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**THE CONTEXTUAL EVALUATION OF
RESEARCH ON SEXUALLY EXPLICIT MATERIALS**

PETRA MONICA BOYNTON
Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

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THESIS SUMMARY

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The Contextual Evaluation of Research on Sexually Explicit Materials

Petra Monica Boynton

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This thesis criticises many psychological experiments on 'pornography' which attempt to demonstrate how 'pornography' causes and/or equals rape. It challenges simplistic definitions of 'pornography', arguing that sexually explicit materials (SEM) are constructed and interpreted in a number of different ways; and demonstrates that how, when and where materials are depicted or viewed will influence perceptions and reactions. In addition, it opposes the overreliance on male undergraduates as participants in 'porn' research. Theories of feminist psychology and reflexivity are used throughout the thesis, and provide a detailed contextual framework in a complex area. Results from a number of interlinking studies which use a variety of methodological approaches (focus groups, questionnaires and content analysis), indicate how contextual issues are omitted in much existing research on SEM. These include the views and experiences participants' hold prior to completing SEM studies; their opinions about those who 'use' 'pornography'; their understanding of key terms linked with SEM (eg: pornography and erotica); and discussions of sexual magazines aimed at male and female audiences. Participants' reactions to images and texts associated with SEM presented in different contexts, are discussed. Three main conclusions are drawn from this thesis. Firstly, images deemed 'pornographic' differ through historical and cultural periods; and political, economic and social climates, so 'experimental' approaches may not always be the most appropriate research tool. Secondly, there is not one definition, source, or factor which may be named 'pornography'; and thirdly the context and presentation of materials influence how images are perceived and reacted to. The thesis argues a number of factors influence views of 'pornography', suggesting SEM may be 'in the eye of the beholder'.

Key Words Sexually Explicit Materials (SEM); Pornography; Experiments; Context; Gender.

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“The pen employed in finishing her story, and making it what you now see it to be, has had no little difficulty to put it into a dress fit to be seen, and to make it speak language fit to be read.”

Daniel Defoe, *Moll Flanders* (1722, p.1).

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

"I shall not today attempt further to define [obscenity]...; and perhaps I could never succeed in intelligibly doing so. But I know it when I see it" - Justice Stewart in Jacobellis v. Ohio 1964. (in Strossen 1996, p.53).

This chapter outlines and explains the main aims of this thesis. The majority of social science research on 'pornography' utilises experimental methods in an attempt to demonstrate how 'pornography' causes and/or equals rape (Russell, 1988). This thesis examines two central criticisms in relation to these assumptions. Firstly, it challenges simple definitions of 'pornography', arguing that sexually explicit materials (SEM) are constructed and interpreted in a number of different ways. Secondly, it shows that how, when and where materials are depicted or viewed will influence perceptions and reactions. The thesis is critical of existing research which accepts all-encompassing definitions of 'pornography' and 'erotica', and utilises a single method approach to examine complex issues. Evidence will be presented from a number of studies which use a variety of methodological approaches, to indicate how contextual issues are omitted in much existing research on SEM.

Chapter Two introduces the main psychological theories and studies of SEM, including examples of classifications and definitions of 'porn' from different cultures and points in history. The chapter reviews the main arguments and theories in the 'porn debate' ranging from academic studies to feminist disputes. It illustrates how there is no fixed definition of 'porn', despite much research being conducted on this premise.

Chapter Three outlines and discusses the theoretical background to the research. It explains how these concepts were integrated with specific choices of qualitative and quantitative methods and a reflexive approach, to provide a wider understanding of the research problem and development of research questions. The first part of this chapter focuses on the philosophical and methodological backgrounds underlying the thesis. Theories from social psychology, psychology of women, reflexivity and social constructionism locate the position taken by the researcher, and challenge assumptions posited by

psychological research raised in the previous chapter. Questionnaires, Focus Groups and individual Interviews and Content Analysis are outlined, with a discussion about combining methods and analysis.

The second part of this Chapter provides a reflexive account, combined with evidence from researchers in similar fields. Entitled "*What's so different about a PhD in 'Pornography'?*" it outlines ten areas which affected the progress and completion of this research, including the researcher's gender, visibility and approach to the research. Research diary excerpts illustrate how participants and outsiders react both to the study of 'porn' (and those doing the research), and the interactions and experiences of the researcher which shaped and influenced the course of the work. Additional reflexive examples occur throughout the thesis.

Chapters Four to Seven report a range of studies combining different methods which explore issues of definition and contextualisation in relation to SEM. Chapter Four outlines analysis of sixteen sexually explicit and non-sexually explicit magazines aimed at men and women which provide a contextual background to the remainder of the thesis. The thesis is critical of experimental SEM studies' de-contextualised treatment of materials in research, so magazines used in the thesis are situated within an historical and cultural framework. The content of the magazines are described and the reasons for utilising such materials are outlined and linked to research questions and criticisms of existing studies. Results arising from detailed content and statistical analysis of the sixteen titles, indicate similarities and differences between titles including target audience, gender and 'quality'. The chapter contrasts findings from this analysis with existing theories of SEM.

In Chapter Five the thesis moves from an account of the *actual* content of magazines to examining what participants *expected* to see in such materials. As chapters Two and Three outline, traditional SEM experiments report participants 'laboratory' responses to 'pornographic' stimuli, and generalise to wider populations. Accounts are absent in most papers about why participants volunteer and what views they hold prior, during and after research. They form a central part of this chapter, which explains how participants described in their own words the meanings of key terms '*pornography*', '*erotica*' and '*censorship*'. They were also asked to indicate on Likert scales how much they agreed with general statements relating to the possible effects of SEM.

Some evidence suggests that SEM is a medium created and consumed by men (Itzin, 1992a; Corcoran, 1989). Therefore participants were asked to rate the likelihood that certain groups or individuals would 'consume' SEM. Sixty participants responded to a vignette about a male or female character who enjoyed or opposed SEM, or who liked romantic fiction. This generated information about participant's views on 'gender appropriateness' in relation to SEM. Rather than suggesting such views are fixed, this chapter outlines people's beliefs prior to participating in research. These are contrasted with participants reactions to actual sexually explicit images (Chapter Six). Chapter Five also shows how existing research omits information about participants which may be crucial to study outcomes.

Chapter Six builds upon the views about SEM illustrated in the previous chapter with results from small single sex group interviews with 46 male and female participants, who viewed and discussed the ten sexually explicit magazines aimed a male and female heterosexual target audiences described in Chapter Four. These focus groups examined participants' views of materials through a semi-structured interview format, which allowed them to choose and discuss any images they wanted. Post viewing, general questions relating to sex and body image were also discussed. Existing research using questionnaires/experimental formats tend to place participants in a 'passive' role, where they view materials and comment upon them. This research aimed to examine what would occur when participants had a more 'active' role in studies. Discourse analysis of the interview transcripts revealed differences between male and female participants. Chapter Two outlines research where male participants are said to become violent and predisposed to rape/hold sexist views following exposure to SEM. Women are rarely included in such research, presumably due to a belief that they are so different from men they do not need to feature. This research indicated female participants could be negative and hostile towards the models featured in the magazines, particularly as the perceived quality of publications deteriorated.

Participant's mood was affected by the order of presentation of titles, and many noted that their views were in a state of flux throughout the focus groups. The chapter illustrates how some participants used the research to discuss feminists issues - noting feminist slogans on their questionnaires, only to describe the models in pejorative terms. Others explained how a number of different issues relating to sexuality and body image were inspired by the

groups. Participants relied heavily on the location of the material (eg: title and format of magazine) to inform their responses. Whilst participants arrived at a study with a number of thoughts and ideas, they utilised the source of the material to perpetuate or question those opinions. From this, four studies were developed to present images out of the original context of the magazines to examine if context affected participant's descriptions. They are discussed Chapter Seven.

By using the arguments previously presented in the thesis, Chapter Seven indicates the complexity of SEM research, and criticises existing studies that accept broad and problematic definitions of 'pornography'. This chapter examines presentation of (sexually explicit) materials through four separate but related studies, where pictures and texts were removed from their original sources, or perception of sources were manipulated. Results from focus groups and questionnaires reveal how participants 'make sense' of what they are viewing. When material is presented out of context, participants have fewer 'prompts' like texts and titles, to help them decide how they 'should' respond to an image.

The first study examines 112 participant's matching of titles to perceived sources (men's and women's sexual and non-sexual titles). The second study used eight pictures of women taken from the magazines (see chapters Four and Six) where 37 participant's open and closed responses are used to indicate their views of models where context is removed. Study Three builds on this, where 100 participant's perceptions of an article about date rape are manipulated by the presentation of the source of the article (men's or women's sexual or non-sexual titles). The final study in this chapter examines the views of 125 participant's about key figures in the 'sex industry', gained via a profiling questionnaire to illustrate how existing views may influence research 'responses'. Chapter Seven argues there is not one definition, source and reaction to 'porn', but a multiplicity of perspectives which will affect and be affected by research. It concludes by assessing the findings of the 'context studies', relating them to outcomes presented in previous chapters and also in comparison with existing theories and experiments on SEM.

Chapter Eight summarises the main themes and findings from the thesis. It reflects on research presented here and suggests improvements to the studies. There is a recapitulation of how research presented in this thesis

differs from previous studies, and a reiteration of criticisms of many experiments and perspectives of SEM (such as anti-pornography feminist, religious etc) which adopt insular definitions of 'pornography' or 'erotica', to support causal theories of SEM 'effects'. Results of studies from this thesis suggest that there are a multiplicity of sources which may be defined as SEM, and a variety of reactions to materials, all of which are contextually based. This thesis argues against testing causal models, and suggests research should examine a wider range of issues relating to SEM. Finally, a review of current events, contemporary opinions and reactions to SEM in the UK is provided, further locating the thesis in a particular point in the 'history' of SEM and research in this area.

CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW

"Representations are not just a matter of mirrors, reflections, key-holes. Somebody is making them, and somebody is looking at them, through a complex array of means and conventions. Nor do representations simply exist on canvas, in books, on photographic paper or on screens: they have a continued existence in reality as objects of exchange.... They are more 'real' than the reality they are said to represent or reflect. All of these factors somehow straddle the commonsense divide between fiction and fact, fantasy and reality" (Kappeler, 1986, p.3)

This review aims to familiarise the reader with debates in and around Sexually Explicit Materials (SEM). It examines definitions and descriptions of SEM, and explains how individuals and communities have responded to these materials in different cultures and points in history. Academic and political debates about the 'effects' of SEM are outlined, with discussions of sex and gender, and feminist criticisms. Experimental studies which have demonstrated the 'effects' of sexual images are described and criticised.

Completing research in the area of SEM is different from traditional psychology where literature searches begin with psychological abstracts and report journals articles. This thesis shows certain research approaches are privileged: citations in journals tend to be viewed as more 'accurate' or 'truthful' than those from media sources (viewed as 'secondary material' or 'background information'). Although sources from the popular or non-academic press are not subjected to peer review, they are not necessarily any less valid for inclusion in this literature review, as this thesis indicates flaws which exist within the experimental treatment of SEM. Selections from the popular press including tabloid and broadsheet papers, magazines, videos, and television shows are included.

SEM has been studied in a number of ways within the social sciences. These include a media studies focus (Marris and Thornham, 1996; Hall, 1997; MacDonald, 1995; Hermes, 1995); participant's definitions of terms (Cottle, Searles, Berger and Pierce, 1989); content analysis of pornographic 'texts' (Garcia and Milano, 1990; Palys, 1986); interviewing people about SEM (Lee, 1986) and talking to those who work in the sex industry (Lee, 1986; Chapkiss;

1997; Green, 1993; Silver, 1993; Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998); or who seek to abolish porn (Itzin, 1992). Some researchers have utilised ethnographic approaches (Stoller, 1991) or observation (Tewksbury, 1990) to examine the 'pornographic scene'. Psychoanalytic theories have been applied to SEM (Stoller, 1991; Frosh, 1997; Ussher 1997), along with economic evaluations of the 'sex industry' (The Economist, 1998), and IT developments (McNair, 1996). As this chapter will summarise, certain writers have approached SEM from a historical viewpoint (Ferris, 1993; Bland and Mort, 1997), or examined related issues of art and culture (Kuhn, 1988; Screen, 1992; Schneider, 1997). The majority of recent SEM research in psychology utilises experiments.

Historical Descriptions

"The history of pomography still remains to be written" (1986 Attorney General's Commission On Pornography, in Hoff, 1989, p.15)

"pomography takes the injunction of it's etymology literally - it may be said largely to exist at no place, and to take place in nowhere" (Marcus, 1964, p.268)

Historical overviews of SEM and the sex industry can be found in Ferris, 1993; Green, 1993; Haste, 1992; Roberts, 1993; Ryley-Scott, 1996. Hoff (1989) outlines how most examinations of SEM have been conducted in the context of censorship rather than historical and cultural settings. In the UK, in 1727 Edmund Curl was the first person to be prosecuted and convicted for publishing erotica (Robertson, 1979). Historically, controlling SEM has been left to those with an interest in suppressing sexual matters (Diamond, 1980). Public concerns and beliefs about humanity relate to the regulation and restriction of SEM. During the Industrial Revolution (and the emergence of the porn 'industry' - Marcus, 1964, p.2) the Society for the Suppression of Vice were successful, as pornography did not fit the pattern of hard work and sobriety required from workers (Robertson, 1979; Bristow, 1977), although these views also constitute contemporary reinterpretations of past events. Sexual representations were thus channelled into alternative outlets such as circuses, or the theatre (Fiedler, 1978). Mishan (1980) has argued many changes have occurred since the Industrial Revolution and specifically within the Twentieth Century. Before this, poverty, a lack of social mobility and education prevented the majority of the populous accessing SEM. Furthermore, women, children and the 'uneducated' were actively excluded from viewing representations of sex - *"in this way pomography was born as a genre available to bourgeois men who could declare that their interest was scholarly"* (Rodgerson and Wilson, 1991, p.18).

During World War Two, striptease became more popular (Bristow, 1977), and pin-ups and magazines circulated in greater numbers. In the Sixties and Seventies within the UK and US, a number of key figures emerged within the sex business - such as Hugh Hefner - Playboy (Miller, 1985); Larry Flynt - Hustler (Fortunato, 1997); David Sullivan - Color Climax and other publications (Tomkinson, 1982); Paul Raymond - Fiesta (Bright, 1997). At this time 'feature length' sex films were produced (categorised as either 'skinflicks' - where nudity and simulated sex were shown, or 'hardcore' where actual sex took place). These short films - known as 'loops' had been produced since the turn of this century - but were distributed in cinemas from the late Sixties (Crabbe, 1988). Two classic examples of this genre were *Emmanuelle* starring Sylvia Kristel (1973), and *Deep Throat* (1972) (a film which featured Linda Lovelace - who has since identified how she was forced at gunpoint to appear in the film, Lovelace and McGrady, 1980). As well as having famous leading ladies - these films also became known for their soundtracks: "*a litany of moans and groans dubbed over wobbly supermarket muzak*" (Crabbe, 1988, p.60) - a criticism which, along with films lacking plots has been applied to the home video market. In 1953 Kinsey et al noted how audiences shouted and whistled throughout sex films - a response which they partly attributed to audience members denial of arousal. Little work exists on being a customer in sex cinemas - although those who work in strip clubs have noted certain customers will attend the club all day every day (Roberts, 1986) suggesting sex clubs, cinemas and shops (Tewksbury 1990) may be sites for humour, shelter and company.

Within the UK in the 1970s scandals emerged involving corruption within police vice units - particularly in London (Tomkinson, 1982; Ferris, 1993). Since then vice has been under increased public scrutiny and has altered its policing to account for changes in public attitudes and increased concern with child pornography, developments in IT and the change in the production of film and video SEM to a cottage based industry away from the 'porn barons' of previous decades, as Mike Hames - then head of the Obscene Publication Squad, explained in interview (1992): "*it's more of a cottage industry really...I mean, um, you haven't got a 'Mr.Big' or anything...you just get hold of a few masters, a load of VCRs, wire them back to back and copy, and you know - distribute*".

Feminist writers and historians have drawn parallels with an upsurge in pornography/sexist depictions of women during particular phases of women's suffrage and increased feminism (Hoff, 1989, p.25; Russell in Diamond, 1980, p.132). Indeed pornography/rape have been perceived as a threat levelled by men towards women who transgress gender roles (Willis, 1984).

In Victorian art and popular culture prostitutes were depicted as 'fallen women' (Nead, 1983). *"If the moral stain on society at the start of the century was thought to be prostitution, by its closing years the obloquy had passed to porn."* (Ferris, 1993, p.247). Women involved in this sex work are frequently harshly judged, acted against and criticised. The Social Purity Movements of the Victorian and Edwardian eras aimed to protect women and children (Segal, 1994), but many labelled or punished prostitutes as opposed to tackling other issues such as contraception, employment and childcare. Female sexuality was controlled, as with many of the more recent campaigns against pornography described later in this chapter.

Further support for changing attitudes to SEM over time can be found in research where viewing SEM during sex education classes was rated more positively in the 1970s than in the 1980s (Rosser et al, 1995). Similar revisions have occurred for those who feature in/produce SEM. Images from the 1920s-1950s have become collector's kitsch (Ferris, 1993) and even appear on greetings cards and posters. Larry Flynt, the editor of *hustler* has been transformed from an abuser of women (Caputi, 1987), to an advocate of free speech (Fortunato, 1997).

What Is Pornography?

Within research and popular culture, terms like '*pornography*', '*erotica*', '*obscenity*' or '*explicit*' are often used to define images. Additional terms found in Eurocentric descriptions are '*X-rated*', '*blue*', '*18*' and '*adult*'. All have been combined with the term '*censorship*'. These words have different contextual meanings and applications. This thesis criticises how research and activism accept terms such as '*pornography*' and '*erotica*', given as unproblematic factors to be measured in experiments. Some of the many definitions which have been provided about '*pornography*' and '*erotica*' will now be discussed.

Definitions of pornography range from derivations of the term eg: from the Greek *porne* and *graphos* - *"the graphic depiction of women as vile*

whores...or, in our language, sluts, cows, (as in cattle, sexual chattel) cunts" (Dworkin, 1981, p.200); to referring to possible effects. The term entered widespread public usage in Mid-Nineteenth Century Europe. Prior to this the adjective 'bawdy' was applied to explicit/obscene material (Mills, 1991, p.192). As a primarily medical term relating to public health (Mills,1993, p.6), 'pornography' was adopted by doctors and psychiatrists who studied women (sex workers) (Segal, 1994, p.176; Edwards, 1981). The term 'pornography' soon included all manner of references to sexual expression and frequently used interchangeably with 'obscenity'. It may be argued that contemporary representations in the popular (and academic) press continue to fetishize the life of prostitutes (Boynton, 1995; 1998a).

Additional descriptions label materials as 'pornographic' once they become commercially available (Mosher, 1988, p.67). In a legal context, 'porn' has been classified as "*a). that the material is morally debasing....b). that the material is offensive....and c). that following exposure to the material in question, some 'harm' ensues*" (Schell and Bigelow, 1990, p.303) this will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. Many definitions remain vague about what such materials might contain, "*[s]ome views are commonsensical and intuitive, while others are more elaborate. Some are derived from personal experience and perhaps, systematic observation, while some are based on general theories of human behaviour*" (Hui, 1986, p.41). Researchers' 'operational definitions' focus on production and intended audience (Mosher, 1989, p.69); or relate to post-viewing behaviour.

Most contemporary definitions of pornography present it as negative and dangerous, capable of causing a great deal of harm to producers, consumers, or those who have contact with consumers. A famous saying (often attributed to Robin Morgan) is '*pornography is the theory, rape is the practice*', with supporting phrases such as "*pornography tells lies about women..but pornography tells the truth about men*" (Stoltenberg, 1990, p.121); implying 'pornography' causes men to harm women. Some writers provide examples of events where 'pornography' is used to harm women, from pin-ups in the workplace (Hadjifotou, 1983) to rape and sexual assault (Russell, 1984). It has been suggested that 'pornography' is an instruction manual on how to abuse women: "*Here's how': Here's how to act out male supremacy in sex. Here's how the action should go..'Here's who': Here's who you should do it to...'Here's Why': Because men are masters women are slaves...men are real,*

women are objects; men are sex machines, women are sluts" (Stoltenberg, 1990, p.128-9).

Within many definitions offered by feminist writers and activists, pornography is categorised as an exercise in male power and associated pleasure (Dworkin, 1981), sexualizing women's vulnerability "[i]n it we are seen as *vulnerable, helpless, open, submissive and longing to be violated*" (Women Against Violence Against Women, 1987, p.179). Emotive and terrifying descriptions of what a reader could expect to see in pornography are also provided (Corcoran, 1989, p.4; see also, Russell, 1993 for visual images). 'Pornography' denotes a range of representations (eg: films, videos, pictures and texts), with the message that one can expect to see overt violence and/or degradation, or negative messages about women and sex in SEM.

Religious groups within the West have also opposed 'porn', stating "*it offends good taste or decency*" (Whitehouse, 1985; p.158), or that "*sexual innuendo and explicit sex trivialise and cheapen human relationships*" (Whitehouse, 1985, p.158). Alternative views suggest 'pornography' is "*necessary to the constituting of human nature*" (in Robertson, 1979, p.18). Hugh Hefner argued his publication *Playboy* liberated women: "*Women have traditionally either been put on pedestals or damned as the source of all sexual temptation and sin...both place women in a non-human role. Playboy has opposed these warped sexual values and, in so doing, helped women step down from their pedestals and enjoy their natural sexuality as much as men*" (in King and Stott, 1977, p.164). Other 'sexologists' extended definitions to discourage prudishness, defining 'porn' as a "*name given to any sexual literature somebody is trying to suppress. Most normal people enjoy looking at sex books and reading sex fantasies which is why abnormal people have to spend to much time and money suppressing them*" (Comfort, 1974/1981, p.166). Feminists have attacked psychologists who "*continue to call women prudish, frigid, or generally unhealthy if they are not turned on by their own domination*" (Steinem, 1983, p.228), whilst others argue censorship infantilises women (Pally, 1990; Paglia 1992). Evidently there are a number of complex issues within this area, including problems of definition.

Some writers have attempted to portray 'pornography' as more mundane and having little effect, "*merely an extension of images of women in adverts, as shiny decorative objects*" (Wallsgrave, 1987, p.172), with others pointing out

the inaccurate way 'pornography' presents sex: *"couples never have to worry about cushions which are too solid, rugs that slip out from under foot or even the logistics of copulating in groups or in the bonnet of a car. Everything just happens. Sexual hygiene and contraception have no place in this fantasy world where VD and pregnancy are unknown and women never menstruate"* (Faust, 1980, p.16).

Additional attempts have been made to differentiate between (bad) 'pornography' and other sexual images, which has also been absorbed into psychological research. The Campaign Against Pornography and Censorship presents a dual definition in a policy leaflet, where pornography is:

"the graphic, sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures and/or words, that also includes one or more of the following: women portrayed as sexual objects, things or commodities, enjoying pain or humiliation or rape, being tied up, cut up, mutilated, bruised or physically hurt, in postures of sexual submission or servility or display, reduced to body parts, penetrated by objects or animals, or presented in scenarios or degradation, injury, torture, shown as inferior, bleeding, bruised or hurt in a context that is sexual. Pornography does not include bona fide sex education materials or medical or forensic literature".

This definition distinguishes between 'pornography' and more 'appropriate' or 'worthy' depictions of sex (used for educational or medical purposes).

An extension of this definition was presented by Itzin in 1992b, during an attempt to change existing UK obscenity law:- *"women are reduced to their genitals and anuses, posed open and gaping, inviting sexual access and penetration, presented as sexually voracious and sexually insatiable, passive and servile, servicing men sexually"* (p.2). This description is quite explicit, and this thesis questions how texts about SEM may become 'pornography' themselves, and the resultant difficulty of incorporating such definitions into research.

Traditional experiments employ visual/pictorial representations of sex and/or violence, although textual representations may also be explicit, and researchers have argued that they should equally be labelled 'pornography'(Dietz, Harry and Hazelwood, 1986), particularly as increased negativity towards women combined with sexual aggressive references have been located in gangsta rap lyrics (Wester et al, 1997; Williams Crenshaw, 1997), cartoons (Scott and Culvier, 1993), detective magazines (Dietz et al, 1986), and in the tabloid press (Boynton 1995).

Obscenity is a further term found in pornography texts and discourses and has an interesting linguistic history (Mills, 1993, p.7) It is often relates to “a judgement that something is offensive” (Crooks and Baur, 1996, p.590), and does not have to contain images of sex. It is possible for pornography to be obscene, but for obscenity to not necessarily be pornographic. Due to it’s socio-legal connotations the term ‘obscenity’ is often paired (along with erotica and pornography) with the word ‘censorship’.

“The origins of the word ‘erotic’ are easily traceable: it entered the English language in the seventeenth century via the French erotique from the Greek word erotikos which derives from eros, meaning ‘sexual love’” (Mills, 1993, p.6). In certain definitions, ‘pornography’ and ‘erotica’ have been used interchangeably, or even to simultaneously (eg: Masters, Johnson and Kolodny, 1988, p.688), and many contemporary descriptions either separate or contrast them. Indeed, certain authors argue that *“the terms are very rarely used as though they were interchangeable. Pornography is generally a term of abuse while erotica is a non-judgmental or even approving description”* (Gilbert, 1993, p.80). Writers have complained that the terms should not be used concurrently *“[o]ne of the main problems concerning pornography has revolved around the issue of definition and how to distinguish between the erotic and the pornographic”* (Mills, 1991, p.192).

Erotica is frequently used in research/activism to describe materials which are distinctly different from ‘pornography’, as images or texts which are harmless, and suggest equality in relationships. ‘Pornography’ is constructed in opposition to these factors: *“most pornography is...the attempt to separate sex completely from love and to avoid any feelings of tenderness or warmth accompanying the sexual stimulation”* (Skynner and Cleese, 1983, p.249). This divide might be useful to the social scientist in informing research definitions and hypothesis if there was agreement, but as this thesis illustrates, there is little consensus.

The term ‘erotica’ appears to be a solution to the pornography and censorship problem. Presenting the term ‘erotica’ as an alternative permitted criticisms of ‘pornography’, whilst allowing certain images of sex to remain. *“To generalize, because of course there is never an absolute feminist position, erotica for most feminists would be a representation of sex which did not imply that women like pain, humiliation, rape, did not conflate with sexual excitement with*

violence or with women's degradation or torture" (Gilbert, 1993, p.81, emphasis in original). This highlights how cultural or contextual factors can influence the interpretation of a definition: two terms are contrasted and one made more 'acceptable'. There is no fixed definition of 'pornography', or 'erotica', but academic studies have still accepted them as 'different', incorporating them into research hypotheses to prove pornography has bad effects whilst erotica might be less harmful. Explaining this divide, Ellen Willis (cited in Gilbert, 1993) says "[i]n practice, attempts to sort out good erotica from bad porn inevitably come down to *What turns me on is erotica; what turns you on is pornographic*" (p.81) (see also Mosher, 1988, p.79-80).

Contrasting descriptions have been criticised for assuming differences exist in sexual representations:

"Preoccupation with recording our sexual activities and fantasies dissipates anger at real sexual oppression, and deflates attention from the material conditions in which our activities and fantasies have been constructed. Fantasy being the key word here...it is crucial to talk and write about sex; our real desires, responses, ambivalences and fears. But this is neither the purpose nor the function of erotica, which is essentially about fantasy" (Carola, 1988, ps.171-172).

This author further subdivides the categories of pornography and erotica - a gender divide in materials produced for male or female audiences (this excerpt is about 'lesbian pornography' indicating yet another category). Pornography for men is therefore 'worse' than pornography for women, indeed SEM has been gendered so that 'pornography' is defined in being aimed at a male audience, whilst women supposedly prefer softer, more 'erotic' images (see later in this chapter).

The above quote highlights the context-related issue of 'appropriateness' which underlies many academic and political texts on 'porn'. 'Pornography' may not be appropriate in some researchers definitions, but erotica is less problematic. For Carola and others, both are problematic when describing fantasy through male contextualised frameworks. The good/bad dichotomy is utilised in historical, legal and political frameworks to define representations as more or less accurate. Thus fantasies are not accurate, but 'real' responses are. In Itzin's 1992b definition offered earlier in this section there was an 'acceptable' representation in *"bona fide sex education materials or medical or forensic literature"*. These perspectives initially appear to allow further exploration in research by providing cases where pornography may or may not

be found, but this thesis argues they rely on images or texts being presented in certain contexts with unilateral agreement on their perception.

If context is changed, a medical image can become 'pornographic', and 'porn' has utilised this. In 1977 Hustler (in)famously incorporated medical images into its subscription campaign "3.5 Million 'Amateur Gynecologists' Can't Be Wrong" (Caputi, 1987, p.128). Items which are educational or non-sexual may be interpreted as 'sexual' by the viewer. Jokes and anecdotes abound about teenage boys 'using' *National Geographic* or the lingerie sections of Clothing Catalogues as 'pornographic texts'. Views about 'porn' may be classified into different groups (Cottle et al 1989). Those who adhere to religious-conservative viewpoints believe pornography is a threat to family and moral values, a risk to children, and the sanctity of sex within marriage. Anti-pornography feminists agree that pornography encourages and enforces female subordination, degrades women and children, and puts both at risk from sex crime. Liberals support freedom of speech and emphasised the need for divisions between pornography and erotica (see also Brown, 1992).

Interpretations of SEM can be fluid, with multiple readings of the pornographic text a possibility. The thesis challenges this, as there are a multiplicity of sources which could be perceived to be 'porn'. Fiction or non-fiction literature, films, art (in paintings, pictures or photography); other media representations and forms of information technology have been utilised to produce 'pornography', whilst others have been created for a different market but have been later labelled 'porn' (Beisel, 1993).

The descriptions offered in this section are not meant to be absolute definitions of 'pornography' and 'erotica' (virtually every book, article or paper about 'porn' contains at least one definition). Yet social scientists have adopted the pornography/erotica divide to produce 'better' results, "*[m]ore objective data are needed on a national basis to better delineate erotica from pornography and to more clearly define the sexual activity cues that are offensive to the majority*" (Schell and Bigelow, 1990, p.309, emphasis in original). This chapter now examines community views about 'pornography'.

Culture, Community Standards, and Tolerance

There are positive correlations for increased community concerns about pornography and a growth in availability or circulation of SEM. Moral panics

have also been linked to the availability of materials and IT developments (Crooks and Baur, 1996, p.588-589), including videos (Barricklow, 1992); pornography on computer discs and games (Bouquet, 1994; Farrington, 1992); telephone sex lines (Cleary, 1985; Baker, 1991); advertisements (Matthews, 1991); television (Brown, 1993); films (Patterson, 1998; French, 1991); and the Internet (Durkin, 1997; Thomas, 1997). An American survey by Thompson et al (1986) noted that 2/3 of respondents believed community standards was an issue requiring legal protection.

A US 1985 Gallup poll for *Newsweek* revealed that 3/4 of respondents supported a link between porn and degradation of women/sexual violence. 2/3 of these respondents were in favour of banning such materials, although the majority did not wish to see non-violent pornography outlawed (see Cottle et al, 1989), supporting a pornography/erotica divide. Similar conflicts were observed in the 1986 General Social Survey and Research for *Time* magazine, where participants stated pornography didn't have effects but it might lead to increased promiscuity (Cottle et al, 1989, p.305). This highlights an ambivalent public relationship with pornography. Early US obscenity laws were mobilised around explicitness (Palys, 1986), but pressure from feminists and academics subsequently moved laws from censoring images of sex per se, to censoring images which link sex and violence.

Different countries have different approaches to dealing with obscenity (Harding, 1998, p.4). Britain's laws are based around a jury deciding if an image is likely to 'deprave and corrupt', although there is concern that jurors will be influenced by media discussion of obscenity definitions (Greene, 1990). Police, Customs and Excise, media governing bodies (eg: ITC or BSA), and the British Board of Film Classification having powers to seize, censor or restrict images. Police may also utilise the 1978 protection of children act where child pornography has been seized. Sex cinemas and clubs have to be licensed (following the 1985 Cinemas Act), and since 1990 the Broadcasting Act covers television and radio. Obscenity laws within the UK tend to rely upon there being operational and definite community standards concerning sexually explicit materials (Scott, 1991), with censorship laws permitting the prohibition of obscene articles, and confiscation of materials (Robertson, 1979). Therefore police frequently seize materials *they* consider obscene (including books, calendars, pictures etc) and variations exist between and within forces, further supporting difficulties in defining what constitutes SEM.

When materials were legalised in Europe, there was an increase in obscenity charges in the UK (Robertson, 1979, p.137).

The Netherlands appears more liberal than the UK, and has more availability of 'hard core' materials, although it remains illegal to display such materials publicly (this tends not to be enforced by police - as most visitors to Amsterdam will testify). Whilst Italy is a Catholic country, it is also fairly liberal about 'porn', with local judiciaries deciding on what may be sold leading to high regional variations. In the US pornography has been protected under the First Amendment, but with protests from feminists and religious groups certain states have adopted stringent anti-pornography ordinances. Most famous is the Dworkin/MacKinnon ordinance applied in Indianapolis (see Duggan and Hunter, 1995, ps:64-65).

In Japan restrictions tend to be strict, although violent images of women in Manga cartoons are available. Pubic hair is censored. Sexual images were suppressed in China throughout the cultural revolution (Chang, 1991), and since 1989 a ban has been enforced on 'yellow subjects' (the equivalent of 'blue' materials in the West) (Pan, 1993), and consequently young people in China tend to have less experience with SEM than their Western counterparts (Hong et al, 1994). In Russia, there are technical restrictions (Goldschmidt, 1995), but women from former communist countries are frequently trafficked into pornography/prostitution in Europe (Barry, 1995). As former communist countries adopt capitalist policies, the sex industry appears to be at the forefront of change (Freeman, 1990).

In Canada the usual test of obscenity is community tolerance, where judges decide if an example of SEM would be acceptable to the wider community (Schell and Bigelow, 1990). However, "*[[l]egal control of pornography remains a controversial and emotionally laden topic*" (p.301) with experts calling for causal links to be proved before written into law, although some trials have successfully correlated pornography and sex crime (Mahoney, 1984).

Although it is often believed that Britain has the strictest obscenity laws, Ireland actually has the strongest legislation, utilising the 1923 Censorship of Films act, and a the measure of deprave and corrupt. With the advent of satellite TV and the internet - policing will become increasingly difficult, regardless of each countries obscenity laws.

There is an assumed public agreement on toleration of materials (Dhavan, 1978; Winick and Evans, 1994). Scott (1991) provides an overview of research conducted on communities and tolerance of SEM. Urban communities are supposedly more tolerant than rural ones, as are inner cities when compared with suburbia. Research on community standards suggest that men and young people are more liberal in their toleration of sexual images and activities, possibly due to familiarity with materials. Less educated people tend to be pro-censorship of SEM (Silverman and Rubinstein, 1980), as do older people and women (Woodrum, 1992).

Strong religious principles have also been linked with an intolerance towards SEM (eg: Whitehouse, 1985), and religious or secular communities may express lower tolerance for such displays or sales. It has been observed that left wing feminists and right wing Christian organisations who disagree on most issues, have reached agreement about the abolition of 'pornography', although their motivation is different (see Palys, 1986, p.33; Strossen, 1996; Duggan and Hunter, 1995). Women's rising level of political activism is thought to be an influential factor in the restriction of SEM (Shapiro and Mahajan, 1986).

The problem with asking members of communities to judge materials in relation to local standards is "*[i]t's extremely rare that a...person acknowledges any such clear understanding, or even vague knowledge, of the local community standard concerning sexual material*" (Scott, 1991, p.31). Other critics have expanded on this idea "*it is sociologically naive to assume there is any such consensus in a pluralistic society*" (Weatherstone, 1984, p.302). It is argued that this is also a problem for the distributors of SEM - as community standards are so varied (Muncy, 1992). Other views indicate that people may want change, but are unsure about what to do (Burton, 1989), or may feel powerless (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson 1991). Financial constraints may mean that standards are not always enforced (Smith, 1987).

Results from Scott's US telephone surveys indicated the 7,199 participants used their own views about obscenity as opposed to the local community standard. Experiments also operate as though there is agreement on what 'porn' might be and how it is viewed, but there often is relatively little consistency or 'objective' agreement. Within any form of classification - or establishing of community standards, there remains a problem of context and

definition. Whilst sex shops or 'top shelf' magazines may be fairly obvious to the general public, concern has also been expressed over items which could be said to be art or porn. Kappeller (1986) outlined the following examples as film or literature which straddle this divide - "*Salo*"; "*Ai No Corrida*"; "*The White Hotel*" and "*The Story of O*". Additional contemporary films such as *The People Versus Larry Flynt*, *Girl 6*, *Boogie Nights*, *Showgirls*, *Lolita* and *Crash* may be added to this list. Publications such as Madonna's book 'Sex', or work by Jeff Koons and Robert Mapplethorpe deliberate blur boundaries between art/porn (Sawyer, 1995). Reinterpretations of classic pictures from a feminist/fundamentalist viewpoint have rendered them 'pornographic' (Strossen, 1996). Certain attempts at censorship of materials for being obscene indicate they increase in popularity - for example *Frankie Goes To Hollywood's* 1983/4 single '*Relax*'. A number of commissions and groups have attempted to re-classify obscenity laws including the Johnson Commission (1970 - US); The Williams Committee (1979 - UK); The Fraser Committee (1985 - Canada); The MacKinnon/Dworkin ordinance (1983 - US); The Meese Commission (1986 - US); and Itzin's 1992 attempt to change the UK obscenity laws (see Ferris, 1993; Strossen, 1995; Duggan and Hunter, 1995). However, there is still little global or even local community agreement about the content and nature of SEM. An extensive evaluation of existing experimental accounts of SEM supported this (Howitt and Cumberbatch, 1990) as the reviewers noted there was little evidence to suggest agreement between researchers or reliable outcomes of effects based on existing literature.

Gender

This section focuses on issues surrounding sex and gender relating to SEM. It is acknowledged that there is a mass of existing psychological research on gender - primarily examining differences between the sexes (see Golombok and Fivush, 1994; Siann, 1994; Renzetti and Curran, 1995) including explanations based on biological and/or social factors. Later sections of this chapter will outline how research often either excludes female participants, or assumes there will be differences between men and women in relation to pornography. Whilst a wider discussion on theories of gender differences would be of interest, due to limitations of space, this thesis focuses on the application of different theories of gender in relation to SEM.

Differences have been observed in attitudes towards the influence of magazines on boy's and girl's behaviour (Allen, 1987, p.129). In this survey teenagers and parents believed girls were influenced by non-sexual (romantic) magazines aimed at them, (Allen 1987 p.129). Only 5% of teenagers and 14% of parents agreed that girls would be affected by SEM, but half the total sample believed boys would be highly influenced by such material. Other research indicates pornography is not rated highly as a source of sex education, when compared to advice from peers, parents, school etc (Trostle, 1993; Duncan 1990; Tjaden, 1988). These studies illustrate a gender difference in relation to SEM and sex education. Men cited SEM as a primary and secondary source of sex information, on topics such as oral and anal sex and sexual attractiveness, (Duncan 1990, p.442) and arousal, orgasm, sexual positions, and homosexuality (Tjaden, 1988 p.210). Women did not appear to use sexual media for information like men, although women's magazines appear to be increasingly sexual (Braithwaite, 1994).

The '*Esquire Report*' (Nicholson and Thompson 1992) identified from a sample of 786 British men (aged 18-45) that 81% had read a soft porn magazine at some point in their lives and 41% had done so in the past year; 52% had read a hard porn magazine at least once and 20% had done so in the past year (p.47). The researchers made a connection between use of 'soft' sexual magazines and not having sex. Of the single men in the sample, over half had read a magazine in the past year (p.47) and those who didn't have a regular sex life also used 'soft porn' (p.84).

Certain theories maintain that women and men view SEM completely differently, supported by accounts in the popular press (Whittaker, 1994; Thompson, 1995; Reiss, 1994). Women are frequently constructed as lacking "*the same degree of response to visual stimuli*" (Fletcher, 1972, p.147). Historically, it was assumed that women were not interested in sex (Edwards, 1981, p.23), a view reinforced by much research on SEM (Parker and Gagnon, 1995, p.12). In Kinsey's extensive research (1953) 42% of men in the survey reported a very strong reaction [sexual arousal] to erotic material, but only 14% of women indicated a similar response, and only a small number of women had seen SEM, whereas most of the men had seen such material. It could be that women wouldn't feel aroused as they were not used to it (Gebhard, 1982, p.5), and were aware it was not socially acceptable for a woman to admit to seeing and/or enjoying SEM. Researchers also suggest

that women adopt a 'male gaze' when viewing such material (Mulvey, 1992), and can only enjoy men's media when viewed through 'men's eyes'. Whilst others argue that women can appreciate SEM, but this interest allegedly fluctuates in accordance with their menstrual cycle - prior and post menstruation they exhibit greater appreciation for SEM (Zilmann, Schweitzer and Mundorf, 1994). Yet more research argues gender interacts with handedness, so left-handed males rate pornography more highly (Clayson and Eshler, 1982).

Research suggests that men experience greater excitement and women greater negativity when viewing SEM (Koukounas and McCabe, 1997; Murnen and Stockton, 1997). Findings from a survey on attitudes to nudity indicated no gender differences - women were as likely as men to approve/disapprove of nudism (Vingerhoets and Buunk, 1987). An interpretation is that women don't find nude bodies problematic, but the contextual representation of those bodies and the wider social significance they hold may be difficult. In addition, who creates SEM also influences similar gendered reactions. Women have been observed to experience similar levels of genital arousal when viewing SEM made by men or women, but report greater arousal to the perceived female-generated materials. The researchers interpreted this as women's reliance on cognitive feedback as opposed to an awareness of genital reaction (Laan et al, 1994). However, as participants attention was drawn to the materials creators, it may be that the women felt it was more appropriate to link arousal with women-created SEM. Furthermore, as chapters Six and Seven of this thesis will show, women associate negative outcomes with men's SEM, which may inhibit arousal.

As the majority of participants in SEM experiments are undergraduates (see Appendix 1), studies tend to report younger people's experiences of SEM. Effects relating to gender and age have been noted, with older women appear to be more positive about using 'erotica' than younger women (Purnine and Carey, 1998), whilst men's interest and acceptance of SEM remains relatively consistent throughout their adult lives. However, research into SEM and age-related factors is scarce, possibly due to a link between SEM and sex, and sex and youth.

Women are not exposed to SEM in the same way as men: *"there is no female equivalent of the male 'stag party' to introduce her to it, so she has been*

largely dependent on what the men close to her have wanted to share" (Pickard, 1982 p.96), and it is not the norm for women to seek out such material. It is possible that women do not enjoy SEM. Alternatively they may not be able to obtain material easily, as societal norms prevent such behaviour *"if a woman really wants to have a good indulgent look, how, within the boundaries of acceptable female behaviour can she do so?"* (Leston, 1992, p.52). Women are viewed as sexually 'passive' in many cultures (Pickard, 1982 p.96), and not considered to be as interested in or enjoy sex like men. Women have also been discouraged from finding out about their own bodies and sexual intercourse (Edwards, 1981, p.24), and sexual double standards exist (Lees, 1993). Male sexuality is seen as 'naturally' active or even aggressive (echoed in the design and hypothesis of SEM experiments), whilst female sexuality has been viewed as passive or 'pathological' (Parker and Gagnon, 1995; Segal, 1994). Activities encouraged in one sex are often actively discouraged in the other (Adams and Lurikietis, 1980 p.32). This applies particularly to SEM, as it is men are encouraged to look, but this is not acceptable in women (Faust, 1980 p.2).

Women are encouraged to read romantic fiction, where the heroine feels arousal in her heart as opposed to her genitals. Some more 'racy' novels contain sexual images, but most only hint at sexual activity (Assiter, 1989, p.115). The purpose of such books is not primarily sexual activity *"getting the man has been far more important than proving they can have orgasms with him"* (Barr Snitow, 1984, p.162). Alternative novels such as *Lace* and *Hollywood Wives* have been identified as *"shopping and fucking"* books (Lewallen, 1988, p.86), although analysis of the more explicit Black Lace series have been favourably received (Cordery and Brooks-Gordon, 1996). In men's 'sexual stories' attaining orgasm is far more crucial than getting/keeping the woman. In men's stories the settings and activities are often wildly distorted, whilst women's romantic novels and to some extent the stories in women's sexual magazines (see Chapter Four) *"are erotic without going too far from the everyday"* (Assiter, 1988, p.107). It has been observed, however, that women have little patience with romantic novels when they are pre-menstrual! (Zilman, Schweitzer and Mundorf, 1994).

Women may be more aroused by 'realistic' depictions of sex. That is not to say that women do not enjoy explicitness or sexual variation, rather they appear to prefer more 'life like' and emotional scenarios. Researchers argue

that as men's sexual material often features stories and pictures that are outrageous or inaccurate, women see them as silly, funny, or a turn-off "*pornography warps the normal cycle by stopping, starting, changing positions, partners and orifices. The result is a confusing medley of general activity with no beginning or end. Pornography is literal and at the same time, out of touch with reality, distorting sexuality and its place in daily life*" (Faust, 1980 p.16). However, other studies suggest that men and women find romantic plots within SEM preferable to high levels of explicitness (Quackenbush, Strassberg and Turner, 1995).

Women are reportedly aroused by male characters they know about, or can identify with (Faust, 1980 p.28). This could explain the appeal of film or pop stars, and why women's sexual magazines appear to include photos and interviews with celebrities, although this is increasingly a regular format of mens' lifestyle publications (Thomas and McCann, 1998). Alternatively, men do not appear to need to know much about a model or character to become aroused by her. Possibly because they are more interested in the body than the person (Assiter, 1989, p.x). It is possible that women do not react positively to men's (sexual) media because they are not used to viewing "*men look, women are looked at*" (Assiter, 1989, p.136). Chapter Six indicates how women are capable of looking, but tend to turn the 'gaze' back on themselves when viewing SEM.

Women's negative relationship with pornography has also been explained in terms of social pressure (Stauffer and Frost, 1976; Gordon and Mitchell, 1988, p.123) and concern over sexual abuse or feminist protest (Itzin and Sweet, 1990) - with women's glossy magazines running occasional articles against SEM. The focus of research and possibly public opinion suggests that women who look at pornography are "*trespassing on male territory*" (Leston, 1992, p.52). 'Heterosexual' pornography is perceived as a 'male genre' (Gubar, 1989) even images of lesbianism in 'men's porn' convert to this format (Duncker, 1995). A divide is created between the passive female (image) and the active male (viewer/consumer) (Mulvey, 1992). In the early Nineties pornography for women saw a resurgence, with some women like Candida Royalle or Linzi Drew creating SEM for women. Yet it has been questioned whether this does constitute equality for women (Carola, 1988). Authors such as Nancy Friday (1991) perceive women creating and discussing SEM as

liberating, or as part of the process of equality, whilst others like Carola and other anti-porn researchers/activists argue it further subjugates women.

'Pornography' is largely presented as a male topic in the popular and academic presses and men are expected to introduce women to SEM (Comfort, 1981). Women's non-sexual magazines present conflicting messages about pornography. Whilst for the most part they suggest that pornography is not good for women (eg: Cosmopolitan ran Itzin and Sweet's 1990 survey on women's attitudes towards pornography), in many of the problem pages and articles to 'spice up your sex life' pornography is re-classified as erotica and suggested as a means of prolonging or improving relationships. Research on 'women's pornography' focuses on women looking at images of men, or films which show heterosexual sex (with varying degrees of sexual violence, depending on the study). Little work is available on women focusing on 'soft-core' images of other women (see Chapter Six). Mulvey (1992) describes women in pornography as conveying "*to-be-looked-at-ness*" (p.27), which this thesis maintains is perpetuated by the reliance of male participants in 'porn experiments' (see Appendix 1).

These studies perpetuate the idea that SEM evokes gender-specific reactions, which some researchers have found problematic (see Charles, 1996). This thesis shows that gender differences exist, but a number of similarities in reactions to SEM are also evident. Gender differences are contextually bound and participants are able to demonstrate how they 'should' react to SEM in accordance with prescribed gender stereotypes.

Sex

Historically sex, gender and sexuality were defined as separate, but in recent years beliefs have shifted, and some now argue that they are 'fluid' concepts (Weeks, 1985, p.37) as opposed to fixed and distinct categories (Weeks, 1985, p.37). References to sex research can be found in most introductory psychology text-books, with Kinsey, Ellis, Stopes and Masters and Johnson used to give a basic overview on research and/or 'sexual development'. In the case of Masters and Johnson, their work - although subject to criticism and complaint - is presented as fact (Tiefer, 1995). The years 1890 to 1980 have been defined as the 'sexological period' (Parker and Gagnon, 1995, p.3), where researchers attempted to systematically organise, define and categorise sexual activity within a scientific paradigm, (Lutzen, 1995). This

has been extended to the study of SEM (Parker and Gagnon, 1995, p.3). Sex research emerged in the West during the 17th Century, but by the end of the 19th Century was redefined via male bourgeois society (Hoff, 1989), where research constructed *"a model of sexuality which purported to be objective and scientific but in fact reflected and promoted the interests of men"* (Jackson, 1995, p.52; see also Robinson, 1976). The influence of the scientific paradigm on research and its applications led to these ideas being 'medicalized'. Sex was now the domain of the 'expert', the doctor, priest and academic (Parker and Gagnon, 1995, p.4). SEM research can be interpreted as an attempt to control and regulate expressions of sex from a number of viewpoints.

Concern over self-control illustrates the fluctuating nature of attitudes toward sexuality. At the start of this century control over 'urges' were imposed on men and women, however it is interesting to note a dichotomy between the sexes. Body fluid loss in males in ejaculation was believed to weaken the man (Downs and Scarborough Hillje, 1993, p.14). Ejaculation in women was not discussed, and even now is a source of debate (see Chapter Four). Males were encouraged against masturbation (usually with the lure of 'healthy outdoor pursuits'), and some were fitted with anti-masturbation/erection devices (Parker and Gagnon, 1995). A number of (predominantly middle-class) women who displayed onanistic tendencies were given clitoridectomies and hysterectomies (Ehrenreich and English, 1979). With research by Kinsey in the mid-half of the Twentieth Century, and Masters and Johnson's 1960 research indicating that masturbation was a common phenomena in both sexes, sexology moved towards promoting masturbation, and SEM was viewed less problematically. Rather than being a life threatening activity which weakened the structure of society, it now was viewed as a healthy behaviour. With the advent of HIV/AIDS the conservation of bodily fluids, or at least their safer management became a priority. This priority is not necessarily reflected in porn, where male (and female) ejaculation is a vital component with some arguing watching others ejaculate in porn is a form of safer sex (Money, 1988).

By the 1970s in the West, 'good' sex was linked to orgasm and sociobiologists/sex researchers like Kronhausen and Kronhausen, Alex Comfort and Glenn Wilson told people how to have sex (Jeffreys, 1990), suggesting women were as sexual as men, but needed men to teach them

and permit them to enjoy themselves. At the same time women were encouraged to look at and enjoy SEM and some were creating it for themselves (see later in this Chapter). Jeffreys (1990) questions the idea that this sexual revolution was a positive development for women (see also Laipson, 1996). Advice books, such as 'The Joy of Sex', and sex therapy maintained stereotypical beliefs about sex (Wallis, 1984), which has been also been interpreted as maintaining gender inequality (Jeffreys, 1990, p.9). Relationship manuals began to recommend how women should conduct their relationships, often advocating misogynistic ideas (Jeffreys, 1990), eg: "*some women see themselves as 'suffers' and get satisfaction from feeling hard done by. A woman may even provoke her partner into actually hitting her*" (taken from "*The Encyclopaedia Of Love And Sex: A Comprehensive Guide To The Psychology Of Sex...*", 1972, p.194).

With the advent of AIDS there are now more risks involved in sexual activity. Relationship guidance tapes have taken advantage of this, but rather than advocating masturbation, they tend to go towards the idea of 'monogamy', (and videos such as the 'Lovers Guide' present heterosexual relationships as the 'norm', with the implication that those in a monogamous heterosexual relationship are not so at risk). Money, (1988) states that masturbation and fantasy do not spread HIV and other STDs, and pornography could have a role. Yet contraceptives and STDs are not a recurrent theme in pornographic images (Faust, 1980). Those who work in the industry claim that contraceptive use is relatively low (Ferris, 1993) - the cum shot or 'money shot' in films with male characters is not possible if a condom is in use at the point of ejaculation, and as certain authors have shown, this is the main focus of such materials (Crabbe 1988).

Research on SEM, with it's focus on negative causal relationships, apparently overlooks the *sexual* component of SEM. SEM is linked to masturbation and inclusion in other sexual practices. In Kutchinsky's survey of 400 Danes, 48% of men and 27% of women reported finding SEM arousing (Kutchinsky, 1978). A further 'forgotten' area of SEM is it's use within sex 'therapy'. Heterosexual SEM has been utilised in aversion therapy (based on conditioning principles) to reduce paedophilia (Gillan, 1978; Abel et al, 1970) and homosexuality (Bancroft, 1969). Patients were taught to pair adult heterosexual images with arousal to replace previously 'dysfunctional' stimuli. SEM has also been used to evaluate transsexual patients prior to surgery (Barr, 1973) to encourage

women to reach orgasm (Gillan, 1974). The dates of these studies are a further indication of changes in Western society and psychology. Current trends argue against problematising homosexuals (Weeks, 1997), with feminists being critical of coercing women into sex via SEM (Itzin, 1992; Barry, 1995). Increased measures have been taken to curb the production of child pornography (Tate, 1990; Barry, 1995). More recently SEM has been used as a diagnostic tool, and in sex therapy - although it is noted clients and therapists find it difficult to differentiate between 'porn' and 'erotica' (Court, 1984), as in counselling it is preferable to recommend 'erotica'.

Images of 'sex' are all around us, yet interpretations differ through history, culture, gender, sexuality, religious beliefs etc. Certain forms of sexuality are privileged and 'normalised', so 'sex' is not a unified concept: "*A kiss is not a kiss...these actions remain to be defined by individual experience within one's period and place*" (Tiefer, 1995, p.7) adding problems to the arguments already presented. It can be debated whether pornography is a representation of sex, if pornography and erotica are different things, and if 'sex' is situation specific (Juhasz, 1983).

Feminist Accounts and Debates

"Feminist opinion currently ranges from the belief that pornography is central to women's oppression and must be subject to state controls, through the understanding that it is against women's interests and must be campaigned against, to an assertion that pornography is merely a representation and, unlike acts, cannot cause oppression: sexist, racist, heterosexist, disablist, ageist behaviour - economic insecurity - these cause oppression. Indeed, they claim, pornography may even be liberating" (Chester and Dickey, 1989, p.1).

This section overviews different viewpoints of feminism and porn. Existing accounts provide histories of (anti)pornography and feminism from the UK, US, Canada and Australia (Lumby, 1997; Duggan and Hunter, 1995; Strossen, 1995). It will summarise key themes and events, and their impact on research.

The 'Herstory' of Porn

Women's involvement in 'pornography' has been ignored or marginalised (Hughes, 1986). As mentioned, with the advent of the 'sexual revolution', Western women initially welcomed sexually explicit resources as a means of emancipation and education. Germaine Greer for example, organised a special edition of Oz magazine entitled *Cuntpower*, and later edited and posed naked in *Suck* magazine, stating "*we have rejected all censorship - even our*

own" (in Ferris, 1993, p.227). In 1973 *Viva* magazine was launched as the female version of *Penthouse* (Faust, 1980; Fishburn, 1982), and magazines like *Cosmopolitan* featuring centrefolds of celebrities such as Burt Reynolds. Equality included sexually explicit images, but were nevertheless based around a 'male-centred' (heterosexual) model and did not necessarily benefit women (Jeffreys, 1990) although encouraged debate questioning if male genres could include women (Gubar, 1989).

Despite the optimism of the early 1970's, magazines such as *Viva*, and the centrefolds of *Cosmo* did not seem to appeal to women (Faust, 1980), nor did women have the economic strength to make an impact within the porn market (Sempel, 1988, p.6). Initially this was explained as women requiring 'different' forms of sexual stimulation. By the mid-1970's feminists began opposing pornography for a number of reasons, including the negative presentation of women as sex objects (Hadjifotiou, 1983, p.14).

Anti-Pornography

Susan Brownmiller (1975) promoted the idea that the presence of pornography constituted a 'risk' to women. Slogans emerged, such as '*pornography is violence against women*' and '*pornography is the theory; rape is the practice*' (often attributed to Robin Morgan). In the US, groups such as Women Against Pornography (WAP) (formed in 1979), began protesting against films, bookstores and other areas where 'porn' was available (Rich, 1987, p.340). Initially this organisation claimed to be opposed to censorship, but by the early 1980's shifted it's focus to excluding any images it deemed to be sexist and/or violent (Strossen, 1996, p.73). Further protest groups include Women Against Violence Against Women (WAVAW) and Women Against Violence in Pornography and the Media (WAVPM) in the US, and the Campaign Against Pornography (CAP) and Campaign Against Pornography and Censorship (CAPC) in the UK, and PorNO in Germany. The global exploitation of women has been acknowledged (Barry, 1995).

Women documented the dangers and horrors of pornography. Unlike experimentally-based psychological research, these publications reflected the experiences and views of the author, or interviews with women who had themselves been abused. Some revealed the activities which women were asked to perform following a (male) partners 'use' of pornography (eg: Russell, 1984, p.125-126). Others included descriptions of rape or abuse to highlight

how dangerous pornography could be (eg: Barry, 1979; Dworkin, 1981; I-Spy Productions 1988; Lederer, 1980 and Everywoman, 1984), or accounts for readers (who may not have ever seen any 'porn') about the content videos and magazines. One example reads:

"what I can tell you is on that night I watched a man participate in the act of sex with a woman, and during that act he plunged a large hunting knife into her stomach and cut her open from vagina to breast. He then withdrew the knife and stuck it into her left hand, removing the first joints from three fingers, which fell from the bed. The woman's eyes remained open, she looked at the knife and said "oh,god, not me". It took her approximately three minutes to die. The camera was left running. The film was then canned and put on the commercial market as entertainment" (Corcoran, 1989, p.4; see also Miller, 1989; Russell, 1993).

Opposing such a view is difficult when shocking examples are used - *"If it is being moralistic and ideological to demand an end to the representations of women being tortured, raped, beaten and mutilated, then I am not ashamed of being moralistic and ideological"* (Hughes, 1986, p.38). Critics of the anti-porn stance argue the approach mobilises women around their fears (Vance, 1984, p.65) by using extreme examples: - *"my anger against pornography is based on experience of examples of the genre"* (Hughes, 1986, p.38) - as opposed to direct SEM experiences.

Such examples refer to images which are violent and disturbing, outlining abuses which range from physical injury to murder. There are films, literature and magazines which contain images of sexual violence and child abuse (Mike Hames, in interview, 1992). There are an equally large number of materials which do not reflect any direct harm being carried out on the characters involved and yet might still be construed as abusive (for example images where characters are verbally abused, or who participate in scenes of degradation and humiliation). There are yet more images in top shelf magazines, *Page Three of The Sun* (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson 1991), or *The Sport* (Boynton, 1995) which have been presented as damaging to women and children - and when examined out of context may appear 'pornographic'. The majority of accounts on 'pornography', particularly from American academics, focus on extremely violent images and present them as the staple-fodder of the porn consumer, frequently ignoring the circumstances of production eg: S/M images may look horrific, but can be consensual (Kershaw and Sweet, 1992). Furthermore, accessing such materials is not as easy as these texts suggest.

Anti-Anti Pornography

Detailed overviews of the divides between feminists on pornography can be found in Mann, 1997; Segal and McIntosh, 1992; Strossen, 1996; and Lumby, 1997, with a chronological account of US activism and debate in Duggan and Hunter, 1995. Sex workers have argued that many in the far left feminist camp are not helping women, despite their protestations, research and writing. They claim researchers are *excluding* the women they are documenting, viewing them as *"too thick to have anything of value or relevance to say"* (Roberts, 1986, p.14; see also Silver, 1993; Arrington, 1987). In the mid 1980's, many feminists participated in the *'Take Back The Night'* protests. These are defined as an *"American Slogan originating in the late 1970's as a rallying cry for women to unite against pornography and other forms of male violence against women"* (Tuttle, 1986, p.318) (the UK equivalent was *'Reclaim The Night'*). These demonstrations commonly went through areas worked by prostitute women, without their prior knowledge or consent (Arrington, 1987, p.106), conflicting with the initial definition of *'Take Back The Night'* (Roberts, 1986, p.15)

It seems ironic that whilst those who oppose the sex industry disrupt sex workers lives, they do not allow these women access to their own (privileged) workplaces, and exclude them from protesting against an 'industry' they know about from first hand experience. At a conference she co-organized (on 'Female Sexual Slavery') Kathleen Barry refused to be interviewed alongside any prostitute or ex-prostitute (Pheterson, 1989, p.138), prostitutes were forbidden from speaking because *"their histories of abuse, their poverty and their social 'irresponsibility' rendered them incapable of speaking objectively"* (Jacobsen, 1993, p.138). Linzi Drew comments that at a debate she attended, Cathy Itzin refused to associate with the women who were going to speak in favour of SEM: *"I hate her...she wouldn't even stay in the same hotel as us"* (Cooper, 1993, p.20).

