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Porn Studies
and Related Issues

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

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

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1. PORN STUDIES

"The term 'pornography' is Greek in origin and was first used to describe prostitutes' life and manners. Following this, it has referred to all sorts of sexually explicit materials aiming to sexually excite and provide sexual pleasures and satisfaction. The term is widely used, has different meanings, depending on cultural and individuals' context, and includes various types of media/presentation (eg: sex-stories, visual pornography, sex-chats) and content (eg: straight, group, gay, sado-masochism)" (Popovic 2011 p353) ¹.

Attwood and Smith (2014) noted: "Recent years have seen a resurgence of public discussions (and scares) about a series of pornography-related topics, perhaps most notably the expansions of pornography across the internet, its putative links to rape and sexual violence, and erotic life-styling or the oft-cited 'sexualisation' of culture ². These have become over time topics of intense public scrutiny and debate - sometimes spilling into moral, legal or administrative action" (p1) ³.

Smith and Attwood (2014) noted the popular media attention towards the new academic journal "Porn Studies" ⁴. One columnist wrote that it "won't make the best seller lists, but it marks an era when nothing is safe from educated women intent on making a career" (quoted in Smith and Attwood 2014). The "Stop Porn Culture" campaign accused the editorial board of being "porn apologists dressing up personal convictions to look more objective by attaching the word 'studies' to the title of their journal" (quoted in Smith and Attwood 2014). Many of the signatories to this campaign referred to personal negative experiences of pornography. The discussion is framed by the "harms paradigm" - ⁵ a simple direction of causation from viewing pornography to negative

¹ But, in the main, pornography/porn refers to heterosexual material or material that appeals to heterosexual, mostly males.

² Pornography is also in the context and contributes to sexist behaviours (appendix A).

³ Tibbels (2014) quoted from her website which reviews the US adult content production industry: "Porn is just like everything else in life - multi-dimensional and complex. Each component and dimension of adult content production is also part of a wider socio-cultural past, present, and future" (p128). For her, pornography is "a significant dimension of wider society".

⁴ "The moniker 'Porn Studies' makes a judgment. It implies that the user himself or herself is not shocked by these objects, these images, these sounds, these soft or hardcore depictions. It signals that such work is not obscene to me, and for me at least - if not for those of you who call it by its more formal term pornography - I approve of bringing it not only into the home, where it has already been for almost three decades, but also into the academy. It implies that I do not wish to partake any more in the debates about the very existence of pornography. Although I am sure my argument is doomed, I do want to assert here that such familiarity, even geniality, towards pornography may not be the best approach for an academic field" (Williams 2014 p35).

⁵ Boyle (2011) explored the harms done to performers in the pornography industry (appendix B).

consequences for the individual. The public debates about pornography tend to be pro/positive versus anti/negative, which usually links to the view of sex as good or bad, for instance.

McNair (2014) distinguished two main anti-porn perspectives ⁶:

i) Moral conservative version that sees pornography as promoting "taboo-breaking, hedonistic, polygamous sex, [and] in the erosion of 'family values' and heterosexist socio-sexual relations (specifically, the decline of the nuclear family as a core structure of capitalism, and the erosion of male domination inside and out of the domestic environment, including the bedroom)" (McNair 2014 p161).

ii) Anti-porn feminists who view pornography as encouraging misogyny and reinforcing patriarchy.

For instance, Jensen (2011) described the USA as a "rape culture" actively encouraged by pornography. This echoed the 1970s feminist position that "pornography is the theory, rape is the practice" (quoted in McNair 2014).

McNair phrased a proposition in response to this: "If there has been a 'pornographication of mainstream culture', as many observers accept..., and if the harmful effects alleged by anti-pornography observers, be they in the media, the academy, or the anti-porn advocacy movement are real, one would expect the misogynistic, sexist and anti-social behaviours and attitudes attributed to pornography to be increasing" (p163). In answering this proposition McNair (2014) drew upon different societies. He stated: "the key anti-pornography claim - that consumption of pornography leads men to rape and otherwise abuse women, or makes them more likely to - has no basis in the official data now available for a large number of countries" (p165).

Furthermore, he said: "It is also the case (although precise statistics are hard to come by in many of these countries) that societies where women are most likely to be sexually assaulted and disadvantaged across the range of indicators (human rights, political rights, workforce participation and economic independence, etc ⁷) are those in which pornography and sexual culture in general are either banned or tightly restricted, almost always on grounds of religious doctrine" (p165) ⁸.

⁶ Also described as libertarian (viewing pornography as "healthy") or romanticist (pornography as "exploitative, risky and degrading") (Popovic 2011).

⁷ Cultural practices are important in the treatment of women (appendix C).

⁸ Williams (2014) worried about academics being seen as too close to the pornography industry when using the term "porn" or "porno" - "an industry whose main purpose is to make money by enacting

McNair (2014) made a comparison between pornography and a kitchen knife. The vast majority of users do no harm, but certain individuals will injure others with it. The issue is the misuse, not the presence of knives/pornography or not. "Removing all porn from the face of the earth tomorrow would neither reduce nor end sex crime, however, which has existed in all societies at all times in human history, regardless of the extent of their pornographication (Schinaia 2010), and today occurs with as much frequency, if not at higher rate in the non-sexualised societies of the world where porn, like homosexuality and feminism, are likely to be banned or vigorously policed by patriarchal judiciaries" (McNair 2014 p169).

Doring (2009) summarised the "expected" negative consequences of "ordinary" pornography (ie: not illegal nor deviant, or used excessively):

- Sexist portrayal of women.
- Giving "unrealistic body images and standards of sexual performance, thereby making the viewers insecure and unhappy with their own or their partner's bodies and sex lives" (Doring 2009 p1093).
- Leading to the "undermining traditional values of marriage, family, and monogamy by showcasing sexual freedom, thus setting the stage for sexual liberalism and 'amoral' or 'irresponsible' sexual behaviour" (Doring 2009 p1093).

Establishing causality is always an issue, and studies tend to find correlations (eg: online pornography consumption and sexual insecurity among adolescents). Doring (2009) warned that "it may be the case that

sexual fantasies. Although I certainly want to respect the dignity of sex workers and support better, safer working conditions for them, and although I also want to uphold 'freedoms' of speech and to encourage diverse forms of pornography, I believe there is a risk in aligning our own work of scholarship too closely with the work of the pornography industry – even when what that industry produces seems more diverse, transgressive, or experimental than the usual fare. When scholars of pornography adopt the slang of an industry for the name of their object of study, it is a little like film or cinema studies calling itself 'movie studies' or 'flick studies'" (p34).

sexually insecure adolescents turn more frequently to pornography rather than becoming insecure because of it. Caution is advisable not merely regarding the attribution of causality, but also in the assessment of the presumed consequences. So, for example, the fact that encounters with pornography may foster sexual liberalism or dissatisfaction with one's own sex life may not be negative per se, but might stimulate constructive personal development" (p1093).

Smith and Attwood (2014) argued for a critical approach which attempts "to contextualise pornographies in relation to other media genres, forms and aesthetics, in relation to a variety of producer and consumer groups and communities, and in relation to the broader frameworks of cultural regulation and value" (p11) ⁹.

2. CONCERNS AND REALITY

Bohm et al (2015) described the three concerns about Internet pornography for children and adolescents in Germany: "that sexualisation caused by pornography consumption could lead to sexual activity in children and adolescents on a huge scale; and that indiscriminate adoption of porn sex scripts in personal sexual practices convey misogynistic gender portraits, favour traditional male sexual preferences, and could lead to a 'pornification' of sexuality" (p76).

The authors then pointed out that "there is little evidence to support these fears" as adolescents can "navigate in the pornographic landscape in a sensible and reflective manner" (Lofgren-Martenson and Mansson 2010 quoted in Bohm et al 2015).

Bohm et al (2015) backed up this point with data from their study of German students. Over two thousand students at fifteen universities completed questionnaires, and 135 of them were interviewed in detail. Gender differences in viewing pornography emerged:

a) More common among males (80% in last month vs 25% of females).

b) Masturbation and pornography were closely linked, but especially so for males (70% vs 25% of women).

⁹ Williams (2014) had a preference for "on/scene" rather than "ob/scene" in relation to pornography today. She stated that the former term showed "the historical change that had occurred between an era when all explicit sex was considered ob/scene and kept, as that root word signalled, off/scene and the more contemporary movement when contemporary ob/scenities were proliferating on/scene" (p33).

c) Males viewed more frequently - eg: viewed eight times or more in last month: 43% of men vs 3% of women.

d) Male students greater concern about viewing - eg: "I have sometimes felt it was hard to control my consumption": 35% vs 9% of females.

e) In the qualitative interviews, female students reported being selective about what they watched. For example, "Inga" said: "it's a nice atmosphere and works like normal sex", while "Jana" stated that "I feel nothing when I'm watching porn movies when women are being used and pretending to enjoy themselves".

"Both male and female respondents were active, involved consumers of pornography, possessing a 'bundle of knowledge and skills' (Döring 2011b p.249), which enabled them to deal competently with pornography: they were media literate enough to actively use the internet and aware of the fictional nature of pornographic material" (Bohm et al 2015 p88). The researchers did not find the "downward spiral" to ever-increasing extreme content, nor addiction, or "an increased 'pornification' of sexual scripts due to pornography consumption" (Bohm et al 2015).

3. "PORNGASM"

Gordon and Kraus (2010) studied "porngasm" (ie: orgasms as depicted in pornography). Concentrating on female porngasm, the researchers asked 111 male and 153 female US undergraduates to estimate the percentage of orgasms by women in pornographic movies that were genuine. Both groups estimated around 40%, and there was an association between time spent watching and estimation of real orgasms. A gender difference had been predicted.

Gordon and Kraus (2010) questioned their survey items. Men were more likely to believe that the female porn stars enjoyed their work, and experienced sexual pleasure during filming, and these items were "more subtly worded". The item about orgasms was obvious, and the researchers noted: "We suspect that respondents did not want to appear gullible. When asked about perceptions of female porngasm they likely answered so as to convey the sentiment, 'Of course I don't believe that most female porngasms are real. Only a fool would believe that!'" (Gordon and Kraus 2010 p42).

Gordon and Kraus (2010) concluded, though, that men "over-infer the degree of sexual pleasure and the frequency of orgasm that female porn stars experience", and this is "correspondence bias", which is the tendency

to believe that behaviour corresponds to an underlying characteristic of the person. "Applying this concept to female pornorgasm, it seems as though people see female porn stars moan and groan as if they are having an orgasm and infer that genuine sexual arousal is the primary cause of those moans and groans. Viewers seem to temporarily forget that these women are actresses paid to play a role" (Gordon and Kraus 2010 p43) ¹⁰.

From an evolutionary point of view, Haselton and Buss (2000) argued that men have a cognitive bias that assumes sexual intent by women (error management theory). "According to error management theory, men have always faced the daunting task of having to figure out if women were interested in them sexually. Given the difficulty of making such inferences, men are thought to have evolved a cognitive architecture that leads them to make systematic and predictable errors. Namely, men err on the side of inferring sexual interest in women because, even though uninterested women may respond to unwelcome come-ons with surprise, confusion, scoffing, or abject horror, these over-inferences may occasionally yield a sexual encounter. Conversely, erring on the side of under-infering a lack of sexual interest where lustful intentions may be lurking is more costly, because it may lead to missed sexual opportunities with women" (Gordon and Kraus 2010 p43).

