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THE SEX INDUSTRY, NORMAL SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR, ORIENTATION AND IDENTITY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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1. PROSTITUTION

Depending on the study (and its trustworthiness), between one in twenty and one in three men in Europe admit to paying for sex with a female prostitute (Mansson 2001) (table 1). "Prostitution use is predominately a male practice", and involves psychological and social psychological issues that "most women in the same situation do not choose the same solution" (Mansson 2001).

Using data from national probability samples in Britain, Ward et al (2005) reported that 2.0% of 16-44 year-old men in 1990 and 4.2% in 2000 had paid for sex with a woman in the past five years (5.6% and 8.8% "ever", and 0.5% and 1.3% in past year respectively).

These figures compared to 15.6% ever and 1.9% in past year in a telephone survey in Australia (Rissel et al 2003). In the developing countries, the figures for the past year vary from 2-20% (Ward et al 2005).

Table 1 - Examples of research on prevalence of prostitute use.

Prostitution in 21st century Britain is a "paradoxical and contradictory" experience (Phoenix 2007-8). In one sense, sex is "a marketable commodity in women's attempts to provide for themselves without recourse to dependency on the state or individual men" (Phoenix 2007-8 p25). This is particularly so for young women, those without children, and women outside the labour market as state welfare benefits tend to be related to children.

On the other side, "prostitution is also a form of gendered victimisation. Selling sex places women at risk of violence, of exploitation, of poverty and of criminalisation" (Phoenix 2007-8 p25) [1].

Add to this situation that "drug use, drugs markets and sex markets are now inextricably linked. Sex workers form a substantial client base for drug dealers and drug dealers use drugs to control and exploit working women" (Phoenix 2007-8 p25).

There is also a distinction made between women in

[1] The situation is different for male sex workers, who usually work independently, and male escorts are "most esteemed: they do not walk the streets, they take clients by appointment, and they are usually better paid than their street counterparts" (Logan 2010).

prostitution who are there as victims of exploitation and coercion, and the "undeserving" sex workers (usually on the street). The former respond to government schemes to help leave prostitution (eg: drug intervention programmes), whereas the latter do not. But the government schemes are often over-stretched, and "none of these interventions addresses either the socio-economic conditions that created the impetus for prostitution for many of the women or... the violence and exploitation that women experience" (Phoenix 2007-8 p26) [2].

1.1. Childhood Sexual Abuse

There seems to be a relationship between experiencing childhood sexual abuse (CSA) and adult involvement in prostitution. But is the CSA alone predictive of subsequent prostitution, or is it a "global combination of risk factors" (eg: family characteristics, runaway behaviour, socio-economic status) that includes abuse (Abramovich 2005)?

Abramovich (2005) performed a literature review on the subject. Much of the research on female samples involved street-based prostitutes, and these individuals reported higher rates of CSA than non-prostitute comparison groups (eg: 73% vs 28%; Bagley and Young 1987).

Among male gay-bisexual prostitutes studied, CSA levels are equal to those of women in the general population (Abramovich 2005). In a mixed gender sample, Zierler et al (1991), for example, found that abused participants were four times more likely to engage in prostitution than non-abused participants.

Concerning other risk factors, Nadon et al (1998), for example, found that runaway behaviour was more significantly related to prostitution than CSA.

Abramovich (2005) concluded: "What these studies collectively suggest is that although sexual abuse is common among female prostitutes, it is not evident that these individuals have chosen prostitution as a result of being sexualised at a young age. Rather, this research seems to suggest that these individuals are attempting to flee from chaotic family circumstances and are utilising prostitution for financial livelihood" (p141).

Abramovich (2005) outlined some of the problems with the studies:

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[2] Pattanaik (2002) commented: "Before marking prostitution as a primary site of sexual exploitation, we need to examine the situation of women within marriages and relationships and note what degree of freedom they enjoy with their sexual partners. Many women in prostitution have reported that they had much less negotiating power with their husbands and boyfriends and had been forced to have unprotected sex with them" (p224).

- Recruitment of samples is an issue (eg: among attendees at clinic for sexual transmitted infections).

- Biased samples - eg: ethnic minorities over-represented; street-based prostitutes only.

- Few appropriate comparison groups.

- Limited details about the nature of sexual abuse experienced.

- Little data about some sex workers (eg: "exotic dancers", pornography film actors).

1.2. Stigma versus Pleasure

Wong et al (2011) explored the experiences of stigma of 49 female sex workers in Hong Kong [3]. For example, name-calling was common by neighbours who knew of their profession, and from the clients. Among the latter group, payment was perceived by the client as giving them the right to treat the sex workers as they wanted. Miller and Schwartz (1995) found that violent clients of prostitutes held the views that there was no such thing as rape with prostitutes, and the women deserved it anyway.

Such client abuse was difficult to report to the authorities because of the problematic nature of interactions with the police. For example, one woman said: "Two policemen said that they were arresting us for 'blocking the street'. We replied we were travelling from China and had the right to stand there. The policemen then began to verbally insult us by calling us names. When we threatened to complain, they did not stop. Instead they punched us twice in front of everyone on the street" (p56).

The women reacted to the stigma by placing their behaviour "within a hierarchy of socially undesirable behaviour and considered other means of financial gain (primarily theft) to be less desirable. Some women even emphasised the potential benefits that their involvement in the sex industry may bring to society, comparing themselves to social workers in their function of helping people to relieve stress or stating that they were reducing crime and rape in society by providing sexual services. That their profession did not harm others was important to these women, and helped to minimise negative outcomes of their perceived stigmatisation" (Wong et al

[3] Seven women were street sex workers, seven one-woman brothel workers, and the remainder worked in bar and nightclubs in different jobs.

2011 p57).

But many of the interviewees did appear to internalise the negative views of others and felt shame. "Along with feelings of shame, felt stigma encompass the fear of encountering enacted stigma. This fear – of being 'outed' as a sex worker and therefore becoming a target – was a dominant and highly emotional theme emerging from our interviews. One respondent appeared quite at ease with her situation as a sex worker, but then revealed 'mainly because nobody knows about it. If someone finds out, I will be very scared and worry about what other people think'" (Wong et al 2011 p58).

Wong et al (2011) summarised their findings: "Although minor variations in the precise nature and degree of the stigmatisation experienced by these women were identified, their principal concerns with respect to the stigma that they suffered were almost universally described as arising from: low grade, day to day abuse from individuals in the community; disrespectful/ humiliating treatment from clients; and structural abuse by police and legal barriers preventing them from seeking justice and police assistance when they were victims of crime" (p59).

In a survey of twenty female prostitutes in Finland, Kontula (2008) found that the women "derive sexual pleasure in both commercial and private relationships" as opposed to the stereotypical view that "sex work destroys the women's capability for sexual pleasure and alienates her from her sexuality" (p605).

Kontula (2008) pointed out: "Sex workers can feel sexual pleasure during a commercial act but only when it does not endanger the primary function of their work; that function is usually to get as high a price as possible with as little effort as possible by offering the client an erotic experience".

Sex workers have been compared to babysitters or carers, where pretending care is part of the job. "Those selling sex without themselves feeling sexual interest are presumably engaging in emotional labour simply by making the effort to appear excited" (Agustin 2003 quoted in Kontula 2008) [4].

Kontula (2008) challenged the negative effects of "emotional labour" (eg: loss of "real" emotions) among US flight attendants observed by Hochschild (1983) for prostitutes in Finland. Kontula (2008) said: "My interviewees recognise the emotional aspect, but they don't consider it exploitation. Rather they consider

[4] "Emotional labour" "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others – in this case, the sense of being cared for in a convivial and safe place" (Hochschild 1983 quoted in Kontula 2008).

their social and emotional skills as a resource that helps to keep the commercial act under the prostitute's control" (p614). The feeling of being in control was key (particularly where the women had experiences of lack of control in their non-commercial sexual relationships).

This feeling was aided by the situation in Finland that demand exceeded supply for commercial sex. So "Tiina" was able to say: "And if I have no fun with a client, I'll know it by the second time and say straight to the client that it doesn't work. I just say straight that 'you should look for the service somewhere else because you can't get it from me'. I have had to say this tens of times but it's true. I have as much right to choose my clients as they have to choose me" (Kontula 2008 p616).

2. STRIP CLUBS

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the "strip club industry" has expanded, particularly in the form of lap-dancing clubs [5]. Women who participate in such activities are viewed by some writers as empowered [6], or as exercising agency in terms of career choice. Jeffreys (2008) strongly refuted such arguments - "Rather than empowering women, the strip club boom... helps to compensate men for lost privileges" (p151).

Firstly, the women are working in clubs, often part of business chains (eg: "Spearmint Rhino"), with high levels of profit for the owners, as well as organised crime connections. "Arguments about women gaining agency and empowerment through stripping need to be considered in the context of organised crime's extensive involvement in the industry. Employers and managers involved in organised crime are men who bully, threaten, and kill to gain their profits. This needs to be factored in as a powerful form of inequality between the sex entrepreneurs and the women they exploit" (Jeffreys 2008 p157).

Organised crime involvement is often associated with

[5] "Strip clubs re-create the gendered spaces for men that were challenged by second-wave feminism. In the 1970s and 1980s, some major equal rights' campaigns were directed at eliminating the male privilege of men-only spaces, places in which men could socialise and do business but in which women were not allowed. These campaigns included demands for and achievement of women's entry to public houses, sporting clubs, and other places of entertainment on an equal basis with men. The boom in strip clubs can be seen as a counterattack, in which men have reasserted their 'right' to network through male dominance, without the irritating presence of women, unless those women are naked and servicing their pleasures" (Jeffreys 2008 p167).

[6] "With men the suckers, and women pocketing the cash, the striptease becomes a reversal of society's conventional male/female roles. Striptease is, at its core, a form of role removal' in which women are 'clearly in charge' (Schweitzer 2000 p71)" (Jeffreys 2008 p153).

the trafficking of women in the "strip club industry". Whatever the nature of the deal for such women and others who work in the clubs, payment of the performers is poor. Yet lap-dancing is presented as a lucrative career opportunity. "'Tyke', a strip club habitue of twenty-five years who writes for the industry journal Strip-magazine, explains that the idea that UK dancers can make £2000 a night is a myth. This myth is in fact a story repeated frequently by club owners, who would find it hard to attract dancers if they told the truth. Tyke explains, 'To make £2000 in 1 night would involve 100 table dances ie: around 15 an hour for a typical 7 hour shift, I just don't think that happens'... He further explains that strippers might in exceptional circumstances find a merchant banker who will spend his 'Christmas bonus' on them, a scenario that can help to create the idea of large earnings" (Jeffreys 2008 p160).

Furthermore, Jeffreys (2008) argued: "It is not just the women who strip who experience the harms of strip clubs. All women living in a society in which strip clubs flourish are likely to be affected by them in a variety of ways. Women whose husbands, partners, sons, male friends, and male workmates visit strip clubs will feel some effects" (p164).

Jeffreys (2008) also argued that the clubs upheld traditional male dominance - "the clubs provide a compensation for the decline in power that men have experienced as their wives, partners, and women workmates have shed their own subordination, begun to compete with them, and demanded equality. The strip clubs provide an antidote to the erosion of male dominance by reinstitutionalising the traditional hierarchy of gender relations" (p167). The man (customer) is in control of the woman (dancer), and he dictates the nature and course of the interaction [7].

2.1. Capitalism and Exploitation

The increase in strip clubs has been explained by some as due to a "new culture of misogyny" and "a sex-object culture" (OBJECT [8] quoted in Sanders and Hardy 2012). Sanders and Hardy (2012) challenged this explanation, and argued that the growth in such clubs is

[7] Beecher (2010) suggested a similar reasoning behind the attraction of sexually trafficked women as such women are submissive which re-establishes the "natural order". Specifically, the attraction of trafficked women from the Former Soviet Union in Western Europe: "These women are perceived to be racially similar to European women, but also different. These women are stereotyped as a combination of 'subservience and independence, and they embody femininity naturally as the opposite of masculinity and correspond to Eastern ideals of beauty' (Penttinen 2008)" (Beecher 2010).

[8] http://www.object.org.uk/home.

due to their profitability for owners (more than growing demand) - "...profit and surplus value are produced within strip clubs, primarily by charging women for a slot on a shift, extracting commission from them and through a variety of financially based disciplinary measures" (p514).

Strip clubs are part of the "night-time economy" in the UK (and the West) that has developed in response to declines in traditional industries. In such societies, described as "post-industrial" or "post-Fordist", service and leisure industries are dominant as employment is casual and flexible with a 24-hour pattern. In this context, "sex industries have gained increased respectability as a business, a leisure pursuit, as well as an employment option in late capitalism" (Sanders and Hardy 2012).

Sanders and Hardy (2012) noted that most owners of these clubs in the UK had moved into adult entertainment from "everyday" services (eg: restaurants) as a low risk investment. This, in part, explains the use of "ordinary" business practices (like chains and franchises) and marketing techniques. "Despite the imagery promulgated in much popular culture and media, the industry in the UK has not been created by Mafiosi or gangsters (in the main), but has grown out of the existing business networks and contacts on the British high street. Such economic mainstreaming and development from formal businesses, means that there is a degree of respectability, ordinariness and professionalism within the industry and its operational process. In part, this process of normalisation has been supported and welcomed by those who self define as 'performers', in order to emphasise the professional aspect of their job" (Sanders and Hardy 2012 p517).

Sanders and Hardy (2012) interviewed 197 "erotic dancers" (35 of them in detail) and visited twenty clubs (including interviewing their managers) in England in 2010-11. The dancers are usually "self-employed", and pay a fee ("house fee") to work at the club (and/or a percentage of tips). Sanders and Hardy (2012) reported that 70% of the dancers admitted completing a shift without making any money (due to the high level of these fees, and fines by the owners for being late for a shift, for example) [9]. Club owners also profit from entry fees paid by the customers and the sale of (over-priced) drinks.

Sanders and Hardy (2012) felt the work had been

[9] Egan (2006) noted that "music is often used by dancers as a form of covert protest. When dancers have difficulties with customers or with management they often select music with lyrics that express their hostility. Moreover, playing 'their music' becomes a statement of independence and a coping mechanism for dealing with aversive working conditions" (Bradley 2007 p381).

"deskilled" with the "mainstreaming" of strip clubs - "We use 'deskilling' here to refer to a process by which the level of skill necessary for strip work as an occupation is reduced by the owners in order to lower entry barriers and encourage women into dancing. Owners are willing to accept any woman who meets minimal aesthetic standards, even though they have no dancing or pole skills. The result of this 'deskilling' and the widened pool of potential dancers, meant that owners were enabled to generate larger profits by producing an extensive, infinite pool from which to extract labour and surplus value" (p526).

