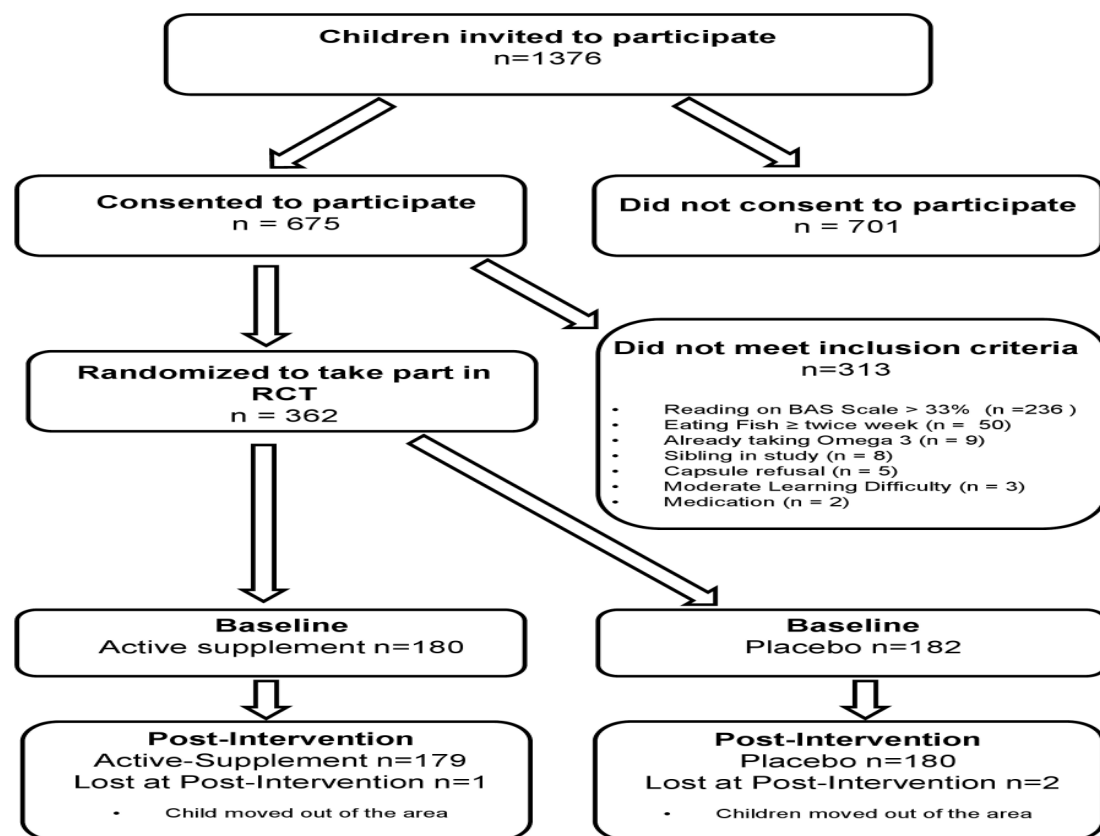
(Source: Richardson et al 2012 figure 1)

Figure 5.1 - Details of procedure.

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[27] DOLAB = DHA Oxford Learning and Behaviour.

Three hundred and sixty-two healthy 7-9 year-olds at 74 primary schools in Oxfordshire (southern England) were involved. For sixteen weeks, children received either 600 mg of DHA per day or a placebo.

Three outcomes were measured:

a) Reading - assessed by an age-standardised single word reading test.
"Over the 16-week treatment period, very slight improvements in reading were found over and above the gains that would be expected during this time period. For all children randomised..., the changes in standardised reading scores did not differ by treatment group" (Richardson et al 2012 p5). But the children categorised as the poorest one-fifth of readers did show a significant improvement in the DHA group. Those categorised as the poorest one-tenth of readers, for example, showed improvements three times greater in the DHA group compared to the placebo group (figure 5.2).
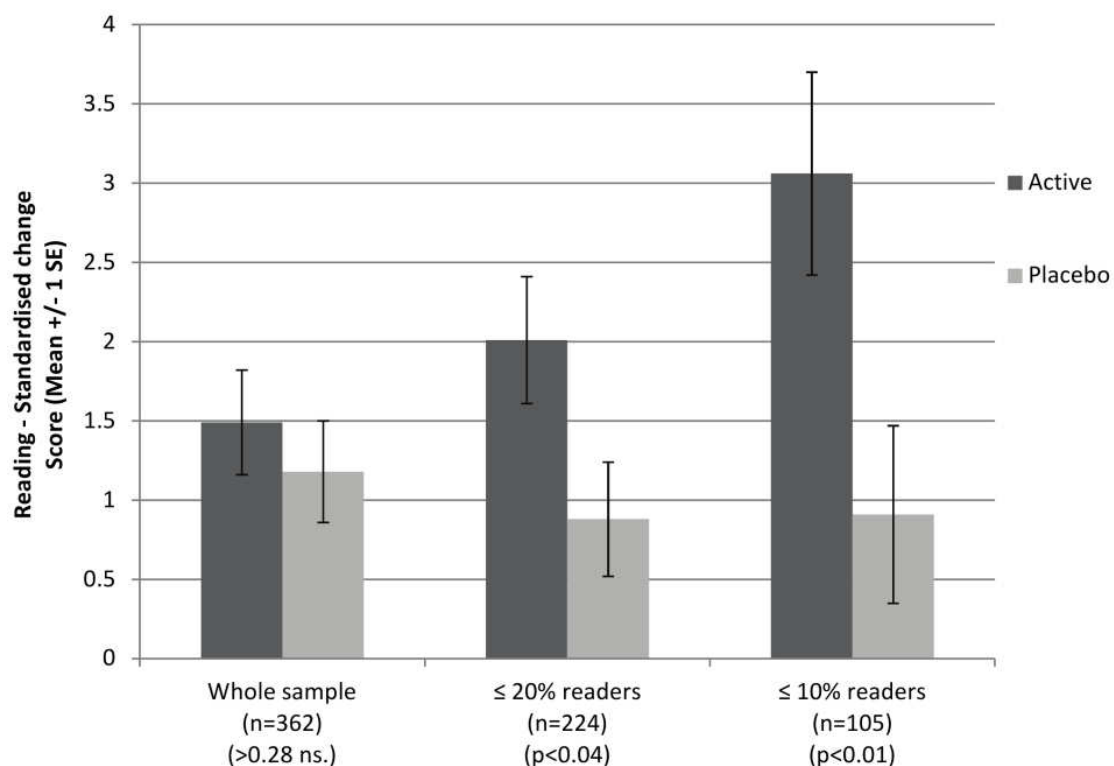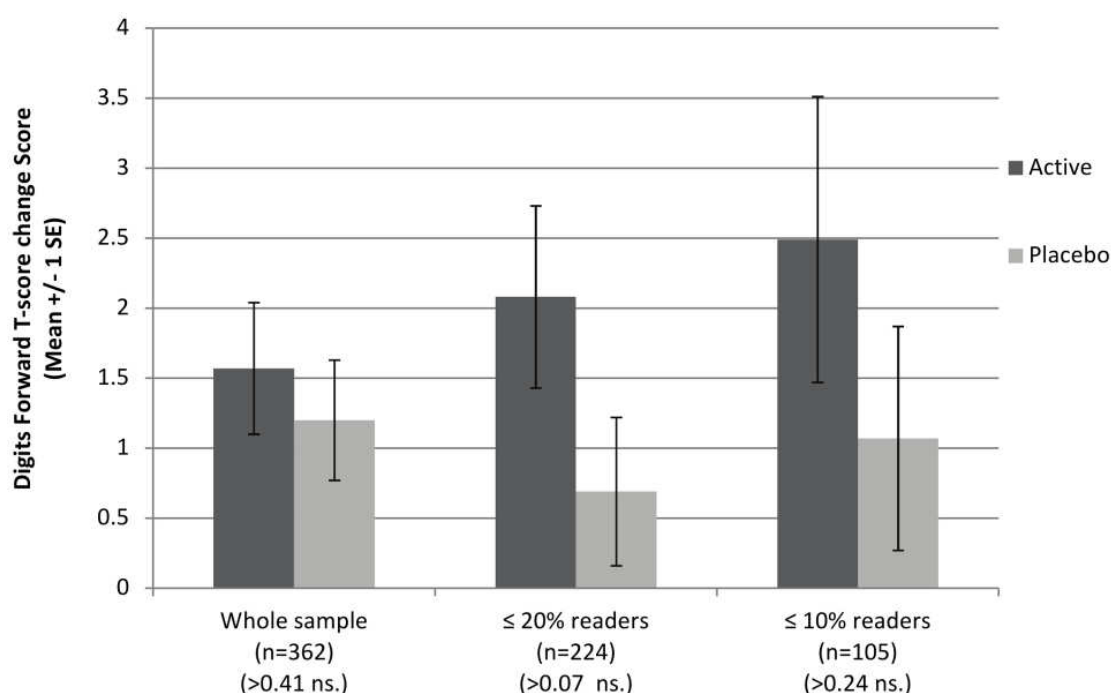

(Source: Richardson et al 2012 figure 2)

Figure 5.2 - Change in reading score between baseline and end of study.

b) Working memory - assessed by the recall of digits. No improvement overall, though small non-significant benefits for the poorest readers (figure

5.3).

(Source: Richardson et al 2012 figure 3)

Figure 5.3 - Change in recall of digits score between baseline and end of study.

c) Behavioural problems - assessed by teacher and parent ratings. Parent-ratings only showed an improvement in the DHA group.

Richardson et al (2012) concluded: "DHA supplementation appears to offer a safe and effective way to improve reading and behaviour in healthy but underperforming children from mainstream schools" (p1).

Key methodological issues:

1. Generalisability - "The context in which this trial was carried out was mainstream UK schools, where the influence of the researchers was low and contact with parents was indirect and minimal, whereas most previous trials have involved children with specific behavioural and/or learning difficulties recruited either from clinics or from direct advertisement to parents" (Richardson et al 2012 p9).
The sample was representative of the English general population in terms of social class.

BUT: The generalisability to all 7-9 year-olds was

limited because sample selected for underperformance in reading (ie: standardised score of 84 where 100 is age-standardised mean).

BUT: Under-represented ethnic minorities in sample.

BUT: Slight over-representation of boys in sample.

2. Dosage of DHA - This was comparable to other studies. "Higher doses might possibly yield more substantial treatment effects, but this would need to be investigated via systematic dose-ranging studies, because intakes of individual nutrients may not relate in any simple linear fashion to health or performance outcomes" (Richardson et al 2012 p9).
Dose of only DHA, whereas previous studies had used combinations of fatty acids.
Supplements provided at school on weekdays, and by parents at other times.

