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Sexual Exploitation

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

Sexual exploitation (SE) "encompasses a broad spectrum of sexual abuse or sexual uses of persons, of all ages, through sexual objectification, sexual violence, pornography, prostitution, and sex trafficking; it includes 'any actual or attempted abuse of a position of vulnerability, differential power, or trust, for sexual purposes' [UN Secretariat 2013]. This broad definition unifies a range of issues including child sexual abuse, sexual extortion, cyber-based sexual abuse, and prostitution under a common umbrella of concern" (Thompson and Hughes 2017 p1) [1].

Thompson and Hughes (2017) argued that the different forms of SE are inter-related, and so a comprehensive response is required. While Hawkins (2017) quoted a speech from a director of the "Coalition Against Trafficking in Women" (CATW) in the USA: "Prostitution and sex trafficking are the same human rights catastrophe.. Both are part of a system of gender based domination that makes violence against women and girls profitable to a mind-boggling extreme. Both prey on women and girls made vulnerable by poverty, discrimination, and violence and leaves them traumatised, sick, and impoverished".

The National Centre on Sexual Exploitation (2017) made sixteen recommendations for the USA as part of the "Freedom from Sexploitation" agenda. These covered issues like:

- Laws (tables 1 and 2) [2], and research on pornography [3], particularly on the Internet.

- Address the demands for victims of sexual trafficking (ie: clients or patrons).

- The normalising (decriminalising) of "sex work" (appendix A).

- Anti-sexual assault training in organisations.

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[1] The International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimated that almost five million people had been sexually exploited globally in 2016, of which 99% were female, and 70% of forced victims came from Asia and the Pacific region (Tutty 2021).

[2] Trueman (2017) argued for the enforcement of obscenity laws as "a critical part of the overall strategy to halt the public health crisis of pornography and to curbing all sexual exploitation" (p5). He continued that, "if the Department of Justice refuses to prosecute then the community standard becomes, 'anything goes'. The porn industry understands this and will distribute any material, including the most extreme, into all areas" (Trueman 2017 p5).

[3] Pornography is used in the main to describe "heterosexual pornography".

- The Communications Decency Act (CDA) of 1996 in the USA
  protected Internet businesses from legal action over content
  uploaded by others, put simply. But Vardaman (2017) argued that
  child sex trafficking victims have no legal recourse against
  such companies even though they indirectly benefit from the
  trafficking. For example, a case in 2016 ("Jane Doe No.1 vs
  Backpage.com") was rejected under the CDA. "In this case, three
  child sex trafficking victims who were sold for sex on
  Backpage.com sought to hold Backpage.com civilly liable for
  their injuries, alleging that the company knowingly facilitated
  — and profited from — their exploitation" (Vardaman 2017 p2).

Table 1 - Communications Decency Act 1996.

- In 1973 the US Supreme Court set out a "three-prong test" to
  determine if material is obscene (known also as the "Miller
  test" after the case of "Miller vs California") (Trueman 2017):

  - Prurient interest
  - Patently offensive
  - Lacks serious value

Table 2 - Obscenity.

2. RELATIONSHIPS TO SEXUAL AGGRESSION

O'Bryant (2017) highlighted a link between the US
military and sexual exploitation. For example, the large
number of strip clubs in close proximity to army bases
(eg: fifteen in Fayetteville, North Carolina, population
200 000, but 50 000 troops at Fort Bragg Street; O'Bryant
2017).

Firstly, there is a link between the "boys will be
boys" culture in strip clubs and sexual assault within
the military service. "Strip clubs provide the perfect
learning environment for sexually toxic attitudes and
behaviours. Leering, jeering, sexual touching, and lap
dancing are every day occurrences in strip clubs
throughout the world. In 'VIP' rooms and back rooms, acts
of prostitution, sexual assaults, and sexual trafficking
are the norm. Military members cannot exploit and
objectify women in one environment without it having an
effect on other aspects of their lives, including their
military service and their relationships with their
sisters in arms" (O'Bryant 2017 p2).

Strip clubs as enabling points, and fuelling sex
trafficking is a wider link. O'Bryant (2017) quoted a
member of the FBI: "It's no secret that pimps and

traffickers will go to strip clubs to try to find girls to traffic and promote or compel into prostitution" (p3). Stripping has been called "a gateway into prostitution" (quoted in Hawkins 2017).

Returning to the US military, O'Bryant (2017) commented: "The bottom line is that the military's sexual assault crisis is not occurring in a vacuum. Consumption of sexual performances and commercial sex acts at strip clubs by U.S. military personnel instil the very notions of sexual privilege and entitlement that lead to sexual assault and creates the culture that enables sex trafficking" (p3).

2.1. Pornography

A meta-analysis of pornography exposure and sexual aggression (Wright et al 2016) noted that "the accumulated data leave little doubt that, on the average, individuals who consume pornography more frequently are more likely to hold attitudes conducive to sexual aggression and engage in actual acts of sexual aggression than individuals who do not consume pornography or who consume pornography less frequently" (quoted in National Centre on Sexual Exploitation 2017).

Both sexual harassment victimhood and perpetration has been linked to amount of pornography viewed by teenagers (eg: Bonino et al 2006).

Dines (2017) defined pornography as "the public health crisis of the Digital Age" (p2). She stated: "We are in the midst of a massive social experiment that is having a seismic impact on the sexual templates, behaviours, emotional well-being, and attitudes of youth. Never before have we brought up a generation of boys who are a click away from viewing free hardcore mainstream pornography or girls who are growing up in this pornified culture" (Dines 2017 p2). While Foubert (2017) noted that "the secret ingredient in the recipe of rape" is "high-speed Internet pornography", which is "responsible for giving young men the permission-giving beliefs that make rape so much more likely and telling young women they should like it" (p1). While Deem (2017) asserted: "Young people are coercing or manipulating their partners into doing things they are scared to do, or don't enjoy doing, because they have been conditioned by porn to believe it is pleasurable" (p4) (appendix B).

Foubert (2017) continued: "Today's Internet porn is nothing like your father's Playboy magazine. The end less

supply of novel images that can be clicked through in seconds have fused the concepts of sex and violence into the developing brains of today's pre-adolescents, adolescents, and young adults" (p1) (appendix C) [4].

For example, one study found that nearly half of a sample of US male students had first encountered pornography before 13 years old (Sun et al 2016). But it is as much about the content of pornography (eg: physical and verbal aggression) (Dines 2017). Also an association between self-reported exposure to pornography and risky sexual behaviours (eg: condomless sexual intercourse) (Smith et al 2016).

Not only the violence (eg: in 90% of scenes in popular pornography films; Bridges et al 2010), but that the women either like it or have no objection, and also the degrading acts (eg: multiple men ejaculating on a woman's face (Gorman et al 2010); the "normality" of oral sex leading to vomiting (Tyler 2010) [5]. The consequences include that "the very maps that nerve cells travel through the brain become rerouted as people use more and more pornography" (Foubert 2017 p2) [6].

However, Foubert (2017) "accepted that frequent pornography use by itself is not a singular, direct cause for sexual assault. However, if a man has other risk factors for committing sexual violence, for example hostile masculinity or a preference for impersonal sex, adding frequent pornography use makes it much more likely that he will commit sexual violence" (p4).

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[4] Jensen (2004) paraphrased the statement about pornography of a woman who worked with rape survivors: "It hurts to know that no matter who you are as a woman you can be reduced to a thing to be penetrated, and that men will buy movies about that, and that in many of those movies your humiliation will be the central theme. It hurts to know that so much of the pornography that men are buying fuses sexual desire with cruelty".

[5] In a survey of around 1500 men on a "porn recovery forum" in 2012, 56% reported that the pornography watched had become "increasingly extreme or deviant" (quoted in Deem 2017).

[6] Jensen (2004) was straight to the point: "Men spend $10 billion on pornography a year. 11,000 new pornographic films are made every year. And in those films, women are not people. In pornography, women are three holes and two hands. Women in pornography have no hopes and no dreams and no value apart from the friction those holes and hands can produce on a man's penis".

3. COMMERCIAL SEX

Thompson (2017a) stated: "The sex trade is a market principally for male consumption of female 'sexual services' [7]. There are, of course, prostitution markets for male consumption of male-and transgendered-provided sexual sex acts, as well as female consumers of male-and female-provided sex acts" (p1).

Thompson (2017a) outlined two primary views of the commercial sex trade (appendix D):

a) Advocates or pro-sex work - Thompson (2017a) summed up this thus: "1) that many women freely choose prostitution, 2) that prostitution should be viewed and respected as legitimate work, and 3) that it is a violation of a woman's civil rights to be denied the opportunity to support oneself as a 'sex worker'. This perspective accepts sex as a public commodity that can be purchased through contractual agreements for the exchange of sex acts in return for something of value" (p2).