4. PROLIFERATION

The proliferation and diversification of pornography has been fostered by the growth of the Internet in the last few years. In particular, the "development of user-generated content has also contributed to the blurring of boundaries between amateur and professional, mainstream and alternative, and has permitted a variety of fantasies to be showcased" (Mazieres et al 2014) ¹¹.

In terms of diversity of interest, Mazieres et al (2014) found, from their analysis of video keywords (tags), "the widespread presence of dominant categories" and "diversity in the 'long tail' of less common sexual scripts". For example, the most popular 5% of tags covered 90% of videos, and the two most frequent keywords ("amateur" and "blowjobs") covered nearly one-third of all content. The researchers used around 70 000 tags attached to uploaded content on two video hosting

¹⁰ Gordon and Kraus (2010) argued that one upshot is that men are "bad lovers" because they see pornography as presenting the way to give a woman sexual pleasure.

¹¹ This can be linked to "glocality" (appendix J).

platforms for "adult sexual content" between 2008 and 2012. Keywords/tags are used to describe a variety of aspects of the video content including sexual practices (eg: threesome), age of performers (eg: "teens"), ethnicity/nationality of actors (eg: "Asian"), places featured/content (eg: office), devices (eg: dildo), and filming technique (eg: point of view (POV)).

Tibbals (2014) outlined some trends and development in US adult content production, consumption and distribution in recent years:

a) "Gonzo" - a film-making form where, for instance, the individual behind the camera gives instructions to the performers, or the performers "talk" to camera during sex acts. "Gonzo content is inexpensive to create, enabling producers to more effectively meet market demands for new material" (Tibbals 2014 p129) ¹².

b) Features - "sex depictions couched within an overarching plot and/or a developing narrative" (Tibbals 2014 p129) (and parodies of mainstream films).

c) Web-based content - eg: downloadable content or live (interactive) performances. This has also influenced the distributors of material (eg: less purchases of DVDs from retailers).

d) Age-centred content - eg: the "teen" genre where performers (in early 20s, say) convey images of being younger, or the "MILF/cougar" genre with "older" female performers.

e) Emerging niches - eg: BBW (big beautiful women)

¹³.

f) "Awareness" - Tibbals (2014) referred to a growing awareness in the adult industry of issues like authenticity ("real sex"), or ethical considerations for the workers (eg: occupational safety).

Hayward and Rahn (2015) concentrated on "celebrity sex videos" as an example of "intimate pornography". This is "the production of audio-visual representations of individuals involved in sexual interaction (most frequently, but not necessarily, couples) by one or other of those individuals involved, for their own

¹² Maddison (2009) saw gonzo as different in ignoring "the traditional 'progression from arousal and foreplay, through to penetration and orgasm' in favour of 'mechanised cycles of penetration' that are organised 'solely according to the logic of penile stimulation, by hand, mouth, vagina or anus, and multiple combinations thereof'" (Hester 2014 p138).

¹³ One such niche is "gagging" (appendix D).

consumption,... purposed to provide pleasure supplementary to the live experience of the sexual acts recorded" (Hayward and Rahn 2015 p50).

Furthermore, "the full knowledge and consent of the parties involved are key to the appeal of these productions. If the video has been made with the full knowledge and consent of parties involved (and when they have been in sufficient states of sobriety and/or alertness to the implications of being filmed), enhanced sexual pleasure may be generated through the awareness of being filmed and/or consciously performing for the camera and its integrated microphone. While these two aspects of pleasure are obviously generated by the knowledge that a recording is being produced, they are performance experiences that precede - and actually do not require - the parties' subsequent watching of the tape..." (Hayward and Rahn 2015 p50).

Hayward and Rahn (2015) summarised another possible motivation of recording:

Risk may also be a significant element of the pleasure involved in participation in recorded sexual performance, particularly if fantasised as somehow 'consequence-free'. There are pleasures to be anticipated and experienced in being discovered, in being watched and/or in being identified as the participant in represented sexual congress. The pleasure in the risk is of 'flirting with danger'. If the representation has been informed and consensual, it might be seen by the parties involved as a manifestation of their amour fou, a passionate interaction whose intensity transgresses boundaries of usual social interaction. There is a thin line between the thrill of being open to being discovered and the consequences of actually being discovered (p2).

These personal sex videos are different to "amateur porn", Hayward and Rahn (2015) argued, which is intended for viewing. "Amateur porn" developed in the 1980s, often with body types not seen in "professional porn" at the time. "Amateur porn" was perceived as more "real" (though the distinction is less obvious today) (Patterson 2004). Hardy (2008) called it "reality porn" today as the pornography industry attempted to appear "as authentic as possible". Filming without consent or knowledge is a different issue (Hayward and Rahn 2015).

This links to "revenge porn", which is "the circulation of intimate photographic and/or video material that shows a recognisable individual in sexually explicit situations in order to cause humiliation to that individual... The revenge aspect is usually - although not exclusively - a form of riposte to a partner who is perceived to have precipitated the break-up of a relationship" (Hayward and Rahn 2015 p53). "Revenge porn"

can be consensual, private material made public or secretly recorded material by one partner.

Salter (2013 quoted in Hayward and Rahn 2015) commented on women as the usual "victims" of "revenge porn" - "Female social status has historically been closely tied to chastity and modesty and women are particularly vulnerable to humiliation when their 'private' sexual life is made 'public'... In revenge porn male offenders seek to instrumentalise double standards in sexual mores".

In relation to "celebrity sex videos", other than the scandal of the individuals involved, there has been discussion as to whether apparent thefts or leaks were real or "a calculated and hypocritical act" by individuals seeking publicity. This view has been voiced in relation to the "classic" tapes of Paris Hilton and Ricky Salomon, and of Pamela Anderson and Tommy Lee (Hayward and Rahn 2015).

The popularity of the celebrity sex video genre of pornography is seen in the growth of spoofs - either actors who look similar to the original celebrity, or video-edited versions combining head and body from different sources. "As none of the actual celebrities appear in such videos, issues of consent are not relevant, but these representations do raise ethical issues akin to those pertaining to revenge porn. The nature of 'revenge' here is not so much in terms of showing actual images of a celebrity designed to humiliate, shame and degrade specific celebrities, but rather of impersonations designed for similar purposes; that is, to enact various forms of retribution on women who have achieved media prominence and/or various positions of affluence or power by representing them in an unambiguously sexual manner" (Hayward and Rahn 2015 p57).

5. NEW ONLINE SEX CULTURES

Attwood (2007) referred to "new sex cultures online", and quoted Jenkins (2006): "Rather than talking about media producers and consumers as occupying separate roles, we might now see them as participants who interact with each other according to a new set of rules that none of us fully understands" (p442). Participation is key (which is different from the traditional view that "media professionals" "give" to "ordinary people"). In relation to pornography, Jacobs (2004 quoted in Attwood 2007) described it as "a democratisation of porn", while Messina (no date quoted in Attwood 2007) coined the term "realcore" to cover "real people with real desires,

having real sex in real places" ¹⁴.

Attwood (2007) gave details of two websites that highlight this "collaborative eroticism" (van der Graf 2004 quoted in Attwood 2007). These sites have been called "smart smut" or "altporn", and here "sexual content is combined with coverage of music, news, art, culture and counterculture, so that sex is placed in a much broader culture context than in more mainstream porn sites... Porn is therefore able to take its place alongside other forms of culture and subculture, becoming a focus for engaging community and culture building" (Attwood 2007 p444) ¹⁵.

Though the websites are not entirely women's self-publishing porn sites, they hold similar values, which includes the importance of nudity in the construction of identity (Barcan 2004). Ordinary people by producing their own nude material are able to join the glamour of female celebrity nudity, which "has increasingly been presented as 'a sign of liberation' in which 'economic freedom... sexual liberation and freedom of choice' happily coincide (Barcan 2004) and in which porn is able to become 'chic' (McNair 2002)" (Attwood 2007 p451).

Barcan (2004) referred to "staged authenticity" seen in "realcore" material (as well as in everyday life). This is the combination of "'desire for the real, fetishisation of the real, resignation to the fact that the real is always elusive, fun in fakery, and celebration of the delights of role-play and performance' (Barcan 2004). In this context, commercial sex inevitably takes on new significance by providing resources for the development of sexual identities and by providing arenas for presenting those identities" (Attwood 2007 p452).

6. "AMATEUR PORN"

Hofer (2014) talking about the growth of "amateur" pornography referred to "pornographic domesticity" to describe a website ¹⁶ where couples (almost exclusively heterosexual) post home-made videos of themselves having sex ¹⁷ after domestic labour (household chores or "dirty dishes" in jargon of the site) - "the starring couples perform domestic labour as sexually arousing and sex acts

¹⁴ McGlotten (2015) described it as "an 'open' practice not limited to commercial or corporate interests", and as "Do It Yourself (DIY) porn".

¹⁵ Speaking about gay "DIY porn", McGlotten (2015) felt it "represents a generative aliveness, an active contribution to and elaboration of networked bodies and desires" (p3).

¹⁶ SellYourSexTape.com (SYST).

¹⁷ "The website operators... discourage filming practices that hegemonic discourses define as obscene: SYST pursues a strict 'no pee, no poop, no blood' policy" (Hofer 2014).

caught on tape as charged with domestic intimacy" (Hofer 2014 p335) ¹⁸.

The inclusion of "dirty dishes" is part of the demarcation of amateur from professional. SYST videos were "supposed to be the products of leisure, not of work. After all, work - in its definition as wage labour - always includes the promise of a socially sanctioned reward in money and public recognition. Amateurs, on the other hand, are supposed to act and produce for their own pleasure, and for free" (Hofer 2014 p335). A distinction that Hofer (2014) challenged.

The "amateur" videos are paid for by the SYST website, and this site charges for access to them. "While the site maintains a strict one-time-only submission policy, which means that performers cannot hope to draw a regular income from selling videos to the site, its compensation practices nevertheless complicate the idea of amateurs just doing it for fun and generously giving it away for free to like-minded viewers. SYST amateurs are not wage labourers in the strict sense, yet their filming and performing for money and an anonymous online audience is anything but a wholly private, leisurely task, and it does not resemble the semi-private gift economies that are often described as 'proper' amateur exchanges" (Hofer 2014 p338). Paasonen (2011) used the term "immaterial labour" to describe work in "internet economies" - work done in private spaces (at home rather than at the office), pleasure but labour (eg: doing a hobby for money), and both "enjoyed and exploited".

Hofer (2014) argued that "pornographic domesticity" (re)produced "straight subjectivities" - "domestic intimacy as we know it today did not emerge as an individual sensibility, and the home is no pre-political, ahistorical zone of personal comfort. Very much to the contrary, straight culture as a normative and hegemonic culture depends on the ideological and institutional construction of the domestic, the intimate, and the private as the right - and the only right - place for legitimate sex" (p335). While Lorenz and Kuster (2007 quoted in Hofer 2014) referred to "sexual labour" ¹⁹ to describe how work generally produces goods and services, and sex and gender. For instance, the woman is doing the chores (possibly naked or in a sexually provocative way) and the man is filming. This is a representation of "dominant fiction" (Silverman 1996), which "prescribes certain ideologically necessary differences - like the

¹⁸ The inclusion of scenes of "dirty dishes" is suggesting a domestic intimacy beyond other "amateur" pornography.