BUT: Limited data on compliance by schools, and particularly by parents.

3. Measures - Standardised tests for measuring outcomes.

BUT: Accuracy of parent-rated scales.

Montgomery et al (2018) reported the DOLAB II study, which found "no consistent differences between intervention and placebo group". This study was a replication with 376 7-9 year-olds at 84 primary schools in five areas of southern England (figure 5.4).

Montgomery et al (2018) offered some reasons for the difference in findings between the DOLAB and DOLAB II studies: "a combination of recruitment, measurement and uptake differences will introduced considerable between-study heterogeneity" (p17).

i) Measurement - The approach to teaching reading changed in the UK in 2011, and a recalibrated version of the standardised reading measure was produced, "which may, perhaps, have been less sensitive to detecting reading changes than its uncalibrated version" (Richardson et al 2018 p17).

ii) Recruitment - DOLAB II focused more on the poorest readers in their recruitment.

iii) Recruitment - Gaining access to schools was "an additional recruitment challenge" as many local
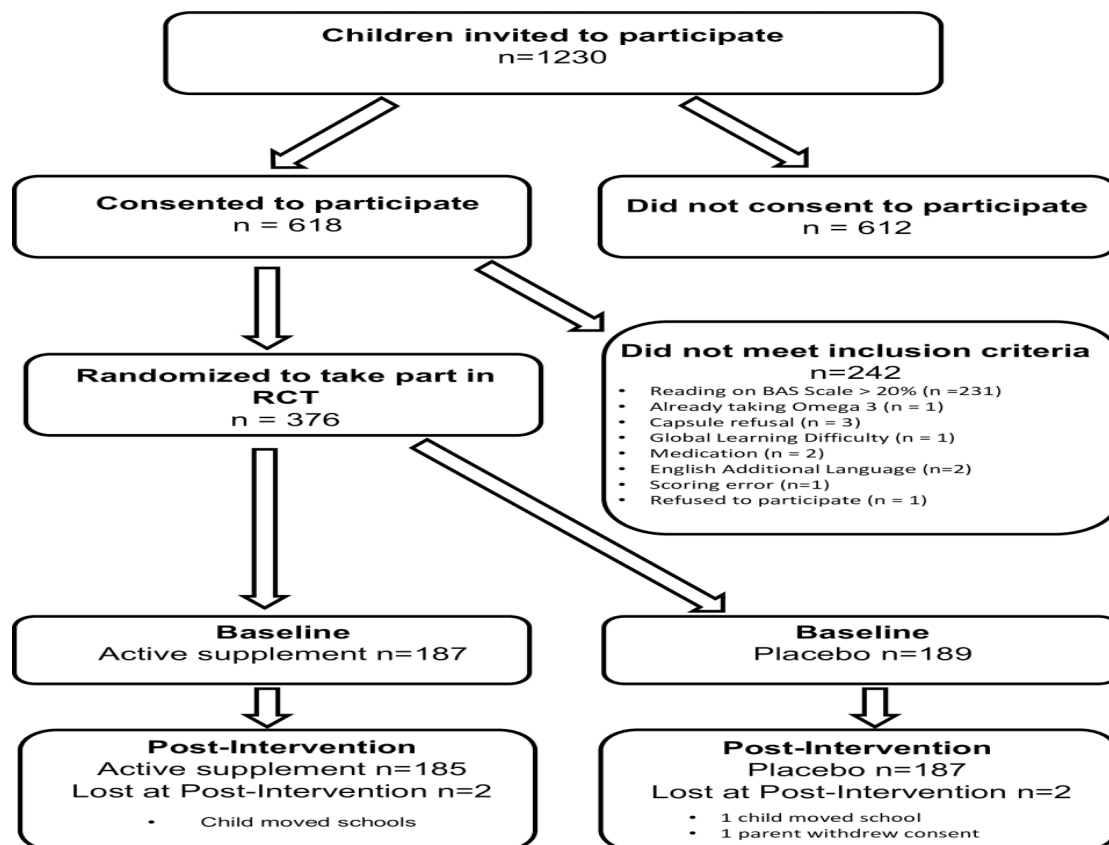
(Source: Montgomery et al 2018 figure 1)

Figure 5.4 - Details of DOLAB II.

authority-run schools had become self-governing institutions.

        iv) Uptake - There appeared to be a lower DHA uptake (ie: compliance) than in the DOLAB study.

        Montgomery et al (2018) noted the general problems with replications of studies, which, as Ioannides (2008) pointed out, tend to find weaker results than the original.

        Systematic reviews and meta-analyses had the problem of combining "heterogeneous groups of participants, interventions, comparators and outcomes... [and] implementation differences in dose, delivery, uptake and control... Consequently, the ratio of true to no relationships in the area of fatty-acid supplementation is problematic, and this is partly due to the large number of small studies finding small effects which are known to provide a poor basis for replication. This is arguably a complex intervention to evaluate, with multiple modes of delivery and outcome (child, parent, school), long causal pathway (bio-psycho-social mechanism for a behavioural change), where proximal (16-week)

outcomes may not indicate distal change" (Richardson et al 2018 pp21-22).

There is also a risk in reviews of publication bias (ie: only studies with significant results are published), and Montgomery et al (2018) explained that they had published their findings to avoid that.

5.4. APPENDIX 5B - DOMESTIC VIOLENCE EXAMPLE

Sherman and Berk (1984)

Minneapolis Police Department agreed to participate in a randomised trial of responses to "simple (misdemeanour) domestic assaults". Running from March 1981 to August 1982, attending police officers undertook one of three actions randomly chosen. The options were arrest, "advice" (informal mediation), and separation (for eight hours as suspect removed). The outcome measure was another case of domestic assault in the next six months (ie: recidivism).

Of 314 cases studied, 26% of the separation group re-offended compared to 13% of those arrested (a statistically significant difference). Recidivism varied slightly with length of arrest (ie: shorter arrest, higher recidivism). The conclusion was that arrest was the most effective in reducing short-term recidivism [28].

Key evaluation points:

• The randomisation of responses depended upon the attending police officer, who could ignore the random assignment. "There is little doubt that many of the officers occasionally failed to follow fully the experimental design. Some of the failures were due to forgetfulness, such as leaving the report pads at home or at the police station. Other failures derived from misunderstanding about whether the experiment applied in certain situations; application of the experimental rules under complex circumstances was sometimes confusing. Finally, from time to time there were situations that were simply not covered by the experiment's rules" (Sherman and Berk 1984 p264).

• A few officers accounted for a disproportionate number of cases (eg: three officers 28% of cases).

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[28] A direct replication in Omaha found no differences in recidivism between the three treatments (Dunford et al 1989 quoted in Berk et al 1992).

Sherman et al (1991)

This was a randomised trial between April 1987 and August 1988 with Milwaukee Police Department, which varied the length of arrest for "misdemeanour domestic battery". One thousand and two hundred cases were randomly treated with a warning (control condition), a short-term arrest (around 2-3 hours), or a longer arrest (around 12 hours). Arriving at the scene, police officers opened an envelope which told them which response to use. Recidivism in the following six months was the outcome measure.

Both types of arrest had a significantly lower recidivism in the following month than the warning. But, in the longer term, the short arrest group had significantly higher recidivism than no arrest.

The sample was "Black ghetto poverty neighbours". Only twenty cases were reported as not performed as randomised.

Berk et al (1992)

Colorado Springs Police Department randomly assigned 1658 suspects of "misdemeanour spousal violence" between 1987 and 1989 to one of four treatments:

- Arrest of suspect
- Immediate crisis counselling for couple
- Emergency order of protection
- Police officer restored order

Arrest reduced recidivism for "good risk" offenders (eg: individuals who "presumably have a lot to lose by being arrested"), but not for "bad risk" offenders.

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6. IMMIGRATION AND CRIME

Ousey and Kubrin (2018) summarised the debate about immigration and crime: "One side of the debate advocates for restrictive immigration policy based in part on the contention that more immigration leads to higher crime rates. The opposing side rejects that view, suggesting the roots of restrictive immigration policy lie more in xenophobia and false stereotypes" (p64) (table 6.1).

But research to establish the facts has problems including (Ousey and Kubrin 2018):

a) Variations in design, particularly in what and how to measures variables.

b) Individual studies can find divergent results within them, as well as differences between studies.

c) Overviews of the literature vary in their conclusions. Shihadeh and Barranco (2010) stated, for example: "There is no one 'immigration-crime' link any more than there is one type of immigrant or one type of job or one type of crime" (quoted in Ousey and Kubrin 2018).

Increased immigration and increased crime (positive relationship)	Increased immigration and less crime (negative relationship)
• As the population increases, there are more individuals with a "crime-prone demographic profile" (Ousey and Kubrin 2018). • Immigration disrupts social control of crime in communities. • Increased crime because of increased competition for jobs.	• Immigrants are a highly selective group, and less likely to be criminal. • Immigration revitalises communities and thereby reduces crime. • Immigration increases informal social control in communities.

Table 6.1 - A selection of sociological theories about immigration and crime (Ousey and Kubrin 2018).

Ousey and Kubrin (2018) focused on the immigration-crime relationship at a macro-social level [29] in the USA in their review of 51 quantitative studies between 1994

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[29] City blocks/areas, cities and counties (ie: not individuals). Individual-level studies have found that second-generation and later immigrants have higher offending rates than their parents (Ousey and Kubrin 2018).

and 2014. Overall, the relationship was negative (ie: greater immigration associated with lower crime rates), but weak, and showed great variation between studies. Around two-thirds of the statistical relationships in the studies were not significant.

Concerning the variations in findings between studies, much of this was probably due to variations in methodology (Ousey and Kubrin 2018):

i) Measuring and operationalising immigration (independent or explanatory variable) - eg: a single or combined measure. "Concerning the latter, the most frequently combined measures include percent foreign-born, percent Latino, and percent of persons who speak English not well or not at all—measures that are often highly correlated across geographic areas" (Ousey and Kubrin 2018 p71).
Immigrants are often treated as a homogeneous population. Furthermore, how to distinguish between "new" immigrants and the immigrant population as a whole (eg: arrivals in the last 5 or 10 years).

Ousey and Kubrin (2018) created three dimensions for their analyses:

• Percent foreign-born versus multi-item index
• Recent versus total immigrants
• Specific foreign-born group (eg: Latino).

The differences in measurement did not "exert a discernable impact" on the findings.

ii) Measuring and operationalising crime (dependent or outcome variable) - Studies tend to measure total crime, or to distinguish between violent and property crime, or occasionally examine more sub-types.
Crime was calculated per total population, or in a particularly area, for instance.