As "Dancer X" said: "Basically anyone thinks they can be a stripper nowadays and they see it as an easy way to earn money. So there's too many girls, too many clubs; not enough money. I think the novelty is starting to wear off" (p527). While "Dancer F" observed: "it's so hard sometimes to describe stuff without wanting to sound bitchy but you'd see some girl who wasn't very pretty, couldn't dance, had a crap outfit making a lot more money than you because she was there to make money, not to enjoy herself and be creative so she would be pushier" (p527).

The working conditions are generally poor, but "in the context of high female unemployment and economic fragility, it is these reasons that mean that the supply of female labour into the strip industry is currently likely to be at its all time high" (Sanders and Hardy 2012). Thus, the "employment market has opened up to accept most women who can simply fulfil two criteria: that they are prepared to work as a stripper and that they are willing to accept the conditions on offer" (Sanders and Hardy 2012 p527). Sanders and Hardy (2012) reported that during many visits to the clubs on weekdays, dancers outnumbered customers.

Sanders and Hardy (2012) concluded: "While the public narrative remains on moral arguments regarding the legitimacy of sexual labour and consumption and on residents' concerns about the tone of the neighbourhood, rather than workers' experiences and rights, dancers are left vulnerable to hyper-exploitation. It is on the basis of such exploitation that the industry has been able to expand" (p530).

2.2. Confidence Game

Pasko (2002) emphasised how strippers "create and maintain control over their customers" similar to a

"confidence game" (Goffman 1952) [10] [11]; "All the while, however, their customers still possess a pervasive power: the sex-object role dancers must assume and perform is defined and managed by men and their desires" (p50). The confidence game is the stripper forging feelings of intimacy and emotional connectedness by fulfilling the customer's fantasies. Monetary tips are gained through "flirting, feigning emotional closeness and vulnerability, and becoming ideal sexual provocateurs as well as mental stimulators" (Pasko 2002).

Pasko (2002) also made use of the concept of "emotional labour" (Hochschild 1983). This is the way that an actor in the social interaction can manage their emotions to appear authentic. In the case of the stripper, their behaviour and emotions seem "sincere and spontaneous" as they "produce 'real' acts of seduction and intimacy". All the time, as with a con artist, the strippers are evaluating the customers as to who is likely to be a good tipper for a private strip/dance. For example: "Looking uncertain of the obligations of the club or, conversely, wandering the club with bills in hand, are signs of easy marks. The stripper knows that these customer types can be good marks. They are likely ignorant of the club's structure and can be easily conned into tipping. Conversely, they may know the game and be willing to play it. Some customers may be more difficult to qualify and, subsequently, con. To avoid difficult swindles, strippers will frequently ask for a tip before showing any nudity for customers who do not present cash in front of them. The stripper does this in order to teach the customer that he must tip continuously during the performance" (Pasko 2002 p56).

Keeping the tips coming is the key. "The dancer, having a sixth sense or 'grift sense' about men's sex fantasies [12], tries different sexual poses, pulling the garter as she finishes each movement. She analyses the

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[10] Goffman (1952) described the social interaction of a con as the con artist/confidence trickster manufactures a false social relationship with the victim ("the mark").

[11] There is an equivalent confidence game in prostitution, as "Tiina" (a prostitute in Finland) observed: "Many of those men looking for sex services expect to get good and polite service. They want a service that makes them feel that they are the only ones, that there is time for them and there is no hurry. At that point I understood how very, very important those feelings are for the man who comes to enjoy sex" (Kontula 2008 p612).

[12] One woman said: "Men come here for many reasons – some want a sexy girlfriend for the night; some want to see a fantasy, a sex object; some want a therapist; and others just want to stare [at your body] – they couldn't care less what my face or anything else looks like. They couldn't care less if you dance... nothing exotic about it. They just want to see my [nudity]. So... I'll be the girlfriend, the counsellor, the playmate, the object – whatever. I don't care. Just keep it [the money] coming". While another stripper admitted: "I often tell people I am a student, which I am. I will tell them I am a med student or a law student, though. The guys who want a 'girlfriend' – they want you to be more than just a stripper. They want you to be a sex object but to have an interesting personal life, too. So I tell them something and this makes them feel special and they keep buying me drinks" (Pasko 2002).

customer's movements, responses and demeanour in order to detect his preferences and weaknesses. Finding a position and type of dance the customer likes, the stripper will disguise fatigue and/or irritation and repeat those movements which reaped her the biggest tip. Likewise, if the customer discontinues tipping, the stripper will discontinue her act" (Pasko 2002 p57). The pulling of the garter is the signal to tip, and the customer "must be trained that this is a signal that he is to tip her". One stripper reported:

> Knowing when to pull the garter is truly a talent. If you pull it too much or too soon, you could turn a customer off. If you don't pull it enough, you look easy, and then you have to work that much harder to get your money. The key is to show a little, you know, entice, and then pull it every time you touch yourself, or push something in their face, or reveal something. The best customers are those who have the stack of bills ready to go. You know they are ready and eager to tip. Those are the good ones (Pasko 2002p57).

The final part of the con is the women's withdrawal ("cooling out"), usually because the tipping has decreased or stopped. A positive ending might involve replacing her clothes with a smile and a hug, while a negative ending might be an irritated reaction to the customer breaking the club rules (eg: touching the dancer). "If a customer wishes to see the dancer socially outside the club, the dancer most often refuses and the trust is violated. The confidence game becomes obvious to the customer: the dancer is not sexually or socially interested in him, despite the high cost paid. To cool these customers out, the stripper pacifies the mark by stating that she does not date customers or that it is against the law for her to go home with him. Appealing to a legal authority or universal rule keeps the customers from feeling abused" (Pasko 2002 p60).

Pasko (2002) collected her data in Hawaii, USA, via participant observation as a customer in a strip club, interviews with performers, and observations of the women outside the club. She saw the work of stripping as "not a liberating experience" - "The sexual persona the dancers must construct is of someone who can be easily dominated – a young, available, naked 'girl'. This role reflects and reinforces the inequality in gender power relations that exist beyond the club. It responds to patriarchal understandings of female sexuality and femininity and does not challenge mainstream conceptions of masculinity" (p64).

2.3. "Exotic Dancers" and Stigma

"Women working in exotic dance, and in sex work in general, often face considerable stigma. Research suggests that the general public considers sex work deviant and that dancers themselves are aware of this label... Dancers consistently report that, due to their occupation, others characterise them as promiscuous due to their occupation... Indeed, continually confronting this stigma and its resultant sexual harassment is a significant source of stress for those involved in sex work careers" (Bradley 2007 p380).

The women have strategies based on a "pre-defined script" to deal with negative stereotypes and stigma: "They may condemn the condemners (who are they to judge me? They don't know me...) or opt to disassociate themselves from other members of their occupation (I'm not like the rest of them). Such tactics allow them to manage the negative images of their jobs as they negotiate between their deviant and conventional social worlds" (Bradley 2007 p382) [13].

Grandy (2008) found from her interviews with 21 "exotic dancers" in the UK that they created a "hierarchy of stigma", "whereby dancers categorise motivations for dancing, type of dancing and type of clubs to rationalise the work they perform and manage their spoiled identities [14]" (Grandy 2008 p176) [15]. The dancers distanced themselves from the clients, other dancers, other clubs, or the dancing itself by projecting disgust onto others.

"Dancers attempt to neutralise the stigma attached to their identities by transferring the stigma to their clients" (Grandy 2008). The men who visited the club were referred to in negative terms as were certain dancers. A distinction was made between appropriate dancing (no contact) ("Good Girl") and inappropriate dancing (contact) ("Dirty Girl"). The dancers who were doing it as a means to an end ("opportunists") were seen as better than those who did it as a "dead end job" ("lifers"). Other clubs which allowed contact and sexual acts were viewed negatively as "dirty clubs".

The women also focused on the positive aspects of

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[13] "Exotic dancers" can be included with funeral directors, prison guards, and rubbish collectors, for example, as "dirty work" (Hughes 1958), where the individual must manage the stigma of the occupation and of being part of it. "Dirty work" is physically, socially or morally tainted. "Exotic dancing" is physically tainted by contact with clients' bodily fluids, socially tainted in its association with "sleaze", and morally tainted as related to the commercialisation of sex (Grandy 2008).

[14] Goffman (1963).

[15] Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical theory of the self can be used here. This is the idea of a "public self" shown to the world (as in the front stage of a theatre) and a "private self" kept for intimates to see (backstage at a theatre). The dancers showed positive qualities to the clients including appearing to like them (front stage) and kept their true feelings for selected others (backstage).

their jobs, which included the perceived freedom, control and empowerment as self-employed dancers earning money.

Grandy (2008) summed up: "The dirty nature of the work, that is, the economically marginal and culturally stigmatised nature of the work, does not mean dancers are not agents in their own identity work... The individual may strive for a sense of coherence among the chaos that envelops her process of becoming. A part of this process entails 'othering' whereby individuals draw upon others viewed less favourably to create a more positive self-view for themselves and their identified groups. 'Agency', however, may not necessarily result in freedom from structural constraints, nor might it mean coherence whereby there is complete and absolute, favourable understandings of one's self and others. This we can see in the dancers' construction of a hierarchy of stigmatisation. On the one hand, it serves as a resource to construct more favourable identities and on the other hand, it serves to sustain the stigma associated with the work".

These women are also involved in romantic relationships. The traditional heterosexual norms assume exclusivity which is challenged if the female partner works as an "exotic dancer" (or in the sex industry generally). "In a society that promotes the 'normalcy' of monogamy and exclusive sexual privilege of partners, dancers sell this image of sexual accessibility. It can be argued that dancers' work often commodifies heterosexual romantic relationships, in that women flirt, seduce, undress for, and pretend to be attracted to predominantly male clientele. Yet, these job responsibilities are problematic for maintaining genuine romantic relationships. By objectifying her body and appearing sexually available for customers, a dancer violates the larger social norm of exclusive sexual privilege of her partner. Thus, a dancer must not only manage the negative image of her occupation, but also negotiate relationship expectations in order to accommodate relationship norm violations" (Bradley 2007 pp380-381).

Bradley (2007) interviewed 37 female dancers and nineteen current or former male partners of the dancers in the USA about their romantic relationships. Analysis of the interviews elicited stigma management strategies used by the dancers.

Just over half of them reported relationships where the partner was critical of the occupation while being financially dependent on her. "Tia" summed it up: "he'd always give me shit about dancing... but never had any trouble spending my money" (p388). The criticisms made of the women varied from overt abuse to subtle tactics like sulking to make the women feel guilty. This played on the

social stigma of "erotic dancing". One woman said: "Every fight, he'd throw my fuckin job out there. 'Well at least I'm not grinding on some guy's lap. You're out there practically jerking guys off. How am I supposed to feel?' And shit, what can I say to that? He would be totally cool about my job, but then throw it in my face when he needed to get one up on me. I just got so sick of defending myself" (p389). Bradley (2007) observed: "Whereas romantic relationships are often considered a source of comfort and support, for many dancers, these relationships become an additional source of shame and ridicule" (p390). So the ideal relationship for these women would involve them being treated with respect by their partners.

Bradley cited further examples of the complexity of their romantic relationships for the dancers. "Nikita" was telling her boyfriend and the researcher the story of a stressful encounter with a client who ejaculates on her while she is lap dancing, and her boyfriend becomes angry with her. "She begins by describing a situation that is stressful and upsetting to her. However, she quickly becomes apologetic to her partner; she is apologising for her own victimisation. In doing so, she is empathising with her partner's distress, rather than experiencing her own" (Bradley 2007 p393). The negative reaction of her boyfriend was a manifestation of the guilt and shame the men reported to the interviewer as well as being teased by their friends.

The behaviour of the men were "control tactics", but the women who "initially refuted negative characterisations of their careers and outwardly stated that they were not doing anything wrong, most did not condemn their partners' actions as unjust or unduly deserved. Rather, they seemed to accept condemnation as unavoidable, rationalised their partners' behaviour, and accommodated the stigmatisation" (Bradley 2007 p395). This led some women to stop dancing or to hide it (eg: when partner away). Bradley felt that with such behaviour, the women had "succumb to the 'shaming' of their partners": "Perhaps they may have internalised shame and guilt - in that they outwardly express their belief in the agency and morality of their profession, while simultaneously accepting the stigma associated with their jobs" (p396). The "macro-level stigma" in society towards the sex industry is played out at the "micro-level" in the women's relationships - "Metaphorically, partners act as the social mirror, continually confronting dancers with the larger social stigma surrounding their work" (Bradley 2007 p396).

Twenty of the interviewed women coped with criticisms by dating men who worked in the clubs (eg: bouncers, bar staff, club owners) ("insiders").

As the interviews progressed, it became clear that the women had mixed feelings about the job. "They struggled with their desire to take pride in their work and their internalised guilt about not meeting the expectation of potential high-quality partners regarding how a 'good' wife or girlfriend should behave" (Bradley 2007 p399). One strategy was to date "lesser partners than maybe they deserved" who would not criticise them or place certain expectations on them. For example, half the partners were unemployed or worked casually, one-third were much older than the women, and many had drug, alcohol, or health problems. "Thus, it appears that many dancers are willing to accept partners with fewer objective attributes than themselves" (Bradley 2007). One dancer said: "I'm not trying to sounds like a snotty bitch, but I know he'll at least treat me right and not give me any shit about dancing. He's a lot older than I am, and, I mean, I'm not trying to be mean, but I'm like the best looking girl he'll get. It's like he's lucky to get me, and he knows it. So he knows better than to rag me [complain] about dancing" (p401).

Other dancers (about one-third) coped with the situation by not becoming romantically involved.

In the main, the dancers were involved in poor romantic relationships. This is a paradox, "in that women involved in an industry that selects and rewards participants based on attractiveness, and therefore are generally attractive on average, often have low quality partnerships. Based on appearances, these women would seem to be able to have any partner of their choosing; yet they are often in poor quality, abusive, exploitive, or troubled relationships" (Bradley 2007 p402).

Bradley saw a continuation of the "sluts versus wives" dichotomy (or "party with the bad girl, but marry the good girl"). "Despite the seemingly outward changes in popular culture, and the outward de-stigmatisation of sex work careers, popularised by the media and glamorisation of sex workers, the times have not truly changed" (Bradley 2007 p403).

3. SEX TOURISM

"Sex tourism" refers to the "leisure activity of men who visit tourism destinations to engage in commercial sex" (Jeffreys 2003 p223) [16]. "The term does not necessarily imply prostitution and can potentially be used to apply to the behaviour of tourists who expect

[16] Jeffreys (2000) called it "prostitution tourism".

sexual interaction with fellow tourists in resorts, or non-commercial sex with locals in Western destinations as a routine part of their holiday experience" (Jeffreys 2003 p224).