¹⁹ It is "an analytical means to understand how individuals become subjects under specific historical and contextual conditions, and which practices are involved in this process" (Lorenz and Kuster 2007 quoted in Hofer 2014).

difference between straight men and straight women in a heterosexual two-sex system - as if they were reality. What counts as dominant fiction in a given society is historically and culturally specific, and the persistence of its validity may vary widely... In order to work, dominant fiction needs to be affirmed by the members of a society. This affirmation, however, does not only happen consciously. It rather 'involves... the activation of certain desires and identifications', desires that also need to be acted out in 'perpetual re-iteration' (Silverman 1996)" (Hofer 2014 p342).

Yet the viewers are not without a critical eye sometimes. As one comment on the site said: "These kids actually appear to like each other! They seem to enjoy each other's company! And the sex looks amazing! Where's the unwillingness to give head? Where's the arguing over dirty dishes? Where's the infidelity? Why haven't any of these people bothered to document all the countless hours of masturbating in secret while their significant others are at work?!" (quoted in Hofer 2014).

7. SOFTCORE

Softcore pornography magazines are available to purchase from the "top shelf" in "ordinary retail spaces" (eg: newsagents) in many countries. "Rather than having to go to special districts implicitly zoned for the sex trade, such as Soho in London, customers can walk into any corner store to buy a porn magazine. As such, the top shelf is a unique example of a sex retail space that exists outside the geography of regulation characterising sex stores" (Iqani 2015 p36).

Based on thirty hours of participant observation in London newsagents (and nearly six hundred photographs), Iqani (2015) proposed two arguments about the "top shelf": "The first examines the explicit branding of the top shelf as 'for men only', which privileges the heterosexual male gaze and attempts to exclude feminist and queer ways of looking. The second argument is the extent to which porn consumption is both regulated and made exceptional by the elevated placement of the top shelf" (p36). These arguments are based on treating the top shelf as a text which can be analysed via semiotics.

Iqani (2015) stated:

The main contribution here is that the semiotics of the top shelf illuminates the simultaneously productive and repressive operations of capitalist and patriarchal power in sexed-up consumer society. The censoring model of power pushes porn up to the top

shelf and excludes queer forms of porn altogether, while the consensual model of power shines a spotlight on the top shelf and instructs viewers on who is meant to look and how desire is meant to be structured. The top shelf is a semiotic and spatial manifestation of power-saturated gender dynamics that play out in media culture at large. It is (yet another) sign of patriarchal capital in public space. It is an example of profitable sexism, a site in which the male desiring gaze is (yet again) privileged and naturalised (p45).

Iqani (2015) quoting from her research diary said: "I find them [pornography magazines] at once offensive and completely benign". This sums up the tension that exists in a society where such material is commonplace. On the one hand, the ordinariness, the everydayness, the everywhere-ness - women's bare flesh and/or sexualised poses - which is throughout mainstream advertising. Advertising and marketing using female bodies to sell their products have made the woman's body public property, which is looked at, commented on, and touched. On the other hand, though an appropriate anger to such material, taking offence can be seen as being reactionary or conservative, and against "liberal society"²⁰.

8. PSYCHOLOGY AND PORNOGRAPHY

Psychology met pornography most often in the past in laboratory experiments on the effects of pornography on male viewers, which tended to be negative consequences.

²⁰ It is possible to talk of a "new misogyny" or the "acceptability of sexism" in the 21st century West. Here are a selection of factors that play a role:

1. Patriarchal entrenchment and resistance as the "embattled White male" struggles against society becoming, from their point of view, feminised and female-dominated/biased.
2. "Mainstreaming of pornography" - ie: increased availability, and use of its images in mainstream culture.
3. In comedy, a reaction to "political correctness", which is perceived as restricting sexist jokes (among other things).
4. Women embracing "sexy"/sexual power.
5. "Lassiness" or "ladette" - the presence of women in traditional male spaces (eg: drunken groups on a Friday night).
6. Internet-type communication and the "environment of the Internet" (ie: masculine).
7. "Post-modern irony".
8. "Modern cruelty" - eg: increased "sadism" in and as entertainment as bureaucracy produces an "uncaring society", and the bombardment of advertising leading to the need for extreme in order to feel. Both dehumanisation and desensitisation.
9. "Hyper-individualism" (or "hyper-superwoman") - individual women wanting to succeed accept that if being a "sex object" etc is what is required, then doing it (as opposed to a solidarity of women against such demands).
10. "Rape" not taken "seriously".
11. Advertising/media and normality of sex objectification.
12. "Sexual liberation" - nobody wants to be or be seen as a "prude".

However, such research is now questioned: "there is much dispute over whether such findings can be generalised to the world beyond the laboratory, especially given that research on naturally occurring consumption of pornography generally does not find correlations with aggression or negative attitudes, and studies have failed to find increased rates of sex crime in countries following easier access to pornography... Also sex offenders have often been found to have less exposure to pornography than other kinds of offenders (even though they seem to show a greater response to violent, and other, pornography)..." (Barker 2014 p121). For Barker (2014) this is a classic example of "correlation does not equal causation".

More recently, research tries to balance the "positive" and "negative" effects of Internet pornography. For instance, Short et al (2012) found that viewers had improvements in sexual knowledge, but greater interpersonal distress than non-viewers ²¹.

Barker (2014) offered a critical psychology position, which challenges the "underlying assumptions in conventional psychological research on pornography that it is possible to determine cause-effect relationships between outside stimuli and human behaviour, to label effects as straightforwardly 'positive' or 'negative', and to assume that people's attitudes will predict their behaviour..." (p122).

It has been suggested that individuals "move 'through a variety of pornographies, each time accessing more extreme material' ²² (Quayle and Taylor 2002) as a result of desensitisation or appetite satiation, which led to collecting and discovering other forms of deviant pornography... In other words, some child pornography consumers may be dissidents within the normal population who exhibit a wider range of sexual interests or curiosity" (Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013 p1997).

Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers (2013) surveyed 630 US Internet users anonymously with the Online Pornography

²¹ Short et al (2012) reviewed the methodology of forty-four studies on internet pornography by non-deviant adult populations and highlighted two key issues:

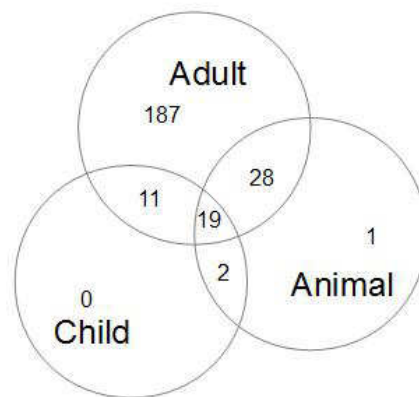
- i) Definition of "pornography" for respondents - 37 studies did not define it or report whether a definition was given to participants. A good definition used in two studies was: "Any kind of material aiming at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the recipient and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts" (quoted in Short et al 2012).
- ii) Measurement of use - Only two studies used a validated measure (ie: Pornography Consumption Effect Scale; PCES; Hald and Malamuth 2008; appendix F), while the remainder had their own questions or statements.

These issues and others make it difficult to "ascertain accurate levels of internet pornography use" (Short et al 2012).

²² This is called a "Guttman-like progression" (Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013).

Survey (Seigfried 2007 quoted in Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013). This assessed the intentional searching, accessing, downloading and exchange of sexually explicit Internet images for three types of pornography - adult (involving individuals over eighteen years old), child (individuals under eighteen), and animal/bestiality (featuring individuals over eighteen with an animal). The majority of respondents did not access any pornography (59.4%).

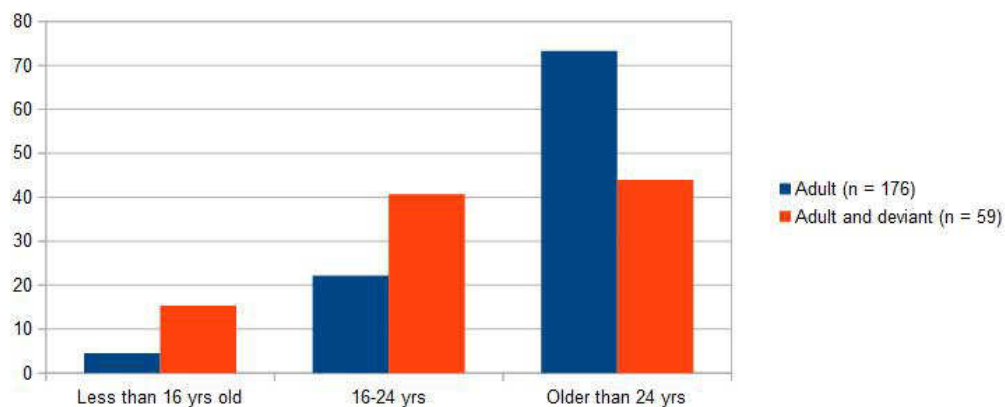
Of the remainder, 5.2% reported child pornography use as well as other pornography (figure 1).



(Data from Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013 table 3 p2000)

Figure 1 - Number of respondents reporting use of three types of pornography.

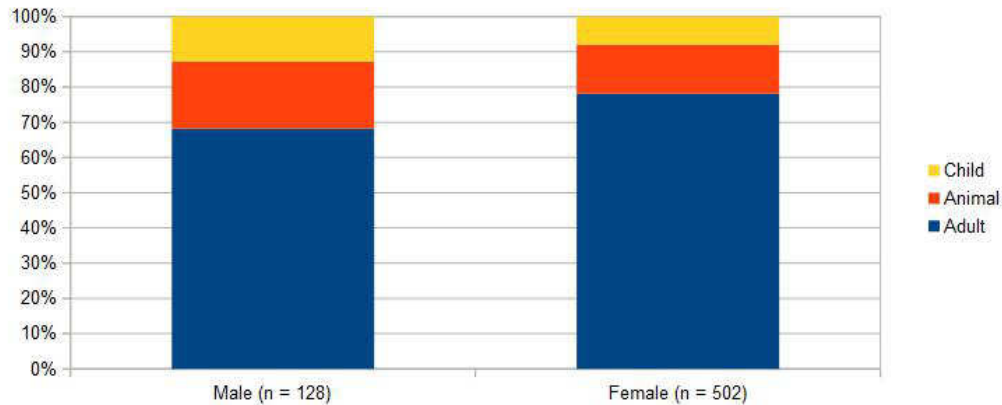
Younger age of onset of viewing pornography (ie: 12-18 years old) were more disproportionately likely to view deviant pornography (figure 2).



(Data from Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013 table 5 p2001)

Figure 2 - Percentage of individuals viewing pornography based on age of onset.

Men were more likely to use all types of pornography than women, but the findings suggested that "women may be consuming child pornography more than previously suggested by research samples from the clinical or forensic population" (Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013) (figure 3).



(Data from Seigfried-Spellar and Rogers 2013 table 2 p2000)

Figure 3 - Pornography use by sex.

This study had a general population sample (rather than offenders), but it was disproportionately more female (80%) than the US general population (ie: not representative). Also it was self-reported answers, though the respondents could trust the confidentiality of their answers.

9. EVOLUTIONARY EXPLANATIONS

The challenge hypothesis (Wingfield et al 1990) predicts that testosterone levels in males rise during competition and are greater among winners of the competition. It was originally proposed to explain competition for mates, but has been applied to human behaviours like sports, and for vicarious competitors (eg: male fans whose team wins have higher levels of testosterone than fans of losers; Bernhardt et al 1998).

This last idea has also been applied to elections and having the party you voted for win. Testosterone levels are linked to interest in sexual behaviour, which can be seen in seeking out pornography.

Markey and Markey (2010) looked at the 2004 and 2008 US presidential elections. The former was won by a Republican and the latter by a Democrat. Classing States

based on the majority of voters as Republican or Democratic, and using keywords in Internet searches by State, Markey and Markey (2010) found that pornography keywords were searched more often after the 2008 election in "Democratic States", and more often in "Republican States" after 2004.