Ousey and Kubrin (2018) created two dimensions for their meta-analyses:

• Total versus sub-types of crime
• Total population versus specific crime rates.

Ousey and Kubrin (2018) concluded: "Our meta-analysis results indicate that immigration-crime effect-size estimates do vary systematically across studies in association with differences in the measurement of crime" (p73).

iii) Unit of analysis - From neighbourhoods to whole

metropolitan areas, as well as the focus on certain cities, like San Antonio and Los Angeles, with high immigration populations.

The choice of unit of analysis did affect the findings, Ousey and Kubrin (2018) concluded.

iv) Type of design - Cross-sectional or longitudinal.

Ousey and Kubrin (2018) found that "the mean immigration-crime association in cross-sectional studies is essentially zero..., the average association in longitudinal analyses is significantly larger and negative..." (p75).

v) Destination context - There were differences between studies in the areas where the immigrants lived (eg: high levels of immigrants in broader immigrant communities), including the political receptiveness of the cities.

Despite a limited number of studies, Ousey and Kubrin (2018) found that "destination context does matter".

vi) Data source - Most studies depended upon official crime data, which does not necessarily include information about immigration status.

There is also the likelihood of under-reporting of victimhood by immigrants. "Domestic violence, sexual assault, and gang violence constitute the bulk of crimes that go under-reported among immigrants... Reasons for under-reporting include fear of becoming involved with the authorities, possible embarrassment to families, language difficulties, cultural differences in conceptions of justice, and lack of knowledge of the criminal justice system" (Ousey and Kubrin 2018 p81).

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7. POLICE CULTURE

Organisational culture is a "pattern of shared basic assumptions, invented, discovered, or developed by a given group, as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid, and, therefore, is to be taught to new members of the group as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (Schein 1984 quoted in Charman 2015).

Charman (2015) investigated organisational culture in the police and ambulance services through forty-five semi-structured interviews with these two groups in the south of England. The 23 police officers were from the rank of Inspector or below.

Previous research on police culture has presented it as "a site of masculine hegemony, racism, prejudice, discrimination and sexism", and included the characteristics of secrecy, cynicism, authoritarianism, aggression, and suspicion (Charman 2015) [30].

Charman (2015) presented a more positive picture: "The most notable finding of this research was the universally high regard directed towards each other from both police officers and ambulance staff. Without exception, all of those interviewed commented on the positive working relationships between the staff on the ground across both organisations. It is a relationship that is built upon trust, professional respect, good rapport and a mutual understanding of the roles that each perform" (p163).

She distinguished explicit and tacit cultural characteristics that were common to both services ("boundary crossing"), and cultural differences.

i) Explicit cultural characteristics - For example, "dark humour" or "black humour" (ie: cynicism, scepticism, sarcasm and irony) was common to both groups. This created a bond, particularly when faced with difficult individuals under the influence of alcohol and drugs, and in opposition to fire service officers (who had the ability to sleep on shifts, for instance).
This is summed up by these two quotes:

• "... if you're saying something in front of your ambulance crew you could easily say the same thing in front of police and they wouldn't get, nobody would get

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[30] Quoting Foster (2003), Macvean and Cox (2012) pointed out that "the broad assumption of a police 'culture' is a misnomer and misleading. The culture of the police cannot be viewed as one-dimensional and static; it exists as a range of sub-cultures that is manifested in different forms in different locations" (p18).

the slightest bit concerned over it [...] everybody would join in" (female ambulance technician).

- "I can't imagine a time where I've ever been to a fire station for a cup of tea or a bit of downtime. You go to an ambulance crew, 'come in', make a cup of tea, you sit and chat and share stories. I think it's because [...] there's that shared experience that you have with them, your understanding of people you deal with and how the workings of the public are similar so you tend to get on" (male constable) (p165).

    ii) Tacit cultural characteristics - The respondents reported an affinity for each other's work, and working together well though not being able to verbalise why. Charman (2014) referred to interconnected and overlapping "communities of practice" between the two groups.

    iii) Cultural differences - Ambulance staff noted the difference in tone towards the public - eg: "we're much more, you know, much more fluffy because you have to be nice to everybody and I'm not saying the police aren't nice but they can be much more assertive than we can [...] And in some ways the public expect the police to be really assertive and, you know, kind of, very take no nonsense, kind of thing whereas they expect paramedics to be really nice and fluffy and, okay there, there" (female paramedic; p168).
    They also commented on a difference in behaviour - eg: "I've seen a policeman confiscate five bottles of cider from a guy because he was drunk in a public place. He was drunk on his way home from the shop that he just bought the five bottles of cider from. And dispatch, we took him home in the end, but he went home without his cider. And that's probably on his benefit payday, he's managed to buy his cider, and, of course, they've taken it away from him. But we would never do that. We would take him and his cider home" (female ambulance technician; p169).

    The police officers commented on the "hero status" accorded to the ambulance service - eg: "I think the public will always view paramedics and firemen as helpers and savers and people who do really good work and they're constantly you know, really good people whereas police because we deal with enforcement and people who break the law, we're all like the bogey men" (male constable; p169).

    The training environment (ie: police training schools) can reinforce negative aspects of police culture, according to Foster (2003): "Training school therefore provides a rehearsal of how occupational culture can nurture and protect its members, where

cultural values emanate from the couching of ideas, the examples given and the style of filling-in talk, back chat and corridor conversation as much as from the formal teaching and curriculum" (quoted in Macvean and Cox 2012).

In England and Wales, there is a move to police officers studying for degrees and in non-police environments. But Heslop (2009 quoted in Macvean and Cox 2012) argued that an "us and them" culture (or defensive solidarity) can be detrimental in, say, universities: "Lecturers held the belief that police recruits were not 'real students', a belief that was reinforced through these recruits not attending the university through the traditional route. The recruits also felt that they were not treated as 'real students' and felt isolated from the richer student experience as they were located in a portakabin on the periphery of the campus, away from other students" (Macvean and Cox 2012 p22). "Practitioner lecturers" who were or had been in the police helped (Macvean and Cox 2012).

Macvean and Cox (2012) felt that moving police training outside the police was of limited benefit if the negative aspects of police culture were not challenged. Macvean and Cox (2012) referred to research with students on Criminal Justice degrees, probationer officers with degrees, and teaching staff on a police pre-join programme.

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8. LEISURE AND SPORT MEGA-EVENTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

8.1. ETHICAL ISSUES

Ethical issues related to the "sports industry" generally include (Davidson and McDonald 2018):

- Child labour used in the manufacture of sports goods;
- Constraints on free speech in Olympics areas;
- Anti-doping policies;
- Child welfare within youth elite training systems.

Leisure and sport mega-events are increasingly common, but they raise a number of issues in relation to human rights.

Horne (2018) observed that "broadly speaking concerns for human rights refers to concerns about injustice, discrimination and exploitation - or consciousness of humanity... - and the desire for a better world" (p12).

The Human Rights Watch World Report in 2015 (quoted in Horner 2018) outlined five key human rights abuses associated with sports mega-events:

    i) Forced evictions;
    ii) Mistreatment of migrant workers;
    iii) Silencing of dissent;
    iv) Control of journalists;
    v) General discrimination within the country.

In terms of research, Millwood (2017), for instance, showed "systematic violation of human rights protections in the lead up to the FIFA men's World Cup 2022 to be hosted in Qatar. While documenting the large numbers of migrant workers who were injured or killed in stadia construction to date, Millward (2017) proceeds to examine the trans-national vacuum of accountability which has seen the Qatari state, FIFA, construction (sub)contractors, corporate sponsors and recruitment agencies collectively shirk responsibilities pertaining to the safety, rights and dignity of 'foreign workers'; many of whom – under the 'Kafala system' – have had their passports, and hence mobility, controlled by local sponsors..." (Caudwell and McGee 2018 p6).

Zimbalist (2015) was clear: "Hosting sports mega-events... tends to reinforce the existing power structure

and patterns of inequality" (quoted in Horne 2018).

The authorities respond to claims of human rights abuses in three ways, according to Cohen (1996):

- Liberal denial - "bluntly, nothing is said to have happened" (Horne 2018 p16);

- Interpretative denial - accepting that something happened, but giving a different interpretation of events;

- Implicatory denial - accepting that something happened, but denying the claimed consequences.

Gotham (2016) observed: "Unlike the past, where opposition to mega-events was often muted or exceptional, today we witness an explosion of unrest and protests led by opposition coalitions dedicated to drawing global attention to the inequities and anti-democratic nature of spectacles" (quoted in Horne 2018).

Not denying human rights violations in some cases, Horne (2018) highlighted the risk of "astro-turfing" ("false 'grassroots' opinions"), and of moral panics over mega-events as "bad". "Worldwide, there are an increasing number of critics who attempt to counter bids and contest the ways in which the professionalisation of the 'events industry' impacts local decision-making. The questions they raise are not just about the division of costs and benefits of mega-events, but also about their impacts on human rights in cities contemplating bidding for them" (Horne 2018 p19).

Consequently, Horne (2018) observed: "In the past five years, the Winter Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games, and the Summer Olympic Games have all seen either a low uptake of opportunities to host them, or results from plebiscites or referenda in places as diverse as Munich, Oslo, Edmonton, Vienna, Boston and most recently Rome, that indicate that politicians and the citizens of certain cities are no longer attracted to hosting them. This does not mean that there are no locations interested in hosting these mega-events, but it is worth considering why this disinclination to host has happened. Possibly the disenchantment towards the hosting of sports mega-events has spread because of increasingly effective symbolic contestation of the promises and rhetoric of mega-event boosters? That is, it is perhaps a sign that the moral panic about mega-events is having an impact" (p18).

8.2. OLYMPIC GAMES

Talbot and Carter (2018) began: "The Olympic Games

and other mega-events have had allegations of human rights abuses levelled at their organisers in recent decades, which are at odds with the Olympic rhetoric of peace and universalism. Through the militarisation of public space, forced removals, intimidation of political activists and police brutality, the world's premier sporting event has gained an embarrassing reputation for disregarding host populations" (p77).

These researchers concentrated on the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro, and on forced removals, and police violence in their participant observation with grassroots activist groups of the "Popular Committee for the World Cup and Olympics" ("Comite Popular da Copa e Olimpiadas").

The forced removals (evictions) related to a low income area ("favela") called Vila Autodromo, and the police violence concerned the military police in such areas.

Activists presented the evictions as a human rights issue, whereas the media did not use such language, while the opposite was the case for police violence.