It is not only sex workers who have found themselves under-represented, misinterpreted or excluded. Researchers have also been treated in a similar way. At conferences at Michigan Law School (Jacobsen, 1993, p.136); the 1992 'Pornography and Sexual Crime Conference'; and the 1996 WOVA Conference no women sex workers were allegedly allowed to attend. At one of these conferences collaboration between sex workers and academics was outlawed. A vicious division between feminists occurred at the famous

Barnard Conference in New York 1982, which aimed to examine how sexual threats to women could be reduced (Jacobsen, 1993, p.138; see also Strossen, 1996). *"Participation in the event proved a near disaster for some speakers. Individual women were denounced and condemned, their employers contacted, careers and livelihoods threatened, as their feminist opponents deployed straightforwardly McCarthyite tactics to try and silence them"*, (Segal, 1994, p.64), a fate which might dissuade potential researchers. Others argue that anti-porn writers/researcher's blame women in SEM *"it is still the woman's fault - if not the woman in the sweater, then the woman in the magazine. If not the woman in the room then the woman on the wall"* (Pally, 1990, p.64; see also Friday, 1991, p.162).

Not all women who work in the industry are happy, but they are not currently speaking for themselves. In a way the feminists have replaced the oppressive system they claim to oppose. From their position of privilege and power they decide who speaks and what they say. They can also participate in and organise demonstrations and conferences which override the rights and feelings of workers, whose interests they are supposedly 'protecting'. It could be said that one group of academic women have reclaimed a certain degree of power, and are acting against less powerful women in a similar way, attacking researchers and/or sex workers for their 'morals' and behaviour.

Women Who Work in Pornography

"Obscenity in any company is a rustick uncreditable Talent, but among women 'tis particularly rude" (18th Century Quote attributed to Collier, cited in Bristow, 1977, p.35).

This chapter has illustrated how women in SEM may be viewed negatively. But why are women unlikely to choose SEM as a career? Texts accompanying *Page Three of The Sun* (Holland, 1987) and Readers Wives sections in top shelf magazines (see Chapters Four and Six) encourage women to pose - *"Who will be page three tomorrow? It could be you"* (Holland, 1987, p.117). Women like Linzi Drew, Jo Guest, Linsey Dawn McKenzie and Sarah Young state they enjoy the attention this brings (see also Campbell, 1993). However, female sexuality is constructed in such a way that links with SEM are undesirable and inappropriate (Rose, 1995). SEM has a very negative image; associated with sexism, sexual abuse of women and children, 'bizarre' sex and snuff movies (Mike Hames, in interview, 1992), factors which would frighten many women. If they are not afraid of being

injured physically or psychologically, they know that they will be perceived negatively by other men and women in society (and as this chapter has shown, by academics too). Sex work is not understood by outsiders ('straight' society), and is seen as a 'last option' - something to do where no choices are left (Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998). The idea of a woman being 'bad' or 'fallen', means she becomes 'beyond redemption', and therefore sex work is commonly viewed as something a woman goes into because she is desperate and oppressed.

Women in pornography have been labelled as bad, wayward, or perhaps sexually dysfunctional. Many articles in the popular press suggest women who work in porn emphasise their lack of opportunities and intelligence, and emphasise differences from the reader (Boynton, 1996a). Those who read or view pornography are perceived in the same way. Some feminists view women who use porn as 'letting the side down' (see Strossen, 1995; Chancer, 1993) whilst others claim that women have the right to view whatever they choose, and that censorship is a women's issue (Rodgerson and Wilson, 1991). Pornography for women is often located in the maintenance of relationships (see Chapter Four), whilst preserving it as 'male territory'.

Research on pornography suggests it has negative consequences, can predispose some men to commit sex crimes or hold negative attitudes towards women (Russell, 1990; Dworkin, 1995), and the majority of cases states that women either do not like porn (Russell, 1990) or should not like porn (Lewis and Adler, 1994, p.433). However, women are largely absent as participants and researchers in SEM studies (Hughes, 1986; Faust, 1980). Women feature in the images shown to participants in studies, but few studies examine their motives and experiences. Whilst there are reports from women who have positive experiences in participating in porn (eg: Annie Sprinkle 1991; Linzi Drew 1991), testimonies from abused women like Linda Lovelace appear to be more accepted. Women who work in the sex industry have complained that they have no voice (Jacobsen, 1993; Roberts, 1986) or are made into 'victims' (Chancer, 1993). It has been suggested that 'political correctness' means that the dominant discourse of porn research on women is that of abuse and exploitation (Thompson, 1994). Women appear divided over the issue, which at times has led to real hostility between those who are pro or anti pornography/censorship (Segal, 1994; Strossen, 1995; Chancer, 1993). *"As a consequence, it seems difficult to presume that there is only one*

women's view within the politics of pornography" (Brannigan, 1991a, p.133). The image of women sex workers is predominantly negative and is researched in a biased way. What does this tell us about psychology and society's view of female sexuality?

Research on 'Effects'

"We cannot take 10,000 virgins, expose half of them to television or to pornographic books, while keeping the others away from any such infectious material, and then follow them up over a period of twenty years to find out which group produced more illegitimate babies or whatever we might choose to be criterion of 'conduct unbecoming to a gentlewoman'" (Eysenck, 1978, p.157).

The majority of recent investigations into pornography and related effects are concentrated in psychology experiments. Universities and social groups in the US, Canada, UK and Scandinavia have all attempted to answer questions concerning SEM which appear to trouble modern society. Researchers have attempted to measure relationships between use of pornography and subsequent aggressive and or sexually violent acts. The view upheld and perpetuated by such research (and echoed within contemporary media) is that the perpetrators of such crimes are men, and their victims are women and children.

Much of the 'pornography debate' focuses around what 'pornography' can actually do. Views range from it being a direct cause of rape and the cause of sexism in societies (eg: Dworkin, 1981), to being *"not quite so dangerous. It is a symptom, not a weapon"* (Faust, 1980, p.28). The possible 'effects' of porn have been classified into five groups by Hui (1986, p.41):

1. *"Pornography stimulates sexual desire and heightens sexual arousal"* (eg: Zilman and Bryant, 1988; Wilson and Leidtke, 1984)
2. *"Pornography provides models for social learning and imitation"* (eg: Russell; 1988; Demare, Briere and Lips, 1988; Leonard and Taylor, 1983; Ramirez, Bryant and Zilman, 1982; Sommers and Check, 1987)
3. *"Pornography instils a set of permissive moral values"* (eg: George, Phillips and Skinner, 1988; Cowan, Chase and Stahly, 1987; Whitehouse, 1985)
4. *"Pornography serves a cathartic function by dissipating the destructive forces in human beings in a rather harmless way"* (eg: McCormack, 1986; Kutchinsky, 1991). Or has the opposite effect, so SEM 'use' leads people to seek out increasingly explicit materials (Zillman and Bryant, 1986), and long term use leads to increasingly negative attitudes and behaviours (Kelly and Musialowski, 1986; Padgett, Brislin-Slutz and Neal, 1989; Linz, Donnerstein and Adams, 1989; Linz, Donnerstein and Penrod, 1988).

5. *"Pornography provides people, particularly the young and sexually inexperienced, with sex education that parents and schools and not willing or prepared to give"* (eg: Duncan, 1990; Tjaden, 1988).

Several of these themes have already been examined in this chapter. This section deals with criticisms of experimental research which focuses on the hypotheses that pornography is either an 'instruction manual' for sex/abuse, or that it has cathartic properties and reduces abuse. A further option also identified by Hui is *"the position that the use of pornography produces negligible, if any, effects of any kind"* (1986, p.41), which most researchers have tended to ignore as a potential hypothesis. This chapter has indicated SEMs' long history and varying definitions. Associations can be made with research and corresponding cultural/historical issues. A PsycLit search of abstracts from 1887 to the present using the keywords 'pornography' and 'erotica' revealed a trend in research focus. References to studies on 'pornography'/'erotica' published in peer reviewed journals, books and chapters steadily increased from the mid-1970s and reached a peak between 1988-1992 (with 167 citations for research on 'porn'). Journal articles which examine SEM and related effects (Appendix 1) suggest that SEM as a harmful and experimentally measurable construct is a recent development (1970's - 1980's) linked to periods of historical conservatism in the aftermath of feminist activity in the US and UK (Duggan and Hunter, 1995).

The majority of contemporary SEM experiments run to a format where a sexual image is shown to participants who subsequently respond to the image, and or report on their attitudes towards women and/or sex. In some cases male participants view sexual images and are then encouraged to exhibit aggressive behaviours towards a female confederate (eg: Ramirez, Bryant and Zillman, 1982). The design of these studies may be linked back to seminal research which identified how people mimic behaviour viewed on screen - particularly if they see this behaviour rewarded (Bandura, 1965), and an agreement with mass-media influence. Media effects have been studied from organisational, economic, semantic, ideological and social perspectives, all of which could be interlinked with research on SEM. However, the main subtext of pornography research is that of media influence within causal models. On a basic level this is a case of 'monkey-see, monkey-do', whereby 'men' supposedly view SEM and then either 'copy what they see directly (and abuse), or subsume internal sexist messages (and then abuse). This invites a number of difficult questions, including the assumption that all men will react

the same, and that 'porn' used in studies will be representative of all SEM. Studies which aim to link 'porn' and violence further assume that people will have the same understanding of the material(s) and the study they are participating in.

This is also observed (and additionally complicated) in a range of assumptions within studies where 'bad' pornography has negative effects, but 'good' erotica has no effect, or may even have positive outcomes. This thesis argues that participants define pornography and erotica as different and opposite (Chapter Five), but when they look directly at SEM such definitions are less fixed (Chapter Six). Indeed, when presentation/context is manipulated, participants' apparently fixed definitions become more fluid and fragmented (Chapter 7). The thesis also outlines how participants 'use' the research setting to carry out a number of activities including rethinking experiences, considering personal issues, or conducting political debates around pre-existing views (in contrast with existing experiments on SEM). All these factors suggest participants have an active role in SEM research.

Most studies use operational definitions such as 'pornography' (pairing the term with words like violent or degrading), or erotica (placing this within positive or consensual frameworks). However, these terms are not agreed upon, nor used equally within research (Howitt and Cumberbatch, 1990). 'Pornography' has been classified into violent/non-violent (Malamuth and Ceniti, 1986); whilst 'erotica' has been re-classified as 'non-erotica', suggestive erotica and explicit erotica (Ramirez, Bryant and Zilman, 1982). Studies which differentiate between levels of 'pornography' and 'erotica' continue to stress the negative outcomes linked with the former, and make compelling arguments for divisions between harmful/harmless SEM. Yet this assumes agreement on these divisions, and overlooks the images, context of the material(s), and how they might be employed, circulated and consumed (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993). Despite these different accounts of the nature and definition of SEM, the majority of academic studies appear to have supported the definition that pornography is harmful and used this to shape their hypothesis for experimental research. This view is instigated or supported by the anti-porn critiques previously outlined, and from those who work in areas such as counselling or nursing (Mercer and McKeown, 1997), or in vice (Freedman, 1992, p.40-41).

Most research on pornography proports to be valid and reliable, but as this thesis illustrates, methodological validity and reliability in existing research may be questioned. To use a scientific discourse, certain experiments appear to be affected by the use of leading questions, biased samples, pseudo-objectivity and experimenter expectancy effects (Fisher and Grenier, 1992). In maintaining experimental formats, researchers may miss or overlook other important questions and findings (White and Farmer, 1992). Yet if SEM does have negative effects, flawed studies only exacerbate problems: *“reliance on..findings..based on methods and conceptually flawed research..may hinder the development of remedies for the very real problem of sexual violence against women”* (Fisher and Grenier, 1992, p.36). One of the main criticisms against many SEM experiments is they *“make causal inferences based on correlational findings, to overlook the potential significance of higher order interactions not addressed in experimental manipulations, or to generalise beyond the data”* (White and Farmer, 1992, p.45).

This chapter has outlined a number of different definitions of SEM, and explained historical and cultural perceptions of 'porn' (including feminist debates). There are a large number of studies which have examined SEM and related effects. The majority are summarised in Appendix 1, which outlines a (semi) systematic review of 'porn research' - providing details of study date, researchers and study titles, participant details and research outcomes. It condenses material for the reader, and highlights gender inequalities and additional research biases in the study of SEM. This chapter will now briefly outline some of the main views on SEM effects and how these have been 'tested' in psychological research.

Certain researchers have attempted to isolate different personality types in relation to potential responses to SEM (eg Eysenck, 1978). Suggesting extroverts are more likely to be attracted to SEM. Other theories suggest that people will become bored with it SEM and cease using it. Increased availability of SEM has been linked to a reduction in sex crime (Kutchinsky, 1991), where people's initial interest soon decreased - a phenomena equated with the availability of bananas after the World War II *“everybody talked about and ate bananas until a saturation point was reached. Today there are quite a few people who rarely or never eat bananas. A few people eat a lot of bananas; most people enjoy bananas once in a while”* (Kutchinsky, 1978,

p.115). Porn therefore reduces problems on an individual level, whilst on a national level increased availability leads to an acceptance of SEM, so it reaches a 'mundane' category after a time. The Danish research suggested sex crime was reduced when SEM was legalised (Kutchinsky, 1991). Yet this interpretation was reached following a collection of data over a short time period during which time a number of sex offences were reclassified and did not emerge in the research (Mishan, 1980). A similar argument is often noted about Holland - seen to be liberal and crime free; but whilst having freely available porn, red-light districts, it is also home to the international market of child pornography (Tate, 1990). Increased rape rates have been positively correlated to increased availability of SEM (Scott and Schwalm, 1988), although other community surveys have not observed increased policing/prosecuting of SEM leading to reduced rape rates (Winick and Evans, 1996).

In reviewing the experimental literature for this thesis, six criticisms emerged: If SEM is as negative as researchers claim, why do they use men in research where explicit/violent materials are shown? (see Fisher and Grenier, 1992, p.26). Chapter Seven outlines studies which illustrate it is possible to study SEM without resorting to using explicit material. Many existing studies do not declare what measures they took to reduce the harm which might have been caused by their research, particularly as the design of some studies encourage participants to describe or exhibit aggressive behaviour (see Brannigan, 1991b, p.4). Such studies imply that men will not respond in any way but a misogynistic one - this thesis will demonstrate that men may be embarrassed, angered, annoyed, amused and aroused by completing SEM studies. Research and activism tend to utilise shocking and violent images to get reactions (eg: Corcoran, 1989; Russell, 1993). From this, calls are made for such materials to be restricted or banned. Yet these materials are not as easily available as suggested in literature, and many materials depend on an contextual framework/view of SEM to 'see' violence within them. Little research documents the effects of less explicit/non-violent materials which are readily available and infrequently challenged (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993).

The majority of participants are white, middle class and young (ascertained from the method sections of papers - participant's colour is often only mentioned when they are not white, most university students are or become

middle class, and the majority will be aged between 18 and 21) (see Appendix 1). Making inferences from their responses to the wider population may be inaccurate, as they will not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of other people in their particular state/county/country. Participant's in the majority of psychological research constitute an opportunity sample. They are not selected at random from the 'general population', and frequently gain course grades via participation in research. Research papers do not always declare opportunity samples are used where participants are rewarded, or who have to participate for class credits. It is rarely acknowledged how and why participants volunteer for research, and issues surrounding voluntary informed consent in the area of sensitive research are left unaddressed (see Chapter Five).

The majority of participants in experiments on SEM are students, they may be familiar with the researcher conducting the study, as a member of their department or as a tutor who marks their work. They may have an interest in pleasing or disagreeing with the researcher in the study. This thesis argues if participants perceive the researcher to be either pro or anti-pornography, they tailor their reactions. Participants may be concerned that their responses could lead to them being singled out by the researcher at a later stage. Papers commonly omit the researcher/participant relationship during such studies (Fisher and Grenier, 1992, p.25). As psychology students, participants could be skilled at guessing what they 'think' a 'correct response' should be. For example, they may well guess that in a study where they are exposed to SEM and later asked questions about violence against women, that their responses should be negative about women so the researcher can gain significant results. Their reaction depends as much on the interpersonal relationship they have with the researcher as the material they have previously seen. However, as one researcher outlines about SEM research:

"[t]he scientific frame of mind in the social sciences which has been so central to the debate is perhaps incapable of resolving the matters as simply as we had hoped. On the one side, the precision of science can be rarely applied to human subjects in laboratory experiments without serious violence or discomfort to them. In the result, our inquiries look quite formalistic in their adherence to procedure but are simultaneously designed to ignore the subjective insights and meanings discovered by the subjects under study. In addition, the research problems are so laden with morally charged and meaningfully imbued interpretations as to blur the lines between scientific and the humanistic concept formation" (Brannigan, 1991a, p.134).

Summary

This chapter has outlined the conflicting definitions of 'pornography'. There is far more to the 'pornography' debate than cause and effect. Yet research continues to approach the area as though there is an agreed entity which is 'pornography' that has observable and measurable effects. This thesis argues there are a number of potential sources and outcomes which might be described as 'pornographic', and the order and presentation of materials will further affect perceptions and responses. If one imagines pornography research as a continuum, it might look like the diagram below:-

What is 'pornography?' > > **Pornography = Rape**
It is not an absolute term *We continually try and test this.*

It would inaccurate to argue that this thesis is taking a completely novel view in examining the issue of context in SEM, as others have stressed it's importance (eg: Coward, 1987). Indeed, the earliest listed studies on SEM focused on different interpretations of texts/images (Martens, 1931). This thesis applies these arguments to research through a number of studies, illustrating flaws in SEM experiments. This chapter has criticised aspects of experimental studies, and will now discuss the different methods used within this thesis to study contextual issues and SEM.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

"Writing about pornography is absurd. Or, more precisely, pornography exposes the absurdity of the search for meaning at the heart of critical writing. Porn has no fixed narrative or truth" (Lumby, 1997, p.94).

The previous chapter illustrated how SEM (including 'pornography' and 'erotica') have different interpretations in different cultures and historical periods. It has received additional interpretations from feminism(s) and research. Chapter Two criticised experiments which use single method approaches, exclude female participants and treat research in a context-free manner. To counteract these criticisms, this thesis uses a number of approaches, theoretical underpinnings and reflexive analysis to address problems with existing studies of SEM, and to contextualise this thesis. These include old and new paradigm (critical) social psychology, researching 'sensitive subjects' and combining methods (Questionnaires, Interviews and Content Analysis).

Social Psychology

This thesis utilises feminist social psychology to criticise experiments on 'porn'. Theories of stereotyping, conformity and cognitive dissonance have recently become known as 'old paradigm' social psychology, with 'new paradigm' social psychology emphasising the role of discourse, constructionism and politics within research (Sapsford, 1998). As outlined in the previous chapter, in SEM research there are many political, social and personal issues which are complex and often highly emotive. Rosaldo (1989) argues that when academics write their research they do so in a way which is alien to the people whose voices they are reporting. Chapter Two outlined how many personal and political experiences are embedded within psychology and research on 'pornography'. Rosaldo cites Adrienne Rich to explain this point "*[w]hen someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing*" (p.ix). In an attempt to address this, the chapter will firstly discuss the psychology of women which is used in parallel with critical social psychology (Ibanez, 1997) as an underpinning for this thesis.

The Psychology of Women

The term '*psychology of women*' describes research and practise which promote women as researchers and subjects of enquiry, and aims to readdress inequalities which exist in malestream psychology. Women have featured in psychology as participants, subjects of enquiry and researchers for many years, with female academics and achievers in the field more recently being promoted as role models (O'Connell, 1996) who require more recognition (Shibley-Hyde, 1996). The treatment of women by and in psychology has been a source of complaint by many researchers (Chrisler, Golden and Rozee, 1996).

The title of 'woman' in relation to psychological research is of importance for the 'researcher' (in this case myself) and those who are 'the researched' (Shibley-Hyde, 1996; Matlin, 1996). Khan and Jean in 1983 identified inherent problems within psychology:

"women were infrequently studied; that theories were constructed from a male-as-normative viewpoint and that women's behaviour was explained as deviation from the male standard; that the stereotype of women was considered an accurate portrayal of women's behaviour; that women who fulfilled the dictates of the gender stereotype were viewed as healthy and happy; that differences in the behaviours of women and men were attributed to differences in anatomy and physiology; and that the social context which often shapes behaviour was ignored in the case of women" (p.659-660).

This is particularly true of SEM research. The women's movement at the start of the 1970's also operated around the assumption that women world-wide were a group united by this oppression (Charles, 1996; see also Mills, 1991; Ossana, Helms and Leonard, 1992), and the anti-pornography movement evolved from this perspective.

Whilst it is claimed that a women-centred reality exists amongst females - particularly in relation to 'pornography' (Hendricks, 1992), current theories argue that 'women' are not a unified group (Fox-Genovese, 1994; Ward, 1994). Through the 1970's women's politics in relation to SEM began dividing into liberal and cultural feminism (Vance, 1984), and by the end of the decade women's liberation had become fragmented into groups such as Lesbian, Black, Jewish, Irish, working-class etc, with members of these collectives arguing only they alone could understand fully their particular struggle and identity (Lovenduski and Randall, 1993). Additional criticisms emerged that Western feminism is based on white, middle-class, heterosexual, educated women (Charles, 1996, p.2), and that different groups of women have different

experiences of 'oppression' (Maguire, 1996, p.28). Psychology has been accused of perpetuating this (Burns and Perry, 1996; Shibley-Hyde, 1996; Matlin, 1996; O'Connell, 1996), although certain feminist researchers are attempting to challenge it (see: Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). In relation to pornography research it has been argued that the anti-porn campaign in academia is the domain of the white, middle-class woman (Segal, 1994, p.281), with many women's experiences additionally overlooked in experimental approaches to the study of SEM. In addition, the label of 'post-feminism' (Coppock, Haydon and Richter, 1995, ps:4-6) suggests women have achieved liberation - a viewpoint often promoted by those involved in the making or distribution of SEM; or who hold anti-censorship perspectives (Pelling, 1998), and within SEM there are fierce divisions between anti-pornography feminists and others.

The term 'woman' has been challenged, with some arguing that it reduces women "*to fixed identities which then work to reduce women's agency*" (Williams, 1993, p.178), and becomes an "*essentialist trap*" (Riley, 1988), particularly when prefixed with 'Psychology of..' (Burman, 1995). By turning away from the unitary category of 'woman' many feminists feel uneasy (Charles, 1996), as in accepting women are different one also has to appreciate that different women have different needs, views, and lifestyles. The metanarrative of subordination replaces the cohesiveness of common struggle. This is particularly true of the current pornography debate amongst women. There are definite divides between 'feminists' who for a variety of reasons oppose pornography; feminists who are against censorship (although not necessarily pro-pornography); feminists who are pro-pornography; women who consume or create pornography (either willingly or unwillingly) and so on.

'Pornography' is also often used as a collective term, adding confusion to the above list. Therefore there is not one 'feminism' but many, not one category 'woman' but many, and no one thing which we can call 'pornography'. Hekman (1990) has described feminism as being directed by "*a fundamental ambiguity*" (p.10) as it attempts to bridge "*the modernist and postmodernist divide*" of seeking liberation and acknowledging difference (Charles, 1996, p.10, describing Barrett, 1992). This post-modern critique of 'woman' and the new forms of writing which it has encouraged can be seen in areas of research on sex work. It has allowed women sex workers to speak for themselves and attempt to challenge existing hierarchies of women academics

(Jacobsen, 1993). The study of materials classed as SEM can be drawn from a variety of sources from art (Betterton, 1987), to the internet (Boynton, 1998a), to music videos (Brown and Schulze, 1995) which are frequently overlooked in traditional SEM experiments.

When one looks at the pornography debate or discussions of women and sex work it is apparent that there has never really been a united group. Feminist writers such as Gloria Steinem and Shere Hite appeared as bunny girls and models respectively (Steinam, 1983; Flint, 1994), but later distanced themselves from this work. Annie Sprinkle, the prostitute turned porn-star turned performer is still classed as a sex worker and placed in a different category from academic women who oppose pornography (Straayer, 1993; Williams, 1993). Yet all have perspectives on the 'sex industry'. Some academic women find it hard to appreciate that sex workers don't share their views (see in Jacobsen, 1993; Rodgerson and Wilson, 1991), and sex workers argue that they are not heard, misinterpreted or shunned (Jacobsen, 1993; Roberts, 1986). Seeing different categories of 'woman' often means an awareness of divisions. In researching SEM it is not possible to think that there is a category that is 'woman', because everywhere there is evidence that not only are women different, but that they either wish to maintain difference or have that wish imposed upon them - as this thesis argues.

Feminist Identity and Research

It has been suggested that feminist research and theories should be based on women's experiences (Stanley and Wise, 1983), although feminist research can be a background to studies which are not necessarily 'woman-centred'. As with the definition 'psychology of women', there is no one method that is 'feminist research' (Banister et al, 1994, p.121; Harding, 1987) although general feminist critiques have been outlined (Banister et al, 1994, ps.122-123). The first involves research which highlights distortions or biases. In relation to 'pornography' research, these include the lack of female involvement as researchers or participants (see Hughes, 1986); the use of findings to 'prove' a political point about the supposed causes and effects of pornography; and the selection of materials for research which are claimed to represent 'pornography' as a unified concept. All of which are addressed in this thesis.

The second is a separatist approach which presents women as an individual group, rather than an addition to existing research models. The original aim of this thesis was to study women only. This chapter has already outlined criticisms of the singular category 'woman', negating other divisions of race, sexuality and disability (see Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1996). However, it is relevant to focus research on SEM towards female participants, as they are absent in many experiments. These views illustrate and parallel the 'progression' the study of SEM in the research, analysis and development of this thesis. The original research aim was to examine how women had been reported and excluded in SEM studies by using female participants to fill in gaps in research. This became more difficult when the literature reviewing process challenged singular categories of 'women', 'pornography' and 'method'. This thesis has moved between stable and fairly modernist position previously illustrated in experiments on pornography, to arguing that 'pornography' and/or depictions of sex are fragmented and changeable as explained in chapters Five - Seven.

Reflexivity

Many feminist researchers have disputed the way language is used in mainstream psychology (see Banister et al, 1994; King, 1996, p.176). As outlined previously, traditional research ignored gender, problematised women, and used masculine pronouns (Khan and Jean, 1983). Furthermore, *"[o]rthodox psychological research either neglects reflexivity or considers it a hindrance to the research endeavour. So...the fact that participants or 'subjects' might have a complex and iterative set of views of what the research is about, what their own role in it is and how the researcher is responding to their behaviour would be considered a contaminating factor in traditional experimental design.... reflexivity on the part of researchers would be felt to interfere with their own role as a neutral instrument in the project"* (Smith, 1996, p.195).

This is particularly relevant to research on SEM - an emotional subject presented through discourses of 'objectivity'. A reflexive account of the research process is presented throughout the thesis, with participant's views on their role in the research process featured in chapters Five - Seven.

Burr (1995) defines reflexivity as *"the application of the theory back onto itself and its practices"*(p.185), whilst Mead in 1934 explained it as *"the turning back of the experience of the individual upon [her - or himself]"* (p.175). In both examples reflexivity positions the individual within the research process, as opposed to outside it as an 'impartial observer', advocated in traditional

psychology. The nature of the term 'self' requires clarification, as it implies a static, measurable phenomenon - a Westernised version of an interiorised and stable feature (Dubisch, 1995). In the context of reflexive reporting there is no one 'self', there are *"a multiplicity of complex, often contradictory, fragmented or plural identities"* (King, 1996, p.175). An additional problem in the study of depictions/descriptions of sex is that boundaries may appear to dissolve resulting in a *"physical and emotional connection in which it may be difficult to determine where 'I' stop and 'the other' begins"* (Bolton, 1995, p.140).

Traditional experimental psychology presents itself as impartial, neutral and non-interventional, with choice of method and analysis guaranteeing this. Woolgar (1996) describes this as a 'received view' of science (p.13), also described as 'objectivity-talk' (Burr, 1995, p.160). Slife and Williams (1995) state *"The facts of science are themselves theory laden"* (p.5), so it is a misconception that researchers are unbiased or objective. They further argue *"the outcome of scientific method - the "cold, hard facts of science" - is not so cold and hard. The data that result from method are interpreted, and must be interpreted, by warm, soft human beings, who have biases and beliefs about the world that cannot be avoided"* (p.6). This is observed in research on SEM where highly emotional or contextual descriptions are accepted as operational definitions in 'objective' research which also calls for 'pornography' to be banned.

Objective and subjective approaches are placed in opposition to each other (Banister et al, 1994, p.13) in the same way that erotica and pornography are frequently classified (see chapters Two and Five). In both cases the former is perceived as 'good' or desirable, whilst the latter is interpreted as 'bad'. Qualitative (subjective) approaches/theories have been criticised for not being reliable or valid - so researchers often attempt to mould qualitative methods into traditional experimental formats (eg: Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p.403). Traditional psychology suggests findings must be 'truthful', 'applicable', 'consistent', and the researcher remain 'neutral'. Later in this Chapter I question *"how can you be objective about something you've never seen before?"* particularly in relation to child abuse on film/child pornography, where being 'objective' is neither possible or desirable. Researchers such as Haraway (1988) claim that (qualitative) research is so subjective it constitutes *"strong objectivity"* - as by declaring all aspects of research, studies are strengthened, a practice followed within this thesis.

Whilst researchers may accept that subjectivity and qualitative research are not 'horrors' (Woolgar, 1988) concerns abound that **subjectivity = bias**. Cherry (1995, p.3) argues psychologists themselves are biased, and some research projects and methods are privileged (in SEM, experiments are privileged over 'anecdotal accounts'). Potter (1996) stated "*(i)n much traditional psychological work, this justification is provided by carrying out the procedures of analysis in a correct and complete manner. A sample is collected, some 'variable' are operationalized, conventional statistical tests are carried out and so on*" (p.129). This language lends itself well to the idea of psychology being an ordered, rational study of people, even if this is a facade (Woolgar, 1996 p.15; see also Willson, 1995, p.256). The language of sex research has been identified as maintaining an outmoded version of 'science', although certain studies on 'pornography' have attempted to address this (Reiss, 1993).

Reflexiveness within research allows for power imbalances to be addressed (Gergen and Gergen, 1991; Burman and Parker, 1993). Burr (1995) suggests that through 'science discourses' researchers use language which maintain power imbalances, "*the researcher's 'version' of events has greater 'warrant' and is given more 'voice' than that of the 'subject', whose experience is interpreted and given sometimes quite different meanings by the researcher*" (p.161). In relation to research on 'sex work', female academics have been accused of engaging in exactly this practice (Jacobsen, 1993; Arrington, 1987), and scientific discourses may obscure social struggle and women's survival (Cherry, 1995, p.40).

Whilst reflexivity has been promoted by many social scientists, others have questioned the extent of reflexive practice within research. Jarvie (1988) referred to the trend as 'navel gazing' whilst other researchers acknowledge that such practice may be seen as 'masturbatory' (Kulick, 1995b). Traditional psychological studies assume the researcher/author was 'objective' and therefore did not need to refer to their experiences or opinions - a 'good' researcher would not allow these factors to taint the purity of their scientific work. Indeed referring to personal experiences have been resisted by psychology, so researchers who dared speak of them were branded as inadequate or unprofessional (Taylor, 1995).

Whilst not agreeing completely with Jarvie, it does seem that within the area of 'porn research' there are a number of female activists/academics who write about pornography and its effects without including either research evidence or views of other participants. As already outlined, anti-porn campaigners describe what a person might expect to see in 'porn'. Yet these accounts focus on extreme and violent materials and how they make the writer feel. The audience is usually left too shell-shocked to question where the materials came from, how were they obtained, (how) were they analysed, who assisted the author etc? Such questions are important in establishing the quality of a piece of work, and might in-part explain why the work by writers such as Dworkin are given less academic credence than lab-based studies - although as this thesis will indicate experiments also often fail to provide this detail.

Social Constructionism

Potter (1996) states that social constructionists are at the forefront of using novel ways of expressing information, with postmodernists suggesting we look at people "as texts or stories" (Slife and Williams, 1995, p.56). Ken Plummer, for example, discusses how people are encouraged to 'tell sexual stories' (1995), and most qualitative research concerns itself in part with how 'voices' are 'heard' (Slife and Williams, 1995, p.55). These 'stories' or 'voices' can come from interviews, media accounts, novels, text books, speeches and songs (Leudar and Antaki, 1997, p.278).

Post-modern perspectives which acknowledge history and culture have been adopted by social constructionists who look at the specific circumstances under which work is produced. A post-modern view looks at a whole variety of sources to examine how others 'see the world'; and disagrees with Metanarratives which "make absolute, universal and all-embracing claims to knowledge and truth" (Strinati, 1995, p.227). Researchers in the area of pornography such as Andrea Dworkin would argue that 'pornography' causes rape. This would constitute a modernist perspective as 'pornography' in this definition is one definable object which has one very definite and measurable effect (rape) (see Appignanesi and Garratt, 1995, p.101). Also 'pornography' is described in linear format from 'soft core' to 'hard core' (see Chapter Five). A post-modern view might hold that the idea of pornography as a definable linear concept is impossible as pornography comes in a variety of guises (magazines, videos, on the internet etc) that people respond to it in a variety of

ways. This thesis suggests 'pornography' is not one concept but a multiplicity of sources and responses which are dependant on history and culture.

Researching 'Sensitive Subjects'

'Feminist theory' has been linked with qualitative research and described as 'appropriate' for research on 'sensitive' issues (Renzetti and Lee, 1992). Although experiments causally attribute 'pornography' to a number of negative outcomes, the majority of research overlooks the impact of being a participant in studies of SEM. Chapters Five - Seven illustrate how looking at and discussing SEM can be embarrassing, arousing, amusing or even distressing. Research suggests professionals might feel awkward or underqualified to ask 'personal questions' particularly about sex, and worry they may open a 'Pandora's box' of fears and concerns (Dilloway and Hildyard, 1996). Researchers may feel unable to answer such questions, or be unclear about how to ask questions around sensitive issues - particularly if sexual language is necessary. Research in this thesis asked questions in a clear, unambiguous and sensitive way. Participants took an active role in both subject matter and choice of terminology.

Additional 'risks' in SEM research and similar areas could include participants and researchers physical and emotional security and wellbeing (Miller, 1997; Williams et al 1992; Bowie, 1996). Feminist psychology argues issues of safety and (female) researchers is overlooked by traditional research (Taylor, 1995; Warwick, 1997). In research for this thesis, the following policies were adopted: using BPS ethical procedures and consistently checking on participant wellbeing (during and after each study). Informing other support staff about times and locations of research. Conducting studies on University premises within normal working hours. Wearing clothing which felt comfortable and was appropriate to the research setting. Positioning self (the researcher) near the door (Huxford, Bucknor, Morton and Boynton, 1997; Boynton, 1997; Boynton, 1998b; Boynton and Wood, 1998).

Combining Methods and Feminist Debates

Certain studies for this thesis use quasi-experimental designs. Whilst offering criticisms of experiments in pornography research, it is not 'anti-experiments' or 'anti-science' (Lewontin, 1991, p.16). Indeed, the origin of the word experiment means 'to experience' or 'based on experience' which fits more closely with current trends in qualitative methodologies and reflexive accounts.

The adherence to 'traditional paradigms' by psychology, and criticisms from qualitative research has led to a divide between methods. Quantitative psychologists argue that to approach research with an agenda (eg: feminist research principles) counteracts the supposed neutrality of the 'scientist' (Morgan, 1996), and that qualitative research cannot be replicated. Others argue that repeatability is an example of a shared consensus - and give the one time belief that the earth was flat as an example to prove their point (Sherrard, 1997). If 'science' can be described as a construction, it follows that no one method should be privileged (Stevenson and Cooper, 1997, p.159). Yet this does happen - traditional experiments are valued as they can be repeated - whilst testimonies of women abused by 'pornography' are more difficult to classify and are therefore excluded (Lahey, 1991).

This chapter has already outlined the dissatisfaction of many 'feminist' researchers with traditional (quantitative) social science methods. As a result, the move towards qualitative practice has been attributed to feminism (Banister et al 1994), whilst accepting there is no one feminist method, and perceptions of how feminist a piece of work is may alter (Banister et al, 1994, p.121). Due to critiques of quantitative and experimental methods, feminists have utilised qualitative perspectives. The use of standardised measures have been argued to be reductionist in applied settings (Harding, 1991), so contexts are removed (Parlee, 1979). Some feminists have even stated that the only acceptable method for feminist research is the qualitative approach (Graham and Rawlings, 1980), but as Peplau and Conrad (1989) argue "*there is nothing inherent in qualitative approaches that protects them from sexist biases*" (p.388). Sexism can underlie any method.

Whilst the inclusion of feminist accounts are both welcome and necessary within psychology, this thesis argues utilising one method does not always make for good research or practice. Criticisms of 'feminist' journal contents indicate papers do not always reflect underlying feminist values (Walsh, 1989), who notes eleven key areas where feminist research 'could do better': *Level of Participation, Informed Consent, Interpretative feedback and debriefing, Social uses of the data, Gender of the researcher(s), Role titles, Type of participant, Research Setting(s) and acknowledging participants* (see ps:437-440). Within this thesis, many of these key pointers have been followed as they constitute a guide to good research practice. The only exceptions are using students and conducting research in academic settings which were dictated in part by

university ethics committee procedures (see also Ciclitira, 1996). It has been argued that the appropriate method(s) should be used to match the research question being investigated - moving from a reliance on either quantitative or qualitative approaches (Griffin and Phoenix, 1994, p.292), whereby “[f]eminists must be intelligent and critical users of all methods” (Peplau and Conrad, 1989, p.389).

Combining Methods

This thesis criticises the overreliance on a single-method (experimental) approach to SEM which produces findings on a highly complex social area: *“many researchers [of SEM] develop a preference for one methodological approach..the consequences of which may be a misleading or one-sided representation”* (White and Farmer, 1992, p.56) The thesis features a number of studies which approach a series of problems in and around research on SEM, including the overuse of experimental methods and applications of such research outcomes; the way ‘context’ and ‘control’ are overlooked in existing research, and how women participants are largely ignored or excluded. Combining methods allows comparisons from one source of inquiry with additional perspectives or methods (Robson, 1993, p. 383).

Researchers have linked the increased use of combining methods to qualitative inquiry (Greenhalgh, 1997, p.154) - where it is sometimes referred to as ‘triangulation’. Accounts vary as to the meaning of this term - often it is presented as a means of increasing validity within studies (O’Connell Davidson and Layder, 1994, p.53). A variety of methods or sources may be utilised to examine a research question. Other researchers have extended this idea to include a number of researchers analysing the same data (see Greenhalgh, 1997), or alternating the researchers who are conducting a study (Sapsford, 1998) . If a number of different researchers analyse the same data or conduct the same study in different settings or with different participants and the same results are found then we can be more confident in the findings (Sapsford, 1998, p. 154). This could also be seen simply as different ways of approaching research, for example using results of just one study but involving a number of assistants to assess outcomes, or using a number of approaches to gain results. Denzin (1988) explains triangulation may work by utilising different sources or informants, methods, investigators or theories (in Robson, 1993, p.290; see also Banister et al 1994, ps:145-149).

This thesis uses a combination of approaches. Data from content analysis was cross-checked by a number of assistants (see Chapter Four); a set of materials were analysed using a variety of different approaches (eg: magazines were discussed in interviews, through questionnaires and were shown intact or with pictures or text removed from the publications - discussed in chapters Six - Seven). Different researchers were used to ask the same research questions of different participants (chapters Six - Seven), permitting a wider discussion of issues around SEM and existing research. This thesis utilises a number of methodologies in several studies which are reported in chapters Four-Seven, a chronological 'map' of these studies, and those who assisted with them can be found in Appendix 2.

General Methodology

Before describing the methods used for studies in this thesis, the general methodological background which underpinned all the research will be outlined.

Studies where researcher and assistant conducted work: in cases where data was being subjected to content analysis, or statistical analysis was being carried out post research, the principle investigator (myself) provided research materials, measures and guidelines for assistants to use. In the majority of studies presented within this thesis, I was assisted by a number of undergraduate psychology students (see acknowledgements section) who used data collected by themselves in their final year project which I supervised. They were invited to talk about research problems and difficulties at our weekly meetings and following studies. All assistants kept research diaries.

Studies where participants completed research: the assistants received training and support in conducting interview and questionnaire-based studies. Participants were treated in the following way:- in all studies they were recruited on the university premises (in the dining area etc), or during tutorials or lectures. They were informed about the study, how long it would take and what it would involve, and if they wished to participate. Participants were always told that they would be looking at and/or discussing legally available materials which might be sexually explicit. Once participants had volunteered the researcher explained what would be involved in the study and that participants had the right to leave at any time. The researcher asked if participants understood these instructions before the study began, and during the research regularly asked if participants were happy to continue.

Following all studies, a short meeting was held where the purpose of the research was re-stated and participants could discuss related issues. A 'referral service' of contact helpline numbers (eg: rape crisis, Terrence Higgins Trust) as well as services on campus (GP, counselling or chaplaincy) were made available to participants. I also informed participants that whilst I was not a counsellor, they were welcome to discuss with me any related issues the research had raised. Several participants chose to do this. This thesis argues that SEM research often leads to additional needs from participants which researchers should anticipate. Specific procedures for studies are outlined throughout this thesis. This chapter will now describe methods used in more detail.

Questionnaires

Questionnaires were used in this thesis to collect information about participants beliefs relating to SEM, and when rating different images or texts (see chapters Five and Seven). Questionnaires contained 5 and 7 point Likert scales and open-ended questions, permitting numerical and qualitative 'data' analysis. Questionnaires may be employed as tools for data collection, or as an accompaniment to interviews or group discussions (Robson, 1993). The questionnaire format depends on the type of questions being asked, the participants in the study, and the level of detail required from data (Sudman and Bradburn, 1982; Robson, 1993).

Closed-ended questions allow participants to respond by ticking boxes or circling numbers which best represent their opinions. They are easier to standardise, code and analyse than open-ended questions, and as the answers are complete, the participant does not have to 'think up' an answer. They tend to look easy and quick to complete (which may encourage completion). Participants can complete the questionnaire themselves or the researcher can fill it in for them. However, if there are many choices, participants may just guess, or tick any answer at random. Also this method is not immune to participant error, so they may tick the wrong box by mistake and in effect give the 'wrong' answer - one that is not representative of their 'true belief' (something which qualitative researchers would dispute). Questionnaires depend on the participant understanding what is required of them. This assumes an underlying accuracy and truth which all participants will agree with when completing the questionnaire; that actually exists and can be measured by a questionnaire. Potter and Wetherell (1994) explain how

quantitative measures are frequently contrasted with qualitative accounts as being more 'precise', and less 'vague' and 'subjective' (p.50). A major criticism of the quantitative approach is the lack of participant opportunity to explore or discuss issues. They are provided with a series of choices which they have to fit to their own beliefs or opinions - which may frequently lead to imprecise or vague attempts at answering inapplicable questions - exactly the type of reactions which the 'quantitative method' claims to avoid.

Open-ended questions can allow for a greater amount of participant creativity, so that a person's thoughts and ideas can be described. The usual way in which these questions are presented, is to ask a series of 'prompt' questions or provide scenarios/statements for participants to respond to. Gaps or lines are left for the participant to record their answer, allowing for free expression as the participant may write as much or a little as they wish. The participant may raise issues that the researcher may not have anticipated or considered. Thoughts, feelings and experiences may be recorded (unlike closed-ended questions which are fairly rigid and inflexible).

These types of questionnaires are extremely laborious and time consuming to complete and analyse. Responses have to be coded and understood, and are difficult if handwriting is unclear. Although participants are free to express themselves in as much detail as they want, creative or detailed answers require a level of co-operation and writing ability. Furthermore, these questionnaires can look very long and complicated (which can dissuade respondents). If a person has to work at answering the questionnaire, they are more likely to refuse to complete it. A well-designed questionnaire can easily be replicated and employed in follow up research (although this supports a quantitative view of 'truth' and repeatability). Questionnaires were utilised in this thesis to gain information on participants views about SEM (either by rating statements or written explanations).

Constructing The Questionnaires

Questionnaires used for research in this thesis were designed to maximise participant interest and co-operation, and be easy to understand. Clear instructions on how to fill in the questionnaire, and having a researcher present during questionnaire completion assisted this. The questionnaires included a cover sheet with the title and contact address of the researcher, and explained the nature of the study and invited the participant completion. A

paragraph outlined how responses would be treated in confidence (Hosseini and Armacost, 1993), asked participants to reply as openly and honestly as possible and reminded participants that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time. Instructions for the completion of the questionnaire were also provided. The questionnaire proper followed, and a brief 'thank you' message was included (after Sudman and Bradburn, 1982).

Questions were presented in a booklet, which was easy to read and prevented pages being lost or muddled. The appearance of the questionnaire is very important, and questions were designed to look interesting and easy to complete (Dillman, 1978). Participants were referred to by number (indicated on the questionnaire), to increase anonymity and confidentiality. Sensitive questions were placed at the end of the questionnaire, with easy, salient and non-threatening questions at the beginning. As this thesis argues, participants have opinions on items they have thought about as a result of completing the research. The questionnaires used in this thesis, provided space for further comments. Typical 'comments' were suggestions for improvements to the questionnaire design, additional statements about 'pornography' or 'censorship', or political affirmations (eg: "*smash patriarchy*" from one female respondent). Short questions (of about twelve words or less) have been found to be useful to gain information on issues which aren't of a sensitive nature, but for personal questions they are perceived as highly threatening. Therefore for non-threatening areas, questions were kept short and simple. For more personal/sensitive issues, a feature of much of the research collected in this thesis (Barnett and Breakwell, 1997), sentences of about thirty words were used (as recommended by Sudman and Bradburn, 1974).

Again, a critique of questionnaire/quantitative approaches is an underlying assumption that some subjects are 'more sensitive' so ordering and 'appropriate' phraseology would permit the researcher to obtain a more 'truthful' answer. On a more practical level, ordering questions greatly assists the researcher in terms of participant completion - where questionnaires are poorly designed, makes participants feel uneasy or offends them, the likelihood of completion will diminish. For research in this thesis the impact of all questions and design problems were assessed through piloting. From this it was found that a mixture of open and closed-ended questions was most 'participant friendly'.

Data Analysis

Quantitative data collected from the questionnaires was entered and analysed using SPSS-PC for Windows. I created the datafiles, and data entry was completed by myself and an assistant to ensure accuracy. All data was routinely cleaned prior to analysis. Information will be summarised in tables and charts in the thesis (statistical print outs are available on request).

Interviews and Focus Groups

Interviews and focus groups were utilised in this thesis in response to the overreliance of quantitative and/or experimental approaches traditionally employed to study 'pornography'. They allowed participants to discuss issues in-depth; with a semi-structured approach giving them some control over the research 'agenda'. Rather than using interviews as a back-up for quantitative findings, this thesis used qualitative approaches in conjunction with quantitative methods.

An interview is an interaction between two or more people that is structured in a way which allows information to be gathered. The participant and interviewer can develop a rapport which could allow for more personal issues to be explored, although some participants prefer the anonymity of an interviewer they do not know (Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998). The interviewer can study what the person says and also what they do not say (eg: non-verbal communication, not answering a particular question, and changes in posture, movement, smiles and laughter).

As this research frequently involved participants thinking about, looking at, and discussing potentially embarrassing/personal issues, it was particularly important to be aware of non-verbal communication (Dale, 1996). Some participants giggled, blushed and fidgeted during the focus groups. The researcher continuously checked that participants wanted to continue, and reminded them that they could leave at any time (no participants left any of the studies once they had begun). Laughter and pauses were noted as having particular significance - for example female participants laughed less when looking at pictures of other women (see Chapter Six). This sensitivity and using ethical guidelines helped participants feel comfortable in a potentially 'difficult' research setting. Piloting indicated participants appeared to dislike working in one-to-one settings, particularly when looking at the top shelf magazines. Focus groups of four or five people tended to be the most

successful, as participants were able to discuss issues and share information, without the groups being too unwieldy to facilitate and difficult to hear on tape recordings.

Interviews can be very flexible, as the interviewer can alter questions so participants can understand and respond. In focus groups if participants in one group raised a pertinent issue that had not been discussed previously, it was incorporated into subsequent groups. For example, one group of female participants mentioned they felt pictures of models who were partially clothed were 'more erotic' than naked men or women. This question was put to other groups for their opinion.

In many cases the interviewer is able to determine the conditions for the interview so that aspects such as quietness, comfort and privacy may be maintained. Rooms used for studies in this thesis were booked during 'quiet times', and interruptions were prevented with signs and instructions that interviews were taking place. It was felt that some participants might find it off-putting or distressing to be seen looking at pictures in 'top shelf' magazines, and so precautions were taken to avoid interruptions whilst research was in progress.

In interviews, participants do not have the chance to refer back to their responses as with a questionnaire, and have to remember the conversation if they wish to alter any response (which requires confidence). It is also possible that the interviewer might misinterpret the participant's response, so irony and sarcasm might be accepted as a serious response. Participants who said things like "*I love that picture*" were asked for clarification by the researcher (and often by the group). Where participants were being sarcastic in their responses on open-ended questions on the questionnaires they often indicated ironic/sarcastic remarks, which greatly helped the researcher. Interviews are social interactions, so respondents may try to impress the researcher, hide or moderate certain opinions or give what they perceive to be the 'right' answer. Female participants expressed an awareness that it was not 'right' for them to like pornography; whilst men clarified some comments with remarks such as "*I'm not being sexist am I?*" (male participant, aged 19).

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Whilst researchers may attempt to make interviews as relaxed as possible, participants may still feel uneasy, or under pressure to 'perform'. Participant's descriptions of 'pornography' and 'erotica' (see Chapter Five) indicate that they attribute different meanings to these two prompt words. The term 'sexually explicit material' was used by researchers when describing the materials to be looked at in the focus groups as it was felt that alternative terms indicated how participants might believe the researchers would want them to 'behave'. Whilst the interview has a purpose, the researcher and participant will both enter into the interview setting with an agenda of what they hope to get out of the study. This tends to be ignored in traditional research on SEM - but is a major part of this thesis.

Semi-Structured Interviews were used in studies for this thesis, where both open and closed-ended questions were used to elicit information. A list of questions were prepared, and the schedule was altered around these key areas to examine any area of interest which emerged during the course of the study. Every effort was made to keep the questions clear, concise and unambiguous. All interviews were tape-recorded. Participants were asked to give permission to be taped (no participants refused), and were shown how to operate the tape recorder before the study began. They were informed that they could stop the tape at any time. The interviews were conducted in small 'laboratories'/classrooms which most participants were familiar with.

Analysis of Interview 'Data'

Interviews for this thesis were analysed using Discourse Analysis (which was also applied to large sections of written text provided by participants on questionnaires). 'Discourse analysis' (DA) is a term referring to "*a set of methods that have been used by workers with different theories of language in a variety of ways*" (Gavey, 1989, p.466). Feminist academics have argued that "*a variety of discourses - medical, legal, political and religious - each produces forms of knowledge about women and women's sexuality.*" (Coppock et al, 1995, p. 18). SEM may be viewed in this way, and much feminist criticism revolves around the presentation of women in 'porn'.

Whilst many psychologists have welcomed the "*turn to discourse*" (Banister et al, 1994, p.92), it is necessary to emphasise that there is not one way to 'do' discourse. Debates surround the nature, purpose and underlying philosophies of (critical social) psychology and DA. DA arose from linguistics and therefore

it's primary concern was with (readings of) texts. As outlined in this chapter, its adoption within the social sciences counteracted the privileging of quantitative measures/methodologies, and allowed participants/researcher's voices to be heard. Some psychologists (including myself) have difficulties with the idea perpetuated by some discourse analysts that 'nothing exists outside the text'. Whilst the importance of 'discourse' and 'subject positions' should not be ignored, there are still 'real world' problems which cannot be subsumed into textual practice (Tate, 1990; Barry, 1995). This view is caricatured by Stainton Rodgers and Stainton Rodgers (1997) as "*[a]ll the discourse in the world will not stop you bumping into things, nor will it bring the dead to life. It is bullets, bombs and famine which kill, not words*" (p.67).

Critical social psychology may utilise discourse analysis, discursive psychology, rhetoric and ideology, deconstruction, social constructionism, post-structuralism, postmodernism and textual analysis (see Wilkinson, 1997, p.178). Feminist psychologists acknowledge many of these standpoints/methods and have utilised them in their research and practice. Yet there are problems associated with accepting such perspectives wholesale. Social change (one of 'feminism's' goals), is unlikely to be brought about via textual change (Wilkinson, 1997), and textual relativity "*ignores the exercise of power and the material realities of women's lives*" (Wilkinson, 1997, p.185). Whilst some feminists in the pornography debate have stated "*Sticks and stones can break my bones and images can hurt me*" (see Killoran, 1983), it remains unlikely that the removal of such texts and images will overcome power imbalances which exist in patriarchal societies, although it has been argued they are a symptom of sexism (Segal, 1994).

This thesis studied a number of 'texts' including the magazines analysed and discussed by the researcher(s) and participants, related studies and their (textual) outcomes. As the research was conducted from a feminist standpoint, and addresses inequalities in research whilst highlighting inadequacies in existing methodological approaches to the study of 'porn', other factors outside the text (such as power imbalances, sex crime, financial pressures etc) were acknowledged. In researching 'sensitive' areas such as 'sex work' and related subjects, it is crucial that issues of power and agency are not lost within texts (see Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998).

Burr (1995) outlines two ways in which 'discourse' is studied. One is where researchers are interested in *"issues of identity, selfhood, personal and social change and power relations"* (p.47), the other concentrates on *"the performative qualities of discourse, that is, what people are doing with their talk or writing, what they are trying to achieve"* (p.47). Note here that a text can be 'read' in many ways, unlike the experimental method when one needs to take one approach to produce a set of 'results'. In the focus group discussions about top shelf magazines, conversations ranged from feelings about love, jealousy, sex, humour, sadness, loss, rejection, possible abuse, fear, and body image (see Chapter Six). Burr (1995) states there is no fixed, accepted definition of 'discourse' but offers the following, *"[a] discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements....that in some way together produce a particular version of events"* (p.48). For Burman and Parker (1993) language is organised into discourses (which some people refer to as 'interpretative repertoires' p.1), and the (social) world is created through language - *"language contains the most basic categories that we use to understand ourselves"* (p.1). Unlike other discourse analysts they accept that life also exists outside the text (Parker, 1998), and therefore this model of DA was utilised in research for this thesis.

Different forms of analysis and materials were employed to examine the information gained from the focus group interviews. Parts of some transcripts were submitted to Quantitative Content Analysis, where responses were allocated to pre-established categories - eg: *erotica, pornography and censorship* (see Chapter Five). This best suited questions of a 'how many' or 'what' variety, and related to the frequency with which individuals referred to objects, items, activities etc - eg: the number of negative definitions prompted by the key word 'pornography' (see also Chapter Seven). The frequency of any specific issues/themes was also noted. Thematic Discourse Analysis was used to study the 'why' type responses to questions, where themes were extracted from interview narratives. Interviewees' responses were organised by common themes which emerged from the interviews, as opposed to matching occurrences to pre-set categories. An example of this is the accounts female participants gave when talking about female models in men's 'top shelf' magazines where they described the models as being 'like' them or 'not like' them (see Chapter Six). Participants' statements required protection during the interview and afterwards in the writing up and presentation stages of this thesis. This was achieved by: ensuring participant confidentiality;

keeping tapes and transcripts in a safe place; showing them how I reported their words; allowing participants to 'speak in their own voice' wherever possible, and allowing participants to withdraw from research at any time (even deleting quotes if necessary).

Content Analysis

"Content analysis is essentially just another term for a very ordinary, everyday activity we all engage in when we communicate with one another. Content analysis occurs whenever the recipient of the message says to her/himself "What they are actually saying_____"; "What this means is_____"; "The speaker intended_____"; and so forth". (Mostyn, 1985, p.115).

It is a technique which is commonly employed when there are large amounts of qualitative data to be understood, interpreted or ordered in some way. It is a method whereby information is systematically organised so that data can be created from the original glut of open-ended material. Mostyn outlines the following step by step guide to content analysis:

"1. Understand the area of research thoroughly. 2. Evaluate the relevance of your sample for the research project. 3. Associate your own experiences with the problem; look for evidence from past research. 6. Thoroughly immerse yourself in the data you are studying. 7. Create categories to facilitate data collection. Use labels and coding systems to evaluate the information you've collated. 8. Incubate the data - this means you collect information, and then leave it for a few days, whilst you think about what you have examined, and see if any themes/patterns emerge in your mind. 9. Look for key concepts in your work. Are there any particular themes which are more prevalent than others/seem more important to you. 10. Report the information as concisely as possible. Reduce the large amounts of data into smaller, more comprehensive summaries. 11. Interpret the data". (Mostyn, 1985, p.144).

Additional Studies

Within any long term research programme there will inevitably be studies which are not fully included in the thesis. As this thesis argues against a 'cleaned-up' version of research, a number of studies completed but not included in this thesis will be outlined.

Using Mixed Groups of Participants: as Chapter Six illustrates, male and female participants responded in different ways in the focus groups. Whilst two focus groups were attempted using both male and female participants (who were all friends and opted to do the study together), overall female participants reported they would feel 'better' in a women-only group, and that male participants were capable of discussing issues in an all-male group. Therefore single gender groups were continued.

Individuals Involved in 'Sex Work': this thesis includes accounts of women who do 'sex work'. An alternative approach might have been to conduct more interviews with people who work in the 'sex business'. Due to concerns of ethics committees it was easier to conduct research on undergraduates than outsiders involved in the 'sex industry' (see also Ciclitira, 1996). In-depth interviews were conducted with Mike Hames (then of the Obscene Publication Squad [OPS] - New Scotland Yard, London); Ray Wyre (who at that time was running the Gracewell Centre where paedophiles were treated); a glamour photographers assistant; a female sex phone line operator; an anti-pornography protester and a 'pornography collector'. All interviews were taped and transcribed and quotes from these will be featured in this thesis, but do not represent a 'complete' ethnography of the sex business.

The Daily Sport: One argument about 'pornography' is that whilst very violent or extreme images might cause (sex) crime, images which are not so violent but are more prevalent may also have an effect (see chapters Two and Six). An analysis of *The Sport* newspaper was conducted to examine its content. The paper was purchased for the first month of circulation as a daily paper, and then at six months and one year. Analysis of the pin ups, adverts and articles revealed a large proportion of the paper that is not sports coverage is pin ups (an average of ten per paper), adverts for sex phone lines and videos, and articles which sexualise rape and abuse of women and children (Boynton, 1995; 1996b). The method for coding and analysing these newspapers informed the content analysis of magazines for this thesis presented in Chapter Four.

Sex Shop Work: in the summer before I enrolled for a higher degree I was interviewed for and offered a job in a 'Private' (sex shop) in Brighton. From discussions with my then supervisor I intended to attempt to work in the shop for a few months in order to gain an insight into the 'sex industry'. For reasons outlined later in this chapter I did not feel able to accept the job. However, future research in this area is planned.

Approaching 'Customers': one of the questions I have often been asked is 'what motivates people to use porn?' At the start of this thesis I was interested in researching women who were involved in/with pornography as well as how they were perceived by 'porn' consumers. It was suggested I might be able to make contact with men and women who bought illegal sexually explicit

material via the mailing lists owned by distributors (lists were seized by police during raids and contained names, contact addresses, and sometimes the customers preferences for different sexual 'subjects'). However, due to data protection and ethical issues this research could not be continued, preventing access to an interesting group of participants.

This chapter now outlines ten features of this thesis which differentiates it from traditional (experimental) psychology, covering issues of gender, reflexivity, method and emotional reactions to research. Extracts from my research diary (kept throughout the course of the thesis), observations, and supporting references will be used to identify factors which influenced research completion and shaped the direction of writing and practice for the thesis. The points which follow outline the research process, relate to choice of method, implementation of research, treatment of participants, and the strength/shortcomings of myself as a researcher (White and Farmer, 1992, p.57). Issues of power and politics are not just located in texts, research materials and participant's 'responses'. What happened in life outside 'the lab' to me as a researcher and woman was equally important.

What's So Different About Doing A PhD On Pornography?

"The Personal Is The Political"

This subheading relates to the idea that women share experiences, and acknowledges that historical and cultural oppression are a component of women's everyday lives (Charles, 1996), particularly in relation to sexual oppression (Renzetti, 1997). The slogan acknowledges power relations, and through examining women's lives provides an insight into inequalities established by patriarchal societies (Griffin, 1996). In pornography research the personal became political when feminists such as Brownmiller (1975) argued pornography harmed women (see Chapter Two). Since then, many theories, research programmes and activism has focused on demonstrating how women are harmed through the creation/circulation of SEM. As a researcher in this area one is aware of trends demonstrating causal links, and to prove that images of violence lead to actual violence to women. Being a female researching 'pornography', the personal is even more political as one is encouraged to represent other women (Ciclitira, 1996).