Markey and Markey (2011) used data related to the 2006 and 2010 mid-term US elections (a Democratic and a Republican victory respectively). In the week following the elections, pornography keyword searches were higher in "Democratic States" in 2006 and lower in 2010, and higher in "Republican States" in 2010 and low in 2006. The researchers admitted that the "exact causal mechanism" for the findings could not be determined from their data. Also the keyword searches were based on States, whereas details for individuals would be better.

10. FEMALE GENITAL COSMETIC SURGERY

Female genital cosmetic surgery (FGCS) (eg: aesthetic labiaplasty) has shown an increase in recent years (Jones and Nurka 2015).

Four main social explanations have been proposed for this - media images generally, availability of cosmetic surgery, increased pubic hair removal, and pornography (Jones and Nurka 2015).

In an experiment showing women pictures of modified vulvas, Moran and Lee (2014) found that the viewers changed their perceptions of normality. Jones and Nurka (2015) noted that "participants were exposed to a far higher rate of images of modified vulvas than they would typically experience in daily life".

Overall, Jones and Nurka (2015) were sceptical of the "porn thesis", which "is based on the assumption that women consume pornography and internalise its norms, which then drives genital dissatisfaction and surgical modification of the labia". This assumes a clear causality between pornography and surgery, which ignores the individual's psychology²³. It also assumes that pornography presents "a unified image of genitalia" (Jones and Nurka 2015).

Jones and Nurka (2015) backed up their reservations with an Internet survey of over one thousand women from twenty-five countries recruited via Facebook.

Self-reported genital satisfaction (with size, shape, and colour) was significantly lower among

²³ Predictors of cosmetic surgery generally include depression, anxiety, and self-esteem (Jones and Nurka 2015).

respondents who said they would consider FGCS than not (mean: 8.97 vs 11.37 out of 15). There was a significant association between pornography consumption in last five years²⁴ and openness to labiaplasty²⁵, but not between pornography consumption and genital satisfaction/dissatisfaction.

Jones and Nurka (2015) stated: "These results do not support a simple linear 'porn thesis' that women watch pornography, compare themselves unfavourably with the images presented therein, and become dissatisfied with the appearance of their vulva and therefore seek surgery... Pornography consumption may work indirectly upon women's desire for labiaplasty. For example, it may be through men's pornography consumption, and subsequent evaluation of women's genitals..." (pp69-70).

11. APPENDIX A - SEXISM AND NEOLIBERAL SOCIETY

Phipps and Young (2015) argued that retro-sexist behaviours ("laddish cultures" or "laddism"²⁶) by male students is linked to the neoliberalisation²⁷ of higher education - ie: "the economic discourses which now frame university academic life also shape its social and sexual spheres, informing contemporary student 'lad cultures'" (Phipps and Young 2015 p306).

The researchers explore this topic in four focus groups with nineteen female students in England and Scotland, and in twenty-one interviews (face-to-face, over Skype, or via email). "Lad cultures" was reported as dominating extra-curricular activities in the sports sphere with stories about the rugby teams, for instance. While social events were often advertised with scantily clad or topless women.

Two-thirds of the participants discussed sexual harassment and violence as a "normal part of university life". While such behaviour was defended by perpetrators as irony or "banter". Phipps and Young (2015) reported:

²⁴ Categorized as frequent, occasional or never.

²⁵ As measured by responses of "unlikely", "neither unlikely or likely", or "likely" to "would you consider cosmetic surgery for your labia (lips) or vagina?".

²⁶ "Laddism can be seen as a defensive response to the prevailing misconception that young women are winning the battle of the sexes; and there is a large body of research illustrating how sexism and sexual harassment function to enable men to reclaim power and space... Laddism has also been linked with 'raunch culture', which refers to the incursion of the sexual into popular culture and capitalist markets..." (Phipps and Young 2015 p307). Levy (2005) used "raunch culture" to describe the situation where women willingly sexually self-objectify. She called such individuals, "female chauvinist pigs" as they are "victims of a sexualised, patriarchal culture, even if they are unaware of their victimisation" (McNair 2014).

²⁷ Appendix K.

For our respondents, this functioned to shut down critique: as one of our interviewees... put it, 'sexism is trivialised so that people who challenge it are made to seem like kill-joys or people with no sense of humour'. A focus group participant... described banter as 'the get out of jail free card': nevertheless, there was a strong feeling that it was normalising problematic attitudes and behaviours" (p311).

The role of neoliberalism in this behaviour, argued Phipps and Young (2015), is in the "regimes of performativity" (Ball 2012). Neoliberalism "situates competitive individualism as the central requisite attribute for a citizenry of constantly reinventing entrepreneurs; a new morality of self-development which has come to predominate in the academy... Our data showed evidence of similar performative regimes in university social and sexual life, with older practices such as the legendary 'fuck a fresher' race existing alongside more neoliberalised systems of monitoring and measurement such as charting sexual conquests... and giving women grades for their sex appeal. In the changing environments of higher education, alienation exists amongst students and staff who are constantly measuring themselves against each other and the curve... Similarly, our participants depicted inimical masculine cultures characterised by sexual scoring matrices and appraisal against neo-normative femininities. Competition has long been a 'laddish' value and an element of hegemonic masculinity..." (Phipps and Young 2015 p313).

This "culture(s)" is "very narrow minded to what a woman is", as one focus group participant stated - ie: White, heterosexual, slim, and constantly sexually available with "expectations of young women to perform the 'confident, knowing hetero-sexiness' (Gill 2012 p737) which has replaced virginity as the dominant currency of women's desirability..." (Phipps and Young 2015 p314). One interviewee admitted that the "lad cultures" made her feel that she "should be getting out there and having more sex". "Neoliberalised sexualities require women to look (and be) constantly 'up for it' (Gill 2008 p40) but conceal within constructions of the liberated, desiring subject forms of regulation that draw upon 'the most predictable templates of male sexual fantasy' (Gill 2008 p45)" (Phipps and Young 2015 p314) (appendix E).

Phipps and Young (2015) stated: "Marketised universities exist within (and perpetuate) a culture based on 'having' or 'getting' (grades and/or jobs), which develops a sense of entitlement and in which education becomes a transactional exchange... Students' lives are directed towards economic self-interest and credential acquisition rather than connection... Such market-based views of personhood threaten the existence of community... as residing in the ways in which we

relate to the Other. Indeed, neoliberalism has produced defensive strategies here, with Others seen in adversarial terms and apolitical notions of 'difference' taking precedence over relationality and solidarity" (Phipps and Young 2015 p314).

A sense of entitlement by male consumers is important along with the "pornographic representations of heterosex which incorporate increasingly 'hard-core' practices, always gendered..., and depict 'a consumptive rather than a relational act' ²⁸ (Gilbert 2013 p6)" (Phipps and Young 2015 p315). Put another way, the combination of hypermasculinity and the "callousness of the contemporary socio-economic context" (Phipps and Young 2015). For Phipps and Young (2015) laddish sexism is not new, but today's "version" is "more brutal in a neoliberal context".

11.1. Horvath et al (2012)

In a pair of studies, Horvath et al (2012) showed "an overlap in the content of convicted rapists' talk and the contents of contemporary lads' mags, and suggest that the framing of such content within lads' mags may normalise it for young men" (p454).

Other studies have shown the influence of such media on the behaviour of adolescents and young adults, including identifying women as sex objects after exposure to sexualised media content (eg: Peter and Valkenburg 2007).

"Lads' mags" is a term to used to cover mainstream magazines aimed at young male readers that have appeared in the UK, USA, and Australia in the last 10-15 years (eg: "Zoo", "Nuts"). Coy and Hovarth (2011) described them as presenting a "hedonistic predatory construction of masculinity". Though these magazines have many pictures of scantily-clad women, they do not have total nudity which has meant that they have not been classed as traditional pornography. However, the magazines present a "worldview" as sexual objects whose sexual satisfaction is less important than men's. The readers are advised to find the woman's "vulnerabilities" in aid in the "sexual conquest" (eg: fake sincerity, getting the woman drunk). "Thus, if taken at face value, lads' mags appear likely to teach young men sexist attitudes and practices... as more sexually explicit pornography is known to do" (Horvath et al 2012 p455).

²⁸ The pornography industry "treating sex itself as a consumptive rather than a relational act, and participating in the general commodification of sex which is one of the most striking characteristics of neoliberal culture today" (Gilbert 2013 quoted in Smith and Attwood 2014).

Editors of lads' mags defend their publications as "ironic"²⁹. This allows them "to negate the possibility that their magazines influence readers, and to counter-argue that their critics have simply missed the intended joke... However, the definition of 'irony' is inherently subjective; the same comment can be attributed a literal intended meaning or an ironic intended meaning" (Horvath et al 2012 p455). Another defence of the magazines is to blame "production error" when content causes controversy. Horvath et al (2012) noted the parallel with the "techniques of neutralisation" used by rapists to blame the victim, for instance (eg: "she led me on", "no" means "yes"). This is quite a strong statement, and so Horvath et al (2012) performed their two studies to explore this "possibility that lads, mags may be normalising sexist opinions that would otherwise be perceived as illegitimate; the normalisations of violence against women voiced by convicted rapists" (p456).

Study 1

Horvath et al (2012) manipulated the attribution of sexist quotes to see how ninety-two males from an UK university would perceive them. Eight short quotes from interviews with convicted rapists³⁰ and eight quotes from lads' mags in 2010³¹ were selected. The respondents were asked to rate their identification with the quotes on a seven-point scale. There were three independent conditions - correctly attributed quotes, incorrectly attributed quotes (ie: quotes from convicted rapists stated as from lads' mags and vice versa), and unattributed quotes (no source for quotes - control group)³².

It was found that "young men identified more with hostile sexist quotes about women when those quotes were attributed to lads' mags... This finding is consistent with the possibility that lads' mags might normalise hostile sexism, because sexism appears more acceptable to young men when lads' mags appear to be its source.

²⁹ System justification theory can be applied to this behaviour as well as others supporting the status quo (appendix I).

³⁰ Eg: "There's a certain way you can tell that a girl wants to have sex... The way they dress, they flaunt themselves"; "I think if a law is passed, there should be a dress code... When girls dress in those short skirts and things like that, they're just asking for it".

³¹ Eg: "You do not want to be caught red-handed... go and smash her on a park bench. That used to be my trick"; "A girl may like anal sex because it makes her feel incredibly naughty and she likes feeling like a dirty slut. If this is the case, you can try all sorts of humiliating acts to help live out her filthy fantasy".

³² Horvath et al (2012) also developed the Perceived Legitimacy of Lads' Mags scale with four statements (eg: "Lads' mags are a positive way of learning about sexual relationships"), each rated 0 to 5. There was a significant positive correlation between scores on this scale and identification with sexist quotes.

Unexpectedly, the participants also identified more with the rapists' quotes than the lads' mags quotes. Jointly these findings suggest the possibility that the legitimization strategies that rapists deploy when they talk about women are more familiar to these young men than we had anticipated. They also suggest that young men might be unable to correctly detect the source of hostile quotes drawn from lads' mags and convicted rapists" (Horvath et al 2012 p461). This led to the second study.