"Grassroots protests over alleged denials of human rights or the suffering of abuse as a result of mega-events happening in their city are an increasingly prominent and common form of activism. The deployment of human rights discourses and the various claims made regarding potential violations are in many ways as competitive as the contests occurring within the athletic arenas during the Games. These competitions rest upon competing interpretations and assertions of what human rights are and the ways in which those rights are recognised and deployed. At stake here are a set of questions, some of which the very idea of human rights rest upon. The two points around which the question of rights is invoked are violence directed at citizens in the form of (un)lawful police violence and violence destroying citizens' property and denial of adequate housing. In each case, a central point to these discourses is the role of the Brazilian state in defining who is and is not a 'person'" (Talbot and Carter 2018 p78).

Suzuki et al (2018) also studied forced removals, but of the homeless people who lived in a park and local older residents on an estate (Kasumigaoka) where a stadium was to be reconstructed for the Olympics in Tokyo in 2020.

Suzuki et al (2018) outlined the issues involved in the forced removals: "Those who are evicted are often offered newly developed alternative sites to move to, which the local authorities would argue are 'adequately equipped' housing. However, often those sites are so remote from their original home that moving there would mean loss of social connections and economic

opportunities, and thus the 'standard of housing' in a broader sense cannot be maintained... On the other hand, it is rare for those who are evicted to be presented with an opportunity for 'genuine consultation' so that they could negotiate terms of moving, given the limitation of time in preparation for mega events... Thus, the evictees are not allowed to exert their autonomy in deciding what constitutes 'adequate' housing from their viewpoint" (p90).

The researchers were participant observers in counter-eviction activist groups, and interviewed key individuals.

Suzuki et al (2018) summed up the eviction process by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) and the experiences of the "victims": "Most of the affected people felt that the process was too hasty and lacked due respect for them. Those who resisted moving had to withstand coercive approaches by the government authorities. In reaction to the eviction notices, the homeless people in the Meiji Park negotiated hard with the authorities. Although the number of members gradually fell, the few who stayed eventually won the right to live in nearby parks. Among the residents of the Kasumigaoka estate, relatively new and young tenants left quickly, but the majority were elderly people who had lived there for several decades and thus were reluctant to leave. However, most of them did not visibly protest, and eventually moved to the new estates offered by TMG. They have struggled to adjust to the new environment, and many suffered from the deterioration of their health. A few residents stayed for another year, and eventually reached amicable settlements; however, they also suffered from severe psychological distress as well as deteriorating health" (p94). Table 8.1 gives a sample of comments by Kasumigoaka residents.

- 1. Pressure to move - "They came suddenly and told us to get out of where we had lived for so many years. They sounded as if there were no room for negotiation at all, because they were offering other places, it was decided by higher up by the national government, and Tokyo metropolitan government had already approved and all that. They totally ignored the opinions or requests of powerless people like us. I don't know what to do. I understand our circumstances change as time goes by. I know we've got to make compromises. But this eviction notice is beyond that. They are absolutely forcing us out. They never listen to the voices of poor and old, and we are robbed of our 'home'. And it is not natural disaster" (Anonymous questionnaire response; p92).

- 2. The negative consequences of moving - "Since we moved out, eight or nine (of the former Kasumigaoka residents) have died already. It's been less than one year. I don't think it is normal. OK, they were all in their eighties, but some of them were incredibly active before. But a few months after moving here, they passed away very quickly. My wife as well. She was fine before moving here. I feel that it was because of the heavy load of

moving. Packing everything and unpacking everything. It was really hard. She was saying that she wouldn't have survived, if she had moved. And it came true" ("Taro"; 94).

Table 8.1 - Examples of statements by Kasumigaoka residents.

8.3. NON-SPORTS MEGA-EVENTS

Lamond (2018) explored a non-sport mega-event, namely "2017 Sao Paulo Pride", which represented lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) individuals (and sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) issues). Lamond (2018) used a narrative auto-ethnographic approach - ie: reflecting upon his participation as an activist.

"Pride" events began as demonstrations for "gay rights" in the 1970s, but today in countries like Brazil with liberal LGBT laws, these events are more "celebrations". "However, corporate interests in the event have commodified dissent in order to commercialise 'otherness', and the city has absorbed the demonstration into its cultural offer as a global brand. The confluence of these factors produces a pattern of place dressing and erasure that depoliticise the event and undermines its capacity to effectively articulate human rights" (Lamond 2018 p37).

The "corporate interest" is seen in advertisements for the "big brands" along the route of Pride, and the wearing of "themed, branded, merchandise" by the participants. The "otherness" was colonised in rainbow-themed merchandise. More widely, the city authorities promoted Pride as a tourist event.

"The rapidity with which the street was dressed and undressed for the parade, with venues undergoing a process of expedited conversion into 'LGBT Friendly' spaces, the highly choreographed distribution of the corporate sponsors merchandising, and the swift clean-up following the tail of the procession, all suggest the Parade was less a form of disruption and more a matter of leisure transformed into routine" (Lamond 2018 p44).

Lamond (2018) noted the recent rise of "hate crimes" and conservative critics of LGBT rights in Brazil, and the difficulty of Pride articulating human rights. Ultimately, Lamond (2018) called for "new forms of Gay Pride disruption".

Russia has introduced laws recently that are anti-LGBT (eg: fining organisations that give "information" to "minors" about LGBT issues), and prior to the 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics, protesters both inside Russia and around the world had a "global speak out". Some protesters called for the boycotting of the Games, while others suggested using "the global stage of the Sochi Olympic

Games as a means to promote acts of resistance, which would presumably lead to progressive change" (Davidson and McDonald 2018 p65).

Davidson and McDonald (2018) pointed out these "'Olympic protest strategies' are not so straightforward as they might appear. They exist as part of a new global order comprised what Robert Meister (2011) calls Human Rights Discourse, which has ideologically shaped and permeated how aspects of Western civil society have seriously taken up the tenets of cosmopolitanism for the new millennium" (p65). Cosmopolitanism refers to the idea that "human beings are essentially similar and part of a global community" (Davidson and McDonald 2018 p65).

Douzinas (2007) argued that "human rights discourses are too frequently constituted within and enabled by a liberal cosmopolitanism that masks global imperialisms" (Davidson and McDonald 2018 p65). Furthermore, Meister (2011) saw a cosmopolitanism that "effectively glosses over – and renders almost unthinkable – local struggles against authoritarianism, for social justice, and to change systemic inequities. This gloss represents an effort to stop (revolutionary or other) violence, protect against cruelty and maintain (a supposed) humanitarian harmony for all people" (Davidson and McDonald 2018 p65).

Donnelly (2008) has argued that "the problematic associations of human rights and sport help to promote neo-colonial, Western ideals that displace and marginalise indigenous and alternative sporting forms. A focus on human rights within sporting spaces also helps to elevate individualism and promote the centrality of the individual, a status that in turn supports capitalism as normative. And yet Donnelly (2008) also acknowledges the contradictory state of human rights in action, arguing that the 'right to participate in sports, and the achievement of human rights through sports, come together in various human rights campaigns by specific' groups including women and racial minorities as well as people with disabilities. This state of affairs has allowed greater sporting opportunities for groups historically excluded from sport based upon gender, race, class, (dis)ability and sexuality" (Davidson and McDonald 2018 p66).

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9. PORNOGRAPHY CONTESTED

9.1. INTRODUCTION

Kendrick (1987/1996) stated that "pornography names an argument, not a thing". This fits with the binary in discourses of sexuality of "good" and "bad" sex. "In the modern Anglophone West, notions of 'good' sex grew out of emergent class structures of eighteenth-century industrialised modernity, whereby notions of respectability marked bourgeois sexuality as civilised and normative in relation to classed and raced 'others'... In contrast to bourgeois subjectivities, viewed as moral, restrained, civilized, decent, legitimate, worthy, self-controlled and self-determined, the 'massified' working classes and racialised others of the colonies were deemed pathological, deviant and potentially dangerous. Based on these raced and classed distinctions, 'bad sex' came to signify the out of control – the uncivilised and undisciplined – a form of sexuality attached and attributable to these raced and classed bodies" (Mulholland 2016 p35).

Poyner (2006) described "the normalisation of porn" as: "The casting aside of inhibitions has been under way since the 1960s. It was given a boost by the arrival of home video and with the coming of the World Wide Web in the 1990s the urge to strip away the final shreds of decorum became unstoppable. In the last few years, sexual images have thrust their way into the everyday public sphere. [...] [W]e are in the process of designing a pornotopia in which sex, or at least our dreams of sex, are allowed to permeate areas of life they should never have been permitted to enter until recently" (quoted in Dery 2007).

9.2. IS PORNOGRAPHY BAD FOR YOU?

Is pornography bad for you? Wilson (2016) observed: "While there is research into the effects of porn, a great deal of it is contradictory. Even the same studies are interpreted differently by those on opposing sides of the debate (appendix 9A). Some feel it is a menace to society [31], while others think that attitude belongs with 1980s hysteria over video nasties" (p20).

Among the many issues is the definition of pornography itself. A commonly used definition is "material predominantly sexually explicit and intended for purposes of sexual arousal" by the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986) in the USA (bridges et al 2010). Barron and Kimmel (2000) took a different approach - "any sexually explicit material to which access was limited, either by signs or physical structure, to adults" (quoted in Bridges et al 2010).

Here are some other examples of the contradictions.

1. Watching pornography a lot changes the brain:

a) Users have higher response to sexual cues

Voon et al (2014) found that individuals with compulsive sexual behaviour (CSB) had greater activation in certain areas of the brain (eg: amygdala) in response to sexually explicit cues than non-CSB individuals. Nineteen males with CSB were recruited via Internet-based advertisements and referrals from therapists, and nineteen healthy age-matched male volunteers were found in the East of England. All participants underwent functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) while watching short videos including sexually explicit material, erotic material, non-sexually exciting material (eg: sporting events), money videos, or neutral (landscapes).
CSB includes more than just pornography use, and this was a specific volunteer sample which limits generalisability. Establishing causality was not possible because it was a cross-sectional study.

b) Users have lower response to sexual cues

Prause et al (2015) recruited 122 US participants of

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[31] There are concerns over the "pornification" of society as seen in worries about the impact on children. "A 'new normal' is said to be emerging, whereby porn may lead to an 'anything goes' mentality, taking over the hearts, minds and behaviours of children who are exposed to 'too much, too soon' (Mulholland 2013)" (Mulholland 2016 p39).

both sexes who either reported problematic viewing of visual sexual stimuli (VSS) or not. They were shown images, including sexual ones while their electrical brain activity was measured (electroencephalography).

Problematic viewers had lower electrical activity in response to sexual images than non-sexual ones.