But "female sex tourism" has also been observed. The question is whether this is the same as the male version. Some writers (eg: Sanchez Taylor 2001) argue "that women can be just as exploitative as men or even that there is nothing necessarily gendered about prostitution, ie: that were it not for the restrictions on the construction of sexuality created by patriarchy, women would be as likely to use men and women in prostitution as men" (Jeffreys 2003 p223). There are similarities between the genders in that researchers have noted the fantasies of "Otherness" - "constructed in tourist imaginations as racialised-sexual subjects/objects – the hypersexual 'Black male stud' and the 'hot' Brown or Black woman" (Kempadoo 2001 p50 quoted in Jeffreys 2003 p225).

While others see differences between men and women, and prefer to use the term "romance tourism" to describe the female version (Pruitt and Lafont 1995).

Jeffreys (2003) argued for difference: "a careful analysis of the differences between the 'sex tourism' of women and that of men does show variations in power, effects, consequences and meanings as a result of the different positions of the actors in the sex class hierarchy" (p225).

The key difference relates to the power dynamics in the relationship between tourist and sexual partner. The "prostituted women service men sexually without any sexual pleasure on their part", while the female sex tourist is viewed as "servicing the local men rather than the around way around... The sex that takes place in such relationships seems not to resemble the sex of prostitution at all. The local men remain in control of the sexual interaction as they would in sexual relations with any women, tourist or not, by virtue of male privilege and the construction of male dominant sexuality" (Jeffreys 2003 p229).

Jeffreys (2003) emphasised the difference in relation to violence and danger. The female prostitute faces these risks and experiences, and so can the female sex tourist who ends up married or living with the local boyfriend.

Jeffreys (2003) gave another example of the difference as shown in a bar in Thailand "where prostitutes crawl under the tables in order to fellate the customers'... Bars where men crawl under tables to give oral sex to women who request it in public do not exist. Women are not making such demands and it is hard to imagine the proudly masculine beach boys of the Caribbean being expected to engage in such humiliating

servitude" (Jeffreys 2003 p230).

Jeffreys (2003) concluded:

> The question of whether women do it too is an important one. It bears on whether it is possible to indict prostitution as an expression of male domination which can be ended, rather than as an inevitable form of human behaviour or just a variety of leisure activity. The insistence that women should be included within the ranks of sex tourists is more than an academic matter. It is one that touches on the whole way in which international systems of prostitution should be understood and addressed. I have argued here that the differences between male "prostitution" tourism and women's holiday sexual relationships are considerable and need to be understood as arising from the different sex-class positions of men and women. The argument that women do it too in relation to sex tourism does not withstand careful attention to the relations of power, the effects, the meanings and the contexts of the behaviour (p236).

3.1. Male Body and Sex Tourism

Thurnell-Read (2011) noted that the "white, middle-class, male body is constructed through discourses of self-control and rationality" (p978), as opposed to the female body which is seen as "leaky", "seeping and problematically unbounded". Against this background, drunkenness with its loss of control, is a release from everyday roles and an example of social rule-breaking for men. Thurnell-Read (2011) observed this in his participant observation of "stag tourism" in Poland (by following British men on special weekend holidays focused on consuming large amounts of alcohol).

He noted: "one of the most conspicuous features of stag tourist behaviour is the array of bodily transgressions which prodigious consumption of alcohol encourage. These bodily transgressions bring to the fore the unbounded male body which is central to embodying the stag tour experience. The cheers or laughter that accompany a bout of drunken vomiting or public urination are part of the group dynamic which normalises what are, by and large, undesirable social actions. While the testing of the body through endurance is one explanation of the sustained heavy drinking of the stag tour, the centrality of episodes of nudity, urination and vomiting, sickness and fatigue and a general loss of bodily control were consistently embraced by participants as significant and meaningful. The value placed on such acts ensured the ever-present male body of the stag tourist is better characterised as a messy or leaky body than as a tough and enduring one" (p985).

3.2. Gender Equality?

At one level the "women do it too" is a desire to show that there is growing gender equality. But this disguises the fact that the image that women now have the power in the sense of choosing to engage in sexual activity freely without traditional stereotypes is a trap [17]. Pornography has presented women as "sexually wild" but being coy ("playing hard to get") until a man releases them. Now women are seen in Western societies as being "sexually wild" (of their own choosing) [18]. The response of the "average man" is that pornography was telling the truth in the first place [19] [20]. Thus women's position in society is not enhanced by this new "sexual power" [21].

I see evidence of a "New Sexism" in the 21st century in the West which is as strong as the "bad old days". "New Sexism" accepts that women are in the workplace and does not demand that they should stay at home ("old sexism"), but it denigrates them by the ever-continuing focus on women as sex objects [22]. The "mainstreaming" of

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[17] As in the use of terms like "slut" (appendix A).

[18] Gill (2008a) pointed out that "where once sexualised representation of women in the media presented them as passive, mute objects of an assumed male gaze, today women are presented as active, desiring sexual subjects who choose to present themselves in a seemingly objectified manner because it suits their (implicitly 'liberated') interests to do so" (p42).

[19] Butterworth (1993) noted the "pornographic interpretation of reality", "where women react to sexual harassment in the office by turning into insatiable sex-crazed beasts, or where women enjoy rape, or where the casual visit of a door-to-door salesman turns into an orgy - women's experience and reality have been distorted by the propaganda of the pornographers".

[20] Turner (2005 quoted in Gill 2008) argued that the message of pornography has "come true": "The sexually liberated modern woman turns out to resemble - what do you know! - the pneumatic take-me-now-big-boy fuck-puppet of male fantasy after all" (p45).

[21] Modern Western society has been described as "post-feminist" by some writers. McRobbie (2009) disagreed seeing a "'post-feminist masquerade' which, through media and the beauty and fashion industries, provides 'highly self-conscious means by which young women are encouraged to collude with the re-stabilisation of gender norms so as to undo the gains of feminism, and dissociate themselves [from it]' (McRobbie 2009 p64)" (Gannon 2010). Gill (2007) referred to "the shift from objectification to subjectification; the emphasis on self-surveillance, monitoring and discipline; a focus on individualism, choice and empowerment; ... a makeover paradigm; a resurgence in ideas of natural sexual difference; a marked sexualisation of culture; and an emphasis upon consumerism and the commodification of difference" (quoted In Gannon 2010). Gill (2008b) identified three strands at work: "the 'current of individualism' that precludes understandings of the individual as subject to external constraint or influence; secondly, the parallel between 'the autonomous, calculating, self-regulating subject of neo-liberalism' and 'the active, freely choosing, self-reinventing subject of post-feminism', and thirdly, the gendered effect of neo-liberalism as it is overwhelmingly women who are compelled towards perpetual self-management, discipline and transformation, who must 'regulate every aspect of their conduct' and 'present all their actions as freely chosen'" (Gannon 2010).

[22] Rice (no date) described the "body beautiful" discourse (which goes hand in hand with women as sex objects) as having harmful consequences around the world - "Today, global beauty businesses, in addition to selling body modification products as wide ranging as skin lightening and teeth whitening aids, also trade in powerful personal transformation narratives that preach image enhancement as the ticket to success. Beauty pageants, makeover shows, and modelling competitions are only a few commonplace examples of commodity entertainment that feed female fantasies about exciting life opportunities through mundane appearance alteration. At the same time, many feminist scholars have

pornography has made available the images of women "up for anything" and happy to participate in all the activities that men want [23] [24] [25]. This is the point - the women are presented as adventurous and "nasty" (a good thing), for example, because they are willing to do what the man wants. Pornography has always been about male pleasure (Strager 2003), and that has not changed [26]. In fact, it has become more extreme [27].

Jackson and Scott (1996) observed: "Pornography draws on the wider cultural narrative through which masculinity and male sexuality are constructed and itself contributes to their construction and reconstruction. It helps to circulate and perpetuate particular versions of these narratives such as the mythology of women as sexually available, deriving pleasure from being dominated and possessed and a model of masculinity validated through sexual mastery over women" (p23). While Beecher (2010) noted: "Pornographic images construct women as purposeless in society, other than as sexual beings for use and abuse" [28].

Beecher (2010) performed a qualitative analysis of pornography images of East European women on twenty websites. She drew out from the analysis the following key points:

a) The construction of "Russian" and "Ukrainian" women as sexual commodities (eg: "Russian Pussy", "Ukrainian Slut", "Russian Pounded") - ie: "sexualised

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become attuned to the ways that a vast majority of young and adult women in the west and elsewhere, rather than feeling constrained to fit cultural ideals (or being condemned to a life of misery), strategically, often secretly, negotiate ideals and alter their images in what they have been taught to conceive as their best interests...".

[23] Butterworth (1993) writing in the early days of Internet pornography emphasised how its development further reinforced the idea that "all women are sexually available to any man, at any time, and in any way he wants".

[24] Pornography becomes presented as a "model of how to do sex, a sort of prototypical narrative or user's manual" (Cameron and Frazer 1992).

[25] Gill (2009) referred to the Wonderbra advertisement where the model (Eva Herzigova) wearing the product is saying "Hello Boys": "Herzigova was positioned not only as an object of the male gaze, but also an active subject knowingly playing with her sexual power" (quoted in Beecher 2010). Beecher (2010) suggested the supposed empowerment in this advertisement does not change the fact that the woman is sexualised and "presented as a sexual commodity". "Women don't emerge from sexual exploitation into positions of power, respect or admiration. They remain powerless as individuals and an underclass as a group " (Hughes 2000a quoted in Beecher 2010).

[26] "Pornography says that women want to be hurt, forced, and abused, pornography says women want to be humiliated, shamed, defamed; pornography says that women say no, but mean yes — yes to violence, yes to pain" (Dworkin 1993; quoted in Beecher 2010). For Guinn and DiCaro (2007), pornography reduces women to body parts that are used to "sexually stimulate men".

[27] Butterworth (1993) was clear: "Pornography is an act of dominance and of sexual exploitation, at the same time as it expresses and reinforces that dominance and justifies that sexual exploitation".

[28] "Pornography, in its many forms, has always claimed to reflect the truth of human sexuality, and has serviced a desire to see the truth represented" (Hardy 2009).

objects that serve no purpose in life, other than for sexual pleasure". Beneke (1982) noted : "One anonymises the woman and fails to acknowledge her moral, spiritual, or emotional being. One relates to her as a thing without a soul" (quoted in Beecher 2010).

b) Making male dominance sexy - images emphasise men's power over women. "Many of the images on the websites are of youthful women with older men. The men physically look older then the women (eg: grey hair, mature facial expressions, and bigger built) and are in the positions of power and authority (eg: police officers, business executives, etc). In these images, the men are presented as sexually controlling the women and their bodies (eg: holding the women firmly, pulling women's hair while the women sexually penetrate the men, slapping women on the buttocks and other body parts, etc). The images exemplify men's power over the women and their bodies, and sexual violence is used to construct male authority" (Beecher 2010 p76).

Beneke (1982) suggested that men see sex as an achievement in gaining possession of a "valued commodity".

4. PORNOGRAPHY AND BEHAVIOUR

According to the "standard social science model of studying pornography", exposure to sexually explicit materials has an affect upon attitudes and behaviour (eg: acceptance of rape myths, sexist attitudes, likelihood of sexual offending) (Stulhofer et al 2010) (appendix B) [29] [30].

Much of the research occurred before the world was "pornified" (Paul 2005) [31] with available, affordable, and

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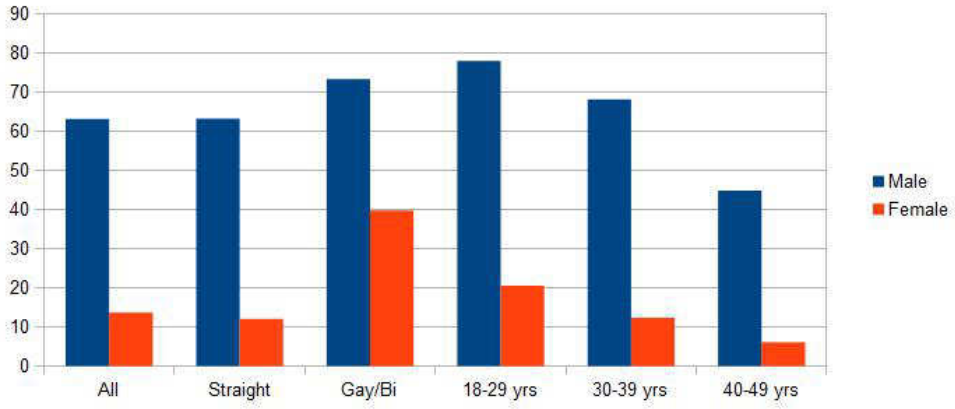
[29] Wolf (2003) noted: "Young men and women are indeed being taught what sex is, how it looks, what its etiquette and expectations are, by pornographic training - and this is having a huge effect on how they interact... Pornography has deadened men's libido and made men to be no longer aroused by real women, whom they see as not 'porn-worthy'...for most of human history, erotic images have been reflections of, or celebrations of, or substitutes for, real naked women. For the first time in human history, the images' power and allure have supplanted that of real naked women. Today, real naked women are just bad porn" (quoted in Gulanowski 2003). Gulanowski (2003) observed: "The separation of pornography from sex, its enormous popularity and autonomy as a medium (as proven by its division into genres) reveal that pornography has reached the final, fourth phase of the image set by J.Baudrillard: 'it has no relation to any reality whatsoever; it is its own pure simulcram' (Baudrillard 1995 p6)" (p82).

[30] Russo (1998; quoted in Beecher 2010) noted that it "is not about pornography as a deviant form of sexual expression, but rather about a powerful mass-market industry that normalises, sanctions, and participates in sexist, racist, anti-Semitic, and other forms of discrimination that are made into sexualised entertainment".

[31] Johansson and Hammaren (2007) referred to the "sexualisation or pornification of the public sphere" where "the advertising world finds its influences in the porno industry and in the depictions of bodies and sexuality that prevail in this commercial sphere" (p58).

anonymous pornography via the Internet [32]. "Pornography has become an integral part of the contemporary Western culture of permissiveness" (Stulhofer et al 2010) [33].

In a survey of over 3000 Norwegian adults (18-49 years old), 34% admitted to looking at pornography on the Internet (compared to 82% for pornographic magazines), but there were significant gender differences (figure 1) (Traeen et al 2006)



(Data from Traeen et al 2006 table 1 p248)

Figure 1 - Percentages of respondents who had ever watched pornography on the Internet in Norway.

Of 650 men at universities in Croatia, those who viewed non-violent pornography were found to be no different to non-viewers in aspects of their intimate and sexual relationships. But viewers of violent or fetishist pornography were different to both groups with more sexual partners over the lifetime, and less relationship intimacy (Stulhofer et al 2010) (table 2).