Methodological considerations:

- Opportunistic sample recruited on campus.
- Experimental study: independent variable = attribution of quotes, dependent variables = identification with quotes.
- Independent groups (or between-participants) design.
- Choice of quotes by researchers to use was subjective decision.
- Male volunteers met and instructed by female experimenter.
- Confidentiality of participants maintained by completing questionnaire in private and placing in locked box before leaving.
- Verbally debriefing and information sheet about study given after completion of questionnaire.

Study 2

This study investigated whether twenty male and twenty female participants could tell the difference between quotes from convicted rapists and lads' mags. The sixteen quotes from Study 1 were presented on individual cards and the participants performed three tasks alone - place quotes in order of most to least degrading towards women (degrading continuum task), divide into two groups: degrading/not degrading (degrading split task), and say whether quotes from rapists or lads' mags (source detection task). Participants also explained their decisions and this was recorded and transcribed.

In the degrading continuum task, the mean rank for the quotes from the lads' mags was higher than the mean

rank for the rapists' quotes ³³. In the degrading split task, equal numbers of quotes from both sources were categorised as degrading towards women (mean: 73% each).

In the source detection task, correct guessing of the source was 56.1% for lads' mags' quotes and 55.4% for quotes from rapists (table 1). So the participants struggled to distinguish the two sources of quotes.

Qualitative analysis of the participants' explanations of their decisions showed the difficulty in distinguishing the two sets of quotes - eg: one male participant said: "In general there is nothing that stands out as a lads' mag piece and nothing that stands out as criminal... I am just shocked by how similar some of them are" (Horvath et al 2012 p464). Certain themes emerged for the decisions made. Quotes were classed as from lads' mags if they were perceived as advice giving, "normal male conversation", humorous, or "atypical of rapists", while quotes from rapists were perceived as violent, excusing, "too offensive for lads' mags", or "mistaken communication".

| Quote | Mean rank on degrading continuum task * | Mean proportion classed as degrading on degrading split task | Mean correct attribution on source detection task |
|--|---|--|---|
| Lads mag: "I think girls are like plasticine, if you warm them up you can do anything you want with them". | 8.85 | 83% | 63% |
| Rapist: "You'll find most girls will be reluctant about going to bed with somebody or crawling in the back seat of a car... But you can usually seduce them, and they'll do it willingly". | 7.53 | 70% | 50% |

(* scoring 16 points for rank of 1st place - ie: most degrading)

(Source: Horvath et al 2012 table 1 p458 and table 2 p463)

Table 1 - Example of mean scores for two quotes.

³³ For scoring purposes, a rank position of 1st was given 16 points and so on until 16th place is one point. Thus the mean score for lads' mags' quotes was 9.15 and 7.85 for rapists' quotes.

Methodological considerations:

- Snowballing sampling starting with people known to researchers and these people recruited interested individuals.
- Study described as concerned with "attitudes towards women that some men might hold", and participants warned that there may be material that some people might find offensive.
- Non-experimental study.
- Participants told that there was no right or wrong answer, and they could voice comments throughout, which would be analysed from the tape-recording.

Horvath et al (2012) summed up: "Both studies demonstrate how young people may be assuming, in line with cultural discourse, that a boundary can be detected between the overlapping discourse of lads' mags and convicted rapists, such that the former is 'normal' and the latter is 'extreme'. Both studies suggest that it is harder to tell the difference than this folk theory suggests. This folk theory may serve as a poor guide because of the existence of a 'continuum of sexual violence' (Kelly 1988) that includes a wide range of behaviours including threats of violence, sexual harassment, coercive sex, rape, and incest. Kelly (1988) emphasised that the boundaries between categories of sexual violence are fuzzy, and that the continuum does not imply either linear progression or progressive seriousness... Similarly, other researchers have argued that contrary to the belief that male sexual aggression is unusual or strange..., rape is learned behaviour... and many men hold attitudes or beliefs that may lead them to commit a sexually aggressive act... In line with this conceptual framing, our studies show that the ways in which convicted rapists and lads' mags discuss female sexuality are similar enough to each other to be frequently confused and distinctions between them are blurred" (p466-467).

11.2. Effect on Intimacy

The negative effect of pornography on intimacy and close relationships is a major concern for those who are worried about the rise of pornography. Research in this area tends to concentrate on men. Popovic (2011) reported an exception - a study of sixty-six female adults. Twenty-three of the women self-categorised as

"pornography users". The participants completed the Perceived Interpersonal Closeness Scale (PICS), which measures actual and ideal closeness with significant others using concentric circles. They also completed the thirteen-item Background and Pornography Use Information Questionnaire.

No significant differences were found between the two groups of women on mean actual closeness, ideal closeness, or the discrepancy between the two scores.

Though amount of pornography viewed was self-reported, no information was collected on reasons for viewing, type of material seen, or content of viewing (eg: alone).

11.3. Domestic Division of Labour

Doing "gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987) (ie: the cultural construction of masculinities and femininities) can be seen in the sexual division of domestic and caring work. This is the idea that cultural assumptions related to sex exist and determine behaviours. The alternative theory of the domestic division of labour is "relative resource" - ie: traditionally men have been the breadwinner bringing resources to the household, and thus women carry out the domestic work (Lyonette and Crompton 2015).

If this theory is correct, then women who earn more than men should do less domestic labour than their partner. There is evidence both for and against this, but Lyonette and Crompton (2015) felt that "men do increase their domestic contribution when their female partners earn more than they do, although women still do more" (p26).

They based this conclusion on interviews with thirty-six women and twelve men in the UK. The interviewees were divided into three groups:

- Woman earns more (WEM) - 15 women and 1 male interviewee.
- Same income couple (SINC) - sixteen women and five men.
- Man earns more (MEM) - five female and six male interviewees.

Among the female WEMs, ten reported that they had the main responsibility for housework, four shared, and one woman's partner was responsible. The majority of female SINCS had main responsibility (10 of 16), and the others shared. Only one of the female MEMs did not have main responsibility.

Women in the MEM and SINC groups were aware that "their material contribution to the household should be fairly reflected in the sharing of housework, and are often frustrated at their lack of success in changing the

situation. At the same time, their frustrations are to some extent mollified by the 'myth of male incompetence' (Tichenor 2005)... [eg:] 'I tried to level it out but it didn't work. He didn't do it to the right standard. I think they do it on purpose, men, don't they?'" (Lyonette and Crompton 2015 p34).

One way to deal with tensions around domestic labour was to employ another person to do it, but women were responsible for organising the paid help.

Overall, Lyonette and Crompton (2015) pointed out that "many men make some contribution to housework, although what constitutes 'sharing' is debatable and varies by class" (p36). Interestingly, traditional working-class men often did more housework despite their vocal opposition to it (ie: "lived egalitarianism"; Usdansky 2011) than professional men who spoke up for equality without actually doing any housework ("spoken egalitarianism").

But "those men who do contribute tend to choose the more visible domestic tasks, such as shopping and cooking, creating a greater degree of gender segregation" (Lyonette and Crompton 2015 p37).

12. APPENDIX B - HARMS TO PERFORMERS

In terms of the abuse in the porn industry, Boyle (2011) stated: "That porn can be profoundly damaging to women is now part of the story the industry tells about itself, to itself (and its actual consumers) through porn industry publications and discussion forums, as well as to the wider world (and potential consumers) through interviews in mainstream media outlets. The acknowledged abuse includes deception and coercion, addictions (usually to drugs or alcohol), and physical and psychological harm from porn as well as the recognition that sexual abuse, neglect, poverty and problems with addiction often drive women into porn in the first place. By reincorporating these stories of abuse back into the story of porn, the industry has been successful in re-framing these stories: work and sex intersect with feminist-inflected arguments about choice and empowerment to render the demand side of the pornographic equation invisible and irrelevant. Porn is a story about women - the relative invisibility of male porn performers in mainstream discourses around porn is but one example of this - and, as such, any problems with porn are for women to sort out. In the meantime, production and consumption remain untroubled by the moral, ethical or legal dilemmas these accounts should throw up" (p601).

"Autobiography" by female performers in pornography

is always open to question about its "truthfulness", but Boyle (2011) noted the contradictions within it. For example, "Tera Patrick" described how rape by a photographer started her on her career in the porn industry. She said: "'As violating as it may seem, that sexual experience made me who I am today, and I love who I am today'... From here, Patrick goes on to describe how she became sexually promiscuous, fuelled by a desire on her part that was not so much sexual as strategic. Sex, she tells us, 'made me feel powerful. It still does'... This strategic use of sex is not, of course, uncommon amongst survivors of sexual trauma. However, what is striking here is that porn is presented, in the context of the autobiography as a whole, not as an extension of the problem but as a remunerative solution: Patrick found a profession in which her survival skills could be turned into money and celebrity. This was her choice and she has made it work for her: consumers reading her account can get off on the statutory rape without feeling bad because it is transformed into a story about sex and money" (Boyle 2011 p597).

Tyler (2015) went as far as to argue that "commercial pornography should be understood as prostitution, and, potentially, as a form of prostitution carrying specific and additional harms" (p114). Dines and Jensen (2006 quoted in Tyler 2015) stated: "While pornography has never been treated as prostitution by the law, it's fundamentally the same exchange. The fact that sex is mediated through a magazine or movie doesn't change that, nor does that fact that women sometimes use pornography. The fundamentals remain: Men pay to use women for sexual pleasure" (p117).

Whisnant (2004) gave this example: "Suppose Fred is making money by selling Gertrude's sex act to Harvey and reaping part or all of the proceeds. In short, Fred is a pimp. It then occurs to him that with this new technological innovation called the camera (or video camera, or webcam etc) he could sell Gertrude's sex act not just once, to Harvey, but many thousands of times to many thousands of different men...The structure, logic, and purpose of Fred's activity have not changed. He is still a pimp. He has simply become more savvy and enterprising... The basic elements of Gertrude's experience, similarly, have not changed: she is still exchanging sex acts for money. The only member of our original trio now having a significantly different experience is Harvey, who now has his sexual experience with' (at, on) Gertrude at some technological remove. He may like it this way or he may not, but keep in mind that he is getting the goods at a much lower price, with greater anonymity, and with the added benefit of not having to see himself as a john" (quoted in Tyler

2015).

In fact, Tyler (2015) felt that pornography was "an especially pernicious form of prostitution" in two ways:

a) More physically extreme sex acts for longer periods.

b) The additional harm from the distribution of pornography (eg: fear that performer's relatives may see the material).

13. APPENDIX C - BRIDE-PRICE

In many countries, "bride-price" (or "bride-wealth") is a customary practice, where the groom gives material items or money to the bride's family on marriage. This is returned if the marriage breaks down ³⁴. Hague et al (2011) argued that the bride-price was the "commodification of wives" which "led to deleterious social impacts, especially in terms of increased domestic violence and male power over women" (p550).

Hague et al (2011) collected data in Eastern Uganda, where they interviewed local people, officials, and experts. One local official lamented: "It has become so commercial now. It is like the girl's parents are selling off their daughters in order to become richer or to escape poverty. Every parent wants their daughter to get married so they can benefit from her" (p555). While one expert said: "Bride-wealth normalises men controlling everything and women's weak position as the one negotiated over, the object to be exchanged, so - both ways - the power difference is increased by bride-wealth - it gives men more and at the same time women less... So it changes the power both ways. No wonder men don't like it to be challenged" (p555).

This was confirmed by one woman: "Bride-price affected me in a bad way because on my husband's side - every time they give orders make me overwork in the garden and at home saying that I am the property which was bought and I must do each and everything at home" (p556).