These participants were volunteers responding to advertisements about "problems regulating your viewing of sexual images", and never used sex addiction terminology, which may have influenced who volunteered (Prause et al 2015). Amount of time viewing pornography was self-reported only.

2. Impotence among young men is increasing due to pornography:

a) Yes

Park et al (2016) noted an increase in erectile dysfunction in men under forty years old from around one in 20 at the end of the 20th century to one in four, at the most, in Europe in recent years, for instance. These researchers linked this change to "alterations to the brain's motivational system" and "Internet pornography's unique properties (limitless novelty, potential for easy escalation to more extreme material, video format etc)" [32].

Park et al (2016) provided evidence with three clinical reports of US servicemen whose high use of pornography had led to erectile problems.

b) No

The National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles (Natsal-3) covered over 15 000 men and women aged 16-74 years in Britain surveyed in 2010-12. Mitchell et al (2016) concentrated on the 16-21 year-old participants (n = 1875 sexually active and 517 sexually inactive).

Around one-third of men reported a sexual functioning problems [33], and overall 8% had "difficulty getting/keeping an erection", of which less than half of

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[32] Pornography-induced erectile dysfunction (PIED) (Janssen and Bancroft 2007).

[33] "These were lacked interest in having sex, lacked enjoyment in sex, felt anxious during sex, felt physical pain as a result of sex, felt no excitement or arousal during sex, did not reach a climax (experience an orgasm) or took a long time to reach a climax despite feeling excited or aroused, reached climax (experienced an orgasm) more quickly than you would like, had an uncomfortably dry vagina (asked of women only), and had trouble getting or keeping an erection (asked of men only)" (Mitchell et al 2016 p423).

them reported distress over the problem (3.3% overall) [34]. "Reaching climax too quickly" was reported as more distressing.

In terms of comparable international studies, erectile difficulties were reported by 4% of sexually active 16-19 year-olds in Australia (Richters et al 2003), but 11% of 16-24 year-olds in Portugal (Quinta Gomes and Nobre 2013).

3. Negative effects of images seen.

a) Yes

Wery and Billieux (2016) surveyed 434 men in France about their online sexual activities (OSAs). Around two-thirds reported at least sometimes shame or guilt feelings with their OSAs. Overall, one-quarter of respondents had concerns about their OSAs.

Analysis of the responses to ninety-one items (divided into six sets of questions) produced three groupings - interactive OSAs (eg: looking for sexual contacts), education/information OSAs (eg: online advice), and solitary-arousal activities (ie: consuming pornography).

b) No

Hald and Malamuth (2008) asked 688 Danish male and female 18-30 year-olds to complete a number of questionnaires, including the Pornography Consumption Effect Scale.

The respondents reported "significantly larger positive than negative effects of pornography consumption" (p618) (eg: attitudes towards sex, sexual knowledge, attitudes towards opposite sex).

The researchers admitted that "biased optimism" may be involved. This is where individuals perceive themselves as less influenced by negative events than other people. There could also be "a response and attention bias whereby participants' desire for and arousal by pornography leads to negative effects of consumption being minimized or overlooked and positive effects maximized or emphasised" (Hald and Malamuth 2008 p621). Furthermore, the participants were "all from a very liberal cultural background where pornography is widely available and where attitudes toward pornography traditionally have not been negative" (Hald and Malamuth 2008 p622).

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[34] Note that this study made no link between use of pornography and sexual difficulties.

9.2.1. An Aside for a Middle Position

Smith and Luykx (2017) noted that the preoccupation with pro- or anti-pornography has meant that "little work has explored the way that pornography can be both repressive and freeing in the same instance, offering opportunities for excitement and titillation that may reify systemic oppression while also empowering marginalised subjects to disrupt these systems in unique ways" (p433).

Smith and Luykx (2017) concentrated on bondage, domination and sado-masochism (BDSM) pornography, which represents "extreme sexuality" (Wilkinson 2011), "such as acts of bondage, humiliation and condom-less sex, and its use of particular 'scenes', such as slave auctions or holocaust scenes, to elicit an erotic response from viewers" (p433) [35].

One "type" of BDSM is "race play", where racial epithets are used, and/or fantasy scenarios, like slave auctions. Smith and Luykx (2017) analysed one gay "race play" video, where three Black brothers captured, tied up, and sexually abused their White supremacist neighbours. After an analysis of the film, Smith and Luykx (2017) argued that the Black characters "reproduce racist tropes, sexist language and heteronormative behaviours in order to counter the oppression they face from the White supremacists and to access their own erotic pleasure in the racialised space where they reside" (p435).

Some authors, like Weiss (2012), have argued that "all sexual play is race play, including that which reinforces the White standard through colour-blind language and White racial logic. Racism is so normalised in our society that it often goes unrecognised; Whiteness is the de facto norm and only sex with racial minorities is considered 'raced' sex. This assumption, argues Weiss (2012), marginalises minority actors and reinforces White supremacy" (Smith and Luykx 2017 p434).

While Fanon (1952) saw "inter-racial sex" as "always centred on racial fetishism, resulting in the dehumanisation of Blacks; that desire for Blackness is always a racist response to White fears of Black

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[35] Jones (2016) noted the use of the label "extreme" often in a pejorative sense - "'extreme porn' is compared with non-extreme or 'normal' porn"... Labelling porn as 'extreme' feeds the perception that porn is 'bad', but moreover denotes that porn has 'gotten worse' in recent years... The comparison implied by labelling some porn as 'extreme' is a shorthand in which some images are marked as controversial or even unacceptable. However, the label a) reveals nothing about the content (it does not convey precisely what makes some porn 'extreme'), and b) only implicitly makes a comparison: extreme porn is presented as if it is a stand-alone sub-genre rather than a relational appraisal".   "Gonzo" is often categorised as "extreme porn", featuring "wall-to-wall sex, eschewing narrative contextualisation, and typically being shot from a performer's point-of-view" (Jones 2016).

sexuality; and that desiring Blackness is always tied to the painful past of racial exploitation" (Smith and Luykx 2017 p436).

McBride (2005) described pornography as presenting the stereotype of Black men as "men possessing exceptionally large penises... and, more often than not, men as sexual predators or aggressors" (quoted in Smith and Luykx 2017).

9.3. ANOTHER VIEW FOR 21ST CENTURY

Paasonen (2010) argued that "amateur porn" or "user-controlled content" is "a new type of pornography that transcends some of the feminist debates around coercion, objectification and the morality of pornography" (McCormack and Wignall 2017 p977).

The "negative effects paradigm" (McCormack and Wignall 2017) believes that "pornography transmits a script for sexual intercourse that is acquired through consumption of pornography, which then has an effect when the viewer applies it to their own sexual behaviour" (McCormack and Wignall 2017 p977). Rothman et al (2015) stated that the "ubiquity of pornography on the Internet and proliferation of Web sites where users post their own amateur videos may be increasing the likelihood that minors create [sexually explicit material], exploit sexual partners, disseminate sexually explicit images of underage peers, and pressure their dating partners to engage in sexual acts that could hurt or upset them" (quoted in McCormack and Wignall 2017).

One negative effect is "risky sex" (eg: anal sex; unprotected sex; sex with multiple partners). But recent studies do not find a relationship between exposure to pornography and risky sexual practices (eg: Luder et al 2011).

An alternative view is "leisure sex" (Attwood and Smith 2013) (appendix 9C), where sex is viewed as a form of leisure activity, and pornography as a form of entertainment (McCormack and Wignall 2017). This also suggests that pornography is consumed for a variety of reasons, including entertainment, education, and boredom (eg: Smith et al 2015; online survey of over 5000 young people) [36].

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[36] Preciado (2013) described the "frustrating satisfaction" of pornography: "pleasure-in-the-desubjectification-of-the-other/pleasure-in-the-desubjectification-of-theself: watching a subject that can't control the force of its sexual production (potential guadendi) and seeing it at the very moment it renounces that force, to the benefit of an all-powerful spectator (oneself, the person who is watching) who, in turn, and through the representation, sees him- or herself desubjectified, reduced to a masturbatory response. The one watching is pleasured by his or her own process of desubjectification"

In this context, McCormack and Wignall (2017) interviewed 35 young men with non-exclusive sexual orientation (self-identified as "mostly straight, bi or mostly gay") at an "elite university" in North-East USA. Twenty-one of them reported "watching pornography from a young age and explicitly stated it was not problematic, with several making reference to it being helpful" (McCormack and Wignall 2017 p982).

Concentrating on pornography consumption as a leisure activity, the analysis of the interviews was based on Stebbins' (1997) six characteristics of "casual leisure" [37] :

i) Immediately and intrinsically rewarding - eg: "I think the main reason is getting off. That's the end goal" ("Stuart") (p983).

ii) Relatively short-lived.

iii) Pleasurable - eg: "I'm going to find a good video and take a little more time with this and get some release and feel good about that" ("Rory") (p983).

iv) Sociable - watching together or talking about it.

v) Relieve boredom - eg: "I have watched porn and not dome anything, but I was really bored and thought, 'why not?' It was there" ("Luke") (pp983-984).

vi) Requires no special training.

Pornography was also described as educational in three ways:

• Exploring sexual desire
• Exploring new sexual identities
• As a means of understanding own sexual identity.

For example, "Marcus" ("bisexual leaning gay") explained: "I remember watching straight porn and I think that's when it started being 'I'm jealous of that girl' and progressing into 'I'm attracted to that guy'" (p984).

McCormack and Wignall (2017) concluded that pornography consumption "may have had positive outcomes for some participants. There is evidence that pornography

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(quoted in Gotkin 2017).
[37] (eg: eating drinking). The opposite is "serious leisure" (Stebbins 2001) that requires significant time and energy (eg: surfing, rock climbing).

consumption may have delayed first sex on occasion: a minority of participants explicitly stated that they watched pornography instead of having sex, while others called it a 'safe space' to explore their sexuality" (p987).

9.4. FEMINIST PORNOGRAPHY

"Feminist pornography" is a challenge to the traditional myths of "phoney, predictable porn for men" (Lust 2010). It attempts to counteract the mainstream pornography messages that "sex is shameful, naughty, dirty, scary, dangerous, or it's the domain of men, where other their desires and fantasies get fulfilled... Feminist porn creates its own iconography and is committed to depicting diversity in gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, sexuality, class, body size, ability and age" (Taormino 2013 quoted in Liberman 2015).

Feminist pornography has a role to play in female "sexual subjectivity", which is a "person's experience of herself as a sexual being who feels entitled to sexual pleasure and sexual safety, who makes active sexual choices, and who has an identity as a sexual being" (Tolman 2002 quoted in Liberman 2015).