What is important for advocates is the distinction between free, voluntary or non-coerced decision to perform sex work and coerced or forced prostitution. For those who choose to work in the industry, it is "the realisation of a woman's sexual autonomy and agency" (Thompson 2017a p2).

b) Abolitionists or anti-sex work - It is not possible for commercial sex work to be a mutual exchange by equals. Thompson (2017a) quoted herself: "The sex purchased in prostitution is ingrained with narcissism, self-indulgence, and utilitarianism. It is drenched in predation. At its core, prostitution is about acquiring that which is not freely given" (Thompson 2017b).

While, ex-prostitute, Moran (2013) likened prostitution to rape - "the sex bought in prostitution is the same type of sex stolen in rape, sex that is, as Kathleen Barry [1995] puts it: '... disembodied, enacted on the bodies of women who, for the men, do not exist as human beings, and the men are always in control'" (quoted in Thompson 2017a).

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[7] McKenzie (2017) emphasised the relationship between prostitution and sex trafficking: "The same men who buy women in prostitution also buy women who are sexually trafficked; there is not a market for women in prostitution and a separate one for sex trafficking victims" (p1). So, two questions, "What is the role of demand in prostitution?" and "What is the role of demand in sex trafficking?", have the same answer: "the men who pay to purchase sex fuel the demand for both prostitution and sex trafficking. They fuel the trade in human beings who are bought and sold for sex" (McKenzie 2017 p1).

Thompson (2017a) widened the argument, such that "other forms of commercial sex — pornography, stripping, webcamming etc — because they involve financial inducement to obtain sex acts are forms of prostitution, and ergo, forms sexual exploitation. Together the enterprises which purvey commercial sex to consumers constitute systems of organized sexual exploitation" (p4).

Commercial sex is just that, an industry. A "continuum of businesses" are involved from pornography production, strip clubs, brothels, to street-level prostitution (Thompson 2017a).

"Those profiting from this commerce in human beings sold for sex include not only those directly involved— such as sex traffickers (also referred to as pimps), strip club owners, brothel keepers, madams, and pornographers — but also a wide range of other parties such as the tourism industry, restaurant owners, taxi drivers, security firms, accountants, lawyers, doctors, advertisers, portions of the public health sector, Internet service providers, as well as local, regional, and national governments" (Thompson 2017a p5).

3.1. Cultural Factors and Human Trafficking

"Harmful traditional practices embodied in culture are among the causes of human trafficking among women and girls worldwide. Some of the harmful practices encouraged by culture towards women and girls include female genital mutilation; dowry and bride price; female infanticide; early marriage; wife battery; denial of inheritance to a female child; cosmetic mutilation; marriage by abduction or rape; virginity testing; and widowhood rituals... These practices demean the position of women and girls in different societies and some-times push them into human trafficking" (Magesa 2023 p2).

Magesa (2023) focused on such cultural practices and human trafficking in the Arusha region of Tanzania. Data were collected in a variety of ways including individual interviews and focus groups with female victims, and community members. The main interest was the attitude of respondents towards cultural factors known to increase human trafficking risk.

The vast majority of the respondents agreed that certain factors (eg: female genital mutilation; wife battering; son preference) influenced the trafficking of women and girls (table 3).

- 1. Heavy workload for women
- 2. Wife battering
- 3. Early/child marriages
- 4. Female genital mutilation
- 5. Gender-based violence

(Source: table 1 Magesa 2023)

Table 3 - Top five cultural factors based on respondents.

As one focus group participant put it: "I wish I could have only boys in my family, since having a daughter in our culture is bringing her to the world of torture, she will face a lot of gender discrimination including, lack of land, forced marriage, lack of education" (p6).
Table 4 lists some quotes from the interviews related to specific cultural factors.

- Female Genital Mutilation - "The night I was supposed to go to be mutilated, I could not sleep thinking of the pains I have to endure. I was 14 at that time, we were taught at school the dangers of the practice. My friend and I have planned to run to Monduli town where we could seek refuge and domestic work. We are originally from Emairete village which is about 3 hours walk to Monduli town. So, we escaped the harmful and painful rite and landed into this bar working as bar waiters" (p7).

- Polygamy - "I am from Singida, was married as a second wife when I was only 17 to an old man. After getting married I had my three kids, two boys and a girl. I went to VETA after my second child. Life was okay up to when my husband had to take in a third wife. He became very abusive to me. It was during this time when I decided to escape after I met a friend's aunty who lived in Arusha" (p9).

- Son Preference - "When I completed my primary education, I was forced to stay home while my young brothers continued with school. None of my brothers stayed at home after primary education, they continued with their secondary education. This is practised throughout the village, when girls complete primary education; they wait to get married not to be educated further. I had this dream of becoming a lawyer one day, so I had to run away to find work so I can further my education. Unfortunately, I have not succeeded in this, but one day I will" (p9).

- Wife Battery - "My dad is a drunkard, he constantly beat my mother and hurt her, and after beating my mother he beats us (the girls only) calling as bad name such as prostitutes and looser. He always swears that he will never take us to school,

due to that condition I decided to run away" (p10).

- Early Marriage - "In my years of working at this centre, I have received a lot of cases related to child marriage. But the one I will never forget is one where the victim escaped after getting married. She was 14 and from Loliondo; there she was married to a man old to be her father or grandfather. The man was above 60 years. After getting married she was sexually and physically abused, since she could not be pregnant. She escaped through the headmaster of a Christian school, and she was brought at my centre. We counselled her, and took her to school, but the husband with the help of the family traced and found out where she was, they attacked the centre, fortunately we saved her and took her to a boarding school far away. She is safe there" (pp11-12).

- Gender-Based Violence - "I was constantly beaten by my father, and after completing my primary education he refused to pay for my secondary education. When my neighbour came back to the village from town, she approached my mother and father for me to go back with her. They immediately accepted, and here I am working as a slave, with a very small salary and poor working environment. But this is better off when compared to my home's abusive environment" (p13).

Table 4 - Quotes about factors that influence human trafficking.

Superstition or religious beliefs can be behind sexual trafficking and enslavement, as in "ritual servitude, also known as trokosi in Ghana... where young virgin girls are sent to fetish shrines to atone for the supposed crimes of their family members. Such girls are enslaved and sexually abused under the pretence of preventing or stopping a communal disaster purportedly caused by the crimes of the girls' family members" (Owusu 2023 pp1-2).

On arrival at the shrine, there is an initiation rite in which the relatives offer the child as a "sacrifice" to the gods. "In most, if not all shrines, one of the trokosi's main obligations is ostensibly to 'marry' the gods, but the reality is that she 'marries' a fetish priest who is the proxy for the gods... The shrine slave must have sex with the priest after her first menstruation, and the priest continues to sexually abuse her whenever he wants... The girls are made to believe that as a person who stands in place of the gods, the priest's genital organ has been dedicated to the gods of the shrine; therefore, having sex with the fetish priest is, in a sense, having sex with the gods; hence, a sacred act" (Owusu 2023 p12). Any children born from this are viewed as property of the priest. The length of trokosi

is decided by the priest.

Botchway (2008) summarised the experience of the trokosi from interviews thus: "Imagine that you had a different childhood. You wake up on your eighth birthday and your family takes you to a remote village and leaves you with a strange man who does not take care of you financially or emotionally. Thus, your formal education stops at age eight. You are forced to clean and do daily chores for the man. When you reach puberty, one of your 'chores' will be having sex with this man. You might be released in three years, 20 years, or you may never be released. If you die before you are released, your family may have to send another child. If you are eventually released, you will have lost your innocence, youth, and possibly your sanity. You may have lost contact with your family. To top everything, you will have nowhere to live and no employable skills. When you ask why you were sent to live with the man, you are told it is because of something that someone else, probably a male relative, did over 700 years ago! No one knows exactly what happened, but you are still being punished for it — at age eight" (quoted in Owusu 2023).

Criticising the "logic" of the trokosi system, it "may encourage rather than discourage wrongdoings because the actual offenders know that they never have to be punished for their crimes or sins. Hence, the system promotes the very ills that apologists claim it is meant to prevent. As Botchway (2008...) questions, '[h]ow are criminals deterred when they can have a proxy serve their sentence?'" (Owusu 2023 p22).

4. BUTTERFLY LONGITUDINAL RESEARCH PROJECT

The "Chab Dai Coalition's" "Butterfly Longitudinal Research Project" (BLRP) followed 128 Cambodian child and adult survivors of sex trafficking, exploitation and abuse over ten years. This study was special "as despite the plethora of international research conducted with respect to sexual exploitation and trafficking, it is rare for studies to concentrate on any one country or to attempt longitudinal research examining how individuals fare over time, after having been provided services to assist their re-integration" (Tutty 2021 pp3-4).

It was a mixed method research project began in 2010. From 2011 to 2013 quantitative data were collected through quarterly surveys, and subsequently it became bi-annual qualitative interviews. The participants were recruited from sex trafficking after-care shelters

(provided by international non-governmental organisations; NGOs) for girls and boys, and young women (aged 12-30 years old) (Miles et al 2021).