Many of the interviewees believed that there was a connection between bride-price and domestic violence - eg: "I experienced all forms of domestic abuse, verbally, sexually and financially. One time he cut me with a hoe

³⁴ Bride-price is the opposite to a dowry, which is paid by the bride's family to the groom's on marriage.

and disappeared for one month. Many times he has forced me into sex when I am sick, beaten me, slapped me and shown me no form of respect. You can even see this scar on my face. This happened because he paid bride-price. Many times he would say 'after all I have paid for you' (wife; p557). Hague et al (2011) pointed out that the relationship was complex - "the prevalence and acceptability of domestic violence itself is the real underlying problem, and that bride-price is an aggravating symptom which makes the abuse worse, due to its impact on gender relations and the way it reinforces inequality between men and women. Thus, while domestic violence was suggested to be widespread and endemic in the communities concerned, bride-price itself appears exponentially to multiply the types of abuse that wives experience and the reasons why the violence occurs. It cements women's inferior position in the family and the likelihood of their husbands feeling that they have an undisputed right to dominate and control their wives by using violence" (p557).

Bride-price also had negative consequences in impoverishing the groom and his family, and in forcing abused wives to stay with the perpetrator because her family could not afford to repay the bride-price. Bride-price could contribute to the spread of HIV in two ways. "The first involved older men who may be able to pay good bride-price. Cases were presented in the research of parents who had sought such experienced and wealthy men for their young daughters. However, such men may be HIV positive (and their first wife may have died of related illnesses) or they may have other HIV positive wives... The HIV had been spread, with the young wives and their babies becoming immediately infected" (Hague et al 2011 p558). Secondly, wives forced to stay with unfaithful HIV positive husbands because the bride-price could not be repaid.

14. APPENDIX D - GAGGING

Increasing in popularity is the phenomena of "gagging" (involuntary muscular spasm from irrumatio - rough deep throat fellatio) (Hester 2014). Jensen (2007) saw this as a sign of hostility towards women in pornography, while Paul (2005) referred to "increasingly extreme and misogynistic content in hardcore" (Hester 2014). Diner (2010) saw it as part of "the numbing of male empathy and the eroticising of female subjugation" (Hester 2014).

Hester (2014) offered an alternative "reading" of "gagging" in relation to abject substances ("something to

be ejected, or separated; Kristeva 1982). The fluids produced - spit and mucous - "are at the heart of gagging porn's generic appeal, to the extent that they 'even compete' with the more conventional representation of seminal fluid [...] The emissions drawn out by vigorous deep throat fellatio redouble the conventional money shot to some extent; they target the face, smearing it with the viscous and abject by-products of sexual contact. The pleasures of the money shot - supposedly the pleasures of 'marking territory and claiming ownership' (Moore and Weissbein 2010) - are therefore extended. The money shot is no longer contained within the final act of a pornographic performance, but is instead laced through the scene as a whole, gradually intensifying as the oral penetrations, and concomitant choking and gagging, build throughout the course of the pornographic performance" (Hester 2014 pp131;132).

More than that, Hester (2014) argued that the fluids produced by "gagging" are the female equivalent of the male ejaculation. It is visible evidence of pleasure. "After all, 'the female partner is able to lie or act' (Falk 2011), thus rendering the task of generating 'a convincing representation of female sexual pleasure in the absence of evidential signs' (Falk 2011) particularly problematic" (Hester 2014 p133).

So, "gagging porn provides its viewers with a kind of proof that the woman's body has really experienced something. The deliberate foregrounding of snotty noses, saliva-smearred mouths, and watering eyes is nothing if not an attempt to show that the female performer has been moved by some irresistible sexual force" (Hester 2014 p137).

15. APPENDIX E - SEXUALISATION OF CULTURE

Gill (2012) noted the sides of the debate on the question of the "sexualisation of culture":

On one side of the argument are those who mobilise women's 'choice', 'agency' and 'empowerment' to champion aspects of 'sexualised culture such as pornography, burlesque or the popularity of pole dancing as a recreational activity - these activities can be defended (or even celebrated) because they are 'empowering' On the other, empowerment is regarded merely as a cynical rhetoric, wrapping sexual objectification in a shiny, feisty, post-feminist packaging that obscures the continued underlying sexism... A further position is interested in the extent to which sexual 'empowerment' has itself become a normatively demanded

feature of young women's sexual subjectivity, such that they are called on routinely to perform confident, knowing heterosexiness... (pp736-737).

Put another way, giving a lap dance is a sign of empowerment for the woman versus such a feeling of empowerment is "a false consciousness" produced by a "sexualised advertising culture" (Gill 2012).

Gill's (2012) position in this debate is based around four points:

i) The nature of media influence - the focus on imitation of what is seen ignores "girls' active consumption and production of media; and the importance of local, specific contexts in mediating its place in girls' lives" (p737).

ii) The notion of media literacy - this is the idea that individuals learn to be critical and sceptical of media messages. Gill (2012) pointed out that media literacy "forces the work of deconstructing media back onto individuals" and "it seems to suggest that media cannot be changed; all that can be changed is how we engage with them" (p741).

iii) The need to include discussion of power "in relation to class, 'race', sexuality and other axes of oppression" (Gill 2012).

iv) The usefulness of the concept of "sexual empowerment".

Gill (2012) lamented that "'empowerment' is so problematic, it seems to me, is because the notion has become commodified - used to sell everything from washing powder to cosmetic surgery. In a context in which fake 'empowerment' is everywhere and in which feminist notions of it have been taken up and sold back to us emptied of their political force..., how can we identify what true empowerment would look like, would feel like? This is made particularly complex in relation to 'sexual empowerment' since it has become one of the tropes of sexualised culture: everywhere we are confronted with images of 'empowered' female sexuality; this is (very often) precisely how sexual objectification is done" (p743).

15.1. Girls

The "new girl crisis" of "sexualised" girl (or "tween" - 7-14 years old) presents the "girl child" as "tainted by 'sexualisation', her innocence spoiled by

exposure to the 'sexualised' representations of femininity in media and market-place" (Jackson and Goddard 2015 p241). This innocence is juxtapositioned to "a post-feminist Girl Power discourse", where girls "can be 'empowered' through the consumption choices they make and practices such as wearing make-up, and body-exposing clothing further offer girls 'empowerment' through heterosexual desirability (eg: to obtain a boyfriend or boys' admiration)" (Jackson and Goddard 2015 p242).

These two discourses produce a "contradictory and dilemmatic context", and an "impossible space" for girls and young women (Griffin 2005 quoted in Jackson and Goddard 2015). "To be a properly sexually innocent girl under the terms of a 'sexualisation' discourse is to fail as a post-feminist girl within the embrace of Girl Power. In this sense, girlhood femininity is a 'burden', requiring girls to somehow 'get it just right'" (Jackson and Goddard 2015 p243).

Jackson and Goddard (2015) showed this in their focus groups with 11-13 year-old girls in New Zealand. For example, the participants were "unequivocal in the view that girls younger than themselves should not be exposed to 'sexualised' representations because of the likelihood they would emulate them and then behave in sexually inappropriate ways for their age. Our interpretation of this strong pattern of 'othering' to younger girls is twofold. First, girls draw on 'sexualisation' discourse both in their positioning of girls as naive and imitative and in their implicit preservation of little girls as sexually innocent, 'unspoiled' by exposure to tainting 'sexualised' representations. Second, attributing influence and adverse effects to younger girls works to shore up girls' own positioning as better equipped to manage 'sexualised' media representations" (Jackson and Goddard 2015 p250).

15.2. Sexual Objectification Theory

A female participant in Bergner and Bridges' (2002) study of male partner's pornography use stated: "I am no longer a sexual person or partner to him, but a sexual object. He is not really with me, not really making love to me when we have intercourse. He seems to be thinking about something or someone else – likely those porn women – or he is just inserting me to play a role in some novel sexual scenario that he saw somewhere. He is just using me as a warm body" (quoted in Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015). The woman is describing "sexual objectification", defined as "being treated as a body (or collection of body parts) valued predominantly for its use to (or consumption by) others" (Fredrickson and Roberts 1997 quoted in Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015).

Objectification theory states that "being sexually objectified encourages women to adopt an observer's perspective of their body (ie: to self-objectify), which is deleterious to their well-being in a multitude of ways" (Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015 p67). Sexual objectification usually involves unwanted sexual advances, being the target of gaze or body evaluation, and sexually objectifying media content (Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015). In the latter case, the sexual gaze is encouraged, which produces "highly idealised fantasies made precisely to the fantasiser's order" (Bergner and Bridges 2002 quoted in Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015).

Tylka and Kroon Van Diest (2015) researched how women's male partner's use of pornography can be seen as "a form of sexual objectification". "When women know that their male partners view pornography, their concern regarding their partners' sexual attraction toward their own body increases... Being aware that her male partner is 'watching' other women's bodies likely directs her thoughts to how her partner may be 'watching' and 'assessing' her body; thus, she likely self-objectifies by adopting her partner's perspective of her own body... Also, women in pornography tend to conform to cultural beauty ideals (ie: they are thin or curvaceously thin), with a small waist and an average-to-large bust size... Therefore, knowing that her male partner is looking at and likely masturbating to thin/curvaceously thin women in pornography could heighten a woman's body focus and pressure to lose weight" (Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015 p68).

One hundred and seventy-one women aged 18-56 years old were recruited at a US university. They completed ten questions, including on male partner's pornography use, sexual objectification, body shame, eating disorders, and self-esteem (table 2).

After data analysis, previous partner's pornography use was found to directly predict ISOS score, internalisation of cultural beauty standards, EAT-26 score, and self-esteem, and indirectly body shame. Current partner's use, however, was not significantly associated with any outcome ³⁵. So, women whose former

³⁵ Tylka and Kroon Van Diest (2015) stated: "Curiously, current male partner pornography use was not found to be related to any of the objectification theory variables, relationship distress, body appreciation, or psychological well-being. Perhaps negative associations between partners' use of pornography and distress develop early in the course of women's relationship histories; beginning relationships may set forth the learned associations, making current relationships null. For example, if a woman's first few relationships are with male partners who constantly view pornography, she may learn that thinness is the gateway to being sexually desired, whether she internalises it as a personal standard or not, and experiences enhanced distress in various ways. Conversely, if a woman's first few relationships are with partners who do not view pornography, she may not develop as strong of an association between being thin and sexually desirable and therefore may not experience as much

| QUESTIONNAIRE | QUESTION |
|--|--|
| Male partner's pornography use | "To my awareness, the person I am dating views pornography (Internet sites, magazines, videos etc)"; never - always (1-6). |
| Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale (ISOS) (Kozee et al 2007) | "How often have you noticed someone leering at your body?"; never - almost always (1-5). |
| Body shame | "I feel ashamed of myself when I haven't made the effort to look my best"; strongly disagree - strongly agree (1-7). |
| Eating Attitudes Test-26 (EAT-26) (Garner et al 1982) | "I vomit after I have eaten"; always - never (1-6). |
| Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg 1965) | "I take a positive attitude towards myself"; strongly disagree - strongly agree (1-4). |

Table 2 - Example of questionnaires and questions used by Tylka and Kroon Van Diest (2015).

partners had high pornography use were more likely to feel sexually objectified, be concerned with looking thin and attractive, report symptoms of eating disorders, have lower self-esteem, and higher body shame. The extent to which the women reported being bothered by their partner's use did not vary the above association.

Tylka and Kroon Van Diest (2015) accepted the following limitations with their data:

- Male partner pornography use was based on women's reports (ie: amount known to the women).
- A single question about pornography use did not cover the length of time per week used, or the definition of "pornography".
- No distinction made in type of pornographic material used.
- No details of whether the women viewed pornography themselves (either alone or with partner).

distress. Once these associations are formed, it may be harder for subsequent partners to alter them" (p78).