At the start of this thesis, an integral part of the research involved discussing pornography with workers such as Ray Wyre, and Mike Hames. They

informed me of abuses which occur in and through the production of 'pornography'. Such accounts made me emotionally vulnerable as they frequently concerned the abuse of children and young women who I was afraid for and wished I could help. It was possible at that time for my work to have very easily become a moral crusade, and some might argue it should have been (eg: Russell 1990, Itzin 1992a, Dworkin 1981, Hughes 1996).

In conducting and talking about the research in this thesis, accounts emerged from literature and participant's responses emerged highlighted power, inequities, and oppression in a variety of ways. At the beginning of the research I read books which indicated that *all* women were at risk from 'pornography', and outlined horrific accounts of abuse (eg: Russell, 1990; Corcoran, 1989). 'Men' were presented as the source of this abuse, compelled to harm women because women were presented as willing sexual objects through the pornographic text (Dworkin, 1981; Itzin, 1992a,b). Opposing views suggested pornography could be cathartic (Kutchinsky, 1973) and banning it was an infringement of civil liberties and free speech (Rodgerson and Wilson, 1991). Research is more than absorbing information from books, and I found that power and oppression could be located in other places. Some of the female participants I interviewed felt at risk from SEM, whilst the majority of male participants in the focus groups couldn't fully understand women's fears (see Chapter Six). As previously stated in this chapter, the category 'man' is not absolute and not all men are oppressors, with some offering critiques and challenges to patriarchy (Stoltenberg, 1989). Certainly within written responses on questionnaires, several male participants reflected this (see Chapter Seven). 'Woman' is also not a unitary concept, so there are women who appear in porn because they want to or are forced, who oppose porn for a variety of reasons, and women who disagree with other women who oppose or promote porn.

In the sensitive subject area of SEM, studies are influenced by many factors - although many experimental reports exclude them. This thesis developed with the accompanying concerns, interruptions and problems listed in the following subsections of this chapter. The reactions of the research participants, and audiences at conferences where I have presented findings have in many ways negated some of these difficulties. The political and personal intermingled when I realised that the research had a purpose, and could explain more about representations of sex and how people react to the study of such topics.

Ideologies In Texts And Journals

At the start of this thesis, my research was heavily influenced by the writings of feminist women, many of whom actively oppose 'pornography'. My feelings at this time were those of anger and fear, which largely came from the discourses of Diana Russell (1990), Liz Kelly (1988), Andrea Dworkin (1981) and Cathy Itzin (1992b). As indicated in Chapter Two, their polemics and research contain emotive accounts, frequently accompanied by shocking and violent images. It is therefore not surprising that in my first viewings of 'hard-core porn' (which began after I had started these readings) I saw only violence, hatred, and sexual objectification of women.

Studying magazines aimed at men and women and deconstructing the (stereotypical) images of masculinity and femininity in them, led me to develop a critical view of myself as a woman and a researcher, and simultaneously introduced me to additional perspectives. The study of problem pages in Chapter Four illustrates this. I questioned the 'good' of such pages, and began to see them more as stereotypical reinforcers and less as a 'helper' or 'entertainer'. Once I had established their 'sexually explicit semi-educational format' as one account, I turned to sexologists such as Masters and Johnson to provide the 'truth' about sex advice, and found that their ideas were a further construction of sexuality (Segal, 1994; Tiefer, 1995, Jeffreys, 1990).

Along with women in the sex industry not being given a 'voice', I realised how my own work was likely to be marginalised due to subject matter (SEM) and ideologies adopted (multi-method and reflexive approach). I was warned by colleagues that I might not be able to publish my findings in more prestigious (traditional experimental) journals, and discovered publications concerned with gender were perceived by many academics as 'soft'. In Lees' (1993) research, boys linked 'softness' with femininity and devalued activities and behaviours which fell into this category. Where pornography is seen as a 'woman's problem' (emphasised by the evidence of female victims of sex crime), research is dismissed as 'anecdotal' or not rigorous enough to prove any claims of harm (see Howitt and Cumberbatch, 1990). This thesis argues the experimental method does not guarantee causal links, yet this method has been privileged over other accounts, so women are often excluded both as researchers and participants.

The Gender Of The Researcher

Being a female researcher asking questions about 'pornography' is problematic on a number of levels. This thesis argues the researcher's gender influences respondents behaviour in research (see Chapter Seven). In SEM research, and the Social Sciences generally "[a] central aspect of academic life..is the denial of gender at work. That is to say, we are expected to study, administer, write, and teach as if gender did not matter" (Moreno, 1995, p.246). I found male participants responded to myself and female assistants in a way which suggested they saw us as sexual, or as a threat or a challenge. Occasionally male participants perceived us as being anti-pornography (male assistants were also suspected of this). Female participants viewed female researchers as anti-porn, or having a caring or counselling role. Several participants visited me after completing a study to ask questions about their sexual problems.

When male participants directly acknowledged me in their conversation (which many of them avoided in the focus groups), they told me they either knew more about SEM than I ever could (often simply by virtue of being male), or on occasions rated me alongside the models in the magazines (ie: "*you couldn't do that job because your tits are too small*", male aged 21). This mirrored academic discourses of 'porn'. Female participants saw it in terms of how it could affect them and the models in it, and told how the models were 'like or not like' them (see Chapter Six). Male participants frequently responded to the images in terms of how much they 'fancied' the models. Yet whilst completing this thesis there was not always a forum for discussing these experiences. Raising these issues may indicate my shortcomings, as opposed to an awareness of the research process (Moreno, 1995). I dealt with this by incorporating these experiences into the 'research designs', and used either male or female interviewers in research to assess differences in reactions from participants - in particular discussions about body images and possible 'effects' of SEM.

Being 'Visible'

Despite traditional approaches to psychology where the researcher is invisible in the research process and subsequent write-ups (Kulick, 1995a), the knowledge about the existence of my research amongst students often made me feel like 'public property'. As I was studying pornography it seemed reasonable to some people to ask about my sexuality, or challenge my

identity. One male student told me after a lecture I gave on pornography that I only *"opposed pornography because [I was] jealous"*. I had outlined pro and anti-porn perspectives, yet his interpretation was that I was anti-porn. This response is commonly applied to women perceived to be anti-porn, as if: *"it cannot be discussed without one being put down as overeducated, snobbish or plain frigid"* (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1991, p.35).

Women who appear in 'porn' are informed that women who oppose them are jealous (Wilson, 1984, p.19). There is therefore a divide, and one has to either be pro-or anti porn, or as Segal (1996) outlines - 'anti-porn' or 'anti-anti-porn'. Women in porn are 'bimbos' (see Chapter Six), those outside it who oppose SEM are 'pruders' or 'killjoys'. An extension of this is to suggest that academic women could never achieve the status of a glamour model (Cooper, 1993, p.20). In the comedy act of *'Gayle Tuesday - Page Three Stunna'* the character says of Germaine Greer, *"she couldn't get a boyfriend and had to write a book instead"*.

The idea of researching porn and having a partner has been a fascination for many of my students/participants and colleagues. When I have spoken of a 'partner' it has frequently been assumed the partner is the same sex as me. In these cases statements are made using terms which recollect the treatment of lesbianism in pornography, eg: *"girl-on-girl"* or *"girl action"*, and references have been made to 'strap-ons' and 'dildos'. Where people believed my partner was male, I have been told he must be *"lucky"* since I must have learnt such a lot from my research. When people are told what research I am undertaking, the common (and immediate) response is *"what does your boyfriend think about that?"*. If there is a perception that I am anti-porn my 'boyfriend' falls under suspicion. Does he dislike porn too? This appears to be a real worry for people (see Chapter Five). Where I am perceived as pro-porn then he is a *"lucky man"*, when I am seen as anti-porn he is either described as *"patient"* or in some way *"unmanly"*. Research in this area can interfere with both friendships and intimate relationships, yet reactions from those who were aware of my research have never included how studying porn might put a person off sex and relationships.

A further assumption was I must be 'sexually liberated' or promiscuous because of my research. This has been illustrated in the following ways: a male student asked me for advice on an essay he was compiling on abortion.

When I said that was not my area of research he retorted that as I knew so much about porn I must have had several abortions. Many students (and some staff members) have asked me a 'serious' question about an aspect of pornography only to declare that they wanted to hear me "*talk dirty*" or "*could I show them what I had just talked about?*" I was told by a female student that her male flatmates wanted to participate in one of my studies as they'd heard I was "*well up for it*" and "*a bit of a goer*" (see also Brooks-Gordon, 1995).

In the pornography debate it seems one has to take a side, but if you don't declare where you are coming from, people make assumptions anyway. Therefore I have never overtly stated publicly what I feel about porn, but people have frequently assigned me to the category of 'pro' or 'anti' depending on whether they agreed with the work I presented, and their own perspective. If they were pro or anti and I said something they did not approve of, I was immediately placed in the opposing category.

Throughout the completion of this thesis I wondered if researchers in other areas of psychological enquiry are consistently judged on their appearance and behaviour outside the research setting? I found that trips to the University library were frequently interrupted by whispers of students - "*that's the one who studies porn*", accompanied by the hilarity of library staff when I collected books or articles. The task of looking at the magazines (see Chapter Six) extended to looking at the researcher. Female participants expressed concern about my safety for doing such work, and occasionally (and very shyly) asked if I had, or wanted to appear in pornography. Some people questioned whether I had had a negative sexual experience which motivated my work.

These types of reactions have been described by Burman and Parker (1993) as "*the hermeneutics of suspicion*" where the researcher is asked "*what's the fascination - have you something to resolve?*" (Reavey, 1996). Therefore it becomes very difficult to be detached from one's research (even if one wanted to be), as many people have a fascination for the research programme, the questions asked, and the background of the researcher. Throughout this thesis people have seemed to want to know more about me in relation to the studies (and the materials used in them), than about the actual work, suggesting a number of factors contextualise the researcher into their studies. (Appendix 3 contains a summary of the questions I have been asked about myself and my research).

What Do You Wear To An Interview At A Sex Shop?

In August 1991 there was an advert in my local paper for staff to work in a Private Shop (see Tomkinson, 1982). I decided to attempt to get the job believing it would be a useful component to my research (see Herman, 1997). I telephoned to enquire, and a male voice answered. This did not surprise me, as at that time I suspected only men would want to work in such a profession. I explained I was phoning in response to the advert and was there still a vacancy? The man assured me there was, but stated he had to ask me some questions first. These included "how old are you?" and "have you ever been to a sex shop before?" I lied and said "yes", as like many women I was relying on men to lend me materials (Leston, 1992), so my knowledge was limited to academic texts and some 'top shelf' magazines. The manager seemed concerned whether I was married, or did I have a boyfriend? I told him I had a 'partner' and he assumed I was in a heterosexual relationship by asking if I had told my boyfriend what I was doing? When I asked him to explain, he replied sometimes boyfriends "got funny" if "their girl" worked in such an environment. "It's jealousy...they think all the men who come in here [the sex shop] will want you". I assured him that my partner would not be like this. Once these formalities were over he invited me to the shop in one hour's time, "I'll give you a bit of time to get yourself ready. I know how you girls like to spend ages looking lovely".

The interview secured, I then had less than half an hour to decide what to wear, and what do you wear to an interview in a sex shop? My inadequate knowledge suggested I should look like someone who would work as a glamour model (see Chapters Six - Seven). I was attempting to get the job for research, but even at this stage the encounter was gendered by the checking of my age and marital status, calling me 'girl' and the encouragement to 'look lovely'. I became complicit in the event as I attempted to dress for the interview. In this sense the way I was 'doing girl' (eg: Ussher, 1996a) was driven to its extreme as I attempted to make myself into more of a 'girl' than I had ever been in my life. I had little in my wardrobe which resembled 'girl' or 'lovely', and certainly nothing which I thought a sex shop worker might wear. I settled for a long tight black skirt, a tight black top, black seamed stockings and stiletto heels. Further stereotypical assumptions meant I borrowed a gold and black handbag from my neighbour to complete the look. I wore far more makeup than usual and concentrated on trying to make my lips as pouty as possible with lots of glossy red lipstick. I practised looking like 'a sex shop

worker' in front of the mirror before I tottered off for the interview in heels too high and a skirt too tight for me (see Sprinkle, 1991 in Straayer, 1993, p.160).

The 'look' I selected was 'sexy'. Research indicates female awareness of the impact certain outfits might have, and red lipstick has been associated with women being 'frivolous' and 'immoral' (Freedman, 1988). I was aware of how to 'do sexy', but my choice of outfit and makeup illustrate an awareness of stereotypes associated with women sex workers (chapters Six - Seven). The colour red has a long association with sex work (particularly prostitution), danger, and being a bad woman (Roberts, 1993). There is a definite although at times imperceptible divide, between looking attractive and looking 'tarty' which young girls and women have to negotiate (Cowie and Lees, 1987).

Research on rape indicates the victim's appearance has often been cited as the cause of the crime (Kennedy, 1992) and analysis of newspaper reports of sex crime reveals that victim's clothing is an important component of the discourses of rape and victim blaming (Soothill and Soothill, 1993; Boynton, 1995) (see Chapter Seven). Several categories of 'woman' have been identified as likely rape victims, including 'loose' and prostitute women who may be identified from their speech, behaviour and most importantly by their appearance (MacDonald, 1971, p.311). On my walk to the interview I was aware a 'sex shop worker' would also probably fit into this category. On being offered the job I was further aware that the 'risk' of physical attack (not necessarily rape) might come from shop customers (having being driven wild by the plastic-covered magazines in the shop), or by the 'feminist' or religious groups who regularly protested outside it.

Even supposedly pro-women writers discuss the sex worker/provocative woman in ways which problematise them. In dressing in styles which are overtly sexual, women become objects of male desire. Women who work in the 'sex industry' are particular examples of this (see chapters Six and Seven) as they are blamed for looking like sex objects which incite men to turn on other women. Women are held responsible for assaults. 'Respectable' victims are also made 'sexy' by the press (Saward and Green, 1990) or images of other (non-virtuous) women are seen to be the cause (eg: women who appear in pornography) (Pally, 1990).

Interview guides outline the importance of appearance in research (Reinharzs, 1992). Many contemporary writers agree that the interview is a social interaction (Potter, 1996) so the interviewer is looking at the participants, the participants are returning the gaze. In research for this thesis where 'top shelf' magazines were given to participants for discussion (see Chapter Six) the interviewer's appearance was scrutinised before the study began (and magazines were viewed). Once the research started the interviewer was examined through the materials being viewed, as I gave participants magazines which contained pictures of other young women (in erotic/explicit poses). Little work exists on the appearance of the researcher. This thesis argues in 'pornography research' the question of 'gaze' from participants, colleagues and others should be given more importance.

Male and female participants made passing references to the researcher(s) via the magazines. Female participants often discussed the models in terms of how they were like or unlike them (Chapter Six), and I was invited to join in these discussions. One woman stated when I asked her to clarify her negative remarks about a model *"do you honestly think its okay to go around looking like that? I don't see **you** looking like her"* (female participant, aged 22). Male participants made fewer references like this, but referred to me more specifically in comparison with the model *"she's got the figure for it, you haven't"* (male participant, aged 19). Participants were not asked to include the researcher in their discussions. Existing studies do not refer to similar experiences, but that is not to say they are unique to this thesis. It could be that other researchers are not aware of these activities, or that gender, age or status will influence whether participants share their views within the research setting. As previously mentioned, traditional research is 'sanitised' within journals, so such experiences become invisible (Woolgar, 1996).

When such statements were mentioned, they were normally made in the context of the body rather than the clothes that covered the body, but clothing became an important factor in the research and life outside it. Therefore clothing that I wore which others defined as 'sexual' attracted attention, and was explained in relation to my role in the research. This led to a wide range of remarks such as *"do you wear tarty clothes when you show your participants porn?"* (female academic); *"do you wear knickers when you do your research?"* (male academic); *"we've come to hear you talk dirty and look up your short skirt and at your legs"* (male postgraduate at a work-in-progress

seminar); *"haven't you got itty-bitty feet and such sexy shoes to go on them"* (police officer following a research meeting); *"I didn't expect you to be wearing feminine clothes, I thought you'd be a fat, ugly old trout in dungarees"* (female journalist).

Clothing, makeup and body size are all factors which are constructed as important in women's lives (Wolf, 1990; Freedman, 1988). In the context of research for this thesis they took on a new significance. Whilst many female researchers probably have similar experiences, their research may not always provide an outlet for such views to be aired.

Good Girl - Bad Girl

This thesis focuses in part on is gender, sexuality and SEM. I identify strongly with Sue Lees' (1993) accounts from young women learning what constitutes being a 'good' woman . The debates around 'slags or drags' (Cowie and Lees, 1987) highlight this, and reminded me how hard it was as a teenager to 'do the right thing'. They were vividly re-emphasised when I realised the terms *"slut"*, *"whore"*, *"dyke"* and *"lesbian"* were applied to me as I was identified through my research. Doing research on pornography gets you labelled, and people seemed to find it very easy to tell me how they saw me.

In order to access SEMs at the start of my research I asked some men who were 'out' about their use of porn if I could look at some of their materials. I found that they were often apologetic for what I was going to see, or asked me *"not to think of [them] differently"* after viewing. Two men were kind enough to make me some compilation tapes, and get me some illegal material from friends they knew. Both were anxious that as a woman I should not be looking at such material, and suggested I was *"weird"* for researching porn. In the words of one of them *"you should know it's not made for birds"*.

Being linked with pornography research and being female led to me being viewed as a 'bad girl' (Bell, 1987). For additional information to go with the magazines used in research for this thesis I contacted the publishers, and in most cases received either a letter or publicity pack (see Chapter Four). One of the men's 'pornographic' magazines responded slightly differently. In a follow-up call prompted by their letter asking me to telephone for extra information, I was offered £400 to pose for the magazine. This was purely because of the research I was doing - after all they had not seen me. When I

pointed this out I was told that this wouldn't matter to the readers, what counted was that I was "*obviously a dirty girl*" (because of the research) and therefore would appeal to their subscribers.

Roberts (1993) outlines how laws applied to sex workers also reflect wider gendered assumptions about females: "*At any time, any woman can be called a whore and treated like one. Each woman has to watch in her own life whether what she's doing is 'good' or 'bad', to censor her movements, behaviour and appearance*"(p.288). Women have to watch their behaviour because other men and women are watching them (see Chapter Six). An incident at the start of my second year of research illustrates this point. I was asked to assist the debating society with a forthcoming competition about pornography. I helped both sides prepare their case and at the end of the evening was invited to join the group for a drink. In the bar I was approached by one of the society members who asked me to shake his hand, saying it was a tradition after a debate. When I went to do so he pulled me off the bar stool I was sitting on with enough force that I was thrown to the floor. He then shouted abuse at me, calling me a "*filthy fucking slut*" before he was removed from the bar. At the time I felt sure this was because his team had lost the debate and he felt I had let them down, indicating the shock of the event (Moreno, 1995), and my inexperience as a researcher.

As I thought I had been doing research (or an extension of my research), I didn't associate his anger with me on any other level until I discovered he'd been asked to leave the society. When questioned by them about his behaviour he refused to apologise, claiming I was indeed a slut because I knew so much about pornography and I had deserved being "*taken down a peg or two*". I received an apology from the society's chairman who made the half-hearted joke that "*pornography must have made him do it*" (see Lebeque, 1991). In retrospect, it is likely his behaviour was prompted by a woman transgressing gender appropriate activities and appearing informed and independent (all of which are 'bad girl' activities) (Lees, 1993; Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993). Pornography provided the excuse. I doubt he called me a slut because he had seen porn during the debate and it excited him; but because I was there talking about it and appeared to know a lot more than he did. It wasn't pornography that was 'bad' in this instance, in his eyes it was me.

Women who talk about pornography cannot win. Because the debate is divided, whatever stance you take there will always be people who oppose you, and opposition, support or indifference is gendered. If you oppose pornography you are frigid or repressed, if you like it you are loose or immoral (see Chapters Five and Six), and in the eyes of the detached experts (commonly male psychologists) you are a poor researcher however you are construed. Furthermore if a woman is attacked or abused in the research setting they *"may be afraid to damage their professional standing by talking about it"* (Moreno, 1995, p.220). As previously stated, researching porn is a man's area, the majority of researchers and participants are male. Women who talk about porn challenge *"masculine ideals on very masculine territory"* (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1991, p.29) and end up being labelled 'bad'.

Carrying Books and Ideas Around

During the literature review for this thesis, the books and articles I was reading mostly suggested that pornography was harmful and I was 'at risk', as a woman reading the material, and as a woman living in a patriarchal society where porn instructs men to harm women (see Chapter Two). This indicates how the study of SEM differs from other areas of mainstream psychology. For example, would a psychology postgraduate studying perception, attention, or driving behaviour suffer any anxiety of walking home with textbooks, papers, or press cuttings on their research area? I often commuted with books on porn in my luggage which were all telling me that pornography caused rape and society had no sympathy for rape victims. I worried what would be made of a woman victim who had in her possession pornographic texts?

Reports on working with men who abuse, have highlighted when it becomes damaging to operate in this area (Broom and Shore, 1996). The pointers outlined by these professionals mirror my own experiences in this research, and offer indicators to others to help them identify when their work could be becoming personally problematic:

"When it affects me as a woman. When it affects my relationships with others; partnerships, friendships, people in shops...When it becomes 'a mission'; a dedication, the sole goal, the only thing in your life, when the 'rescuer' role dominates. When it affects the way I see the world; when it intervenes with my own personal pleasure, when I can't see a film, read a book etc. without seeing it through the eyes of abuse. When it affects the way I see myself; when I see myself as a victim or as an abuser, when introspection involves the taking in of the abusive process, when feeling bad about myself if framed with a 'no-win' abusive situation. When it affects the way I see my sexuality/femininity; when it affects my sexual activity, when partnerships

cease or move towards levels of disgust and inappropriate boundaries regarding personal sexual behaviour. When it affects the way I dress as a woman; when I wear clothes that are asexual in my own time, when I no longer enjoy my femininity. When I feel powerless as a woman" (p. 14).

I was asked by a male police officer at the Obscene Publications Squad (NSY) if researching pornography had affected men in any way. I returned his question. He responded it had made him aware "*just what men could do*". At that time all my readings were making me aware just what men could do to me. My way of dressing altered, my attitude to sex changed, relationships with men (even close friends) became difficult, and strangers were a constant threat (see also Gearing, 1995). It is interesting that these feelings were prompted more by reading (academic) material about SEM, than SEM itself.

Critiques of researchers/writers such as Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon argue that their writings about pornography can be as distressing as the effects they state pornography produces (Strossen, 1996; Segal, 1996). Certainly the testimonies of women victims of pornography-related assaults are very distressing (Corcoran, 1989). I found the literature search phase far more disturbing than conducting the research itself, even though one might expect the opposite. Research indicates where professionals interact with victims of crime or violence they may also suffer negative effects. Nurse-researchers in rape crisis centres had negative reactions to the experiences of their participants both during and after the research (Alexander et al, 1989). These included anger, nightmares, fear of physical injury or attack and sleep disturbances - mirrored in the rape victims/survivors. During the literature search phase I experienced all these reactions. This was exacerbated by my access to pornographic images which featured the sexual abuse and torture of women, and child pornography which were highly distressing. They were made more upsetting by reading accompanying academic texts, and led me to include only mainstream (top shelf) materials for research for this thesis.

As outlined in Chapter Two, certain research suggests that people (men) can become 'desensitised' by pornography. I was also afraid of being trapped into a downward spiral of not seeing anything wrong with images of rape and sexual abuse, which others reinforced (Chaudhuri, 1996, p.6). On one occasion a female assistant found me reading an article in Playboy during a lunch break and became furious at my "*callous and misogynistic*" behaviour.

She felt that I *"had let her down"* because I was able to read *"such a magazine"* with apparent detachment. Yet I found it easier to read Playboy than some of the academic books I'd been looking at - Playboy was not so upsetting.

Many people who I have met during the course of this research have commented on what I was doing, and a typical response was *"you're so brave - I couldn't do it"* (Reavey, 1996). This has led me to wonder exactly what they thought I was doing that was so brave. An extension of this was in supposedly being 'brave', I probably required some form of 'protection'. At a talk I gave to the Psychology Society at Aston in 1995 I was approached by three male students who revealed that they were there to *"look after me"*. Female academics such as Camille Paglia have been known to give lectures with bodyguards in attendance (Paglia, 1992), but this seems to be more for style than safety. There evidently seems to be an association that women are 'at risk' from pornography but how that risk manifests itself is not always clear. These students appointed themselves as bodyguards to protect me from anyone in the audience who became hostile to me talking about SEM (be they pro or anti-porn), rather than any effects of porn. This parallels how female psychologists have been perceived as being physically or emotionally unable to deal with research (Moreno, 1995), and exemplifies how research in this area is in some way transgressive as 'protection' is required. Raising problems surrounding sex in the research setting of pornography studies may be more taboo than the subject matter of the research itself (Wilson, 1995).

Introducing The Subject ("What Does Your Daughter Do?"):

Conducting studies involving SEM and talking about 'porn' are activities which perhaps are not traditionally female, emphasised by the lack of female participants and researchers, and (often negative) reports about women who work in the area of SEM (see Chapter Two). Explaining my research has been a consistent problem. I tell most people I am studying psychology, but some want to know more, and ask *"so what is your research about?"* In many cases I answer 'social psychology', or 'women's studies' and hope that's the end of it. Other young female researchers working in the same area report similar experiences: *"research can allow people you know and meet to re-assess you in the light of your research interests...it is interesting to observe how your self-awareness when introducing yourself to people, socially, professionally or on paper takes on a different kind of form as there is*

a presence of a gaze" (Reavey, 1996). When studying SEM it is impossible to avoid thinking about oneself in relation to research (Bannister et al, 1994, p.172). Even if the researcher doesn't do it, those she meets will define her through the subject matter of her work.

This is illustrated in the hypothetical case of a feminist sociologist who completed her PhD on an ethnography of prostitution using participant observation (Chancer, 1993). When other academics were told of this 'study' they responded in the following ways: *"What are you talking about, a joke? She'd be a whore right? I'd give her a job right then - lying down"* *"Yeah, there'd be lots of openings for her (hee, hee)..."* (p.144). In this article Chancer cites other (sociological) studies where researchers have lived with gangs, street kids or domestic workers to gain information. The reaction to this research is different from 'sex work'. If a woman conducts a participant observation study where she works as a prostitute she *becomes* a prostitute during the study (and probably is still identified as an ex-prostitute afterwards). In most research the investigator is defined as a researcher *doing* observational research with gang members etc, yet in other areas the researcher's position is replaced by that which they are studying. In this way I had to ask student's to change a publicity poster for a talk I was doing from *"Petra Porn Queen"* to *"Petra talks about her Research on Pornography"*. In the previous year I discovered the university Psychology Society had sent out letters outlining the talks for the term, with my talk was described as: *"Everything you ever wanted to know about sex but were afraid to ask! Our very own lovely, cuddly, Petra B will be talking about porn. Long raincoats or fetishwear optional. Bring a pint"* (none of the other talks were described in similar terms).

There are few people I know outside the academic setting who are aware of the topic of my research, and even within the University I took steps not to overpublicise it. On occasion I also had my area of research censored. In the departmental handbook my research interests were changed from *"pornography and the media"*, to *"sex and gender"* to avoid any *"negative publicity"*. Mentioning 'pornography' invites a whole host of reactions, which (in my experience) have ranged from competition (*"I've got loads of hardcore films"*, *"I bet you've never seen a snuff movie?"*); to hostility (*"well you must be a slut then"*, *"is that what the government wastes taxpayers money on?"*) to harassment (*"do you offer private tuition?"*, *"how much do you charge for*

personal services?”). Reavey, 1996 explains how difficult it is to tell people about research in the area of sexuality (and abuse) as, once told, people “*make known their disgust and 'common sensical' opinion of how they think it affects me*”. The problem extends to those close to the researcher. Whilst my parents can be proud that their daughter is undertaking further research, they can only tell friends and colleagues so much before they have to broach the subject of what the research is actually about (see Kulick, 1995a).

How Can You Be Objective About Something You've Never Seen Before?

As previously outlined, traditional psychology experiments demand 'objectivity', with many lab-based studies presenting supposedly 'objective' or 'truthful' accounts. Research for this thesis reveals that women are less likely to have seen pornography than men, and those who have seen SEM tend to do so at a later age (see Chapter Five). I had only seen one page torn from a pornographic magazine before I began considering doing this research, and disliked it as a matter of principle - I was being a 'good feminist' (Lewis and Adler, 1994). Therefore the magazines, pictures, stories, videos and films I viewed were all 'new' to me. The 'sexy' images in mainstream films or television I had viewed were not like the images I 'consumed' during this thesis. It is important to state that objectivity (if it exists at all) is only possible when you are dealing with research material and issues which do not challenge the familiar. I did not always find it easy to look at other women in pornography, to read that it was wrong to look at these women, and certainly very wrong to see anything arousing in the images presented. Vance (1984) describes sex as a “*domain of exploration, pleasure and agency [and] a domain of restriction, repression and danger*” (p.1). Yet it is not appropriate to mention pleasure in relation to pornography research (and experience), and on a wider level to discuss feelings or emotions at all (see also Kulick, 1995a,b).

Ethics Of Research And Working With Men

This chapter has outlined how feminist psychology has challenged the belief (evident in traditional SEM experiments) that “*males would yield data that would be applicable to all people*” (Halpern, 1994, p.527). If sexist research is categorised by over-use of male participants and over-generalisation of findings, it has been suggested that non-sexist research would include males and females, and feminist research would predominantly use female participants (Graham and Rawlings, 1980, p.380). Researchers who categorise themselves as 'feminist' or utilise feminist theories, may find it

difficult to justify studying 'pornography' (where there is a clear subtext of 'feminism'), and also including male participants. If (as research outlined in Chapter Two suggests), men are compelled to perceive women as sexual objects or induced to rape after seeing 'pornography' it may be personally and ethically unwise to include men in research, as the interviewer and interviewee may be put in "*vulnerable positions*" (King, 1996, p.177) (see Chapter Six).

Women's attitudes towards men have been growing increasingly negative since the 1970s, with women reporting less tolerance towards sexist humour, images and treatment (Cahoon and Edmonds, 1991). Existing research indicates that sexism and abuse do exist, outcomes and experiences for studies conducted for this thesis argue images which promote sexism and violence towards women and children are not solely located in 'pornographic texts' (see Chapter Seven). Chapter Six illustrates that 'sexist' behaviours and beliefs are expressed by female *and* male participants. This thesis argues 'pornography research' is perceived as being both potentially 'sexy' and 'risky'. It could be further argued that using only female participants supports ideas that 'pornography' is dangerous and a 'women's problem'. In addition, male researchers working with male participants in similar subject areas have been accused of collusion (Jukes, 1993), and in pornography research perpetuate the objectification of women (Stoltenberg, 1989). Whilst it may not be comfortable for women to work in this field, they may be able to avoid the accusation of colluding - although some feminists might still perceive working with male participants as 'sleeping with the enemy'.

One interpretation of a 'feminist' method is that studies may be used to question dominant theories and perspectives, including the research setting itself (Banister et al, 1994). In this way participant's views and opinions may be explored, questioned or even challenged by the researcher (King, 1996; Cesera, 1982). As this thesis indicates, the researcher does not have to remain passive whilst conducting studies, or put themselves or their participants at risk.

Whilst including male and female participants and utilising male and female undergraduate assistants, I would disagree with Graham and Rawlings' (1980) theory that by including both men and women I conducted non-sexist research. Reflexive analysis would suggest I brought my own biases and ideas to the research - in fact the studies were shaped and defined by these

opinions. I maintain that my approach and commitment to feminist ideas lay behind the studies reported in this thesis, but at times they were hidden or downplayed in order to access participant's opinions. My beliefs about pornography and feminism altered during the course of this research, mirroring many participants reactions to studies in this thesis.

In justifying the inclusion of male participants in research, it is inaccurate to imply the decision was easy. I have faced criticism about my own (feminist) convictions from others (both feminist and non/anti-feminist), and as mentioned previously have been subject to sexist verbal and physical abuse from male (and occasionally female) participants and non-participants. In order to work with male participants, I found that presenting research in a 'lab-based' (study room) setting reduced inappropriate and sexist behaviours/remarks, as did challenging such activities as they occurred. It is important to stress that the majority of negative experiences for myself as a researcher occurred outside the 'research-setting'. Some have argued I was irresponsible to show SEM to male participants. I would counter this with the assurance that all participants were treated ethically and supportively, and negative or abusive beliefs from participants were challenged. Many of the male participants stated after the studies that they had not previously questioned or "*thought about porn*", and wondered if it would "*spoil their enjoyment*" of such images in the future. Whilst this might be seen as a positive outcome by some, it presents further moral dilemmas about the role of research and effects on participants, which future studies might explore.

Summary

This Chapter has indicated the 'research process' was accompanied by problems, pleasures and additional questions which are commonly not included in research reports. The research and writing of this thesis has at times been an exercise in "*Honoring the Difficult*" (Walker, 1996) due to subject matter and personal experiences. Unlike many anti-pornography activists I would not claim that the whole process was 'damaging'. This chapter has indicated the variety of factors which affect research generally, and studies on SEM specifically, and provided an overview of the context in which the researcher worked. As the thesis criticises studies that present SEM in a context-free manner, the next chapter describes analysis of magazines used in studies reported in the remainder of the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF SEXUAL AND NON-SEXUAL MAGAZINES AIMED AT A MALE AND FEMALE AUDIENCE

"pornography is not generally an act but representations - writings, films, photos, videos. These show bodies (usually naked) in a sexualised way, or people involved in the sex act, according to certain conventions which mean they are interpreted as pornographic by society" (Coward, 1987, p.310).

The majority of experimental research outlined in Chapter Two does not focus in detail upon the many 'intrinsic messages' within SEM, as most research looks at effects of material rather than content. The overall context provided by a sexually explicit magazine, may influence the manner in which individual articles, stories, letters or photographs may be interpreted, yet this question has remained largely overlooked within experimental research. The interaction of the contents with the reader/viewer has mainly been assessed in terms of 'cause and effect', using male participants to link SEM with increased precipitation to rape/hold misogynistic views. There is little evidence to acknowledge images and themes within such materials vary in layout, design, level of explicitness and what has been isolated in studies for this thesis as 'quality'. This chapter examines the content of sexually explicit magazines aimed at men and women, with the following chapters outlining further issues of context around SEM.

Research on the content of magazines aimed at women reveals a subtext of self-improvement and romance and a concern with finding and keeping a man (O'Kelly, 1986, p.48-52), with sexual relationships as the defining factor in women's lives - above family, politics and work (Cantor, 1987). Men's non-sexual 'lifestyle' magazines have undergone a transformation and are currently an expanding market with titles such as *Loaded*, *Maxim* and *FHM* (Thomas and McCann, 1998). Previous research suggested these publications differed from women's magazines which outline the 'female role' (Ferguson, 1983), however this may be changing. During the course of this thesis, a series of sexually explicit magazines aimed at women were launched, and most have now ceased printing - a familiar pattern in this market (Faust,

1980). Men's sexually explicit (top shelf) magazines continue to sell, despite threats posed by the internet and non-sexual titles (Thomas and McCann, 1998, p.1).

Attention has recently focused on teenage magazines aimed at girls such as *More*, *Just Seventeen* or *Sugar*, with concern being expressed over their content. It has been argued that a primary source of sex information for girls now comes from girls magazines, with boys 'missing out' (Aaronovitch, 1996, p.3). Contemporary magazines aimed at young girls have been identified as containing "*more overtly sexual fantasies*" (Lees, 1993, p.110) emphasised by the romance-focused *Jackie* being eclipsed by magazines such as *Just Seventeen* (McRobbie, 1991).

Research on women's non-sexual magazines indicate that they are designed to be readable in short breaks, and women respond to the practical tips within them and fantasy images of womanhood (Hermes, 1995). Academics have argued they are an under-researched source which both shape women's lives and society's perception of women (Ferguson, 1983, p.1). However, little comparison has been made between sexual and non-sexual men's and women's magazines, although it is suggested there are significant differences between them as they are designed in opposition to each other (Tuchman, Daniels and Benet, 1978, p.22; Davis, 1976). Women's magazines have been criticised for encouraging women to alter and change their bodies in accordance with fashion. It could also be argued that such changes weaken and damage women's bodies, health and self esteem (Freedman, 1988). It may be that the focus on health and body image in men's magazines is currently promoting the same effect. A MORI poll (Christmas, 1997) found women were more likely than men to read articles on health, medicine, fashion, letters, horoscopes and social/gossip news. Men were more likely to read articles on politics, work, business, investigative journalism and sport. There was little difference between respondents on readership of articles on personal issues.

In-depth analysis on the content and purpose of women's non-sex magazines have been outlined (Ehrenrieck and English 1979; Douglas, 1994; Fornas and Bolin, 1995; MacDonald, 1995 and Hermes, 1995). Little research exists on content or effect of men's non-sexual publications or women's sexual publications - possibly due to the former being an emerging category, and the

latter being a transient phenomena. Specific content analysis has been performed on men's sexually explicit magazines (eg: Itzin, 1992b; Thompson, 1994) although without reaching agreement on either content or possible effects. Coveney et al (1984) performed a detailed analysis of *Forum* magazine from 1968-81 (a publication aimed at couples), and found an underlying message of increasing degradation of women in the 165 titles examined.

There is not space within this chapter to fully explore the area of gender and magazines, particularly as both sexual and non-sexual titles are to be outlined. However, there is scope for future research to build upon the analysis of the titles mentioned here.

At the time of conducting research for this thesis it was possible to examine materials aimed at a male audience and newly launched sexually explicit magazines for women. It seemed that it might be possible to gain an insight into the construction of male or female sexuality through these magazines (Jeffreys, 1990, p.251). This chapter will show that magazines aimed at men and women are diverse and promote an image of sexuality which is both gender specific and stereotypically 'appropriate' as opposed to a precise reflection of male or female sexuality, although promotion and reflection may at times appear related. Later chapters will illustrate how members of both sexes distinguish between images, and their own sexuality.

Magazines Studied

Analysis of sixteen sexual and non-sexual titles aimed and a male and female (heterosexual) target audience are outlined in this chapter, and findings are contrasted with existing theories of SEM. The chapter provides a background to the remaining studies in the thesis, which utilise the materials presented here. This chapter outlines findings from Content Analysis of sixteen 'sexual' and 'non-sexual' magazines aimed at men and women for content, style and target audience for this thesis. The magazines were all 'top' (sexual) or 'middle' shelf (non-sexual) publications, and are described in Table 1 below. Magazines were classified as either 'sexual' or 'non-sexual' depending on overall content and the way in which the magazine was promoted. 'Women's' and 'Men's' magazines were differentiated by title ("*Gentleman's Quarterly*" or "*New Woman*"), and magazine promotional information such as "*Smart Girls Carry Cosmo*", or "*Bachelor*" (FHM). Cover Photographs and promotion of

contents were also used as a guide (see also Ferguson, 1983; Winship, 1987, p.9). A full list of contents for all titles analysed can be found in Appendix 4.

Table 1: Magazines Analysed

'Women's' Titles	'Men's' Titles
<p style="text-align: center;">Sexually Explicit Magazines</p> <p>Playgirl (Vol 1, No.6); Women On Top (Vol 1, No.4); Ludus (Feb/March '93); Women Only (Vol 1, No.3); For Women (Vol 1, No.7)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Sexually Explicit Magazines</p> <p>Fiesta (Vol 27, No.2); Razzle (Vol 11, No.1); Penthouse (Vol 28, No.5); Risque (Vol 2, No.1); Mayfair (Vol 2, No.1)</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Non-Sexually Explicit Magazines</p> <p>Marie Claire, New Woman, Cosmopolitan (Feb 1993)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Non-Sexually Explicit Magazines</p> <p>GQ, FHM, Esquire (Feb 1993)</p>

Letters were sent to editors of the 16 magazines analysed to ask for additional descriptive information about the publications (as a contrast with the brief outline of magazines earlier in this chapter, and the more detailed content analysis carried out on the magazines). Responses from the magazines ranged from glossy promotional documents (eg: GQ and *For Women*), photocopied details about the publication, or letters outlining sales figures and readership profiles. Several of the magazines invited me to telephone them for additional information which is also included here. Summaries of feedback from the magazines will now be presented.

The Men's Non-Sexual Titles

GQ has existed since 1988, and is aimed at "successful, stylish, professional men" (information brochure). In the magazine analysed for this thesis, it's slogan was "GQ: The men's magazine with an IQ". At the time of study *GQ* had a circulation of 80,364 in the UK. It's readership is 407,000, mainly made up of men in the A,B,C1 social group and aged between 20-34. In 1993 it sold 91,353 and was in the top 100 magazines sold in the UK (IPC marketforce, 1993).

Esquire is aimed at men in the same social category as *GQ*, with the majority of readers aged from 20-40. It's readership at point of study was 65,598 and 70% male. According to publishers information, men buy magazines for a specific purpose or hobby. Therefore they have not in the past bought magazines based on male general interest, or about 'being a man'. *GQ*, *FHM* and *Esquire* have altered their format to one resembling women's 'glossy' (non-sexual) magazines and are promoting a magazine for the 'total man',

discussing work, business, fashion, grooming, and sex (Thomas and McCann, 1998). At time of analysis the magazine was not in the top 100 UK titles.

FHM had a circulation of 48,462 at point of study (and therefore was not in top 100 titles).

The Men's Sexually Explicit Titles

Razzle had existed for eleven years at the point of study. According to its promoters it is bought by men in the 18-40 age group, but is primarily aimed at those in the early to mid twenties. This is based on the age of staff who work for the magazine rather than market research figures. According to a rep for the magazine it is mainly read by couples and often the women send in their own pictures to the 'reader's wives' section in order to 'surprise' their husbands. The only other description offered about the readers was that they are "not train spotters" (ie: "not boring").

Mayfair has been on sale for 28 years and is published by Paul Raymond (who also produces *Razzle*). No sales figures were offered by Paul Raymond Publications for these titles, as apparently it is "bad for business" (as told in telephone interview).

No information was obtained from *Fiesta* (which sold 250,332 copies in 1993), *Penthouse* or *Risque*. *Penthouse* has been described as the UK equivalent of *Playboy* (Miller, 1985), and at the time of study *Risque* was a recent addition to the 'top shelf' market.

The Women's Sexually Explicit Titles

For Women is marketed towards women who are "liberated" and "enlightened" towards sex. In the publicity information the magazine claims to be aimed at modern women as a replacement for the "mainstream women's glossies" and that it is "provocative and informative". Apart from the pin-ups, *For Women* promotes its regular features "which set out to demystify sex", including serious and light-hearted reports. It is aimed more at single women, and sold 145,032 copies in 1993 (IPC marketforce).

Women Only aimed primarily at heterosexual couples in relationships (according to a sales rep for the magazine and additional publicity information). The age of the reader is 18-35, and it is bought mainly by

women. Its initial print run was 750,000 copies and its circulation was expected to be around four times that amount. The magazine was promoted as 'erotica' that a woman might want to share with her partner (see Chapter Five). *Woman Only* was launched after *For Women* and *Women on Top*, and differs from these magazines as it features pictures of couples, responding to a belief that "*many women want more than just a pin-up, they want pictures that tell a story*".

Women On Top (of the same name as Nancy Friday's analysis of women's sexual fantasies) was launched following the success of *For Women*, and is aimed at the "*woman who wants to be on top of everything in her life*". The market for the magazine was located following 400,000 women buying the Chippendales video, and differs from *Women Only* as it contains more images of male models than couples. It presents itself as an alternative to women's non-sexual magazines "*aimed at the woman who has been raised on Cosmo and Company but now wants the true potential for sexual equality to be realised. Young men have always ogled pretty young women. Events have come full cycle. A very large group of the female population now want to view their male counterparts as sensual objects and to deal with them on that level*" (publicity pack information).

No information was available about Playgirl, although the UK version of the magazine was utilised (Playboy was not selected as it followed the US format, and for the purpose of this research, UK magazines were assessed). No information was received from the women's non-sexual titles. However, in 1993 they were all in the top 100 titles. Marie Claire sold 313,866 copies, New Woman sold 269,372 titles and Cosmopolitan sold 477,437 magazines (IPC Marketforce).

Why Study These Magazines?

As previously mentioned, SEM is located in films, videos, the internet, telephone sex lines, books, magazines pictures, photographs, postcards, newspapers, computer games etc. Indeed, the "*porn business is a keen innovator*" (The Economist, 1998, p.24). Certain materials and facilities are designed purely for the 'sex industry', whilst other sources may have been produced with another purpose such as art, literature, education or news coverage, and is subsequently labelled as 'porn'.

Within these potential sources there are a variety of 'sexual subjects' which could be featured (Dalecki and Price, 1994). These include the broad categories of:- individuals; couples; threesomes and orgies (which can be 'gay', 'straight' or 'mixed'); fetish materials (such as shoes, feet, rubber, clothing, people of colour); child pornography; animals; sado-masochism; oral; anal; watersports; enemas; and 'educational' materials (such as *The Lover's Guide*). There are probably even further subsections and categories which could be added (such as women aged over forty, women with extra-large breasts, or people who are overweight), and of course there can be combinations of all the categories listed above. There are also places of origin for these materials. The 'porn industry' has historical links with Scandinavia, Germany and Holland, but there is a growing market from other parts of Europe, the UK, US, and South East Asia (Barry, 1995). There are materials produced by companies, and a growth in the 'home-made' market (eg: videos made by 'amateurs', or 'readers wives' photographs) (*Holiday Snaps*, Channel Four TV, 1994).

Evidently for the purpose of producing research of this kind, it would not be possible to include such a wide range of materials. In terms of content I believed it was inappropriate to show certain materials, such as child pornography or very violent images. For the purpose of conducting the research shown in this thesis, a number of decisions were made: The material was legal within UK obscenity laws, easily available and likely to be familiar to participants (see Chapter Five), hence the choice of the magazines previously described. This allowed a specific range of materials to be presented (contextualised by date, cost, location and production). Often in existing research, materials are used in studies which manipulate their representation, but where certain contextual issues are absent - either because the researcher does not know where the materials are from, or because this detail is not recorded. In traditional psychological research this could be criticised in terms of validity and reliability. An additional critique is that materials are treated as though they could be presented in a 'context-free' manner.

No videos or films were shown to participants in the course of research. Many experiments (outlined in Chapter Two) involve participants viewing sexually explicit and sometimes violent images in a darkened room. In such a setting the researcher cannot adequately monitor the wellbeing of participants or their

personal safety. I did not necessarily believe that showing male participants such films would lead them to become excited and abusive, but having found that sexist and inappropriate behaviours (such as touching and blocking exits) have occurred during the research in a well-lit classroom setting, I felt it was better to keep research under my control wherever possible. Therefore small groups of participants viewed images in magazines or pictures, or were given written descriptions. Subsequent chapters outline the research process in these cases. Full ethical guidelines were followed (as offered by the University and the British Psychological Society), and participants gave voluntary informed consent. They were also invited to comment on research write-ups of the studies they had been involved in. Single sex groups were used when sexually explicit pictures and magazines were shown.

Hypotheses about the Magazines

This research assessed whether the women's magazines (both sexual and non-sexual) would be directed towards 'self improvement', and predicted there would be a greater number of articles in these titles. This was expected to be demonstrated through articles on relationships, diet, beauty, exercise, and how to feel/be more confident; which were predicted to occur in greater numbers in the women's titles than in the men's sexual and non-sexual magazines. The men's non-sexual magazines were expected to be similar to the women's non-sexual magazines in format, but would focus more on work and business.

In relation to the men's sexual magazines it was hypothesised that they would contain more photospreads and cartoons than the other categories of magazines, and as the perceived 'quality' of the magazine decreased, so the number of photographs and adverts would increase. Predictions were also made about sexual magazines and sexual information, as it was believed men's sexual magazines would not contain much coverage of [safer] sex or personal relationships. It was presumed that the 'glossy' men's and women's magazines (non-sexual category) would have fewer sexually explicit references than the 'top shelf' publications, but the exact amount and type of sexual explicitness would vary between publications and be closely linked with perceived 'quality'.

As the thesis focuses on reactions by participants to SEM and related issues, and as the sexual titles were mainly employed in studies, this chapter will

focus mainly on results from analysis of specific sections of the sexual titles. Magazines will be defined in relation to specific pre-determined categories - those aimed at men and women, and the nature of their content (sexual or non-sexual). 'Top shelf' men's and women's magazines will be referred to as 'Sexually Explicit' magazines (see Lawrence and Herold, 1988). The 'top shelf' magazines used in the study contained some form of sexual explicitness - either visually (pictures showing 'sexual organs'), or in (sexual) words (see stories and letters). The extent of the 'explicitness' varied according to the quality of the magazine (higher quality publications tended to be less explicit than lower quality publications). References to themes, images and depictions of different issues were utilised so that non-sexual references in the sexual magazines (eg: cars and makeup) could also be examined.

A Measure of 'Quality'

During the focus groups where magazines were presented for examination and discussion (see Chapter Six), 45 participants were asked to place titles aimed at men and women in order of perceived 'quality'. All groups of participants consistently ordered the sexually explicit titles in the following order:- **Men's Titles:** 1. *Penthouse*, 2. *Mayfair*, 3. *Risque*, 4. *Fiesta* and 5. *Razzle*. **Women's Titles:** 1. *For Women*, 2. *Playgirl*, 3. *Ludus*, 4. *Women Only* and 5. *Women on Top*. They explained this was influenced by number of pictures/articles vs. adverts, attractiveness of models, price and print quality. The non-sexual titles were not given to participants to discuss in focus groups, and therefore are not reported here. Article titles from the non-sexual and sexual magazines were presented to participants to match in terms of source and perceived 'quality'. Titles which were sexually explicit but not linked to relationships were linked more with men's sexual titles, and explicit titles were perceived as lower quality (see Chapter Seven).

Procedure for Magazine Analysis

All sixteen magazines were selected during February, 1993. The women's non-sexual titles were an opportunity sample selected by a newsagent to represent the "most popular titles" in his shop - based on sales figures. The women's sexual magazines were the only titles specifically available for a female heterosexual market at that time. Men's non-sexual titles were matched to the women's titles by price and cover layout. Men's sexual titles were also matched in this way, with the assistance of the newsagent - who was aware of matches in sales figures for customers in the store. The

newsagent's sales figures were anecdotal, but information from the magazines also helped to clarify similarities between sexual and non-sexual titles.

Broad categories of magazine content (eg: 'letters', 'photospreads') were established from the contents pages of the selected magazines (see Appendix 4). After reading through the magazines several times, more specific sub-categories emerged. I created a list of categories of analysis for all magazines which ranged from number of times an item appeared, to detailed lists of poses within pictures. The magazines and tables for categorisation were then given to three female assistants who worked separately to analyse the materials. This assessment revealed similar findings throughout all categories, which permitted statistical analysis to be performed on the data.

Results and Discussion

Contents were assessed and broken down into distinct categories, which were located in the sexual and non-sexual magazines. These broad categories were obtained from the contents pages of the magazines:

- * Adverts [for sexual and non-sexual products]
- * Letters [with sexual and non-sexual themes]
- * Problem Pages [with sexual and non-sexual themes]
- * Stories [with sexual and non-sexual themes]
- * Articles [with sexual and non-sexual themes]
- * Fashion Spreads [primarily non-sexual]
- * Photospreads [primarily sexual]

[Photospreads and fashion spreads were distinguished by the focus of fashion pictures on the clothing worn by models, whilst the photospreads located in the sexually explicit magazines focused on the absence or gradual removal of items of clothing].

The original aim of this thesis was to focus on the content of these titles and use group interview information to support findings. As the research progressed, the issues of context rather than content became more important in explaining problems with existing research. Therefore a summarised version of findings of magazine analysis is presented here to provide a background to materials which participants examined, and offer an additional contextual framework. This chapter focuses on differences between the sexual titles aimed at men and women, as these feature in studies in the following chapters.

Adverts: types of products were isolated by careful examination of the magazines. They were then classified, firstly as sexual or non-sexual, and then into more specific categories (eg 'contraceptives'). The number of items fitting these categories in each magazine was measured. Thus in the case of 'contraceptives', adverts for contraceptives, (condoms - male and female, sponges, etc) were located.

Fashion Spreads: title of article, contents and length (measured in number of pages) were assessed. Titles were noted, to examine whether the fashion item was aimed directly at men or women, and had a sexual or non-sexual theme. This was established by looking at the title and comparing with the tone and content of the fashion item - such as the clothes being displayed or poses of the models. Overall message was also compared between magazines. The technical quality of print, paper and photograph, and appearance of models, (by age, size, hair and skin colour etc) was also assessed. These details are of interest, but in relation to this thesis, the most important difference to note is that the only category of magazine not to contain any fashion spreads was the men's sexually explicit magazines. The majority of the other titles featured a number of fashion spreads (although in the women's sexual titles this was presented in the context of fashionable underwear worn to please a partner and improve a sex life).

Letters and Articles: these constituted two separate categories, but were assessed similarly. Both were analysed for general content (sexual vs non-sexual). 'Sexual' letters/articles were further subdivided into two sections "serious" and "humorous". Length (measured in terms of sentences, paragraphs and number of pages); complexity (assessed by language structure and repetition of themes/images); and central themes (main focus of letter/article) were also examined. In the case of the non-sexually explicit magazines and women's sexual titles 'letters' and 'articles' were easier to identify. In the men's sexual titles 'letters' could be confused with stories, and this distinction became more blurred as 'quality' deteriorated (based on participants ordering of titles).

Photographs and pictures accompanying the articles were also analysed. The women's sexual titles were found to contain greater numbers of pictures featuring fully clothed models as illustrations ($\chi^2 10, p < .005$), whilst the men's sexual titles were found to have significantly more accompanying photographs

that contained naked (χ^2 13.6, $p < .005$), or partly clothed models (χ^2 64.5, $p < .005$).

Problem Pages: Advice columns suggest that there is a collective group that is 'woman', and that those within this group have similar problems and are looking for a solution which works towards the maintenance of relationships. With common problem areas identified in magazines as early as 1949 including youth, family, beauty and getting/keeping your man (Ferguson, 1983). It has been suggested that problem pages are 'anti-feminist' as they divide rather than unite women (Winship, 1987), although women's magazines are designed around collectivity (Ferguson, 1983).

The Agony Aunt is commonly presented as a psychological or medical 'expert' (Tiefer, 1995; MacDonald, 1995; McRobbie, 1991), reflecting the discourses of conservative sexology and sociobiology (Jackson, 1987) and frequently presenting solutions through the dialogue of romance (MacDonald, 1995) (see Chapter Two). The encouragement of the adviser to the reader to accept these themes indicates how women are expected to make themselves 'sexually literate' in order to be 'good' at sex (Brunt, 1982). In relation to representations of sex, it may be that one way in which SEM for women is presented is via the 'acceptable context' of the problem page, where explicit sexual questions are housed within discourses of advice, help and finding solutions.

When analysing the magazines for this thesis, problems were divided into two categories, 'sexual' and 'non-sexual'. Letters in the 'non-sexual' category did contain references to sex, although the main problem was not sexual. In order to assess participant's reactions to problem page letters in different media sources, three problems and answers were selected from a men's sexual title, a woman's sexual title and a women's non-sexual title (Boynton, 1996c). All three problems were on a similar theme, the letter writer was complaining/concerned about their partner's apparent lack of interest in sex (see Appendix 5) .

The advice offered by the 'agony aunts' was very different. The women's non-sexual magazine (Cosmopolitan) advised that the letter writer worked to improve her own lifestyle and self esteem - *"your next move must be to find and develop the self-respect that is so clearly missing right now. You will*

never find a man who respects you until you respect yourself". The men's sexual title advised leaving the person with the problem eg: "get rid of her right now! Life is too short to waste your time pandering to other people's hang ups", and the women's sexual title argued that the letter writer ought to improve her attitude and help her partner "if you can't get him in the mood in the first place, don't pressure him, give him lots of affection instead. He needs encouragement. He may not be just a big bore and something tells me that he's the one in need of a listening ear".

Forty male and female undergraduates read the replies and rated them on a number of factors (helpfulness, complexity etc), and gave written responses describing their views on each question and reply. Participants were informed the problems and replies came from 'various magazines' but were given no other information about the sources of the titles. They rated the reply from the women's sex title as more educational, perceived the agony aunt to be better qualified, and believed her reply was most likely to provide a solution to the problem. The main theme which emerged from this study was that women have to learn to like sex in order to maintain their relationship. Chapter Two outlined how sex manuals and therapists encouraged women to learn to enjoy previously detested sexual acts in order to become sexually fulfilled women (Jeffreys, 1990). The reply rated the 'best' by participants in this study indicated that the woman take on the role of marital therapist, counsellor, carer and masseuse in order to 'mend' the relationship. From this emerged the theme that women had to say yes to sex (when asked by a man), but according to the advice rated as the most educational, this had to be achieved without appearing "pushy". Finally participants agreed with the message from the most favourably rated answer that 'good advice means staying together', and the onus was on the woman to 'fix it'.

Differences in gendered target audiences in analysis of the magazines used in this thesis can be seen in the absence of problem pages in the men's non-sexual titles. At the time of completing the research the then editor of GQ magazine, Michael van Muelen stated "[t]hey're an insult to intelligent readers...Anyway, GQ readers don't have problems" (Greenslade, 1993, p.17). Only one problem page was found in the five men's sexual magazines. In the women's sexual and non-sexual titles only one magazine (*Marie Claire*) did not have a problem page. Research on gender has suggested that men are biologically predisposed to be less emotional, or are raised to be less capable

of dealing with feelings, women are presented as being more caring and willing to solve problems (see Chapter Two). These magazines represent a confirmation of this gender divide. It is interesting to note that sex for women was consistently presented in the context of (long-term) relationships in both the sexual and non-sexual titles aimed at women, although it is acknowledged that men may read the problem pages in women's magazines - and noted that a number of men's magazines (eg: Men's Health and Maxim) have recently introduced advice pages (which cover a variety of issues from grooming to relationships).

Stories: As mentioned in Chapter Two, researchers have argued that text be considered as SEM along with visual images (Dietz, Harry and Hazelwood, 1986). There is little research on the content of men's sexually explicit stories, although a number of studies have outlined women's enjoyment and/or content of sexual texts (Lewallen, 1988; Cordery and Brooks-Gordon, 1996). This difference has been attributed variously to women's preference to textual as opposed to visual stimuli, or the gendered-appropriateness of texts of this nature (see Chapter Two). Analysis of stories in the sample of magazines for this thesis, indicated similarities between the texts aimed at men and women.

For the analysis in this Chapter 'stories' were divided into those with a main sexual theme, and those with another theme (where sex might be referred to). The 'sexual' stories were compared across men's and women's sexually explicit magazines. Analysis concentrated on characters, settings, sexual activity, and complexity of story, (co-rated and assessed by story length, scenes and themes within stories, character assessment, and accuracy of descriptions of sex within stories). Comparisons of types of story between gender divisions, (men's and women's magazines) were also made.

No stories were found in the men's non-sexual titles. Within the women's non-sexual titles there were two stories, both which contained passing references to sex, but where the sexual act was not the prime focus of the story. Nine 'stories' were observed within the men's sexual titles (although some were presented as 'true life interviews' - eg 'Quest' in *Mayfair*); the same number of stories were found within the women's sexual titles. There were evident differences between the sexual and non-sexual titles, but not between sexual titles aimed at a male and female audience. This might be explained by the fact that one would expect to see sexual stories within sexual titles.

The stories were examined in more detail to assess whether there were differences within story themes and construction for a male and female target audience.

One of the criticisms about pornography indicate that it presents women as sexually willing objects who enjoy violent and aggressive penetration (Itzin, 1992; Dworkin, 1981). Other research has indicated how (hardcore) pornographic films or photospreads aimed at men (both gay and straight) is finalised or completed by the 'cum shot' or 'money shot' where a male character is seen to ejaculate, proposedly a sign that the actor is really enjoying himself (Crabbe, 1988; Ussher, 1996b). Within stories the character may be described as ejaculating within a person - but this is nevertheless the ending of the story. It is as though the end aim of penetrative sex is male ejaculation and that proof is required that this event has occurred. This focus conveys important messages about the management of sexual activity and male and female sexual 'performance' (Zilbergeld, 1988), and raises questions about the nature of the male heterosexual gaze in particular (Crabbe, 1988).

As mentioned previously, men and women only differ in their sexual responses via women's capacity to have multiple orgasms (Masters and Johnson, 1964). Feminist researchers have shown that this translates within SEM to a subtext of women as 'multi-orgasmic-monster' (Coveney et al, 1984, p.98), a threatening and demanding character - *"women are demanding things! Gimme things! Do things to me! Do exotic things and plenty of them! Tonight I think I'll have multiple orgasms!...Go for it my boy, plenty of orgasms, I'll tell you when to stop"* (Billy Connolly, Virgin Video, 1991).