Stulhofer et al (2010) were interested in how adolescent sexuality and relationships were formed in the context of the increased availability of pornography. In November 2006 the

[32] Kirkham (2012) observed that the "Internet has increased the amount of pornography available whilst simultaneously making it more categorised and sub-generic".

[33] Including non-nude pornography. "In the context of pornification, what non-nude pornography does is effectively eradicate the split between soft-core pornographic imagery and aspects of mainstream popular culture such as fashion advertising and popular music videos. It has even spread beyond these areas into mainstream Hollywood cinema, with sites such as celebritymoviearchive.com repackaging and re-contextualising scenes and images from hit films and TV shows for the gaze of the masturbating voyeur. If pornography is, in part, to be defined by its explicit depictions of the body and its intention to arouse the viewer, then the line between these forms becomes increasingly difficult to define with any real confidence" (Kirkham 2012 p209).

researchers sent an email to students in Croatian universities seeking volunteers to complete the questionnaire. Six hundred and fifty male students completed the 244-item online questionnaire which included:

- Sexual Scripts Overlap Scale (SSOS) - this measured the overlap between the depiction of sex in pornography (porn script inventory) and the personal importance of "great sex" (great sex inventory). A greater overlap is seen as a stronger influence of pornography on the individual's views of sex.

- Exposure to sexually explicit materials - frequency of use at age 14 in terms of average hours per week.

- Varied Sexual Experience Scale - 11 different sexual experiences (eg: anal sex, oral sex, sex in a public place).

- Degree of intimacy - rating of closeness to partner.

- Satisfaction with sexual life - eg: "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your sexual life at present?", scored on a seven-point scale from "fully satisfied" to "extremely dissatisfied".

- Myths about Sexuality Scale - eg: "Men are always ready for sex".

- Sexual compulsiveness - eg: "My desires to have sex have disrupted my daily life".

- Type of pornography preferred - mainstream vs paraphilic/violent.

Analysis of the results were based upon 445 respondents who preferred mainstream pornography compared to 205 individuals viewing paraphilic sexually explicit materials. The latter group had greater exposure to pornography at age 14, and currently spent more time consuming it. They had a greater overlap on the SSOS, greater acceptance of sexual myths, and higher sexual compulsiveness scores.

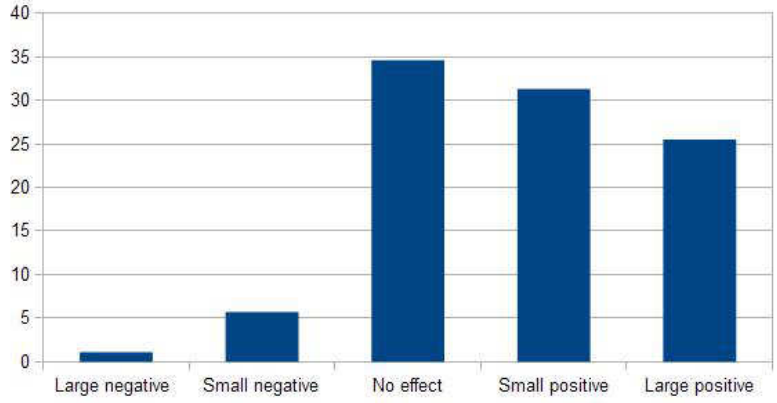
Table 2 - Details of Stulhofer et al (2010).

McKee (2007) found that negative attitudes towards women were not related to the amount of pornography consumed in a survey included with mailed pornographic material and posted online (table 3). But in another study (Garos et al 2004; appendix C), pornography use was associated with the belief that women should be protected from harm ("benevolent sexism" [34]; Wenner Moyer 2011).

[34] "Benevolent sexism reflects a seemingly positive judgment of women, as it is characterised by positive affect and can elicit pro-social (ie: protective) behaviours. Benevolent sexism stems from three underlying sources. Protective paternalism refers to the desire to protect and treasure women. Complementary gender differentiation focuses on the differences between men and women but, in contrast to competitive gender differentiation, emphasises those differences that favour women (eg: women have a superior moral sensibility). Heterosexual intimacy consists of strong desire and need for women and a highly worshipful view of women. Although benevolent sexism reflects the needs to be protective of, idealise, and desire intimate relationships with women, it is at the same time prejudicial because it restricts one's view of women to cultural stereotypes" (Garos et al 2004 p83).

McKee surveyed 1023 Australian consumers of pornography about their views on the effect of sexually explicit materials. Over half felt that it had a positive effect, including making than more open-minded about sex, helping them to talk about sex with partners, and providing education. Less than 10% of respondents believed that the effects were negative (eg: creating unrealistic sexual expectations, causing relationship problems, and objectification of people).

Responses (percentages) to the question, "What effects has pornography had on your attitudes towards sexuality?":



The questionnaire was enclosed with 5000 mail order pornography catalogues, and there were 367 valid responses (7.3% response rate). The remainder of questionnaires came via volunteers on the Internet. Thus a self-selecting sample.

It had been suggested that "consumers of pornography are unreliable sources of information as they are likely to lack self-insight, be criminal, immoral, or mentally ill (either deluded or addicted)... However, this is unlikely as there exists no evidence that, as a population, consumers of pornography are any less reliable than any other survey population" (McKee 2007).

Table 3 - Details of McKee et al (2007).

Surveys of young adults find that the majority today view Internet pornography (eg: 87% of males; Carroll et al 2008), and most see it as acceptable (eg: 67% of males; Carroll et al 2008). This difference suggests that some individuals are viewing it despite believing that watching pornography is unacceptable. Is this group suffering from a problem?

The issue is how to frame problematic viewing of pornography. It is either couched in the terms of problematic sexual behaviour (eg: sexual addiction, sexual compulsivity) or by use of "borrowed" criteria (eg: impulse control disorders, substance misuse) (Twohig et al 2009).

Twohig et al (2009) investigated the problematic viewing of Internet pornography with a survey of 84 male undergraduates at Utah State University, USA. The amount of time viewing was measured by the item, "In the past three months, how many times have you visited computer

porn Internet sites?", with the response options: 0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, or 10 times or more.

The survey included:

- The Cognitive and Behavioural Outcomes of Sexual Behaviour Scale (CBOSB) (McBride et al 2007) - 36 items measuring worries about sexual practices (eg: causing problems in relationships) and negative experiences from sexual practices (eg: problems at work/school). A high score predicts problematic sexual practices.

- The Sexual Compulsivity Scale (SCS) (Kalichman et al 1994) - 10 items about sexual desires and urges (eg: ""I have to struggle to control my sexual thoughts and behaviour", "I think about sex more than I would like to"). A high score is an indicator of a struggle to control sexual desires.

Forty-seven participants (51%) reported viewing Internet pornography at least once in the past three months, and they were compared to the 41 individuals who reported no viewing. The "viewers" had a higher average score on the CBOSB scale than non-viewers, but not all viewers had problematic outcomes nor the non-viewers no problematic behaviour. Twohig et al concluded: "Thus, viewing Internet pornography is associated with problematic outcomes for many, but not all, participants" (p260). Analysis based on frequency of viewing did not find any differences on the CBOSB scale.

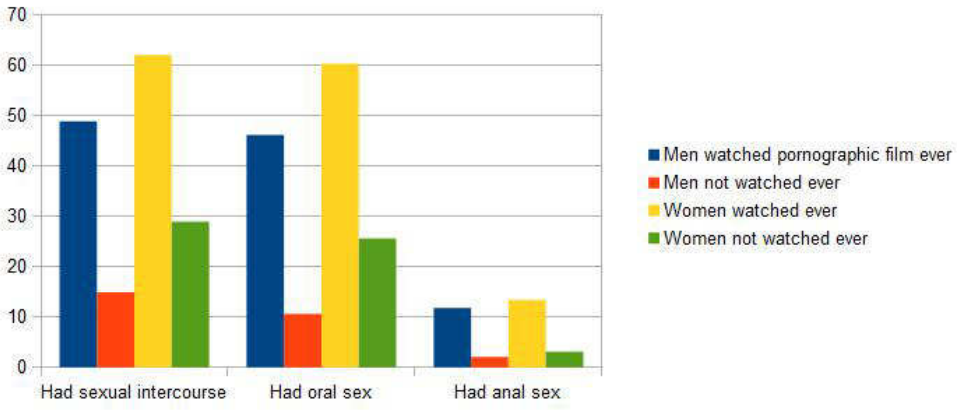
The problematic behaviour was mediated in part by the SCS score. Individuals who had strong urges to view pornography (high SCS score) and did not do so, had more problematic behaviour (high CBOSB scale score). Also individuals who struggled more with their sexual urges had more problematic pornography viewing, which links with thought suppression in obsessive-compulsive disorder (ICD) (Twohig et al 2009).

Johansson and Hammaren (2007) reported a survey of over 1200 15-18 year-olds in Gothenberg, Sweden. The majority of males (87%) had ever read a pornographic magazine and watched a pornographic film (93%) compared to less females (45% and 65% respectively). Only 14% of males did not agreed with the statement, "pornography is sexually exciting" compared to half of the females.

Johansson and Hammaren (2007) distinguished three groups of attitudes - "porno enthusiasts", "the ambivalent", and "porno opponents".

Johansson and Hammaren (2007) found a correlation between having seen a film and having had sexual intercourse, oral sex, or anal sex (figure 2), but it was not possible to say that pornography caused the behaviour. "It is perhaps more reasonable to claim that pornography is part of a larger sexual space and sexual

experimentation that also include anal sex, oral sex, and a more fully expressed sexuality" (p66).



(Data from Johansson and Hammaren 2007 tables 10 and 11 p65 and table 12 p66)

Figure 2 - Percentage of respondents participating in sexual behaviours based on viewing pornography in Sweden.

4.1. Performers

Evans-DeCicco and Cowan (2001) found a relationship between the attitude towards pornography and the perception of the performers among 165 psychology students at California State University, USA. The Attitude Toward Pornography Scale was used for the former. It contains thirteen items about the general attitudes about pornography rated on a seven-point scale (table 4).

1. Teaches new sexual techniques.
2. Degrades women.
3. Gives men false expectations about the opposite sex.
4. Leads to sexual addiction.
5. Is educational.
6. Increases violence towards women.
7. Releases sexual tension.
8. Places a wedge between couples.
9. Is a harmless activity.
10. Degrades men.
11. Is stimulating and exciting.
12. Breaks down family structure.
13. Gives women false expectations about the opposite sex.

(Source: Evans-DeCicco and Cowan 2001 appendix A p360)

Table 4 - Attitude Toward Pornography Scale.

The Beliefs About Pornography Actors Scale has 15 items applied to male and female actors (eg: high self

esteem; use drugs; ambitious; teenage runaway), and rated as the likelihood of having that characteristic.

The two scales were positively correlated (r = 0.35 for female actors; r = 0.28 for male actors). So individuals with a positive attitude toward pornography attributed positive characteristics to the actors, and the opposite for negative attitudes.

Griffin et al (2012) collected survey data from 105 male performers in X-rated (pornographic) videos. The sample was an opportunistic one based on volunteers who attended the Adult Industry Medical Healthcare Foundation in Los Angeles, California [35].

In terms of the motivations for entering the pornography industry, nine categories (seven positive, two negative) were distinguished by the researchers from open-ended replies (in order of importance):

- Money (43% of respondents [36]).
- Sex (36%).
- Social/networking (23%) - eg: "When I met the people, they were so friendly and I knew immediately that I found my calling and a new group of friends that would accept me for who I am".
- Curiosity/chance (21%) - eg: "I got into the biz totally by chance. I don't think I would even be doing this unless I happened to meet this guy in a bar one night who happened to be a producer".
- Fun/adventure (20%).
- Lack of career opportunities (14%) (negative reason).
- Artistic expression (4%).
- Freedom (4%).
- Revenge (2%) (negative reason).

5. SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SEXUALITY

5.1. Choices for women?

There exists what has been called a "heterosexualisation of emotion" - "the attribution of emotion words, constructed through the dominant discourse of heterosexuality and imposed on to lesbians and gay men as 'authentic' emotions" (Moon 2006 p23) [37].

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[35] Limitations - retrospective data, heterosexual pornography performers only, volunteers, and honesty of answers.

[36] Respondents often gave more than one reason.

[37] Wagner (2009) produced an autoethnographic piece of work that centred around her experiences while researching "swinging" in the USA. She described how her views of intimacy and sexuality were challenged, particularly in relation to the "good girl/bad girl" dichotomy. In autoethnographic research, the researcher is a central part of the study.

There is also "compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich 1980) [38] - "the compulsion in our society to adopt a heterosexual identity - which begins very early in childhood. The normality and moral superiority of heterosexuality (and the 'normal' family) is continuously promoted through socialisation, the media, the law, religious teaching, education, peer-pressure, bullying, and so on. Ultimately it is within such social and cultural processes that we must search for an explanation of homophobia and sexual prejudice.." (Hodges and McManus 2006 pp25-26) [39].

Rich (1980) elaborated the ways in which male power has restricted female sexuality:

- Deny female sexuality - eg: chastity belts; punishment of lesbian sexuality.
- Forced male sexuality - eg: "marital rape"; messages of heterosexuality as normal.
- Exploitation of labour and production - eg: unpaid work of motherhood; male control of access to reproductive services like abortion.
- Control of children - eg: "legal kidnapping" by fathers; "female circumcision".
- Physically restrain women - eg: purdah; economic dependence of wives on husbands.
- Women as objects of male transactions - eg: pimping; women "entertainers" at male business meetings.
- Limit female creativity - eg: "witch persecutions" against independent women.
- To withhold knowledge from women - eg: non-education of girls; sex-role stereotyping of women away from science and technology.

Choice in a heterosexual relationship is limited for

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[38] "The assumption that 'most women are innately heterosexual' stands as a theoretical and political stumbling block for many women. It remains a tenable assumption, partly because lesbian existence has been written out of history or catalogued under disease; partly because it has been treated as exceptional rather than intrinsic; partly because to acknowledge that for women heterosexuality may not be a 'preference' at all but something that has had to be imposed, managed, organised, propagandised, and maintained by force, is an immense step to take if you consider yourself freely and 'innately' heterosexual" (Rich 1980 p648).

[39] Older gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals are more likely to have "superficially hetero-normative lifestyles", mainly because of living much of their adult lives during times when same-sex relationships were illegal in the West (and classified as mental illness) (Almack et al 2010).

some feminist writers. It continues to be used to mask the operation of sexual power and in particular heteropatriarchy. Under the conditions of hetero-patriarchy sexual contracts will always be necessarily unequal, between men and women at least. And furthermore, these conditions may well be internalized and replayed in sadomasochistic relationships such that SM 'eroticises the crude power difference of gender which fuels heterosexual desire, reinforcing rather than ending it' (Jeffreys 1996 p.86)" (Langdridge 2006).