Miles et al (2021) outlined the main findings from BLRP:

i) An opportunity for survivors to share experiences which would not have been shared otherwise, particularly for boys.

ii) The boys in after-care shelters experience bullying and violence there.

iii) Participation in the after-care programme unintentionally exposed individuals and their families to stigma.

iv) The stress of re/integration into the community, and often with limited opportunities. "It also came to light that the mothers and families of many participants who have been re/integrated into the communities wished them to be taken back by the NGO shelter programme. While with an NGO, the families know that their children are given the care and resources that they cannot provide due to the instability of their livelihoods. However noble the families' intentions, these sentiments, essentially wanting an NGO to raise their children, left the participants feeling unwanted at home" (Miles et al 2021 p14).

v) The after-care programmes did little to support the family of clients.

vi) Continued or re-exploitation (eg: 23 of 64 women in 2017) (table 5).

- Interviewing 64 survivors many times over eight years, DoCarmo et al (2021) explored re-exploitation. Around one-quarter experienced sex or labour re-exploitation after returning home.

- Poverty was central, "a necessary condition but is not sufficient for explaining re-exploitation on its own" (DoCarmo et al 2021 p1). This combined with not having a child, having debts, having to provide money for the family, low education, low social support, and physical and emotional violence.

- The combination of not having these factors was associated with absence of re-exploitation (except education). This suggests that "low education is a risk factor for re-exploitation, but

high education is not a contributing protective factor. Why? A possible explanation is that low education contributes to re-exploitation because it limits income and/or job prospects, but that the education survivors received at school or in assistance programmes is either not enough or is not the right type of education required to prevent re-exploitation (ie: training or education that results in a skilled job)" (DoCarmo et al 2021 p18).

Table 5 - Re-exploitation of survivors.

Davis et al (2021) focused on the male victims (n = 19 aged 10-17 years old). Interviews were undertaken between 2011 and 2016, and the findings covered after-care shelters, re/integration, and "life beyond". Eight vulnerability themes were found, including feelings of shame, antagonism with parents, physical violence, and poverty, while six resiliency themes included self-confidence, supportive family/carers, and economic stability.

In terms of time in the after-care shelter, physical violence was common. "One respondent, 11 years-old at the time, cited numerous experiences of violent fighting between his peers and mentioned one instance in which he was left bleeding. At one point, he ran away from the shelter because of the level of violence; a common solution among the boys in the shelter: 'I used to run away from the shelter because the other boys beat me. I was very angry'" (Davis et al 2021 p8). Also emotional violence (eg: discrimination; isolation) was reported.

Poverty was key during re/integration as respondents "mentioned pressure to find work and earn money to support their families, largely due to debt. This prevented many respondents from continuing their education and often became the reason for emotional and physical violence. In other cases, lack of finances in local communities drove their parents to migrate to Thailand for work, leaving the respondents without sustained care. One 12 year-old respondent often lived without parents or siblings upon reintegration because his relatives had all migrated for work" (Davis et al 2021 p11). Violence from families/carers, and peers/community members was also reported.

Overall, lack of emotional support, rigid gender norms, and "compound trauma" were crucial. The latter involves traumatic events on top of that of the trafficking (eg: poverty; family conflict). The gender issues are summed up in the statement: "a boy ought to be strong enough to protect himself from becoming a victim;

if he can't do that, then he'll never be a 'real man'"
(Davis et al 2021 p3).

Stigma and discrimination were explored with fifty-
six of the female participants of BLRP by Morrison et al
(2021). "The survivors contended with a diversity of
stigma throughout the longitudinal assessment" (Morrison
et al 2021 p9). Discrimination was experienced in the
form of emotional violence, social isolation from the
community and/or family, and physical and/or sexual
violence, for instance. One common coping mechanism was
"keeping the past a secret".
Morrison et al (2021) noted some key themes from the
qualitative data, including:

a) "Stigma consciousness and self-stigma" - Put
simply, an internalising of the stigma leading to
feelings of low value. For example, "Mealea" said: "... I
still think that my life has no value, sometimes I think
that I still have half value" (p14).

b) Persistence of sex work stigma - A traditional
Cambodian belief summarised as prostitutes cannot become
"respectable women" is the backdrop of the stigma.
"Mealea" described this experience: "My mother-in-law and
I always fight. I remember one time she cursed me and
called me a prostitute girl and later she called my
daughter the same name. When I heard what she said, it
was so painful... I cried, there was (so much) pain in my
heart and I almost could not walk. I wanted to kill
myself by hitting my head against the wall" (p16).

c) Stigma and marriageability - The women ending up
marrying anybody, as, "Tevy" explained, "there was no way
another man would ask to marry me" (p18).

d) Revictimisation - eg: intimate partner violence.

Involvement with after-care services was double-
edged - in providing support and help, but led to stigma
in different ways. "Tevy", however, showed the positive
side: "Frankly speaking, if the young girls have any
problems like me, I want them to be strong and calm. If
you have problems don't be too afraid. If you face any
problems, you have to be strong and struggle. When you
face that problem don't think that your life is over and
that you cannot improve it. Our life is longer than this
so don't finish it there or destroy it more and more. I
always think positive like that" (p25).

Some of the survivors were involved in court cases as complainants or witnesses. Morrissey et al (2021) interviewed thirty-two such individuals who were part of the BLRP, as well as others who did not have court experience.

"Fear was the predominant reason that individuals did not enter or continue proceeding with their legal cases. Intimidation tactics were common in every stage of the survivor's legal journeys, from heated police interrogations, traumatising cross-examination from defence attorneys, and threats from violent perpetrators. Individuals need to be protected from the adversities of being lied to, disrespected, blamed, shamed, unbelieved and threatened; all of which were experienced by this and other cohorts of survivors seeking legal justice in Cambodia" (Morrissey et al 2021 p20). Protection, in the many senses of the word, was key for survivors.

Support from NGOs, including information about court proceedings and empowering the individuals to make decisions, was also mentioned in the interviews.

In terms of what justice looked like, one respondent stated: "Justice is going to court! If we don't go to court as the victims, right or wrong cannot be determined at all. We always want the result that is rightful and we want the perpetrator to get punishment from his actions toward us" (p20).

4.1. Financial Anxiety

Smith-Brake et al (2021) investigated "economic filial piety", and "financial anxiety" among seventy-seven female BLRS participants. "Filial piety is the notion that children have obligations towards their parents; economic filial piety is the notion that these obligations are economic or financial in nature. Financial anxiety can be described as 'feeling anxious or worried about one's financial situation' (Archuleta et al 2013...). Financial anxiety is related to both economic stress, which refers to 'the pressures and strains that arise from a substantial income loss' (Elder and Caspi 1988...), and to chronic hardship and poverty" (Smith-Brake et al 2021 p2).

The following themes emerged from the surveys and interviews:

i) Feelings of responsibility - Participants reported actual and perceived responsibility for their

family. One woman said: "I feel responsible to my family. When I worry or have problems. I do not know who I should talk to" (p6).

This led some women (10% of the sample) "disclosing that they had no regrets about their past (eg: working in the sex industry, being sold into sexual exploitation) because they saw it as a sacrifice for their family" (Smith-Brake et al 2021 p7).

The "obligation" was associated with words like "heavy", "burden", and "difficult". Few respondents offered positive comments about family responsibilities.

ii) Financial anxiety - Over their individual debt, and that of the family, as well as money to live now. "At some point, approximately half of the survivors were worried or fearful with respect to money, and nearly half did not earn enough to pay their own expenses. This did not improve over time but was a constant worry throughout the study period. Financial anxiety was not only externally motivated, but female survivors, especially, put considerable pressure on themselves to be good daughters, and good women. Trafficking survivors continually negotiated the balance between their own agency and their perceived and real need to sacrifice their own goals for the sake of their family" (Smith-Brake et al 2021 p10).

4.2. Social Determinants of Health

Poverty, financial anxiety, and stigma as well as other problems can be classed as "social determinants of health" (SDH). SDH are "the non-medical yet health-affecting conditions of a person's life. They include such considerations as working conditions, discrimination, and access to health services" (Havey et al 2021 p1).

Havey et al (2021) reported on the six-year study of SDH with 52 BLRS participants. "For some, their socio-economic position improved, but for most it remained the same or deteriorated. Principally, sex trafficking added to the lower social position of this cohort of survivors... Some found challenges to access even basic human needs. Survivors in rural communities were hard pressed to access food regularly, and others in more urban settings lived in makeshift housing in dangerous contexts without access to clean water" (Havey et al 2021 p24).

An inadequate healthcare system was a particular

challenge for survivors, as it was for the whole population. "Survivors routinely found themselves paying for the services of healthcare professionals and buying medicines from pharmacies, with one individual who was described to be healthy reporting to have visited a doctor over 20 times in a six-month period. Basic self-care of health needs was often lacking among the cohort, particularly understanding sexually healthy practices and modes of contraception" (Havey et al 2021 p25).