Liberman (2015) explored feminist pornography through interviews with six producers and four performers, and in four focus groups with consumers [38].

Mainstream pornography was criticised for "the formula". For example, "Madeleine" (consumer) said: "It's really formulated and it follows this specific formula and it doesn't seem spontaneous at all. It's just like, we're going to do some oral sex, then some penetration and then, okay, we're done" (p179).

The concept of feminist in feminist pornography was seen in four ways - "equality, standing up for yourself as a woman, respect for other's individuality and identification, and proactivity/action" (Liberman 2015 p180). For producers, this meant a "sex-positive identity through their production practices and content" (Liberman 2015 p181). Taormino (2013) talked of "sexual role models who explicitly ask for what they want".

In terms of the consumers' reasons for watching, Liberman (2015) noted five themes - "to 'get off'; to explore and expose themselves to diverse sexual behaviour; as an instrument to assist with foreplay (sexual aid) with a partner; to get 'turned on'; and as a way to support feminist activity/activism" (p184).

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[38] McKee (2006) talked of "'a systematic "othering" of pornography consumers' in assuming that 'they cannot know themselves; they cannot speak for themselves; they must be represented'" (Gotkin 2017 p409),

Feminist pornography, Liberman (2015) argued, can be seen as a site or space where opposing discourses about sexuality meet. "On the one hand, pornography is a site of commodified bodies, filmic conventions, for-profit motivation, and historical discourses about sexual practice. On the other hand, feminist practices of pornography production involve actions toward improved labour conditions, depictions of safe sexual practice, representations of alternative (commodified) bodies, and ethical production practices. Both of these currents exist in the same mediated space but are bound as a set of relations that preserve the intelligibility of the pornographic form, while at the same time offering a recognisable intervention" (Liberman 2015 pp187-188).

Foucault (1986) called such a space, "heterotopia". But, Liberman (2015) warned, "feminist pornography is not a feminist utopia – it is not a perfect deconstruction of all the perceived harms found in mainstream pornography – and nor is it meant to be" (p188).

Jacobs (2004) talked of "network sexual agency": "Porn heterotopias cannot be seen as purely disembodied spaces, but rather as mediated spaces where porn users explore phenomenon and interact with each other's mental, physical and emotional journeys" (quoted in Liberman 2015).

There is an opportunity for feminist pornography – "So while feminist pornography consciously operates on the fringes of the mainstream pornography industry, and offers diverse sexual discourses, it is still subject to the logics of media power and industry. But like most other forms that contend with a similar conundrum – such as alternative journalism and independent filmmaking – it still offers possibilities for meaning, subjectivity, and reflexivity" (Liberman 2015 p188).

9.5. DAMAGED GOODS HYPOTHESIS

One of the aspects of pornography as harmful is for the performers (primarily the women). For example, 90% of top-selling adult films contained aggressive acts towards women, and most of the targeted women responded either neutrally or with pleasure (Bridges et al 2010; appendix 9B).

Female pornography stars are perceived more negatively than the average woman, but more positively than prostitutes (Polk and Cowan 1996). While Evans-DeCicco and Cowan (2001) found the perception of these women as victims of sexual and physical abuse. This is known as the "damaged goods hypothesis" (DGH) (Griffith et al 2013). Both studies found a relationship between negative views of pornography and negative attitudes towards its female participants (Griffith et al 2013).

What is the evidence for the DGH? There is limited research on pornography actresses, with personal stories and anecdotes, case studies, and small-scale qualitative studies dominating. The research provides both positive and negative evidence (Griffith et al 2013).

For example, Stoller's (1991) ethnographic study found support for the DGH (eg: in the form of childhood sexual abuse), while Abbott's (2000) interviews with thirty-one actresses found a variety of reasons for the choice of career, including money, fame and glamour, freedom and independence, opportunity, "being naughty" and challenging social norms, and having sex.

"The main obstacle in conducting research on individuals in the adult entertainment industry has been the extreme difficulty of gaining access to this population" (Griffith et al 2013 p622). There is no register of performers to use as a sampling frame, and the pornography industry is "a fairly closed community" to outsiders (Griffith et al 2013).

Griffith et al (2013) overcame these problems by convenience sampling at the Adult Industry Medical Healthcare Foundation in Los Angeles. One hundred and seventy-seven actresses were recruited along with a comparison group of age, ethnicity, and marital status-matched women recruited from university and community settings.

All the women completed a questionnaire that covered sexual behaviours and attitudes, self-esteem, quality of life, and alcohol and drug use.

There was no significant difference between the two groups in reporting childhood sexual abuse - 36% of actresses versus 29% of matched sample. There were significant differences in other aspects of sexual behaviour, with the actresses having first intercourse at an earlier age, more sexual partners in their private lives, and reported enjoying sex more, for instance. The actresses reported significantly higher self-esteem, and significantly higher ratings of aspects of quality of life. There were some differences on alcohol and drug use (eg: more actresses had alcohol problems and a wider range of drugs tried). the findings did not support the DGH.

Putting all the variables together, using discriminant analysis, Griffith et al (2013) distinguished thirteen key differences between the two groups that predicted group membership. These included age of first intercourse, sexual orientation (actresses more likely to be bisexual), number of lifetime and recent sexual partners, enjoyment of sex, and spirituality quality of life rating (actresses scored higher).

Both groups of participants were recruited by convenience sampling (ie: those available at the time of the study). It is not a representative sampling method.

There is also a risk of self-selection bias in terms of those who consent to participate.

9.6. DIY PORN

"Do-it-yourself (DIY) porn-makers" are producing "amateur pornography" for no or little financial reward. "Some are keeping it simple, using the video functions on their smartphones to record themselves masturbating or engaging in sex with a partner. Others are staging carefully constructed and elaborate scenes that borrow from the cinematic rhetoric of professional pornography" (Ruberg 2016 p147).

Ruberg (2016) commented: "The motivations of these amateur pornographers vary, whether they seek the thrill of public performance, the admiration of grateful viewers, or the satisfaction of expressing themselves sexually in a community that blurs the line between creators and consumers. It is safe to say, however, that most hope their videos will be widely viewed, positively reviewed, and broadly speaking valued by a subset of the millions of viewers who view videos on adult tube sites each day for free" (p148).

Jacobs (2007) talked of the DIYers as empowered by the opportunity to create adult content, particularly involving a wider range of body types, gender identities, and desires than seen in "traditional porn".

Ruberg (2016) offered words of caution, however: "The rise of digital DIY porn has brought with it a strand of sexual utopianism that risks perpetuating the stigmatisation of pornography and sex work. In this interpretation, the production and consumption of amateur pornography is cast as morally superior to the production and consumption of pornography for which performers are paid. Accordingly, tube sites are seen as democratising communities whose gift economies herald a less ethically questionable future for the circulation of adult content in the digital age" (p150).

McGlotten (2014) referred to professional gay pornography as uninspired films for the purpose of "arousing for profits", while amateur pornographers were presented as "joyful artists who reject the loathsome interests of capitalism and take charge of the politics of self-representation by creating pornography for pleasure rather than profit" (Ruberg 2016 p151).

Ruberg (2016) wanted to argue that "digital DIY porn-making" is online sexual labour - ie: "digital labour" that "doesn't feel, look, or smell like labour at all" (Scholz 2012), and can be compared to "Fandom" (eg: "fan fiction"). This is "created at no cost to the owner of the original intellectual property on which these works are based. As it stands, fan production is considered largely a labour of love. Yet affective fan

labour has real economic implications: it profits
intellectual property holders by expanding interest in
their properties" (Ruberg 2016 pp152-153).

The "DIY porn utopia" raises the following issues
for Ruberg (2016):

a) Idealising amateur online pornography "risks
rendering invisible the real economic conditions of the
labour that drives digital sex work. That is, it obscures
the actual capitalist forces that operate behind the
distribution of unpaid DIY porn, while at the same time
ignoring the work that is required to produce such videos
– especially successful ones. It is a mistake to assume
that DIY porn, or any form of user-generated content (no
matter how 'fun'), does not represent the product of
meaningful human labour" (Ruberg 2016 pp154-155). This
includes the "bodywork" of the performers (eg: shaving
genitals).

b) The fact that amateur pornography websites are
"big business" is often overlooked. "For some, the
incentive to upload unpaid adult content may truly be the
spirit of the gift economy: the sense that 'sharing is
caring', especially when it comes to sexual self-
expression. However, it would be naïve to imagine that
the ethics of the gift economy could be understood
outside the context of the advert-driven, intensely
capitalist framework on which this gift is structured"
(Ruberg 2016 p156).

c) The intersection with "paid sex work". "A
sizeable number of amateur porn videos show customers
engaging in sex with paid workers, many of who do not
appear to know that they are being recorded. It is
reasonable to guess that quite a few videos which do not
mention paid workers in their descriptions nonetheless
also feature sex workers. In these videos, the paradoxes
on which the fantasy of digital DIY porn is founded
become visible. Real labour has been performed and real
money has changed hands, yet this labour has also been
stripped of its value by being captured on film, uploaded
online, and circulated for free" (Ruberg 2016 p157).
I think this raises the important issue of the
consent of the participants in the DIY videos. There are
many individuals before the camera who clearly want to be
there, but there are others where the participation is
less and less chosen, through to full, enforced coercion
of "rapesection" videos. It should be noted that DIY
pornography includes a very wide variety of scenarios and
types etc.

9.7. REPRESENTING THE ORGASM

The experience of an orgasm "goes beyond that of a simple physiological reflex. It is highly symbolic, and much personal, interpersonal, socio-cultural, and socio-political importance has been accorded to it" (Segiun et al 2018 p348). In particular, the media representations of the orgasm will shape the individual's understanding and expectations.

van Doorn (2010) referred to a normative "pornoscript" [39] in his analysis of 100 "amateur" pornography videos, which involved "a prescriptive set of performances and camera shots" (Seguin et al 2018). The male orgasm was focused on ejaculation, whereas for women it was more problematic "because signs of female orgasm are not as clear or easily detectable as those of male orgasm. In the absence of obvious bodily indicators of orgasm in women, it is assumed that the women depicted in pornography aimed at heterosexual men are always orgasmic" (Seguin et al 2018 p349).