Moore and Reynolds (2004) challenged this view: "The claim that consent is meaningless under hetero-patriarchy is epistemologically flawed. It is based on a false universalism whereby all men oppress all women... While claiming, on the one hand, to be woman-centred and committed to fighting women's oppression by listening to women's voices... on the other hand, they dismiss the accounts of women who report positive experiences of heterosexuality" (quoted in Langdridge 2006).

Scharff (2010) explored how "heterosexual norms figure as a structuring principle in young women's negotiation of feminism" [40], such that feminists are perceived as unfeminine, man-hating, and lesbian:

a) Unfeminine - Feminism and femininity (in terms of physical appearance) were seen as mutually exclusive; eg: "Carrie" said: "the burning of bras... was all against femininity really, wasn't it - that was the thing. 'We are strong women - we are not feminine!' was the kind of message they were putting across" (p831).

b) Man-haters - eg: "Heather" pointed out: "if you are a feminist you... that you only like women... you know what I mean? That you are so anti-men and that you won't listen to them so I think there is an element of cutting men off from the equation because you are so angry with them" (p833).

c) Lesbians - eg: "Louisa" talking about the women's movement said "it always makes me think of les, of lesbians" (p835).

Scharff (2010) concluded: "Overall, the research demonstrates that feminism constitutes a contested and fraught territory in the current neo-liberal, post-feminist climate, which continues to be characterised by structural inequalities along the lines of gender, sexuality, race and class" (p831).

A number of suggestions have been made to account

[40] Scharff (2010) performed forty semi-structured interviews with German and British women aged 18-35.

for "young women's distancing from feminism" including the belief that gender equality has been achieved and thus feminism is anachronistic, negative media representations of feminism, or individualisation discourses that downplay collective social action (Scharff 2010).

5.2. Social Construction of Female Sexuality

5.2.1. Female Orgasm

Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe (2009) explored the experience of orgasm of fifty British women in relation to the social representations of the phenomenon in women's magazines [41]. Social representations are a framework of "shared common-sense" about aspects of society [42], of which the mass media plays a key role in constructing.

The researchers draw out three major themes from the interviews and analysis of the magazines:

i) Orgasm as central indicator of sexual pleasure and goal of sex - A number of the women felt pressurised by this idea, and reported feelings of failure, inadequacy, embarrassment and frustration, particularly if having problems with orgasm. For example, "Molly" said: "Sometimes I don't find it easy to reach orgasm. And so as wonderful as it is, and it is you know an incredible feeling, yes it kind of sometimes feels like the end goal for sex. And it doesn't need to be and it shouldn't be but I suppose I can make it that sometimes so I am much more aware of that with myself to try and stop myself from doing that, making it the end goal, and just enjoying the moment. I think it is sometimes a pressure" (p102).

ii) Clitoral versus vaginal orgasms - In many ways vaginal orgasm was seen as superior to clitoral orgasm, and again some of the women reported frustrations in relation to the former - eg: "Mary": "I've always been able to have an orgasm with, you know, use a finger or orally but I feel it is just a problem that I can't have in penetrative sex which I would love to happen... I feel it would be a deeper, stronger orgasm, and I feel it matches up to all the romantic books you read [laughing]. I feel I should be able to have them because all real women do" (p103).

iii) Not having orgasms as common yet problematic -

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[41] Thirty years of mainly "Cosmopolitan", but also "Woman's Weekly".

[42] They are "constellations of beliefs, social practices and shared knowledge that exist as much in individuals' minds as in the fabric of society" (Morant 2006 p817).

Though the magazines accepted that women did not always have an orgasm, there was still an emphasis on it which influenced the feelings of the interviewees; for example, "Eve": "I hate the word [orgasm] because I have never had an orgasm... it feels to me really really shameful. Not in my head, I know in my head it is not, it is just one of those things but it feels like difficult, really lacking... inside I would be really ashamed to talk about it. I also felt like I was fooling men, that they would find out that I was absolutely rotten in bed" (Lavie-Ajayi and Joffe 2009 p104).

5.2.2. Female Ejaculation

Female ejaculation (FE) (or "squirting" or "gushing" in popular terms) seems to be increasing in Internet pornography, and is starting to appear as "normal" female sexual arousal [43] [44]. But the medical basis of the phenomena is disputed with explanations for the fluid varying from "accidental urine" to prostatic fluid from the "female prostate" (Skene's glands) (Leiblum and Needle 2006) [45].

FE has been linked to the "G-spot" stimulation, and to a more intense orgasm. The "G-spot" (Grafenberg 1950) [46] is a specific area located in the anterior vaginal wall (though not without dispute; Leiblum and Needle 2006) [47].

Shafik et al (2009) performed an electrophysiologic study on 38 volunteers. This involved clitoris electrovibration until orgasm while recording electrical activity in the surrounding muscles. The sensation of orgasm was not associated with any fluid excreted from the vagina or the urethra. While during masturbation in the MRI scanner, Schultz et al (1999) found no "widening of the vaginal canal, structures suggesting a Grafenberg spot, or a separate reservoir of fluid indicating 'female ejaculation'" (p1598).

Leiblum and Needle (2006) summarised the medical position thus:

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[43] The increased availability of pornography (both "professional" and "home-made") with more and more varieties of activity has led to the "bizarrification of sexual intercourse".

[44] On a website where pornographic videos are freely uploaded, 31 454 of them were "tagged" with "squirting" out of a total of 2 538 913 (1.2%) (19/12/2012, 11.39 GMT).

[45] Grafenberg (1950) noted: "In the cases observed by us, the fluid was examined and it had no urinary character. I am inclined to believe that 'urine' reported to be expelled during female orgasm is not urine, but only secretions of the intra-urethral glands correlated with the erotogenic zone along the urethrain the anterior vaginal wall" (quoted in Korda et al 2010). Analysis of the fluid more recently distinguished it from urine, even comparable to components of the male ejaculate (Korda et al 2010).

[46] Popularised by Ladas et al (2005).

[47] Eg: Zaviacic and Ablin (1998) is strong supporter on the female prostate.

> At this time, there is little evidence that a functioning G-spot or an ejaculatory orgasm is necessarily indicative of greater or lesser sexual response in any sense. Encouraging women to judge their own sexual response with inappropriate criteria and measures serves little purpose; quite the opposite, in fact. Significant differences exist between women and men with respect to arousal and their own awareness of it...More lubrication is not equivalent to greater orgasmic intensity or pleasure, and emitting a fluid is not prima facie evidence for greater arousal or more pleasure.
> A woman who feels sexually disadvantaged by missing a G-spot or an ejaculatory orgasm is not deficient or inadequate. Instead, she is typical of the majority of women who do not ejaculate with orgasm. On the other hand, it is important to understand that FE fluid is not necessarily urine and that the fluid is likely similar to seminal fluid...

Korda et al (2010) took a different position: "Female ejaculation provokes controversy in the scientific literature as well as the lay media. The authors, as women and/or urologists, have no doubt that female ejaculation exists. Thus, we have chosen to educate the reader about the history of female ejaculation... we provide justification that female ejaculation, defined as expulsion of a significant amount of fluid during orgasm, has been known and described in important documents by intellectual leaders of both eastern and western cultures for more than 2,000 years" (p1965).

5.2.3. Female Sexual Dysfunction

With "female sexual dysfunction" (FSD), from the early 20th century the focus has been upon too much or too little desire, and failure to adhere to the norms of femininity. Initially, these were understood in a psychodynamic context. Ultimately, FSD was linked to "insanity". "'FSD' is a generic, descriptive – rather than diagnostic – term. And yet it has come to be treated, rhetorically, as if it were in itself a condition, despite the different diagnostic categories constituting it" (Angel 2010 p538).

By DSM-III (APA 1980), FSD was subsumed in the category "Psychosexual Disorders" which included (Angel 2010):

- Inhibited sexual desire.
- Inhibited sexual excitement.
- Inhibited (female) orgasm.
- Functional dyspareunia.
- Functional vaginismus.
- Atypical psychosexual dysfunction.

DSM-III-R (APA 1987) preferred the term, "Sexual Dysfunctions", which included (Angel 2010):

- Sexual desire disorder.
- Sexual aversion.
- Female sexual arousal disorder.
- Inhibited female orgasm.
- Dyspareunia.
- Vaginismus.
- Sexual dysfunction not otherwise specified.

Finally, DSM-IV (APA 1994) changed "inhibited orgasm" to "organic disorder", and added "sexual dysfunction due to a general medical condition" and "substance-induced sexual dysfunction" (Angel 2010).

As "Viagra" constructed erectile dysfunction/sexual impotence as a "mechanical" problem rather than a psychological one, so this idea has been applied in the 21st century to FSD, "with much of the scientific and indeed popular discourse about female sexual problems emphasising their medical nature – where medical is understood to exclude the psychiatric" (Angel 2010 p538). It is the desire to distance FSD from psychiatry. "Prominent practitioners have written that they are 'shocked' to hear how many doctors tell their patients that their sexual problems are 'emotional, relational, or due to fatigue from child rearing or their busy jobs... We hope that this book will serve as an antidote to what women have heard for decades. The problem is not just in your head. You are not crazy...' (Berman and Berman 2001)" (Angel 2010).

Meanwhile others like Moynihan (2003) described the construction of FSD and expansion of the category by pharmaceutical companies seeking new markets for their products.

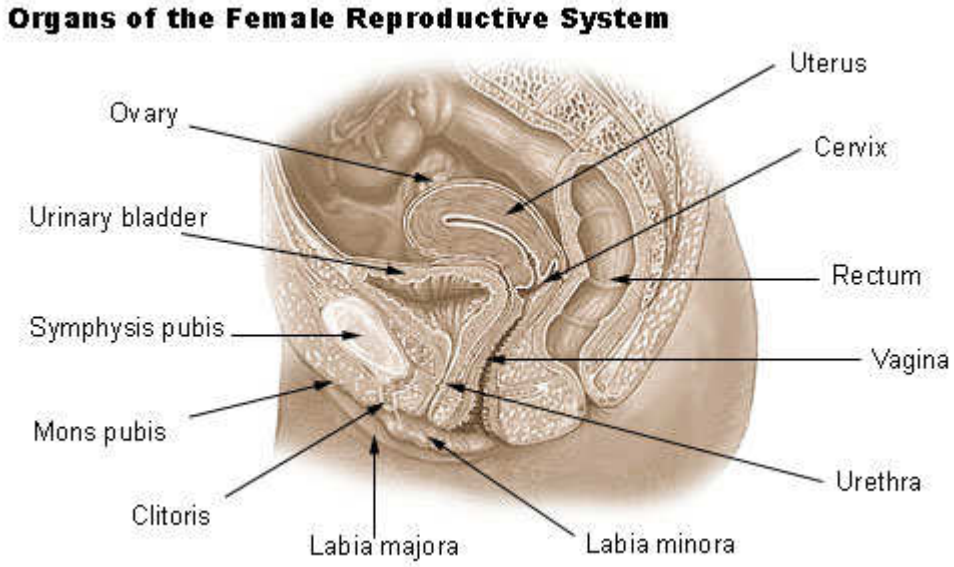
5.2.4. The Vagina

Braun and Tiefer (nd) noted the growing interest in female genital cosmetic surgery (FGCS) (or "designer vagina") as part of the "cosmetic surgery culture", "which is wrapped up in celebrity culture and fantasies of fame and beauty, as well as consumerism and economic factors... [and] invites us into a regime of self-surveillance and technologically-mediated bodily self-improvement; it invites a focus on the minutiae of bodily imperfection. The body has become the starting point for radical self-transformation...; if we do not like something, and can afford it, a surgeon can change it (although not always successfully, and often at a [small]

risk to life..." [48].

FGCS promotes "one genital aesthetic as 'right', and simultaneously pathologise genital diversity in women" (Braun and Tiefer nd).

One type of FGCS is the reduction of the size of the labia minora (labiaplasty) [49], which is medicalised as "hypertrophic" if its "protrudes" beyond the labia majora (to an undefined amount) (figure 3) [50]. Vaginal "tightening" is also popular (Braun and Tiefer nd).



(Source: US Government; in public domain)

Figure 3 - Cross-section of female reproductive anatomy.

Braun and Tiefer (nd) made this observation:

> Labia reduction appears to return the vulva to a pre-pubescent state...; arguably, to a pre-sexual body. This might appear an odd claim, as FGCS is often directly marketed around the improvement to one's sexual life that will ensue... But perhaps here we are seeing a process not too dissimilar to the measurements of the labia of lesbian women, or even the western 19th and 20th Century clitoridectomies on young girls...

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[48] "Within consumer culture, women's bodies occupy a location as commodity,,,, but they are not singular commodity units; women's bodies have long been 'dissected into physical parts' ..., and diversity and pathology extend to particular body parts as well as to whole bodies" (Braun and Tiefer (nd).

[49] 400 operations by the NHS in Britain in 2002 and 11 000 in 2008 (Howarth et al 2010).

[50] Howarth et al (2010) found the labial protuberance was significantly less (by approximately 7mm) in pictures on three Internet pornography sites compared to feminist art sources (and lower than anatomy textbooks).

> Perhaps this, too, is about the policing or production of appropriate embodied (hetero)sexuality for women, but now appropriate sexuality is understood by women as accessed through particular genital morphology... It appears that "long" labia (and indeed a "loose" vagina) signal, to some women, a body "unfit" for - undeserving of - sexual activity, and, even, of questionable womanhood... In a context in which there is a "obsession with sexual gratification" ... and sexual pleasure is framed almost as an individual's right..., this is a tenuous position to occupy, rendering surgery a legitimate avenue down which seek what is both entitlement and obligation ... - a sexual body.

Along with increasing removal of pubic hair (Peixoto Labre 2002) [51], the concern with the vagina as a viewed part of the body (whether it is literally or not) has origins in pornography. There are reports of women taking pictures from pornographic magazines to cosmetic surgeons to show what they want (Braun and Tiefer nd). "Disease-mongering" (Pager 2002) again has a role to play [52].

Schick et al (2011), in a content analysis of 647 "Playboy" centrefolds between 1953 and 2007, found that having little or no pubic hair was most evident after the year 2000. The researchers talked of "genital appearance ideals" based on:

- Mons pubis visibility (scored as 0 or 1, invisible/visible).
- Pubic hair visibility (scored 1-3).
- Labia majora visibility (0/1).
- Labia minora size (1-3).
- Labia minora colour (1 = shade of pink or light red or 2 = other colour).

Further analysis of 185 photographs from 2007-8 showed the "Barbie doll ideal" - thin with prominent bust, hairless, and "undefined genitalia resembling those of a pre-pubescent female". The "overall body ideal is shifting farther away from a natural female form, calling for women to exhibit ectomorphic body types and sizeable busts simultaneously – a combination that is difficult to attain without taking extreme and potentially

[51] Benefits (eg: less risk of pubic lice) vs costs (eg: genital cuts, irritation, or infection) (Herbenick et al 2010).