Havey et al (2021) summed up: "Participants described myriad social determinants of health, including: gender, age, relationship status (marriage), ethnicity, national identification documentation (statelessness), social class, formal education, vocational training, occupation, and monthly income. The negative impacts of these social determinants of health included: poor access to basic needs of food and clean water, unstable housing, low education rates, worsening physical health, depression, and suicidal ideation, along with long unresolved STI [sexually transmitted infection]-like symptoms" (p1).

5. HENTAI

"Hentai" was the most popular search term on "Pornhub" in 2022 (Dines and Sanchez 2023). "The term is an English loanword from a Japanese phrase that, in the early 20th century, came to mean sexual perversion. In the West today, hentai refers to pornified renditions of anime, the distinctive, colourful, action-packed style of Japanese animation much beloved by kids everywhere. The characters in hentai typically look like kids, except for their enlarged breasts and genitals — that and the fact that they are typically entangled in brutal, often monstrous sex. The latter is true since a common theme in hentai is a grotesque creature penetrating a girl with an enormous phallus or tentacle" (Dines and Sanchez 2023 p1).

The British Board of Film Classification (BBFC) in a 2022 report described hentai as promoting "an interest in abusive relationships" (quoted in Dines and Sanchez 2023). While Dines and Sanchez (2023) reported "googling" "hentai incest" in January 2023 and returning 5.4 million hits.

Dines and Sanchez (2023) saw hentai as part of the "pornification of childhood", and they noted four issues:

i) Hentai "effectively grooms men into seeing

children as legitimate sexual targets" (Dines and Sanchez 2023 p3). Wood (2013) stated that "clinical experience and now research evidence are accumulating to suggest that the Internet is not simply drawing attention to those with existing paedophilic interests but is contributing to the crystallisation of those interests in people [really, men] with no explicit prior sexual interest in children" (quoted in Dines and Sanchez 2023). Steel et al (2021) reported that adults who collected sexual images of real children view more hentai than non-offenders.

ii) The mental, sexual, and physical health risk to young people from "hentai and all pornography" (Dines and Sanchez 2023 p3).

iii) Hentai "seemingly grooms children into becoming adult consumers of porn" (Dines and Sanchez 2023 p4).

iv) Hentai, along with much pornography, includes "legally defined criminal acts of sexual violence" (Dines and Sanchez 2023 p4).

Dines and Sanchez (2023) advocated a three-pronged response - age verification legislation for porn sites, civil lawsuits against porn websites and their owners, and make sex education relevant to those living in a "porn-saturated culture".

6. A DIFFERENT VIEW

6.1. OnlyFans

Sex work has many forms, including online (eg: webcam performances) [8], of which "OnlyFans" is a popular site, particularly since the covid-19 pandemic. This is a subscription-based site for livestreaming performers who receive communications from fans (sometimes called a "pay-per-view" model).

Technically, OnlyFans is not a porn site, but the adult content has gained most attention. "In August 2021, OnlyFans briefly announced it would be banning all sexually explicit content in response to pressure from banks and financial institutions..., although the company swiftly backtracked on this... While this was arguably the highest profile example of an adult-content site

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[8] Online sex work is not without stigma, though in the "whorearchy" it is viewed as more "credible" than prostitution (Easterbrook-Smith 2023) (appendix E).

being affected by banking discrimination..."
(Easterbrook-Smith 2023 p253).

Easterbrook-Smith (2023) focused on online sex work as "a kind of gig- or platform- economy work": "Online sex work may provide performers with earning opportunities not afforded by studio-produced pornography, particularly those who are discriminated against in the hiring practices and payment models of conventional sex industry businesses, such as performers who are Black and/or transgender... Meanwhile, gig-economy work carries some benefits for workers, namely flexibility and the assumed ability to supplement other income..., but also places workers in a position of taking on risks and costs which would traditionally have been taken on by an employer" (p253). Generally, the concept of gig-economy refers to insecure work, often short-term and piecemeal with few labour rights and benefits.

Bleakley (2014) presented webcam performances as an opportunity for entrepreneurialism, while Ruberg (2016) outlined the perception that free content ("digital DIY porn") is more ethical, so "risked reinforcing existing stigmas about for-profit pornography production" (Easterbrook-Smith 2023 p258).

However, the "producer control" of OnlyFans content can be marketed as authentic, while platforms in the gig-economy generally emphasise the "be your own boss" (eg: "Uber"). "In the case of content sites, as with Uber, the degree of control which performers have over when and how they work, and their rates of pay, is often not as great as the platforms sometimes claim. Online content platforms have terms of service which dictate what kinds of content can and cannot be sold" (Easterbrook-Smith 2023 p262).

The level of control of content producers and performers is constrained. Easterbrook-Smith (2023) noted that "the role that platforms play bears some similarities to that of managers or bosses. They profit from the labour of the workers – OnlyFans takes a 20% cut of sales through the platform, and other content sites take even higher percentages, with Clips4sale and Manyvids taking 40%, for example, while some live-cam sites take over 50%" (p263).

The reality of the gig-economy is different to its presentation by the platforms in many ways. "Similar to complaints that an over-saturation of Uber drivers limited the ability of workers to earn the promised livable wages..., and that operators in brothels or dungeons tend to overstate potential earnings and over-

staff their shifts..., while OnlyFans attracted media
attention through profiles of a few atypically high-
earning models, the majority of performers earned much
less, finding the market highly saturated and
competitive, and the hours required draining"
(Easterbrook-Smith 2023 p263).

6.2. Age of Sexual Consent

In the UK, the age of consent for sexual activity
for both men and women is sixteen years old. In other
European countries, 14 or 15 years old is quite common
(Graham 2018).
Graham (2018) argued for a lowering of the age of
sexual consent in the UK to fourteen years old. He
considered the arguments against and for it, including:

i) Lowering the age might encourage younger
individuals to engage in sexual activity. But the law
does not appear to be important as surveys in 2010 and
2012 found that nearly one-third of males and just below
30% of females had sexual intercourse before sixteen
years old. "Fifty years previously, this had been the
case for 15% of males and 4% of females. There had been
no change in the law in relation to heterosexual
intercourse in the interim" (Graham 2018 p163).

ii) The physical immaturity of girls at fourteen
years old. But the average age of menarche is twelve
years and eleven months, and so "the great majority of
girls of 14 years are indeed sufficiently physically
mature to engage in full sexual activity" (Graham 2018
p163).

iii) Cognitive and emotional immaturity. This is
great variety between individuals at fourteen years old,
and many are able to make decisions on a par with older
adolescents (Graham 2018).

iv) "Lowering the age of sexual consent would result
in the decriminalisation of just under one-third of the
adolescent population. Most such law-breakers are not
currently prosecuted, but it cannot be right that their
freely given sexual consent is deemed illegal" (Graham
2018 p163).

v) "Lowering the age of sexual consent would make it
distinctly easier for appropriate sex education to be

provided to children and young people to enable them to make wiser decisions. It would also make it easier to provide sexual health services to people of
this age without the fear of conniving in illegal activity" (Graham 2018 p163). However, the provision of sex education is a separate issue.

6.3. Sexting

"Sexting" is "the sending of self-made sexually explicit images" (van Ouytsel and Dhoest 2022 p1) [9]. It is a common behaviour among adolescents and young adults (eg: nearly half of 18-29 year-olds engaged in reciprocal sexting; Mori et al 2020). "Sexting images can be exchanged to flirt, as a form of sexual foreplay and within the context of (online) dating. Within long-term romantic relationships, sexting can be used as a form of relationship maintenance and to express intimacy" (van Ouytsel and Dhoest 2022 p1).

The misuse of such images (eg: "sextortion" - extortion for money, for example) is a concern, along with release to the public, pressure to send images when unwilling, and unsolicited images ("dick pics") (van Ouytsel and Dhoest 2022).

Most of the research on sexting has been with young, heterosexual samples. van Ouytsel and Dhoest (2022) wanted to rectify this weakness by including a wide age range of "non-heterosexual" men. A sample was recruited online in Belgium (n = 684). The survey was about media use generally, and included three questions about sexting - sending; being recognisable in the images; and recipients. Eighty participants agreed to indepth interviews.

Overall, two-thirds of the sample had engaged in sexting in the past year, but those involved declined with age (eg: 43% of over 60s vs 71% of 16-25 year-olds) (figure 1). The vast majority of images included unrecognisable individuals (85%) (with small variations based on age). "Gen X" participants (born 1965-1980) were most likely to send recognisable images. Most commonly, sexts were sent to "someone they met on a dating app but never met in real life" (similar for all ages).