Analysis of the stories featured in the magazines indicated a predictable format. A character described a sexual experience they had either had, or wanted to have. The experience was then outlined. In men's sexually explicit magazines the stories tended to focus more on the sexual act itself, whilst in the women's sexually explicit titles more attention was paid to detail, such as surroundings, characters' clothes and conversations (Lewallen, 1983; Assiter, 1988; Barr-Snitow, 1984). This format has even been identified in the few Nineteenth Century erotic novels by and for women (Marcus, 1964, p.281). It was noted that in the magazines identified by participants as 'higher quality' there was more detail and the stories were longer. The number of sentences/paragraphs to the actual sexual scene was longer (see also

Lewallen, 1983). Therefore these titles could be seen to spend longer on foreplay before penetration - although the apparent aim of all stories was penetration and orgasm.

References to (aggressive) penetration were prevalent within the stories within the men's sexual titles. Selected examples include *"fuck me harder! I want to really feel your cock splitting me in half"* (Mayfair, p.69); *"it really stretched me"* (Mayfair, p.98); *"hammering into me like a piledriver"* (Razzle, p.48); *"Mark was holding onto my head and ramming his cock harder and harder into my mouth"* (Fiesta, p.52). These descriptions were not unique to the men's sexual stories - the women's sexual titles depicted remarkably similar styles *"I imagined this alluring stranger on top of me, thrusting his wrist-thick cock between my legs"* (Playgirl, p.73) *"deep inside me, pressing against my cervix"* (Playgirl, p.73); *"getting his cock all the way up to the back of my uterus"* (Playgirl, p.85); *"the huge prick found the entrance to her juicy tunnel and pressed in and out, deeper and deeper, filling her up with it's smooth, silky hardness"* (Ludus, p.71); *"Then, without warning he thrust into me from behind. Deep, deep into my cunt. The shock was wonderful. He fucked me hard, kept fucking me"* (Ludus, p.82); *"his huge throbbing cock, lifting me against the work bench as he rammed it into me"* (Ludus, p.74); *"she expected pain when he entered her. There was only excitement"* (For Women, p.67).

The end aim of all the descriptions of sex in the stories was the male character ejaculating. Whilst the female characters in all stories were described as having an orgasm (or multiple orgasms), the sexual act ended when the male character(s) came - and ejaculations were always spectacular - *"he finally unleashed a torrent of spunk"* (Mayfair, p.67); *"his sperm shot so far that gobs of it caught us both in the face"* (Cosmopolitan, p.137); *"I felt a gush of liquid, then saw it, spreading out between my legs"* (Ludus, p.64). Female characters orgasms were described in similar terms to the men's *"I came strongly, flooding Dave's face"* (Mayfair, p.67); *"I felt as if I was spurting too, so much come was rushing out of me"* (Mayfair, p.67). Whilst female orgasm is a component of SEM, it is usually secondary to male orgasm/ejaculation if a male character is present. This is contrasted with medical literature where the concept of female ejaculation is still debated (Sevely and Bennett, 1978; Goldberg et al, 1983; Bohlen, 1982; Heiman et al, 1991; Alzate and Hoch, 1986).

Certain writers such as Andrea Dworkin have produced work about SEM which have been later perceived as pornographic texts (Strossen, 1996). By quoting from the sexual titles in this chapter one may question whether the thesis itself becomes an example of SEM as opposed to an academic text. The quotes presented here are also outside the context of the wider story. This was also observed in *Cosmopolitan* which printed an extract of Armistead Maupin's novel *'Maybe the Moon'*. This book deals with a wide range of issues and themes, but only the 'sex scene' was cited in *Cosmopolitan* - giving a different impression of the novel. Reading quotes outside of a story may make them appear more positive or negative, but certainly one loses the 'wider meaning'. This may also occur when films or images are extracted for research.

Photographs: pornography has been criticised for reducing women to body parts (Itzin, 1992a,b; Dworkin, 1981), or for presenting images of women in subordinate poses (Russell, 1993). For the purpose of analysis it proved easier to examine content by noting different poses or displays of body parts than searching for poses which might be deemed 'subordinate'. Using definitions outlined in Chapter Two proved unhelpful, as those interpretations were difficult to locate in specific features of photographs or stories, and are informed by the overall context of production and consumption (see chapters Six - Seven). Definitions like 'cheapening' or 'degrading' may mean that much of the non-sexual titles become 'pornographic' (critiquing the idea of there being absolute categories - see Chapter Five). Any of these ready-made concepts could be used as an operational definition when analysing magazines, but not everyone will agree upon what constitutes 'decent' or 'degrading' materials.

The aim of the content analysis of these titles was to record the number of occurrences to assess basic differences and similarities in the magazines. The men's and women's sexually explicit magazines were compared, and photographs were 'compartmentalised'. Facial expressions, body position, eye contact with camera etc were isolated and analysed. Participants were later asked to respond to these photospreads and comment upon them (see Chapter Six). Tables for analysis of photographs can be found in Appendix 6.

Men's sexual titles were found to have significantly more individual photographs than women's sexual titles (χ^2 153.5, $p < .005$), and more

photospreads (where a series of related pictures are presented (χ^2 , 11.31 $p < .005$). Significant differences were also found for the number of pictures featuring women only, found in greater numbers in the men's sexual titles (χ^2 408, $p < .005$) and single men, located in the women's titles (χ^2 133.4, $p < .005$). Differences were also found for two women or more (χ^2 45, $p < .005$) found only in the men's sexual titles.

No comparable depictions of two or more men were found in the women's titles. The last set of findings could be linked more to 'quality', as the magazines identified by participants as 'lower quality' tended to contain pictures featuring two or more women. In particular *Razzle* (the lowest quality men's sexual title) contained several photospreads with two plus female models (often described as 'lezzie sex' or 'lezzie action') and the '*Razzle pile up*' where women are shown piled on top of each other with only their genitals showing. This was one image female participants reacted to negatively when examining magazines in the focus groups (see Chapter Six) with several commenting that it was reminiscent of piles of bodies in pictures of concentration camps. In terms of a definition of pornography, reducing women to 'body parts' or genitals (see Chapter Two) the '*Razzle pile up*' fits this criteria.

More poses featuring female characters standing (χ^2 35.6, $p < .005$), sitting (χ^2 85.3, $p < .005$), kneeling (χ^2 12.4, $p < .005$), laying (χ^2 39.7, $p < .005$) and on all fours (χ^2 59, $p < .005$) were found in the men's sexual titles. This was also true of pictures where the model was positioned with their body facing the camera (χ^2 101.3, $p < .005$), or sideways to the camera (χ^2 54.2, $p < .005$). This could possibly be explained by the greater number of pictures in the men's titles.

The on-all-fours position was unique to the men's sexual titles (described with distaste and/or humour as the "*cow pose*" by some female participants in the focus groups, see Chapter Six), and is particularly problematic to anti-pornography campaigners (eg Itzin, 1992a,b). Both men's and women's sexual titles featured models standing which may be interpreted as a 'less submissive' pose, although this is contextually based - a character who is standing but looking afraid or who is tied may seem less assertive than a character who is standing alone and holding eye contact with the camera. It may also depend on the direction to which the viewers 'gaze' is directed. For the pictures of women on-all-fours in the men's sexually explicit titles the gaze

was at her bottom and genitals, differences were observed between the men's and women's sexually explicit titles when the gaze was on a person's back facing the camera. Although no significant findings were obtained, it was noted that women's titles eroticised the (muscular) backs of male models.

The on-all-fours position is not restricted to heterosexual male porn - it is often featured in porn aimed at the bisexual or gay market (Duncan, 1989), and women who consume heterosexual or lesbian pornography also view these images. Nor is it a 'new pose' - the earliest photographic representations of women in sexually explicit poses featured these images (Nazarieff, 1993), prior to that pictorial and literary representations have been documented. This thesis focuses on the contextual representation of images, and seeks to provide alternative interpretations of SEM and research. In terms of the on-all-fours position, it may relate to one of the purposes of SEM - to graphically display the body. As male genitals are visible the pose may not be as necessary as when viewing female genitalia which is more 'hidden' (see Chapter Six). Anti-pornography definitions of SEM place images within discourses of abuse or exploitation, but these are not the sole explanations, as later chapters will indicate. This thesis will demonstrate how participants use prior opinions as well as noting the surroundings of a picture in order to talk about what is 'going on' in the image (see chapters Six - Seven).

The models' direction of gaze (position of the head in relation to the viewer), noted significantly more pictures in the men's titles featuring models looking up ($\chi^2 6.7, p < .01$), sideways ($\chi^2 35.2, p < .005$), or straight at the camera ($\chi^2 172.5, p < .005$). Again, this could be explained in terms of the greater number of pictures in the men's titles, but closer inspection of the occurrences reveals another conflict with anti-pornography descriptions of the content of SEM. If women are supposed to be submissive in pornography, why were there so many pictures featuring models whose faces were straight on to the camera? Additional analysis to examine the direction of the models' gaze (eye contact) was undertaken, as facing the camera does not necessarily mean holding eye contact with the reader.

Following this analysis, significant differences were found between the men's and women's sexual titles to support the anti-pornography view. Pictures featuring women who were wearing sunglasses, or who had their eyes shut or covered were found more in the men's titles ($\chi^2 32.8, p < .005$). Whilst

sunglasses could be used to hide a person's identity, closed eyes could represent either blocking out the experience (Russell, 1984), or mimicking sexual ecstasy (Wilson, 1984, p.19; Foster, 1993, p.58) - a reading of the entire picture would be necessary here. This is also true of the observed differences in poses where the woman was looking down (χ^2 7.7, $p < .01$), only by considering the rest of the image (where it is located and who the target audience is), can predictions of possible effects be made. Female participant's exhibited more concern and distress over pictures where women appeared to be unaware of being photographed or were attempting to hide their identity, particularly in the case of *Readers Wives* pictures (see Chapter Six). Not volunteering to be in the picture was associated with coercion and violence - as documented by anti-pornography campaigners (eg: Russell 1984; 1993; Everywoman 1984), and tended to be linked by participants with the lower quality men's sexual publications.

Significant differences were noted between the men's and women's sexual titles in terms of eye contact from the model to viewer (χ^2 205.3, $p < .005$). One might expect that greater numbers of these images would be in the women's titles, given the association of submissiveness with men's titles. However, the opposite was found. More models had eye contact in the men's titles. Yet participants noted the way in which this gaze was held (see Chapter Six). Where it was seen as sad, nervous or pleading it was perceived as less assertive, and not signifying control, sexual power or enjoyment.

Research has indicated that the lips may be a conveyer of images of sex and pleasure, particularly evidence from sociobiologists who link lips with the vagina, and certain psychoanalytic theories associate the mouth and the vagina (Mitchell, 1974). Certain facial poses in the sexual titles analysed in this research indicated gender specific displays of the mouth and lips. Pouting (χ^2 63, $p < .005$), tongue out (χ^2 8.3, $p < .005$), or finger to mouth (χ^2 8, $p < .005$) were performed by female models in the men's sexual titles (and not by male models in the female sexual titles). More pictures featuring models with mouths half-open (but not smiling) were observed in the men's titles (χ^2 114, $p < .005$). Again, such a description loses its perspective when presented without the accompanying image. A half-open mouth could again be a representation of sexual pleasure (as appeared to be the case in the pictures observed in this research - although whether the 'pleasure' was genuine or staged was a matter of debate amongst participants in the focus groups).

However, a half-open mouth could also be a scream. Participants noted surroundings and other facial features when commenting on the picture. As anti-pornography campaigns have linked pornography with degradation and harm, one would perhaps expect models to look sad or fearful. Significant differences were observed between the men's and women's titles when showing models who were smiling, with more pictures of this type in the men's titles (χ^2 88.1, $p < .005$). Again, participants looked at other features to judge the nature of the smile, expressing concern when the models lips were smiling, but her eyes were not.

Whilst SEM is commonly associated with depictions of sex and/or nudity, clothing or underwear also plays a role in the construction of sexual narratives (either written or visual). Different clothes or underwear may hold different sexual messages, with colour and texture of fabrics connoting different meanings (see Chapter Seven). An additional criticism offered against pornography is that certain outfits or uniforms (nurse, secretary, teacher, policewoman) may be sexualised when placed in the context of SEM - thereby making life difficult for women who perform such work (Hadjifotou, 1984) (see Chapter Six). Analysis of the men's and women's sexual titles indicated that there were significantly more photographs featuring fully clothed models in the men's titles (χ^2 15.5, $p < .005$) but no significant differences in photographs featuring models in just underwear. Differences were located where models were shown part-clothed with underwear showing (χ^2 34.8, $p < .005$) or partly clothed (χ^2 7.8, $p < .01$) - with more of these photographs observed within the men's sexual titles. No significant differences were obtained between the magazines for photographs of naked models, because the majority of models (male and female) wore some form of clothing in the pictures and there were very few examples of completely naked models in the magazines.

This may be explained by further analysis where the layout of the photospreads were analysed. In many sexually explicit titles a model first appears fully clothed, and then is pictured in a number of different poses wearing less clothes each time until finally s/he is photographed in underwear/naked. This is similar to a strip-tease, and the format can also be observed in sexually explicit videos and films. In many of the men's sexual titles, the female models were observed in the final picture to expose their breasts and genitals, but certain items of clothing were left on. These included knickers (pulled to one side to show genitalia), stockings and/or suspenders,

half or quarter cup bras, and stiletto heels. Analysis indicated no significant differences between the men's and women's titles in the number of pictures in the strip-tease layout, but significant differences were located between the titles for photospreads where genitals were shown in the first picture (χ^2 11.6, $p < .005$). This could be attributed to higher numbers of pictures in the titles deemed 'lower quality' by participants (eg: *Razzle* and *Fiesta*). Indeed, this format was one cited by participants as a reason for making the magazine 'lower quality'.

As already mentioned, 'pornography' is supposed to present images of women fragmented into body parts. From this one might expect to find a greater number of such pictures featured in the men's sexual titles. No significant differences were found between the men's and women's magazines for pictures of 'body parts' - indeed there were very few examples of this in any of the Sexually Explicit titles analysed (searches were made for pictures of breasts, genitals, bottoms and legs/feet). A Campaign Against Pornography leaflet (1993) states:

"magazines like 'For Women' have been brought out mainly to spread the lie that women want pornography as much as men do. These so-called women's porn mags are only a tiny part of the market and are not the same as men's pornography. Mostly they consist of the usual woman's magazine articles. the pictures of nude men (and the comments underneath) do not present men as objects to be put down and masturbated over like the women but as sexually powerful partners who have control over women through 'virility'".

This interpretation was not necessarily found in analysis presented here, nor was it always located in participant's discourses when looking at the magazines (see Chapter Six).

This chapter suggests that whilst there are some similarities between men's and women's magazines, these will be associated with the layout and design of the titles rather than their content. Previous research and analysis here illustrates how magazines aimed at men and women are gender specific. References to sex (as seen on front cover and in the articles in the magazine) were viewed as only part of the description of the contents of the magazine. Therefore whether a magazine is primarily about depictions of sexuality or not, is an interesting area of study, but it is the inclusion of gender of target audience which affects the focus of the magazines. Differences exist between the magazines aimed at males and females, and additional sexual/non-sexual divisions. A possible reason for this is that magazines are a location where lifestyles and relationships are represented, maintained and constructed.

Women's magazines are highly instructive in all areas of their lives, and for sexual and non-sexual titles the primary focus is on relationships. Observations of the men's non-sexual titles suggest work and money are the main areas of interest, whilst the sexual titles appear to present a reduction of this as the perceived 'quality' of the magazine deteriorates (at which point the number of articles reduce in favour of adverts). Observations of women's magazines in this study indicated that they did attempt to raise some political ['women's'] issues, such as rape and child abuse. However, the sincerity and level of strength of such articles has been criticised, suggesting that whilst issues are covered, they are not presented too radically (Ferguson, 1983). Furthermore, as only a small proportion of magazine space is provided for these topics in relation to other articles, they are unlikely to engineer social change.

Changes Since This Analysis Was Conducted

Women's magazines have become increasingly sexual (Braithwaite, 1994; McCann, 1997), and as stated concern exists about female teenage titles. Men's non-sexual titles have also been noted to blur the boundaries between 'top and middle' shelf publications (Thomas and McCann, 1998). Concerns previously applied to 'porn' are extended to men's glossy magazines (Mervan, 1996). Many of the women's sexual titles featured here are no longer on sale, suggesting either women do not like SEM (see Chapter Two), or because of changes in the non-sexual titles - as divisions between sexual and non-sexual titles become less clear.

Summary

This Chapter has outlined two important aspects of research in SEM. One, changes in demand may affect differences in content of men's and women's sexual and non-sexual titles and lead magazine sales to fluctuate. Two, a background framework for the following studies is provided. Many existing 'pornography' experiments do not provide detailed information of the content, publisher and date of materials viewed by participants, making generalisation problematic. Performing detailed content analysis on magazines gives an overview of content - however, as this chapter has indicated, such texts are given meaning by the viewer who in turn will be influenced by previously held opinions about SEM. The thesis now explores participants opinions, before and during 'exposure' to the sexual magazines analysed in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

PARTICIPANT'S DESCRIPTIONS ABOUT SEM AND RELATED ISSUES

"Pornography at its best is art.; at its mildest it is erotica; and at its most direct it is a checklist of activities and fetishes to which the user responds with masturbation" (Sewell, 1998, p.13).

As this thesis has outlined, experimental SEM research gives little acknowledgement that participants have views about SEM prior to being in research, or motivations for attending studies. This chapter outlines the views of participants prior to examining SEM through their definitions of the terms 'pornography', 'erotica' and 'censorship', and related responses on rating scales to the possible 'effects' of SEM. Issues surrounding perceptions about consumers of SEM (mainly centring around gender) will also be discussed. The previous chapter outlined the content of the magazines used in research for this thesis, this chapter examines participants ideas about SEM prior to viewing magazines. The chapter indicates participant's opinions and ideas in the context of the research setting, material which is often ignored or absent in previous experiments, but which are necessary for understanding how participant's 'make sense' of SEM.

Chapter Two displayed a range of definitions about SEM, how the terms are applied in research and law, and how people's political, religious or personal beliefs can influence opinions about SEM; supporting the argument that 'pornography' is differentially defined. This thesis is critical of the way definitions are presented as 'universal' by particular groups or individuals, and questions research which suggests there are fixed definitions or sources which might be universally accepted as 'pornography' or 'erotica'. The literature review shows that in many papers outlining experimental studies of SEM, researchers did not indicate what views participant's held prior to attending the study - so the reader is left unsure whether views were not inquired about, or noted and not included.

Unsurprisingly, participants who volunteer for SEM research report higher levels of sexual interest and experience than participants who volunteer for non-SEM studies (Saunders, Fisher, Hewitt and Clayton, 1985). Research on

748 male and female undergraduates revealed different volunteer rates in experiments on arousal (Wolchik, Braver and Jensen, 1985). Participants could choose from the following conditions, viewing a sex film only, or a sex film combined with:- participants rating of their arousal, body temperature (forehead measurement), genital measurement over clothing, genital measurement while partially clothed, or to be fitted with a penile plethysmograph or vaginal photoplethysmograph. Male participants were significantly more likely to volunteer, but levels of co-operation dropped as the levels of intimacy demanded by the research increased. Again, when compared with non-volunteers, the volunteer participants were more sexually interested and experienced (see also Wolchik, Spencer and Lisi, 1983; Bogaert, 1996).

Critics have also identified the demand characteristics of the SEM experimental situation. SEMs are selected systematically and displayed in an environment which is deliberately organised to evoke a measurable change in attitudes, although 'real life' use of SEM is likely to be a different experience (Yaffe, 1983). Participants may also have different affective reactions linked to the study context described by Masterson in 1984 as "*if they show it to me in Yale it must be okay*" (p.249). Yet these factors are also absent within the majority of experiments on SEM.

This thesis is critical of the SEM research which ignore social interaction studies, and argues participants have opinions about SEM which exist prior to completing a study, although these views are frequently not documented. Participants have views at the start of the research which may be challenged or altered by the study. Participants were asked about expectations and motivations before, during and after research. Some said that the materials shown were not as violent or as 'high quality' as they had expected (see chapters Four and Six). Others considered different people's viewpoints when outlined in the research setting (see chapters Six - Seven).

Participants may also be motivated to attend a pornography experiment due to a wish to share pre-existing views on SEM, and volunteers in studies for this revealed a variety of motivating factors. Many female participant's had strong anti-pornography views, or had not previously seen any SEM and wished to do so in what they perceived to be the "*supportive atmosphere of a women-only [focus] group*" (female aged 19). Other participants had strong religious views

which led them to disagree with porn, whilst some were anti-censorship and wanted to be able to express that perspective. Additional reasons for attendance (which often co-existed with those already stated) were to gain research credits or research experience, for the novelty of taking part in a piece of research that was perceived to be a *“little bit naughty”* (female, aged 19), and some attended because their friends were doing the study.

Traditional research assumes participants responses are prompted by the materials shown to them in the study. Research is neatly packaged into groups of ‘subjects’ being ‘manipulated’ to produce results which then ‘prove’ or ‘disprove’ a causal effect. There is little acknowledgement that participants will arrive at the study with a variety of beliefs, opinions, and motivations as outlined above. Participant’s written descriptions in response to key terms associated with SEM are discussed in this chapter, and later chapters indicate how participant’s descriptions and reactions altered when they were *actually* looking at images in sexually explicit magazines/pictures in focus groups.

Participant’s Descriptions of Key Terms

Method

Participants 123 men and women, the majority of whom were undergraduates completed questionnaires (see Appendices 7-9). The majority were white and from the UK, 20% identified themselves as Irish, American, Asian or Afro-Caribbean. Most of the participants stated they were straight, with 10 defining themselves as bisexual, and 6 as gay or lesbian.

Materials A short questionnaire assessed participants awareness of pornography and attitudes about SEM and their ‘use’. One section of the questionnaire asked participants to describe in their own words the meaning of ‘*pornography*’, ‘*erotica*’ and ‘*censorship*’. This identified participant’s views prior to their seeing SEM (‘top shelf’ magazines aimed at male and female audiences), and allowed an examination of the way definitions about SEM may be created. Another section asked participants to respond to a series of frequently observed statements about SEMs and their effects, similar to those used by Cottle et al (1989), and a list of statements about the kind of people ‘most likely’ to view SEM.

Procedure participants were given fifteen minutes to complete the questionnaires at the start of studies and were asked not to talk to each other

during this period. Following this, participant's either looked at and discussed images in/from magazines in a tape-recorded hour long focus group, or completed additional questionnaires about people/texts relating to SEM (explained in more detail in the next two chapters).

Results and Discussion

Table 2: Participant's Ratings of Statements of the 'Effects' of SEM

[ratings were placed on a five point Likert scale where 1=strongly agree and 5=strongly disagree].

Statements About SEM	Male Mean	Male sd	Female Mean	Female sd	F	Sig of F	Significant
Useful source of sex education	2.54	1.10	3.63	1.18	12.16	0.001	p<.001
Doesn't promote caring relationships	3.12	1.23	2.59	1.21	2.6	.113	NS
Causes breakdown of morals	4.12	1.03	3.81	1.20	1.04	.312	NS
Adds enjoyment to sex	3.67	1.2	3.72	0.89	0.035	0.853	NS
Has a negative effect on children	1.71	0.62	1.84	0.77	0.499	.483	NS
Is degrading to women	2.38	1.35	2.47	1.02	0.088	0.767	NS
Increases broadmindedness on sex	3.38	1.28	2.62	1.24	4.89	.031	p<.01
Prevents sex crime	1.92	1.02	2.56	0.98	5.75	0.02	p<.005
Is harmless fun	3.29	1.04	3.50	1.05	.55	.463	NS
Causes sex crime	2.92	1.10	3.34	1.23	1.79	.185	NS

The 20 participants who completed questionnaires in 1994 (see Appendix 8) and the 37 participants who completed the 1995 questionnaires (see Appendix 9) answered the same questions. T-tests were conducted to assess if any differences in responses had occurred between the years. As no significant differences were obtained, the scores were amalgamated and a multivariate ANOVA (question by gender) was applied.

Results in Table 2 indicated men were more likely to perceive SEM to be a useful source of sex information that could make people more broadminded about sex, whilst females stated SEM was degrading to women. These findings were reflected in many of the written responses from female participants, in focus group discussions (see Chapter Six), and support existing studies of SEM (see Chapter Two). Research indicates that men and women acknowledge 'porn' could be negative, leading to hostile treatment of women and a breakdown of relationships (Thompson, Chaffee and Oshagan, 1990), explaining the similar mean scores in males and females for the additional questions in Table 2.

Additional analysis was performed on these questions (as with all other suitable data collected for this thesis), for participant differences for age, politics and religious beliefs. Research cited in Chapter Two suggests these factors will influence views of SEM. No differences were found, but an examination of mean scores suggested participants were of similar ages, religious beliefs (most were not very religious), and politics (most were conservative, but not overly political). Further indicating one of the drawbacks of using undergraduates in SEM research.

Participant's Beliefs about the location of 'Pornography' and 'Erotica'

37 participant's described materials that might be deemed 'pornographic' or 'erotic' (Appendix 8). Not all participant's opted to complete this question and the number of responses are not large enough to make claims of significance, but they are an interesting point of discussion. Items classed as 'erotic' by male participants ranged from "*Playboy*"; "*photos*" (including women in lingerie and nudity/semi-nudity); pictures of supermodels; the "*Sunday Sport newspaper*"; "*Nancy Friday's 'Women on Top'*"; "*Madonna*" and "*Videos*". Female participant's suggested "*Dracular Films*"; "*Sex Guide Videos*"; "*husbands*" or "*boyfriends*"; "*art*"; "*photographs*" (including semi-nudity); "*erotic literature*"; "*Madonna*"; "*Fashion Pictures/Prints*"; "*Magazines*" and the film "*9 1/2 Weeks*". Whilst female participant's did not see *Playboy* as erotic, there was agreement between participant's that *Madonna*; pictures featuring semi-nudity and photos of fashion models could all be deemed 'erotica'. Sources which were classified as 'pornography' by female participants were "*blue movies*"; "*pictures of naked men and women*" (particularly if they were explicit); "*late night films on satellite television*"; "*magazines*" (such as *Playboy*); "*bestiality*", and "*Page Three of The Sun*". This may be contrasted

with the sources identified by male participant's - they cited *Playboy* as a form of erotica, whilst females argued it was pornographic, and perceived topless pictures in the tabloid press as a form of pornography (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1991), whilst some male participants listed the *Sport* as a form of erotic material.

Male participants referred to "adult magazines" as a form of pornography, but mentioned 'lower quality' or 'more explicit' titles such as *Razzle* or those obtained from sex shops as distinct from titles such as *Playboy* or *Mayfair* (see chapters Four, Six - Seven). Like female participants they cited "explicit nudity" and "bestiality" and literature by the "Marquis de Sade" as pornography. Participants distinguished between sources of material classed as 'porn' or 'erotica', which suggests materials presented in different contexts may be described as SEM (see Chapter Seven). This chapter now examines participant's descriptions of these terms.

Participant's Written Descriptions of 'Pornography' and 'Erotica'

Participant's interpretations of the words 'pornography' and 'erotica' were subjected to Thematic Content Analysis. Analysis revealed several examples where 'pornography' and 'erotica' were described in words which could be placed in opposition to each other as the table below indicates.

Table 3: Themes Relating to 'Pornography' and 'Erotica' from Participant's Responses to Prompts

Erotica	Pornography
Not degrading (10)	Degrading (7)
No-one exploited (6)	Exploitative (9)
Suggestive (14)	Not suggestive (2)
Not crude (5)	Crude (4)
Tasteful (6)	Distasteful (2)
Imaginative (8)	No imagination (5)

The words in Table 3 were located in either single word definitions or longer quotes offered by participants and then isolated. Of these definitions, there could be further subdivisions of themes as some categories related to the way pornography and erotica might be created or perceived, whilst others were linked with the possible effects of materials. These will now be addressed in more detail.

Exploitation and Degradation

Anti-pornography (feminist) writers emphasise the dangerous effects of SEM, including rape, abuse and degradation (see Chapter Two). Participants

definitions of erotica stressed that, unlike pornography, it lacked the ability to harm: *"not crude or degrading"* (female age 21), *"This material is of a sexually titillating nature, that is not degrading to anyone but is merely arousing - no-one is exploited"* (female age 22). Some participants stressed 'erotic' material would be 'more enjoyable' as there was less risk of harm to those who viewed or participated in it, whilst it still carried sexual connotations *"sexually 'exciting' material without degrading anyone, any sex etc"* (male age 22). By contrast, 'pornography' was characterised less positively, *"designed to debase the human form"* (female age 40) where participants expressed a concern over 'pornography's' effects *"sexual material (may or may not be explicit) that degrades men or women"* (female age 24).

Female participants described the risks of 'pornography' more than men, who made fewer overt references to 'risk' or comments about the effects of pornography. This was also observed in the focus groups (see Chapter Six). Examples were linked more with descriptions of exploitation and abuse, rather than definitions concerned with 'quality' of materials (i.e. how 'tasteful' or 'suggestive' they might be - see Chapters Four and Six). Women wrote of their fears about the distribution of pornography *"I relate to some cases to abuse, as is exploited widely by powerful people like newspapers to sell newspapers with disregard of the consequences"* (age 19), and mentioned how they felt they had little control over circulation and display of such images: *"material that is sexually explicit involving degradation of those both involved and not involved. Not nice. I may choose to see it, but I may not have the choice who does and my/others contact with them"* (age 23). They were also more likely to perceive they could be 'objectified' by pornography *"complying with the view women are always ready for sex and that women's sexuality is for the use of men"* (age 22), and made suggestions that pornography should be restricted in some way.

Quality of Materials

More positive mentions were linked to the prompt word 'erotica', with 'pornography' being associated with 'lesser quality' productions. The suggestive nature of erotic material was explained as *"something which has sexual undertones, but is not explicitly stated or pictured"* (female age 24). Whilst pornography was *"Explicit. Sexual rather than sensual"* (male age 20). Suggestive material was described as allowing people to use their imagination, and defined by some participants as being both positive and

age 20), whilst others stated that pornography was *"more explicit than erotica"* (female age 22). The 'continuum' definition only occurred when participants were describing 'pornography'. Pornography was not always seen as completely different to erotica, but was defined as being more extreme, *"like erotica, but getting harder, in an exploitative fashion, some of it okay, but some not!"* (female age 21); *"more explicit than erotica. more likely to be ridiculous or gross"* (female age 23).

Similar results were obtained in a survey of American undergraduates, who perceived 'pornography' to be sexually explicit media which were either harmful or should be restricted, or not harmful and should be permitted (Lottes, Weinberg and Weller, 1993). Women tended to adhere to the former view, which could be interpreted as their concerns about personal risk posed by SEM. In addition to defining the key terms '*pornography*' and '*erotica*' in the present study, participants also outlined their views on the regulation of such materials.

Censorship

Censorship of SEM may be desired for a number of political, personal or religious reasons (Cottle et al 1989). The majority of descriptions offered by participants to the prompt word 'censorship' were linked to control (ie: cutting or blocking material before it could be shown), or the complete removal of something. Participants wrote of *"banning"* (17 references), *"limitation"* (5 references), *"prohibiting"* (4 references), *"restricting"* (5 references) or *"removing"* (3 references). Certain themes emerged which were specific to female and male participants. Only female participants suggested terms such as *"Protection"* (4 citations) - one female writing this single word in capitals next to the prompt to emphasise her view (Jensen, 1995). As before, some women used the prompt as an opportunity to raise concerns about the effects of certain materials, eg: *"This involves banning of material that is seen as harmful to society. Whilst I do not generally approve of this, with respect to pornography, I believe access should be controlled because of the detrimental effects it has to the status of women"* (age 22).

Other female participants stated censorship was wrong or undesirable as it did not allow *"the public to make up their own minds"* (female age 21). There were far more occurrences of criticisms of censorship offered by male participants, who were concerned about *"freedom of expression"* (age 19).

One student explained censorship as *“a way of stopping people from seeing things that aren't ‘acceptable’. People don't have a choice to see it, they are just told that they can't”* (male age 18), with some men arguing that censorship was highly political *“Banning something by a (‘ruling’) group because that group considers it unsuitable or undesirable for a less powerful group to see, hear read or know about it”* (age 22).

When women described censorship they referred to censoring sexually explicit and/or violent images or ideas, whilst male participants offered descriptions which were critical of the idea of censorship of any materials (not just those which were sexual). In the focus groups, women described certain images which they believed should be censored or restricted, whilst the majority of male participants had difficulty understanding why this might be (see Chapter Six). Many of the men suggested censorship resulted in a loss of freedom, whilst the female participants argued that the presence of certain images was restricting to *them*. Male participants exclusively used terms such as *“no freedom”, “clamping down”* and *“spoil sports”* in their definitions of ‘censorship’ (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson; 1991).

Participants were also asked to nominate any groups or individuals they believed should *not* have access to SEM. The main reaction was that children should not be permitted to view SEM, with 26 female and 9 male participants supporting this argument (see Table 2 - previously). Most explanations indicated that there were specific (and different) reasons why children should not be permitted to view such materials:- *“young people and children should not be shown such material and [I] strongly feel it should not be available in newsagents where children can see it and reach for it. It is totally derogatory to women”* (female age 19); *“young children perhaps under 10 - give them the wrong idea about sex”* (female age 19); *“children/those easily influenced, mentally handicapped”* (female age 19); *“young children - it gives them ideas without explaining the consequences and intricate (sic) details to them”* (female age 21); *“Anyone under the age of 16, as this is the legal age for sex in Britain. Anyone younger than this is being exposed to material which may cause them to break the law”* (male age 18).

Participant's expressed a number of concerns relating to children looking at SEM: including teaching the ‘wrong’ information about sex and women; leaving children asking questions, or exposing them to advanced ideas; or encourage a dormant sexuality to emerge. Yet there was no absolute

agreement in the definitions about childhood, and age limits of “very young children”, “10”, “before puberty”, “16” and “18” were suggested.

Those who were unable to control themselves, were ‘easily influenced’, or had previous records for sex offences were also identified by participants as individuals who should be denied access to SEM. One female participant stated that “*criminals convicted of sexual crimes whilst in prison should not be given magazines in place of other activities that may be more beneficial to a reforming programme*”, and “*people with a history of sexual harassment, or any other illegal outcomes of a sexual nature. Due to the fact that explicit material may give them a false perception of the opposite sex*” (male age 20). Another suggested a ban might include more than sex offenders “*those who have no distinction between reality and fantasy - not necessarily rapist or similar*” (female age 20), yet as a male participant pointed out, problems exist with identification - “*you don’t know who these people are, do you?*” (aged 21).

A further theme was that if people were likely to be offended by something then they shouldn’t be allowed to see it - “*men/women with hang ups on sex they would consider them dirty*” (male age 23). This self-censoring discourse can be seen by those against censorship, a ‘you-know-where-the-off-button-is’ reaction (see Rogerson and Wilson, 1991). Feminists and others have argued that if such self-protection was possible they would take it, the problem is that the display of material they find offensive is often beyond their control (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1991).

Seven female and five male participants argued that there should be no group prevented from seeing SEM, “*No - to identify any group who should be excluded from access to pornography is to condone censorship*” (female age 28), suggesting that censorship was a symptom of a repressive society “*not in a truly caring society, which can explain any questions asked by ‘ignorant’ or unaware sections of the populus (sic)*” (female age 19, emphasis in original). Some explanations again employed the continuum argument to define at what point children and others should be prevented from viewing materials. Descriptions ranged from “[those not] *able to distinguish between erotic and pornographic*” (female age 24); “*Depends on how sexually explicit the material is. If very, then before puberty it should be kept out of reach of children*” (male age 19). “*If they’re (the magazines) porn - everyone [should be censored], including researchers and subjects. If erotica (+there is a difference) anyone,*

no mandatory age limit, kids should be able to see it if it's a non-derogatory, non-power representation to learn from" (female age 23). The inclusion of the terms 'researchers' and 'subjects' in the final quote are a clue the participant is a psychology student, who attended the study to argue against using pornography in psychological studies.

Existing research suggests male and females have very different opinions about SEM. Responses on these questionnaires revealed certain terms were used exclusively by either gender, but it would be inaccurate to generalise from these few cases - as traditional research on SEM might. More agreement and similarity in definitions were observed, with a variety of opinions presented by participants. Some spoke in favour of both SEM and censorship, whilst others argued against porn but also censoring images (similar to the Campaign Against Pornography and Censorship). Whilst there were some pairings of certain key terms, there was still no overriding definition of *'pomography'* and *'erotica'*. However, terms relating to *'erotica'* appeared to be more positive than those relating to *'porn'*, problematising the acceptance of these terms as operational definitions in research.

Researchers frequently overlook participant's pre-existing views on SEM. Analysis of participant's key prompted definitions suggests they may have clearly rehearsed perspectives about SEM which may have motivated their initial attendance (see also Chapter Six). Cottle et al (1989) reported that participant's views on pornography correlated significantly, even when people worked alone in studies. Consistency was found in participants definitions in this thesis when participants worked alone.

This section could be concluded by arguing participants definitions of key terms pornography and erotica were distinct entities. Cottle et al (1989) caution researchers about this approach:

"ideology exists as an element of culture, and the positions on pornography exist independently of the specific individuals performing the Q-sort. Ideology, in addition to its other functions, provides the interface between individuals and ongoing institutionalized social practices. To the extent that subjects in this study made 'choices', these choices were constituents of readily available systems of shared symbolic meaning" (p.322).

Later chapters outline how participants descriptions of SEM change from versions prompted by key terms to different accounts when discussing materials presented in and out of context.

SEM and Gender Stereotypes

This chapter has already outlined reasons why participants attend research on SEM, and their interpretations of key terms, and will now examine how participants describe and discuss 'gender appropriateness' in relation to SEM. 19 female and 18 male participants responded to statements relating to gender stereotypes and SEM (see Appendices 8 and 9), as the table below indicates.

Table 4: Gender Differences in Attitudes Towards SEM

[Questions were rated on a 5 point Likert scale where 1 = very likely and 5 = very unlikely]

How likely is it that the following people would look at SEM?	Male Mean	Male sd	Female Mean	Female sd	F	Sig of F
Adolescent boys	1.38	0.71	1.59	0.87	0.66	.420
Adolescent girls	3	1.14	3.12	0.83	0.21	.652
Single men	1.92	0.72	2.19	0.74	1.97	.167
Single women	2.83	0.96	2.97	0.82	0.36	.549
Married men	2.46	1.02	2.47	0.76	0.00	.954
Married women	3	1.1	3.28	0.73	1.26	.266
Heterosexual couples	2.79	1.02	2.63	0.71	0.39	.532
Homosexual couples	2.41	1.01	2.59	0.76	0.59	.455

This multivariate ANOVA (question by gender) revealed no significant differences between male and female participants. However, the table does reveal interesting stereotypes about different people's 'use' of SEM. Men and boys are rated as more likely to look at SEM, whilst women and girls are not perceived to be interested in it (Allen, 1987). Table 4 reflects the stereotype that those in heterosexual/married relationships would be less likely to use SEM, suggesting 'real' sex replaces SEM; although participants appeared to agree that gay couples would 'use' SEM, supporting stereotypes of sexuality and 'porn'. This consensus between male and female participants again questions traditional experimental approaches to 'porn' research (see Chapter Two), which assume wide gender divisions exist.

Male and Female Characters 'Use' of SEM

The findings from the previous table can be explored further in the following study where participants responded to descriptions of a male or female character. Research indicates how providing participants with a small amount

of detail about a hypothetical character and/or situation can produce (in-depth) reactions (Sheeran et al, 1996) about the character's supposed moral and personal character, and even a name can produce vivid and different perceptions of a person (Wober, 1970).

Method

Participants an opportunity sample of 26 male and 44 female undergraduates at Sussex and Aston Universities, aged between 18 and 38 (median = 19).

Design Independent Subjects Design

Materials two questionnaires (see Appendix 10). The first contained the different vignettes and questions relating to the story about a male or female character:

"Jane/John is a young woman/man in her/his early twenties. S/He lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. S/He shares a flat with two other women and one man, but s/he would like to have her/his own place one day. S/he works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes her/his job, although sometimes s/he would like more pay! Jane/John's hobbies include cooking, riding her/his bike and drawing". Following this introductory paragraph, participants read a further description, depending on which condition they had randomly been allocated to:

'Porn Description' (Condition One - Jane; and Two - John): *Jane/John rents videos (often with explicit sex scenes) which s/he usually watches on her/his own). S/he also reads magazines such as 'Forum' or 'Penthouse'. On average Jane/John says that s/he would watch at least one film a fortnight and read at least three magazines a month. S/he rents her/his magazines from the local video store, and buys her/his magazines from the newsagents.*

'Anti-Porn Description' (Condition Three - Jane; and Four - John): *Jane/John is opposed to sexually explicit material. S/he belongs to the local anti-pornography group because s/he does not like magazines or videos of an explicit nature. S/he has written to MPs about her/his views, and has complained to local papers about video stores and newsagents that sell such materials.*

'Romance Fiction Description' (Condition Five - Jane; and Six - John): *Jane/John rents videos (often with a romantic theme) which s/he usually watches on her/his own. S/he also reads 'True Romance' and Mills and Boon books. On average Jane/John says that s/he would watch at least one film a fortnight, and reads at least three magazines and books a month. S/he rents her/his videos from the local video store, and buys her/his magazines and books from the newsagents.*

Procedure participants were randomly allocated to one of the six conditions outlined above. A female researcher was present throughout the completion of the questionnaires. Participants rated the character on a number of factors (sexuality, personal characteristics, relationship and occupational status), to

create a portrait of 'Jane' or 'John'. Following this, participants completed a second questionnaire, assessing familiarity with sexual and non-sexual magazines and films (see later in this chapter), and attitudes towards SEM (as outlined previously in this chapter). No time limit was set for completion of the questionnaires, although most were completed within half an hour. Participants were then told about the purpose of the research and discussed it with the researcher.

Hypotheses

It was believed that participants judgements would be influenced by the information they were given about the characters 'interests' (ie: pro-porn, anti-porn or pro-romantic literature), and the gender of the character ('Jane' or 'John'). It was predicted that stereotypically 'appropriate' or 'predictable' characters (such as John-porn or Jane-romance) would receive 'neutral' ratings, but atypical characters (ie: John-romance and anti-porn, or Jane-porn conditions) would be judged more harshly.

Results and Discussion

Participants described the character in their own words, and rated them on a seven point Likert scale containing a number of bi-polar factors. Analysis of Variance was used to examine differences between ratings of characters over the six conditions

Table 5 overleaf shows significant differences were found between conditions on several characteristics. Characters in the romance condition were rated as 'more educated' and 'more religious', with those who read pornography rated less educated and anti-pornography campaigners less religious. Those who read pornography were rated the least political, and less likely to practice safer sex a finding which conflicts with theories suggesting viewing SEM is a safer alternative to having sex (Money, 1988) although supports religious-conservative views about the influences of SEM (Cottle et al, 1989). 'Jane' who liked romance was perceived as most in favour of censorship, a surprising finding as one would associate this more with the anti-pornography character (particularly as they were described as protesting against the availability of materials). However, as the Romance condition was seen as more religious it might be that this character is associated with censorship in general and not simply the regulation of SEM.

Table 5: Participant's Descriptions of Different Characters

Characteristics of Jane/John	Mean	df	F	Sig of F	Significance
Educated (1)- Not Educated (7)	1.52	(5, 55)	3.01	.018	p<.05
Not religious (1) - Religious (7)	1.84	(5, 55)	6.29	.000	p<.001
Political (1) - Not Political (7)	1.79	(5, 55)	9.47	.000	p<.001
Votes Labour (1) - Votes Conservative (7)	1.83	(5, 55)	1.47	.214	NS
Liked by other men (1) - not liked by other men (7)	1.78	(5, 55)	.72	.610	NS
Not liked by other women (1) - liked by other women (7)	1.68	(5, 55)	.85	.520	NS
Practices safe sex (1) - doesn't practice safe sex (7)	1.82	(5, 55)	2.24	.063*	p<.10
In favour of censorship (1) - not in favour of censorship (7)	1.40	(5, 55)	33.02	.000	p<.001
Likely to be sexually active (1) - not likely to be sexually active (7)	3.03	(5, 55)	1.56	.186	NS

Attitudes towards the characters

Participants were asked to provide a brief written description about the character. Discourse Analysis revealed when 'romance' was mentioned Jane was perceived as a "dreamy", "lonely" and "unfulfilled" person, and John seen as "laid back" or "happy". Jane's interest in romantic material therefore signified something was missing in her life, "I think Jane is probably quite lonely and would like to get into a relationship with someone...either that or she is unhappy in the relationship she is in and would like to change it is some way" (male, 18), "a romantic who is a bit of a loner" (female, 38), "Boring. Very 'girly' type of person. Wouldn't enjoy her company. Not particularly intellectual" (female, 21). However, John's enjoyment of romantic fiction was seen by some participants as an expression of his 'artistic side' "creative, artistic and romantic" (female, 19), "I think John is a sensitive person from his

enjoyment of romantic novels. I also believe he is creative from his cooking and drawing" (female, 19).

Stereotypes

Participants responses suggested their awareness of 'gender appropriate' behaviour, as hypothesised. In the case of the romance condition Jane and John were both labelled as 'boring' or 'dull', but participants particularly focused on John's enjoyment of romance: *"not what you'd normally imagine male passtimes (sic) to be"* (female, 20) *"his interests in video/magazines suggest interest in typically not particularly 'male' type passtimes (sic)"* (female, 21). Such responses were not recorded about Jane, although her interest in romantic materials were associated with negative stereotypes about her gender, such as *"girly"* or *"soppy"*.

The most 'normal' people who emerged from the study were Jane when she featured in the anti-porn condition, and John in the porn condition. Participants constructed remarkably similar narratives in these cases, often describing Jane or John as 'normal'. *"John seems like a regular man"* (female, 20), *"she sounds like an average woman of today"* (female, 39). Two women in separate conditions used virtually the same phrase: *"fairly average sort of person"* (about John), *"a fairly average person"* (on Jane). In the case of John, his interest in SEM appeared so 'normal', that some participants failed to mention it at all in their summary of him, focusing instead on other aspects of the vignette *"It could be said that he is concerned about the environment and/or health conscious as he rides a bike, unless he just does it for fun"* (female, 20).

Where John was described as being anti-porn participants again mentioned that he was a bit boring. Whilst Jane's opposition to porn was linked with feminism, perceptions of John differed. Most participants in this condition stated John's opposition was motivated by moral beliefs, *"right-wing politics"* (male, 19), *"strong opposition to explicit sex, could be extremist eg: church fanatic-crusader"* (female, 26). *"I don't know from the description whether he's a religious bible-bashing Mary Whitehouse-type nut, or if he's opposed to pornography because of the way in which it contributes to the oppression of women, that would influence my opinion of him!"* (female, 25). Where John was viewed as being motivated by factors other than right wing politics and/or religion, participants were still divided on whether they liked him or not. For

some his anti-pornography stance was appreciated - *"sounds like quite sensitive and not 'macho' in a good way!"* (female, 19) whilst others disliked his beliefs *"the anti-pornography stance is a little over the top and probably can be very annoying"* (male, 19), or *"I think John is an extremist. I think this because not only does he hold an opinion but he stresses his views and imposes them on other people"* (female, 19). One female participant really objected to 'John's' beliefs, suggesting he was stepping outside a designated gender role *"thinks he is a feminist. Bigoted - intellectually arrogant trying to conform to the image of a new man"* (aged 20).

Although it was hypothesised that members of the same sex as the character would be more critical of them, it was also partly expected that male participants would react in a hostile way to Jane when her anti-porn views were expressed, as female anti-porn protesters have met with hostile opposition from men (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1991). In several cases men were very supportive of Jane: *"she devotes some of her time to anti-pornographic campaigns, and its good that she has the guts to do something about what she thinks is wrong instead of simply criticising it from a distance"* (male, 19), *"like most of us she has a number of strong opinions about certain topics that are important in our society"* (male, 20), *"intelligent, articulate"* (male, 32), *"a true romantic"* (male, 19). Similar viewpoints were observed when participants described an anti-pornography campaigner (Chapter Seven). Whilst male participants may express hostile views towards women in traditional studies, alternative reactions are possible.

Participants occasionally acknowledged John's porn 'use' was not typical of all men, but responses to Jane in the porn condition indicated she was seen as 'abnormal'. Participants identified Jane was doing something outside her 'traditional' gender role: *"most women aren't supposed to do" [rent out videos]* (female, 20), *"renting the videos and buying the magazines isn't something I'd really expect from a young female"* (female, 22). In some cases Jane's interest in SEM was portrayed negatively by participants who described her as *"amoral"* (male, 20), *"frustrated"* (male, 19) *"<100 IQ"* (male, 20), *"she obviously doesn't have a boyfriend"* (male, 22). John's interest in SEM was seen as 'normal' and sometimes even 'necessary', *"understandable in a young male"* (female, 38).

Sexuality

Participants appeared to label Jane or John as homosexual when they were acting 'outside' of their traditional gender role. John's was labelled 'gay' in the romance and porn conditions because of the other interests mentioned in the story: "I would think that he is probably gay or bi-sexual - shown by his interests" (female,20), "I mean what sort of male (supposedly straight) likes cooking and even worse, riding their bike....His hobbies should be at his age pulling girls, night clubs etc" (male, 19). Where Jane's sexuality was referred to, her involvement with SEM was mentioned as the causal factor "The videos probably contain lesbian love scenes on the basis that Penthouse is not exactly a woman's magazine. One can thus infer that Jane is a lesbian" (male, 19). In the romance condition she was not referred to as sexual, only more female (eg: "girly"). It was expected that when Jane was presented in the anti-porn version of the vignette she might possibly be viewed as a lesbian, as research asking participants to describe feminists has often revealed they perceive them as lesbians (Beloff et al, 1993). Jane was viewed as "a feminist" by many participants, but there were no corresponding references to her sexual status.

Participant's written responses indicated different descriptions of relationship status, they also indicated on a quantitative list whether they believed the character to be heterosexual, bisexual or Gay/Lesbian. A Kruskal Wallis test was employed to examine this.

Table 6: Participant's beliefs about the Characters' Sexuality

	Mean	df	SD	Sig of F
Is Jane/John Heterosexual/Bisexual/ Gay or Lesbian?	1.23	5	.490	.006***

***significant at $p < .01$ [χ^2 16.32]

The majority of participants described the characters in five of the conditions as being heterosexual, except for when the character Jane was linked with enjoying pornography, and was described as being bisexual or lesbian. An interpretation is that where Jane enjoyed pornography she was perceived as 'more sexual' and therefore had partners of either sex, or was linked with 'deviant' or amoral behaviour and sexuality. It has already been illustrated how John was seen as a 'normal straight male' by his 'use' of porn, whilst the female characters who enjoyed romantic fiction or opposed pornography were also perceived to be heterosexual. Participants written descriptions linked

John's appreciation of romantic fiction with being gay, although this was not supported by closed-ended ratings of the character.

Relationships

References to relationships were affected by the different information in each condition. Where Jane or John were described as liking SEM they were seen as lacking a *sexual* component in their lives, whilst liking romance indicated a lack of *love*. Participants in all conditions referred to both the 'type' of relationship and the remedy for perceived 'problems' - which was always to establish a heterosexual relationship (see Chapter Four). This was most apparent in the Jane-romance condition, where participants used highly romantic discourses to explain Jane's single status "*she is probably waiting for a knight in shining armour to rescue her from her solitude and take her to a fairy castle where she will be able to spend her days*" (female, 38). They perceived Jane's interest in romantic literature as longing to either begin a relationship "*looking for a romantic relationship with a man*" (male, 19) or to improve an existing one "*she is unhappy in the relationship she is in and would like it to become more romantic in some way*" (male, 18) (Assiter, 1988; Barr-Snitow, 1984).

Participants discourses reflected the style of romantic stories: "(Jane)*would like to get into a relationship with someone although she has not yet met the right person*" (male, 18). One participant even referred to Jane as seeming "*like a character in a book*" (female, 18). Jane's single status was interpreted as something she did not like, "*she does sound independent, but then again, not by choice*" (female, 26). John was also identified as 'lonely' by participants, but no references were found to suggest romantic literature was a form of company for him.

In the Jane-porn condition, some participants suggested a relationship was necessary to end her interest in SEM - "*well she obviously doesn't have a boyfriend. She obviously wouldn't read this rubbish if she had. Whenever she meets someone she'll forget the rubbish*" (male, 22). John's interest in SEM was interpreted as a sign of lacking a relationship (similar to the reaction to the Jane-romance condition) "*he needs to spend more time interacting with other people, ie; get a girlfriend etc*" (male, 23), a view which further supports a division between virtual and 'actual' sex. Participants viewed Jane in the anti-porn condition as being independent and strong. They were not so sure

about John, and a few suggested his anti-porn protests were a means of meeting people as he was probably single, *"he is probably not married or living with anyone"* (female, 18), and used his beliefs as a means of making friends *"this group may be, in his opinion, a good chance to meet people with the same views because his hobbies are lonely subjects and he is a lonely bloke"* (male, 18).

Participants indicated whether they believed that the character had a partner, and if that partner would dislike, not mind or like the persons opinions on pornography or romantic fiction on a quantitative scale.

Table 7: What does the Character's Partner think about them?

	Mean	df	SD	Sig of F
Do they like, not mind or dislike Jane/John's attitude to porn or romantic fiction?	1.94	5	.591	.006***

***significant at $p < .01$ [χ^2 16.298]

A significant difference was observed between conditions. Where the character 'used' porn participants believed their partner would not mind (as opposed to like or approve). This could be because the character was either assumed to share their material, or their partner accepted SEM 'use'. The anti-pornography character's partner was rated as either not minding or disliking their beliefs - echoed in participant's written statements. Those in the romance conditions were either believed to have partners who wouldn't mind their choice of reading material or who would like it, suggesting it is not perceived to threaten a person's identity in the same way as sexual material.

Arousal or Abuse?

Participants linked sexual problems with Jane or John in the romance condition, but specifically remarked on their behaviour in the porn and anti-porn conditions. Jane's interest in SEM was referred to more than John's, with two discourses emerging about him. One was people should not be judgmental *"up until the last paragraph John seems a nice kind of guy. however it is unfair to discriminate against him just because he is into explicit literature and films"* (male, 23), *"although one of his hobbies, or pleasures is viewing sexually explicit material, this in no way makes him abnormal"* (female, 20), *"I think he is okay"* (female, 38). Others disagreed, *"perhaps slightly abnormal fixation for videos that are explicit and also pornographic material"* (female, 19).

Where Jane or John were linked with anti-porn views, some participants inferred this was due to some past event, *"had had personal experience?"* (female, 26), *"It could be through some past experience that Jane is so opposed to sexually explicit material"* (female, 19). This recalls reactions I encountered during this thesis outlined previously (see Chapter Seven - descriptions of anti-pornography campaigners). Some participants suggested Jane's views were prompted by abuse, whilst John was seen as having sexual problems which led to his fixation with banning porn *"big interest in pornography suggest some sexual problems in development during past"* (male, 19); *"could be a sexual deviant who has a problem with sex and to cope with it acts in the opposite direction"* (see also Comfort, 1981). These reactions support the hypothesis that participants will have significantly different views linked to those who like or oppose SEM. These views, although not 'fixed', may influence participant's reactions in SEM research. A more detailed picture of participants knowledge of SEM (as opposed to opinions about SEM) was created when participants reported familiarity with magazines and previous experiences with SEM.

What Materials Were Participants Familiar With?

Participants noted familiarity with the different titles used in this thesis (see Appendices 7-9). Combined results from 175 participants in Table 8 below indicates knowledge of and subscription to different titles. The table suggests that female participants were familiar with the women's non-sexual titles, with fewer male participants stating they regularly bought men's non-sexual titles. This could be due to the change in magazine sales in this area, as men's magazines were just beginning to undergo a transformation in marketing and content (Thompson and McCann, 1998). Participants seemed less willing to state whether they subscribed to sexual magazines. Traditional research would argue that women are not interested or do not have access to such media (see Chapter Two). Male participant's stated in the focus groups that they did read titles when available, but borrowed rather than bought them (Allen, 1987, p.129).

This chapter outlines how participants awareness of peer pressure is associated with responding to SEM. Many participants may have felt uncomfortable responding on a questionnaire that they were regular 'porn' consumers

Table 8: Participant's Familiarity with Magazines Used in Thesis

Magazine Title	Don't Know - (Males)	Don't Know (Females)	Heard Of (Males)	Heard Of (Females)	Have Read Occasionally (Males)	Have Read Occasionally (Females)	Regularly Read or Buy (Males)	Regularly Read or Buy (Females)
Penthouse	0	1.14%	12%	61.10%	13.10%	10.90%	0	0
Women Only	2.90%	17.10%	9.10%	32.60%	5.70%	13.10%	0	0
Marie Claire	5.10%	2.29%	16%	24.60%	5.10%	40%	0	8.60%
Playboy	0.60%	0.60%	5.10%	24.60%	5.10%	40%	0	0
Ludus	23.40%	61.70%	1.14%	4.60%	0.60%	1.71%	0	0
GQ	10.29%	16%	9.10%	29.70%	7.40%	30.90%	1.14%	0.60%
For Women	12%	21.70%	13.10%	33.70%	2.90%	15.40%	0	1.70%
FHM	17.10%	49.70%	5.70%	16.60%	5.70%	10.90%	0	0.60%
Playgirl	5.10%	9.70%	22.90%	50.30%	4.60%	5.10%	0	0.60%
Cosmopolitan	0	1.14%	12%	11.40%	16.60%	41.70%	0	25.10%
Razzie	4.60%	40%	14.90%	29.10%	6.90%	8%	0	0
Esquire	6.31%	8.10%	9.71%	41.10%	8.60%	22.30%	0.60%	0.60%
New Woman	12%	22.90%	9.71%	25.70%	2.90%	15.40%	0	8.10%
Mayfair	1.14%	14.90%	16%	48%	10.90%	8.10%	0	0
Fiesta	4%	30.90%	12.60%	26.90%	9.10%	7.40%	0	0
Risqué	20%	59.40%	5.70%	9.71%	1.14%	0	0	0

What did participants think about SEM they had seen?

This thesis criticises existing studies for their exclusion of female participants (Hughes, 1986), making gender-based interpretations difficult, although research suggests men are more likely to have access to SEM than women, and are reportedly more likely to 'use' it (see Chapter Two). This chapter has described men's 'use' of porn, and women's opposition or lack of interest (from feminist concerns to gender stereotypes). Men and women may have different experiences with SEM which would impact upon subsequent reactions in studies, a further factor apparently overlooked in many experiments. 57 male and female participants described what materials they had seen, the age when first viewed SEM aimed at men or women, and their reactions (see Appendices 8 and 9). For the 20 participants who completed the 1994 questionnaire the mean age of first viewing SEM aimed at men was 11.7 years

for males and 12.5 for females. 15% of male participants and 29% of female participants had not seen SEM aimed at women - possibly because of the recent revival of that medium. Similar outcomes were observed in those completing the questionnaire in 1995. Participants were also asked to indicate on a 5 point scale how they felt about viewing SEM aimed at men and women, as the table below indicates.

Table 9: Participants Reactions to Viewing SEM aimed at Male/Female Target Audiences[where 1 = extremely positive and 5 = extremely negative]

Initial Reactions	Male Mean	Male sd	Female Mean	Female sd	F	Sig of F
Reaction to SEM for men	1.96	1.02	3.52	1.03	11.53	.002****
Reaction to SEM for women	2.86	0.86	2.96	1.08	.027	.871

****Significant at $p < .005$

The table suggests initial reactions to SEM for men were more positive than those for SEM aimed at women, and male participants tended to report very positive reactions to SEM aimed at them. In contrast, female participants recalled more negative feelings, as this chapter will now discuss.

Participant's written responses indicated female participants were negative about SEM aimed at men (and to a lesser extent to that aimed at women). Their dislike centred around issues of personal consent and the images of women: *"didn't like being faced with the ideas contained without my consent"* (aged 36); *"the fact they were made in the first place suggest what some people think of women"* (aged 19); *"been brought up to have a lot of pride in my body - seemed that these pictures abused women's status"* (female aged 18) (see Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1991). Others recollected feeling *"disgusted"*, *"shocked"* and *"upset"* when they first saw SEM. Studies have suggested that early exposure to 'porn' may lead to development of rape fantasies in adult women (Corne, Briere and Esses, 1992), suggesting a further negative outcome for women linked with SEM. Certain researchers argue it is gender-appropriate for women to express negative reactions (see Chapter Two), although the majority of women described their early experiences with SEM in negatively - emphasising how it made them feel distressed or powerless. Some men reported feeling shocked about SEM aimed at them, but did not mention feeling afraid or distressed (see Chapter Six). Men who had seen SEM for women recalled they did not particularly like this material - either because of jealousy or a fear of appearing gay. This was also expressed as a neutral or 'couldn't care less' response.

Some female participants also stated they had not liked SEM designed 'for' them - *"disappointed that there weren't any actual erections"* (aged 28); *"didn't offend me, but women's sex mags aren't exciting either 'cos there's no hard-ons allowed!"* (aged 24); *"wasn't attractive at all - couldn't see why people got excited about such pictures as they're not exactly flattering!"* (aged 20). These reactions were also expressed by female participants in the focus groups when looking at magazines aimed at women (Chapter Six).