[52] "This involves practices such as: taking a normal function and implying that there is something wrong with it, and it should be treated; assuming suffering that isn't necessarily there; defining as large a proportion of the population as possible as suffering from the 'disease'; using an end point in clinical research that advantages the pharmaceutical company rather than being important to the public; promoting technology as risk-free magic..." (Braun and Tiefer nd).

dangerous measures (eg: undergoing cosmetic surgery). Results pertaining to pubic hair visibility and labia minora size and colour suggested similarly unnatural genital appearance ideals (eg: hairlessness and invisible labia minora)". Furthermore, "the unnatural genital ideals upheld by Playboy Magazine may encourage unhealthy self-comparisons and be particularly detrimental to their self-image" (Schick et al 2011) [53].

Around one-fifth of 235 female undergraduates in Australia reported removing all of their pubic hair (Tiggemann and Hodgson 2008).

Herbenick et al (2010) carried out a large-scale Internet-based survey in the USA in late 2008. The key question was how many times the respondents had removed some or all of their pubic hair during the previous month, with the responses choices of 0-10. Among other questions were those from the Female Genital Self-Image Scale (FGSIS) (Herbenick and Reece 2010). This measures how a woman feels about her genitals with seven items (table 5).

- I feel positively about my genitals.
- I am satisfied with the appearance of my genitals.
- I would feel comfortable letting a sexual partner look at my genitals.
- I think my genitals smell fine.
- I think my genitals work the way they are supposed to work.
- I feel comfortable letting a healthcare provider examine my genitals.
- I am not embarrassed about my genitals.

(Source: Herbenick et al 2010 table 4 p3327)

Table 5 - Items of FGSIS.

In total, 2451 women (aged 18-68 years) completed the questionnaire. Of those, about 10% were "hair-free" (with twice as many in the 18-24 years age group), around two-thirds had removed some pubic hair, and a quarter not at all.

Women who were "hair-free" were significantly more likely to be younger, bisexual, and partnered than no removal. Any amount of removal was associated with a higher FGSIS score (ie: more positive genital self-image) [54].

Herbenick et al (2010) felt that their findings

[53] Schick et al (2008 reported in Schick et al 2011) found that women compared their own labia minora size based on photographs exposed to (ie: large or small labia minora).

[54] Mean FGSIS score for "no removal" group was 23.56 compared to 24.64 for "typically hair-free" group ($p<0.001$).

challenged the view that genital hairlessness was the new norm, and suggested that "pubic hair 'style' may be a malleable concept".

5.3. EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Evolutionary theory is often presented to show that homosexuality (appendices D-F) is "abnormal" because the norm is sex for reproduction. From a purely evolutionary biology point of view, sex for reproduction that involves a male and a female of the species is far from the evolutionary norm. Asexual reproduction dominated for 3000 million years and sexual reproduction appeared 300 million years ago. Furthermore, over 4000 species are all female and reproduce without sex (Hird 2006).

Living organisms are sexually diverse with, for example, homosexual behaviour in over 450 different species (both amongst females and males) (Hird 2006).

"The sex and sexual behaviour of living organisms is far more diverse than theories that operate within a heteronormative paradigm generally acknowledge" (Hird 2006 pp31-32).

It is argued that the female orgasm evolved to aid conception, especially of "high-quality genes" [55]. Baker and Bellis (1993) reported greater sperm retention if the orgasm occurred between one minute before and 45 minutes after male ejaculation.

It is predicted that women will orgasm more often during intercourse with men possessing good-quality genes. Puts et al (2012) used male physical attractiveness as the indicator of quality of genes in their empirical work on this prediction. One hundred and ten heterosexual couples at a US university agreed to participate. The women were questioned about their sexual intercourse with the partner, while the faces of the men were photographed for rating of attractiveness and masculinity by other judges. The ratings of the men's faces were positively correlated with the frequency of times that the women had orgasms (eg: attractive men were partnered with women who were more likely to have an orgasm during intercourse). The data from the women were self-reported.

[55] Known as "sire choice hypothesis" (Puts et al 2012).

6. "NORMAL" SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR

6.1. SEXUAL AROUSAL

"The sex drive is a vitally important motivational force in human behaviour, from the perspective of both the individual and the society. Sexual motivation plays a direct role in considerable economic activity, including pornography and prostitution, and a less direct role in diverse industries and activities such as night-time entertainment, advertising, and fashion. Sexual motivation and behaviour also underlies numerous social ills, including sexually transmitted disease, unwanted pregnancies, and sex-related crimes" (Ariely and Loewenstein 2006 p87).

Ariely and Loewenstein (2006) showed in experimental work that sexual arousal influence judgment and decision-making. Thirty-five male undergraduates at the University of California, Berkeley, USA, were asked a series of questions either while sexually aroused (through masturbation) or in a neutral state [56]. The questions related to three different areas:

i) Attractiveness of different sexual stimuli - "women's shoes, a 12-year-old girl, an animal, a 40-, 50-, and 60-year-old-woman, a man, an extremely fat person, a hated person, a threesome including a man, a woman who was sweating, cigarette smoke, getting tied up by their sexual partner, tying up their sexual partner, a woman urinating, getting spanked by a woman, spanking a woman, anal sex, contacts with animals, having sex with the lights on, and reactions to 'just' kissing" (p90).

ii) Willingness to engage in morally questionable behaviour in order to gain sexual gratification - "questions about whether they would encourage a date to drink, slip her a drug, take her to a fancy restaurant or tell her they loved her (when they in fact did not), in all cases with the goal of having sex, and also whether they would try to have sex even after the person they were dating said 'no'" (p90).

iii) Willingness to engage in unsafe sex.

Eleven men were the control group (answering the questions non-aroused) (experimental condition N), twelve men were aroused first and then the next day non-aroused (condition AN), and 13 men were in condition NAN (non-aroused on the first day, aroused on the second day, and

[56] Measurement of sexual arousal, particularly in comparison between men and women, is not without problems.

non-aroused again on the third day).

In terms of the findings, all twenty sexual stimuli were rated as significantly more attractive in the aroused than non-aroused conditions, except "do you prefer to have sex with the light on?", and "can you imagine having sex with a man?". The men were also significantly more likely to engage in the morally questionable behaviour when aroused, and the unsafe sex.

Methodological Issues

a) The participants were volunteers. But who volunteers for this sort of research?

b) Participants assessed their level of arousal with an "arousal thermometer" on the handheld keypad used to answer the questions in their own residence. They were meant to be aroused when scoring between 75-100, and not to masturbate until orgasm. There were only self-reports of the arousal as authors pointed out - "we did not observe actual behaviour" (p96).

c) Both independent (N vs AN vs NAN) and repeated designs (AN and NAN) used.

d) Only men participated in the experiment. Ariely and Loewenstein (2006) observed: "Baumeister et al (2001) concluded from multiple sources of evidence that the male sex drive is more intense and uncompromising than the female, and it is at least, in principle, possible that the lesser intensity of the female sex drive entails that women would not be (or not as much) affected by sexual arousal in their decisions. The present work shows that sexual arousal changes the way males would make sexual decisions, but without further data it is not safe to assume that women would show the same pattern" (p97).

Ariely and Loewenstein (2006) made the disturbing suggestion at the end of their article: "At a social level the failure to appreciate the influence of sexual arousal when one is unaroused can have diverse consequences. For example, judges and jurors, who are generally unaroused when making decisions of guilt and punishment, may be excessively condemnatory and punitive toward sexual offenders because they make their decisions in a sexually unaroused state and fail to appreciate how intense sexual arousal would alter even their own decision making in potentially compromising circumstances. The result is that decisions will be stigmatized as immoral misbehaviour even by people who would themselves make the same choice when in an aroused state. It should be clear that such effects of arousal cannot justify any sexual exploitation, but they can make

such behaviours somewhat more understandable. From the perspective of the legal system it is possible that sexual arousal should be given more credit as a partially mitigating factor than it would normally receive" (p96).

Hollway (1984) challenged the idea of the "male sexual drive" discourse as uncontrollable and unstoppable.

6.1.1. Measuring Sexual Arousal

"The human sexual response is a dynamic combination of cognitive, emotional, and physiological processes. The degree to which one product of these processes, the individual's experience of sexual arousal, corresponds with physiological activity is a matter of interest to many researchers and practitioners in sexology because subjective experience (or self-report) and genital measures of sexual arousal do not always agree" (Chivers et al 2010). Chivers et al (2010) called this "concordance or subjective-genital agreement" [57].

In their meta-analysis of 132 studies between 1969-2007, men had a mean correlation of 0.66, but women only 0.26 between self-report and physiological measures. "Two positions can be described regarding gender as a moderator of subjective-genital agreement. One position is that female and male sexual response systems are truly similar, but the lower concordance estimates observed among women are the result of methodological issues in these studies, such as differences in the assessment devices or procedures that are used. The other position accepts the gender difference in concordance as real, whether it is a result of fundamental differences in sexual response or the effects of learning and other environmental influences" (Chivers et al 2010 p6).

There are a number of key methodological issues (Chivers et al 2010):

a) Stimulus modality - How sexual arousal is created (eg: viewing images or auditory descriptions of intercourse). Some studies use self-generated fantasies.

b) Stimulus length - ie: amount of time that stimulus presented.

c) Stimulus variation - Type of stimulus that the participant prefers (eg: heterosexual or homosexual).

d) Method of reporting - Scale used to measure

[57] For example, studies have found men reporting sexual arousal without genital changes, or penile erection without a subjective experience of arousal.

sexual arousal.

e) Operationalisation of concepts - eg: arousal defined by percentage of erection.

f) Timing of assessment - During or after stimulus presentation.

6.2. AGE OF SEXUAL INITIATION

The age of initiation of sexual activity during adolescence/young adulthood is often viewed in relation to social factors like peer influences and social norms. A few studies have looked at the genetic basis to such behaviour (sexual motivation). So, put simply, there is a potential nature-nurture debate.

In attempting to distinguish the relative weight of genetics and environment, Martin et al (1976) used a postal questionnaire with 134 identical and non-identical pairs of twins aged 16-54 years. Non-shared environment factors were most important in age of first intercourse, followed by genetic and shared environment factors [58].

Rodgers et al (1999) reported gender differences using data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY). For male twins heritability was higher than for female twins, and shared environment factors lower than them.

Bricker et al (2006) found the importance of non-shared environment factors in a study of adopted and non-adopted (biologically related) sibling pairs from the Colorado Adoption Project (CAP) [59]. CAP is an ongoing longitudinal study of families recruited through adoption agencies in 1975-83 in Denver, Colorado, USA. Non-adopted siblings share genes and environment while adopted siblings share environment only. If the behaviour is genetically based, age of sexual onset will be more similar for the non-adopted siblings than for the adopted ones, and vice versa for environmental influences.

6.3. SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS) is a national representative random digit dialling telephone survey of over 18s in the USA (9056 women and 7421 men in 2010) (Black et al 2011).

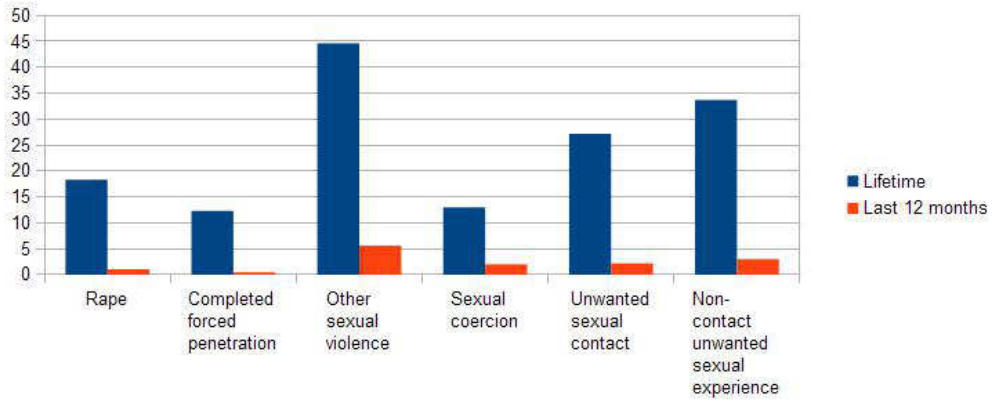
A number of key findings emerged about sexual

[58] This study may have suffered from sampling bias as only 246 of 776 pairs of twins responded to the questionnaire (Bricker et al 2006).

[59] This study measured sexual onset with a direct question, "How old were you when you had intercourse for the first time?".

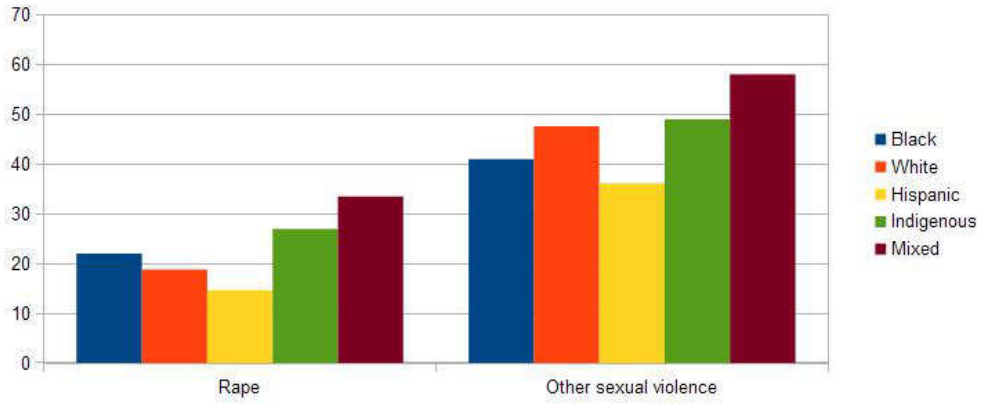
violence experienced by women:

i) The common experience of rape - 18.3% of women reported having been raped at some time in their lives (most before age 25) (figure 4). The rates were higher for Indigenous Americans and those of mixed ethnicity (figure 5).



(Data from Black et al 2011 table 2.1 p19)

Figure 4 - Percentage of women reporting experience.