The indepth interviews showed the normality of sexting today. "Most participants did sext, but they generally remained cautious, for instance by not sharing

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[9] Vendemia and Coduto (2022) used the general term "online sexual activities" to cover: "partnered-arousal activities" (eg: sexting), "solo-arousal activities" (eg: pornography), and "non-arousal activities" (eg: reading about sexual health).

their face and genitals in the same picture, but also by getting to know the person better before sharing pictures or by asking for reciprocity during live webcam contacts. 'Nelson' (born 1984): 'It's not that I was consciously thinking about cutting off my head from pictures. But I do know that during live cam, both had to be on camera or nothing happened. Or, in all digital contacts, I first talk to people, to know who they are'. Like several participants, 'Nelson' talked about the creation of mutual trust on dating apps: 'We're all here and we all do it and we're careful'" (van Ouytsel and Dhoest 2022 p5).
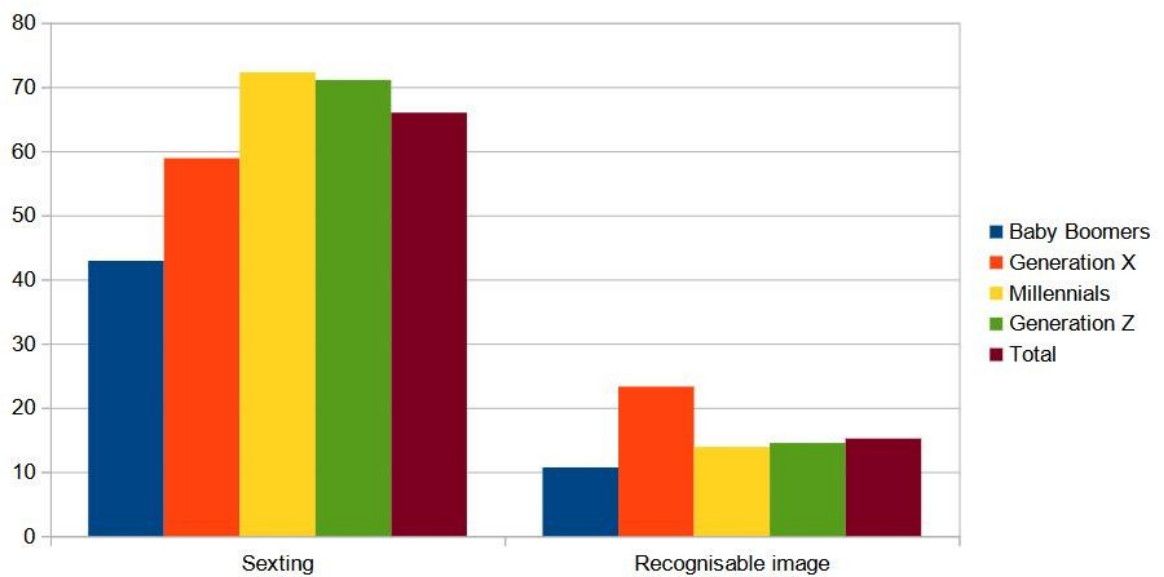
("Baby Boomers" = born 1949-1964; "Generation X" = born 1965-1980; "Millennials" = born 1981-1996; "Generation Z" = born 1997-2012)

(Data from table 2 van Ouytsel and Dhoest 2022)

Figure 1 - Percentages reporting sexting in previous year, and sending recognisable images, based on four age categories.

The sample was online volunteers, which is a potential bias. "For example, individuals who are 'out' or have a particular interest in media use or research participation could have been more likely to participate than others" (van Ouytsel and Dhoest 2022 p6). The questions about sexting in the survey were limited, and the survey took place during the covid-19 pandemic. van Ouytsel and Dhoest (2022) commented: "Although our respondents reported on experiences from both before as

well as during the pandemic, it is possible that the pandemic and loss of offline social outlets may have affected our participants' engagement in sexting and other digital forms of remote sex" (p6).

This was the concluding paragraph of van Ouytsel and Dhoest (2022): "Our study found that sexting is relatively common among non-heterosexual adult men of all generations and that most regard the practice as unproblematic. Sexting appears to be a normative form of sexual communication within non-heterosexual men's dating and sexual relationships and most sexting occurs within an online dating context. It appears that the participants were aware of the potential risks associated with sexting and that the respondents protected themselves by sending images in which they were unrecognisable, thereby ensuring their safety and anonymity in online spaces" (p7).

Sexting during the covid-19 pandemic and lockdown was studied by Maes and Vandenbosch (2022) A sample of 1152 adolescents (12-18 years old) at sixteen different schools in Belgium was randomly survey in early June 2020 (following a lockdown period of 18th March to 18th May). Measures taken included relationship status, and sexting behaviour (table 6).

- 1. Sent text message about sex.
- 2. Sent picture/video or had video conversation in underwear/swimwear.
- 3. Sent picture/video or had video conversation in which private body parts could be seen.
- 4. Sent picture/video or had video conversation in which doing something sexual (eg: pleasuring self sexually).

Each type rated for frequency on a seven-point scale:
- Never (1)
- Low - once per month (2) or several times a month (3)
- Middle - once per week (4) or several times per week (5)
- High - daily (6) or several times per day (7).

Table 6 - Four types of sexting behaviour measured by Maes and Vandenbosch (2022).

The motivation for sexting was also measured:

- Arousal (eg: "To gratify myself sexually")
- Intimacy need (eg: "To feel more connected to that person")
- Affirmative need (eg: "To get a feeling of

confirmation that I have a boyfriend/girlfriend")
- Partner pressure (eg: "Because the other person was pressing me")
- Peer approval (eg: "Because my friends would think I'm cool if I did it")
- Body acceptance need (eg: "To accept my body")
- Boredom regulation need (eg: "To pass the time")
- Loneliness regulation (eg: "To feel less alone")
- Stress regulation (eg: "To relax")

Overall, 41% of the sample had engaged in at least one type of sexting behaviour during the lockdown period. The most common was type 1 (text message about sex) (figure 2). The most reported motivation was arousal, followed by intimacy need, and stress regulation (table 7). Note that 80% of the sample reported being single.
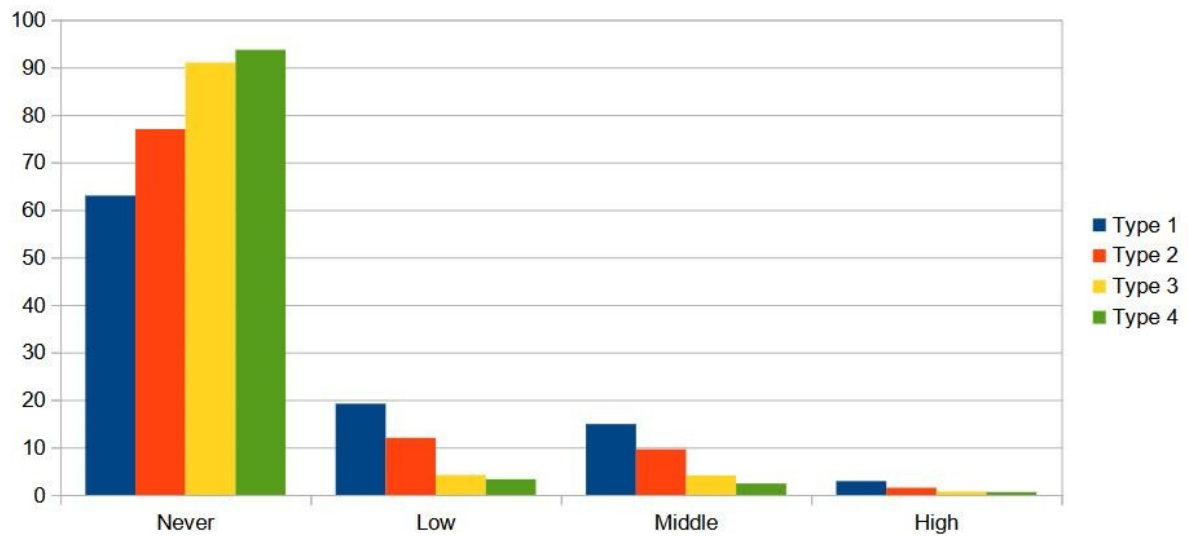
(Data from table 2 Maes and Vandenbosch 2022)(see table above for categories)

Figure 2 - Frequency of four types of sexting behaviour (%).

- 1. Arousal (3.80)
- 2. Intimacy need (3.30)
- 3. Stress regulation (3.27)
- 4. Boredom regulation need (3.02)
- 5. Body acceptance need (2.97)

(Based on table 1 Maes and Vandenbosch 2022)

Table 7 - Top five motivations reported for sexting found

by Maes and Vandenbosch (2022) (mean score out of 7).

Other studies in Belgium prior to the pandemic reported prevalence rates of sexting of 6% of younger adolescents and 15% of 15-18 year-olds (Maes and Vandenbosch 2022). So, lockdown increased sexting behaviour to compensate for lack of physical contact. The researchers voiced some caution with this conclusion as there were no pre- or post-pandemic measures for this sample.

The vast majority of the respondents were heterosexual, and "the sexting experiences of sexual minority youth may differ from those who identify as heterosexual, especially during lockdown periods. LGBTQ + [lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer] youth is a higher risk for cyberbullying and online sexual coercion" (Maes and Vandenbosch 2022 p10).