It was predicted that men would report more positive reactions to their initial viewing of SEM aimed at a male audience, mainly because it was 'expected' (Allen 1987 p.129). One male participant remembered feeling *"extremely positive - I was an eleven year old male"* (aged 21). Others noted they were excited by the fact that such images were *"forbidden"* or *"rude"*, and a knowledge that women did not like them, *"I found it exciting because it was thought of by my mother as terrible and so I found it interesting"* (aged 19). Women also noted they were aroused by SEM aimed at men (no men stated they were aroused by the female equivalent) *"excited cos we found some playing cards in a 'secret box' and it was really 'rude'"* (aged 21); *"a bit shocked, but also surprised and excited to discover what a potent stimulus it was"* (aged 28).

A few men and women noted that as their first viewing experiences were in a group, peer pressure made them react in a certain way - *"the experience was in a group. Therefore peer pressure forced each participant not to act in any way - positively or negatively"* (male aged 20, describing SEM for men); *"didn't want to appear overawed or uneducated, therefore just reacted indifferently"* (female aged 21, describing SEM for women). These reactions could also surface within a study setting. Whilst steps were taken to make participants feel comfortable in research for this thesis, it is possible that reactions were certainly shaped by intergroup dynamics. Some recalled they had been curious either about sex, or the content of SEM for men: *"I was quite curious and thought 'what funny things my brother has'"* (female aged 23); *"I had heard people talk about them before I actually saw one, so I was curious to find out what they were talking about"* (male aged 18); *"It help(ed) fill in some of the questions you could not ask your parents and friends"* (male aged 32).

A further theme to emerge in the participant's discourses, was that SEM for women constituted equality (Cantacuzino, 1995). Both male and female participants suggested that SEM for women was good as women should have access to the same material as men - *"I didn't know these type of things existing for women, but was pleased to see that they did as teenage girls should have access to the same thing as teenage boys"* (female aged 23); *"there were pros and cons to my feelings as although I don't like looking at other men I realised that women have equal rights to access pornography"* (male aged 20); *"although I personally didn't want to look at it I think that women are entitled to the same sort of magazine as men are"* (male aged 18), and *"that's equality!"* (male aged 26). Yet as one woman noted, having similar material did not necessarily mean it was the 'same' - or achieved equality *"looked at more lightheartedly - pictures for men didn't seem as out of control as women"* (female aged 18). This suggests the content of SEM for men is not identical to that aimed at women - nor is it perceived to have the same (negative) impact. The Campaign Against Pornography criticised magazines aimed at (heterosexual) women, arguing their presentation of 'equality' undermined the status of women and allowed 'male pornography' to perpetuate messages of sexism and violence (CAP flyer, 1993).

Summary

Participants views presented in this chapter were prompted by single key terms, attitude statements about SEM, and descriptions about fictitious characters' relationships with SEM or romantic fiction. Participants reacted to descriptions which are politically, historically and culturally loaded (Cottle et al, 1989). Assessment of their motivations for being in the research did help clarify their subject positions, as did their familiarity with titles and descriptions of previous experiences with SEM. Existing studies appear to ignore that such views can be elicited, and inform participant's behaviours in research, so it would be limiting to end the research at this point. The next two chapters outline how these initial perspectives were interpreted and reinvented when participants were examining and discussing *actual* images in the focus groups. In Chapter Six participants examined and discussed the ten top-shelf magazines analysed in Chapter Four. Their discourses showed a change from the sedentary definitions of pornography and erotica offered here, although their discourses about who might 'use' SEM supported views identified within this chapter. In Chapter Seven participants viewed texts and images in different contexts to assess whether the presentation of materials

within contexts associated with sexual and non-sexual materials affects reactions.

CHAPTER SIX MALES AND FEMALES DISCUSS 'TOP SHELF' MAGAZINES

"People are disturbed not by things but by the views they take of them" (Epictetus)

The previous chapter outlined participants reasons for volunteering for research on sexually explicit materials (SEM), and their opinions about SEM prior to viewing materials. This chapter examines participant's discourses when viewing sexually explicit magazines aimed at men and women (using the magazines analysed previously in Chapter Four). It documents male and female participants reactions to the magazines, and relates these responses to existing theories of SEM, and definitions of SEM already provided by participants. As already outlined, research suggests men and women have different attitudes towards and experiences with SEM. Males are believed to view SEM at a younger age and 'use' materials (Allen, 1987), and are believed to enjoy explicit accounts whilst women prefer romance (Zilmann et al, 1994). This has been interpreted as women's lack of interest in SEM (Fletcher, 1972), lack of access (Leston, 1992), or unfamiliarity (Gebhard, 1982). Women are more likely to link SEM with risk (Murnen and Stockton, 1997), whilst males are treated within much SEM research as likely to think or behave negatively after viewing such images (see Chapter Two). However, research is lacking which encourages people to actively discuss images they are viewing, as this chapter will explore.

Method

Participants an opportunity sample of 30 females aged between 18 and 34, and 15 male aged between 18 and 25. All were undergraduate students studying for degrees in different subjects.

Materials Questionnaire measuring attitudes towards and knowledge of SEM (see Appendices 7 and 8) presented in Chapter Five. 10 copies of 'Top Shelf' magazines, aimed at a heterosexual audience (*Playgirl*, *For Women*, *Ludus*, *Women Only*, *Women On Top* - aimed at women and *Penthouse*, *Fiesta*, *Razzle*, *Risque*, *Mayfair* - targeted at men).

Recruitment and Procedure

Participants were recruited by the researcher and one of three female assistants, in lectures, during break times, or through university sports teams: men's American Football and women's rugby (as links have been made between use of pornography and abuse of women in sport Burton Nelson, 1994, and it was of interest to see if sportspeople might hold more negative views). Participants were told the study would involve looking at a selection of magazines aimed at men and women, some of which would contain images that might be deemed sexually explicit. The magazines used in the focus groups were referred to as 'sexually explicit', as the previous chapter showed participants linked 'pornography' with negative factors, and defined 'erotica' more positively. Using 'sexually explicit' as a category/definition permitted a variety of sexual depictions. 'Explicit' represented a variety of sexual activities, and avoided the need to label items 'hard' or soft'. If the prospective participant appeared interested s/he was invited to attend the study. Participants were encouraged to bring friends with them if they wished.

Many women seemed nervous when approached, asking who was in charge of the research and requesting a guarantee that it was for academic purposes. Some claimed they would be "no good" for the research as they had "strong views" about pornography which they felt would not be required. Few women appeared keen, observed in their lack of eye contact, lack of enthusiasm, embarrassment (blushing, giggling or quietness), and not prolonging discussions with the researchers. Men seemed more interested than women. They frequently interrupted women after overhearing what study was being offered (women did not do this when men were being recruited).

Some men who were asked to participate in the study were appalled that a woman could be studying pornography, whilst others became highly competitive. In certain cases they claimed to own or have seen lots of "hard pornography". Men were not always so keen to commit themselves when *directly* asked to participate. This manifested itself in the following ways:- refusing to sign time sheets for volunteers (telling the researchers they could be trusted to turn up on time), and avoiding commitment by asking lots of questions. These differed from questions asked by women. Men asked whether the researchers were turned on by their work, or if they were models themselves. They also asked for 'rewards' for participating - "I'll take part if you buy me a drink", or "can I take samples of the magazines home?" Some

men used sexually explicit terms, and/or made sexual advances towards the researchers, and these activities continued in the focus groups as this chapter will later demonstrate. Females asked about safety, validity and purpose, they did not mention payment, although the majority of men did.

Many potential male participants sexualised the study and researchers during recruitment and in the focus groups. Some asked if they would be *"wired up"* (if penile responses would be measured, see McConaghy, 1974). Other men were concerned they might have to masturbate as part of the study, although no women mentioned this. Additional questions from men included would their penises be examined in the research, or if they had to bring tissues. Although these reactions can be viewed as bravado or a joke, men appeared to connect the study with sex. As outlined in the previous chapter, this might prevent or encourage research volunteers.

A minority of men refused to participate as they disliked 'pornography'. Whereas several women presented similar attitudes, they attended when they knew all opinions were welcome. Men who were anti-porn could not be persuaded to participate. Some said they were *"too shy"*, another said the study was *"immature"*, and one stated *"I'm not willing to share my anti pornography views in front of other men"* (see Stoltenberg, 1992). The majority of men approached as potential participants said they had seen SEM before and asked if they would be looking at any illegal material. A few stated they *wanted* to do this. Women stated if anything illegal was to be shown they wouldn't attend, and many of them had not seen any SEM which motivated some, and was off-putting to others.

It was initially predicted that women would attend the discussion groups, but that many men would participate, based on the aforementioned theories of gender and SEM, and peoples reactions. This was not supported. Although women appeared reticent, all female volunteers attended the studies; very few males attended and additional recruitment had to be organised.

Group Discussions

These small focus groups were completed in 1993 and repeated in 1994. Female participants began and ended the study in groups of six to ten, but were two groups when magazines were viewed. As the majority of men's focus groups tended to be smaller these groups were not divided. Before

viewing the magazines, participants filled in the questionnaires outlined in Chapter Five. Participants were informed the discussions would be taped, that all responses would be treated in confidence, and they could leave at any time.

Following questionnaire completion, participants were given the magazines and were asked to look through them and to comment on any pictures or items which caught their attention. They were requested to show the rest of the group these images, name the page and publication it was from (so pictures could be found again after the study), look at the pictures, give their initial reactions, and describe what they thought the models might be feeling or thinking (see Appendix 11). The researchers asked participants to state who they thought the magazines were aimed at, and if they served any educational purpose. Participants rated the titles in order of perceived 'quality' (see Chapter Four) before being asked if they would like to see any of the titles again.

The groups of female participants were divided into half, one group saw the five men's magazines first, whilst the other saw the women's titles (this took approximately fifteen minutes). Once the participants had discussed all five titles, the materials were swapped, so both groups saw both sets of magazines. This manipulation permitted researchers to observe whether participant's 'mood' or reactions were influenced by the types of magazines they were viewing. In the men's groups the order of presentation of magazines was altered for each new group. Participants discussed what they had seen, and their attitudes towards SEM. At the end of the study, participants were invited to discuss the work informally with the researchers, and were asked to protect each other's anonymity outside the research setting.

Research suggests men and women use language differently in conversation/group settings (see Coates, 1993; Golombok and Fivush, 1994). This chapter describes participant's reactions to magazines, and relates them to existing research, although the behaviour of participants in the focus groups is interesting. Female participants allowed each other room to speak, and if they interrupted they invited that person to speak again once they had made their point. They appeared less confrontational and listened to each other more, observed in their restating each others descriptions and using terms like

"I agree" or "when you said...". Male participants consistently spoke at the same time and interrupted each other. They did not invite others to speak or apologise when they interrupted. Two men's focus groups had to be stopped so participants could restate their views due to a concern that later transcription would prove impossible (see Coates, 1993). Male participants were more forceful in presenting their views, particularly with the researchers. Some men made challenging remarks and personal comments about the researchers.

Female participants arrived early or on time for the research sessions. For two of the focus groups the male participants were late, and in one session the five participants arrived with cans of beer. During three of the focus groups featuring male participants several group members smoked cigarettes, without asking if anyone objected. No female participants did this. In one group after viewing all the magazines *all* the male participants lit up a 'post-viewing' cigarette. All the male participants asked what was said by the women in their focus groups (no women expressed this interest in the men's groups). As the excerpt below suggests, this was not anticipated:

Participant: *once we've, like, completed this and are no longer part of the experiment and what we say doesn't matter any more, I'm very interested in what the team of women said.*

Researcher: (puzzled) *the what?*

Participant: *what the group of women said...*

Researcher: *oh, right...*

Participant: *once, that will no longer affect our involvement in the experiment, of course.*

The above quote is also interesting, as it again outlines participant's awareness of being in a study, and also of experimental research protocols and outcomes. [Note how the participant perceives what he says as only having meaning in the research setting].

Following two of the women's focus groups, participants left together to continue discussing issues raised in the study, and continued to meet a number of times to discuss issues of female sexuality which they felt required addressing. This chapter presents analysis of participants discourses in relation to SEM, and indicates how their views altered from initial definitions of terms outlined in the previous chapter. Additional conversation analysis is planned on the interviews conducted for this thesis, to examine turn taking and differences in linguistic style between male and female participants.

Within this chapter (and the remainder of this thesis), participants will be identified by gender and age. For the purpose of clarity, in some longer conversation excerpts, participants will be referred to by gender (M=male, F=female) and a number. Emphasis of points within participants discourses will also be indicated.

Results and Discussion

Discourse analysis of the group discussions revealed several consistent themes (the 1993 focus groups used similar terms to 1994 participants). Female participants displayed four main responses: They described the pictures either by identifying with the models, or by distancing themselves from them ('like me' and 'not like me' accounts). The women's discourse included their own 'natural' sexuality; in conflict with what they saw in the magazines. Concern about the 'comfort' of models; and rating models in terms of attractiveness was also noted. Male participants did not identify with the models, but discussed how much they "*fancied*" the female models. Their discourses did not relate to their body image or sexual expression, but did focus on issues of censorship.

Further sub-themes in the women's focus groups were concern over the effects of pornography, accounts of who 'used' sexually explicit materials, and "*not quite understanding*" (aged 18) the attraction of the 'Top Shelf' magazine. Many male participants 'sexualised' the research setting and the researchers. Overall the women were surprised by the pictures, as they did not see the images in the magazines as something they would 'do' in order to be 'sexy'. Issues of context and control emerged within male and female participant's discourses. Existing research suggests women's reactions towards pornography can be divided into distinct categories (Radical Feminist, Conservative, Humanist-Child Centred and Ambivalent But Mildly Pro-pornography) (Senn, 1993) (see also Cottle, et al; 1989). All participants descriptions of the male and female models showed a variety of reactions from concern to derision, but overt social or political sub-texts were not apparent (Senn, 1993).

Several female participants had not seen any 'Top Shelf' magazines for men before, and stated they expected to see images of rape, torture and child abuse, suggesting an awareness of anti-pornography perspectives. Male participants did not predict they would see such images. Post viewing female

participants explained that whilst they did not like the magazines, they were not as "scary" as anticipated. The women's discourses during magazine viewing did not include 'submission', 'dehumanising, subordination, humiliation violence and torture' (Itzin, 1992a,b), which researchers argue are located in 'top shelf' magazines (Russell, 1993; Itzin, 1992a,b). Several female participant's gave descriptions which corresponded with the idea of a 'male gaze' (Smyth, 1992; Mulvey, 1992), for example: *"the women models love the reader, they look at the reader"* (female, aged 20).

The manipulation of presentation order of the magazines in the women's focus groups appeared to have some effect, demonstrated in participants reactions. Whilst the magazines aimed at women (featuring images of men) were being looked at, more jokes and laughter were recorded. All the female participants reported finding the images of men funny, whilst some men said they felt embarrassed, or (as mentioned in Chapter Five) did not want to appear homosexual. Whilst the images of the women in 'men's porn' were being discussed, female participant's laughed less and more periods of silence or expressions such as *"yuk"*, *"gross"* and *"disgusting"* were recorded. These reactions were not mirrored in the men's focus groups. Research on women's responses indicates that mood can change in accordance with viewing different sexually explicit images (Senn and Radtke, 1990). In the present study, the mood of the women's groups lifted when images of men were shown, and became more negative when the pictures of women were being looked at. Additional research is planned to expand on these findings, and carefully monitor 'mood' changes relating to different images.

'Like Me' and 'Not Like Me' Accounts

The main response from female participants was identifying themselves as different from the women in the magazines: *"some of them are just horrible. I can't imagine anybody thinking 'I'd like to'...I can imagine people wanting to have their photo taken naked, but I think that's fine, there's nothing wrong with nudity. But some of them are really, really degrading, I can't imagine anyone choosing, unless they really had to"* (female, age 28). Some women included the group - making statements like *"Who would want to lie in a position like that?"* (female aged 20). In cases where such a statement or question was raised, the group agreed with the speaker (either verbally, or by shaking their heads).

A moral sub-text was linked in with the women's 'not like me' accounts, so when models appeared in poses or magazines the participants disliked, they were more inclined to distance themselves;

F1 *"I wouldn't let anyone take pictures of me like that"*

F2 *"No"*

F3 *"No way"*

F1 *"She's obviously sat for all the photos"*

F2 *"Who did she get to develop them?"*

F3 *"can you imagine, walking through the supermarket and someone came up to you, Ha!Ha! I saw your photo..."*

F2 *"No way, not me"*

Here, the use of 'she' (the model in the picture) is contrasted with 'me' (the women in this conversation), who are stating they are not like the model and outlining some of the practical problems they can foresee with posing (eg: being recognised), *"imagine how these people, like, when they, when their families see them and stuff, or when they try and get a job"* (female aged 18) (see also Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998; p.83). The use of the term *"these people"* is a further means of showing the participant is not like the model.

Within all the women's group discussions the researcher's guided rather than directed conversations. For example, half of one group responded to the question *'how do you think these models feel?'* in the following way;

F11 *"I just don't know why they do it really"*

F12 *"Money probably"* (laughs)

F11 *"Yeah, I don't think they can be happy about doing this, I really don't. I mean, just stood there naked...I could imagine that wouldn't be too bad, but having to be in these sorts of positions..."*

F12 *"Yeah, its not the sort of thing you put on your C.V is it?"*

This theme was also apparent when participants profiled women sex workers (see Chapter Seven), suggesting money is a motivating factor. Women's discourses in these focus groups explained this motivation as a result of greed or desperation, whereas men explained many of the pictures that women found 'problematic' through accounts which suggested money could overcome any indignity - *"I think they look happy and the reason they look happy is because they are thinking each shot another £50"* (male aged 21). Women perceived facial expressions as identifiers of the models mood - male participants appeared to believe the model was paid and instructed to adopt a pose: *"well yeah, she's looking sexy, she's getting paid for it, she's been told to look erotic"* (male aged 20). This perspective extended to explaining the

background to the pictures, as the next two quotes from two of the men's focus groups illustrate:-

M15 *"she must be confident cos she's got her tits out for starters"*

M14 *"I think she's just getting paid"*

M4 *"This woman is distressing me a bit because she doesn't look comfortable".*

Researcher: *"do you think that is how she feels?"*

M4 *"no, I think she's been told to look like that"*

Certain research (outlined in Chapter Two) suggests men are more hostile towards women after viewing SEM. An additional interpretation is that female participants have rehearsed views about the 'problems of pornography' and may 'read' SEM in a critical way, which male participants are not accustomed to doing.

Female participant's acknowledged the female models were doing something they would not be capable of, *"they must be pretty able as models if they can keep smiling though all that"* (aged 21), and *"you know I'd, I wouldn't do it, noone would want to look at me"* (aged 18), whilst other's accepted the women were *"just...doing a job"* (aged 24). Male participants did not react in this way to the male models. Female participants made attempts to adopt the viewpoint of the model to help them make sense of why she would want to pose for a 'top shelf' magazine - *"I can look at some of these women and think, God, I could kill, I'd kill to have a figure like this and if I have, if I had a figure like that and looks like that I wonder if I might do it as well"* (female aged 22). Note here how the participant shows the model and herself are different with the changing of *"If I have"* (a perfect figure) to *"If I had a figure like that"*. [Further examples of women taking on the models point of view can be seen in the section addressing the comfort of the models, where typical responses included *"well if I were to put myself in her position I wouldn't feel very good"* (aged 19)].

Women also compared their bodies with the women in the magazines: *"Um, its demoralising to me, in that way, that there are better looking women with better bodies there for him to look at, and you know, maybe he comes to be at night and thinks 'I wish I had one of them'"* (aged 22). This statement reflects the way many female participants responded to women in the magazines they deemed 'more attractive'. There was a sense of not having 'perfect' bodies and not being 'as good' as the models. These responses sounded regretful. Reactions to women in the magazines who participant's considered less

attractive (the 'Reader's Wives' - pictures sent in to magazines by 'husbands' for small cash rewards) were spoken about in negative, even hostile terms. There was a distinction between 'not like me' (but I wish I was like that) and 'not like me' (and I'm better than that).

Natural Images

Within the women's discourses, there were extensive references to the word 'natural', which was used to differentiate between the acceptable and the unacceptable, and often applied in conjunction with discussions about sex. Poses where women appeared on their hands and knees particularly evoked reactions such as *"really unnatural"* (aged 22), *"it's all very distorted in some way, you know, very extreme"* (aged 18), *"how can you find that natural? That isn't natural!!"* (aged 21). These were labelled by some female participants as *'the Cow Pose'* (see Chapter Four); *"she looks like she's eating grass"* (aged 23), *"Oh no, here we are again, the cow position"* (aged 21). Participants used this terminology, rather than words like 'submissive', which were anticipated by the researcher (see Itzin, 1992a,b; Dworkin, 1981; Russell, 1993).

Other poses led to similar reactions. Whilst pictures defined as 'artistic' were deemed acceptable by the majority of participants, more *"graphic"* or *"low quality"* prints were seen as 'less natural': *"I think it's when, you know, they're in really weird positions and their legs are spread apart then its really degrading"* (female aged 19), suggesting the constitution of the picture influenced interpretation. The term 'unnatural' featured more in descriptions of 'reader's wives' than the 'professional models'. The more attractive participants believed the woman was, the more likely the picture was to be perceived as 'natural'. Photographs of women aged over thirty, who were overweight, with stretch marks, cellulite or caesarean scars, freckles, hairy thighs, lop-sided breasts, or with *"obviously"* dyed hair were agreed to be 'unnatural' by the majority of women in the focus groups. These factors were rarely identified by male participants.

Criticisms were made by female participants about the way models were presented - *"I mean they don't just naturally walk along in stuff like that"* (aged 18). A difference was established between everyday (natural) life, and the magazines. One photospread featured a picture of a woman dressed as a secretary in an office, and was interpreted as: *"these look as though she*

would do this everyday...no, she wouldn't but it's trying to portray what women do anyway" (aged 22). All female participants agreed this represented a problem with pornography. They disliked the mixing of the 'natural'/everyday with the unnatural, stating the men's magazines tell the reader *"that secretaries and nurses are okay to fondle"* (aged 19). They objected to the sexualization of women in the magazines, where images of nurses, schoolgirls, traffic wardens and secretaries were featured (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993; Hadjifotiou, 1983).

The majority of male participants did not react to the images in this way. They drew attention to them and described them as "sexy". Research indicates how men treat women in certain professions in a sexist manner due to proposed links with SEM (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993). A minority of male participants did explain the pictures in a manner which supports this, for example - *"it's like when you employ a secretary, you could think about what she's doing"* (male aged 19). Within some of the men's focus groups, participants did not find such images problematic, nor did they differentiate between models assuming a role:

M7 *"Here's Mayfair, and the schoolteacher"*

M6 *"Is that what she is?"*

M8 *"I wouldn't mind that snatch wrapped round my face!"*

Researcher: *"maybe they're telling you she's a schoolteacher?"*

M6 *"Nah"*

"There's a man dressed up here to look like he's old, and there's a nurse with him, and then she starts getting undressed, and the moment she starts getting undressed, wow! Surprise, surprise the man disappears!" (male aged 22). In the second quote the participant is outlining how the focus is on women in the men's magazines. Whilst he acknowledges the male character is "dressed up" to look elderly - he does not present the "nurse" in the same way. The man is dressed up, the woman *is* a nurse. Male participants also did not challenge images of women which female participants found particularly difficult:

M15 *"This one [laughing] is in a Photobooth"*

Researcher: *"How old do you think she is?"*

M15 *"Fifteen - not very old. And not very attractive either"*

Indeed, the men's groups rarely discussed potential problems with SEM, in one group a participant stated *"ooh dear! (Maria in Fiesta) looks about ten!"*, but this was not followed-up. Within the women's groups, very young looking models were a source of anxiety.

Female participants defined how pictures in the magazines aimed at men and women differed. Male models were perceived as being more in control than the female models. This was linked to physical build, women noted male model's physical size was emphasised in the pictures *"their bodies are like your stereotypical hunky and they're probably about 6ft"* (female aged 22); male models in the women's magazines were observed to wear more clothes, and the poses of the models also differed:

F24 *"it's not so degrading for men"*

F25 *"they haven't got that plastic smile"*

F26 *"they're managing to keep their dominant sort of look, without, oh, it's difficult to explain"*

Male models were described as not being "sex toys" (female aged 22), whilst the female models were portrayed in this way:

F18 *"they (female models) seem to be touching themselves more...these men are just **stood** here"*

F19 *"yeah, you haven't got any men with their hands conveniently placed around their..whereas with women you've got the fingers like directing down..."*

F 20 *"or like a finger in their mouth"*

Male participants did not identify these issues, nor did they comment on the poses of the female models. The majority of female participants were annoyed or upset by certain poses: *"the ones (pictures) of women have got them like, with their fingers all over their [group laugh] their, um, bits. And its saying in all the articles (in men's magazines) that all women are just **gagging** for these poor sad gits who read them"* (aged 25). This excerpt also identifies how participants made links between texts and pictures within the magazines - female participants particularly supported a belief that the stories reinforced the pictures, and vice versa. Locations of pictures were also perceived as different by the female participants: *"this is like, you've got a naked man by the phone. But he's like, he's in his **home**. He's not a secretary in the office naked in the picture"* (aged 18). It was felt that male models were presented either in heterosexual scenes with women, or in settings which were not identifiable as workplaces.

Female participants disliked pictures of female models posing so that their vaginas and anuses were visible, and the majority defined this as *"highly unnatural"*. This was explained as *"female anatomy's more hidden away"* (aged 19) so the sight of female genitalia made the pictures 'worse'. Male participants noted that more *"blatant"* displays of female genitalia were less attractive. Although *"large boob(s)"* and *"pert bottom(s)"* were constructed as

highly desirable by the male participants. All participants described the penises of the male models in the women's magazines as unattractive, using descriptions such as "*shrivelled*" (male aged 22), "*tiny flaccid willy*" (male aged 19), or "*that looks like a dead mouse*" (female aged 24). The absence of erections were perceived as curious and an equality issue (in the UK it is illegal to show erections in top shelf magazines, Jennings, 1993). Male genitalia was not, however, described as 'unnatural'.

Throughout the discussions participants avoided referring to the genitals of the models. Terms like "*bits and pieces*" or "*down there*" were used for female models, women avoided mentioning breasts wherever possible (the words "*boobs*" or "*tits*" were occasionally mentioned). Male genitalia was mostly described as "*willy*", "*penis*", or "*thingy*". Although this could in part be due to the setting of the study (participants did not always know all the group members), there was an avoidance to talk about the very images which were dominant in the magazines being looked at. Participant's in the focus groups looked at a variety of contextual features when examining the pictures, including background/scenery, clothing, poses, and facial expressions.

Comfort of the Models

Female participants also focused on the physical and emotional comfort of male and female models. The majority of male participants did not discuss these issues. Female participants were concerned that the models were cold, bored or in some discomfort relating to their poses or clothing - "*It can't be very comfortable posing like that*" (aged 19); "*I mean obviously this is somebody who's er, I don't know, she's gone into a photobooth and done it, she's done it of her own free will or whatever, but um, to want to do that for a start, I suppose, er, she's just manhandling herself*" (aged 22). The use of the word 'manhandling' is interesting, as much criticism of pornography focuses on the way women are abused in its creation (Itzin, 1992a,b) and by those who consume it (Russell, 1990) yet this participant has identified that no-one has apparently forced the woman to pose (in the picture she is pushing her breasts up to the camera), and she can't understand why the 'model' would choose to make herself seem so uncomfortable.

Whilst the poses and clothing of male models in the women's magazines were not seen as problematic as the images in the men's titles, female participants noted they looked cold, and one particular picture where a model was made to

look like a statue evoked concern rather than excitement:- *"he's like covered in chalk. I mean he probably would've had to stand there for hours, and he looks like he can't itch or anything!"* (female aged 18); *"he's trying to look like a statue and his eyes look really sore. They must've rubbed (the makeup) all in"* (female aged 22).

Models clothes particularly interested the female participants. The height of heels - *"you couldn't walk in those!"* (aged 19), and tightness of stocking tops were mentioned. One outfit was picked out by all the women's groups as being problematic:

F2 *"This is Risque (magazine) and she looks very uncomfortable"*

[group laugh]

F1 *"She's got a bodystocking or something on"*

F2 *"It's all cutting in..."*

Researcher: *"So you wouldn't wear it then?"*

F2 *"No! [laughs] I wouldn't wear that"*

The last line again indicates the 'not like me' approach, the emphasis of the word 'that' suggests the participant views the whole outfit as unattractive and uncomfortable. Yet the shortcomings of the outfit picked up on by the women in the group discussions were a focal point of a story in one of the magazines viewed by participants (Mayfair, 28, Vol.1, p.68). What was perceived as uncomfortable in the women's discussion groups was constructed as erotic for the reader. Male participants did not focus on the comfort of clothing for either male or female models - but some drew attention to the 'strip tease' layout of some of the magazines aimed at men, for example *"you know what happens, she takes all her clothes off and her 36DDs pop out"* (male aged 20).

The facial expressions of the models were taken as signifiers of discomfort by female participants, *"she looks quite worried"* (aged 21), *"poor Shirley of Kent (Reader's Wife) looks really pissed off!"* (aged 19). Body parts were also noted as problem areas, pictures showing long fingernails placed close to the labia led to responses of *"ouch!"* from female group members, and large breasts were also identified as being both desirable to the reader yet uncomfortable for the woman *"look at the size of her tits! I bet she has serious back problems"* (aged 23). These responses were gender specific, and were mentioned in all the women's groups. Male participants did not discuss these concepts, suggesting that women identified with the models in a different way. In two of the focus groups featuring male participants, they had to be instructed to look at the models faces, as the following excerpt illustrates:-

M9 *"It's amazing how you just skim over the facial expressions"*

M8 *"I haven't noticed **any** faces so far"*

Researcher: *"could you look at the faces as well?"*

M8 *"most of them look pissed off!"*

M9 *"no, most of them are thinking 'ha!ha! I'm making loads of money for doing very little"*

M8 *"not Shirley of Kent. She looks downright fed up with the whole thing"*

[group laugh]

M9 *"Oh God! I don't want to see that. I'm sorry. Whoever invented Readers Wives was a sick man. I think Shirley needs to be sent back to Kent I'm afraid"*

[It is interesting that when men were instructed to look at expressions, they chose the Readers Wives picture of 'Shirley' who also attracted the attention of the women's groups].

Attractiveness of Models

At the start of each discussion on the magazines featuring pictures of women, all participants described the images in terms of the pictures constitution (eg: monochrome or colour, number of people in the picture). As conversations progressed, male and female participants increased their references to the attractiveness of the models. Models were picked out in terms of being *"beautiful"*, *"stunning"*, *"average"* or *"not very attractive"*, with participants searching through the magazines for examples. Below is an excerpt of a group of women discussing models:

F11 *"I mean, I've got Penthouse, and actually most of the women in here are very, very good looking. I mean they look like tarts because of what they're showing off, but they're very good-looking women. I'm sure in the other ones..."*

F12 *"These are"*

F13 *"They're all good looking in here"*

F14 *"They're all decent, you know, no hags"*

F11 *"No hags here".*

The above classification of women as 'tarts' was one way in which models became less attractive - *"and their clothes are really kind of scruffy, just to make them look really cheap, and they've got no class to them at all, it's like they're real whores, that's what they look like"* (aged 24).

The images of women as 'tarts' or 'whores' tended to be associated with the 'lower quality' pictures picked out from Razzle and Fiesta by male and female participants. In contrast, the photographs in Mayfair and Penthouse were mentioned as featuring *"better looking women"* (male aged 24), which was partly attributed to the photograph's composition, as this group of women illustrate in their discussion of Penthouse:

F2 *"That looks like quite a classy photograph. They've gone for the gold couch and the pearls"*

F1 *"It's the whole body, it's not just focusing in on one aspect. It's like when you go for a professional photograph and started in the dress and work down to absolutely nothing"*

SEM aimed at couples is marketed in this way, with more attractive women with fewer bodily 'flaws' (pimples, stretch marks etc) wearing expensive lingerie having sex with good-looking (male) partners (Williams, 1990).

Where models were rated for attractiveness (which all groups did without any prompting) the women's groups were at their most cohesive and animated, when the models were perceived as less attractive (less 'natural'). Below are excerpts from two of the female focus groups discussing the same photospread of a 'Wife of the Month' in Fiesta:

F3 *"You see [addressing group] they're not all like stereotypical models that they had before"*

F2 *"Oh God I'm going to be sick! How old does she look?"*

Researcher: *"Can you explain how they're different?"*

F2 *"Well, they're older models. The wives are older than the people that were models. Their figures aren't in proportion like the other people were"*

F12 *"I mean they're very good looking, the one's in here (Mayfair) they like it" (modelling)*

F11 *"yeah, they're very confident with their bodies"*

Researcher: *"What about these, the wife pictures? What do you think about them?"*

F12 *"What husband would send in pictures like that? I mean obviously she's agreed, but, well, she probably isn't even his wife"*

F11 *"I hope she isn't!"*

F13 *"But she doesn't even look happy to be there"*

F12 *"Fat pig" [whispered, followed by an embarrassed laugh].*

In both examples there is a distinction made between 'models' and 'wives', with the latter being criticised. One participant laughed as she saw this picture, *"Oh very nice!! Definitely out of proportion"* (aged 22), a response echoed by some of the male participants. Terms such as 'fat pig' and 'how old does she look?' imply that beauty can only be achieved if you are young and slim. The concept of 'proportion' and body shape was a reoccurring theme when attractiveness was discussed, one participant suggested that it was nice to see Reader's Wives as - *"I suppose it's better than having perfect, skinny women...at least it's not a perfect model like, I mean men aren't going to think women are all like that"* (female aged 19).

Unattractive women were noticed as they did not adopt the facial expressions and poses as convincingly as the models, as illustrated in the following excerpt from one of the women's focus groups:

F21 *"You've got a really hideous looking woman, which is fine yeah? But then they've got their clothes off looking really not quite very attractive"*

F20 *"They look embarrassed as well, don't they?"*

F24 *"Yeah, but you don't know why they've done it, or if they've been forced to do it".*

Whilst it was accepted that the models were 'just doing a job', 'the wives' or less attractive women were believed to have been coerced into appearing in the magazine. For some pictures, female participants questioned whether the woman in the picture was aware of its destiny and were concerned about coercion. If the model looked 'embarrassed of her body' it was agreed by female participants that she was aware of being photographed for a magazine. Where women looked as though they were enjoying being photographed it was suggested that they could not have been aware her picture was going to end up in a magazine, *"cos she's got a big smiley face and I'm sure at home you'd have a big smiley face if you didn't know what it was for"* (aged 19). This idea features in a study in Chapter Seven, where participants viewed images selected from these magazines and were asked if they believed the model knew she was being photographed.

Male participants did not discuss issues of coercion. When prompted to comment on a models facial expression, the majority stated the model would have been told to adopt this look. Below is a discussion about the readers wife picture which the female participants believed showed coercion, but men did not:

Researcher: *"Does this woman look happy?"*

M6 *"well, obviously she's a Readers Wife, she's doing it....I think....for her own sexual gratification"*

Researcher: *"Does she look comfortable?"*

M6 *"yeah - she's a wife, she's chosen this"*

References were also made between the glamour models and proper (fashion) models by male and female participants. Whilst the glamour models were perceived as more attractive than the wives in the men's magazines, they were still described by women as less attractive than the fashion models:

F2 *"if I had a figure like that and looks like that I wonder if I might do it as well"*

F4 *"But wouldn't you rather be a model? Not like..."*

F2 *"Yeah but these can't make it, most people can't make it"*

F5 *"But most top models have flat chests for a start"*

F2 *"Yeah that's true"*

F5 *"It's the glamour models who are curvy, huge boobs".*

There is a ranking of attractiveness in the above excerpt. An additional study in Chapter Seven indicates participants describe glamour models as 'pretty girls' who are too short or curvy to be fashion models. However, whilst all the male participants knew what a glamour model was, many female participants were confused about the term, so it was explained that glamour models might appear in 'top shelf' magazines or in Page Three of the Sun.

Fashion models were seen as more attractive and more professional, *"fashion models might be slightly more human"* (female aged 21). Glamour models were characterised negatively *"she looks like a cow. All the glamour models do"* (female aged 18). Contextual presentation was raised again, as it was put to some participants (as a follow-up question) that some fashion models might appear nude or in see-through clothing, and therefore would be similar to glamour models. However, participants disagreed, stating fashion models were *"legitimate"* (male aged 21), and were not placed in the poses which the glamour models adopted. Yet it has been suggested that fashion photography and 'pornography' overlap (McClellan, 1992).

Privileging of fashion models could be due to women's experiences, as it is claimed that 'fleshier' women are marketed at men, whilst images of thin looking women occupy the catwalks and pages of women's glossy magazines (Myers, 1995). This was supported by the male participants reactions - they made fewer references to models being overweight, stated a *"pretty face"* or *"nice personality"* also counted, and were dismissive of fashion models: *"I react against it (the picture) because she's a famous model, and she's perfectly proportioned"* (male aged 23). Thin women *"like Kate Moss"* (male aged 20) were not seen as desirable by the majority of male participants.

Female participants argued that models were vain and preoccupied with their looks: *"they look like they think themselves they're very attractive, which some of them are. But they look as if that's all they think they are. That they're there to be attractive, that's all they're being"* (aged 18 - describing model), *"she might think she's attractive though"* (aged 22 - describing readers wife). Female participants appeared concerned that women would have a false sense of their attractiveness after being in the magazine. These criticisms were not presented in a context of the models lacking anything in their lives, or

that they had chosen to make themselves attractive. It was a case of them being shallow and too stupid not to realise that was all they could be.

Looking at the magazines allowed participants to question aspects of their lives. Some women began to examine their relationships with men in more detail, perceiving men in the context of readers of the material they had just been looking at: *"I don't want any potential partner of mine to think...oh I just don't want it"* (aged 24). Whilst expressing anxiety that they did not look like some of the women in the magazines, many female participants also did not want to be compared with them by men. One participant reacted quite negatively to an advert she saw in *Risque* *"I don't think I'll ever join Dateline! People who are reading this are..."* (aged 18) her reaction supported the idea that men who read pornographic magazines do so because they do not have partners (hence the need for assisted dating). It was suggested that perhaps any man she met might use or have used pornography, but the participant argued she *"would know"* and would not date such a man. Another group member stated if that were true she would never have any relationships, believing all men use porn *"I know these women (the models) I know because I have to look at them every flipping day, its awful. Well, when your boyfriend buys the 'Sport' every day you don't have much choice"* (aged 22).

Male participants did not rethink their relationships in as much detail, although one group did discuss how they might feel if their girlfriend 'used' SEM:

M7 *"say your girlfriend came back and she had a stack of these under the bed, would it upset you?"*

M6 *"no, not at all in the slightest"*

M7 *"don't you think it's almost a male..a slur on your manhood..that she needs satisfaction in other ways, other than what you can provide?"*

M6 *"no, absolutely not, otherwise you'd be gutted every time she had a wank. I mean, if a woman's gonna masturbate about her greatest fantasy, it's not going to be 'ooh! ooh! I'm going out with an optics student from Birmingham"*

M7 *"but wouldn't you want to be your girlfriend's fantasy?"*

M6 *"No. I'd be upset actually, because it means she's not the sort of woman that strives for anything else".*

Similar reactions are reported in the popular media (Clarke, 1998), and echo the 'equality and porn' perspectives reported in the previous chapter.

When asked who the men's magazines were aimed at, male and female participants agreed that they were targeted at men, although they were divided between teenage boys and *"dirty old men in raincoats"* (a definition which occurred in all groups). Young men were perceived to 'use' SEM, because it's

expected (Allen, 1987); or if they were single (Nicholson and Thompson, 1992) *"you'd buy it for a friend as a present. Especially if they'd just been dumped or something"* (male aged 19), *"young males and those who haven't got a girlfriend"* (male aged 23).

Participants did not believe that women would consume 'men's' SEM:- *"why would a woman want to look at this?...I mean you don't want to sit and look at a woman's fanny all day do you?"* (aged 22), a quote which implies a heterosexual focus. There was little support for the idea that the magazines aimed at men would appeal to women (apart from the stories). Some women stated they did believe it was useful to see pictures of women, although again divisions between the attractive/not attractive, 'like me'/not like me' are apparent:

F13 *"I think for a woman, looking at other women naked can be educational. In that you can see things and you can think 'Oh, it's alright, it's not just me, she's got pubes down to her knees as well"*

F12 *"The sort of thing, you know, the sort of thing you might worry about in a relationship, that sort of thing"*

F13 *"Yeah but I don't think you can, because the models are so perfect you end up thinking 'Oh Gcd, am I really that bad?"*

F12 *"The one's with the wives, yeah, but I think with the models you end up feeling very bad and abnormal".*

The majority of male participants were unsure about who the women's magazines were aimed at. Female participants agreed they were probably targeted at women who were aged 20+. Participants agreed that women would probably 'read' SEM aimed at them *"for a laugh"* (female aged 18), or for the stories, and information in the articles.

The majority of female participants stated they would not read the magazines aimed at men again, although six agreed they would read the magazines aimed at women again if they had the opportunity. The majority of male participants stated they would not buy any of the magazines, but would read them again if they were able to. Most admitted they 'regularly' saw 'porn'. Yet all male participants were keen to challenge the view that men were obsessed with porn, which they perceived I believed: *"it's (porn) part of being male, but it's not a big part, there's much more to being a man"* (male aged 19). It could be argued that existing research on SEM operates on an assumption that SEM is a major part of men's lives, which has a corresponding large (negative) effect on women.

Your Mother Wouldn't Like It

Within the men's focus groups, a subtext of sexist humour was noted. Although it did not overwhelm the discussions, it is noteworthy as it occurred more in the men's groups. This included retelling of jokes about porn, making fun of each other in the study setting, and in particular making sexist remarks about the models and other women. Female participants could be interpreted as showing negative reactions to the models, but the level of sexism within their accounts was more subtle. The majority of men's sexist accounts involved identifying pictures of models they perceived as unattractive, and then suggesting to a group member that he would either like a relationship with the model, or in many cases, that the model was his mother "*That's your mother - Shirley of Kent!*" (male aged 22); as the exchanges between male participants below indicate:-

M6 "*She's deformed!*"

M7 "*That's your mum, that is*"

M6 "*Oh, thanks for tellin' everyone!* [laughs].

M10 "*oh my God! That's your mother! Razzle, page 42. It says she never wears knickers*"

M9 "*oh no! I bet it just stinks doesn't it?*"

A number of psychological interpretations could be made about these unanticipated responses. When female participants mentioned their mothers, they described women who had either opposed SEM, or who were at risk from it.

Breast is Best?

Participants were also asked which would be more 'acceptable', a woman breastfeeding in public or 'a person' (whom they presumed was male) looking at Page Three or a 'Top Shelf' magazine in a public place. I was unwilling to include this, believing it obvious that breastfeeding would be seen as more acceptable. However, a colleague had experienced hostility when feeding her daughter, so the question was included. Reactions were surprising. Below are transcripts of the conversation between two of the women's focus groups, indicating a divided between participants:

F2 "*People can be put off their eating if there's someone breastfeeding*"

F3 "*It is quite acceptable (reading porn) I'm not saying it should be, cos I don't think it should, but it's just taken as normal, especially you know, teenagers, assume mum's going to find it under the bed. Mum's not likely to find her daughter's under the bed*"

F5 "*In an all male environment the magazine would definitely be more acceptable than breastfeeding, because breastfeeding is 'yeah, that's what we're supposed to be made for' and they don't want reminding*"

[Note here the gender specific references, it is 'normal' for teenagers to look at porn providing they are male, and it is women who are the one's who 'police' it]

F11 *"I think a woman should, oh it sounds awful, but I think a woman should breast feed in the facilities provided. If a woman has a choice between sitting in a shopping precinct breastfeeding her child, or going to a toilet where there is facilities provided I think she should go to the facilities provided"*

F13 *"You probably wouldn't be so embarrassed by someone sitting next to you reading the magazine"*

F12 *"You see I might get up and move away from somebody if I was sitting next to somebody reading a magazines but I would **never** move away from anybody who was breastfeeding"*

F11 *"But that's from a woman's point of view, I mean what about a man who might read one of these porn magazines who see's a woman breastfeeding in public, you know it's like the real thing there, rather than a magazine, okay I know it is a natural thing...not that she's doing it deliberately "Wey-hey I'm going to get my tits out in public" sort of thing, but I mean I think the women has to think that there might be men around who are going to see her, who read magazines like this, and to them, that's the real thing, there in the flesh".*

These two discussions suggest there is a contextual difference between pictures of women and women's bodies, with some female participants stating pictures are less harmful than the 'real thing'. This was explained as pictures distracting men from the real purpose of breasts, and because an image on paper is less persuasive than a woman 'in the flesh'. Although the conversation in the second excerpt indicates some women would not object to a woman breastfeeding, one member of this group (who was supported by the majority) believed that showing breasts publicly (and under one's direct control) was worse than pictorial images. Her response could be interpreted as an adaptation of the 'male gaze' (Mulvey, 1992). In contrast, *all* the male participants agreed that seeing a woman breastfeeding was far less problematic than other representations of the female body, and many questioned the researchers about why they felt the need to include this question.

There was an ever present sub-text of references to men in the women's discourses. Would men be offended by sagging bodies or a woman breastfeeding in a shopping centre? Would a boyfriend prefer a woman in porn? Do men encountered in women's daily lives look at them in the same way they view the women in SEM? These questions were raised far more than concerns over men becoming rapists' as a result of looking at porn, although this was mentioned. They are of interest as many of the women attended the studies due to 'feminist' convictions (which contrast with the

themes outlined in this paragraph and many of their descriptions of the models in the magazines). Male participants did not really rethink their identities nor refer much to women, apart from checking what female participants said, which many regarded as a competition, eg: *"is this a test of the battle of the sexes?"* (male aged 23).

Male participants tended to focus on issues surrounding censorship, and freedom of expression (as outlined in the previous chapter). These discussions spanned a number of censorship issues including SEM. They appeared unable to comprehend how the presence of 'porn' could be a form of censorship. One group in particular held a long debate with me about this, as the following excerpt illustrates:

Petra: *"what I am basically getting at, is in terms of censorship, and looking, because a lot of women, um, complain that they can't actually look at the top shelf"*

M1 *"so you want all these magazines to be taken from the top shelf?"*

[group laugh]

Petra: *"no. what I mean is if you actually go into a newsagent, women do not want to see.."*

M2 [interrupts] *"it's very annoying if you go in to buy something like, I think they used to have, uh, Punch and Private Eye right next to them, and you'd think 'oh everyone thinks I'm a pervert' as you reach up for a copy of Private Eye or something"*

M3 *"Yeah!"* [laughs]

M4 *"that gets to me as well, sometimes the sailing magazines are on the top shelf, and you think 'is someone looking at me?'"*

Petra: *"well, they're [pointing at the men's magazines] kind of general interest, that's why..."*

M4 *"so you go [shouts] 'Oh! There's my sailing magazine!'"*

[group laugh]

M4 *"in a loud voice"*

[pause]

M1 *"No I don't think they should have to...if people don't like looking at that area, they can avoid it in a newsagent"*

All participants: *"mmm, yeah"*

M1 *"cos they're higher than the actual..well, where women normally look"*

In this excerpt the participants divert the conversation from how women feel about the presence of SEM, to discussing the difficulties they have with being perceived as SEM purchasers. I am trying to explain that some women report feeling threatened by the public display of top shelf magazines (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993). This is interpreted as a view I hold, rather than a view of 'other women'.

I then posed these participants with scenarios reported by women about abuse within public spaces (Russell, 1993; Itzin, 1992a,b). I asked what a woman might feel if she was shown a top shelf magazine by a man in a shop (which was something I had observed during the course of the research, and two women in the focus groups had also experienced):

M3 *"that is a form of sexual harassment [pause] I guess"*

Petra: *"but women have reported this does happen"*

M2 *"does it?"*

M1 *"does it?"*

Petra: *"they say it does, now, would you think therefore these magazines should not be allowed?"*

M3 *"well...in theory it's not nice, but I don't see how you can stop it any more than you can stop.."*

M1 *"it could happen anywhere..on the streets, and surely that's (showing a woman a magazine) better than him raping her?"*

At the end of this quote the participant appears to be simultaneously holding two perspectives outlined in SEM research. One is that porn is cathartic (will prevent something worse happening), and the other is that there is a progressive negative effect (something worse could happen).

This discussion became quite heated, when I suggested a compromise that magazines could be displayed on the top shelf without explicit texts/pictures, or in envelopes which prevented the covers being viewed, two ideas suggested when Claire Short proposed her bill against Page Three (Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993). The participants in this group were angered by these ideas and saw them as *"gross infringements on civil liberties"* (male aged 21). They argued that *"sensible"* women would be able to ignore top shelf magazines or associated sexist behaviours. Participants explained their reactions as being linked to their gender:

Petra: *"But how do you think a woman might feel if she is shown something like this? [points to a copy of Razzle]"*

M1 *"I don't know! Embarrassed? Insulted? I mean, it's never going to happen to me is it?"*

As mentioned, this particular discussion became quite heated - particularly as the male participants interpreted the situations described by other accounts about women as my own views. In turn, I became annoyed by their inability to appreciate how some women may feel at risk, and felt intimidated by the manner in which they conveyed their ideas. In order to calm the situation I backed-down, made jokes and humoured the participants. They also probably made compromises. Whilst traditional research argues men may become aggressive to women in response to viewing SEM (Appendix 1), I believe the

male participants in this focus group felt intimidated and upset by this exchange. Such issues need greater exploration in terms of harm to participants and researchers in studies such as this. Such an exchange did not occur in additional focus groups, as I foresaw them and took evasive action. However, one might question the appropriateness of this in traditional research terms, and in the light of feminist critiques of safety in studies (Taylor, 1995).

Sexualizing the study

A further gender-specific activity was the sexualization of the study by male participants during the focus group. Perhaps this should not be surprising given that participants were discussing sexual imagery and research (outlined previously) tells us that men respond to sexual images. Female participants did not engage in this activity, although some male participants sexualised the researcher, the magazines, and the models. One of the ways this manifested itself, was in male participants readings from the magazines. Female participants noted there were articles and skim-read them, but they did not read aloud. Male participants not only read out excerpts, but picked particular examples and directed them to the researcher, for example:

M11 *"This is confessions of a readers wife, yes?"*

Researcher: *"yes"*

M11 [reading] *"I pumped the firm length into my cunt from behind [closes magazine] that's lovely [sarcastically] I think"*

Researcher: *"so what do you think about stories like that?"*

M11 *"I think they are great. Seriously. They really get me going"*

[Interestingly this participant assumes the role of a female character as he is reading to the researcher].

Male participants introduced this pattern of behaviour at the start of the study, particularly when sharing out the magazines for discussion *"chuck it here now!* [flicks through magazine] *um, I might have to study these later"* (aged 21). Furthermore, many started looking through the magazines immediately - in the women's groups the participants listened to the researchers instructions before picking up the magazines.

Researcher: [jokingly] *"you may start"*

M8 *"I am"*

Researcher: *"oh?"*

M9 *"getting carried away already!!"*

[group laugh]

M8 *"I'm on page 20 already!"*

This continued throughout the study, often the instructions were reinterpreted in a sexual context by male participants:

Researcher: *"while your doing it (looking at the magazines), can you think of like ranking them in order from like good to bad..."*

M1 *"you say 'ranking?'"*

[group laugh]

Researcher: *"Yes. 'RRR'. I'm glad I haven't got a speech defect!"*

[group laugh].

Many participants also closed the study in sexual terms:

Researcher: *"would you like to see any of the magazines again?"*

M12 *"Yeah. Thanks"*

M11 *"Oh? Can I borrow them tonight? [winks at researcher]"*

As mentioned previously, participants included me in their interpretations of the magazines. Male participants were more likely to link the researchers directly to the magazines - *"do you know, one day you're going to find a pile of pornography under your boyfriends like table or something - and you're going to be in them all"* (male aged 22). This came from a member of the group who said nothing throughout the discussions apart from this quote. It appeared he believed that the researcher was in a heterosexual relationship, and was likely to appear in top shelf magazines. This again suggests that male and female participants viewed the study and the researcher in different ways (female participants mostly perceived me as a victim of porn, or an agony aunt).

Discussing Context

This thesis focuses on contextual issues surrounding SEM research. Participants in the focus groups were not asked many questions which directly related to context, although a number of themes emerged in their discourses which allowed contextual issues to be explored. Participants distinguished between the high and low quality titles before being asked to order them at the end of the study. The example below comes from a men's focus group:

M6 *"The way they put interviews in them to make them seem..."*

M7 *"What one have you got?"*

M6 *"That's a Fiesta"*

M7 *"Oh mate, you got a sad one!"*

M8 *"I've got Razzle here, and just one thing sticks out [laughs] it says 'dripping fanny'"*

M7 *"[laughing] you've got the worst of all of them!"*

Other participants reacted similarly *"Mayfair is obviously, the girls in there are going to be much better"* (male aged 22); *"I'll have Penthouse - the quality one"* (male aged 24). Participants used prior knowledge about magazines

they had seen (male participants) or heard about (majority of female participants), when discussing the titles: *"it also depends on, um, the reputation it has. Like something like this lot (womens magazines). People might not have heard of before so if they just look at the articles without opening it they might think 'oh this has got some interesting things in here' and just buy it. But 'Playgirl' - everyone knows what that's famous for, and so they'd just avoid it. Avoid the pictures, avoid the articles. Everything"* (female aged 20).

When being asked to order items by quality - participants explained they looked at the titles, and predicted audiences and uses, as the quotes from two of the men's focus groups indicate:

M10 *"I think, no, each one's going to be aimed at a different person, like the Mayfair I think is far more..."*

M9 *"at the masturbation level"*

M10 *"whereas the Razzle is the laugh at work between the lads"*

M9 *"It's the difference between The Sun, and The Independent"*

M2 *"Is this from the same people who make Playboy?"*

Researcher: *"Yes"*

M2 *"so then you'd expect this to be more tasteful"*

Models in the magazines were signifiers of the title's 'quality' - *"Is that Madonna? Ah, now that's a **good** thing actually, famous people doing it (posing), I think it sort of adds a kind of credibility to it all"* (male aged 20). Earlier in this chapter issues of models being photographed without their knowledge or consent were raised. Even Madonna, mentioned in the above quote has experienced images of herself being published in sexual magazines without her consent (Bego, 1992, p.138). Celebrities have complained about being written about in sexual titles, although for many participants in these focus groups, celebrities were linked with the higher quality titles.

In addition, male and female participants agreed that there were different locations where materials could be presented. Pictures might be acceptable within a magazine, but certain (explicit) magazines should only be read in private. Some could be read in public *"it seems like the women's ones you could almost get away with reading on a train..but with the men's ones you definitely couldn't"* (female aged 18). Yet many of these were subsequently viewed as inappropriate if they were to be displayed on a billboard hoarding. Some participants noted that images within the magazines were also

contextually linked, for example: *"like you've got here 'girls about Winchester' in Razzle, which is girls getting their tits out in places girls don't normally get their tits out. Like if it was Brighton beach you wouldn't think twice about it"* (male aged 19).

The gender of the researcher appeared to make a difference. For these focus groups participants were interviewed by myself and a female assistant. Female participants identified with us, and drew us into their conversations. Male participants often corrected or censored themselves after stating something sexist or sexual; *"I think this picture is attractive. Whether it's degrading or not is besides the point [looks at researcher, pauses]. Well, it's not besides the point, its a [pause] different issue"* (male aged 19). The atmosphere of the research was predicted to be influenced by the gender of the researcher - therefore in some of the studies presented in Chapter Seven, the principle investigator was either myself with a male or female assistant. The gender of the magazine reader also influenced the magazine's purpose and context. Women's magazines were associated with problem pages, love, romance and fashion - which male and female participants argued differentiated these titles from those aimed at men.

Male and female participants all drew attention to the readers wife picture (Shirley of Kent in Fiesta), the 'Razzle pile up', and a picture of a woman painted to look like piano keys (Penthouse), in the women's titles they noticed a male model posed on top of a washing machine (For Women), a 3D centrefold (in Women on Top), and a Romeo and Juliet photospread (Women Only). Participants were instructed to show the group any picture which caught their attention. It is notable that these specific images were identified by all the groups. A replication is planned to assess whether participants identify the same images, and discover what makes them so striking.

Summary

These focus groups indicate how reactions towards sexually explicit images are complex and varied. Participants did not just respond to pictures in terms of considering/fearing sex crime. Looking at the magazines allowed participants to discuss a number of issues including censorship, sexuality, relationships and body image (see Forbes, 1996). It gave participants the opportunity to discuss the human body in a way that most participants stated they had never done (seven female participants claimed they had never seen

a woman's genitals prior to this study). The experimental research presented in Chapter Two suggests men become negative after viewing SEM. In the focus groups male participants were more confrontational - but several stated after the study they felt they had been invited to discuss SEM "*by feminists*" - and were anticipating criticism or abuse from the researchers. This factor is overlooked in existing research, and further suggest the gender of the researcher and perceptions about their views and motivations could influence participant reactions. These focus groups revealed male and female participants can be hostile to models when discussing SEM. Gender stereotypes and issues of sexual expression may lead to negative reactions from participants, rather than SEM itself.

Such discourses are not found in experimental studies of SEM - because women participants are largely absent, and also because an experimental (quantitative) design means participants rarely discuss what they are viewing in detail. A number of themes emerge when participants are given the opportunity to discuss SEM. References are made directly to materials and to associated contextual issues. The next chapter examines the issue of context in more detail, by describing studies where the presentation of materials affected participants reactions, and addresses whether one needs to utilise SEM directly in research.

CHAPTER SEVEN CONTEXT

"He had learned several interesting things about pornography. Namely [1] it wore out; [2] it reactivated itself if you looked at it upside down; and [3] you could recycle it if you put it away for several months" (Armistead Maupin, *Significant Others*, 1988, p.36)

The previous chapter extended the key terms 'pornography' and 'erotica' provided by participants in Chapter Five, and highlighted how additional viewpoints emerge when participants *actually* view sexual materials targeted at a (heterosexual) male and female market. Existing experimental research (outlined in Chapter Two) assumes participants react to SEM in a context-free manner. This thesis argues participants' knowledge of a publication's reputation, plus the layout and format of a magazine may lead to different reactions. A female participant in one focus group commented "*I would like that (picture) if it wasn't in Penthouse*". This chapter shows how participants reactions are shaped by the issue of 'context' in SEM research.

Social psychological studies have illustrated how participants may respond positively or negatively following research priming (see Deaux and Wrightsman, 1988). Studies which build upon these cognitive social psychology experiments identify that ambiguous texts may take on sexual meanings if participants are led to believe their content is explicit (Castille and Geer, 1993).

Ros Coward (1987) produces a clear and thoughtful evaluation of how texts and images may be interpreted through images, signs, and 'readings' (p.311): "*the pleasures, interests and meanings conveyed by photographic images are decided not only by contexts and the conversations which they presuppose...but also by how the terms of the photo are arranged and what this arrangement connotes*" (Coward, 1987, p.313). Coward pairs images from fashion adverts and 'mainstream magazines' with photographs from porn magazines to show images and poses may be similar or identical (p.321), and it is additional contextual information (underwear, picture background, textual explanations, knowledge of magazine source) which influences our perceptions. Whilst Coward's theories are simultaneously straightforward, enlightening, and *obvious*, they do not seem to have had much impact on

experimental research, which continues to assume people react to images irrespective of the context in which they are presented (including the research setting), and participants previous life-history.

In one study participants were shown one of three versions of a film - uncensored version, scene deleted (but not identified to participants), and a censored version which participants were informed of. Two days after viewing participants matched a description of the missing segment. Mean ratings of 'erotic vividness' revealed participant's who had not seen the scene perceived it to be more explicit/erotic than those who watched the uncensored version (Tannenbaum, 1971). Content makes information 'graphic' and as the two previous chapters have shown: "*the expectation by the observer that these materials will be explicitly sexual*" (Tannenbaum, 1971, p.161).

Historical and cultural changes may lead to reinterpretations of images/texts. Classical pieces of art have been redefined as offensive and pornographic in the aftermath of feminist activism on US campuses (Strossen, 1996). This is interpreted by Coward (1987, p.314) as an essential feature of SEM whose boundaries are not fixed. Tiefer (1995), warns that researchers conduct studies without acknowledging any difference between time and place - and subsequently weaken their findings. When one looks at additional debates around SEM, the issue of historical, cultural, gender, research, and media context becomes increasingly obvious. The Lovers Guide videos were contextualised as education, not titillation (Campbell, 1993), Steven Meisel's campaign for Calvin Klein in 1995 was reinterpreted as 'kiddie porn' (Lumby, 1997, p.71) - a view which is again linked to a particular culture and point in history (fifty years ago such an image would not have been permitted, but nor might it have been interpreted as 'child pornography').