(Data from Black et al 2011 table 2.3 p20)

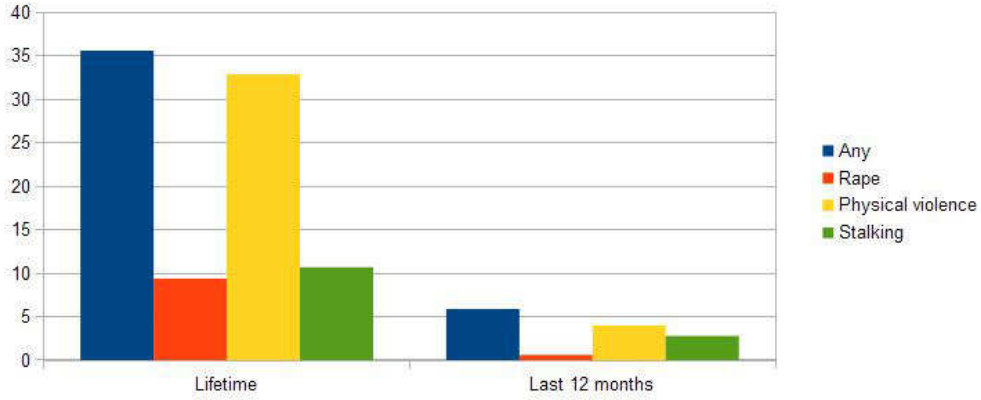
Figure 5 - Lifetime prevalence (%) by ethnicity.

ii) The perpetrator is known to the women - 51.1% of victims of rape reported the perpetrator as being an intimate partner, and 40.8% an acquaintance. Thus "stranger rape" was reported in 8.1% of cases only.

iii) Sexual coercion (ie: pressurised in a non-physical way) was reported by 13% of women, and unwanted

sexual contact by 27.2%.

iv) The common experience of violence by an intimate partner - 35.6% of women reported rape, physical violence and/or stalking by such a person (24.3% severe physical violence), and 48.4% "psychological aggression" by them (figure 6).



(Data from Black et al 2011 table 4.1 p38)

Figure 6 - Percentage of women reporting violence by intimate partner.

7. APPENDIX A - SLUT

Attwood (2007) explored the historical use of the term "slut" showing "that historically women have often been seen in terms of their sexual relations to men, and often as a source of pollution; that the term is not only an indicator of gender, but of class; and that it is used by and between women, as well as by men of women.. [60]. [While today]...the word is most commonly used as a means of branding and exclusion, most notably of younger women and girls by their peers. For teenage girls in particular, the term 'slut' props up a sexual double standard, marks female sexuality as deviant, and works to control girls' behaviour and social positioning..." (p235). At the same time, attempts have been made to reclaim the term for "a person of any gender who has the courage to lead life according to the radical proposition that sex is nice and pleasure is good for you" (Easton and Liszt 1998 quoted in Attwood 2007).

But the reclamation process can be problematic as there is still "'a very narrow tightrope' girls have to

[60] Emily White (2002) suggested that "the slut is usually a white girl" (quoted in Attwood 2007).

walk in order to achieve the impossible state of being sexually attractive 'without the taint of sexuality'..." (Cowie and Lees 1981 quoted in Attwood 2007) [61]. While Gill (2003) noted how women "proudly" using such sexually derogatory terms for themselves as in T-shirts emblazoned with words like "Bitch", "Whore", or "Slut" "has worked to hypersexualise women's bodies, and is emblematic of the way in which a figure of 'the autonomous, active, desiring subject has become... the dominant figure for representing young women'..." (Gill 2003 quoted in Attwood 2007).

Griffin (2005 quoted in Attwood 2007) saw a continuation of a double standard. Young women have the opportunity "to experiment with sexualised practices such as the adoption of revealing clothing, but these are still ambiguous in their significance and potentially risky in signifying sluttiness rather than sassiness..." (Attwood 2007 p242). Gleeson and Frith (2004) described the ambiguity of sexualised clothing as a "'crucial means for women to negotiate their way through contradictory identities as women who are attractive without actively seeking admiring glances, who are sexual but not too sexual, and who are clothed without deliberately creating a look'. In this sense, ambiguity becomes a 'powerful resource which allows women to negotiate meaning and position'..." (quoted in Attwood 2007 pp242-243).

Attwood (2007) concluded: "In the contemporary moment, 'slut' functions for some as an impossible space, the space of contradictions that cannot be resolved in language, theory or practice; the source of conflict between generations and feminisms; a trap and a dead end. And certainly, 'slut' has its limits, threatening to obscure as much as it illuminates and always running the risk of merely reproducing a form of 'hate speak' against women. For others, it is precisely its impossibility that marks it as a potentially productive site, a space of resistance, change and new possibility. Whatever position we take, the reclamation of 'slut' provides an interesting development in this term's history, and it is important as a starting point for illuminating how women continue to engage with the representation of female sexuality" (p244).

8. APPENDIX B - PORNOGRAPHY AND AGGRESSION

Allen et al's (1995) meta-analysis of thirty-three studies of the link between pornography and aggression

[61] Dworkin (1993) argued that "Words foster ignorance and encourage bigotry; to keep women invisible, misinformed, and silent; to threaten and bully; to ridicule and demean" (quoted in Beecher 2010).

found a connection, but this connection was influenced by various factors like prior anger, and the content of the pornography.

Laboratory experiments (tables 6 and 7) on this topic face two key issues:

i) The provocation of participants before they see the pornography - This is often done by a female "experimenter" (or confederate) annoying the participants in some way, and she then becomes a potential target for aggression later. There is a confounding variable in many experiments in that the control group (who do not seen pornography) are treated in a friendly manner by the female "experimenter" (Yang and Youn 2012).

ii) The measurement of aggression - Traditionally this has involved the opportunity to give mild electric shocks to the female "experimenter" who has annoyed them (known as the Buss shock paradigm). But "the participants in shock paradigm studies (especially college students) often know of the obedience studies of Milgram... and thus likely disbelieve that such studies will deliver real shocks" (Yang and Youn 2012 p2).

Sexual violence can be arousing (as seen in the classic experiments by Malamuth et al 1980). This study has limitations in that it is artificial, and does depend on self-reports of sexual arousal.

Experiment 1

Aim - To show that non-sex offenders ("normals") are less sexually aroused by sexual assault than mutually consenting sex stories.

Design:
Participants - 294 undergraduate psychology students at UCLA, USA (135 male and 139 female).

Independent variables:
- Sexual assault vs mutually consenting sex stories.
- Pain vs no pain experienced by victim in stories.
- Two levels of aggression in mutually consenting stories.
- Two levels of intentionality (planned/unplanned) in sexual assault stories.

Participants read one of eight stories about sexual encounters (plus male/female participants to give sixteen conditions).

Dependent variable - Self-reported sexual arousal (from 0 "none at all" to 9 "extremely").

Findings - Participants who read a rape version of the story were significantly less aroused (mean 2.35) than those who read a non-rape version (mean 2.84).

Experiment 2

Aim - To see if the victim's reaction to rape changes the level of

sexual arousal of readers of the story.

Design:
Participants - 123 undergraduate psychology students at UCLA, USA (68 female and 55 male).

Participants read a rape story that varied in pain/no pain for the victim, premeditated/unplanned, and whether the victim experienced disgust and nausea or an involuntary orgasm.

Both male and female participants reported little sexual arousal to the rape story with nausea. Female participants were more aroused when the victim experienced an orgasm in the no pain version of the story, while the male participants were most aroused by the orgasm/pain version of the story.

Table 6 - Classic laboratory experiment - Malamuth et al (1980) [62].

Donnerstein (1980) found, in his laboratory experiment, that males who had viewed a aggressive-erotic film showed more aggression towards women. One hundred and twenty male psychology undergraduates in the USA were divided into twelve conditions for the experiment based on three sets of variables:

a) Anger manipulation - Participants were either made angry or not by the experimenter at the beginning of the experiment. Anger was produced by giving the participants an "accidental" mild electric shock.

b) Film exposure - Participants then watched a four-minute film that was either erotic (couple having sexual intercourse), aggressive-erotic (rape), or neutral (talk show interview).

c) Administration of aggression - Finally, the participants were able to give a mild electric shock to a male or female confederate when they failed to recall a list of nonsense syllables. The level of shock given (on scale of 1-8) was the measure of aggression and the dependent variable.

Participants who were angered and saw the aggressive-erotic film gave the highest mean electric shocks towards the female learner. Non-angered participants who had seen this film also gave a higher level of electric shock to the female learner than viewers of the other films.

Table 7 - Classic laboratory experiment - Donnerstein (1980).

Alternative methods for measuring aggression include the amount of hot sauce put on a sandwich for the target (Lieberman et al 1999).

Yang and Youn (2012) preferred to use a dart-

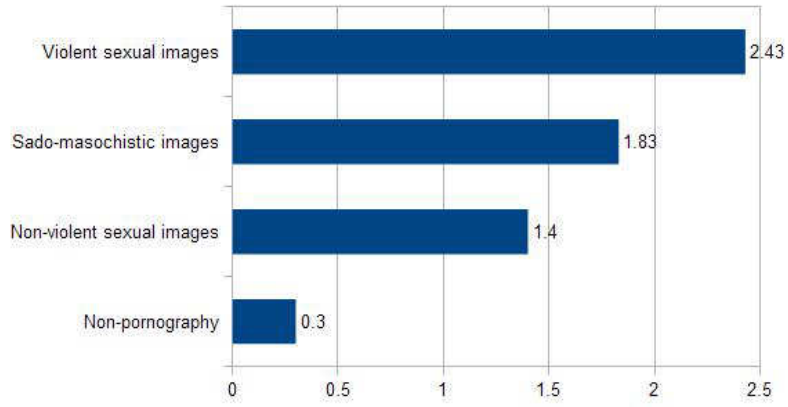
[62] Diamond and Uchiyama (1999) said that these "laboratory-school experiments are hardly comparable to situations in the real world and may not be relevant to it...[They] typically do not take into account context and other crucial social and situational factors in considering the audience or the material" (p17).

throwing task. Participants choose which picture to throw a dart at on a target divided into four, containing a male face, a female face, and two inanimate objects. Throwing the dart at a face is taken as a measure of aggression. But is this a valid measure?

Yang and Youn asked male students in South Korea to self-rate their level of aggression. The lowest scorers were then compared to the highest scorers on this questionnaire in the dart-throwing task. The latter group chose faces significantly more often than objects as their targets compared to the former group. This is taken as the validation of dart-throwing at a human face as a measure of aggression.

One hundred and twenty more male undergraduates in South Korea were recruited for the experiment on pornography and aggression. They were randomly divided into eight groups based on four types of pornography shown and male or female faces as targets in the dart-throwing game afterwards. The pornographic stimuli involved a ten-minute video of non-violent sexual images, sado-masochistic material, or violent sexual images, and a non-pornography control.

Participants were significantly more likely to throw darts at a human face than an inanimate object after watching pornography compared to the control (mean: 1.88 vs 0.30 out of 4). Furthermore, human faces were chosen significantly more after viewing sado-masochistic and violent sexual images than the non-violent sexual images (figure 7). In terms of faces, viewers of violent sexual images targeted female faces more than male ones.



(Data from Yang and Youn 2012 table 3 p6)

Figure 7 - Mean number of darts thrown at faces (out of four) based on video watched.

Table 8 summarises the key strengths and weaknesses of the Yang and Youn (2012) experiment.

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
1. No provocation of participants before viewing pornography as in many other experiments. 2. The use of a dart-throwing task to measure aggression rather than mild electric shocks. 3. A sample of male undergraduates from a university in South Korea. Most previous experiments have taken place in the USA or Western Europe. 4. Use of the independent groups design which meant the participants only did one condition, so no interference or order effects from completing more than one condition. 5. Participants had similar demographic characteristics - age, not married, and self-reported as heterosexual. All were enrolled to an "Introduction to Psychology" course at Chonnam National University, Gwangju.	1. Measured immediate effects of watching pornography only. 2. Only measured aggression, not other consequences of watching pornography like attitudes towards women. 3. Limited access to pornography (10 minute-video) whereas in real-life individuals can choose how long to watch, and so may have become frustrated. Also they were not allowed to masturbate. 4. Only male participants. In the limited studies with female participants, those shown pornography delivered more electric shocks to a male "experimenter" who annoyed them than to a female one (Allen et al 1995). 5. Ethics of showing participants pornographic material. Individuals were volunteers and were told about the content before choosing to watch.

Table 8 - Key strengths and weaknesses of Yang and Youn (2012).

At a social level, the relationship between the availability of pornography and sex crimes is not established. For example, Diamond and Uchiyama (1999), using official data for the period 1972 to 1995 in Japan, found a decline in sexual offences while the availability of pornography dramatically increased.

8.1. Rape Proclivity

In studies using rape scenarios but not the word "rape", many men report that they would have behaved like the man in the scenario (Bohner et al 1998). This is known as "rape proclivity" (or the "acceptability" of rape-like behaviour).

A number of factors influence self-reported rape proclivity (Viki et al 2007):

i) Hostility towards women.

ii) Attitudes that see violence against women as "normal".

iii) Sexual arousal in response to aggressive stimuli.

iv) Acceptance of rape myths.

The perceived seriousness of the rape is reduced by blaming the victim (Viki et al 2007):

- A woman cheating on her partner is blamed more for the rape than a victim who is single.
- A woman who has consumed alcohol (vs no alcohol).
- A woman who has had many previous sexual partners (vs virgin).
- Wearing "provocative" clothing (vs conservative clothing).
- Knowing the perpetrator (vs stranger).

Viki et al (2007) found that sexist humour also reduced the perceived seriousness of the rape, and led to higher rape proclivity and victim blame among 120 male students at an English university.

In a four-condition independent design experiment, students first heard sexist or non-sexist jokes (table 9) (first independent variable), and then read about a stranger or acquaintance rape scenario (second independent variable) (table 10). The acquaintance rape scenario involved a story of Kathy who went to a party where she met and got acquainted to Jason. Later that night she invited him to her apartment where he subsequently raped her. In contrast, the stranger rape scenario was a story of Kathy who was approached and attacked by a stranger (Jason) while she was walking home alone from a restaurant.

The dependent variables were:

a) Self-reported rape proclivity - combined score on 5 items each rated 1 (not at all) to 7 (totally or completely) : "How likely is it that you would have behaved like Jason in this situation?"; "How sexually aroused would you have felt in the situation?"; "How much would you enjoy getting your way in this situation?"; "Do you agree that in sexual encounters women like to be taken?"; "How likely is it that Kathy eventually enjoyed being taken in this situation?" (p126).

b) Victim blame - combined score on 5 items rated 1-7: "How much do you think Kathy should blame herself for what happened?"; "How much control do you think Kathy had over the situation?"; "How much control do you think Jason had over the situation?"; "How much do you agree

Kathy should not have invited Jason over (or walked with Jason) if she did not want to have sex with him?"; "Whose fault do you think it is, that things turned out the way they did?" (p125).

c) Perceived seriousness of rape - scored 1 (not very serious) to 11 (very serious).

d) Sentence length for convicted perpetrator - 0-21 years in prison.

Non-Sexist Jokes

- Psychiatrist: What's your problem?
Patient: I think I'm a chicken.
Psychiatrist: How long has this been going on?
Patient: Ever since I was an egg!