The researchers commented on their study of motivations for sexting: "In the current study, we specifically focused on needs that, according to the literature..., are believed to be especially intensified during a lockdown period and, also, that are especially relevant in the context of adolescence and sexting. Yet, during a lockdown period, other needs and gratifications sought for sexting may have been intensified as well. For example, a need for autonomy or the need for thrill also may have been more articulated and may have been gratified via sexting" (Maes and Vandenbosch 2022 p10).

The data were self-reported, and cross-sectional.

APPENDIX A - DECRIMINALISING PROSTITUTION

Bien-Aime (2017) outlined three models for a legal framework around prostitution, particularly in reference to sex trafficking:

i) Full criminalisation (prohibitionism model) - All aspects of prostitution are criminalised (ie: buyers, sellers, and facilitators). "Full criminalisation of prostitution fails to recognise the vulnerabilities of prostituted individuals and punishes them for their exploitation at the hands of traffickers and pimps" (Bien-Aime 2017 p2).

ii) Full legalisation (decriminalisation model) - All aspects of buying and selling sex is legal. Bien-Aime argued that this approach, in the limited countries that have adopted it (eg: Netherlands; Germany), leads to increased SE and trafficking.

iii) Demand-focused (equality model) - Prostitutes are decriminalised and supported by comprehensive services, while the buyers are criminalised. This would reduce demand, including for sex trafficked individuals.

APPENDIX B - INTERNET PORNOGRAPHY AND YOUNG PEOPLE

Healy-Cullen et al (2022) described Internet pornography (IP) as "a significant part of the contemporary bricolage of cultural resources available for young people to learn about sex, construct sexual identities, and navigate sexual experiences, desires, relationships, and practices" (p445).

This is concerning for many, and studies have sought to establish the negative effects, but these assumed that "'exposure' to IP is inherently and inevitably harmful to young people" (Healy-Cullen et al 2022 p446). It is important to understand how young people make sense of IP in the context of the real world, argued Healy-Cullen et al (2022). For example, to understand "sexual sense-making as an ongoing process that is active, relational, and enmeshed in the power relations that are (re)produced in cultural conceptions of sexuality" (Healy-Cullen et al 2022 p446).

Sexual scripting theory (Simon and Gagnon 1986) can be useful here. Sexual scripts are "culturally familiar, established ways of speaking about sex within a particular context" (Morison et al 2022 quoted in Healy-Cullen et al 2022). A dominant heterosexual script, for example, is that "men are 'naturally' more sexually voracious than women" (Healy-Cullen et al 2022 p446).

Healy-Cullen et al (2022) investigated IP and sexual scripts with students (16-18 years old), educators, and parents in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. Twenty-four semi-structured interviews covered topics like defining IP, why young people watch it, and issues including, "Why is it so taboo for females to watch porn but considered 'normal' for males?" (p450).

Analysis of the transcripts of the interviews produced two ways of talking about the common sexual scripts and IP:

i) "Risk-talk" - "Risk talk constructs young people's engagement with IP as invariably bearing negative consequences. This talk was predominantly informed by a script of harm, which intersects

with familiar and powerful scripts about young people's sexual development. Participants positioned youth as innocent children susceptible to harm on account of being unable to be discerning of IP, and this construction of risk was gendered" (Healy-Cullen et al 2022 p451).

Phrases like the Internet "taking their innocence away" (p451) was used by parents, and the need to "protect our children" (p451). One mother ("Ava") worried about young people imitating what they have seen as they don't know any different.

Males watching IP was assumed as "'normal' masculine development and even a 'rite of passage'" ("Liane"; student; p452). But fear of addiction was a worry.

"Ava" voiced the specific concerns for girls/women: "I read an article about some of the stuff that it [IP] does... You know that it has already affected, you know like, with just, like, expecting woman to be shaved all the time and to have anal sex and, you know, things that they might not necessarily be comfortable with, and just to think of it as a real norm" (p454).

ii) "Resistant talk" - "Resistant talk captures instances of resistance to the construction of youth as vulnerable and unable to navigate the porn-tech nexus and, to a lesser extent, challenges gendered constructions of risk" (Healy-Cullen et al 2022 p455).

The students rejected the idea of themselves as an "innocent little child" (p456), as expressed by "Adam": "I think it's a bit more nuanced than just looking at it as an entirely harmful thing. Teenage boys especially, being rebellious, aren't really up to listening to that type of thing... like, 'Oh no my innocent little child can't be watching this!' And you go in there with your like big stick diplomacy and you basically say, 'No, you can't be watching this, it is absolutely terrible. We will lock you out of it, put the parental controls on the Wi-Fi'. That type of thing is just not helpful" (p456).

The students also questioned the gender double standards: eg: "Liane" (female): "I think [...] this is my personal experience it's more normalised for guys to watch it [...] because it's just boys being boys, normal teenagers, and yadda-yadda. But um if girls watch it, it's like 'Oh they watch porn that's so gross!' and it's like, like a double standard. If a guy watches it [...] he's just trying to get it up, but if a girl watches it, she's, I don't know, like a whore or [pause] dirty" (p457).

The researchers noted that the findings were "more

nuanced than adults engaging in 'risk talk' and young people countering with 'resistant talk'; dominant and alternative constructions are to varying degrees evident in all participants' talk" (Healy-Cullen et al 2022 p459). It showed the complexities for young people (and adults) of making sense of IP and dominant sexual scripts.

Healy-Cullen et al (2022) ended forcefully: "If we are to take young people's voices seriously, as equally legitimate to those of parents and educators, we must recognise them as active cultural consumers and legitimate sexual citizens who have relevant knowledge and the agentic potential to navigate the porn-tech nexus" (p460).

APPENDIX C - IMAGINED INTERACTIONS

Relationships are increasingly becoming wholly online, whether chatting and building romantic attachments, or short-term, casual, sexual ones. Online relationships can be "imagined interactions" (Honeycutt et al 1990). "Imagined interactions are interpersonal encounters that take place completely in one's mind... Individuals may have imagined interactions to plan for future encounters or to review past encounters that they have already had... Imagined interactions are considered a form of social cognition, given that they can help individuals reflect on and plan relationships" (Vendemia and Coduto 2022 p2).

Honeycutt (2015) outlined six key functions of imagined interactions - maintaining relationships; "conflict-linkage"; rehearsal of messages prior to communication; developing self-understanding; catharsis; and compensating for lack of real relationships (Vendemia and Coduto 2022).

Concentrating on the last two functions, Vendemia and Coduto (2022) investigated the relationship between imagined interactions and sexually explicit media use (pornography consumption, and sexting) with 315 US online daters in April 2020. Sexually explicit media use was measured by statements like, "I am regularly watching pornographic material [online, on television, on my phone]", and "I am sexting [sending sexually explicit text and/or photo messages] to another person". Thirteen statements were used for imagined interactions, based on three groupings - compensation (eg: "Imagined interactions can be used to substitute for real conversations with a person"), sexual fantasy (eg: "My

imagined interactions are sexual in nature"), and
catharsis (eg: "Imagined interactions help me relieve
tension and stress"). The motivation for online dating
(ie: type of relationship sought) was categorised as
long-term romantic partner, short-term or casual
relationships, cybersex or sexting partner(s),
relationship for the duration of the covid-19 pandemic,
or unsure.

Participants seeking casual relationships online
were most likely to watch pornography, and more likely to
sext than other groups. Pornography consumption and
sexting were positively associated with sexual fantasy
and catharsis functions of imagined interactions, while
sexting only was significantly related to the
compensation function.

APPENDIX D - FEMINISM VIEWS ON SEX WORK

It was in the 1960s and 1970s that views started to
suggest that women could choose prostitution (or sex work
[10]) as a profession. This was against the backdrop of
"fallen women", "victims of White slavery", or
personality flaw discourses of prostitution over the
nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Sloan and Wahab
2000).

"Since the 1990s, the debate about sex work has
taken place against a backdrop of economic injustice and
social inequity for women, who do not have the same
opportunities for employment and self-support available
to them as do men. Given the inequitable status of women
in society, some feminists have characterised women who
work in the sex trade as victims of exploitation and
abuse. Other feminists, however, believe that despite the
lack of equity between menand women, sex work is a
legitimate profession stigmatised by a sexually repressed
society" (Sloan and Wahab 2000 pp460-461).