As cited in Chapter Two, divisions are blurred between SEM and Hollywood with films such as *The People Versus Larry Flynt* and *Boogie Nights*. Women-in-porn feature consistently in many mainstream magazines, although differences can be seen in magazines aimed at different audiences. During the course of this thesis, it was noted articles about SEM in titles aimed at older women were more conservative, eg: "*Pornography: does it degrade us?*" (Living, August, 1991); "*I pray he never sees those photos*" (Best, May, 1995), and "*My past haunts me*" (Bella, October, 1991). Titles aimed at a younger audience did not contain such moral or cautionary messages. Indeed, items in

non-sexual magazines might take on a different significance if housed in a men's sexual title eg: "*How to...take saucy snaps of the missus. and get them developed without getting arrested*" (Maxim, October, 1997); "*How you could be a centrefold in a Pom Magazine*" (Company, 1994).

There are also perceived differences in relation to images within SEM and other portrayals. Elle MacPherson was not criticised for appearing naked in the film *Sirens*, but was publicly attacked for posing in *Playboy* (Lumby, 1997, p.95). Conversely Glenn Close received complaints for attempting to ban sales of top shelf material near her home, described as 'hypocritical' due to Close's displaying her cleavage in the film *Dangerous Liaisons* (Thompson, 1993). Most famously, Vanessa Williams had her 'Miss World' title removed after posing in *Playboy* (Freedman, 1988, p.42). In this sentence I was going to say 'stripped' of her title, but in the context of a thesis on SEM research this takes on a different meaning (in the same way I carefully avoid using certain traditional research terminology - such as 'participants were debriefed following the study'). This may appear flippant, but further identifies contextual links between issues of research and SEM.

The source and construction of (sexual) images encourages different reactions. In the New York policeforce, two female officers faced disciplinary charges when it was discovered they had appeared in SEM (*NYPD Nude*, Channel Four TV, 11.3.95). Sergeant Cibella Borges appeared in *Beaver* magazine. Charges against her were dropped as it was argued, with the support of the Policewoman's Endowment Association (PWEA), that Borges had not been a member of NYPD when the pictures were taken, nor were links made to her work in the publication. Policewoman Carol Shaya was sacked from NYPD after appearing in *Playboy* magazine in less explicit shots than Borges. Shaya was not supported by the PWEA as she wore her uniform in the *Playboy* pictures. Reactions from the PWEA recollected the views of female participants in the focus groups (Chapter Six) - that sexualizing professional women makes life difficult for others in that occupation.

This chapter builds upon results previously outlined in the thesis (participants reasons for attending research, their beliefs about SEM and reactions to it) to show the context of presentation of materials in specific settings may influence participant's views and therefore research outcomes.

Title Matching: Gender Stereotypes and Perceived Sources

As previously argued, certain materials and subject matters are perceived as gender specific in relation to SEM, eg: explicitness for men, romance for women. To examine this further, participants matched titles to perceived sources aimed at men or women to examine the relationship between gender, context and target audience.

Method

Participants 112 male and female undergraduates completed this study in four groups.

Materials two article titles were selected from the 16 magazines analysed in Chapter Four and numbered 1-32. A 2x2 grid was provided as a guide to possible sources of the title (see Appendix 12 for Grid and Record Sheet. A summary of the titles and accompanying articles can be found in Appendix 13).

Procedure participants were provided with an envelope containing the 32 numbered titles, a grid to assist in assigning titles, and a sheet of paper numbered 1-32 to note title sources. Participants were instructed to read the titles and match them to one of four sources (using the grid). The four options were: Women's Sexual Title (WS); Men's Sexual Title (MS); Women's Non-Sexual Title (WNS) and Men's Non-Sexual Title (MNS). Participants also assigned titles to one of three sources: a high, medium or low quality publication (on the basis of perceived content or cost). Participants then discussed how they assigned the titles, and their actual sources. This study was completed during a statistics class. The usual ethical principles were observed with an option to opt-out of the study (an alternative piece of work was provided, which two people chose). Participants were provided with this study data to write-up as an experiment as part of their Introductory Statistics and Research Methods course.

Predictions for Title Matching And Categories

Titles believed to be matched to the male sexual (MS) category were: "10 Easy Ways To Get Free Sex" (MS); "The Cock Report" (MS); "Naked Ambition" (MNS); "Big In Japan" (MNS); "Promiscuous And Proud Of It" (WS); "Fighting Cocks" "Come On Darlin' You Know You Want It" (WS); "She Never Said No" (WNS); "Size Matters" (WS). Titles likely to be assigned to the

female sexual (WS) category (combining sex with information and romance) were: *"Are The Beautiful Better In Bed?"* (WS); *"Let's Get Down To Oral Sex"* (WNS); *"Love And Lust"* (WS); *"Sex Without Frontiers"* (MS); *"Anatomy Of Three Affairs"* (WS); *"Hot Holiday Affairs"* (WS); *"Bedside Manners"* (WS); *"Inside Story: I'm Bisexual"* (WNS).

Titles that belonged to the non-sexual (men's and women's) categories were predicted to be matched by references to work and business (male interest) or love and romance (female interest). Those expected to be assigned to the men's non-sexual categories were: *"How To Avoid The Axe At Work"* (MS); *"The O'Hanlon Interviews"* (MS); *"Phil Collins Interview"* (MS); *"Candida Royalle Interview"* (MS); *"The Survivors Guide To The Office"* (MNS); *"Other People's Jobs"* (MNS). Article titles most likely to be matched to the women's non-sexual categories were: *"Life Begins At Forty"* (MS); *"Dirty Dishes"* (MS); *"Modern Manners"* (MS); *"True Romance"* (MNS); *"Courting Fate"* (MNS); *"Men And Women - We Want Each Other - But What Do We Want?"* (WS); *"He Fathered My Love Child"* (WNS); *"I Was Wrongly Imprisoned And Sent To An Asylum"* (WNS); *"What you need when you're in Love"*(MS).

Participant's perceptions of publication source were analysed using a Chi-square test, and are presented in Table 10 overleaf. This summary suggests participants linked sexual titles with men's magazines, and sex combined with romance in the women's sexual categories. Work and business were assigned to the men's non-sexual titles, whilst relationships and information were linked with the women's non-sexual categories. Whilst significant differences were observed for assignment to all categories, predictions for matching were supported. Closer examination of percentages reveals lower numbers in the majority of categories when the hypothesis was not supported (suggesting an uncertainty in participants). In reviewing title-matches which did not correspond with initial predictions it seems participants assigned by gender/sex stereotypes, in ways unanticipated by the researcher.

Table 10: Participant's Perceptions of Magazine Publication Source, Based on Titles

Article Title	Actual Source	Perceived Source	Score	Significance
1. 10 Easy Ways to Get Free Sex	MS	MS (76.9%)	χ^2 10.7	p<.01
2. Men and Women - We Want Each Other - But What do we Want?	WS	WNS (66.4%)	χ^2 5.9	p<.90
3. How to Avoid the Axe at Work	MS	MNS (70.6%)	χ^2 9.2	p<.05
4. Promiscuous and Proud Of It	WS	WS (46.4%)	χ^2 7.1	p<.10
5. Sex Without Frontiers	MS	MS (32.4%)	χ^2 4.7	p<.90
6. Are The Beautiful Better in Bed?	WS	WNS (50%)	χ^2 4.5	p<.90
7. Dirty Dishes	MS	WS (40%)	χ^2 6.1	p<.90
8. What you need when you're in love	MNS	WNS (87.4%)	χ^2 7.8	p<.10
9. Naked Ambition	WNS	MS (34.5%)	χ^2 4.9	p<.90
10. She Never Said No	MNS	MS (54.9%)	χ^2 8.0	p<.05
11. The Survivors Guide to the Office	WNS	WNS (57.8%)	χ^2 5.4	p<.90
12. He Fathered my Love Child	WNS	WNS (82.9%)	χ^2 5.4	p<.90
13. True Romance	MNS	WNS (88.3%)	χ^2 7.8	p<.10
14. Anatomy of three affairs	WS	WNS (33.3%)	χ^2 3.0	p<.90
15. Fighting Cocks	WS	WS (46.1%)	χ^2 7.4	p<.10
16. Hot Holiday Affairs	WS	WNS (39.1%)	χ^2 3.6	p<.90
17. Love and Lust	WS	WNS (42.1%)	χ^2 3.9	p<.90
18. Bedside Manners	WS	MS (34.8%)	χ^2 5.0	p<.90
19. The O'Hanlon Interviews	MS	MNS (74.8%)	χ^2 10.3	p<.025
20. Let's Get Down to Oral Sex	WNS	MS (39.3%)	χ^2 5.4	p<.90
21. Phil Collins Interview	MS	MNS (51.8%)	χ^2 7.1	p<.10
22. Inside Story - I'm Bisexual	WNS	WNS (40.4%)	χ^2 3.5	p<.90
23. Candida Royalle Interview	MS	WNS (33.9%)	χ^2 3.0	p<.90
24. I was wrongly imprisoned and sent to an asylum	WNS	MNS (50%)	χ^2 6.7	p<.10
25. The Cock Report	MS	WS (70.3%)	χ^2 10.8	p<.025
26. Life Begins at 40	MS	WNS (50%)	χ^2 4.5	p<.90
27. Modern Manners	MS	MNS (41.8%)	χ^2 5.5	p<.90
28. Other People's Jobs	MNS	MNS (60%)	χ^2 7.9	p<.10
29. Big in Japan	MNS	MNS (43.1%)	χ^2 5.6	p<.90
30. Courting Fate	MNS	WNS (60.9%)	χ^2 5.4	p<.90
31. Come on Darlin' You Know You Want It	WS	MS (67.6%)	χ^2 9.7	p<.05
32. Size Matters	WS	WS (49.1%)	χ^2 7.8	p<.10

Titles which were not overtly sexual were paired with romance and matched to women's non-sexual categories (eg: *"Are the beautiful better in bed?"*). Sexual titles about male anatomy were predicted to be linked with men's titles. However, participants interpreted these via a heterosexual gaze, assigning titles like *"size matters"* and *"the cock report"* to women's sexual titles. *"Big in Japan"* was anticipated to be linked to a sexual category by the word *"big"*. Discussions with participants showed they focused on the word *"Japan"* which they associated with finance and business and matched to MNS (suggesting the researcher applied the term in a different context, due to their links with the materials) (see Coveney et al, 1984).

Magazine Matching

It was predicted that participants would rely upon gender stereotypes when matching title with magazine sources (ie: men's and women's sexual or non-sexual categories). Male and female participants revealed in discussions they employed similar strategies for organising titles, and distinguished between 'sexual' and 'non-sexual'. The level of perceived sexual content was their first criteria for assigning a title, followed by the likelihood of the title belonging to a man's or woman's magazine. They reportedly looked for overtly sexual references to help them decide on sexual categories. Words like, *"cock"*, *"size matters"*, *"lust"* and *"free sex"* influenced their decisions. The majority of participants distinguished between men's and women's sex related magazines by the amount of sexual references within the title. Titles likely to have come from a man's sexual magazine were described as being *"more explicit"* (male participant) *"sensational"* (male participant), or using *"blunt language"* (male participant). The female participants used slightly different words to describe this process; they looked for examples of *"sleaziness"*, *"crudeness"* and for article titles that were *"blatant"*, or *"tacky"*. These recollect the descriptions given by participants when viewing magazines in the focus groups, and rating for 'quality'.

15 of male and female participants stated that the articles titles which referred to the male anatomy (such as *"cock"* or *"size matters"*) would appeal more to women and would therefore be found in greater numbers in the women's titles, assuming a heterosexual interest, as discussed previously. The other 16 participants in this study group disagreed, suggesting that these titles would appeal more to men, and would therefore be located in greater numbers in the men's sexual titles (participants were asked to indicate which idea they

supported through a show of hands). Participants believed that more overt sexual references (indicated by the appearance of sexual "swear" words), were associated more with men's sexual titles. The majority of participants, divided 'men's' and 'women's' sexual titles by occurrence of sexual references. The more overt, "explicit" or "crude" the title, the more likely it was to be attributed to men's sexual titles.

Distinguishing Between The Non-Sexual Titles

Participants reported they matched titles to the non-sex categories primarily by the absence of sex related references, and looked for clues within the title that might indicate a male or female audience. All participants (bar one) stated they categorised by using stereotypes. Titles relating to work and business were matched with men's titles, and romance and love with women's. Participants commented "I used stereotypes a lot here" (female participant), or "I admit I did use stereotypes" (female participant). One female participant argued she placed titles relating to work and business in the women's non-sexual category, as "magazines like Cosmo are full of articles like that", indicating she used existing knowledge of magazines to assist her. A male participant argued it might be possible to confuse the women's sexual and non-sexual categories, as often women's non-sexual magazines include references to sex (he referred to Cosmopolitan in particular). This also occurred in the focus groups (Chapter Six), where female participants noted that magazines like Cosmo were becoming increasingly sexual - and many stated that the only difference between women's sexual and non-sexual titles was the pictures of naked men (Braithwaite, 1994).

In the present study, participants also matched the titles into one of three possible sources - a high, medium or low quality publication. Table 11 overleaf indicates title assignment, based on percentage scores. Participants in the focus groups assigned titles to low-high quality sources on the basis of quality of print, blatant pictures and number/length of articles. In the present study, participants predicted quality by text rather than pictures, although their ratings were based on their *beliefs* about sources as they did not know the actual sources. As Table 11 overleaf suggests, titles linked with men's SEM were automatically assigned to the low quality category, whilst business and information tended to be linked to the high quality category.

Table 11: Participant's Ranking of Titles to Perceived 'Quality' of Magazines

Article Title	Believed to be from...
1. 10 Easy Ways to Get Free Sex	Low Quality Publication (65%)
2. Men and Women - We Want Each Other - But What do we Want?	High Quality Publication (62.5%)
3. How to Avokd the Axe at Work	Medium Quality (50%), or High Quality Publication (42%)
4. Promiscuous and Proud Of It	Medium Quality Publication (50%)
5. Sex Without Frontiers	Low Quality (34%), or Medium Quality Publication (42%)
6. Are The Beautiful Better in Bed?	High Quality Publication (50%)
7. Dirty Dishes	Medium Quality Publication (45%)
8. What you need when you're in love	High Quality Publication (76%)
9. Naked Ambition	Medium Quality Publication (43.8%)
10. She Never Said No	Low Quality (44.6%), or Medium Quality Publication (43.8%)
11. The Survivors Guide to the Office	Medium Quality (36.6%), High Quality (60.7%)
12. He Fathered my Love Child	High Quality (77.7%)
13. True Romance	High Quality (77.7%)
14. Anatomy of three affairs	Medium Quality (42%), High Quality (41.9%)
15. Fighting Cocks	Medium Quality (50.8%)
16. Hot Holiday Affairs	Medium Quality (38.4%), High Quality (36.6%)
17. Love and Lust	Medium Quality (51.8%), High Quality (37.5%)
18. Bedside Manners	Medium Quality (47.3%), Low Quality (35.7%)
19. The O'Hanlon Interviews	Medium Quality (58.9%), High Quality (35.7%)
20. Let's Get Down to Oral Sex	Medium Quality (43.8%), Low Quality (34.8%)
21. Phil Collins Interview	High Quality (60.7%)
22. Inside Story - I'm Bisexual	Medium Quality (43.8%), High Quality (34.8%)
23. Candida Royale Interview	Medium Quality (43.8%), High Quality (36.6%)
24. I was wrongly imprisoned and sent to an asylum	High Quality (58.9%), Medium Quality (36.6%)
25. The Cock Report	Medium Quality (61.6%)
26. Life Begins at 40	Low Quality (58%)
27. Modern Manners	Medium Quality (43.8%), High Quality (40.2%)
28. Other People's Jobs	Medium Quality (48.2%)
29. Big in Japan	Medium Quality (51.8%), High Quality (26.8%)
30. Courting Fate	High Quality (56.3%)
31. Come on Darlin' You Know You Want It	Low Quality (53.6%)
32. Size Matters	Medium Quality (47.3%)

A Measure Of 'Quality'

Participants stated in discussion that titles deemed "seedy" (12 male and female participants), "crude" (8 male and female participants) or that used "slang" (male participant) were predicted to occur in greater numbers in the 'lower quality' magazines. Titles deemed 'high quality' were those that looked like they might be "informative" (female participant), or that had titles which were "clever" using "word play or double meanings" (male participant). During the second exercise (matching by 'quality') participants referred to their responses to the first section (category of magazine) to assist matching.

Results of this study suggest participants were aware of stereotypical concepts linked with SEM. Overtly sexual articles were perceived to be of interest to men and linked with lower quality publications. Those relating to love and relationships, business or celebrity interviews were linked to higher quality titles. Results from the focus groups suggested participants rated the magazines in terms of style and content. The present study suggests that information linked with the magazines (such as references to sex) may also have influenced ratings. Research cited previously in this thesis assumes participants respond negatively to/after viewing SEM, and links outcomes to the materials. This study shows that participants make attributions when presented with titles, and rank certain subjects over others. Whilst materials may lead to certain reactions, prior knowledge about subject matters may also inform participants. From this, an additional study was designed to assess whether participants utilised similar strategies when discussing pictures taken from their original sources.

Pictures Shown out of Context

Coward's 1987 research showed similarities between images from mainstream and sexual media. This was played upon by a Guardian advertising campaign in 1990 where two pictures of topless models were presented in similar poses. One model (Gail McKenna, from Page Three of the Sun) had a plain background, whilst the other was shown against a backdrop of clouds and a beach. For the first picture the caption read "*it's not acceptable*", the second picture read "*so why is this?*" (see Appendix 14). To assess different contextual presentations of images, eight pictures were selected from the magazines analysed in Chapter Four and the focus groups (Chapter Six), and given to participants to rate, discuss, and explain if they would appeal more to men/women.

Hypotheses

1. Participants would find it more difficult to determine the sources of pictures when presented outside their original context.
2. The gender of the researcher would influence the way male and female participants discussed the models in the pictures.
3. Male participants will find the pictures generally more attractive than female participants.
4. Female participants are more likely to be concerned about or offended by semi-nakedness/nudity in the pictures.

This study assessed how prior knowledge of SEM influenced picture rating. General findings (summarised in Chapter Five) indicate how men generally have seen SEM at a younger age and react more positively to it than women. Future studies could examine in more detail the full impact of past experience and assessment of SEM, as it seems likely that participants who have had a negative experience are subsequently inclined to perceive SEM in a negative way. The opposite is true for an initial positive experience.

Method

Participants 17 male and 20 females (the majority of whom were undergraduates), aged between 18 to 43 completed this study. The majority were white, but 5 defined themselves as Afro-Caribbean and Asian.

Design independent subjects design.

Conditions in order to assess whether gender of the researcher had any impact on participant's reaction to images, study groups were divided as follows:

Pilot Group - 5 female participants, male facilitator.

Group One - 4 male participants, male and female facilitators.

Group Two - 2 male participants, male and female facilitators.

Group Three - 2 male participants, male facilitator.

Group Four - 2 male participants, male facilitator.

Group Five - 7 male participants, male and female facilitators.

Group Six - 4 female participants, female facilitator.

Group Seven - 3 female participants, male and female facilitators.

Group Eight - 8 female participants, female facilitator.

[In this study the female facilitator was myself, whilst the male facilitator was a white, final year student, in his mid-thirties].

Materials Two questionnaires were utilised (see Appendices 9 and 15), the first examined attitudes towards and experiences with SEM (see Chapter

Five). The second questionnaire was a picture ratings sheet. A series of eight colour and monochrome photographs were selected from the initial sample of magazines. Two pictures were selected from each of the categories men's and women's sexual and non-sexual (Appendix 16). Pictures identified by participants in the focus groups were matched with similar pictures in the non-sexual magazines analysed in Chapter Four (which participants did not view in the focus groups). Pictures were matched on general similarity (ie: pose, colour or monochrome picture, level of undress of model etc). All identifying material was removed from the pictures, so participants had no 'clues' as to their original source.

Procedure Prior to completing the study, participants were asked if they objected to looking at images which might be sexually explicit in the presence of a facilitator of the opposite sex. In such cases participants completed the study with a researcher of the same gender. All participants were informed at the start of the study their views would be treated confidentially and anonymously and they could withdraw at any time. They spent ten minutes completing the first questionnaire to assess their views on SEM. Following this participants examined the eight photographs for twenty minutes, and complete the rating sheets. Participants then discussed the pictures for twenty minutes (this section of the study was tape recorded). Ten minutes were allocated at the end of the study to discuss it's purpose and confirm participant well-being.

Results and Discussion

Participants were asked to identify the perceived source of each picture. Their descriptions and the actual sources are summarised in Table 12 overpage. Percentages in the table are calculated based on participants who answered the question - not the entire sample, and table indicates participants correctly matched half the titles. A highly 'fashionable' picture was linked to women's non-sexual magazine (picture 5), whilst three 'sexual' pictures were wrongly attributed to men's sexual titles. Participants also identified what sources the model in each photograph expected her picture to appear in. Results were identical to those already outlined.

Table 12: Male and Female Participant's Perceptions of Picture Source Compared with Actual Sources

Picture Number	Perceived Source - Female Participants	Perceived Source - Male Participants	Actual Source
One	Men's Sexual Title (62.5%)	Men's Sexual Title (75%)	Men's Non-Sexual Title Incorrect Match
Two	Female Non-sexual Title (94.4%)	Female Non-sexual Title (86.6%)	Women's Non-Sexual Title Correct Match
Three	Men's Sexual Title (94.7%)	Men's Sexual Title (100%)	Men's Sexual Title Correct Match
Four	Men's Sexual Title (46.6%)	Fetish Magazine (40%)	Women's Sexual Title Incorrect Match
Five	Female Non-sexual Title (68.4%)	Female Non-Sexual Title (71%)	Men's Non-Sexual Title Incorrect Match
Six	Female Non-sexual Title (77.7%)	Female Non-Sexual Title (93.3%)	Women's Non-Sexual Title Correct Match
Seven	Men's Sexual Title (66.6%)	Men's Sexual Title (64.7%)	Men's Sexual Title Correct Match
Eight	Men's Sexual Title (100%)	Men's Sexual Title (100%)	Women's Sexual Title Incorrect Match

Locating the Pictures

Many participants stated it was *"too difficult [to locate the pictures] without the rest of the magazine there"* (male, aged 19), and *"it's impossible without other identifying features"* (female, aged 21), suggesting matching tasks are eased by additional contextual information. Although participants had been instructed the titles could be from one of four categories (men's and women's sexual and non-sexual titles), an additional category of 'fetish' magazine was included by several (male) participants.

Wellbeing of Models

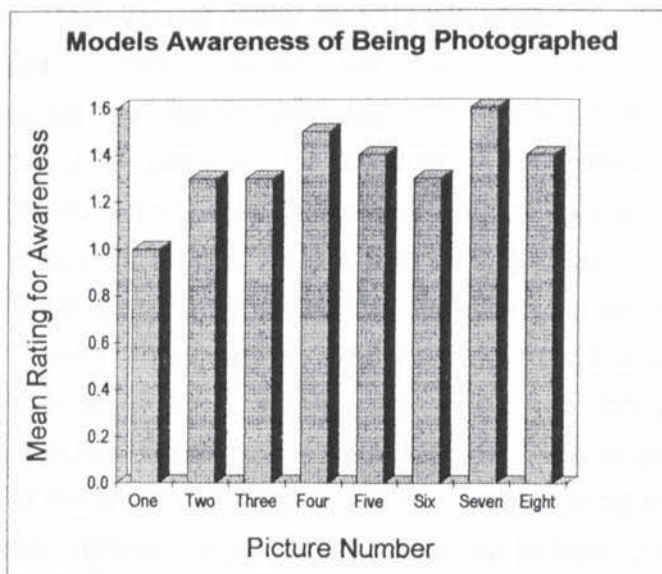
Participants indicated on a 5-point Likert scale if they thought the models in the eight pictures looked happy, and were aware they were being photographed for the perceived publication. These terms were selected because in the focus groups (outlined in the previous chapter), attractiveness and happiness were linked. Models who did not look happy were perceived to have less control, and such pictures were reacted to negatively by female participants, who were concerned models had been photographed without their knowledge or consent. In the present study, no significant differences for

gender by picture were found for these three questions. A oneway ANOVA assessed perceptions of models happiness across the eight pictures (on a scale where 1=participants agreed model looked happy and 5=they strongly disagreed she looked happy). A significant difference was observed [F ratio = 6.9; F prob = .000; $p < .001$, 7df].

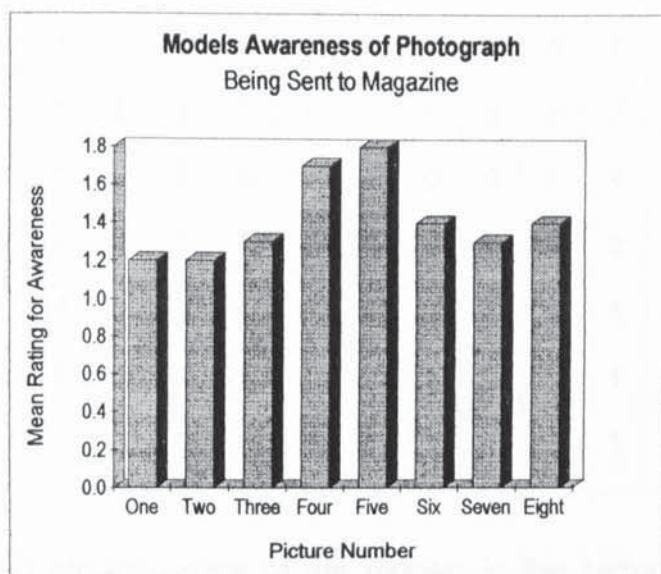


Examination of the mean scores revealed participants believed the model in picture 5 looked the least happy, and models in pictures 3 and 8 were happier, as indicated in the bar chart above.

Significant differences were also found for a oneway ANOVA for models awareness of being photographed (see also Fisher and Grenier, 1994, p.28) (where 1=aware of being photographed and 5=not aware of being photographed), [F ratio = 2.2 F prob = 0339, $p < .10$, 7df]. A gender division was observed for picture by photograph [F=.062, $p < .10$] as females were less likely to believe the models were aware they were being photographed. The bar chart below shows participant's ratings across the different photographs. Participants rated the model in picture 1 as most aware of being photographed, and picture 7 least aware. They reacted similarly to the model's awareness of her picture being sent to a magazine of the source perceived by participants. Again, significant results across pictures were found in a oneway ANOVA [F ratio = 2.5 F prob = .056, $p < .10$, 7df].



The bar chart below outlines how participants believed models in pictures 1 and 2 were most aware of the photograph being sent to a magazine, and the model in picture 5 rated least aware. These results can be interpreted in relation to picture layout. The model in picture 1 has eye contact with the camera, whilst the model in picture 7 has her back to the camera, and the model in picture five was believed by many participants to be “a very good opportunity shot” (male aged 22), and unaware of the source of magazine her picture would be sent to.



How was the model chosen?

Participants gave written descriptions of how the models in the eight pictures were selected. Replies were ordered using Thematic Content Analysis and are presented overleaf. Participants indicated the models face was a

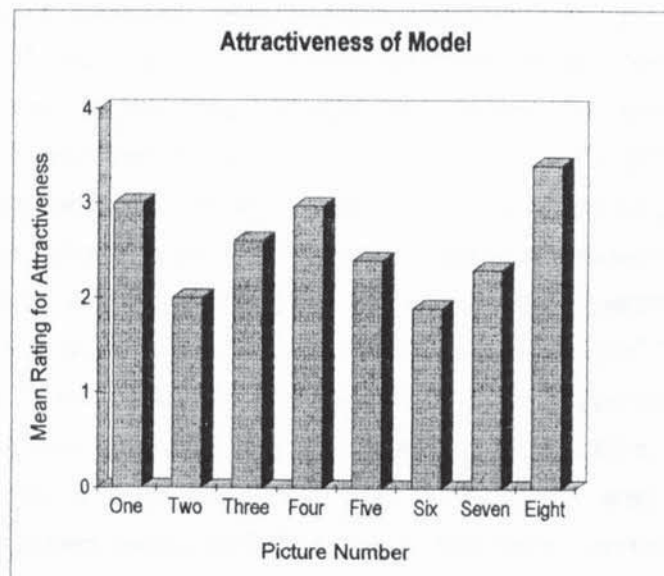
selection criteria - "her young pretty face" (male aged 19, picture 1); her "good skin" (female aged 20, picture 5) and her "full lips, eyes etc" (male aged 26, picture 6). Additional reasons for selecting her was her body, her "voluptuous curves" (female aged 19, picture 1) or "slimness - to fit underwear" (male aged 19, picture 2). Others admired her "attractive bottom" (female aged 19, picture 3) and "elegance and nice legs" (male aged 19, picture 6). In the case of picture 8, male participants suggested the woman was chosen for her body and "not for her looks" (male aged 18). For pictures 3 and 5, participants' noted how the models hair contrasted with her body, clothes, and surroundings (a further reason for her selection). Participants focused on particular areas of the body. In picture 1 it was breasts and face, picture 2 the face, picture 3 the models long hair and shapely bottom, picture 5 hair and height, picture 6 nails, picture 7 legs and picture 8 'blonde' hair.

Table 13: Male and Female Participant's Beliefs About How Models Were Selected

How was Model Chosen?	1 M	1 F	2 M	2 F	3 M	3 F	4 M	4 F	5 M	5 F	6 M	6 F	7 M	7 F	8 M	8 F
Face	6	6	7	5	5	3	4	5	6	5	8	8	7	5	1	5
Body	3	8	9	11	7	9	4	6	4	3	7	5	9	8	3	7
Agency	3	6	4	1	3	8	5	11	4	11	5	7	3	8	1	8
Interview	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	2	2	1
Willing	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0
Wanted to	1	3	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Sex	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	7	3
Don't Know	1	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0

Participants rated attractiveness of the models in the pictures in relation to other women they knew (an approach observed when participants described models in the focus groups) (see also Weaver, Masland and Zilmann, 1984). In the present study models were rated from 1=very attractive to 5=not at all attractive. A oneway ANOVA revealed significant differences between participants perceptions of the different models [F ratio = 10.3, F prob = .000,

$p < .001$, 7df], as outlined in the bar chart below. The model in picture 6 was defined as most attractive, and picture 8 the least. The previous study in this chapter outlined how participants rated titles perceived to originate from men's SEM as being 'lower quality'. Again, in this study, models were rated as 'less attractive' in the pictures linked to men's SEM (particularly 1,3,4 and 8), suggesting people link men's SEM with negative features, and judge associated textual/visual factors accordingly.



What happened after picture was taken?

Traditional research assumes participants respond to a given stimuli in the manner demanded by the researcher. Participants descriptions in the previous two chapters suggest an awareness of wider issues. When asked to discuss what happened following each of the eight pictures being taken, participants provided a number of potential scenarios, including the model getting dressed, being paid, having more (explicit) pictures taken, or going on to another job (see Appendix 17). Again, pictures associated with men's sexual magazines (1,3,4,7 and 8), were constructed as 'more sexual'. These pictures were described as a preamble to other, more graphic shots. For example - *"progressed onto more pornographic photographs, this is probably a staging shot"* (male aged 20, picture 7); *"woman removed remaining clothes and assumed progressively more explicit/revealing poses"* (male aged 21, picture 3); *"progression to other explicit shots"* (female aged 21, picture 7). These interpretations are similar to male participants in the focus groups who predicted a 'strip tease' photospread was likely in the men's titles (see Chapter Four for analysis of photospreads). Female participants noted in the

photographs linked with the fashion magazines (2,5 and 6) that the model left to continue other work, or waited for her agent to send her to another 'shoot' - *"woman gets dressed, goes to next job at home, but is not paid then, the agency takes care of this"* (female aged 24, picture 2).

Participants described what they thought happened during and after the photoshoot. Many suggested the models would want to put on dressing gowns in between pictures *"she relaxed and covered up 'til the next shot"* (female aged 20, picture 3). Others described other diversions - *"had a cigarette and a cup of tea"* (female aged 20, picture 4); *"she was cold so put on a warm coat and had a cup of tea"* (female age 20, picture 5). Female participants described most of the models in the pictures as putting on normal clothes or jeans following the photographic session. However, for picture 6 this was phrased slightly differently, as female participants perceived the model to be rich and glamorous - *"she went home in a limo"* (female aged 19); *"she went back to her mansion and rang her agent to see what else she had on that day"* (female aged 23). In this case 'home' became a 'mansion', and the model reached it in an expensive car. This model was not perceived to have a 'cuppa' - it was suggested she had a *"stiff drink"* (female aged 20). It is interesting to note that women reacted in this way, creating a glamorous story to match a 'glamorous' (but not 'glamour') picture. Male participants were not seen to do this. It may be similar to the accounts offered previously (see Chapter Six), where females expressed concern for the comfort of models, and pictured themselves in the photographs. In this study female participants indicated similar discourses *"she's what lots of women want to be"* (female aged 28, picture 2).

Where pictures were seen as sexual, additional motivating factors for posing were suggested, *"god knows, maybe she was happy to get her KIT off"* (male aged 26, picture 1, emphasis in original); *"her acceptance of having to appear semi-naked"* (male aged 19, picture 1); *"sex"* (male aged 21, picture 3); *"she applied to 'Readers Wives' or something"* (male aged 18, picture 7); *"probably a prostitute or blue-movie actress"* (male aged 20, picture 8); *"she's a Page Three model"* (male aged 18, picture 8). This was further reflected in the reactions to why the model was initially selected - *"cos she would do what the photographer wanted"* (male aged 19, picture 3); *"for being a tart with a good body and willing to flaunt it"* (male aged 19, picture 3). Here we can see discourses associated with SEM - 'Readers Wives', 'Page Three' and 'Blue

Movies', which were only mentioned by male participants. [These participants did not complete the focus groups in Chapter Six, so were not primed in the use of these terms].

One of the hypotheses for this study was that male participants would find the models more attractive than female participants. It may be that they also perceived the pictures as 'more sexual' - or could express this. Statements regarding how the model was selected (see previous paragraph) and 'what happened next...' reflected this. "[S]he got jumped by some of the crew at the photoshoot" (male aged 18, picture 2); "she slowly in different pictures took her clothes off and demonstrated how flexible she was" (male aged 19, picture 3); "bloke came in and took her from behind" (male aged 27, picture 3); "she took off all her clothes and pretended she was gagging for it" (male aged 19, picture 7); "removes clothes, sheds wings, spreads legs" (male aged 21, picture 8) and "she took her clothes (off) and pretended she was as much of an angel as the pictures make out" (male aged 19, picture 8). These reactions recollect the sexualization of the research observed in male participants in the focus group (see previous chapter). In that study participants were looking at 'top shelf' magazines. In the present study they were examining images out of context - although the majority of these sexual references were in response to pictures that were identified by participants as originating from 'men's SEM'.

Only a few female participants suggested the model had sex, and this was framed within an abusive scenario and referred to Picture 8. For example "[I]t probably got much 'worse' and she ended up having sex with someone for the benefit of the film" (female aged 21). This was also seen in descriptions about how the woman was selected to be in the picture (see earlier in this section) "she was desperate and was susceptible to exploitation" (female aged 19); "she was willing to take the amphetamines which make her look so under-the-influence" (female aged 21). These reactions are similar to those found in participants in the final study in this chapter, when profiling hard-core models and prostitutes. This was the only picture where it was suggested that the model wasn't paid (for all other pictures payment was linked with the ending of the photographic session).

Who Would Like These Pictures?

Following the rating of all eight pictures, participants stated which pictures they thought men and women would like most and least. Participants in focus

group discussions (Chapter Six), and the previous study in this chapter gendered certain topics linked to SEM. The present study revealed participants believed males and females would prefer different pictures as the table below suggests:

Table 14: Participant’s Mean Rating of Picture Preference by Gender

Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants	Male Participants	Female Participants
Women would like picture 6 most	Women would like picture 2 most	Women would dislike picture 3	Women would dislike picture 3	Men would like picture 2 most	Men would like picture 3 most	Men would dislike picture 5	Men would dislike picture 5

Participants agreed about the pictures men and women would like least, but did not agree on the pictures they would like most. Male participants suggested women would like picture 6 most, but during taped discussions many female participants stated they felt the model was not a nice person, and some felt envious of her, as this extract from the discussion of pictures illustrates:

F32: *“I don’t like it, she looks like a cow [whispered]”*

F.Researcher: *“[laughing] she looks like a cow?”*

F32: *“She does”*

F.Researcher: *“In what way do you mean a cow? Like she might be a nasty person, or..”*

F32: *“Yeah. She looks like a tart as well”*

This might explain why the model in picture 2 was rated most favourably by women (who thought the model looked like a nice, beautiful person). Their reactions in the taped discussions supported this, and indicated they imagined different scenarios resulting from the pictures *“I like it cos it looks like she’s just about to bed some gorgeous bloke”* (female aged 22).

Male participants also described picture 2 as one men would like best, which was reiterated in the taped-discussions in similar discourses to those used by men in the previous focus groups (ie: how much they fancied the model):

M21: *“She’s stunning. Absolutely stunning...If I saw her walking down the street I’d be **very, very** interested”*

M20: *“If **you** saw her walking down the street you’d be elbowed aside by the bodyguards”*

Female participants believed men would like picture three, due to a previously outlined belief that men would prefer images linked with SEM. Male participants stated in the focus groups that their enjoyment of SEM is context

specific (ie: linked to masturbation). Overall they might prefer picture two, but enjoy picture three if they were 'in the mood'.

How do you feel?

Participants were asked to give three words to describe how each picture made them feel. Reactions were positive, negative, or related to picture content. These were subjected to Thematic Content Analysis and are summarised in the table below. (where M=male and F=female participants).

Table 15: Summaries of Descriptions of How Pictures Made Participants Feel

How Feel?	Pic1 M	Pic1 F	Pic2 M	Pic2 F	Pic3 M	Pic3 F	Pic4 M	Pic4 F	Pic5 M	Pic5 F	Pic6 M	Pic6 F	Pic7 M	Pic7 F	Pic8 M	Pic8 F
Sexy	7	3	8	4	10	9	10	3	1	0	5	4	8	2	8	3
Positive	3	2	6	3	4	2	2	2	5	9	9	9	9	2	7	1
Negative	2	10	3	1	7	13	9	12	6	12	1	9	4	18	8	29
Pic Layout	3	2	5	22	2	11	5	10	6	8	4	8	2	5	2	4
Pic Boring	9	9	2	4	2	3	2	5	5	1	5	4	2	1	3	3
Clothing	0	0	0	0	2	3	3	2	1	6	1	1	1	1	0	1

I created the above categories after reading all the three-word descriptions. In traditional research, such categorisation would be validated by a number of co-raters (see Chapter Four for example). The categories, and all words used to describe them (organised in lists for each picture) were given to five co-raters. However, without the original pictures, these co-raters were unable to understand many of the terms given. All stated they required the original photographs to assist in their rating. This would constitute a replication of the study rather than an exercise in validation, and additionally supports how people use contextual cues to make sense of SEM-related descriptions. As consistent co-rating could not be obtained, a summary of data is presented here without statistical analysis, as it still suggests different reactions to the pictures. Future research is planned to organise co-ratings of categories to assess subjective picture reactions in a statistical fashion.

Discourse analysts would argue that converting texts into statistics simply continues the veneer of science and objectivity promoted in psychology (see

Chapter Three). Participants descriptions in Table 15 above suggest male participants made more references to feeling 'sexy' on viewing the pictures (particularly those previously linked to men's SEM). Female participants used more negative terms to describe these pictures (particularly number 8 which they linked with coercion). These outcomes would support previously mentioned findings relating to gender differences and SEM. However, a view which is frequently unexplored in existing studies is that female participants may view images negatively for a number of reasons (as this thesis has shown) which may cancel feelings of arousal and desire. Male participants in the focus groups admitted they were unaccustomed to critically evaluating SEM, and therefore may not find images problematic. One can only hypothesise about reasons for differences, but assumed reactions based on gender-stereotypes are misleading.

Many participants described how the picture made them feel in additional ways, hence the inclusion of the categories 'picture layout' and 'clothing' in the table above. Participants noted the design of the pictures (monochrome versus colour, scenery) and models clothing in their three-word descriptions. As the quote below suggests, these additional contextual features may make a picture 'more sexy' or 'less negative' for certain individuals, reinforcing the idea that people use many details to decide upon how an image makes them feel.

F.Researcher: "[on discussing what the caption in picture 6 implies] *if it was meaning she was going to take all her clothes off, would that change where you thought it came from?*"

F34: *"definitely. The picture's aimed at women, and the clothes. But that quote, that's aimed at men"*

Researcher's Gender

Initially this study aimed to assess whether the gender of the researcher influenced participant's reactions. The previous chapter featured female researchers, whilst the majority of researchers in SEM experiments are male (Hughes, 1986). Therefore participant's reactions to SEM might be linked to who is conducting the research. In the present study, participants were interviewed by myself or a male assistant. Groups proved too small for statistical analysis to assess gender differences. Analysis of the taped segment of the study indicated certain differences did occur, although other research suggests that the gender of researcher does not influence outcomes of SEM studies. Male participants laughed more and made sexist jokes when

interviewed by the male facilitator. When I sat in on the groups or facilitated them, sexist remarks were made but were usually clarified or participants apologised. Female participants behaved in a similar manner regardless of interviewer, although when the male assistant was facilitating several female participants stated he wouldn't know how it felt to be a woman - particularly over anxieties about body image and sexuality. Research is planned to examine the gender effects of researchers in this area, as it is believed that it does impact upon studies.

Using Previous Knowledge

Participants in this study guessed where they thought the pictures came from, which affected their judgements of the comfort and attractiveness of models, and how they felt about the pictures. In the taped-discussions further indications were found that participants rely on existing knowledge about SEM to inform their choices. Female participants described their reactions through knowledge of women's non-sexual titles, whilst men talked about their experiences with men's SEM. This was particularly apparent when participants described their ratings of the pictures in terms of preference. Participants linked the certain pictures with different types of publications, in a manner which recollected the way participants ordered the magazines in the focus groups. For example *"That looks like it's from a more expensive, higher class publication like Playboy"* (female aged 18, picture 6). The discussions between (male) participants shown below indicate how knowledge and views on SEM were linked to rate pictures:

Picture Four

M20: *"we're moving into top-shelf territory here"*

M21: *"I don't know if, whether, no, it's a bit too seedy for Mayfair...it **could** be Mayfair actually, but it's a bit too tarty and it's (Mayfair) normally a bit more classy than that"*

Picture Six

M24: *"it would be in a very, very, quite classy magazine"*

M22: *"yeah, yeah, this is not a Razzle"*

M24 *"Yeah. Not Big Ones, or whatever it's called"*

M22: *"It's a Penthouse or Mayfair..Classy porn with wipe-clean pages. They might have it as a lead picture in a scenes which get more and more revealing. Or [pauses] it **might** be advertising makeup or underwear in something like Company"*

Picture Seven

M21: *"That to me says Penthouse, or maybe Playboy"*

M20: *"No! That's **not** Playboy. No way! No"*

M21: *"Well, what is it then?"*

M20: *"I think it's more, could be like Club International, cos Club International have nice women at the beginning and old tarts at the back [laughs] I would say at least it could be Fiesta, but the setting's probably too good for Fiesta"*

Picture Eight

M26: *"This looks like the naff end of the market. Really Razzle-fied"*

M25: *"In saying that though, if the picture was slightly modified, and she didn't look so, her hair wasn't so airheaded and like that thing goes right up her arse [laughs] if it wasn't right up her arse and was just put over her cheeks then she'd look quite seductive"*

The present study again suggests participants search for 'clues' in pictures or texts when making attributions about perceived sources, eg: *"I thought it might be (from a woman's magazine) cos of all the clouds and that, but if you have a look at the back (of her underwear) it's all up and its all undone so I thought to myself 'yes, it's from a men's magazine'"* (female aged 22). Images associated with sexual publications (particularly those aimed at men) are negatively constructed when presented in their original source. When presented out of this context participants do not always guess the actual source correctly. Additional research is planned where participants are directed to look at a small number of images in magazines versus the same pictures shown without the original source to explain these findings in more detail.

In the present study, participants examined the pictures and used print, clothing, attractiveness of model and perceived source to decide on who might like the pictures and target audience. As in the focus groups reported in Chapter Six, the 'lower quality' materials were linked with an increased negativity in participant's reactions. This was commonly presented in model-blaming discourses. Photographers, designers etc could potentially be responsible, but in both studies the models were targeted. As perceived 'quality' deteriorated, participants increased their criticisms. Male participants were more likely to do this in 'sexual language', and females were more likely to express distaste, concern or anxiety in their criticisms.

This study indicates that sources perceived as 'sexual' and 'lower quality' are linked with men's sexual titles. When findings from the focus groups are compared with the present study it can be concluded that participants take clues from the materials they are examining when formulating their responses to images. As similar reactions were observed relating to actual and perceived sources (those linked to men's SEM were interpreted differently from women's or non-sexual titles), it could be suggested that the context in

which an image/piece of text is presented has the same impact whether or not the source of the material is outlined. As the results from the present study showed, the context of the material is also influenced by target audience and perceived effects (eg: harm to the model, model being well paid). As images had been presented in their original sources (magazine discussions outlined in Chapter Six), and in the two studies described in this chapter (where text or pictures were removed from original sources), a further study was designed to assess how participant's views altered if the same article was presented as originating from different sources. Although research suggests showing sexually explicit images with or without an additional description has little effect (Cowan and Dunn, 1994), it was believed that certain sources would be interpreted more negatively than others, as this chapter will now discuss.

Manipulation of Context - 'Date Rape'

This thesis has outlined concerns of academics and non-academics about SEM, specifically that 'it' causes rape (see Chapter Two). As mentioned, my views have fluctuated, depending on what materials I had recently been viewing, and whose research I had been reading. I noted that it was often the context where materials were presented and how much control I had over this presentation which affected my reactions. A chance purchase of *Playboy* (January 1995) provided an excellent opportunity to test whether perceived context influenced reactions to materials. This edition contained a two-page article entitled "*By Invitation Only*" (ps: 46-47) (see Appendix 18), with two monochrome pictures of a woman in her underwear, and one of her kissing another person (gender undefined). Superimposed on these pictures were anti-rape statements.

On the first reading I was angered by the magazines apparent disregard for the consequences of victims, and it's audacity to present rape in a magazine which (according to some) leads to sexual violence against women (Russell, 1993). Subsequent readings revealed that it was a review of a US public service anti-rape campaign. The article could therefore be read in a number of ways - as a flippant opportunity to mock anti-rape legislation, or as an attempt to promote a means of reducing sexual violence by men against women. The article was copied, and identifying features removed so there was no opportunity of assessing the magazines actual title. Participants were shown the article and asked to respond to the images and text in it. However, the perceived source of the magazine was altered.

Hypotheses

As frequently stated in this thesis, traditional experimental research utilises harm-based hypotheses to test 'porn's' effects. In the present study certain hypothesis were generated to 'test' participant's reactions, whilst others utilised stereotypical assumptions to 'test' existing experimental theories about SEM.

Hypothesis One: articles perceived to be from women's magazines would be viewed as more sympathetic and informative than those perceived to be from men's magazines.

Hypothesis Two: articles perceived to be from non-sexual titles would be reacted to more favourably. Articles from men's sexual titles in particular will be seen as more negative and likely to cause rather than prevent rape (as outlined in the previous two studies in this chapter).

Hypothesis Three: According to existing research, males are less likely to be sympathetic to rape victims (Burt, 1980). Therefore it was hypothesised that females would be more sympathetic.

Hypothesis Four: Additional studies have argued that viewing materials from SEM will lead to (male) participants reporting increased hostility and less sympathy towards women (see Chapter Two). It was hypothesised that participant's who believed the article to be from a men's sexually explicit magazine were likely to show rape myth acceptance.

Method

Participants 100 psychology undergraduates (44 males and 56 females).

Design Independent Subjects Design. Participants were assigned to one of five conditions:

Condition One: 20 participants were told article was from a non-sexually explicit magazine aimed at women (such as Cosmopolitan or Marie Claire).

Condition Two: 20 participants were told article was from a sexually explicit magazine aimed at women (eg: For Women).

Condition Three: 20 participants were told article was from a non-sexually explicit magazine aimed at men (such as GQ or FHM).

Condition Four: 20 participants were told article was from a sexually explicit magazine aimed at men (eg: Playboy or Mayfair).

Control: 20 participants were told article was from 'a magazine', but no additional information about source of the article was given.

Materials A questionnaire (see Appendix 19) provided instructions for completion, introduced the reader to 'source' of magazine, and asked questions about their reactions (including how informative, sympathetic, helpful and upsetting the article was). The majority of questions were placed on a seven point Likert scale and open-ended questions were also included. The questionnaire incorporated Burt's (1980) 'Rape Myth Acceptance Scale' which has been previously used in other research on the effects of SEM (eg:

Briere, Malamuth and Check, 1985). A photocopy of the article was given to all participants.

Procedure Participant's completed the questionnaire in groups of twenty (ie: per condition). Unlike the other studies in this thesis, participant's completed the research in order to gain course credits for their degree (although this thesis remains critical of this practice). Participant's were informed at the beginning of the study they would be required to look at images which concerned rape, and they had the right to leave at any time. They were also informed verbally and on the questionnaire that all responses would be treated confidentially and anonymously. Before the questionnaires were handed out participants indicated whether they gave voluntary informed consent (as restricted by their obtaining course credits), and an alternative study was offered to those who wanted to gain credits but did not wish to take part in this particular study (three people chose this).

There was no time limit in this study. Participants read through the article, and referred to it whilst completing the questionnaire. A female researcher was in attendance throughout. Once the questionnaires had been completed I explained more about the purpose of the study and revealed the source of the article. Participants discussed the study and whether their reactions had changed on knowing the actual source. They were informed that should they require additional assistance due to any issues raised in the study that they could speak to me in confidence. Several participants did this and were referred to support services (such as their GP or the university counsellor). These participants explained they had attended the study due to their views/past experiences, and the research became a vehicle for their obtaining assistance. They entered the research with this purpose. All participant's were asked not to discuss the study with others in order to maintain differences between conditions.

Results and Discussion

Participants were asked to rate the articles on a number of different factors, from helpfulness to likelihood of upsetting the reader. Participant rated each answer on a 7 point Likert scale, and responses are summarised in Table 16 overleaf. A multivariate ANOVA for gender by condition revealed certain interactions. Additional differences were found in oneway ANOVAs for gender or condition. For the purpose of space, all are combined in the table.

Table 16: Participants Ratings of The Date Rape Article [where Gen = gender 1,87 and Con= different conditions df 4,87]

Question	Male Mean Score	Male sd	Female Mean Score	Female sd	Gen x Con F	Gen F	Con F
1.How informative did you find article? [1= very informative, 7= not informative]	4.36	1.59	4.43	1.25	.756	.768	.882
2.Do you think a person who bought this magazine would find it informative? [1= very informative, 7= not informative]	4.27	1.40	4.25	1.15	.669	.957	.000*****
3.Do you think the article was sympathetic to women?[1= very sympathetic, 7= not sympathetic]	3.02	1.59	2.91	1.42	.042**	.887	.690
4.Do you think the article was sympathetic to men? [1=very sympathetic, 7= not sympathetic]	5.14	1.19	5.13	1.13	.905	.860	.448
5.Would a date rape victim find article source of advice?[1= very likely, 7= not likely]	5.55	1.44	5.30	1.46	.936	.403	.758
6.Would the article be helpful for a rape victim? [1= helpful, 7= not helpful]	5.48	1.42	5.11	1.5	.930	.335	.411
7.Would the article upset a woman rape victim? [1=would upset, 7=wouldn't upset]	3.45	1.53	3.87	1.29	.990	.121	.630
8.Is the article effective in dissuading a person from rape? [1= highly effective, 7= not effective]	4.39	1.69	4.07	1.58	.732	.687	.129
9.Would the article make readers feel guilty? [1= would make them feel guilty, 7= wouldn't make them feel guilty]	3.72	1.42	3.41	1.49	.340	.340	.515
10.Does the article discourage rape? [1= discourages, 7=does not discourage]	2.95	1.84	3.11	1.59	.336	.336	.419
11.Does the article encourage rape? [1= encourages, 7= does not encourage]	1.75	1.28	2.3	1.45	.036**	.036**	.364
13.Do articles in magazines change the way people think about rape? [1= likely to change, 7= not likely to change]	4.05	1.60	3.73	1.57	.582	.582	.000*****

*****Significant at $p < .001$; ****Significant at $p < .005$; ***Significant at $p < .01$; **Significant at $p < .05$, *Significant at $p < .10$.

Considering traditional SEM research operates on the assumption that men and women have different views of and experiences with SEM, the above table is striking because of the lack of significant differences between participants. As this thesis is critical of assumed gender differences, the mean scores and standard deviations were examined and revealed consistency for

many answers given by participants. The majority of participants did not find the article particularly informative (regardless of condition). Participants who believed they were looking at an article from a women's sexual magazine (Condition 2) found the article the least helpful - they explained in their written responses that the reader would already know the information. Female participants in Condition 1 (women's non-sexual title) believed the article was the most sympathetic to women. Participants agreed the article was not sympathetic to men, and the mean scores also showed that they did not think a date-rape victim would find the article a source of help and advice. Participants stated in their written remarks around these questions that people did not 'use' magazines for help on "*serious issues like date rape*" (male aged 21, Condition 3).

Participants agreed that a rape victim might be upset by the article, but did not think the article would dissuade a potential rapist. Their scores also indicated a reader might feel guilty after seeing the article (a view which was reinforced by participants written responses to the article outlined later in this chapter). Mean scores showed participants felt the article could discourage rape, although participants did not strongly agree with the statement (ie: rate 1 on the scale). A significant gender difference was observed for article causing rape - as men were more likely to indicate they believed the article could encourage rape. This belief could be interpreted as males increased likelihood of believing in SEM effects, a possible reason why reactions to SEM are observed in many existing studies. Participants in Condition 1 were significantly more likely to agree that magazine articles alter perceptions of rape (those in Condition 4 were least likely to agree). These findings support participants written descriptions that articles do not have much purpose or impact in men's SEM (discussed later in this chapter).

Several of the questions shown in Table 16 are similar, yet participants did not react consistently to them - suggesting phraseology of questions influences answers. The significant differences for certain answers suggest that participants may have been led by the context of their presentation. The article was perceived more positively when linked to women's non-sexual titles, and more negatively when associated with men's sexual magazines.

Participant's written reactions to the articles on the open-ended questions revealed differences in perceptions of the information given about date-rape.

Thematic Content Analysis was performed on the open-ended responses, and differences according to perceived source were summarised (Appendix 20). When asked if they thought the person who bought the magazine might find it informative, participants descriptions revealed that the article was let down by a lack of supporting statistics. Within the context of the women's magazines (Conditions 1 and 2) participants appeared to find the article helpful and supportive, but it was not interpreted in this way when perceived to be from a men's sexual magazine. Participants in the women's non-sexual condition argued they could not see the point in including the article, as women would know about the issue - some mentioned it would be better served in a man's magazine. Participants in Condition 4 suggested the article gave the wrong message about rape when presented in a men's sexual title, with some even stating it could cause rape. Those in Conditions 3 and 4 argued there was no point in placing such an article in a man's magazine as readers would only look at the pictures. Tentative support for this stereotypical view comes from the focus groups (Chapter Six) where the female participants noticed text and pictures, and suggested how the two would interact, which the male participants did not discuss.

Victim Blaming

Rape victims/survivors are often held responsible for their abuse. Research has indicated how victims of rape have often been blamed for inviting or contributing to their attack (Burt and Esters, 1981). Similar constructions have also been observed in the popular press (Walby, Hay and Soothill, 1983). Certain criticisms of SEM argue that images present women as wanting to be raped, or saying 'no' when they mean 'yes' (Itzin, 1992a,b; Russell, 1993; Dworkin, 1981). Other studies indicate that women have sexual fantasies around being raped (Friday, 1991). This information, and themes in SEM may be accused of contributing to victim-blaming scenarios.

Within the open-ended responses on this questionnaire, some participants provided lengthy accounts of the way rape is presented. *"It's amazing what people do to make the 'blame-the-victim' theory work: Helena Kennedy (1992, 'Eve was framed') actually witnessed in court that the alleged female victims of a rape were asked about how long ago they last had sex before the rape. If it was a long time she was seen as sexually frustrated and looking for it; if it wasn't ie she had a healthy sex life, she was obviously obsessed with sex"* (female aged 23, Condition 2, emphasis in original); and *"Every woman has*

the right to say 'NO!' O.K, some women lead men on, but if they say no, then a man should stop or it is rape....clothes don't say 'rape me' either!" (female aged 18, Condition 4).

Other participant's focused on the clothing issue within the article to perpetuate 'victim blaming' discourses: *"It served the purpose of warning vulnerable women that they may give out signals which could lead some men to think they have the right to force sex on a woman - even if she is unintentionally giving out these signals"* (female aged 31, Condition 1); *"I know that what people wear shouldn't matter, but in this day and age, if you're going to walk down the street in ripped suspenders and undone shorts (1st picture) you're very stupid if you don't expect to attracted uninvited and unwanted attention"* (female aged 21, Condition 3); *"difficult in todays society to distinguish between provocative clothing and a permission to try it on"* (male aged 23, Condition 1). Additional accounts were even more specific: *"(article) does not distinguish between provoked rape and unprovoked rape. Would have been more helpful/informative if it told women how to dress"* (male aged 21, Condition 3), and *"the question remains as to what extent should a woman lead a man on"* (female aged 20, Condition 4). Suggestions were made to suggest that certain women deserved or were more likely to be raped (see also Chapter Two *"aimed at a particular kind of woman ie in the way she dresses, to the extent she flirts with men"* (female aged 20, Condition 4), and *"pretty ones more likely"* (male aged 21, Condition 3) (see also Burt, 1980).

Implicit in these accounts are two themes which are important to this research. Existing studies on date rape have indicated how women may be harsh judges of female rape victims (Cochrane and Carroll, 1991), a theme echoed in some of the above quotes. Some SEM research indicates men tend to hold increasingly negative views about rape victims post-porn viewing (see Chapter Two). This thesis argues male and female participants share some similar opinions, that exist regardless of viewing SEM. A second theme suggests men rape because of the provocative clothing/behaviour of women. Male and female participants identified the need for women to alter their behaviour. This suggests men are sexually motivated to rape by the visual signals given by women (Kanekar and Kolauralla, 1981). Whilst anti-porn campaigners argue porn causes rape, they are equally likely to support the idea that rape is a crime of violence and not sex (Brownmiller, 1976; Hilberman, 1976). There appears to be an inconsistency with the view that pornography arouses men to

commit rape, and the theory that rape is not a primarily sexually motivated crime. Participants in this study tended to support that rape is partly a sexually motivated crime. Aspects of this were supported by participant completion of the Burt Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (1980). Participants rated each answer on a 7 point Likert scale, and responses are summarised in Table 17. Again, a multivariate ANOVA for gender by Condition revealed certain interactions. Additional differences were found in oneway ANOVAs for gender or Condition, all are combined in the table.

The reactions to the Burt Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (BRMAS) shown in Table 17, suggest female participants are significantly more likely than males to disagree with question 1, whilst participants in the control group also strongly disagreed. Women were significantly more likely to agree that any woman could be raped, possibly because they are aware of personal risk and protection messages (as some written responses supported). Female participants were also significantly more likely to disagree with question 3, as were participants in Condition 1. Participants in Condition 4 (men's sexual title) were significantly more likely to agree with the rape myth in question 5. A traditional SEM research interpretation for this finding might be that messages about date rape linked with men's SEM prompted this reaction. However, this thesis argues reactions to SEM are context-linked, so participants did not react to SEM per se - they reacted to the belief that they were viewing an item from men's SEM.

Women were significantly more likely to disagree with question 6, suggesting a victim's past is not related to a rape. They were also significantly more likely to disagree with question 7, whilst mean scores of participants in the non-sexual magazines conditions suggested victim responsibility - linking conservative and negative views with these perceived titles. Participants in Condition 4 were significantly more likely to disagree with question 8 - suggesting an opposite reaction to that usually linked with SEM studies. This could be explained by participants awareness of explicitness of the question. Similarly, all participants disagreed with question 9. Female participants were significantly more likely to disagree with question 10 (that women engineer rape), whilst participants in the control group disagreed significantly from other participants in their answers to question 11. All participants disagreed with the questions 12 and 13 (that women lie about rape).

The BRMAS concludes by listing different people who might report being raped. Whilst some participants wrote on the questionnaire that they did not understand the relevance of these questions, with others objecting to the perceived racism in the questions, significant differences were obtained. Participants in Condition 2 were reportedly most likely to believe a friend who had been raped. Female participants were significantly more likely to state they would believe an Indian woman, young boy or black woman. All participants agreed they would believe a neighbourhood woman and a white woman. The last two results could be interpreted as interlinking, as the majority of participants were white, and would perceive their neighbours similarly.

Overall female participants appeared more sympathetic to other women. This was explained in the discussion groups following this study as women's awareness of rape and personal risk. If women are aware of risks posed by rape, and are also aware of anti-pornography campaigns that porn equals/causes sex crime, it is not surprising they are ambivalent to SEM. In the majority of studies for this thesis, female participants stressed issues of personal safety and control in relation to SEM. Male participants could be constructed as less sympathetic to victims (in support of existing studies - see Chapter Two). However, as this chapter will later outline, their reactions to the article were more complicated.