Seguin et al (2018) content analysed the fifty "most viewed" videos on a free pornography site in late 2015. Twenty female orgasms were observed, and moaning and facial contortions were the most common indicators, while ejaculation was the common indicator of 39 male orgasms. The women performed "orgasmic ecstasy by producing exaggerated bodily displays of pleasure through shaking, moaning, and screaming... The cultural anxiety surrounding the authenticity of female orgasm, coupled with the cultural notion of women's orgasms as proof of men's adequate work and technique... translates to the widespread phenomenon of orgasm simulation not only in pornography but also in everyday sexual encounters... Therefore, the present findings suggest that pornography perpetuates several cultural expectations regarding female orgasm and promotes its performativity to reduce anxiety regarding its authenticity and, by proxy, men's anxieties surrounding their own sexual performance" (Seguin et al 2018 p354).

The male orgasm signified the end of the sexual encounter in most cases, "which constructs "orgasm as the highest form of sexual enjoyment, the sole desired outcome of sex, and the only method of ending a sexual encounter" (Seguin et al 2018 p354).

Overall, Seguin et al (2018) felt that the videos "perpetuate unrealistic beliefs and expectations in relation to orgasm, notably female orgasm, and male sexual performance" (p355).

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[39] Based on Simon and Gagnon's (1986) sexual script theory - ie: "sexual scripts are culturally determined, create meaning, and enable individuals to interpret or understand their own and their partner's behaviour" (Seguin et al 2018 p349).

The representations of the female orgasm have to be seen in relation to "female sexual dysfunction", which Kleinplatz (2018) saw as "inextricably bound up with the history of sexology, female sexuality, and conceptions and diagnoses of male and female sexual problems" (pp2.2-2.3). She continued: "there is considerable debate about what constitutes a sexual dysfunction; what the correct reference points are for understanding sexuality in general and sexual difficulties in particular; what the correct reference points might be for distinguishing normal sexual function from sexual dysfunction; whether sexual dysfunctions exist outside of normative performance standards; whether or not we can understand female sexual dysfunctions at all, given that male sexuality has long been held as the standard for sexuality per se; whether there is such a thing as 'female sexual dysfunction' as a unitary entity versus 'female sexual dysfunctions' (just as there are 'male sexual dysfunctions' and no one would know what to make of the term 'male sexual dysfunction'); the extent to which objective signs versus subjective symptoms determine whether a dysfunction is present; the seriousness of the problems; who is to determine whether or not a woman is in need of treatment; what methods ought to be employed in the course of treatment; what ought to be the goals of treatment; and what outcome criteria — and determined by whom — would suggest that the treatment was successful" (Kleinplatz 2018 p2.3).

Kleinplatz (2018) provided a history of "female sexual dysfunction" beginning in the nineteenth century. In Victorian times, the woman, who was married, was required to constrain her own sexuality, and that of her husband (ie: to give him what he wanted). However, there was also the fear that men would become ill if there was too much ejaculation. In this period, "male and female sexuality came to be explained in terms of what was or was not natural; in turn, ideas of what was natural and normal came to be explained in terms of biological science..." (Kleinplatz 2018 p2.4).

Early psychiatry was grounded in this context, and from it came the idea that female psychological problems were the products of disturbances in the reproductive organs (eg: hysteria - "wandering womb").

The development of classification systems for mental disorders from the mid-twentieth century included sexual problems, which covered nymphomania to frigidity (ie: too much to too little sexual interest). Put simply, female sexuality had to be inbetween to be "normal; until the 1970s and the feminist challenge. The arguments over the "correct" way for women to "achieve" orgasm continued (eg: via vaginal intercourse or clitoral stimulation) (Kleinplatz 2018).

Since the 1990s, sexuality has become medicalised,

particularly with the appearance of Viagra. Kleinplatz
(2018) commented: "once Viagra became a pharmaceutical
blockbuster, the temptation to find a correspondingly
lucrative hit for the treatment of something in women
proved irresistible. It remained unclear, however, what
dysfunction or disorder pharmaceutical companies ought to
target. As such, their new catch-all target became the
amorphous 'female sexual dysfunction', or 'FSD'" (p2.17).

The 21st century has seen the growth of cosmetic
procedures, including "laser treatments for tightening of
vaginal tissues as well as labiaplasty to make one's
labia minora more symmetrical (though it is not clear
what sexual dysfunctions these procedures are intended to
treat); the 'O shot', an injection into the anterior
vaginal wall, intended to plump it up to increase
the likelihood of 'vaginal orgasms'..." (Kleinplatz 2018
pp2.20-2.21).

9.8. NO FAPPING

Taylor and Jackson (2018) were concerned, like other
scholars, to "position themselves somewhere in the
critical spaces beyond the limitations of the pro/anti-
pornography debate" (p622). This is seen in their study
of comments in 2014 by men on a sub-forum of Reddit
called "NoFap". The site concerned abstinence from
masturbation using pornography.
Taylor and Jackson (2018) distinguished three
prominent discourses about how men negotiated masculinity
in relation to pornography use:

i) "Realness and realisation" - Abstinence was seen
as a good thing because pornography use is secondary to
"real sex". One comment, for example: "what in the world
is masculine about jerking off to porn in front of a
screen? If you got caught you would feel rightfully
ashamed. There's nothing shameful about fucking a hot
young girl, you feel like the king of the jungle
afterwards that's what we are meant to do! Fuck girls.
Not jerk off like lonely losers to pixels on a screen"
(extract 1; p627).

ii) "Masculinity as innate" - Masculinity is
"heterosexual by default" was evident in the comments,
and this fitted with biological/evolutionary explanations
of gender differences.
For example, there was the suggestion that the
Internet (and pornography) is damaging the "natural
order", as in this comment: "In the old days (before
internet) it was always the man who approached women, and
courted them. Males often battle other males to show who
is dominant, and the female follows the alpha. Rarely has
it ever been that women chase the man. That makes no

sense. If you are truly masculine, then YOU go after the woman" (extract 9; p631).

iii) "Masculinity as performance" - At the same time, forum members struggled with the demands of being a "real alpha" male, and so the answer was to "strive to be a man". As this comment said: "I personally would sometimes make myself more timid to not offend somebody, or to appear nice, or something along those lines... But I am beginning to realise I am only hurting myself by not constantly striving to be masculine and increase my masculine nature. It will affect some people, but it's who I am at the core. So embrace your masculinity. For you and your (potential) lover" (extract 11; p632).

In concluding comments, Taylor and Jackson (2018) observed: "Whereas a website committed to the rejection of pornography might have been expected to be a site of 'progressive' or 'unconventional' expressions of masculinity aligning with anti-pornography feminist concerns, our research indicates that the members of NoFap cited in our analysis frequently utilised and redeployed familiar hegemonic masculine discourses" (p634).

Talking about the issue of "excessive" pornography use, the researchers argued that labels like "pathological" are unhelpful, and hide "fraught negotiations of how to perform and convey 'appropriate' sexual desires and how this conduct relates to idealised masculine behaviours. Our analysis highlights the struggle by forum members to gain (or regain) control over their masculinity, espousing self-control, self-actualisation, the rejection of feminist criticism, and the need for 'real sex' in order to justify their resistance to pornography use and masturbation" (Taylor and Jackson 2018 p635).

9.9. APPENDIX 9A - RAPELAY IN JAPAN

The debates about pornography have also surfaced in relation to "RapeLay", a 2006 Japanese adult computer game, where the player takes the role of a man who stalks and rapes three female members of a family (Galbraith 2017).
Galbraith (2017) reflected on the debates as to whether such a game "normalises sexual violence"; "debates that at times explicitly retread the ground of feminist critiques of pornography that swept North America from the late 1970s into the 1980s" (p106).

Nakasatomi (2009 quoted in Galbraith 2017) was the most critical in Japan, which he linked with the famous feminist phrase: "Pornography is the theory, and rape the

practice" (Galbraith 2017). Nakasatomi stated: "In the past, the concern of the majority of critics of pornography was that men who watch rape scenes in pornography will tend to emulate the experience as if it were a game and perpetrate rape in real life. Ironically, RapeLay has made rape in an actual 'game'. In fact, RapeLay stands for 'rape play'. RapeLay has made rape a recreational activity. RapeLay's aim is to make women sexual slaves by taming them through sexual assault. RapeLay tries to portray the male player as a tamer who is in a position of power and control over women. It is also important to note that inflicting rape and controlling the women in the game gives a sense of pleasure and entertainment to the male player and instils a rapist mind-set in him" (quoted in Galbraith 2017).

Gayle Rubin (eg: 2011) is representative of the critics of anti-pornography positions. In particular, she questions the link between pornography and sexual violence (as well as her concerns about censorship). Galbraith (2017) noted: "If we follow Rubin's lead, RapeLay - however distasteful the content - should not be a concern, because no one was harmed in the production of the cartoon images used in this adult computer game. Someone might act on a rape fantasy, which points us towards the imaginary or virtual sex crime, and targeting such crime impacts not only freedom of expression, but also freedom of imagination" (pp112-113).

So, are fantasies about rape as presented in "RapeLay", "harmless" or "harmful"?
Galbraith (2017) referred to Japanese feminist thinker Fujimoto Yukari (eg: 2015), who distinguished between fantasy and reality: "In the same way that BDSM [bondage, dominance, sado-masochism] is a form of play - sexual violence is not BDSM, right? - rape fantasies are fantasy. They are something cut off from reality. There are many people, men and women, who have rape fantasies, but that does not mean that they want to rape or be raped in real life. To have a sexual idea in one's head, thinking about sex, the direction of desire in one's mind, is not the same as actualising it, as a sex act. I think that it's absolutely separate. For me, it's so strange that people from North America don't make that distinction. Why? The things that you are thinking are not the same as the things that you want to do. Shouldn't that be clear?" (quoted in Galbraith 2017).

Among individuals who worked or studied Japanese adult comics, they tended to place "RapeLay" in that context. Some individuals even suggested a benefit for such comics, and games, and pornography: "There is no other country where pornography is as developed as Japan. In the entire world, Japan is where eroticism developed

most. Following from this, I think that this country has developed mechanisms to curb social unrest and stabilise society. [...] I surmise that the low rate of rape in Japan is due to Japan's rich culture of pornography. People who do not like pornography will say 'an inundation of porn' rather than a 'rich culture of pornography', but nations that have strict regulations concerning sexual expression and child pornography have higher rates of rape" (Kagami 2010 quoted in Galbraith 2017).

9.10. APPENDIX 9B - BRIDGES ET AL (2010)

Bridges et al (2010) observed: "The research community has focused largely on the effects of pornography consumption and, consequently, hotly contested debates have surfaced regarding whether all pornography or particular types of pornography are cause for alarm. In contrast to effects studies, comparatively few studies have attempted to systematically document the content patterns in pornographic materials, leading to some unsubstantiated claims regarding its nature" (p1066).