There is great variety in the feminist approaches to
sex work, but Sloan and Wahab (2000) categorised them as
"violence and exploitation" versus "work":
   1. "Sex work as violence and exploitation"

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[10] "The language of 'sex work' is intended to reject previous labels used to infer immorality such as
'prostitute' and create a term that unites all workers in the industry who are 'enjoined by both legal and
social needs' under one labour force (Leigh 1997...). The broad umbrella of sex work covers full-
service sex workers, BDSM [bondage dominance sado-masochism] providers, fetish models, sugar
babies, escorts, strippers, porn actors, sex phone operators, and webcam models. Sex work can span a
varying level of physical contact with clients, with some workers producing entirely online content and
never meeting clients in person. Sex workers may choose to identify as their specific facet of work (ie:
stripper), under the umbrella term of 'sex worker', or a multitude of other labels such as, 'prostitute',
among other terms" (Fuentes 2023 p225).

a) Marxist Feminism - Prostitution is exploitation in the sense that all workers are exploited under capitalism. Jaggar (1991) stated: "Just as the capacity to labour becomes a commodity under capitalism, so does sexuality, especially the sexuality of women. Thus prostitutes, like wage labourers, have an essential human capacity alienated. Like wage labourers, they become dehumanised and their value as persons is measured by their market price. And like wage labourers, they are compelled to work by economic pressure; prostitution, if not marriage, may well be the best option available to them" (quoted in Sloan and Wahab 2000).

b) Domination Theory (Radical Feminism) - Only women can be prostitutes as "sex work institutionalises women's dependence on men and is therefore inherently exploitative" (Sloan and Wahab 2000 p463). More generally, MacKinnon (1987) argued that female sexuality is constructed for men: It is "socially, a thing to be stolen, sold, brought, bartered, or exchanged by others... Women never own or possess it" (quoted in Sloan and Wahab 2000). Barry (1979) coined the term "female sexual slavery".

c) Black Feminism - The exploitation and domination of women is taken a step further for those who are not White. For example, Collins (1990) emphasised that "an understanding of racism is essential to an analysis of prostitution and pornography. Collins (1996) claimed that the rape and abuse of Black women, particularly enslaved Black women, throughout American history is what linked sexuality and violence — 'a characteristic of porn'. Contending that racism makes certain forms of sexual objectification possible, she conceptualised sex work along the intersecting axes of racism and sexism and argued that sex work represents the exploitation of Black women's sexuality for an economic purpose" (Sloan and Wahab 2000 pp465-466).

2. "Sex as work" - Based around three general principles of sex workers' rights movements: "(a) many women freely choose sex work, (b) sex work should be viewed and respected as legitimate work, and (c) it is a violation of a woman's civil rights to be denied the opportunity to work as a sex worker" (Sloan and Wahab 2000 p467).
a) Liberal Feminism - A focus on decriminalising sex

work as the harm is caused by its illegality more than the work itself. Equal protection under the law is key. "Some liberal feminists believe that prostitution is degrading to women and thus should not be encouraged, whereas others adopt a contractarian position that regards sex work as a social contract in which the sex worker contracts out a service for a certain amount of time and is a free worker just like any other wage labourer" (Sloan and Wahab 2000 p469).

b) Radical Sexual Pluralist Theory (Rubin 1984) - "Central to radical sexual pluralist theory is the notion that no sexual behaviour is more moral than any other and that privileging one sexuality over others creates an illusion that there is only one best way to do things — a type of thinking that is seen as dangerous in that it perpetuates a system of sexual judgment that dichotomises sexual acts into good and bad, normal and abnormal, natural and unnatural" (Sloan and Wahab 2000 p470). Put very simply, people should be able yo do what they want in relation to sex work.

Sloan and Wahab (2000) argued for a practical approach to sex work that went beyond a simple right or wrong dichotomy. This includes the prosecution of those who attack, kidnap, kill, and abuse sex workers, and who force women into sex work, promote gender economic equality, and support women who want to leave the sex industry or who want to continue working. Listen to all voices, and avoid stigmatising sex workers. Speaking specifically to social workers, Sloan and Wahab (2000) advocated "a policy that both eliminates victimisation and exploitation and supports the individual's right to autonomy and self-determination" (p476).

D.1. Cult of Female Modesty

Bateman (2021), who has performed naked, and engaged in naked protests, wanted to show "that behind every woman (dressed or undressed) is a real thinking being, and that we should think twice before dividing women up in dangerous and simplistic ways, judging them on the basis of their bodily modesty" (p820). She referred to criticisms of her behaviour as "anti-feminist", particularly misogynistic comments from women. She explained: "Not only are immodest women like myself instructed to 'cover up' and declared 'unfeminist', those considered the most 'immodest' of all— sex workers — are

to be abolished. Gender inequality is, radical feminism teaches us, the result of men seeing women as 'sex objects', and, if men are to change their way of thinking, sex workers — apparently — must not exist" (Bateman 2021 p821) [11].

Bateman (2021) took a particular approach to decriminalising sex work based around the "cult of female modesty". She stated: "Contrary to radical feminism, I will argue that it is society's division of women into 'good girls' and 'whores', where 'whores' are deemed as undeserving of respect, which can often be found at the root of society-wide mistreatment of women. The radical feminist ambition — which seeks to abolish sex work — conspires in such thinking, fuelling 'whore' stigma by suggesting that sex work is wrong, that no woman in her 'right mind' would choose to do it (hence all sex workers can be cast as "victims"), and that sex workers are the (albeit unwilling) cause of the sins men inflict on other women. Rather than challenging the 'cult of female modesty', feminists conspire in its teaching" (Bateman 2021 p821).

Bateman (2021) drew a parallel between sex work, and care work or cleaning: "Women are... not only exposed to harm within care work but are also commonly stereotyped as care givers, and in a way that has similarly been argued to contribute to gender inequality" (p819).

Part of Bateman's (2021) argument is that women should be able to speak for themselves, as with "sex work activist", Laura Lee (2014): "I don't ask you to like what I do... what I do ask for is to be allowed to do my job in safety and to be treated with dignity and respect... Sex work is work, just like any other. And those of us in the industry deserve support and respect— not to be reviled and stigmatised" (quoted in Bateman 2021).

Bateman (2021) made this observation: "...in sum, are sex workers, pornography and scantily clad women (including myself) really what causes harm to womankind? Is abolishing pornography and 'prostitution' really the best approach for tackling gender inequality? If 'immodest' women and sexualised images of women were central to gender inequality, why are countries like Iran and Pakistan not at the top of the gender equality rankings?
Perhaps it is because what causes most damage to

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[11] "Living our lives in a way that is limited by the male gaze as a means to escape the male gaze would seem to be a pyrrhic victory. The solution to women being viewed as 'sex objects' is to be found in changing the way we as a society judge women, rather than in changing (and restricting) women's behaviour" (Bateman 2021 p832).

womankind is not women who wander around scantily clad or who sell sex, but, instead, what happens in people's minds: the social belief that a woman's value rests on her physical modesty. It is this belief that not only causes harm to sex workers — causing clients to mistreat them and limiting their options to speak out for fear of their reputation — but that leads to men's guilt-free mistreatment of women who they more generally judge to be 'trashy'" (p833).

Bateman (2021) ended with a broadside: "Rather than fighting the menace that is the 'cult of female modesty', there is an illiberal element within modern day feminism that has effectively co-opted it and employs its flawed reasoning to not only justify denying sex workers their bodily autonomy but to implicitly blame sex workers for the gender inequality which all women face. While women's bodies have always been a 'battleground', what is ironic is that feminists themselves can be increasingly found on the front lines of attack. While the mantra 'my body my choice' is applied to some things, its application is far from consistent. While feminists can regularly be found defending women's ability to control their fertility, they can also be found attacking women's freedom to dress as they wish, along with the rights of those who not only reveal but monetise their bodies" (p834).

D.2. COYOTE

In the USA, "COYOTE" ("Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics"), founded in 1973, became the champion of prostitution as work. "COYOTE is an organisation vying for control of the definition of a social problem. In Spector and Kitsuse's (1977) language, it is a 'claim-making' organisation attempting to participate in the social construction of prostitution as a social problem. COYOTE has attempted to change the discourse surrounding prostitution by severing prostitution from its historical roots with sin, crime, and illicit sex. COYOTE locates the social problem of prostitution firmly in the discourse of work, choice, and civil rights" (Jenness 1990 p404).

Jenness (1990) studied the historical documents of the founder of COYOTE, Margo St.James, for 1973 to 1984, including minutes of meetings, newsletters, personal correspondence, and reports. Interview data and other records for 1984 to 1990 were available.

Three propositions underpinned the work of COYOTE

(Jenness 1990):

i) Prostitution as "voluntarily chosen service work" (p405).

ii) Most women choose to work in the profession.

iii) Women should have the right to do such work if they want.

Two quotes from the documents sum up the position of COYOTE:

a) "A rather profound misconception that people have about prostitution is that it is 'sex for sale', or that a prostitute is selling her body. In reality, a prostitute is being paid for her time and skill, the price being rather dependent on both variables. To make a great distinction between being paid for an hour's sexual services, or an hour's typing, or an hour's acting on a stage is to make a distinction that is not there" (St.James and Alexander 1977 quoted in Jenness 1990).

b) "A woman has the right to sell sexual services just as much as she has the right to sell her brains to a law firm where she works as a lawyer, or to sell her creative work to a museum when she works as an artist, or to sell her image to a photographer when she works as a model or to sell her body when she works as a ballerina. Since most people can have sex without going to jail, there is no reason except old fashioned prudery to make sex for money illegal" (Dolores French in Henkin 1988 quoted in Jenness 1990).

At the same time, an alternative approach emerged in the form of "WHISPER" ("Women Hurt in Systems of Prostitution Engaged in Revolt"). It argued that "prostitution must be understood as an institution created by patriarchy to control and abuse women. WHISPER claims that no woman chooses prostitution and that all prostitutes are victims" (Jenness 1990 pp412-413).
Feminists supported both groups and sides of the argument.