The interpretation of results can also be linked to the message the researcher wants to present about SEM. For the majority of the questions which generated significant results in this study, it would be possible to describe male participants negativity towards female victims. Whilst differences were significant, a closer look at the mean scores and standard deviations suggests that participants did not give extreme answers on the Likert scale. Furthermore, gender differences in scores could be 'read' in two ways, eg: 'females were significantly more likely to disagree any woman could be raped', or 'males were significantly more likely to agree any woman could be raped'. Evidently such selective reporting could have a different impact on the context of research where differences in relation to SEM and related factors are explored.

Table 17: Participant's Reactions to the Burt Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

Question	Male Mean Score	Male sd	Female Mean Score	Female sd	Gen x Con F	Gen F	Con F
1.A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on their first date implies she is willing to have sex. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	4.73	1.77	5.68	1.48	.319	.001****	.000*****
2.Any female can get raped. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	2.11	1.69	1.23	0.54	.178	.001****	.177
3.One reason that women falsely report rape is that they frequently need to call attention to themselves. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	3.75	1.54	4.73	1.69	.711	.004****	.860
4.Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really wants to [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	6.07	1.21	6.45	1.13	.248	.107	.020**
5.When women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	5.14	1.89	5.98	1.33	.036**	.002****	.000*****
6.In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	5.64	1.63	6.52	0.81	.017**	.001****	.202
7.If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	5.82	1.33	6.38	1.04	.746	.007***	.000*****
8.Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	6.45	0.98	6.21	1.02	.636	.172	.003****
9.A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	6.58	1.01	6.84	0.5	.101	.172	.506
10.Many women have an unconscious wish to be raped, and may then unconsciously set up a situation in which they are likely to be attacked. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	6.09	1.27	6.66	0.64	.209	.009***	.249
11.If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered 'fair game' to other males at the party who want to have sex with her too, whether she wants to or not. [1=strongly agree, 7=strongly disagree]	6.55	1.02	6.73	0.77	.503	.358	.027**
12.What percentages of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse? [almost all=1, almost none=7]	5.59	1.17	5.63	1.09	.135	.358	.246
13.What percentage of reported rapes would you guess were merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation? [1=almost all, 7=almost none]	5.98	1.07	5.82	1.13	.137	.288	.311

Table 17: Results from the Burt Rape Myth Acceptance Questionnaire Continued

[this relates to question 14, where participants were asked 'A person comes to you and claims they were raped. How likely would you be to believe them if their statement if the person were']:

Question	Male Mean Score	Male sd	Female Mean Score	Female sd	Gen x Con F	Gen F	Con F
14a. your best friend? [1=always, 7=never]	1.34	0.83	1.18	0.43	.133	.106	.052*
14b. an Indian woman? [1=always, 7=never]	2.25	1.16	1.8	0.96	.134	.042**	.491
14c. a neighbourhood woman? [1=always, 7=never]	2.2	1.09	1.93	0.97	.315	.235	.390
14d. a young boy? [1=always, 7=never]	2.82	1.4	2.32	1.28	.178	.089*	.624
14e. a black woman? [1=always, 7=never]	2.3	1.25	1.82	0.96	.343	.053*	.381
14f. a white woman? [1=always, 7=never]	2.14	0.98	1.8	0.94	.905	.108	.348

*****Significant at $p < .001$; ****significant at $p < .005$; ***significant at $p < .01$; **significant at $p < .05$, *significant at $p < .10$. [where gen = gender and con = different conditions].

Men are Monsters?

Some anti-pornography campaigners argue 'men' are monsters who harm and exploit women through the production, distribution and consumption of SEM. One saying frequently (but erroneously) attributed to Andrea Dworkin is that *"all men are rapists"*. A further idea is that men make porn to hurt women *"we know that men like hurting us/we know it because they do it all the time/one way or another/and we watch them liking it/and men don't do things they don't like/generally speaking/They like doing it and they like watching it/and they like watching other men do it/and it is entertainment/and men pay money to see it/and that is one of the reasons why/men make pornography"* (Corcoran, 1989, p.10). Male anti-porn researchers such as Stoltenberg (1989) or Kimmel (1990) also support a view that men are encouraged or socialised into the hatred of women which 'pornography' facilitates. 'Men' are presented as a unified group who hold equal power and use it to oppress all 'women'. This perspective can be criticised for overlooking differences in race, class and sexuality which prevents men and women being unified groups (see Chapter Three). Such research assumes all men will be similarly influenced by SEM (eg: heterosexual 'porn' is normally shown to participants); and reactions of participants in 'the lab' can be applied globally to all men.

Research suggests men who view any, kind of sexual violence will subsequently be less sympathetic to female rape victims (Weirs and Earls, 1995). Statements made by women in studies for this thesis have indicated

that they are equally capable of presenting negative and hostile views about women in SEM. Male and female participants in this study occasionally presented victim-blaming views. However, some male participants also added comments which conflict with the men-are-monsters perspective frequently located in the anti-porn literature and some experimental hypotheses. Some argued the participant/reader would not need the information - *"not an issue that concerns me, I am never likely to do this"* (male aged 23, Condition 5), or that men who read porn would not change their views after reading such an article *"it is an issue which needs to be addressed, but there is always the danger of scaremongering where women are concerned and preaching where men are concerned"* (male aged, 22). Yet other male participants reacted to the article by suggesting men did need to know about this information, *"[d]isgusted that some people actually commit date-rape. I think that the purpose was to inform people that date rape is common but is also unacceptable"* (male aged 22, Condition 3).

Other male participants stated the article made them feel bad *"MY FIRST REACTIONS WERE OF SYMPATHY AND SHAME AT HOW SOME MEN CAN ACT. THE UNIMAGINABLE PAIN AND TORMENT OF A RAPE VICTIM CAME TO MIND"* (male aged 21, Condition 3, emphasis in original); *"It almost makes you feel guilty for being male"* (male aged 18, control group), and *"the article made me realise how easily it can happen, but it also made me concerned. I felt sorry for the women who had been raped & angry to those who had done the raping"* (male aged 18, Condition 4). Some added that it made them more thoughtful about the issue *"made me feel sympathetic to the women who have been raped. Made me think more about it"* (male aged 18, Condition 4), *"It makes you think and more aware of what could happen if thing's got out of hand"* (male aged 29, control group).

Several male participants presented 'no-means-no', or 'women can wear what they like' discourses within their replies (Plaud and Bigwood, 1997). Chapter Six outlined how female participants used the focus groups as a site for discussing issues around (female) sexuality and body image, and continued conversations after the study. In this research, several of the male participants stated in the discussion following questionnaire completion how they felt bad and wished to do something productive against rape. Some added how it had made them question their masculinity and/or previous behaviour(s). Many stated they were disturbed by the accusation that (all)

men (can) rape: *“Rape is perhaps one of the most morally heinous of all crimes, but this advert does not strike out at rapists, it strikes out at men in general. The creators of this ad/article clearly view all men as potential rapists, and personally I find that a little offensive”* (male aged 19, Condition 1). Whilst one might question whether his reaction was prompted by the belief the article was located in a women’s magazine, there was still a claim that ‘not all men are like this’. Another participant noted how presenting this in a study could have a negative impact on male as well as female participants *“VERY WELL PRESENTED QUESTIONNAIRE. QUESTIONS ARE WELL THOUGHT-OUT ALTHOUGH COULD BE UPSETTING OR OFFENSIVE TO SOME PEOPLE. THIS IS THE DANGER OF CHOOSING SUCH A CONTROVERSIAL TOPIC”* (male aged 21, Condition 3, emphasis in original).

The previous quotes from male participants (provided without direct prompting) suggest that presenting images about rape and sex crime requires careful handling. Researchers may be aware of the need to produce sensitive studies when working in this area with female participants, it is naive to assume that such research has no effect on men. Existing research assumes SEM does affect men, but locates this in men-harming-women scenarios. Research should account for the potential distress male participants could experience once they realise the aim of the research. In the present study it became apparent that many of the male participants were as distressed by date rape and associated injustices to women as female participants were. This was compounded by the perceived association of them with rapists.

Research on SEM does not appear to account for the way male participants may feel about the explicit or implicit accusation that they are likely to rape/abuse women following either exposure to porn and/or participating in ‘porn research’. Existing research presents an unproblematic account of studies where male participants show negative views in response to SEM. From this perspective, participants probably would not care about being classed as potential misogynists or even rapists. However, it may be that experimenter expectancy effects are attributable to research outcomes, and that participants may be distressed by doing the study. It is not possible to gauge this, as research of this nature tends to approach the study as though all men hold such views.

Different Reactions

Chapter Six indicated how female participants used 'like me or not like me' discourses when talking about the female models in the sexually explicit magazines. Within the written replies on the questionnaires in this study, participants indicated a similar means of expression by responding either as 'self' or 'me' as reader, or by talking about the readership of the article in general. Some combined this approach by distinguishing between their rating of the article and how others might see it: *"Most men who read it would not think it applied (myself included) I don't think advertising like this would change the mentality of the person that would commit rape; as they would possibly feel that even after the rape they were not to blame"* (male aged 21, Condition 3); *"every man thinks he's a stallion and that if women are almost naked there is no way that they don't want sex"* (male aged 22, Condition 4); whilst others aligned themselves with the article but against the 'other' - the perceived target audience *"[i]t made me feel - yes, exactly I agree - what the fuck are you doing raping someone?"* (female aged 19, Condition 2), and *"I liked how it got straight to the point + sorted out any confusion a man might have ie knowing when to stop"* (female aged 19, Condition 4).

Others avoided the use of 'the personal' when describing situations which evidently they had some knowledge but wished to distance themselves from: *"made you think about how many times you've had sex which could be classed as date-rape. All those heated moments of fumbling and then although you may want to stop the other person still continues"* (female aged 19, Condition 1), and *"you should not just try to interpret signals as they may be wrong"* (female aged 18, control group).

Research As A Place to Rethink or Discuss Experiences

Traditional research presents participants with a task/stimuli to respond to and measures their reactions. Responses are usually attributed to the stimulus provided and are the only reactions accounted for. This thesis has indicated how participants attend research with ideas and rework them, reacting to the 'stimuli' (including the research setting) in a number of ways. Participant's written descriptions suggested they questioned or rethought their ideas during the study. This was observed in the rehearsal of arguments - *"when I started to read the article it made me feel quite angry, but also upset - especially the one where it asks if the mother, daughter etc were asking for it (rape)"* (female aged 20, Condition 3). Other accounts revealed more personal experiences

“made me think about whether there has been a time when I may have been a little but pushy” (male aged 20, Condition 4); “It seems to be suggesting that dressing like this maybe a gamble eg: wearing a low cut bra isn’t an invitation although the rapist may think so. But what if you don’t wear a bra you dress in jeans etc and it still happens (?)” (female aged 32, Condition 2).

Three slightly longer replies came from participants who appeared to have had direct personal experience:

“a friend of mine got drunk at a party went some where with a man she’d just met. They did everything (she gave him oral...etc). Then had sex but my friend said he had raped her. I never knew if she’d told the truth, or was looking for attention (as she often did) or didn’t want a ‘reputation’. The police were involved and she had a rough time. What made me wonder was when she said ‘I don’t know if I fancy the bloke’?!” (female aged 18, control group).

“Think that most people would believes someone who claims to have been raped as it’s not very easy to disbelieve someone on something like that. However, I do know someone who claimed to have been raped and hadn’t and must admit that I’d treat it with a bit more caution in future but it depends on how well you know the person concerned—OH I DON’T KNOW!” (male aged 22, Condition 2, emphasis in original).

“[I]t is important that women of all ages should be able to walk wherever they like, go and do whatever they want. Unfortunately in society today, women are increasingly vulnerable and I no longer feel safe walking the streets on my own at night despite being a very independent person, I have had a bad experience with somebody that I know and it is important to realise rape can occur when the male is known to the female as well as by a stranger or a man on a first date” (female participant aged 21, Condition 3).

In all these quotes, participants used issues raised by the article and study to evaluate, explain and consider past experiences of themselves as survivors or perpetrators, or as supporters or friends of possible victims. This indicates research is more than collecting ‘responses’ to a given question or idea, and supports the criticism from certain qualitative researchers who argue against using scales and tick boxes in quantitative research (see Chapter Three), as a quantitative method would have excluded these reactions. Allowing participants a place to speak either through open ended questionnaires or interviews improves the quality of research and permits participants to express issues which may be distressing or important to them. In a sensitive area of research it is important the researcher is aware that such reactions may occur, and take appropriate steps to manage them via voluntary informed consent, discussion with participants and referrals to care agencies if necessary. As

already outlined, participants may volunteer for such research as a means of discussing experiences and/or views. A sensitivity to participants' needs is always required, and researchers should anticipate and account for participant disclosure.

Participant's Awareness of Context

Whilst participants were not invited to discuss the context or presentation of the article in the questionnaire itself, open-ended replies from participants indicated that the issue had occurred to them during the course of the study. These reactions indicated participants believed that the 'effects' of such an article could be influenced by the reader, in the way it was presented through combining text and images.

Perceived Audience

Participants in the Control Group were not provided with information about the source of the article. Many noted (without additional prompting) that the location of the article would influence reactions: *"It attracts attention straight away, but it depends on the magazine"* (male aged 23); *"It doesn't say which magazine it was in, but if it was a male magazine then it was probably more informative. Most women already know about it, and probably experienced harassment through what they wear"* (female aged 19). Others disagreed, suggesting that if it was aimed at men it would not have an impact *"Depends on magazine - ie: In 'Loaded' mag - men would probably ignore it"* (male aged 23), implying perceived target audience also influences interpretations of images. This theme continued with other participants in different conditions *"In a women's magazine I don't think [th]is has any purpose - would have had more effect in mens mags"* (male aged 28, Condition 2). The term 'purpose' was frequently employed - indicating the perceived effect of an article could be influenced by the context of presentation *"I wouldn't say it's particularly informative or helpful, esp to women who have been raped. More purpose in a male magazine"* (female aged 20, Condition 2); *"I think it served little purpose in the magazine because it is not for women - however it may make them feel good that they have the support and understanding as far as date rape goes"* (male aged 18, Condition 1). This echoes participants' views about how informative the 'reader' would find the article (see Appendix 19).

Participants who received information about the source of the article indicated how the producers and readers might have specific aims for the article *"Men*

who read the magazine will only be interested in the pictures, using the pictures it does will only confirm to the men that read the mag that women should be treated as sex objects" (female aged 19, Condition 4); *"in the case of the magazine it may only be used as a different way to present sexual images"* (male aged 18, Condition 2). An alternative perspective was the context of a men's sexually explicit title was an ideal place to present such a message *"a dose of reality in a medium which can deal with male fantasy"* (male aged 21, Condition 3); *"V. Novel, good in a 'man's' magazine cos they will stop and look"* (female aged 22, Condition 4). Placing it in a sexual title (regardless of gender) was also seen as positive *"Due to the fact that the ad [article] was displayed in a sexually explicit mag. it strikes home a little more. NOT the sort of article you would expect to find in such a magazine"* (male aged 19, Condition 2, emphasis in original).

As noted previously, participant's stated the context of presentation depending on the gender of the reader would influence the reader's reaction, *"I'm not sure why it was in a women's magazine, it surely should be in a blokes. Unless it is preaching on what women should wear!"* (Male aged 20, Condition 2). *"Interesting that it was in a women's mag and not a men's mag - surely it would have more meaning in a sexually explicit mag for men?"* (female aged 20, Condition 2). Some attempted to place themselves in the role of 'reader' (see previously in this chapter and also Chapter Six) *"I think if I was a male reading it it would make me think a bit more but as a female it's a little degrading"* (female aged 18, Condition 1). Reactions indicated that participant's felt the context of the article to be 'wrong' or 'misplaced' *"the article was in a womens mag, but the target audience is men"* (male aged 28, Condition 2); *"Perhaps it should be in a men's magazine as I feel it is aimed more at men"* (female aged 22, Condition 2).

Not all participant's who discussed issues of context did so in terms of perceived reader and effects, indicating that making judgements on the basis of such assumptions could be dangerous *"I would like to think that the average male who would probably buy GQ or FHM would take notice of a striking article such as this, and I'm sure some would. However it is not only sleazy perverts into porn magazines that are involved in date rape. It also involves other 'normal' individuals"* (female aged 21, Condition 3); *"I think it would work with some [male readers] but there are so many different people out there it is*

impossible to know how it will make people react" (female aged 20, Condition 3).

Presentation of Material

Participants noted that reactions to the magazine article were influenced by perceived source, but also through different readings of the article - *"The article exudes sex until you read the captions, you then find it disturbing"* (male, aged 39, Control Group). It appeared that the participants were first drawn to the visual images, and further reading allowed them to reinterpret those pictures - *"at first glance it looked a degrading (the pictures) but as you go on to read what it is about it seems to be effective and forms an impact"* (female, aged 18, Control Group), this reinterpretation appeared necessary in order to distinguish it from other features in a magazine *"without reading text would not imagine it was intended to discourage rape, it looked like a combination (sic) of condom + wonderbra ads"* (female, aged 20, Condition 3). Others noted that it was the combination of visual images and text which would draw attention to the article *"First reaction was to the striking images, followed by the powerful words. The words are more effective than the images and provoked more thought"* (male aged 21, Condition 3); *"it explains the issue with the use of pictures and simple verses which inform the reader much better than a simple article"* (male aged 18, Control Group).

Female participants in the focus groups argued combining text with images produced different reactions. In the present study, some participants argued that the images could be misunderstood without the accompanying textual explanation (regardless of context) *"An interesting use of imagery with the supportive text - although I acknowledge that without the text, or if the text is ignored they could be misconstrued"* (male aged 23, Control). Whilst the perceived audience of the article might influence a reader's reception, the combination of text and image was also described as important. Participants noticed a number of factors in an article (text, image, perceived source) informs reactions. It is worth noting that most of these reactions came from participants in the Control Group who, in traditional psychological discourse, were not distracted by being 'led' by a perceived article source.

Analysis and discussion of this study indicates how participants reacted to an article about date rape in relation to perceived source. Associations between rape and men's sexual magazines were viewed as negative and unhelpful,

whilst the same article portrayed in the context of a woman's magazine was interpreted as more caring and informative. This thesis highlights that the research setting may be a site for exploring ideas, counteracting a positivist notion that responses to a given stimuli will be stable and measurable. Participants views may alter, and indeed can be shaped or moved by the research experience. The present study illustrates how context affects people's reactions to images *and* texts - where interactions between text, image and perceived audience are considered when judging possible impacts of SEM. A factor which is ignored in the majority of existing research.

Presenting participants with images within titles, or outside of their original sources revealed a number of reactions, and permitted criticisms of existing studies which interpret participant reactions to SEM as stable and caused by the images viewed. However, the studies presented in this thesis (chapters Six - Seven) still utilise texts/pictures from media sources to gain reactions. It was noted that participants in Chapter Five's study of John or Jane, produced distinct reactions to the different characters from their association with certain materials. A final study was designed using the key terms emerging from participants discourses in this thesis - 'glamour' and 'hard-core model', 'prostitute' and 'anti-pornography campaigner'. Participants were presented with one of these characters and asked to describe them on various factors. The aim of the study was to assess whether key terms linked with SEM can produce similar reactions to those observed when participants are actually viewing material(s).

Are Participants Reactions Informed by Existing Views?

If 'pornography' is negative (Russell, 1993), there is an ethical question relating to it's use in psychological research, particularly as participants are predominantly male (Hughes, 1986) and pornography's effects have been cited as causing men to rape (Everywoman, 1988) or to feel more predisposed to sexually assault women (Dworkin, 1981). This thesis has highlighted that male and female participants could be upset in SEM research. Should we, therefore, use such materials in research? (Allen, D'Alessio, Emmers and Gebhardt, 1996; Gross, 1983; Sherif, 1980). Many link the pornography debate with feminism, and for those adopting a feminist psychology the use of pornographic images in research may be particularly problematic. Indeed, when I have presented findings from this thesis at conferences, I have on occasion been harshly criticised by audience members for showing males and

females SEM. These criticisms have been gendered. I have been told I may have upset or distressed female participants by showing SEM, and that showing men SEM may have led them to commit a sexual offence. This thesis shows participants responses were varied, but to my knowledge differed from the two outlined above. Whilst some male participants displayed sexist behaviours, so did females. Furthermore a number of men were distressed by their being associated with rapists. The study presented in this section (and also the first study in this chapter) represents research which illustrates one does not have to use SEMs in research, and that interesting observations may be reached through talk **about** 'pornography' and related issues.

This thesis has shown how participants arrive at a study on SEM with pre-existing ideas about what they are about to see, who they will be watching it with, and how it will make them feel. The focus groups in Chapter Six and in studies in this chapter suggest participants utilised the study to rehearse arguments relating to pornography, sexuality, behaviour and body image. Women who had not seen any SEM prior to the study gave emotive descriptions about what they expected to see in the course of the research. Male participants chatted before viewing the magazines about pin-ups they liked, porn films they had seen and porn stars they found attractive.

Participants may draw on a variety of media sources to explain what they are discussing in 'pornography research'. As already argued in this chapter the context in which participants are shown materials is important. Yet these issues are rarely tackled, as traditional lab-based studies fail to account for participant's views and ideas before or after research, choosing only to focus on one brief and artificial 'reaction' to a given image (see Chapter Two).

Method

Participants an opportunity sample of 125 participants (37 male, 85 female and 3 gender undisclosed), with an age range of 17 - 60 years (median age 21) completed this study. The majority were white undergraduates who classed themselves as 'heterosexual'. They were volunteers who did not receive any course credits.

Design an independent subjects design was used with four conditions:-

Condition One: 'Glamour Model' Profile.

Condition Two: 'Hard-Core Model' Profile.

Condition Three: 'Prostitute' Profile.

Condition Four: 'Anti-Pornography Campaigner' Profile.

Materials The 'profile' prompt questionnaires (Appendix 21).

Procedure Participants completed the 'profile' prompt questionnaire, which asked them to describe one of the stereotypical characters in terms of their perceived age, gender and appearance - eye colour, hair colour and the physical features they might require for their 'work' (this sheet is similar to the prostitute caution forms used by police forces within the UK). As previously stated, many anti-pornography writers argue against reducing women to body parts (Itzin, 1992a,b). Whilst others argue presenting women as fragmented (as bottoms, breasts and legs) is a common practice within advertising and other media depictions (Coward, 1987, p.318).

Participants also gave three words which summarised the character, and answered the following:- Why the character chose to become a glamour model, hard-core model, prostitute, or anti-pornography campaigner? What the character did before they were in their present position? The character's perceived attractiveness was rated on a 7 point Likert scale. No time limit was imposed, but most participants completed the questionnaire within ten minutes.

A further manipulation was applied to this study, where 42 participants were supervised in questionnaire completion by a male assistant, whilst the remaining 83 participants were supervised by a female. The researchers asked participants to respond to the questionnaires using their 'first impressions' in relation to the character they were required to profile. A female researcher explained the study in detail following questionnaire completion, and participants were invited to explain where they had obtained the information which assisted their profiling.

Results and Discussion

The completion of the profile questionnaires revealed distinct differences in participants descriptions of the characters, shown in Table 18 overleaf. Percentages in the table refer to the number of definitions in each category, as some participants gave more than one explanation per category (hence number of different percentages provided).

Table 18: Participants Profiles of the Different Characters Associated with 'Sex Work'

Profile	Glamour Model	Hard-Core Model	Prostitute	Anti-Pornography Campaigner
<i>Gender</i>	Female (100% participants)	Female (74% participants)	Female (94% participants)	Female (84% participants)
<i>Age</i>	early 20's	18-30	14-60 (mode = 22)	17-70 (mode=42)
<i>Ethnicity</i>	White (100% participants)	White (90% participants)	White (83% participants))	White (87% participants)
<i>Height</i>	Medium (80% participants)	Tall (90% participants)	Tall (45%); Medium (30% participants)	Small (51%); Very Tall (35% participants)
<i>Eye Colour</i>	Blue (70% participants)	Blue (60% participants)	Blue (54%); Green (35% participants)	Brown (52%)
<i>Hair Colour</i>	Blonde (80% participants)	Bleached Blonde (69% participants)	Bleached Blonde (by self) (55% participants); Red (30%)	Brown (58%); Grey (10% participants)
<i>Body Shape/Figure</i>	'Curvy' (50% participants)	Slim (63% participants)	Skinny (51% participants)	Fat (53%); Thin (27% participants)
<i>Physical Features linked with Character</i>	Breasts (73% participants)	Breasts (44%); Bottom (32%); slim waist (20% participants)	Legs (61%); Cleavage (22% participants)	Big Build (30%); Strong Presence (25%); Big Shoulders (20%); Plain Face (15% participants)
<i>Why Become?</i>	Money (76%); Fame (6%); Failed Model (20% participants)	Money (59%); 'Failed Actress' (32% participants)	Desperate for Money (96%); Drugs (51% participants)	Moral/Religious Beliefs (32%); Feminist reasons (22%); Previous negative experience with porn (16% participants)
<i>What did Character do before?</i>	Shop Assistant (80%); Waitress (10%); Checkout Girl (45% participants)	Actress (47%); Check-out Assistant (40% participants)	At school/just left school (51%); Unemployed (41%); Low paid work (35%); In a dysfunctional or /abusive family (22% participants)	Caring Work (46%); University (40%); Office Work (16%); Political Campaigner (10% participants)
<i>Three Words to Describe Character</i>	Breasts (90%) Stupid (60%) Blonde (60%) Bimbo (57%) Bitch (20%)	Cheap (60%) Bitch (50%) Nymphomaniac (40%) Degrading (30%) Exhibitionist (20%)	Disease (70%) Drugs (70%) Desperation (60%) Tart (40%) Whore (35%) Dirt (30%) Slag (25%)	Feminist (80%) Angry (40%) Strong (40%) Sensible (30%) Morals (25%) Brave (25%)

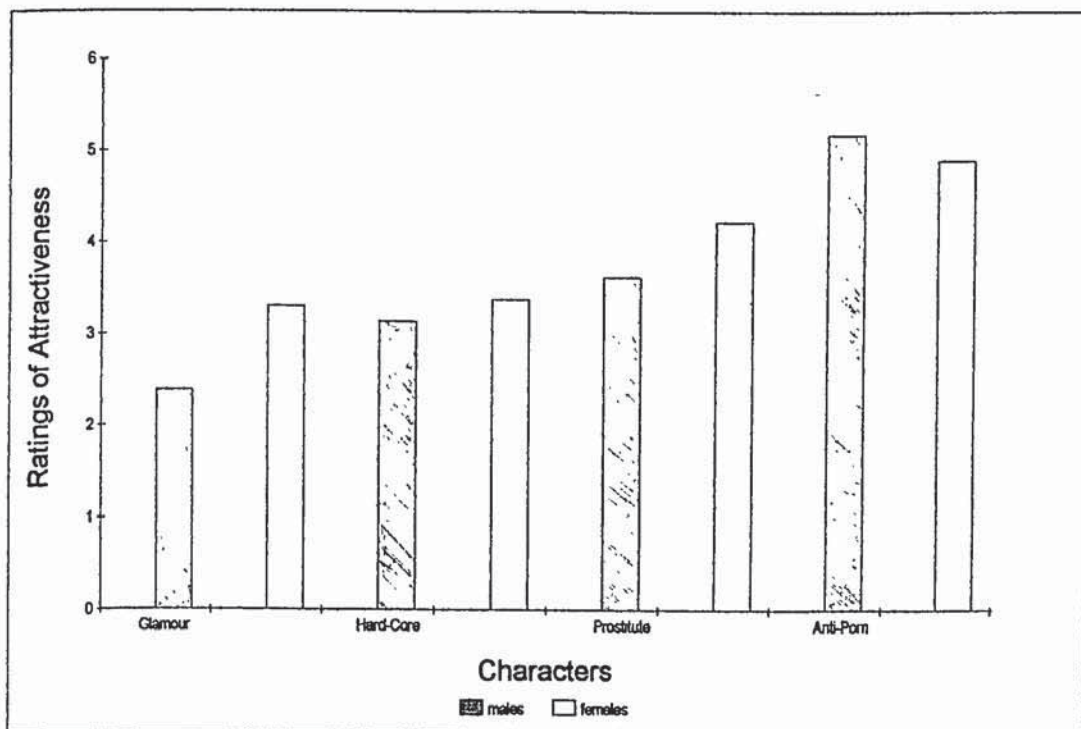
Table 19 below indicates that males and females rated the characters differently in terms of 'attractiveness'.

Table 19: Results of Two-Way ANOVA - Gender by Character Profile

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig of F	Significant
Main Effects	72.96	3	18.24	8.31		NS
Gender	2.78	1	2.78	1.27	0.262	P<.10
Character Profile	71.42	3	23.81	10.85	0.000	P<.001
Gender x Character Profile (two way interaction)	4.92	3	1.64	.747		NS

Female participants did not rate the characters as highly as male participants (apart from in the anti-pornography character). A hierarchy of attractiveness also emerged relating to the characters (see also Polk and Cowan, 1996), as the bar chart below suggests:

Bar Chart Illustrating Male and Female Participant's Mean Scores of Perceived Attractiveness for the Different Characters [where one = very attractive and 7 = not very attractive]



The rest of this section examines these profiles in more detail and discusses the way each 'character' (glamour and hard core model, prostitute and anti-pornography campaigner) are constructed in academic writing and participant's descriptions.

Women sex workers (Inciardi, 1995) have historically been labelled as 'fallen women' (Nead, 1987). The present study links sex workers with being not very bright, young, abused, self-obsessed, or sexually deviant (Boynton, 1996a). Barry (1995) argues their poverty renders them unable to speak for themselves. Sarah Young relates how her teacher advised her to leave formal education in favour of glamour modelling (not because she wasn't bright, but because her 'assets' allowed her to make more money from her body than her mind) (Campbell, 1993). Although Nineteenth Century writers and present day reformers argue about poverty forcing women into sex work, many women have no other option, and some contemporary women argue it is the best or most lucrative profession open to them (Roberts, 1986), in a limited field of choices (Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998). Positive accounts from women sex workers exist (French, 1998; Dewe Mathews, 1993; Winterson, 1990; Lecorne, 1977; Delacoste and Alexander, 1988; Chapkiss, 1997), but the majority of texts on SEM present it as negative and damaging to 'women' (those who make it and those outside the industry). Within experimental research on SEM, women who appear in SEM as actresses and models are noticeable by their absence. Their images are the stimuli for participants to respond to - whilst their views remain largely unheard. This section will outline the different profiles of the characters through participants written descriptions.

The Glamour Model

All participants reported this character was female and young (in her early twenties). She was described as white, of medium height with blue eyes and blonde hair. The focus on blonde hair was supported in the analysis of the men's sexual titles (see Chapter Four), where the majority of models were blonde (varying from 'mousey' blonde to platinum white hair). References in the texts accompanying the pictures also drew attention to this with models defined as "*willowy blonde*" (Penthouse), or "*Blonde Bum-Shell*" (Razzle). Breasts were the key feature associated with this character. The reasons why 'she' became a glamour model was for the money and to be famous, "*they like to show off*" (female, 21); "*they think they look good*" (female, 19); "*they want lots of money, want to be in the spotlight and become famous*" (male, 19). [The use of the term 'they' further indicates the 'not like me' discourse]. In the focus groups in Chapter Six and discussions of the eight pictures of women in the second study of this chapter, references were noted for women being a 'failed model' and therefore became a glamour model instead, eg: "*too short for a catwalk model*" (female, 35).

Before becoming a glamour model she was believed to have been in low paid work such as a check out girl or waitress: *"probably not a high achiever, so she relies on her appearance"* (female participant, aged 21), *"nothing mentally stimulating, eg: shop assistant"* (female, 35). One participant argued that this character could have been anyone *"anything at all - ie: unemployed - doctor"* (male, 18), whilst another suggested *"if someone was in a position [such as] a doctor or perhaps not on such a high level they wouldn't give that up"* (female, 19). The majority of participants suggested that this character probably had a limited number of choices open to her, but relied on her looks and willingness to *"show off"* (male participant, 19) to work as a glamour model. This has been challenged by women who work in SEM: *"I don't think just because somebody takes their clothes off for a living that they are doing it because they are a bit of a thickie"* (Drew, 1991, p.5). The main reaction from participants was that in choosing this kind of work one had to be very stupid, very attractive and very bitchy, but having selected this career one could also become very wealthy.

This was the only condition where the gender of the researcher appeared to have an effect. Female participants did not mention cellulite when talking about glamour models in the presence of the male assistant, but when a female supervisor was present, female participants stated that one should not have cellulite if one was to be a successful glamour model. Similar scrutiny of female models bodies were observed by female participants in the focus groups (Chapter Six). Further research could examine these tentative findings in more detail (results from study two in this chapter also indicated slight differences in group activity depending on the gender of the researcher - assessed in participants discursive styles).

Hard-core Model

The majority of participants suggested the character was female and aged between 18 - 30 years. She was perceived as being tall and white, with blue eyes and *bleached*-blonde hair, (in the previous category the glamour models hair was presented as being 'naturally' blonde). The physical features linked to the character were breasts and bottom. This character was believed to have become a hard-core model because she wanted to be rich and also as she had failed as an actress or model - *"an attempt to get into the legitimate film industry"* (female, 20), *"tried to be a fashion model/photographic model"* (female, 20), *"failed acting courier (sic)"* (male, 19). As with the glamour model

who was seen as a failed 'proper' or catwalk model, the hardcore character was perceived as a failed actress. Both reactions indicate a divide between the 'legitimate' film or fashion industry, even though aspects of these have been presented also as sites of SEM eg: Calvin Klein's underwear adverts were labelled child pornography (Tucker, 1998). Images are difficult to interpret when presented outside their original source (as this chapter has already illustrated), although this seems to be a common practice in experiments on SEM. Non-sexually explicit sources can be sexually charged by the viewer, for example paedophiles have been known to utilise knitting patterns or advertisements featuring children as masturbatory material (see Howitt, 1995).

Evidently participants associated the choice of depicting sex in photographs or on film as a step removed from fashion modelling or being a 'serious' film actress. A discussion held by one group of participants supported this by mentioning that porn stars have their own 'Oscar' ceremonies (Alberge, 1996). This was seen as highly amusing to the group, who made jokes about what people would wear to such an event and where they would "*hang their awards*" (male participant, aged 19).

The character was believed to have worked as a checkout girl or failed actress before choosing to be a hard-core model. As with the glamour model she was presented as being not very bright and also incapable of doing a 'normal' job - "*something boring, like a shop assistant, or secretary, things with no chance for excitement*" (male, 19), "*their body is good enough to sell. They aren't very intelligent so they've had to use their body instead*" (female, 18). The glamour model was presented as being very attractive, whilst the hard-core model was rated as less attractive and linked with sex so terms like 'nymphomaniac' and 'exhibitionist' were exclusively applied - "*promiscuous lifestyle maybe?*" (female, 41), "*because they enjoy shagging*" (male, 20), "*perverse sexual desires?*" (female, 26).

Links between female sexuality and 'appropriate' behaviour were made (see Lees, 1993) including terms like 'cheap' and 'degrading'. The glamour model wasn't seen to have cheapened or degraded herself, but the hard-core model was accused of this, presumably because participants viewed the category of hard-core model as 'more sexual' than the glamour model. Articles in the tabloid press during the course of this research reinforced this, eg: "[t]his is a

rare picture of Linsey Dawn McKenzie (porn model) covering up her only two assets. But a lack of brains and morals has not stopped her making a fortune destroying people's lives" (Daily Mail, 25.1.97, ps:20-21). In the first two studies in this chapter, items seen as highly sexual were perceived as being low quality. Characters described as being less attractive the more involved with the 'sex industry' they became (ie: glamour models are photographed nude but do not have sex, hard-core models and prostitutes have sex for money, and anti-pornography characters were described by participants as knowing a lot about SEM - this may explain the differences in ratings of characters attractiveness outlined previously).

Whilst the glamour model was seen to continue into a lucrative career, the hardcore model was viewed as probably ending up worse off *"offered a chance to become a model because they were attractive, but don't make it in the end"* (female, 18), *"Lack of money and her looks is all she has. Insecurity - mistakes sex for love and need to be loved"* (male, 19). This recollects participant's reactions towards the 'lower quality' men's magazines (Chapters Four and Six), and pictures shown out of context and described as lower quality in study two of this chapter. Illustrating further that participants can describe scenarios about 'what happened next' with the minimum information (see earlier in this chapter).

Prostitute

This character was described as being female, although it had been anticipated that more participants would cite that males could be prostitutes (Boles and Elifson, 1994; Gibson, 1995). Unlike the hard-core and glamour model profile (described as in their twenties), the prostitute category revealed a wider age range (from 14-60). It was predicted that participants might also include racial stereotypes in this category (Scambler, 1997), but the character was again described as white. Participants described her eyes as blue or green, and her hair red or bleached blonde (the character was referred to as having bleached her own hair - badly - rather than having it styled at a hairdressers). Whilst the two previous characters were talked about as being slim or curvy, the prostitute was described as 'skinny', which was explained as being caused by drug abuse (Scambler and Scambler, 1995; Morrison, Ruben and Wakefield, 1994). The physical features linked with this character was her legs *"don't need any features, but associated with them are long legs"* (female, 18). This was not anticipated at the start of the study, although

subsequent searches of images in the print media would appear to indicate that prostitutes are signified by their legs - perhaps linking with the term 'streetwalker'. Future research involving a more detailed content analysis of press photographs is proposed to investigate this.

Before becoming a prostitute the character was classed as being unemployed, at school or having just left school (again references to being very young were evident). References to being in an abusive or dysfunctional family were made to explain why the woman took drugs and became a prostitute: "*school -> ran away -> a housewife - > violence*" (male, 45), "*dropped out of school, had row with parents, ran away, became prostitute*" (female, 18) (see Gibson, 1995; Friedberg, 1996). Prostitution was perceived by some participants as an expression of hatred of women, for example "*bad treatment of women, oppression of women, alienation of women*" (female, 32) (see Barry, 1995).

A need to have money was again a feature of this profile, but unlike the previous two categories there were references to being desperate for the money (in order to buy food or drugs, or to support their children) rather than choosing a lucrative and glamorous lifestyle, "*see it as a means of survival to uphold a standard of living to which they aspire. Regard it as their only option*" (female, 18), "*no money, no job, last resort, or pushed into it by drugs or pushers*" (female, 25), "*they went to live on streets and found it an easy (although undesirable) way of earning money*" (male, 18). Participants discourses were most pejorative in this category, with descriptions of the women sex workers including 'tart', 'slag', 'slapper' and 'whore'. This seems all the more negative when one recalls that many prostitutes are very young girls (Banardos, 1995; Lee and O'Brien, 1995; Barrett, 1997), a fact which participants acknowledged. This character wasn't overtly referred to as a victim of abuse, but was categorised instead in negative and often hostile language - referring to her as dirty, shameful and disease-ridden. Research indicates that prostitute women are aware of the way they are perceived, and some have challenged these views as the following two excerpts illustrate: "*[t]he word 'prostitute' to a lot of people is six foot blonde, skirt up her arse and like I said they (non-prostitutes) say prostitutes, they assume prostitutes do it without condoms, they say that prostitutes are dirty, but what they forget is that a lot of prostitutes are normal people*"; "*prostitutes aren't all slags and dirty bleached-blond girls and drug addicts and alcoholics*" (case history of a prostitute - from in-depth interviews, in Boynton, Bucknor and Morton, 1998,

p.25) [Note similarities in the prostitute-woman's description of how others view her and the character profile].

Anti-Pornography Campaigner

The majority of participants perceived this character to be female (although some suggested they could be a man whose reasons for campaigning would be linked to religious beliefs, similar to descriptions of 'John' in the anti-porn condition, Chapter Five). The age of the character spanned 17-70, although the modal age of 42 was older than the other characters. The sex workers were described differently from the anti-pornography campaigner as they were called 'girls', although such a description was never associated with the anti-porn character. The character was described as a 'feminist', which might indicate why there was a disparity in reactions towards her. Previous research on descriptions of feminists have indicated that participants have a variety of (often negative) reactions (Beloff et al, 1993). The anti-pornography campaigner was described as either fat or thin, with brown or grey hair, and very tall or small. Unlike the hard-core and glamour models she was not rated as being attractive, with references made to her looking 'plain' - *"need to loose weight, smile more and relax"* (female, 27).

Before she became an anti-pornography campaigner she was believed to have been involved in work that was either caring or campaigning, and many participants suggested she had been to university (which was unique to this category). The character was described as *"career woman, high powered"* (female, 30); who *"went to university"* (female, 21), and who dedicated her life to helping other women *"equality based employment against the exploitation of women"* (male, 26), and someone who was not feminine in the traditional sense *"worked in a man's clothes shop - lorry driver, police woman, fire woman"* (male, 22). The character became an anti-pornography campaigner because of religious, moral, or feminist reasons or due to a negative experience with pornography, *"is offended by materials and believes that exploitation is occurring. doesn't wish children to see it"* (male, 20), *"they feel it demoralises people, they have had a bad experience with it"* (female, 18), *"maybe because of religious believes (sic), maybe of bad experiences in sexual life"* (female, 21), *"by embracing the thoughts and notions within radical feminist theory"* (male, 30).

It was anticipated that participants would react negatively to this character, but several responses were positive (eg: 'brave' and 'strong'). 'Feminist', 'sensible' and 'angry' were also given, and whilst these can have both positive and negative connotations, many participants stated in the debriefing session that they admired people who "took a stand on issues" (female participant, aged 29), and who were "articulate" (female, 19) or "brave and in control" (male, 20).

Further accounts indicated the character had different reasons for opposing pornography - "lack of confidence in themselves, feels threatened by it - may actually be slightly curious about it, but would not admit it" (female, 27), "perhaps because they feel inadequate" (female, 18), "jealousy" (female, 18), "they may have the view that sex is wrong and unnatural" (female, 39). Or this longer reply: "those people are usually very self-conscious and one-track minded. They preach about morality when they themselves don't really practice it at all. They're angry with themselves but direct it on to other people and topics...They probably were (secretly) in favour of pornography, because they actually liked it. But so...in order to reach certain goals as social status or promotion or political careers, decided to adopt a certain poseition (sic) that is likely to be more socially acceptable" (female, 19). These reactions are similar to those applied to the anti-pornography characters 'Jane' and 'John' (Chapter Five), and in the focus groups (Chapter Six). Female participants revealed difficulties with producing criticisms of SEM without being labelled as a "killjoy or a prude" (female aged 19) (see also Short, Tunks and Hutchinson, 1993). Some male participants stated that women who wanted to ban SEM were "Jealous" (male aged 24).

In the discussions following profile completion participants revealed they employed images from the mainstream media to inform the constructions of the characters associated with SEM. Women's magazines such as *Company* and *Marie Claire* and the men's magazines *Loaded* were mentioned, and popular television soaps such as *Eastenders*, *The Bill* or *Casualty* were cited. The film *Showgirls* (a Hollywood film about strippers shown in the UK under an 18 certificate) was said to describe the hard-core model, whilst the television series *Band of Gold* depicted prostitutes (Boynton, 1998a). All the male participants and 80% of the female participants in this study had seen images of glamour models in top shelf magazines, and a third of all participants

admitted seeing 'hard-core' videos; descriptions based on these sources were absent.

This thesis argues images of 'women in porn' exist within 'pornography' and in the mainstream media, blurring the distinction between the pornographic and the non-pornographic, so SEM is located and discussed in a number of sources. The similarities of descriptions from participants who described top-shelf magazines (see Chapter Six) and those who saw no images but created the profiles used in this study and others in this thesis, show how participants bring existing interpretative repertoires to 'pornography research'. Whilst this is a positive for individuals who wish to study SEM but do not want to use it directly, these factors also illustrate how traditional experiments can be questioned. This problematises defining what constitutes the 'pornography' to be used in research, and identifying whether participants are responding to a (pornographic) stimulus or expressing pre-existing (stereotypical) attitudes about SEM and associated factors.

Summary

This thesis has shown how traditional 'pornography' research explains SEM in terms of what it is and/or what it might do, assuming agreement to test relationships between sexual images and subsequent violence or abuse. The difficulties of gaining legal or agreement on what may be obscene, and the debates about SEM further indicate how 'pornography' may be 'in the eye of the beholder' (Mosher, 1989, p.83). Results from studies for this thesis support this, suggesting that factors of contextual presentation, control over display of materials, and prior knowledge about them means SEM *"receive their meaning from the contexts in which they are used...these words and gestures have the potential to be empowering or oppressive depending on who is using them and how"* (Murray, 1992).

Chapter Two of this thesis showed different people will have different preferences and reactions to SEM at different points in history:

"[w]hat is obscene to Tom is not obscene to Lucy or Joe, and really, the meaning of a word has to wait for the majorities to decide it. If a play shocks ten people in an audience, and doesn't shock the remaining five hundred, then it is obscene to ten and innocuous to five hundred; hence the play is not obscene by majority. But Hamlet shocked all the Cromwellian Puritans, and shocks nobody today, and some of Aristophanes shocks everybody today, and it didn't galvanize the later Greeks at all, apparently. Man is a changeable beast, and words change their meanings with him, and things are not what

they seemed, and what's what becomes what isn't, and if we think we know where we are, it's only because we are so rapidly being translated to somewhere else" (Lawrence, 1929, cited in Mills, 1993 p.10).

Yet a majority view might not always be 'accurate'. Minority anti-porn groups argued just because the majority of consumers - men - did not appear to be concerned by the images in pornography it did not mean that the images were not problematic. It can be questioned whether the viewer applies definitions to materials post distribution, or the creator does it pre-distribution (Mosher, 1989). The majority of existing research tends to utilise materials created to be sold as SEM and shown in that context, but *"[w]hen pornography is given a pejorative meaning, it implies that negative affects and moralizing judgement are responses to a specific product"* (Mosher, 1989, p.83). By altering presentation formats and perceptions about context, this thesis has shown that many reactions to SEM may be attributed to 'the eye of the beholder', and are also shaped by the perceived sources of images, who argues *"'pomography' is an exceptionally ambiguous yet emotive term, which takes on different meanings in different discourses"* (Weeks, 1985, p.232).

Traditional experiments assume participants' react to a given stimulus and reflect a 'true' response to material, ignoring a host of additional influences. These include why participants volunteer; how they perceive the research/the researcher; their views and experiences of SEM prior to participating and how these change during the course of research. Studies for this thesis invited participants to discuss their views about SEM on a wider level than responding to images in a study setting, and acknowledged that different social settings and experiences influence reactions. It has shown these 'responses' are not fixed, as participants presented many different 'views' on SEM. Tewksbury argued in his research on patrons of adult bookstores *"[e]ach man's virtual social identity then becomes a foundation for the construction of the setting's interactional complex. Considering the array of potential virtual social identities, it is easy to see that interactions may vary widely, as will each actor's motivations for their respective performed behaviours"* (1990, p.269). This thesis has shown how this informs their behaviour within the study, and may even be subject to changes as the research progresses.

Research is a social interaction, and studies for this thesis were designed so social factors could be included alongside traditional responses to SEM. If one uses initial responses given by participant's about what they are viewing

(or what they may do post-viewing), a great deal of important contextual information is lost - as the thesis has illustrated. Chapters Two, Four and Five showed how 'pornography' may be located in a variety of sources, whilst the remainder of the thesis indicated a multiplicity of reactions from participants to SEM, which were affected by context, and argued broad definitions of SEM are problematic.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS, CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

“pornography might include any written, visual, or spoken material depicting or describing sexual conduct or genital exposure that is arousing to the viewer...Taken literally, it could include anything from...ancient works...to the suggestive advertisements that commonly appear on billboards and in magazines to explicit video portrayals of sexual interaction and sexually oriented violence” (Crooks and Baur,1996, p.588).

This chapter summarises the main findings and conclusions from this thesis; discusses limitations, and suggests ideas for future research. Before discussing conclusions, the thesis will be summarised. Chapter Two provided a background to theories of SEM and identified that SEM is viewed differently in different times, places, and through different political or research standpoints. It was critical of the adoption of causal links from correlational studies (White and Farmer, 1992), overreliance of male undergraduates in SEM research (Hughes, 1986), and the assumption of agreed definitions for terms linked with SEM (eg: ‘violent erotica’, ‘dehumanising pornography’). Chapter Three extended this with a review of multi-method approaches, and a reflexive account which identified my research experiences. Chapter Four described analysis of sixteen sexual and non-sexual magazines aimed at a male and female audience and located them at a particular historical point: in response to criticisms of existing studies that present materials in a context-free manner.

Chapter Five examined the reasons participants attended research on SEM, and described their views and experiences with SEM prior to viewing any materials. Existing studies concerning volunteers for sex studies were outlined in the chapter. These tend to measure participation rates rather than represent ‘good practice’ in SEM research (ie: declaring research background). The analysis identified a number of factors, from reasons for volunteering to views about SEM and its ‘consumers’, to highlighting how those who attend SEM research have a number of rehearsed views on the subject prior to being shown any materials. Chapter Six extended these ideas by outlining participants discourses relating to sexual magazines aimed at men and women. These focus groups revealed complex reactions to images which

were linked both to the materials and to factors such as relationships, body image, context and control, which are absent in the majority of traditional SEM research.

Much existing SEM research (outlined in Chapter Two) assumes men react negatively to images of women. However, results in Chapter Six illustrated that female participants also made pejorative remarks about women-in-porn. Participants discussions revealed that prior knowledge about titles, and print quality and layout affected their judgements of materials - supporting the idea that contextual factors influence views of SEM. To assess this further, Chapter Seven described four interlinking studies which presented texts or images in different contexts. These studies indicated how participants' perceptions of images were influenced by their perceived context of a text (ie: whether it was linked with men's/women's sexual/non-sexual material), and images or characters associated with SEM.

Conclusions

Three main conclusions may be drawn from this thesis. Firstly, images deemed 'pornographic' differ through historical and cultural periods; and political, economic and social climates. This thesis has outlined a variety of definitions and interpretations of SEM from academic, media and participants' discourses. It has criticised the lack of awareness in experimental approaches which ignore historical and cultural factors in their approach to assessing the impact(s) of SEM.

Secondly, this thesis has outlined that there is not one definition, source, or factor which may be named 'porn' (as the studies in chapters Five-Seven indicated). Therefore whilst people might express views on who uses SEM and what 'porn' or 'erotica' may constitute, there are many sources which could be deemed sexually explicit. In addition the thesis has clearly illustrated how participants experience a variety of complex reactions to sexual images and related issues, showing that existing research oversimplifies the area. Indeed, the thesis has demonstrated how participants are able to indicate a number of different interpretations of images when required - and can also offer incisive critiques of the research process.

Thirdly the thesis has illustrated the context and presentation of materials will influence how images are perceived and reacted to. Therefore when

participants in studies for the thesis were asked to match texts/pictures, or were presented with materials identified as originating from different sources they relied upon pre-existing views and stereotypical beliefs about SEM to assist them. The four studies outlined in Chapter Seven show that participants may not be responding directly to images/texts in SEM studies (the crux of the majority of experiments). Rather, they are utilising a number of rehearsed narratives (some of which may be informed by the media - but not always by SEM) to explain what they are viewing.

Review of Research Issues

This thesis has presented a number of criticisms of the 'experimental method' in studies of 'porn', and discussed 'feminist', 'religious' and 'liberal' descriptions of SEM (see chapters Two and Five). One of the main criticisms against 'experiments', is the use of undergraduates in (pornography) research. However, the majority of participants in the studies presented in this thesis were students, selected primarily because of accessibility and convenience (Ciclitira, 1996). This chapter later suggests ideas for further research to counteract this.

By researching SEM through a number of sometimes conflicting perspectives and methodologies, this thesis could be described as an overview of many concepts and perspectives, rather than an examination of a (limited) subject area using one particular method as in more traditional theses. Yet the thesis illustrates that issues of SEM and research are complex - highlighted by the different approaches taken to study issues of context within research on SEM and participants views about the subject. This thesis has illustrated how the simplification of complex issues by 'pornography research' is fundamentally flawed. A multiplicity of methods, sources, and theories were therefore used to readdress this. Post-thesis, the research 'data' may be re-examined from different perspectives such as Psychoanalytic Theory; media studies; working within the 'sex industry'; economic evaluation; Information Technology; historical/cultural and art (described in more detail in Chapter Two). In relation to 'context', results could theoretically be reinterpreted to reflect liberal, anti-pornography or anti-anti pornography views.

Suggestions for Further Research and Applications of Findings

Media Sources: this thesis indicates that perceptions are affected when images or sources of presentation are manipulated (Chapter Seven) - but

what about contrasting different kinds of media? The majority of existing studies utilise one image or medium on which to base their hypotheses. Future research could examine whether moving images have a different impact to still pictures, or if 'serious' documentaries are viewed differently from entertainment sources - even if the content is similar. This thesis has looked at reactions to images shown in different contexts. Further research could look at the same images presented in a variety of formats to examine possible differences in reactions.

Developing technologies: as mentioned, there have been a number of changes in SEM. In the early 1990s there was a massive increase in the number of telephone sex lines, and an attempt to re-introduce sexually explicit magazines for women (see Chapter Four). Most recently the Internet has become a major source of pornographic material, with censorship on 'the net' being a topical issue (McNair, 1996; Thomas, 1997). As indicated in chapters Two and Four this is of no surprise, as Information Technology has always been quickly adopted by the 'sex industry'. Future research could focus on the different kinds of sexually explicit images available on the Internet, as well as concentrating on who accesses such materials, and why.

Further developments during the course of this thesis were the changes to the Obscene Publications Squad, who in the early nineties were focusing on a variety of complaints from the public and were embroiled in the Operation Spanner trial (see Ferris, 1993). More recently there has been a change towards focusing more on child pornography (or textual/film images of child abuse) in order to reduce crimes against children within the UK and farther afield (Tate, 1990; Barry, 1995; Mike Hames - in interview, 1992). This thesis argues against a universal definition of 'porn', but acknowledges that there are different types of subject matter in materials available (see Chapter Four). Again, future research could examine who 'uses' this material and their reasons for doing so.

Porn Consumption and Involving Consumers: in most 'pornography' research, the basic motives people have for 'using' SEM are overlooked. In an attempt to reduce 'risk' to the researcher, participants, or even wider society, we have possibly avoided asking people about how and when they 'use' SEM, what they like and dislike, how they obtain materials and so on. Discourses of desire, pleasure, enjoyment have been largely absent from this particular

research arena, whilst criticisms and opposition have been framed within a pro or anti-porn stance (see chapters Two, Five and Six). Research in this thesis indicates when given materials to discuss, participants are capable of outlining a variety of reactions. Additional research might build upon this by asking those who use, oppose or are indifferent to SEM to discuss their views in-depth; and move from 'lab' based study settings which have been criticised for being an artificial arena for examining reactions to SEM (Yaffe, 1983; Fisher and Grenier, 1992).

Female Participants: this research included women as participants and assistants, unlike many existing experiments (Hughes, 1986; Appendix 1). Utilising a feminist psychology standpoint assisted this, but this could go further (Griffin, 1998). There are women involved in the 'sex industry' on a number of levels: - policing, performing and protesting to name but three. Existing 'laboratory' research excludes and ignores these women's voices (see chapters Two, Three and Six). Results from this thesis could be extended to include additional perspectives from women who are actually involved in SEM, but are excluded from feminist and experimental work.

Examining Masculinity: the majority of references used within this thesis suggest that 'pornography' is something that is made, distributed and 'consumed' by men. Whilst there are many women who feature in 'porn', there are also a number of male actors who appear in SEM aimed at a variety of audiences. The majority of research focuses on the behaviour of participants after viewing SEM, rather than critically evaluating what it means to be a man and look at such materials. Evidence of this was observed in some of the male participants discourses in the 'date rape' study in Chapter Seven. The concept of the 'male gaze' and construction of masculinity requires further investigation (Dutton, 1995).

Working in the 'Sex Industry': the majority of experimental research enters the 'pornographic scene' once materials have been created and distributed, making assumptions about the effects such materials might have. A large part of the 'sex industry' which has been attacked by researchers and activists, remains undisturbed. Future research could access workers within the industry and follow them in in-depth explorations of their lives and work. This would allow SEMs to be placed in a clearer context - the researcher will know

exactly where the materials came from, how they were created, and who by. All the processes involved in this area need to be explored.

Summary

One of the criticisms raised against (social) psychological research is that it produces interesting studies which may not always have wider applications beyond the research setting (Fisher and Grenier, 1992). In terms of 'pornography research' the opposite has often been claimed, with politicians, religious and protest groups adopting findings to support their views about SEM (see Chapter Two). This thesis may not assist political or religious groups, as it argues against one definition and therefore one related effect of SEM (see chapters Two and Five). It has provided criticisms of existing studies, and argued in favour of utilising a multi-method approach to psychological research. The thesis has indicated that participants and researchers hold political and personal beliefs prior to beginning studies, which reflexive analysis enriches: including why people volunteer; the views and past experiences they have with SEM prior to participating; their idea about what to expect in the research and the role of the researcher; and their opinions about those linked with 'sex work'. This thesis has shown how these opinions may be challenged when participants look at images in a variety of contexts, and how pre-existing views and ideas may inform interpretations of SEM.

This thesis originally aimed to find a definition of pornography, and apply it to prove a link with sex crime, and/or an association with increased violence towards women and children. It has been an emotional journey to move from such a standpoint to argue there is no fixed definition of 'porn'. In response to the findings from this thesis, it appears naive to argue that 'pornography' *directly* causes rape or sexual violence towards women. However, there are cases every year where women and children are harmed in the production of some SEMs or at the hands of others who incorporate it into their abusive strategies (Tate, 1990; Russell, 1984; Lovelace and McGrady, 1981; Carpenter, 1991; Davies, 1994). Existing anti-pornography research tells us that 'porn' is violent and damaging, yet as this thesis has indicated, SEM is less clear cut. Analysis of descriptions of rape in *The Sport* newspaper revealed that it sexualised abuse of women and young girls (Boynton, 1995), although this publication would probably not be considered 'pornographic' by many existing definitions (see chapters Two and Five). Research from this

thesis may be applied in critically evaluating how versions of sexual activity are constructed (see Chapter Six). The thesis argues against privileging one version of events over another, and invites a critical approach to the study of messages in all descriptions of sex.

Endnote

Whilst this thesis was being finalised in August 1998, James Ferman of the British Board of Film Classification launched his final annual report prior to his retirement, stating certain forms of 'pornography' should be legalised (Harding, 1998, p.4; Clarke, 1998; Boshoff, 1998, p.9). The national press responded with articles which continued rehearsed narratives of 'hard' versus 'soft core' porn (illustrated in participant's definitions in Chapter Five). Further divisions were observed in the papers which fitted existing views of SEM (Cottle et al, 1989): the Daily Mail referred to breakdown of morals and family values (Clarke, 1998) reflecting a religious/conservative viewpoint. Other papers such as The Guardian indicated a liberal perspective, focusing on part of Ferman's report that argued films should not be 'treated with taboo'. The Guardian's Women's Page reflected feminist anti-pornography and anti-anti-pornography viewpoints by Charlotte Raven and Kate Taylor respectively.

The report, and subsequent media reactions in the press and radio debates (eg: Nicky Campbell on Radio Five Live), indicated well-practised views on hard versus soft, catharsis or desensitisation, and feminist perspectives. Reactions were diverse and emotive. Reports told readers that "*the more you see, the more you will take it for granted that the girls who's got her tits out is happy to be objectified*" (Raven, 1998, p.6). Exposure to SEM was constructed as dangerous, even for researchers. Kinsey was described as spending "*so much time analysing sex - including reams of pornographic films - that he descended into a vortex of promiscuity*" (McKinstry, 1998). These reactions and media reports supported issues highlighted in this thesis, that accounts of SEM can be as distressing as the supposed 'effects' caused by materials (Strossen, 1996); and that those associated with SEM are labelled negatively (see Chapter Three; and Chancer, 1993).

All accounts noted that the current obscenity law was vague, and mentioned banning material might drive it underground - a view consistently reinforced by participants in research for this thesis (see chapters Five and Six). However,

no reports in the TV or press, or the public appeared to agree on what material constituted 'hard' or 'soft' core - nor was there consistency in possible effects, although reports acknowledged there would always be a minority of people who wished to access illegal or violent forms of SEM. In addition, those who police the area noted that given the increasing availability and sophistication of Information Technology, policing SEM was virtually impossible. In relation to this thesis, these debates continue to support the idea that rehearsed views of SEM exist, but when absolute definition is required there is little consistency about what SEM is, and what 'it' does.