- The data were collected at one point in time which limited the understanding of the relationship between the variables. "It is possible that partner pornography use indeed results in increased sexual objectification and internalisation of cultural body standards. However, it is also possible that men who use pornography may seek out women who have already internalised cultural beauty standards via being highly invested in their appearance, and/or women who have internalised cultural beauty standards may be drawn to men who view pornography because those men's views of attractiveness are consistent with their views of what women should look like" (Tylka and Kroon Van Diest 2015 p80).
- The sample was relatively homogeneous - mostly White, heterosexual, younger, non-married, and at Mid-West university.
- Participants were volunteers who responded to a website for research participants. They did not receive any incentive for participating (appendix G).
- No details collected of length of relationships.
- The definition of self-objectification concentrated on body surveillance and shame, and did not include other criteria like desire for cosmetic surgery.

16. APPENDIX F - PORNOGRAPHY CONSUMPTION EFFECT SCALE (PCES)

Studies about the perception of the effects of pornography face a number of methodological problems, including (Hald and Malamuth 2008):

i) How representative of the population as a whole are volunteers who agree to be interviewed about the effects?

ii) In general surveys there is evidence of "third person effects" - the tendency to see the media as affecting others more than the self, particularly negatively.

iii) "One of the key background variables which has been shown to be important in other areas of media research... but has only been examined to a limited degree in pornography research has been consumers' perceived realism of the portrayals" (Hald and Malamuth 2008 p615).

In part to overcome problems like these, Hald and Malamuth (2008) developed the Pornography Consumption Effect Scale (PCES) with 18-30 year-olds in Denmark. Initially, 64 items, but finally 47, about the perceived effects of hardcore pornography³⁶ were presented with a seven-point scale. The items covered five constructs - effect of pornography on sex life (SL), life in general (LG), perception of and attitudes towards the opposite sex (PATOG), attitudes towards sex (ATS), and sexual knowledge (SK). Each construct had positive and negative effect dimensions (table 3).

| Item | Construct | Positive or negative |
|--|-----------|----------------------|
| Overall, has improved your sex life | SL | P |
| Has reduced your sexual activities | SL | N |
| Overall, has made a valuable contribution to your life | LG | P |
| Has made you less satisfied with your life | LG | N |
| Has positively affected your view of the opposite gender | PATOG | P |
| Has led you to view the opposite gender more stereotypically | PATOG | N |
| Has made you more sexually liberal | ATS | P |
| Has adversely influenced your opinions of sex | ATS | N |
| Has improved your knowledge of sex | SK | P |
| Has added to your knowledge of anal sex | SK | P |

("To what extent do you believe that your consumption of pornography..."; 1 = not at all; 7 = to an extremely large extent³⁷)

(Effect of pornography on sex life (SL), life in general (LG), perception of and attitudes towards the opposite sex (PATOG), attitudes towards sex (ATS), and sexual knowledge (SK))

(Source: Hald and Malamuth 2008 appendix pp623-624)

Table 3 - Example of items from PCES.

³⁶ "Pornography was defined as follows: any kind of material aiming at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the recipient and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts, such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, oral sex, masturbation, bondage, sadomasochism, rape, urine sex, animal sex, etc. It was emphasised that materials containing men and women posing or acting naked such as seen in Playboy/Playgirl did not contain clear and explicit sexual acts and were to be disregarded as pornography when completing the questionnaire" (Hald and Malamuth 2008 p616).

³⁷ The rating scale can influence responses (appendix H).

The finalised PCES was used to test three hypotheses.

1. Participants will report more positive than negative effects of hardcore pornography consumption.

This was supported for individual constructs and total PCES score.

2. Men will report more positive and less negative effects than women.

Hald and Malamuth (2008) stated: "Overall, data indicated that men reported significantly larger positive effects of consumption than did women. However, contrary to our hypotheses, the results did not show that men reported less negative effects than women. To the contrary, on two of the four constructs, men were found to report significantly more negative effect of consumption. Thus, overall, only partial support for the second hypothesis... was found" (p620).

3. Sexual background variables will predict overall PCES score.

Three variables were found to be associated with a positive perception of pornography - greater pornography consumption, more perceived realism of pornography, and higher frequency of masturbation. Only lower frequency of sexual intercourse was significantly associated with negative perception of pornography.

The PCES measures self-perceived effects of pornography only. Hald and Malamuth (2008) summed up: "The critics of pornography have actually described... 'desensitisation' and gradual greater acceptance of pornography as a result of exposure as one of the most insidious effects of consumption. Consequently, such critics would argue that results from studies such as the current one should be interpreted with great caution.... [On the other hand, the] proponents of pornography would argue that the individuals themselves are in the best position to judge such effects... and that results from studies such as the current one therefore should be taken at face value" (p622).

16.1. Pornography Craving Questionnaire

Problematic use of pornography can be seen as sexual compulsion³⁸, which is similar to addiction. One aspect

³⁸ There are some differences over how to view such use - as obsessive-compulsive disorder, impulse control disorder, paraphilic disorder, hypersexual disorder, or addiction disorder (Kraus and Rosenberg

of addiction is the subjective experience of craving - "a transient but intense urge or desire that waxes and wanes over time" and "a relatively stable preoccupation or inclination to use pornography" (Kraus and Rosenberg 2014).

Kraus and Rosenberg (2014) developed the twelve-item Pornography Craving Questionnaire (PCQ). Initially (Study 1), the researchers produced twenty statements adapted from alcohol and drug craving measures, which covered five areas:

- Perceived control over pornography use (eg: "Right now, I can control my porno use").
- Mood change (eg: "If I were watching porn this minute, I would feel less irritable").
- Psychophysiological reactivity (eg: "My hands would shake if I watched porn").
- Intention to use (eg: "Right now, I am making plans to watch porn").
- Desire (eg: "All I want to do now is watch porn").

One hundred and nine male US undergraduates ³⁹ scored each item from 1 to 7 ("disagree completely" to "agree completely") after imagining sitting alone in front of a computer and thinking about searching for pornography ⁴⁰ or academic articles. After analysis, eight items were removed because they were "unlikely to be sensitive enough to capture most participants' current craving for pornography".

Next the researchers (Study 2) assessed the psychometric properties of the PCQ with data from 221 male undergraduates.

i) Discrimination - Participants who reported greater pornography use (6 or more times per week) had a significantly higher craving than 3-5 times per week and 0-2 times per week users (mean: 4.24 vs 3.66 vs 3.00 out of 7 respectively). Furthermore, on all items, users of pornography more often had higher scores.

2014).

³⁹ Recruitment was via email, and participation offered the chance to win in a raffle. The participants had to have viewed pornography in the last six months.

⁴⁰ Pornography was defined as "any materials designed to cause or enhance sexual arousal or sexual excitement in the viewer. Such materials show clear and explicit sexual acts such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, oral sex, group sex, etc. Pornography does not include materials such as underwear catalogues... or materials containing men and women posing naked unless these images portray clear and explicit sexual acts" (Kraus and Rosenberg 2014).

ii) Internal reliability - The mean scores for each item were correlated using Cronbach's alpha, which supported the unidimensionality of the PCQ (ie: all items were asking about the same construct).

iii) Concurrent validity - In order to assess that the PCQ measured what it claimed to measure, the PCQ score is correlated with a questionnaire measuring similar behaviour. The other measures used included the Passion Scale (Vallerand et al 2003 quoted in Kraus and Rosenberg 2014), designed for activities that people find enjoyable and important, and the Sexual Compulsivity Scale (SCS) (Kalichman and Rompa 1995). The former has two sub-scales - Obsessive Passion (eg: "I have difficulty imagining life without this activity") and Harmonious Passion (eg: "This activity reflects the qualities I like about myself").

There were significant positive correlations between the PCQ and Obsessive Passion ($r = 0.50$), Harmonious Passion ($r = 0.55$), and the SCS ($r = 0.36$).

Finally (Study 3), forty-four more male undergraduates were recruited to assess test-retest reliability, and predictive validity. The former involved completion of the PCS on two separate occasions (one week apart), and a significant positive correlation of the two scores was found ($r = 0.82$). Predictive validity is the ability to distinguish heavy pornography use based on the PCQ score. In the week between the two completions of the PCQ, participants made a note of the number of times they used pornography. The first PCQ score significantly predicted pornography use in the following week.

The main strength of the PCQ is over a single-item scale which only asks about the intensity or strength of the craving. The PCQ allows measurement of the five aspects of the one construct.

The main weaknesses of the PCQ are common to all self-reports, and include social desirability bias, and misinterpretation of items.

17. APPENDIX G - RESPONSE RATES AND OPTIONS

Response rates to surveys could be improved by offering cash incentives, and so could response quality. Response quality refers to whether the respondent takes "cognitive shortcuts" in answering questions (ie: their willingness to think about the question).

Satisficing behaviour is the use of cognitive shortcuts, which is shown in, for example, non-differentiation (giving similar or identical responses to items in a series), item non-response (choosing "don't

know"), response order effects (choosing response options later in the list), and acquiescence (the tendency to give affirmative responses) (Medway and Tourangeau 2014).

Some studies show that cash incentives increase satisficing behaviour (ie: less motivated individuals participate because of the money), while other studies show improvements in item non-response, for example (Medway and Tourangeau 2014).

Medway and Tourangeau (2014) investigated response quality in an experiment based on a general telephone survey in the USA. Half of the sample were given a small pre-paid cash reward in a letter asking for their participation in the survey, and half were given nothing (control group). The response rate was higher in the former group (22.8%) compared to the control group (10.9%).

Eleven indicators of response quality were used (table 4), but only two of them were significantly different between the two groups. The pre-paid group gave less item non-responses (ie: "don't know" or "refuse response") (2.1% of all items vs 2.7% for control group). But the pre-paid group spent less time on each item (mean of 16.1 seconds vs 16.8 for control group).

- Length of responses to open-ended items - number of words provided; average = 10.
- Non-differentiation - same response to sets of three items (average = 1.5).
- Acquiescence - proportion of sixteen items that respondents agreed with when given choice of agree/disagree; average = 50%.
- Response order effects - proportion of thirty items where response chosen from last two of four response options; average = 30%.
- Round values for numerical responses - proportion of fifteen items where respondent provided number that was multiple of five; average = 43%.
- Lack of attention to important exclusions.
- Accuracy of survey report as compared to frame data - proportion of respondents on one item whose response matched data/frame provided; average = 20%.
- Interviewer-rated response effort.
- Shortcutting index - overall score on all other indicators.

(Based on Medway and Tourangeau 2014 table 1 pp530-531)

Table 4 - Nine response quality indicators that showed no significant difference between the two groups.

Medway and Tourangeau (2014) felt that the results showed that "incentives do not necessarily produce an influx of respondents who lack motivation or who are focused on the incentive" (p539).

Medway and Tourangeau (2014) used a \$5 reward, but would a higher amount get more respondents and better responses? Simply, the answer is yes, but "there is no good evidence for how large an incentive should be" (Singer and Ye 2013 quoted in Mercer et al 2015). This is known as the dose-response relationship ⁴¹.

Mercer et al's (2015) meta-analysis of forty experimental studies on this subject established that pre-paid incentives improve response rates in general household surveys more than promised incentives (ie: after taking part). "The effectiveness of these types of incentives is in part related to the fact that mail and telephone surveys have lower baseline response rates than in-person surveys and therefore can gain more from each dollar that is offered. In comparison with promised incentives in telephone surveys, it is clear that pre-paying the incentive contributes significantly to its effectiveness; however, it does not perform as well as pre-payment for a mail survey" (Mercer et al 2015 p124).