The greatest challenge to COYOTE in the 1980s came with AIDS, and the view that prostitutes were spreading the disease. "Many of COYOTE's activities from the mid-eighties to the present respond to the notion that prostitutes represent a pool of contagion" (Jenness 1990

pp414-415).

D.3. A Classic View

In 1992, Catherine Itzin edited the book
"Pornography: Women, Violence and Civil Liberties" which
presented the feminist arguments against pornography. It
included chapters from key authors who saw pornography as
part of sexual inequality. "Pornography is propaganda
against women. It is a practice which perpetuates sexism,
sex discrimination and sexual violence" (Itzin 1992c
p70).
Itzin (1992a) emphasised that "the case against
pornography is its function in creating inequality and
maintaining oppression" (p3). This position is based on
the assumption that pornography plays a part in the
social construction of sexuality which is
"institutionalised in social structures and internalised
in the attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of individuals"
(Itzin 1992c p57).
It was important for Itzin (1992a) that "in an
environment of social equality, free from the influence
of pornography, sex might be experienced and presented
differently: not in terms of male definition, or of male
dominance and female subordination or power and
powerlessness, but based on reciprocity, mutuality and
equality" (p19).

After listing acts seen in material seized in 1990
in England by the Obscene Publications Branch at Scotland
Yard, Itzin (1992b) noted that such coercion and violence
would be viewed as torture by Amnesty International if
occurring in prison, but "[I]n pornography these acts of
subordination, coercion, degradation and violence are
apparently seen as sex" (p51).

APPENDIX E - WHOREARCHY

"Researchers have previously attempted to classify
the social location of sex workers through a hierarchical
system identifying vulnerabilities and points of
intervention. These studies classified workers through
their work environments and where they found their
clients (Exner et al 1977) or through a worker's
proximity to 'elevated levels of violence, including rape
and assault' in which street-based sex workers constitute
the bottom rung of this hierarchy (Surratt et al

2005...). These forms of classification closely align safety with indoor work (work not performed on the streets) and deem regulated work through organisational management or with access to elite high-paying clientele as the safest" (Fuentes 2023 p227).

The term "whorearchy" [12], which described such a hierarchy, Fuentes (2023) believed first appeared in academic literature in McClintock (1992). Sawicki et al (2019) described whorearchy "according to intimacy of contact with clients as well as intersections of other marginalised identities" (quoted in Fuentes 2023).

"Sex workers, like many marginalised groups, are not a monolith" (Fuentes 2023 p225). Much of the focus has been on cisgender able-bodied White women, ignoring trans/queer, Black and Brown sex workers. For example, the "Street Transvestite Action Revolutionary" (STAR) network was set up in 1970 to create systems of mutual aid. "However, the criminal status of sex work, and for many, the compounded criminalisation of their social identities... threatens to further exacerbate revictimisation perpetrated by the state against marginalised identities" (Fuentes 2023 p225). Thus Fuentes (2023) argued for the use of intersectionality (eg: Crenshaw 1991) "to distinguish the variable forces that underscore our lived experiences. This is so that we do not fall victim to further essentialising the sex worker organising agenda as a 'single-issue' fight" (p226). That is, campaigning for the decriminalisation of sex work, but "not forget the systemic and historical institutional oppressions that decriminalisation does not eliminate such as 'racism, transphobia or homophobia, sexism, and of course - ableism' (Lemoon 2021 [quoted in Fuentes 2023]" (Fuentes 2023 p226).

Fuentes (2023) interviewed thirteen sex workers in Los Angeles in November 2020 with the aim of exploring the diversity of experience based on identity. Three self-identified as transgender women, nine as cisgender women, and one as a cisgender male. Overall, four individuals identified as White.

The whorearchy can be seen in this comment by "Luna" related to race/ethnicity: "I have a friend who is half Black and often chooses to hide her Blackness, to make more money, which is really sad that that is a thing that she has seen results from. But because she is privileged enough to have ambiguity of her appearance when she is able to, she presents as not Black and she makes more

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[12] Fuentes (2023) asserted: "The whorearchy bases itself on 'whorephobia', the fear and hate of sex workers" (p229).

money than when she does not present as Black. And then I have sex worker friends who do not have the luxury of presenting as non-Black. How we present literally determines what we charge and what we're offered and what guys say to us" (p230).

Talking in relation to sex workers supporting networks, Fuentes (2023) stated: "The implications of whorearchy create a culture of silence rather than a culture of care. Research actors feared the criminal and personal consequences of outing if they shared the extent of their work with other sex workers. Moreover, the whorearchy is not an isolated system that is upheld by sex workers. Clients, local communities, and policymakers sustain whorephobia by reinforcing the idea that sex workers require rescue rather than rights. These systems reinforce a white supremacist heteropatriarchy that does the work of oppression" (p236).

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ADDENDUM 1 - QUANTITY OF PORNOGRAPHY

Intermittently over 2021 and 2022 I recorded the total number of video items as stated on the home page of one free porn website where individuals uploaded material (table). The figures are taken on trust from the website. Interestingly, the site stopped providing this information in late 2022.

On average 3310 new items were uploaded each day during the study period.

DATE/TIME (UK)	NUMBER
13/11/2021 09:55:06	10 063 604
17/11/2021 13:55:00	10 072 366
30/11/2021 14:09:06	10 119 747
13/12/2021 14:02:36	10 165 930
12/01/2022 14:18:53	10 194 894
26/01/2022 11:28:08	10 251 683
02/02/2022 13:59:45	10 099 648
17/02/2022 14:02:09	10 155 864
16/03/2022 13:53:00	10 234 855
29/03/2022 13:45:44	10 281 315
12/04/2022 13:41:24	10 282 662
04/05/2022 14:15:10	10 393 958
19/05/2022 11:26:18	10 485 230
07/06/2022 13:32:45	10 538 540
21/06/2022 14:04:41	10 577 611
09/07/2022 08:35:20	10 639 067
20/07/2022 09:06:47	10 706 081
10/08/2022 13:38:46	10 785179
24/08/2022 13:58:48	10 828 138
31/08/2022 18:29:11	10 840 225

ADDENDUM 2 - SPIRITUAL HARM AND ABUSE SCALE

Though there can be positives for mental health from religion and spirituality, there is also a negative side as seen in terms like "spiritual abuse" and "religious abuse". Oakley et al (2018) defined the former term as "a form of emotional and psychological abuse characterised by systemic patterns of coercion and control in religious contexts" (quoted in Koch and Edstron 2022). It is distinct from emotional abuse generally by "its common inclusion of specifically religious elements, like the quoting of scripture or the giving of a 'divine

rationale' for mistreatment" (Koch and Edstron 2022 p477).

Swindle (2017 quoted in Koch and Edstron 2022) identified three categories of religious abuse – (i) that perpetrated by religious leaders, (ii) that perpetrated by a religious group or its members, and (iii) "abuse with a religious or spiritual component" (Koch and Edstron 2022 p477). Putting the above ideas together, Koch and Edstron (2022) defined spiritual abuse as "a type of emotional and psychological abuse perpetrated by a religious leader or group and/or with a religious or spiritual component, usually involving coercion or control" (Koch and Edstron 2022 p477).

Koch and Edstron (2022) developed the "Spiritual Harm and Abuse Scale" (SHAS) to measure this [13]. Sixty-six items were collected from relevant studies, and presented to over 3200 US adults who identified as Christian at some point in their lives and/or were raised Christian. The items were analysed and reduced to 27 for the final SHAS. Factor analysis produced six underlying factors:

i) Maintaining the system – (5 items) eg: "Being shunned or ignored by my pastor or church/group"; "Being pressured to forgive an abuser while abuse ongoing".

ii) Internal distress – (8 items) eg: "Personally avoiding religious activities or settings to reduce distressing feelings"; "A lack of self-worth as a result of negative religious experiences".

iii) Embracing violence – (4 items) eg: "Seeing scripture used to justify physical violence"; "Terror or horror being used to motivate religious decisions".

iv) Controlling leadership – (5 items) eg: "My pastor/leader explicitly claiming to speak on God's behalf"; "Being expected to consult my pastor/leader before making non-religious decisions".

v) Harmful God-image – (3 items) eg: "Feeling as if God harmed me directly"; "Feeling betrayed by God".

vi) Gender discrimination - (2 items) "Being treated as 'less than' because of my gender"; "Being denied opportunities to serve because of my gender".

These factors covered the different elements of

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[13] There is one other scale specific to religious abuse, according to Koch and Edstrom (2022), but it was not published (Keller 2016 quoted in Koch and Edstrom 2022).

spiritual and religious abuse in the literature, including emotional trauma, betrayal, rules prioritised over people and values, abuse of power, isolation, gender discrimination, victim-blaming, leadership representing God, "spiritual bullying", and spiritual neglect (Koch and Edstron 2022).

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