- How do you know when elephants have had sex in your house? The trash can liners are missing!

- What's the difference between a golfer and a skydiver? A golfer goes whack… "Damn!". A skydiver goes "Damn!" ... whack.

- Why was the leper stopped for speeding? He couldn't take his foot off the accelerator!

Sexist Jokes

- Why are women like carpets? If you lay them properly the first time, you can walk all over them for years.

- Why do women have small feet? So they can get closer to the sink!

- How many men does it take to change a light bulb? None let her do the dishes in the dark.

- What is the best thing about a blowjob? Ten minutes silence.

(Source: Viki et al 2007 p131)

Table 9 - Jokes used by Viki et al (2007).

	SEXIST JOKES	NON-SEXIST JOKES
ACQUAINTANCE RAPE SCENARIO	1	3
STRANGER RAPE SCENARIO	2	4

Table 10 - Four conditions in Viki et al (2007) experiment.

Participants in condition 1 (sexist jokes/acquaintance rape scenario) had significantly

higher rape proclivity and victim blame scores, and lower perceived seriousness and length of sentence scores than the other groups (table 11).

	Rape proclivity (out of 7)	Victim blame (out of 7)	Perceived seriousness (out of 11)	Sentence length (0-21 yrs)
SJ/Acq	2.45	4.01	9.77	5.93
SJ/Str	1.42	3.47	10.63	10.83
NSJ/Acq	1.96 *	3.67	10.36	6.21 *
NSJ/Str	1.54	3.62	10.23	13.13
Significance level	<0.001	<0.01	<0.05	<0.02

(* NSJ/acq = significantly different to both stranger rape groups)

(SJ = sexist jokes; NSJ = non-sexist jokes; Acq = acquaintance rape scenario; Str = stranger scenario)

Table 11 - Mean scores on four dependent variables.

This study showed individuals' self-reports, and not their actual behaviour.

According to the prejudiced norm theory (Ford and Ferguson 2004), prejudiced jokes lead to the acceptance of the norms implied by the joke, and a greater tolerance of the implicit discrimination.

8.2. Measuring Rape Myth Acceptance and Sexual Discrimination

Rape myth acceptance (RMA) is a term used to describe a set of beliefs that sees female rape victims as partly (or wholly) to blame for their experience (eg: she was asking for it dressed like that"), and that the experience was not that unpleasant for the victim (eg: "she enjoyed it really").

RMA is usually measured by questionnaires like the original Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) Scale (Burt 1980) with 19 items rated on a seven-point scale from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" (table 12), or the 45-item Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance (IRMA) Scale (Payne et al 1999) (which is also rated on a seven-point scale, from "not at all agree" to "very much agree") (table 13).

- One reason that women falsely report a rape is that they frequently have a need to call attention to themselves.
- Women who get raped while hitch-hiking get what they deserve.
- Many women have an unconscious wish to be raped, and many then

unconsciously set up a situation in which they are likely to be attacked.

- Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really wants to.
- Any female can get raped.

(Source: table 2 p223 Burt 1980)

Table 12 - Example of items from the RMA Scale.

- It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.
- If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.
- Many women secretly desire to be raped.
- A lot of women lead a man on and then cry rape.
- Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.
- Rape mainly occurs on the "bad side of town".
- Rapists are usually sexually frustrated individuals.
- Rape isn't as big a problem as some feminists would like people to think.

(Source: table 2 pp49-50 Payne et al 1999)

Table 13 - Example of items from the IRMA Scale.

Suarez and Gadalla (2010) found that men scored higher than women, on average, on RMA. Based on 37 studies, RMA was found to positively correlate with hostile attitudes and behaviour towards women, and with racism, heterosexism (table 14), classism, and ageism.

Braun (2000) noted that heterosexism could occur in two ways:

- By commission - explicit assumptions of heterosexuality (eg: a woman's partner is always assumed to be a man).
- By omission - a failure to challenge heterosexist talk.

Jewell and Morrison (2010) questioned 286 undergraduates at a university in western Canada about their attitudes towards homosexuality men using the Attitudes Towards Gay Men Scale (ATG) [63]

[63] This has ten items (eg: "male homosexuality is a perversion") rated on five-point Likert scale. This gives a range of 10-50 with a higher score signifying prejudice.

(Herek 1988) and the Self-Report of Behaviour Scale-Revised (SBS-R) [64] (Roderick et al 1998).

The mean score on the ATS was 23.03 (out of 50). The scores on the two questionnaires were significantly positively correlated (r = +0.30; p = 0.01). In detail, 43% of respondents admitted to yelling insults at gay men, 43% to telling anti-gay jokes, 32% to spreading negative talk about gay individuals, 14% to playing jokes on gay men, and 11% to warning gay men to stay away from them.

Eight respondents who were homo-negative were interviewed in detail about their motivations. Three main reasons emerged for such behaviour towards gay men:

i) To alleviate the discomfort of meeting gay men.
ii) To reprimand "deviant" men.
iii) To demonstrate their own heterosexuality.

Riggs and Choi (2006) highlighted how forms of discrimination interact, as in the case of heterosexism and racism. Riggs (2006) admitted: Whilst I (as a White gay man) have often experienced heterosexism, I have not been subjected to racism directed against me. Indeed, I benefit from racism for - I am able to move about in public spaces and ask questions about foster care most often without challenge because I am White" (p289).

Table 14 - Heterosexism.

9. APPENDIX C - GAROS ET AL (2004)

In their first study, Garos et al (2004) correlated the frequency of pornography use and modern and traditional sexism among 91 male and 40 female psychology students at a US university. The former was measured by 25 items (eg: read "Penthouse" magazine; looked at pornography on the Web) [65], each rated as 0, 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, 11-50, 51-100, or more than 100 times.

Traditional sexism was measured by five items (eg: "Women are generally not as smart as men") [66], and modern sexism [67] by eight items (eg: "Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the USA") [68]. A further fifteen items measured attitudes towards women (eg: "It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks") [69]. Each item was rated on a seven-

[64] This has 20 items (eg: "I have been rude to someone because I thought he or she was gay") rated from 1-5, and giving a range of 20-100. Higher scores are again signs of prejudice.
[65] Based on the Exposure to Sexual Materials Questionnaire (ESMQ) (Frable et al 1997).
[66] Based on Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (OFSS) (Swim et al 1995).
[67] "Modern sexism is a more subtle form of sexism that allows an individual to maintain a hostile attitude toward women. By failing to recognise the existing inequality between men and women, an individual who displays modern sexism can then justify maintaining a system that disadvantages women. In short, then, the modern sexist, by insisting that men and women have achieved equality, can explain a particular woman's adverse circumstance in terms of her own failings. Thus, to the extent that women are equal to men, if women appear to be in situations that are subordinate to men, this status would not reflect societal bias against women" (Garos et al 2004 p75).
[68] Based on Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) (Swim et al 1995).
[69] Based on Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATWS) (Spence et al 1973).

point scale from "disagree strongly" to "agree strongly" [70].

Contrary to expectations a negative correlation was found. More pornography use was associated with less sexism.

In the second study, benevolent racism was found to positively correlate with pornography use (ie: increased use and increased sexism). Forty-nine male and 95 female psychology students from the same US university completed the ESMQ on pornography use, and the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick and Fiske 1996). The ASI measures hostile sexism (eg: Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist"), and benevolent sexism (eg: "Women should be cherished and protected by men").

For all participants there was a positive correlation between pornography use and hostile sexism, and between pornography use and benevolent sexism, but only the correlation between benevolent sexism and pornography use was significant for male participants.

10. APPENDIX D - MALE HOMOSEXUALITY

Attitudes towards homosexuality are changing. For example, 75% of respondents thought homosexuality was "always" or "mostly" wrong in 1987 compared to 32% in 2008 in surveys of British Social Attitudes (Almack et al 2010).

Evolutionary Psychology struggles to explain homosexual behaviour within an evolutionary framework. The main point of evolution is the passing of genes into the next generation, and behaviours that aid and enhance that will be adaptive, and behaviours that do not will be maladaptive (and eventually "evolved out") [71]. Homosexuality is assumed to be one of the latter.

But other theorists suggested that homosexuality is evolutionary adaptive because of "some hidden fitness-enhancing characteristic" (Archer 1996) that goes with

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[70] "Although the distance between each of the seven points of the rating scale is not equal, ie: the scale could be seen as an ordinal measure, subjects' mean responses to the 25 items could range from 1-7. A score of 1 would indicate that the participant was never exposed to any pornography at all in the past three years. A score of 7 would indicate that the participant had been exposed to more than 100 instances of each item in the scale. However, because participants' scores could include any number between 1 and 7, in our results section we treated our data as interval-level data. Scores were computed by averaging across each of the 25 items" (Garos et al 2004 p77).

[71] "One way to think about evolution is in terms of an existential game, where the objective is to maximise one's genetic representation in subsequent generations. The game is played according to cost/benefit ratios, where costs and benefits are always directly or indirectly related to reproductive outcomes. It has become increasingly clear that behaviour is at the cutting edge of evolution. Organisms that consistently behave in ways that maximise benefits and minimise costs will leave more descendants than those that do not" (Gallup 1996 pp283-284).

it.

An alternative view among some evolutionary theorists is that homosexuality is socially learnt, and there is an evolutionary basis to the negative attitudes towards homosexuals. Gallup (1995) proposed that parents who see their children in contact with an adult homosexual will attempt to counter this situation because of the fear of "learning" homosexuality, and consequently reducing the parents' inclusive fitness [72]. So the evolution of the negative attitudes towards homosexuals.

Archer (1996) preferred to see the evolution of a general motivation of parents to protect their offspring from dangers. In modern cultures with many media stories about the dangers of paedophiles, the evolved motivation is manifest as fear of men whose sexual orientation is not towards adult females, irrelevant of whether the individual man is a danger to their children.

In the search for physiological bases to homosexuality, or physiological differences between heterosexual and homosexual individuals, the hypothalamus is one area of the brain studied. But particularly in relation to sex specific pheromones (Berglund et al 2006).

In animal studies, damage to parts of the hypothalamus change the behaviour of individual animals; for example (Berglund et al 2006):

- Damage to the pre-optic area of the hypothalamus in male ferrets leads to a preference for stud males over oestrous females.

- Male rates become more interested in other males than receptive females with damage to the same area.

- Destruction of the ventromedial hypothalamus of female ferrets leads to a preference for females over males.

With humans, parts of the hypothalamus were shown to be activated in PET scans in response to 4,16-androstadien-3-one (AND) (found in sweat, particularly of men) and estra-1,3,5(10),16-tetraen-3-ol (EST) (in the urine of pregnant women). For example, heterosexual women and homosexual men, but not heterosexual men, showed a response when smelling AND (Savic et al 2005).

Berglund et al (2006) presented the smells of AND and EST to 36 heterosexual men and women, and lesbian women. The lesbian women showed little response to AND,

[72] Inclusive fitness is the benefit to the genes rather than to the individual. So a mother who sacrifices herself to save her three children is showing inclusive fitness (ie: each child has 50% of her genes, and her act saves 150% of her genes).

but a similar response to heterosexual men to EST.

11. APPENDIX E - LESBIANISM

"For most of the earlier part of this century [20th], psychiatrists viewed lesbianism as a developmental disorder, and conversion to heterosexuality was considered the primary psychotherapeutic goal" (Gartrell 1981 p502).

Psychoanalysis has tended to view lesbianism as an "abnormality" of some kind. Sigmund Freud described the cause as inadequate resolution of the Oedipus complex with mother fixation and penis envy (eg: Freud 1920).

Kaye et al's (1967) survey of 150 psychoanalysts found that the "illness", "abnormality", or "perversion" model of lesbianism predominated. Suggested causes included clitoral fixation, fear of men, fear of rejection, sexual abuse, and sadistic mothering along with inadequate fathering (Gartrell 1981). This negative view of lesbianism is not helped by the fact that psychoanalytic theories were based upon clinical observations of women undergoing analysis/therapy.

Studies of lesbian women not in therapy have found little psychological differences with comparable groups of heterosexual women, and even benefits. For example, no differences in psychological adjustment, maturity or neuroticism (emotional instability), but lesbians scored higher on self-actualisation (Gartrell 1981). In recent years, "the data have clearly indicated that there are no major differences between lesbians and heterosexual women in psychological adjustment" (Gartrell 1981 p503).

But lesbians face another problem - the assumption of singleness equals heterosexual. "Any woman not married is automatically assumed to be single and heterosexual unless she makes her sexual orientation known" (Gartrell 1981 pp503-504). "Coming out" can overcome this, but "Because myths about lesbianism are perpetuated.. coming out involves a political decision to have one's lifestyle open to public scrutiny as a means for changing public attitudes about lesbianism" (Gartrell 1981 p506).

12. APPENDIX F - SEXUAL MINORITIES

"Sexual minority status" (ie: LBGT) among adolescents and young adults is a key risk factor for suicide. For example, about one-third of a community sample of LGB 15-19 year-olds had attempted suicide (D'Augelli et al 2005 quoted in Grossman et al 2007).

Such studies tend to use convenience samples usually

based on snowballing because the population is "hidden". For example, Grossman et al (2007) used this method to recruit 31 male-to-female (MTF) and 24 female-to-male (FTM) [73] 15-21 year-olds via LGBT youth services in New York city, USA [74]. Parental consent was not sought because of the risk of exposing the gender identity.

Overall, just under half (45%) had seriously thought about taking their lives, and 26% had actually tried. Compared to the non-attempters, the suicide attempters were more likely to have experienced parental verbal and physical abuse, had lower body esteem, and had suicidal thoughts related to being transgender.

12.1. Bisexuality

Weinberg et al (1994) felt that bisexuality is "the rejection of not one but two recognised categories of sexual identity: heterosexual and homosexual". But as with homosexual identity there are a series of stages to "becoming bisexual" (Weinberg et al 1994).

1. Initial confusion - often during adolescence, dealing with sexual feelings towards both sexes.

2. Finding and applying the label - for example, one man, interviewed by Weinberg et al (1994), reported finding a book called "The Bisexual Option", and realising that "bisexuality really existed and that's what I was".

3. Settling into the identity - ie: self-acceptance.

4. Continued uncertainty - Weinberg et al (1994) felt that this stage was unique to bisexuality compared to other identities because, even though the individual is settled in their bisexual identity, there is always the question of whether the person is bisexual. For example, feeling stronger sexual attraction to the opposite sex can make the individual ask themselves whether they are really heterosexual. One woman, who was more attracted to men, asked herself, "Is the sexual attraction I have for females something I constructed to pass time or what?" (Weinberg et al 1994).

[73] These were not necessarily sex-changed individuals, but those whose gender identity and behaviour was different to their birth sex. The individuals may undergo operations etc subsequently.

[74] The sampling method meant that individuals not in contact with these services have no chance of being recruited (Ruane 2005).

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