There is disagreement over whether violence and degradation are separate or a single concept (Bridges et al 2010). McKee (2005) preferred to use "objectification" [40] to cover dehumanising aspects of pornography, with violence as an element of this. For example, ejaculating on the woman's face could be an example of non-violent degradation, and Cowan and Campbell (1994) noted it in around one-third of inter-racial pornography they viewed.
Furthermore, violence "has proven to be a difficult concept to define... Typically, physical acts are necessary... to code something as violent, although verbal aggression is sometimes measured as a separate item in the analysis. Typically, definitions of violence include behaviours directed from one character to another that are intended to cause harm, with the recipient motivated to avoid such harm... However, such definitions require knowledge about perpetrator intentions and target motivations..." (Bridges et al 2010 p1067).
McKee (2005) placed the emphasis on "consent" in sex

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[40] Objectification is key within patriarchy. Enloe (2017) described patriarchy as "sustainable": "Patriarchy is everyday sexism, but it is more than everyday sexism. Patriarchy embraces misogyny, but relies on more than misogyny. Patriarchy produces gender inequality, but its consequences run deeper than gender inequality. Patriarchy is a system - a dynamic web - of particular ideas and relationships. Patriarchy can be updated and modernised. It is stunningly adaptable" (p42).
    Patriarchy continues both in its beliefs (ie: how the world works - eg: a "natural" ranking of the sexes), and values (ie: what is good and bad - eg: certain roles appropriate to a particular gender), and it appeals to men and women (Enloe 2017).

acts. "Thus, acts of bondage or domination/ discipline in consensual sado-masochism pornography scenes are not considered violent, even if the targets of these acts experience pain" (Bridges et al 2010 p1067).

The frequency of physical aggression in pornography videos has been estimated at between 2 to 30%, depending on the study and the definition of violence. For example, McKee (2005), whose estimate was low, defined violence as an act clearly intended to cause harm which met with resistance, but not where the act was enjoyed by the target or not resisted (Bridges et al 2010).

Bridges et al's (2010) content analysis attempted to overcome previous weaknesses. For example, the sample of videos viewed was based on the best-sellers provided by Adult Video News [41]. Fifty films were randomly chosen, and then 304 scenes samples.

Each scene was coded for different variables, including ejaculation position, sex acts, positive behaviours (eg: hugging, compliments), and aggression (verbal and physical). Physically aggressive acts were:

- (a) pushing or shoving;
- (b) biting;
- (c) pinching;
- (d) pulling hair;
- (e) spanking;
- (f) open-hand slapping;
- (g) gagging (defined as when an object or body part, eg: penis, hand, or sex toy, is inserted into a character's mouth, visibly obstructing breathing);
- (h) choking (when one character visibly places his or her hands around another character's throat with applied pressure);
- (i) threatening with weapon;
- (j) kicking;
- (k) closed-fist punching;
- (l) bondage or confining;
- (m) using weapons;
- (n) torturing, mutilating, or attempting murder.

They were coded as present or absent, as were the verbally aggressive acts (a) name calling/insulting, and (b) threats of physical harm. The gender of the perpetrator and target were recorded. The target's response to the aggression was coded as:

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[41] "Many critics of anti-pornography efforts have suggested that researchers pick out the most violent and aggressive videos available to alarm the public about potential harm or degrading adult video texts... By selecting top-renting and best-selling videos for analysis, we attempted to provide a picture of what is commonly consumed" (Bridges et al 2010 p1079).

- Target expresses pleasure or responds neutrally;

- Target expresses displeasure: perpetrator ignores;

- Target expresses displeasure: perpetrator acknowledges with kind act;

- Target expresses displeasure: perpetrator acknowledges with negative act.

Overall, 90% of scenes contained an aggressive act (compared to positive behaviours in 10% of scenes), with an average of 12 acts of verbal and physical aggression per scene [42] [43].

Men were targets of aggression in only 5% of acts. When women were targets of aggression, 95% responded with pleasure or neutrally.

"Portrayals of women expressing pleasure while being aggressed against have significant implications in terms of the effects of pornography on consumers. Social cognitive theory... suggests that whether an individual will model aggression learned from viewing a media text depends in large part on whether the act they observed was rewarded or punished. By extension, viewers of pornography are learning that aggression during a sexual encounter is pleasure-enhancing for both men and women. One may ask, what may be the social implication for this type of learning?" (Bridges et al 2010 p1081).

However, Bridges et al (2010) found no depictions of rape or scenes that perpetuated the "rape myth" (eg: that women enjoy rape). "It may be that consumers of pornography are, happily, on the whole uninterested in and unaroused by sexual dominance of unwilling women. However, what has taken its place has been sexual dominance of willing women — many of these same dominating behaviours were evident in these popular films but were met without resistance by women. This consensual depiction of aggression is concerning as we run the risk of rendering true aggression against women invisible..." (Bridges et al 2010 p1080).

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[42] Using a definition of aggression that required the target to avoid the harm (eg: McKee 2005) would give aggression in 12% of scenes. "However, by relying on definitions that emphasise consent, these previous studies are (perhaps inadvertently) complicit with naturalising the presence of violence and aggression. In other words, treating violence or aggression as contingent on target consent masks the real asymmetries of power that exist in pornography. This masking has allowed pro-pornography critics to argue that not only does violence or aggression not exist but also all agencies equivocal rather than distributed based on social and historical conditions" (Bridges et al 2010 p1079).

[43] There is some concern that "if aggressive behaviours are occasional and occur in the context of many positive behaviours, then their presence may be less of a concern. However, we found evidence for the opposite. Sexuality, as portrayed in these popular videos, was primarily aggressive and positive behaviours were the exception rather than the rule" (Bridges et al 2010 p1080).

Physical aggression in a scene was significantly predicted from the presence of verbal aggression, and of ass-to-mouth (ATM) sex acts. ATM was depicted in 41% of scenes, and Dines (2006) described it as humiliating for women, "who perform fellatio subsequent to the penis being inserted into an anus and, thus, may be contaminated with faeces" (Bridges et al 2010 p1080). This was part of "an important trend in pornographic videos: the increasing portrayal of sexual practices that are unusual and potentially harmful to women in real life (and to the actresses in pornography videos), such as double penetrations or what the pornography industry has termed ATM sequences" (Bridges et al 2010 p1080).

A difference between this study and others was the inclusion by Bridges et al (2010) of gagging as a form of aggression. Removal of gagging from the analysis would still leave physical aggression in around three-quarters of scenes.

9.11. APPENDIX 9C - LEISURE SEX AND OLDER ADULTS

Berdychevsky and Nimrod (2017) noted that "freely chosen sexual activity performed for its own sake, that is, in anticipation of satisfaction from the experience itself, can be understood as leisure" (p224). It is usually seen as casual leisure, according to Stebbins's (1997) distinction, but for individuals with a "swinging lifestyle", "sex is a hobbyist sub-culture and could be considered serious leisure" (Berdychevsky and Nimrod 2017 p224).

Berdychevsky and Nimrod (2017) investigated "leisure sex" among older adults. The researchers observed that "sex seems an ideal leisure activity for older adults in both Western and many non-Western societies. It is typically a familiar and rather safe activity that can be done indoors and usually does not involve costs and/or extensive physical effort. In addition, it is an activity that may provide older adults with many durable rewards, including physical health and psychological benefits" (Berdychevsky and Nimrod 2017 p226).

The Gendered Sexualities over the Life Course (GSLC) approach (Carpenter 2010) understands human sexuality over the lifespan based on a combination of factors (Berdychevsky and Nimrod 2017):

- Cultural and social - eg: social acceptability; gender expectations.
- Psychological - eg: emotions of a new romance; positive benefits of sexual activity.
- Biological - eg: health; physical sexual problems.

Specifically, for older adults, the GSLC approach

would include negative views of elderly sexuality (cultural and social factor), finding a new lover as a psychological "antidote to menopause" (psychological factor), and impotence (biological factor), for instance (Berdychevsky and Nimrod 2017).

Berdychevsky and Nimrod (2017) adopted the GSLC approach in "considering sex in later life as a leisure activity that involves an interplay between body, mind, and social context" (p228). These researchers analysed the postings on fourteen English language-based Internet chat sites for older adults (over 50s) [44]. From one year's worth of total postings, over 2500 posts (ie: less than 1% of the total) about sex-related matters were analysed. Three main themes were identified from the content analysis.

1. "Importance of sexuality in older adulthood" - For example, sex was described as "one of the things making life worth living" (p231), and as "part of spirituality. If we didn't have sex we would not be here" (p232). Other posts include "we are sexual until we drop", and "I could croak today and not feel at all cheated, but since I'm stuck here I might as well enjoy myself" (p232).

2. "Constraints limiting sexual function and expression" - eg: death of sexual partner; physical (dis)abilities; the ageing body's (un)attractiveness. Also "ageist stereotypical labels attached to their sexuality (eg: "old goats" or "cougars") serve as a policing mechanism pigeonholing older adults operating outside of society's norms" (Berdychevsky and Nimrod 2017 p233).

3. "Strategies to maintain sexuality despite limiting constraints" - eg: sexual experimentation - "Old dogs do learn new tricks (not that any of us are either old or dogs)"; "Experiment, try other positions. Even consult a sexpert"; "Don't worry; it only seems kinky the first time" (p235).

Berdychevsky and Nimrod (2017) commented on a hardly mentioned constraint - "Specifically, while the literature widely discussed social inhibitions, prudishness, ageist stereotypes, and religious taboos as factors negatively affecting sexual activity in later life..., this study also showed that the opposite — namely, liberal and accepting views of elders' sexuality

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[44] This is an online ethnographic approach known as "netnography" (Kozinets 2015) - "a method based on observations of technologically mediated communication in online networks and communities" (Berdychevsky and Nimrod 2017 p229).

— may also have a negative effect. Apparently, the overemphasis on sex in Western culture, as well as the 'active aging' academic and public discourse..., may become a constraint when one seeks some reduction in the frequency or intensity of sexual activity in later life" (p238).

Berdychevsky and Nimrod (2017) noted the following limitations about the method: "Clearly, there is a bias in this study toward focusing on elders who are inclined to use seniors' online communities and who are willing to discuss sex-related matters with other people. This group is relatively young (mean age of 64.7 years), healthy and educated..., and might be somewhat more open-minded, extroverted, and/or interested in sex than others. Hence, it is not necessarily representative of the seniors who do not fall in this category, whose sexual views and issues may be considerably different. Furthermore, the online communities examined in this study represent only contemporary Western culture. In addition, whereas we could somewhat deduct posters' gender and relationship status, the anonymity in the communities and the unobtrusive nature of the method applied prevented collecting additional information about them (eg: their age and past sexual history)" (p241).

9.12. REFERENCES

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