18. APPENDIX H - DIRECTION OF RATING SCALES

Many surveys offer response options, and the direction (or presentation order) of the rating scale can influence responses. Usually, scales run from low number on the left-hand side to a high number on the right of a horizontal line (ie: start with lowest/worst and proceed to highest/best category). What happens if the scale was the opposite way around?

Due to satisficing, Kosnick (1991) argued that "respondents are assumed to consider the scale points sequentially and satisficing respondents are attracted to the first plausible option that he/she comes across due to memory limitation, decreasing motivation, and/or fatigue" (Yan and Keusch 2015 p147). Alternatively, individuals use "anchors" (initial values) to help them decide which response option to choose (Tversky and Kahneman 1974). Both explanations suggest a bias towards values/options on the left-hand side of the scale.

In a telephone survey-based experiment in the USA, Yan and Keusch (2015) asked participants to rate ten countries on a development scale that ran from 0 (least developed) to 10 (most developed) (low-high condition) or from 10 to 0 (high-low condition). It was found that

⁴¹ Non-monetary and lottery incentives are viewed differently to monetary incentives (Singer et al 1999).

ratings for countries were significantly higher in the high-low than low-high condition. Thus, there was a bias towards the left-hand side/lower end of the rating scale.

Attitude surveys may also vary in their format by being "branched" or "unbranched". The branched format involves asking two questions about an attitude - (i) the direction of the attitude (positive or negative), and then (ii) the intensity of the attitude (eg: agree, strongly agree) - rather than one question covering both of these aspects of the attitude (unbranched). The theory behind it is the decomposition principle (Armstrong et al 1975) - "breaking a decision task up into its component decision parts increases the accuracy of the final decision" (Gilbert 2015 p444).

Some studies find branched questions to be more reliable and valid, while others do not (Gilbert 2015).

Gilbert (2015) compared responses to eight questions on the UK Longitudinal Household Study which were presented as branched or unbranched (figure 4).

The respondents were more likely to choose the more extreme response (strongly agree or disagree) in the branched condition, and to choose "neither agree nor disagree" option than in the unbranched condition (figure 5). This suggested "no gains in data quality from using branched questions over unbranched ones" (Gilbert 2015), but branched surveys took longer to administer.

ATTITUDE ITEM: I think I am better informed about politics than most people.

UNBRANCHED VERSION:

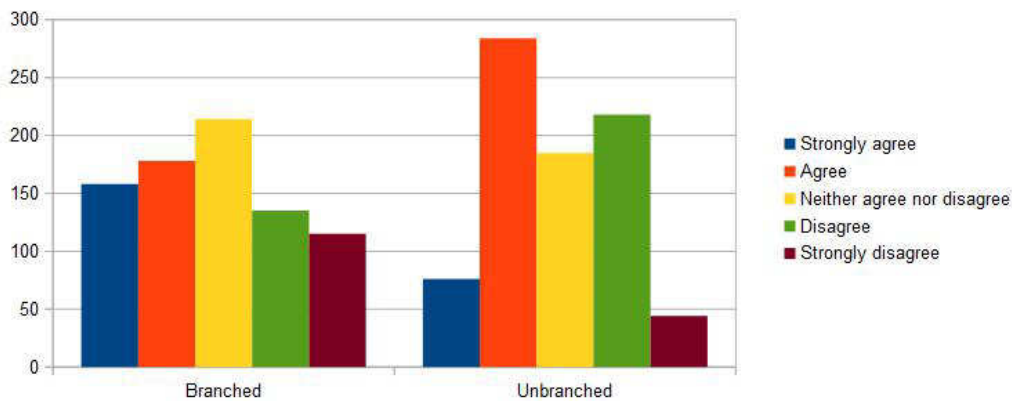
| | | | | |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|

BRANCHED VERSION:

(i) Agree/Neither agree nor disagree/Disagree

(ii) [Depending on answer to (i)] Do you strongly agree/disagree or agree/disagree?

Figure 4 - Example of branched and unbranched questions.



(Data from Gilbert 2015 table 2 p453)

Figure 5 - Number of responses for each option.

Gilbert (2015) noted: "The wider implication is that comparing data obtained using a branched question with data from an unbranched question could prove problematic. Considering group estimates, it may be that in the branched condition, the extreme responding using both ends of the scale averages out to approximately the same group estimates as in the unbranched condition. However, the individual-level estimates could be more problematic. For example, imagine if one were carrying out a cross-national comparison where an attitudinal item, such as attitudes toward the use of the death penalty, had been asked of individuals in two different countries, but using a branched format in one country and an unbranched format in the other. The responses may suggest that those in the country using the branched question hold more extreme views about whether the death penalty should be used (ie: many were strongly for its use but equally many were strongly opposing it), whereas those in the country using the unbranched question had views closer to the middle of the spectrum. However, this difference could very well be a product of the question format rather than a real difference in extremity of attitude" (p466).

19. APPENDIX I - SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION THEORY AND ATTITUDES OF BANKERS AND PROTESTERS

System Justification Theory (SJT) (Jost et al 2004) proposes that individuals are motivated to justify the status quo as fair and legitimate, which satisfies needs for consistency, meaning, and certainty (O'Shea 2015).

SJT has been linked to implicit (non-conscious)

attitudes, which are emotional responses as opposed to explicit (conscious) attitudes based on thoughts and beliefs (O'Shea 2015).

It has been observed that disadvantaged individuals are most supportive of the status quo that disadvantages them. In other words, the internalising of the existing hierarchical structures of society, which will be seen in implicit attitudes (O'Shea 2015).

O'Shea (2015) investigated explicit and implicit attitudes towards free market capitalism among twelve bankers from the City of London and twelve protesters from "Occupy London". Explicit attitudes were measured by questionnaires about economic worldview. The implicit relational assessment procedure (IRAP) (Barnes-Holmes et al 2010) was used to measure implicit attitudes.

This measures reaction time using a computer. For example, participants were told to press "d" for true or "k" for false when presented with the term "capitalism" followed by the word "good" in the pro-capitalism condition or "bad" in the anti-capitalism condition. Participants will be quicker to press the true key for associations that were consistent to their beliefs than not. A pro-capitalism bias/attitude was scored if the participant was faster to respond to "capitalism-good-true" and "capitalism-bad-false" than to "capitalism-good-false" and "capitalism-bad-true", and the opposite for an anti-capitalism bias/attitude.

The explicit attitudes varied as expected. Bankers had higher scores on system justification (eg: positive attitudes towards money; more conservative worldview). The bankers had a significantly stronger pro-capitalism bias in the IRAP, but both groups were neutral in their anti-capitalism bias.

O'Shea (2015) concluded that protesters' implicit attitudes were more supportive of the status quo than their explicit attitudes, and this explained, in part, why protest groups like "Occupy" decline in strength. "The quick expansion of the Occupy Movement and motivation to challenge to status quo corresponds with protesters' explicit attitudes. However, the bombardment of negative criticism from the media, harsh camp conditions and persistent eviction threats would have reduced protesters self-regulation control resources, resulting in the lulling physical support for the movement possibly due to the protesters acting on their implicit attitudes (ie: capitalism/the status quo is not so bad" (O'Shea 2015 p325).

However, measures of implicit attitudes are open to question about validity (ie: that reaction time is actually measuring non-conscious attitudes).

20. APPENDIX J - GLOCALITY

The modern media has extended the boundaries of experience to produce "the generalised elsewhere" (Meyrowitz 1989). This "serves as a mirror in which to view and judge our localities. We are now more likely to understand our place, not just as the community, but as one of many possible communities in which we could live. We are less likely to see our locality as the centre of the universe. We are less likely to see our physical surroundings as the source of all our experiences" (Meyrowitz 2005 p23).

Local and global together today have created "an interconnected global matrix", which Meyrowitz (2005) called "glocality".

But this is a paradox to glocality. "Yet, just as there is a blurring of traditional distinctions between children's and adults' experiences and between male and female spheres, so is there a breaking down of the traditional similarities among what people of the same age or same gender experience. We are witnessing both macro-level homogenisation of identities and micro-level fragmentation of them" (Meyrowitz 2005 p29).

21. APPENDIX K - NEOLIBERALISM AND CONSUMERISM

"Neoliberalism is a value system in which the economic has replaced the intellectual and political and in which the competitive, rational individual predominates over the collective. Within this framework higher education has been instrumentalised as a source of skills supply, with universities located as servants of the 'knowledge economy' and learning replaced by a concern with 'outcomes'... Competitive markets have been put in place between and within institutions, and teaching and student support budgets are often diverted into marketing... This has eroded institutional and intellectual autonomy, shaping management preoccupations with league table positions and quality assurance and the personal aggrandisement behaviours of some academics... In the marketised higher education sector students have been positioned as consumers, which evidences itself in an obsession with degree classifications often to the detriment of learning..." (Phipps and Young 2015 p306).

For neoliberalism "the human is fundamentally economic rather than social in basis" (Gane 2014 p1095). Thus it seeks "to apply economic analysis to a series of objects, to domains of knowledge or conduct which were not market forms of behaviour or conduct... to marriages, the education of children, and criminality, for example" (Foucault 2008 quoted in Gane 2014). However, Gane (2014)

gives a warning: "Neoliberalism is a complex and multi-faceted project and it would be a mistake to reduce it to a single epistemological position or commitment" (p1102).

Gilbert (2013) stated that neoliberalism "advocates a programme of deliberate intervention by government in order to encourage particular types of entrepreneurial, competitive and commercial behaviour in its citizens, ultimately arguing for the management of populations with the aim of cultivating the type of individualistic, competitive, acquisitive and entrepreneurial behaviour which the liberal tradition has historically assumed to be the natural condition of civilised humanity, undistorted by government intervention" (p9). Classical liberalism believes that "left to their own devices, humans will naturally tend to behave in the desired fashion", while neoliberalism feels that humans "must be compelled to do so by a benign but frequently directive state" (Gilbert 2013 p9).

21.1. Consumerism

"The transformation of almost everything into a commodity is a phenomenon that has become increasingly widespread in contemporary society and goods and services that previously were considered non-commercial are now both marketable and sought-after" (Sturgeon 2014 p406), including the body which has become "a machine to be kept in good working order, so that the body as appearance can be maintained as a marketable commodity" (Corrigan 1997 quoted in Sturgeon 2014).

These are the characteristics of consumerism (or consumer culture or consumer capitalism) - which includes "the drive for more and more aspects of human life to be made available through market mechanisms including services that were previously provided by the state... Individuals are increasingly defined by the consumer behaviour they undertake and collective consumption decisions influence the demand for raw materials, transport, production, manpower and finance at a local, national and global economic level. As a social and economic activity, therefore, consumerism encourages the consumption of goods and services in ever greater quantities in order to fulfil individual or collective needs and wants. Consumer culture encourages a recurring cycle of acquisition, use and disposal since commodities can only satisfy for a limited period of time before economic inertia occurs" (Sturgeon 2014 p406).

Applying these ideas to health, Sturgeon (2014) observed: "By maintaining health, fitness and well-being, those who live in a consumer society ensure they maintain their value and status as producer, earner and consumer. The principal function of the member of consumer society

is to contribute to the self-perpetuating cycle of consumer activity and those who are unable or unwilling to do so are considered 'flawed consumers' or 'invalids' (Bauman 2007)" (p408).

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