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APPENDIX ONE
Review of Experiments on 'Effects' of SEM

Summary of Experiments on Effects of SEM

(this review is from PsycLit 1887-1998, and excludes discussion papers, opinion surveys, content analysis and interviews)

Researchers Name(s) and date of Study	No. Men	No. Women	Under-grads used?	Lab Based?	Causal Effect/ Harm Inferred?
Reifler et al 1971	23	-	y	y	no
Cook et al 1971	129	-	n	y	no
Kant 1972	?	-	no	no	no
Armaroso et al 1972	60	-	y	y	partial
Ware et al 1972	40	-	y	y	partial
Reed and Reed 1972	*	*	y	y	no
Mosher 1972	*	*	y	y	no
Goldstein 1973	?	-	no	no	no
Kercher and Walker 1973	56	-	y	y	partial
Temple 1973	17	29	y	y	no
Englar and Eugene 1973	40	40	y	y	no
Brown et al 1973	40	-	y	y	no
Byrne-Donn et al 1973	*	*	n	y	no
Diener et al 1973	*	*	n	n	partial
Davis and Bright 1973	*	*	n	n	partial
Howard et al 1973	*	*	?	y	no
Mann, Sidman and Starr, 1973	*	*	n	y	no
Mosher 1973	194	183	y	y	-
Wallace 1973	*	*	n	n	no
Izard and Caplan 1974	*	*	y	y	no
Byrne-Donn et al 1974	*	*	n	n	-
Colson 1974	51	-	y	y	-
Thompson and Dixon 1974	-	10	n	y	-
Houston and Houston 1974	*	*	n	n	-
Lewittes and Simmons 1975	130	-	y	n	no
Lenes and Hart 1975	-	52	y	y	no
Marvin et al 1976	56	-	y	y	partial
Love et al 1976	35	-	y	y	-
Pincus and Walters 1976	99	96	y	y	no
Schaefer and Colgan 1977	6	-	?	y	no
Argranal 1977	*	*	?	y	no
Osborn and Pollack 1977	-	12	(grads)	y	no
Zilmann and Sapolsky 1977	66	-	y	y	partial
Griffit and Kaiser 1978	40	40	y	y	no
Donnerstein and Hallam 1978	60	-	y	y	y
Fisher and Byrne 1978	31	31	y	y	partial
Fehr and Schulman 1978	-	12	y	y	no
White 1979	95	-	y	y	y
Brown 1979	30	30	y	y	no
Kenrick et al 1979	52	41	y	y	-
Donnerstein 1980	120	-	y	y	y
Jones and Joe 1980	40	40	y	y	-
Malamuth, Heim and Feshbach 1980	*	*	y	y	y
Schill, van-Tuinen and Doty 1980	82	-	y	y	-
Zilmann, Bryant and Carveth 1981	24	-	y	y	no
Donnerstein and Berkowitz 1981	160	-	y	y	y
Zilmann et al 1981	74	-	y	y	partial
Kessler and Schwickerath 1981	40	40	y	y	-
Sapolsky and Zilmann 1982	127	60	y	y	partial
Ramirez, Bryant and Zilmann 1982	72	-	y	y	partial
Zilmann and Jennings 1982	*	*	y	y	y

Leonard and Taylor 1983	40	-	y	y	partial
Wolchik and Spencer 1983	-	296	y	y	-
Malamuth and Check 1984	*	*	y	y	y
Yuen and Ickes, 1984	72	-	y	y	-
Pryzbyla and Byrne 1984	166	154	y	y	-
Prerost 1984	60	60	y	y	-
Becker and Byrne 1985	36	34	y	y	-
Malamuth and Check 1985	307	-	y	y	y
Pekala et al 1985	70	179	y	y	-
Morokoff 1985	-	62	y	y	no
Wolchik et al 1985	324	424	y	y	no
Malamuth and Ceniti 1986	42	-	y	y	partial
George and Marlatt 1986	64	-	y	y	partial
Pfaus et al 1986	36	-	y	y	no
Smeaton and Byrne 1986	70	-	y	y	partial
Bernstein et al 1986	60	-	y	y	-
Zilman and Jennings 1986	*	*	-	y	yes
Garcia 1986	115	-	y	y	no
Mayerson and Taylor 1987	-	96	y	y	y
Smith and Hand 1987	-	230	y	y	no
Sommers and Check 1987	-	76	Some	n	y
Coyne and Gross 1988	88	-	y	y	no
Demare, Briere and Lips 1988	222	-	y	y	y
Becker and Byrne, 1988	118	-	y	y	no
Zilman and Bryant 1988	*	*	some	y	y
Linz et al 1988	y	-	?	y	y
George, Phillips and Skinner 1988	76	-	y	y	-
George et al 1989	371	-	y	y	-
Kenrick et al 1989	107	89	y	y	y
Linz et al 1989	63	-	y	y	y
Padgett et al 1989	*	*	some	n	no
Garcia and Milano 1990	*	*	y	y	no
Geer and McGlone 1990	29	20	y	y	-
Senn and Radtke 1990	-	96	y	y	partial
Syracuse 1991	15	-	n	y	-
Norris 1991	40	42	n	y	y
Amelang and Pielke 1992	100	151	y	y	no
Saunders and Naus 1993	48	-	y	y	-
Rowland et al 1993	39	-	-	y	-
Norris and Kerr 1993	96	86	-	y	partial
Laan et al 1994	-	47	-	y	no
Zilman et al 1994	-	96	y	y	no
Cowan and Dunn 1994	88	94	y	y	partial
Fisher and Grenier 1994	79	-	y	y	no
Hall et al 1994	64	66	y	y	-
Mosher and Maclan 1994	200	195	y	y	-
Quackenbush et al 1995	91	73	y	y	no
Lopez and George 1995	167	-	y	y	partial
Sinclair et al 1995	70	-	y	y	y
Baronogian et al 1995	54	-	y	y	y
Barak and Fisher 1997	100	-	y	y	-
Koukounas and McCabe 1997	20	20	-	y	-
Frale et al 1997	617	89	-	y	-
Barak and Azy 1997	100	-	y	y	no

This table indicates the disparity in research completed on SEM using male undergraduates.

* = mixed groups of participants

- = not included

APPENDIX TWO
Chronology of Studies for Thesis

[Note: participants completed one study only. Therefore, participants were excluded from completing additional studies for this thesis]

Chronology of Studies

- 1992 **Vignettes:** 60 participants rated a character (John/Jane) linked to liking or opposing SEM, or enjoying romantic fiction. [Reported in Chapter 5]
- 1993 **Content Analysis of 16 sexual and non-sexual magazines aimed at men and women.** Assisted in task by four female undergraduates who co-coded categories in magazines [Reported in Chapter 4].
- 1993 **Questionnaires on 'Attitudes to SEM'** given to 25 participants who then discussed the ten top-shelf magazines (reported in Chapter 4). Assisted by one white, female undergraduate aged 21 [Results from questionnaires outlined in Chapter 5, and discussion groups in Chapter 6].
- 1994 **Questionnaires on 'Attitudes to SEM'** given to 20 participants who also discussed the ten top-shelf magazines (reported in Chapter Four). Was assisted by two white, female undergraduate aged 21 and 22. [Results from questionnaires outlined in Chapter 5, and discussion groups in Chapter 6].
- 1994 **Title Matching Study:** 32 titles were selected from the men's and women's sexual and non-sexual magazines analysed in Chapter 4. 112 participants matched titles to perceived sources and quality of publication. Was assisted by one female assistant aged 21 (as above) [Reported in Chapter 7].
- 1995 **Pictures Shown Out of Context:** 8 pictures were selected from the magazines analysed in Chapter Four. 35 participants rated the pictures, stated where they thought they originated from and discussed them with a myself and/or a white, male assistant aged 35 [Reported in Chapter 7].
- 1996 **Profiling of Characters Linked with Sex Work.** 125 participants described 4 characters linked with SEM. Assisted by a white male aged 32 and a white female aged 34 [Reported in Chapter 7].
- 1996/7 **Attitudes to Date Rape Questionnaire:** 100 participants rated an article on date rape they believed to be from men's/women's sexual/non-sexual magazines. Assisted by a white female aged 21 [Reported in Chapter 7].

APPENDIX THREE
Questions Asked by Participants

Commonly Asked Questions

The authors of these statements were informed they might be quoted at a later stage, and gave permission to read and discuss them in a wider context. These questions indicate the factors people associate with SEM - or particularly the key word "pornography". I have placed them into general categories for clarity.

Gender (Differences)

**Do you think women masturbate to pornographic material? *Have you come across much sexually explicit material in which men are portrayed in a devalued light (other than in S/M material). And what are females views on this? *Have men ever been seen as victims of porn? *Do you think a rise in feminism has affected the porn industry? If so, how? *Would there ever be hardcore porn produced by women where the roles are reversed, and if so would women appreciate it in the same way as men do now? *Petra, is the need for a 'male' to ejaculate a primary drive (food, sleep etc). If so, does this explain the prevalence of Top Shelf magazines for males and a lack of photographic material for women?*

Penetration

**What is the most obscene item you know about that can be used as a penetrator in sex? *What are the most unusual objects used for penetration in porn films?*

Sex Advice

**What is felching? *How painful is penis piercing? *Are all penises the same length when erect? *How can lesbians catch AIDS?*

Community Standards

**If showing an erection is illegal, then how does Ann Summers get away with it? (at parties) *What are the laws governing phone sex lines in this country? *How far beyond the legal limit have pornographic films gone?*

Different Types of Research

**Have you done any research into child pornography and/or the psychology of child molesters? *Have you done/or do you know of any Research into the attitudes or feelings of the people participating in porn?*

Porn/Erotica Continuum/Divide

**How is pornography legally defined? *Do you feel that we have reached the boundaries of 'televised sex' or should we be open to the introduction of 'hard porn' (Dutch ideal)? *How widespread is the use of porn (either soft or hard)?*

Effects

**Is there any evidence for the assumption that the use of pornography by some men may reduce rape?*

'Personal'

**Have you ever had sex for money? *Have you been photographed nude? *Are you a member of a pro or anti-porn group? *Do you get turned-on when doing your 'research'? *What is your favourite (sic) porn film? *What are your personal views on this subject? *Were you raped? *Would you say, given aspects of your personal life, that you would be described as an ANAL personality?*

General

**What do you know of the developments of pornography transmitted through computer chains? *Is Madonna generally classed as a porn star?*

Note the 'personal' questions, where individuals attempted to find out what motivated the research. It seems by studying SEM one is expected to become an expert on all things sexual. Sexual advice questions were the ones most commonly put to me after and outside the research setting, suggesting a perceived link between a knowledge of pornography and a knowledge of sex. This thesis has argued that SEM constitutes representations of sex, but these questions, and other examples throughout the thesis indicate that people have ideas about the role and representation of the researcher who works in this area.

APPENDIX FOUR
Contents Pages for Magazines Analysed

Contents Page Lists for all Titles (Excluding Adverts)

[Each of these sections were copied from the magazine contents pages. Four female researchers, including myself prepared a list of all contents pages which were crossed-checked with the magazines for accuracy]

The Women's Sexual Titles

Playgirl (Vol 1, No 6)

The Mail Room (Letters); The Women's Room - 'When I'm Bad I'm Better' (Comment); The Men's Room - 'February 14th Part II - it lives!'; Innovation and Inspiration (Books, Clothes, Music etc); Look Ma, No Hands (article - orgasms without sex); Rebel Without A Cause (pin-up); Men and Women - We Want Each Other, But What Do We Want? (article); The Great British Hunk Hunt (search for a model); Virgin Territory (Frank Skinner Interview); The Rich Life (pin-up); House of Cards (answers to questions with the Tarot); Anatomy of Three Affairs (Men's Infidelity); The Dangerous Type (pin-up); In Praise of Macho Men (article against sensitive men); Quiz - what's your boiling point?; Beauty and the Boyfriend (makeup, clothes and beauty); Serenading Sean (pin-up); Are You In Love With A Mama's Boy (article); Close Encounters (fantasies); Great Expectations (pin-up); Twilight (story); Student Body Leader; Lovescapes (horoscopes); Sex Talk (Letters).

Women On Top (Vol 1, No 4)

Blind Dates: Eyes Open (men and women rate photographs and later meet each other); Roberto (pin-up); Fox Hunting (Michael J Fox); Profile - David Hasselhoff; Cartoon (male strippers vs flashers); Tanned Turn On (pin-up); At last...a mobile handbag! (car promotion); All the Young Dudes (pin-up); Promiscuous and Proud of It (interview - man who had sex with 250 women); Chippendale Exclusive (3D pin-up - glasses came free with the magazine); Hot Holiday Affairs (two women talk about their holiday affairs); Neil (pin-up); You too can do nude modelling for cash and still be daddy's...little angel (article - incorporating an anti-sexism disclaimer); Dean (pin-up); The Seagal Has Landed (Steven Seagal); Hubby of the month: Rick from North Devon (pin-up); A Pair of Nude Hubbies: Monty and Laurence; Nude Hubby Tom Jones Look-A-Like Chris from Brixton; Nude Hubby Brian from Aberdeen.

Ludus (Feb/March 1993)

Editorial: Welcome to Ludus; Whipt Syllabub (reviews: clothes, shows, rape alarms); What Makes a Man Model? (review and interview); Feature: Fighting Cocks (pictures of boxers bottoms); Ladies Leg Over Tips (cartoon); Come on Darlin' You Know You Want It! (Celebrities talk about chat up lines); Centaurian (pin-up); Have I Got Sex For You! (Angus Deayton Interview); Comment - Cat Rap; Undercover Investigation (men's underwear); Now that's what I call a man (Katie Puckrick Interview); Slosh (pin-up); The Ludus Survey (men's opinions on pornography for women); Bleedin' Women (article about menstruation); Competition (win men's underwear); Ask Us Anything (sex questions); Focus on Fantasy (Ruth Batten - Photographer); Sex in the '90's: Tuppy Owens (Comment); Review: Sex on Celluloid, Passion in Print, Noisy Sex; Elements (pin-up); To Boldly Come (fiction); O-Men! (Man's Comment); Le Weekend (fiction); Forbidden Fruit (fiction); Erections: are we too soft on the censors? (Lucy Ellman on women's sex magazines); Readers Letters; Hunger (fiction); Postal Love (pin-up); I'm In Agony (Problems); Suzie Scrumpy (cartoon); Reader's Writes: Adultery (readers fiction); Venus Rising (horoscopes).

Women Only (Vol 1, No.3)

Talk Back (letters page); Men For All Seasons (pin-up); Manstealers (article on friends stealing your man); Romeo and Juliet (photospread); Love and Lust (article: make your man loving and sexy); Maastricht Treats (interview with prostitutes); Private View (pin-up); Curse or Cure (sex and periods); Tecs Appeal (TV Detectives); Sex Games (review of 'adult' boardgames); Confession - I blackmailed her into sex; Cool Rider (pin-up); Size Matters (survey - women's attitudes to penis size); Portfolio of Lovers (Athena prints of couples); The Ice Factory (fiction); Decadence (bondage fashion); Isabel Koprowski's problem page; Hot Stuff (films, books, music, fashion, competitions); Dr Ruthless (cartoons); Men's Corner: Women and Fantasy; Plastercast Penis ('homework'); Horoscopes; Hot Spot (comment).

For Women (Vol 1, No.7)

Girl's Talk (editorial plus book and film reviews, music, diet, television, beauty products); Gossip, Gary Oldman (picture); Letters; Dicky Dildo (cartoon); Are the Beautiful Better in Bed? (article); Mr Clean (pin-up); Bedside Manners (answers to sex problems); Sex With Margi (Margi Clarke); His Cheating Heart (relationships - how to tell if he's cheating); Win (video and book competition); Blood Lust (Dracular and Sexual Monsters); Jack Appeal (Jack Nicholson Interview); Off the Wall (pin-up); Female Ejaculation (article and questionnaire); Violent Silence (fiction); Body Heat (fashion); The Perfect Penis (article); Lesbian Babes (women in the media); Midnight Feast (pin-up); Break the Ice (winter beauty tips); Jan Birk's Problem Page; Horoscopes.

The Men's Sexual Titles

Razzle (Vol.11, No.1)

Foreplay with Bendy Wendy (contents); Ball Points (letters and pictures); Cock Thirsty Kirsty (Photo and story); Tits out on the Town (pictures); Winning Streak (photos); Emma (pin-up); PhotoStripper (pictures of women topless taken in photobooths); Razzle Romp: The Arses of Elliot (photospread spoof on the House of Elliot tv series); Noelle's House Party - Hard News; Karen (pin-up); Girls about town - Winchester (photos); Hard News: Housewives confess all; Dawn (pin-up); Right way, wrong way (sex toys); Paint Strippers (photospread); Razzles Raving Reporter (topless model asks men questions about sex); Best Bits (breasts); Tessay (pin-up); Life Begins at 40" (women with forty inch busts); Confessions of a Readers Wife (stories); Meet the Wives (photos); Wife of the Month (photos); Paula (pin-up); Jilly (pin-up); Simone (pin-up); Bendy Wendy's Backside: The Cock Report (penis measurement).

Fiesta (Vol.27, 2)

Lewd Laughs (cartoons); Helene (pin-up); Dear Interchange (letters - continued throughout magazine); Mars in Venus (horoscopes); Wife of the Month (pin-up); 10 Easy Ways to Get Free Sex (report); The Good Old Lays (pin-up); Rubber Rosie (story); Sonya (pin-up); Torrid Tales (cartoon); Clarence Stribes (comment); Pigs in Knickers (story with photos); Cartoon (stripper); The O'Hanlon Interview (prostitution in Johannesburg); No News is Good Nudes (pin-up); Firkin's Funny Page (jokes); My Favourite Fantasy (story); Natasha (pin-up); Trudlethwaite (cartoon); Julia (pin-up); Firkin (cartoon); Topless Reviews (records, videos, books); Maria (pin-up); I Confess (fiction); Readers Wives Competition (prize winner photos); One for the Ladies (photos of men); Readers Wives (photos).

Mayfair (Vol.28, No.1)

Letters (continued throughout); Rachel (pin-up); Hear is the Nudes (headlines); Sammy (pin-up); Dirty Dishes (satellite sex); Melanie (pin-up); Torque Talk (cars); Stuff (new products); Life Sentence (comment); Charlotte (pin-up); Are you being bugged? ; Money Mayfair, Box Office (entertainment); Modern Manners (etiquette); Julie (pin-up); Have I got screws for you? (sex quiz); karen (pin-up); The Morning After (cartoon); Donna: Mayfair Bra-Bursters (pin-up); Quest (sex stories/articles); Nikki (pin-up).

Penthouse (Vol.28, No.5)

View from the Top (reviews); Men Talk to Andrea (Problems); Shooting Star (pin-up); How to avoid the axe at work (article); Premier Pet (pin-up); Phil Collins Interview; Getting in Dutch (pin-up); Are you terminally bored? (sex and long-term relationships); Pet of the Year (pin-up); That was the year (cars); Madonna Old and New (photos); Quote Unquote (celebrity comment); Bizarre News clippings; Facing the Music (pin-up); Probe (sex interviews/stories); Loose Ends (electronics).

Risque (Vol.2, No.1)

Briefing (news, reviews etc); Cartoons; Bird's Eye View: Sex without frontiers (women on Europe and sex); Portfolio (pin-ups); Candida Royale (interview); Cartoons; Serena (pin-up); Snow Motion (ski-ing); Aimee (pin-up); Creme de la Chrome (Cadillac's); Interpol's War on the Flesh Trade (investigation on white slave trading); What she wants (fantasy); Monique (pin-up); Dress for Sexcess (article/story); Daniela (pin-up); Out of the House (story);

Cartoons; Rebeccah (pin-up); The Write Stuff (letters); The Sharp End: Who Bears Wins (Linzi Drew on Porn Debate)

The Women's Non-Sexual Titles - February 1993

Cosmopolitan

News Report (75 years of feminism); Hollywood Women: ageing disgracefully; Round Up: what you need when you're in love; Why Men Stay Faithful; The Power of One (independent living); Let's get down to oral sex (advice); Don't Believe the Hype! Work is very good for you; Could Relate save your relationship? Are you guilty of seeking male approval? My best friend is a lesbian...My best friend is straight; Nicholas Cage comes of age; Make up - who needs it?(you do); Fashion and Beauty; Career Power; Offers; Living and Food (recipes and home furnishing); Travel; Fiction - Maybe the Moon; Regulars (including The Agony Column, horoscopes, books, films, letters).

New Woman

Addiction (cravings); Men Who Can't Commit; They could live to be 120 - how? (ageing tips); Play Mystic for Me (psychic tricks); Opinion: Why we hate a happy couple; Last Night of Freedom (on a stag night); Think Yourself Slim; Sex, Morals, Manners; Misconceptions (wrong reasons to have a baby); She Never Said 'no' (child abuser interviewed); 'Marry Me' (did I really say that?) (proposals); Inside Story: I'm Bisexual; Happy Hunting; Private View (interview); Double Exposure - Positive versus Negative (conflicting relationships); The Voice of Reason (negotiating at work); Health and Beauty pages; callanetics; fashion pages; fiction (story excerpt); regulars (including letters, films, television, music and literature, food and drink, money and work issues).

Marie Claire

Ukraine (in-depth interview); He fathered my love child (celebrity paternity suits on the increase); Success: is it possible to achieve it in every area of your life? Ellen Barkin (interview); I was wrongly imprisoned and sent to an asylum; Jasper Conran (profile); Barbara Stanwyck (life story); Review Section (books, films, music etc); Fashion pages; Beauty and Health pages; Food and Drink; Interiors; Travel; Offers.

The Men's Non-Sexual Titles - February 1993

Esquire

Smart: 12 pages in the life of the culture (including films, music, crooners, people - Juliette Binoche, Robert De Niro, women, style, literary likes, paperback choice, art, last word); A Column - Paul Morley; Sure Fang: interview with Gary Oldman; The Curious Case of Andrew Knight (gossip); Parillaud Lines (Ann Parillaud - actress); The Great Gold Fraud (investigation on fraud); The Survivors Guide to the Office (including your first day, office friendships, you and your boss, the office a playground, colleagues annoying habits, the toilet nightmare, working life, the office menagerie, you are the boss, five ways to get a rise, you and your secretary, the ultimate excuse, ten things never to have on your desk, your last day, how to have an office affair); Arafat: the long road home; Big in Japan (Japanese inventions); Love and pain and the whole damn thing (relationships); Shape of the future (report on architects); Reef Encounters (underwater buggy); Boxing Clever (interview with Lennox Lewis); Resources: the insiders guide to the material world (including food, restaurants, drink health- cancer, motoring, money - pensions, travel); Aquire! (new products); Men Talking - Pregnant Pause (relationships); Eye Esquire (giveaways); Poker (comment); View from a broad (comment from Zoe Heller).

FHM (For Him Magazine)

Vital Signs: A Man's Best Friend (being a best man); Designs on Your Interiors (what do women look for in a man's home); Men's Feelings and Feeling Men (role of men now); Lifestyle audio (stereos); Is this the funniest man in Britain? (interview with comedian John Shuttleworth); 28 Years of Cage (Nicholas Cage interview); Naked Ambition (Gena Bellman interview); Paradise Lost (travel); Big Shot (interview with Lennox Lewis); Pressure Cooker (interview with a top chef); Night Moves (sexuality); On the Road (travel and meeting people);

Is this the cleverest man in Britain (interview with Nigel Short: Chess Player); Dogs of Gore (Man Bites Dog interview and review); Locker Room (clothes, sport etc); Music, books, drink, money, health, film and auto reviews; The Shave Generation - A Blade Too Far (shaving tips); Freebies; London Calling (comment).

GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly)

Elements of Style (including Prints Charming - Polaroid; Cinema Paradiso - minema cinema, Call of the Riled - telephone use, Bob Dylan - classic elements); Manifesto (including architecture, art, performance- Harry Dean Stanton, Film, Dance, Music, TV, Media, Books, Actress- Kate Hardie, sport, Science; Body and Soul (including Sensitive Subject - allergies, Health, Lifelines - martial arts, dental care, hair cuts); Formula for Excess (Sport - Grand Prix); Drinks (a piece of the auction - wine sales); Food (roly poly pudding and... - steamed pudding), money (taxing problems), motoring (Honda discord); Sale of the Century (A Yam Amah arms deal); Lover Hurts (review and discussion of the film Damage); Rough Trade (Amstrad and Alan Sugar); Da Doo Ron Ron (Ron Wood); True Romance (comedy quiz); Rules of the Game (romance); Art and Soul (romantic art, film etc); Courting Fate (love and relationships); Kylie (pin-up); The Jet Set (air force); Roth Man (actor Tim Roth); The Harder They Come (sport); Stars with Stripes (Tigers); Travel: Fairways to Heaven (golf); Objects of Desire: The Home Office (hi-tech toys); Man Enough (comment and cars).

APPENDIX FIVE
Problem Pages and Replies
(see Boynton, 1996)

Problem Page Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire about problem pages taken from various magazines. Please answer the questions on the following pages, with reference to the problems seen below.

I've been seeing my boyfriend for two years but he rarely shows me any affection. He never wants to kiss me or make love - he says that there's more to life than sex. If I try to discuss this, he tells me to stop moaning. He also falls asleep all the time. If we go to the cinema, he sleeps through the film. If he comes to my home, he sleeps in front of the television. I've suggested he sees a doctor, but he says it's just that he works hard (we work similar hours). He's a fanatical weight trainer and talks about his wonderful body constantly. It comes before everything and it got so bad that we split up because of it. I even had to take antidepressants until we got back together. He promised a change, but things are just the same. He shouts and swears at me and I'm sure he has no respect for me. I can't live with him and I can't live without him, either. I don't know what to do next.

Frankly, this man has serious problems. He adores his own body but uses it for no normal purpose. He takes you out and falls asleep. He shows you practically no love and when you complain, he says that you are moaning. When you want to talk, he becomes abusive, and he never shows you a good time. It's fairly clear to me that he needs medical or psychological help (possibly both). And it appalls me that you're the one who found it necessary to take antidepressants, when he is the one who, from everything you've said in your letter, probably requires them. You are a screen that prevents him from admitting his numerous problems while shielding from others the fact that his pampered body is not a love machine. In other words, you make him look good. You are his disguise, even to himself, and I doubt he will do a thing to get the professional help he needs unless you get out of his life and refuse to come back until he does something to straighten himself out. You have only one problem and it is not this apology for a boyfriend. Why should an attractive young woman tie herself to an utter disaster area romantically? If you leave this man, and I hope you do, the next step is not another man and another man... No your next move must be to find and develop the self-respect that is so clearly missing right now. You will never find a man who respects you until you respect yourself.

PROBLEM A

I'm 23 and sex mad, to put it bluntly, but my partner is a once a month job. The problem is how do I make him want it as much as me? When we do have sex, it lasts for about two minutes at the most, and I have only orgasmed two or three times with this man in five years. He is not interested in experimenting either. He just performs the normal way. I love oral sex, both giving and receiving, but he's just a big bore. Please help me if you can.
SS, South Yorkshire

A low sexual libido in a man who is young and healthy is pretty unusual. It's also difficult to pin-point as I know nothing about him. Is your relationship of five years a happy one? Has he always had no appetite for sex? Is he worried or suffering from stress? Does he tend to drink heavily or take any medication? Does he suffer from a sexual problem? Without knowing the answer to any of these questions, I am unable to analyse your boyfriend's low libido.

You could try sexual stimulation: watching videos together, reading erotic literature etc., but if you can't get him in the mood in the first place, don't pressure him; give him a lot of affection instead. He needs encouragement. I recommend a book which may help your boyfriend, *Sexual Happiness for Men*, which is an illustrated, practical guide to sexual fulfilment. It's written by Maurice Yaffe and Elizabeth Fenwick, priced £8.99, and is available by mail-order from Dorling Kindersley Limited, 9 Henrietta street, Covent Garden, London WC2E 8PS. He may not be just a big bore and something tells me that he's the one who's in need of a listening ear.

PROBLEM B

Dear Andrea,
My wife of five years has always refused to indulge in oral sex. In fact, she won't even let me touch her vagina. I have to wear a condom before I even get into bed and she insists on keeping her panties on throughout intercourse to reduce the level of contact. I want to start a family but she refuses because it would involve unprotected sex. What should I do?
Jason F.
Newcastle upon Tyne

Dear Jason,
This is a very sick girl and my advice is simple: get rid of her right now! Life is too short to waste your time pandering to other people's hang-ups, leave that to the social services. Whilst I fully support the need for safe sex, you are in a long-term relationship and the person in question is your wife, not some one night-stand. To be honest, you should have thought about this before you married. Eating pussy is, in my opinion, a gourmet experience and something to be enjoyed by all. Believe me, Jason, there are thousands of us girls out there who would give anything to have a pussy-lover like you. So, go on, get out there and find them.

PROBLEM C

APPENDIX SIX
**Tables for all Photographs Analysed from Sexually
Explicit Magazines Aimed at Men and Women (1993)**

Table i: Photographs of Models

Women's Magazines	Number of Pictures	Men's Magazines	Number of Pictures
Women On Top	49	Penthouse	58
Playgirl	35	Risque	49
For Women	21	Razzle	128
Ludus	26	Fiesta	119
Women Only	24	Mayfair	109
Totals	155	Totals	463

significance (men's by women's totals) $\chi^2 = 153.5$, $p < .005$.

Table ii: Number of Photospreads

Women's Magazines	Photospreads	Men's Magazines	Photospreads
Women On Top	11	Penthouse	6
Playgirl	6	Risque	6
For Women	3	Razzle	21*
Ludus	4	Fiesta	18*
Women Only	3	Mayfair	8
Totals	27	Totals	59

significance (men's by women's totals) $\chi^2 = 11.31$, $p < .005$.

* Many of the photospreads in Razzle and Fiesta were part of the 'Reader's Wives' section of the magazine.

Table iii: Number of People in Photographs

Magazine	Single Woman	Single Man	2 or more women	2 or more men	Men and women
Women On Top	0	49	0	0	0
Playgirl	0	35	0	0	0
For Women	0	21	0	0	0
Ludus	0	26	0	0	0
Women Only	0	14	0	0	10
Totals	0	145	0	0	10
Penthouse	58	0	0	0	0
Risque	42	0	7	0	0
Razzle	104	0	24	0	0
Fiesta	95	4*	14	0	6
Mayfair	109	0	0	0	0
Totals	408	4	45	0	6
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 408$	$\chi^2 = 133.4$	$\chi^2 = 45$	NS	NS

* The four pictures of men in Fiesta were from the page 'One for the Ladies' where women (presumably) sent in pictures of their husbands to the magazine (similar to 'Reader's Wives').

Table iv: Poses in Photospreads

Magazine	Standing	Sitting*	Kneeling	Laying	On all fours**	Crouching	Other/ Ambiguous
Women On Top	27	5	2	11	0	1	3
Playgirl	14	14	0	5	0	2	0
For Women	10	6	1	2	0	1	1
Ludus	10	5	0	9	0	1	1
Women Only	14	3	2	5	0	0	0
Totals	75	33	5	32	0	5	5
Penthouse	9	25	3	15	3	0	3
Risqué	10	18	3	21	4	0	0
Razzle	85	43	10	17	26	6	5
Fiesta	34	63	2	17	6	3	5
Mayfair	30	13	6	36	20	1	3
Totals	168	162	24	106	59	10	16
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 35.6,$	$\chi^2 = 85.3,$	$\chi^2 = 12.4,$	$\chi^2 = 39.7,$	$\chi^2 = 59,$	NS	NS

* includes reclining

** includes standing in an all-fours position (ie: leaning against a wall)

Table v: Position of Model's Body to Camera

Magazine	Facing Camera	Sideways	Back to Camera	Bottom to Camera
Women On Top	27	16	4	2
Playgirl	26	8	1	0
For Women	11	7	3	0
Ludus	16	10	0	0
Women Only	13	5	5	1
Totals	93	45	14	3
Penthouse	31	17	1	9
Risqué	28	12	0	16
Razzle	104	44	2	42
Fiesta	83	38	0	9
Mayfair	44	36	2	27
Totals	290	147	5	103
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 101.3,$	$\chi^2 = 54.2$	NS	$\chi^2 = 94.3$

Table vi: Positions of Models Head to Camera

Magazine	Up	Down	Sideways	Straight On	Back of Head	
					to Camera	No Head
Women On Top	3	4	17	24	1	0
Playgirl	1	5	13	16	0	0
For Women	2	2	8	5	2	2
Ludus	3	1	13	6	0	3
Women Only	2	0	11	8	2	1
Totals	11	12	62	59	5	6
Penthouse	1	2	11	40	1	3
Risqué	7	1	11	35	1	1
Razzle	9	8	38	116	9	12
Fiesta	5	6	40	77	1	1
Mayfair	5	11	48	44	1	0
Totals	27	28	148	312	12	17
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 6.7,$	NS	$\chi^2 = 35.2$	$\chi^2 = 172.5$	NS	NS

Table vii: Direction of Models' Gaze

Magazine	Looking at				Avoiding	
	Camera	Sideways*	Down	Up	Camera	No Gaze**
Women On Top	34	11	2	1	0	1
Playgirl	20	5	4	2	1	3
For Women	6	2	5	0	0	8
Ludus	10	3	1	1	2	9
Women Only	7	5	2	2	0	8
Totals	77	26	14	6	3	29
Penthouse	41	2	4	0	1	0
Risqué	25	4	5	0	0	22
Razzle	135	12	11	3	1	30
Fiesta	96	8	7	1	2	16
Mayfair	88	1	6	0	0	14
Totals	385	27	33	4	4	92
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 205.3$	NS	$\chi^2 = 7.7$	NS	NS	$\chi^2 = 32.8$

* includes head sideways to camera - looking ahead.

** includes no eyes (eg: eyes blacked out), eyes shut, or model wearing dark glasses.

Table viii: Position of Models' Mouths

Magazine	No Mouth	Pout	Smile*	Tongue			Finger to Mouth	Object to Mouth
				Out	Open**	Closed**		
Women On Top	2	0	20	0	5	22	0	0
Playgirl	0	0	7	0	1	27	0	0
For Women	5	0	5	0	1	10	0	0
Ludus	6	0	3	1	2	14	0	1
Women Only	5	0	3	0	4	12	0	0
Totals	18	0	38	1	13	85	0	1
Penthouse	5	1	17	0	10	25	3	1
Risqué	1	9	5	0	11	30	1	0
Razzle	24	13	89	5	43	18	1	0
Fiesta	5	18	27	5	45	30	0	2
Mayfair	1	22	37	1	40	8	3	0
Totals	36	63	175	11	149	111	8	3
Significance (men's by women's titles)	NS	$\chi^2 = 63$	$\chi^2 = 88.1$	$\chi^2 = 8.3$	$\chi^2 = 114$	NS	$\chi^2 = 8$	NS

Table ix: Clothing Worn By Models

Magazine	Full		Part	Clothes and		Naked
	Full Clothing	Underwear	Underwear*	Underwear	Part Clothes	
Women On Top	4	5	-	0	15	25
Playgirl	3	4	-	3	4	21
For Women	0	0	-	0	7	1
Ludus	8	0	-	0	2	16
Women Only	7	3	-	0	8	6
Totals	22	12	-	3	36	82
Penthouse	2	2	42	0	6	24
Risqué	0	1	24	1	13	17
Razzle	27	7	107	11	23	17
Fiesta	26	3	58	11	8	24
Mayfair	2	8	56	20	14	9
Totals	57	21	269	43	64	91
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 15.5$	NS	-	$\chi^2 = 34.8$	$\chi^2 = 7.8$	NS

* for 'part underwear', this included female models in men's sexual titles wearing items of underwear (ie: instead of wearing combinations of bra, stockings, suspenders and panties etc - classed as 'full underwear', the model would usually be wearing just one of these items - often only stockings or panties). This was a feature of the 'strip tease' layout of photographs in men's magazines, but was not a feature of the women's magazines - it was therefore not used as a comparison with women's magazines, but is presented here as a feature of the format of pictures in the men's sexual titles.

Table x: Number of Pictures in Magazines Until Genitals are Shown

Magazine	Immediate	1	2	3	4	5+	Not Shown
Women On Top	1	6	1	2	0	1	0
Playgirl	1	2	2	0	0	0	1
For Women	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Ludus	2	0	1	0	0	1	0
Women Only	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Totals	4	8	4	4	2	3	2
Penthouse	1	0	1	0	1	0	3
Risqué	5	0	0	1	0	0	0
Razzle	6	6	5	2	0	1	1
Fiesta	8	4	1	2	0	2	0
Mayfair	1	1	3	2	1	0	0
Totals	21	11	10	7	2	3	4
Significance (men's by women's titles)	$\chi^2 = 11.6$	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS

APPENDIX SEVEN
Questionnaires Assessing Attitudes to SEM (1993)

**Background Information -
Discussion Groups on
Sexually Explicit Material.
March 1993**

This project involves looking at various sexually explicit magazines, which are legally available in the UK today. If at any time during this study you want to leave, or you do not wish to look at a particular magazine, then this is up to you. Remember, everything you say in this discussion, and on the following questionnaire, will be treated in confidence, you will not be identified in any way. All information collected will be used for psychological research only.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask, a contact address for further information will be given to you, should you require it, at the end of the discussion.

Please remember, we are interested in your own views, so feel free to be as open and honest as you like.

[A copy of this study will be available at the end of the summer term for those who wish to read it]

1. Have you ever seen anything that you would describe as sexually explicit? yes [] no [].

1a. If you answered "yes" to the above question, could you describe the material, and what you thought about it.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Which of the following magazines are you familiar with, have seen, haven't seen, or regularly read or buy?

	Don't Know	Heard Of	Have Seen	Regularly Read/Buy
Penthouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Women Only	[]	[]	[]	[]
Marie Claire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playboy	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ludus	[]	[]	[]	[]
GQ	[]	[]	[]	[]
For Women	[]	[]	[]	[]
Hunks	[]	[]	[]	[]
FHM	[]	[]	[]	[]
Forum	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playgirl	[]	[]	[]	[]
Cosmopolitan	[]	[]	[]	[]
Razzle	[]	[]	[]	[]
Esquire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Quim	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playbirds	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Lads	[]	[]	[]	[]
New Woman	[]	[]	[]	[]
Mayfair	[]	[]	[]	[]
Escort	[]	[]	[]	[]
Whitehouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Knave	[]	[]	[]	[]
Fiesta	[]	[]	[]	[]
Risque	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Ones	[]	[]	[]	[]

3. If you have indicated that you regularly read or buy any of the above titles, please can you answer the next three questions:

3a. Please can you explain why you buy the magazine/s?
for fun [] for education []
for interest [] like looking at pictures []
for specific articles [] for stories []
other [] (please specify).....
.....
.....

3b. Do you buy the magazine/s for yourself, someone else, or someone as well as yourself?
self [] someone else []
someone as well as yourself? []

3c. How do you read the magazine/s?
alone []
with partner []
with one or more friends the same sex as you []
with one or more strangers the same sex as you []
with one or more friends of the opposite sex []
with one or more strangers of the opposite sex []
with family members []

4. Please can you define what you believe the following words mean with reference to your personal beliefs?

erotica.....

.....
.....

pornography.....

.....
.....

copyright.....

.....
.....

5. Are there any people you feel shouldn't look at sexually explicit magazines? Can you explain who?

.....
.....
.....
.....

1. Have you ever seen anything that you would describe as sexually explicit? yes [] no [].

1a. If you answered "yes" to the above question, could you describe the material, and what you thought about it.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Which of the following magazines are you familiar with, have seen, haven't seen, or regularly read or buy?

	Don't Know	Heard Of	Have Seen	Regularly Read/Buy
Penthouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Women Only	[]	[]	[]	[]
Marie Claire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playboy	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ludus	[]	[]	[]	[]
GQ	[]	[]	[]	[]
For Women	[]	[]	[]	[]
Hunks	[]	[]	[]	[]
FHM	[]	[]	[]	[]
Forum	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playgirl	[]	[]	[]	[]
Cosmopolitan	[]	[]	[]	[]
Razzle	[]	[]	[]	[]
Esquire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Quim	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playbirds	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Lads	[]	[]	[]	[]
New Woman	[]	[]	[]	[]
Mayfair	[]	[]	[]	[]
Escort	[]	[]	[]	[]
Whitehouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Knave	[]	[]	[]	[]
Fiesta	[]	[]	[]	[]
Risque	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Ones	[]	[]	[]	[]

3. If you have indicated that you regularly read or buy any of the above titles, please can you answer the next three questions:

3a. Please can you explain why you buy the magazine/s?
for fun [] for education []
for interest [] like looking at pictures []
for specific articles [] for stories []
other [] (please specify).....
.....
.....

3b. Do you buy the magazine/s for yourself, someone else, or someone as well as yourself?
self [] someone else []
someone as well as yourself? []

3c. How do you read the magazine/s?
alone []
with partner []
with one or more friends the same sex as you []
with one or more strangers the same sex as you []
with one or more friends of the opposite sex []
with one or more strangers of the opposite sex []
with family members []

4. Please can you define what you believe the following words mean with reference to your personal beliefs?

erotica.....
.....
.....
.....
pornography.....
.....
.....
.....
censorship.....
.....
.....
.....

5. Are there any people you feel shouldn't look at sexually explicit magazines? Can you explain who?
.....
.....
.....
.....

The following section involves some details about you. These are for statistical purposes only, no personal details about you will be reported.

Please can you state:

Age [] Sex: male [] female []

Occupation.....

How would you describe your ethnic background?.....

Please tick the box which best describes your political belief:

conservative [] labour [] green []
liberal [] other (please state.....)
not political []

Please can you describe your religion?.....

How would you describe your sexual orientation?
.....

Thankyou for completing this questionnaire.

Please add any comments about this questionnaire below
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX EIGHT
Questionnaires Assessing Attitudes to SEM (1994)

DISCUSSION GROUPS ON SEXUALLY EXPLICIT MATERIAL.
FEBRUARY 1994

This study involves looking at examples of various sexually explicit magazines, which are legally available in the U.K. If at any time during this study you want to leave, or do not wish to look at a particular magazine, then this is up to you. Remember, everything you say in this discussion, and on the following questionnaire, will be treated in confidence. You will not be identified in any way. All information collected will be used for research purposes only.

If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to ask.

Please remember, we are interested in your own views, so be as open and honest as you like.

1. The following question asks about magazines which you may or may not be familiar with. Please indicate your knowledge of a magazine title, by ticking the appropriate box.

	Don't Know	Heard Of	Have Read Occasionally	Regularly Read/Buy
Penthouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Women Only	[]	[]	[]	[]
Marie Claire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playboy	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ludus	[]	[]	[]	[]
GQ	[]	[]	[]	[]
For Women	[]	[]	[]	[]
Hunks	[]	[]	[]	[]
FHM	[]	[]	[]	[]
Forum	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playgirl	[]	[]	[]	[]
Cosmopolitan	[]	[]	[]	[]
Razzle	[]	[]	[]	[]
Esquire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Quim	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playbirds	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Lads	[]	[]	[]	[]
New Woman	[]	[]	[]	[]
Mayfair	[]	[]	[]	[]
Escort	[]	[]	[]	[]
Whitehouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Knave	[]	[]	[]	[]
Fiesta	[]	[]	[]	[]
Risque	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Ones	[]	[]	[]	[]

2. If you have indicated that you regularly read or buy any of the above titles, please can you answer the next three questions:

2a. Please can you explain why you buy the magazine/s?

for fun [] for education/information []
 curiosity [] general interest [] for stories []
 for specific articles [] like looking at pictures []
 for adverts [] (please describe _____)
 other [] (please explain _____)

2b. Do you buy the magazine/s for
 yourself? [] someone else? []
 someone as well as yourself? []

3. How likely is it that the following people would look at sexually explicit magazines?

Adolescent boys					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Adolescent girls					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Single men					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Single women					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Married men					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Married women					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Heterosexual couples					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5
Homosexual couples					
Very Likely					Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4		5

4a. Please can you give an example of any material you believe to be

erotic _____
pornographic _____

4b. Please can you define what you believe the following words mean?

erotica _____

pornography _____

censorship _____

5. Are there any people you feel shouldn't look at sexually explicit magazines? Please explain why.

APPENDIX NINE
Questionnaires Assessing Attitudes to SEM (1995)

DISCUSSION GROUPS ON PICTURES.

FEBRUARY 1995

This study involves looking at various pictures of women, taken from magazines which are legally available in the U.K. If at any time during this study you want to leave, or do not wish to look at a particular picture, then this is up to you. Remember, everything you say in this discussion, and on the following questionnaire, will be treated in confidence. You will not be identified in any way. All information collected will be used for research purposes only.

If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to ask.

Please remember, we are interested in your own views, so be as open and honest as you like.

1. The following question asks about magazines which you may or may not be familiar with. Please indicate your knowledge of a magazine title, by ticking the appropriate box.

	Don't Know	Heard Of	Have Read Occasionally	Regularly Read/Buy
Penthouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Women Only	[]	[]	[]	[]
Marie Claire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playboy	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ludus	[]	[]	[]	[]
GQ	[]	[]	[]	[]
For Women	[]	[]	[]	[]
Hunks	[]	[]	[]	[]
FHM	[]	[]	[]	[]
Forum	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playgirl	[]	[]	[]	[]
Cosmopolitan	[]	[]	[]	[]
Razzle	[]	[]	[]	[]
Esquire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Quim	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playbirds	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Lads	[]	[]	[]	[]
New Woman	[]	[]	[]	[]
Mayfair	[]	[]	[]	[]
Escort	[]	[]	[]	[]
Whitehouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Knave	[]	[]	[]	[]
Fiesta	[]	[]	[]	[]
Risque	[]	[]	[]	[]
Big Ones	[]	[]	[]	[]

2. If you have indicated that you regularly read or buy any of the above titles, please can you answer the next three questions:

2a. Please can you explain why you buy the magazine/s?
 for fun [] for education/information []
 curiosity [] general interest [] for stories []
 for specific articles [] like looking at pictures []
 for adverts [] (please describe _____)
 other [] (please explain _____)

2b. Do you buy the magazine/s for
 yourself? [] someone else? []
 someone as well as yourself? []

2c. How likely is it that you read the magazine/s

Alone?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

With a partner?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

With one or more friends the same sex as you?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

With one or more strangers of the same sex as you?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

With one or more friends of the opposite sex?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

With one or more strangers of the opposite sex?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

With a member of your family?

Very Likely				Very Unlikely
1	2	3	4	5

3. How likely is it that the following people would look at sexually explicit magazines?

Adolescent boys
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Adolescent girls
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Single men
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Single women
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Married men
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Married women
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Heterosexual couples
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

Homosexual couples
Very Likely 1 2 3 4 Very Unlikely 5

4a. Please can you give an example of any material you believe to be

erotic _____

pornographic _____

4b. Please can you define what you believe the following words mean?

erotica _____

pornography _____

The following section involves some details about you. These are for research purposes only, no personal details about you will be reported.

Please can you state:

Age []

Gender: male [] female []

Occupation _____

How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

Please tick the box which best describes your political beliefs:

conservative [] labour [] green []

liberal [] not political []

other []

please state _____

Please can you describe your religion? _____

How religious are you?

Very religious

Not religious

1

2

3

4

5

Please describe your sexual orientation _____

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Please add any comments about this questionnaire below.

APPENDIX TEN
Vignette Questionnaires

Please state your age _____
What sex are you? _____
How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

This questionnaire is designed to assess your attitudes towards a woman called Jane. Please will you read the description about Jane printed below, and then answer the questions overleaf.

Remember, it is your personal opinions that matter, so please feel free to answer as openly and honestly as possible. All your answers will be treated in confidence.

Thank you for your help.
Petra Boynton (PhD Research Student, South Wing)

Jane is a young woman in her early twenties. She lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. She shares a flat with two other women and one man, but she would like to have her own place one day.

She works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes her job, although sometimes she would like more pay! Jane's hobbies include cooking, riding her bike and drawing.

Jane rents videos, (often with explicit sex scenes) which she usually watches on her own. She also reads magazines such as 'Forum' or 'Penthouse'. On average Jane says that she would watch at least one film a fortnight, and read at least three magazines a month. She rents her videos from the local video store, and buys her magazines from the newsagents.

Now can you answer the following questions please.

Please state your age _____
What sex are you? _____
How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

This questionnaire is designed to assess your attitudes towards a man called John. Please can you read the description about John printed below, and then answer the questions overleaf.

Remember, it is your personal opinions that matter, so please feel free to answer as openly and honestly as possible. All your answers will be treated in confidence.

Thank you for your help.
Petra Boynton (PhD Research Student, South Wing)

John is a young man in his early twenties. He lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. He shares a flat with two other women and one man, but he would like to have his own place one day.

He works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes his job, although sometimes he would like more pay! John's hobbies include cooking, riding his bike and drawing.

John is opposed to sexually explicit material. He belongs to the local anti-pornography group because he does not like magazines or videos of an explicit nature. He has written to MPs about his views, and has complained to local papers about video stores and newsagents that sell such materials.

Now can you answer the following questions please.

Please state your age _____
What sex are you? _____
How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

This questionnaire is designed to assess your attitudes towards a woman called Jane. Please will you read the description about Jane printed below, and then answer the questions overleaf.

Remember, it is your personal opinions that matter, so please feel free to answer as openly and honestly as possible. All your answers will be treated in confidence.

Thank you for your help.
Petra Boynton (PhD Research Student, South Wing)

Jane is a young woman in her early twenties. She lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. She shares a flat with two other women and one man, but she would like to have her own place one day.

She works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes her job, although sometimes she would like more pay! Jane's hobbies include cooking, riding her bike and drawing.

Jane rents videos, (often with explicit sex scenes) which she usually watches on her own. She also reads magazines such as 'Forum' or 'Penthouse'. On average Jane says that she would watch at least one film a fortnight, and read at least three magazines a month. She rents her videos from the local video store, and buys her magazines from the newsagents.

Now can you answer the following questions please.

Please state your age _____
What sex are you? _____
How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

This questionnaire is designed to assess your attitudes towards a man called John. Please can you read the description about John printed below, and then answer the questions overleaf.

Remember, it is your personal opinions that matter, so please feel free to answer as openly and honestly as possible. All your answers will be treated in confidence.

Thank you for your help.
Petra Boynton (PhD Research Student, South Wing)

John is a young man in his early twenties. He lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. He shares a flat with two other women and one man, but he would like to have his own place one day.

He works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes his job, although sometimes he would like more pay! John's hobbies include cooking, riding his bike and drawing.

John rents videos, (often with explicit sex scenes) which he usually watches on his own. He also reads magazines such as 'Forum' or 'Penthouse'. On average John says that he would watch at least one film a fortnight, and read at least three magazines a month. He rents his videos from the local video store, and buys his magazines from the newsagents.

Now can you answer the following questions please.

Please state your age _____
What sex are you? _____
How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

This questionnaire is designed to assess your attitudes towards a woman called Jane. Please can you read the description about Jane printed below, and then answer the questions overleaf.

Remember, it is your personal opinions that matter, so please feel free to answer as openly and honestly as possible. All your answers will be treated in confidence.

Thank you for your help.
Petra Boynton, (PhD Research Student, South Wing)

Jane is a young woman in her early twenties. She lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. She shares a flat with two other women and one man, but she would like to have her own place one day.

She works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes her job, although sometimes she would like more pay! Jane's hobbies include cooking, riding her bike and drawing.

Jane rents videos, (often with a romantic theme) which she usually watches on her own. She also reads 'True Romance' magazine and Mills and Boon books. On average Jane says that she would watch at least one film a fortnight, and reads at least three magazines and books a month. She rents her videos from the local video store, and buys her magazines and books from the newsagents.

Now can you answer the following questions please.

Please state your age _____
What sex are you? _____
How would you describe your ethnic background? _____

This questionnaire is designed to assess your attitudes towards a man called John. Please will you read the description about John printed below, and then answer the questions overleaf.

Remember, it is your personal opinions that matter, so please feel free to answer as openly and honestly as possible. All your answers will be treated in confidence.

Thank you for your help.
Petra Boynton (PhD Research Student, South Wing)

John is a young man in his early twenties. He lives in Birmingham and has done so for the last four years. He shares a flat with two other women and one man, but he would like to have his own place one day.

He works in an office in the centre of town, and quite likes his job, although sometimes he would like more pay! John's hobbies include cooking, riding his bike and drawing.

John rents videos, (often with a romantic theme) which he usually watches on his own. He also reads magazines such as 'True Romance' and Mills and Boon books. On average John says that he would watch at least one film a fortnight, and read at least three magazines and books a month. He rents his videos from the local video store, and buys his magazines and books from the newsagents.

Now can you answer the following questions please.

6) Will you now fill in the following rating scales by ticking the box you think provides the best description of . For example, if you think is an educated person, you would tick space one, if you weren't sure you would tick a middle space, and if you think is not educated, you would tick space seven.

Do you think that is the sort of person who is:-

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
educated	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	not educated
not religious	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	religious
political	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	not political
votes Labour	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	votes Conservative
liked by other men	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	not liked by other men
not liked by other women	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	liked by other women
practices safe sex	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	doesn't practice safe sex
in favour of censorship	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	not in favour of censorship
likely to be sexually active	()	()	()	()	()	()	()	not likely to be sexually active

7) What do you suppose partner(s) think about use of sexually explicit material?

Dislike ()
 Don't Mind ()
 Like ()

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

Personal Number ()

Can you please answer the following questions about sexually explicit material. All answers will be treated in confidence. Thank you for your help.

The following questions ask about magazines and films you might have seen, and involves filling in a rating scale. For example, if you read Cosmopolitan magazine every month you would tick space one, if you see it occasionally you would tick one of the middle spaces, and if you never read the magazine you would tick space seven.

Which of the following films and magazines have you heard of or read?

	VERY FAMILIAR WITH				NOT FAMILIAR WITH AT ALL		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cosmopolitan	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Penthouse	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
On Our Backs	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Company	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Fiesta	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Playgirl	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Classic Bike	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Marie Claire	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Knave	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Viva	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Me	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Viz	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Forum	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
New Woman	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Men Only	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Best	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Playboy	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Custom Car	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Emmanuelle	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
The Accused	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Last Tango In Paris	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Electric Blue	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
Casualties of War	()	()	()	()	()	()	()
9 1/2 Weeks	()	()	()	()	()	()	()

Of the magazines or films you are familiar with, which have you seen or read in the past twelve months, (Please state)

Have you seen or read any similar magazines or films that have not been mentioned here? (Please describe)

Do you think that there are any differences between men and women in the way they react to sexually explicit material? Please explain your views:-

Can you briefly sum up your attitudes towards sexually explicit material?

The following questions are designed to assess your attitudes towards the majority of sexually explicit material available in the shops today. (To indicate your views, please circle the number on the scale that you believe to be most appropriate)

Do you feel that this material:-

is used by many men	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	is not used by many men
is not used many women	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	is used by many women
exploits women	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	does not exploit women
reduces sexual frustration	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	does not reduce sexual frustration
is harmful	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	is harmless
helps people's sex lives	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	hinders people's sex lives
should be banned	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	should not be banned
is informative about sex	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	is not informative about sex
can cause rape	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	does not cause rape
used by many people	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	not used by many people
narrows sexual awareness	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	broadens sexual awareness

Thank you for completing this questionnaire

Please add any further comments you think might be of interest.

APPENDIX ELEVEN
List of Prompt Questions Used in Focus Groups

QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS ON SEM

GENERAL QUESTIONS WHEN VIEWING MAGAZINES

1. [Prior to viewing any magazines]What are you expecting to see in these magazines?
2. Please comment on the photographs, articles and adverts in the magazines.
 - a. What do you think the models are thinking/feeling?
 - b. Do you think the models are attractive?

Prompts

3. What are your initial reactions to the magazines?
4. Which articles do you think provide useful information about sex?
5. Are any of the magazines educational?
6. Who do you think the magazines are aimed at?
7. Would you like to see any of the magazines again? (why/why not).
8. Rank in terms of quality.
9. Are the magazines what you expected?

GENERAL QUESTIONS POST VIEWING

1. Did you prefer the magazines for men or women? (which titles, and why)
2. Do you think the magazines should concentrate more on relationships, or should another type of magazine take such a focus.
3. Did you think the women's sexually explicit magazines were similar to or different from those aimed at men? Why?
4. Is there a future in sexual magazines aimed at women?
5. Some of the women's titles are no longer on sale, which ones do you think? (why?) [need numbers]
6. If you don't like the magazines aimed at:- a. men b. women, how would you change them?
7. Do you think magazines should provide accurate information about sex? Which magazines do this, and which don't.
8. Do you think any of the magazines should be censored. Why?

APPENDIX TWELVE
Grid Sheet and Questions for Title Matching Study

[titles can be found in Appendix Thirteen]

Please Indicate The Titles You Think Fit In The Following Categories:

Men's Sexual Magazines	Women's Sexual Magazines
Men's Non-Sexual Magazines	Women's Non-Sexual Magazines

Please Indicate The Title Numbers Which You Think Fit Into The Following Categories:

HIGH QUALITY MAGAZINE

MEDIUM QUALITY MAGAZINE

LOW QUALITY MAGAZINE

Which of the following magazines are you familiar with, have seen, haven't seen or regularly read or buy. Place a tick in the appropriate box to indicate your answer.

	Dont'Know	Heard Of	Have Seen	Regularly Read/Buy
Penthouse	[]	[]	[]	[]
Women Only	[]	[]	[]	[]
Marie Claire	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playboy	[]	[]	[]	[]
Ludus	[]	[]	[]	[]
GQ	[]	[]	[]	[]
For Women	[]	[]	[]	[]
FHM	[]	[]	[]	[]
Playgirl	[]	[]	[]	[]
Cosmopolitan	[]	[]	[]	[]
Razzle	[]	[]	[]	[]
Esquire	[]	[]	[]	[]
New Woman	[]	[]	[]	[]
Mayfair	[]	[]	[]	[]
Fiesta	[]	[]	[]	[]
Risque	[]	[]	[]	[]

APPENDIX THIRTEEN
Titles and Summaries of Corresponding Articles

Titles, Article Summaries and Sources of Magazines Used in Title-Matching Study

TITLES AND ARTICLES FROM MEN'S SEXUAL MAGAZINES

1. "10 Easy Ways To Get Free Sex" (Fiesta Vol.27,2. ps 21-23)

Three page article about how to get *"free, safe and exciting sex"* (p.21). It explains how to meet people through the contacts pages of magazines, (apparently a safer alternative to prostitutes, who *"will only do the absolute minimum and frankly that's not a lot"* p.21). The article offers advice about using condoms, (but does not mention HIV) and suggests that when looking for *"free sex"*, *"Never appear creepy or behave like a pervert, this puts people off"* (p.22). The *"10 Easy Ways To Get Free Sex"* are then outlined. These are *"Asking"*, *"Advertising"*, *"Lonely Hearts"*, *"Adult Contact Magazines"*, *"Learn The Art Of Massage"*, *"Newsagent Window Cards"*, *"Hanging Out"*, *"Take Up Public Speaking"*, *"Work On What You Have Got"*.

2. "How To Avoid The Axe At Work" (Penthouse. Vol.28,No.5, ps.28-32)

Provides a review of the current economic situation, and employment prospects for men in UK. It also details the way in which to stay secure within work, and to improve the likelihood of promotion. At the end of the article, a checklist is provided to *"help avoid the axe"*, and *"protect your future"*, (p.32).

5. "Sex Without Frontiers" (Risqué. Vol.2,No.1 p.11) a comic review of stereotypes about other countries attitudes to sex.

7. "Dirty Dishes" (Mayfair. Vol.28, No.1. ps.22-23) A guide to satellite sex channels.

19. "The O'Hanlon Interviews" (Fiesta, Vol.27,2. ps.50-51) A two page review of Donald McRae's book on prostitution *"Nothing Personal"*.

21. "Phil Collins Interview" (Penthouse. Vol.28, No.5, p.44-48).

23. "Candida Royalle Interview" (Risqué. Vol.2, No.1, ps18-22)

25. "The Cock Report" (Razzle, Vol.11, No.1 p.83) *"How does your dick measure up?...I want to know 'cos I just love hearing about our reader's rods"* p.83).

26. "Life Begins At Forty" (Razzle, Vol.11, No.1, ps.43-44) *"Big , bouncy, firm and fun - everyone loves girls with enormous knockers"*, (p.43). A review of the delights of a 40+ bust.

27. "Modern Manners" (Mayfair. Vol.28, No.1 ps.42) Comedy 'etiquette' page.

TITLES AND ARTICLES FROM MEN'S NON-SEXUAL MAGAZINES

9. "Naked Ambition" (FHM. February 1993, P.40-43; 65) Interview with Gina Bellman (The photograph which accompanied this article was used in the picture matching exercise - picture 5 in Appendix 15).

11. "The Survivors Guide To The Office" (Esquire, February 1993, p.60-65)A humorous review of office life, including *"your first day"* (p.60) *"colleague's annoying habits"* (p.62) *"five ways to get a rise"* (p.64).

13. "True Romance" (GQ, February 1993, Issue 44, ps.90-98) A collection of articles for Valentine's day.

28. "Other People's Jobs" (FHM, February 1993 p.71-73) An interview with a head chef.

29. "Big In Japan" (Esquire, February 1993 ps.80-81) The latest Japanese inventions.

30 "Courting Fate" (GQ February 1993, Issue 44, ps.96-97) Love and romance from the male perspective.

TITLES AND ARTICLES FROM WOMEN'S SEXUAL MAGAZINES

2. "Men And Women - We Want Each Other - But What Do We Want?" (Playgirl, Vol.1 Issue No.6 ps.24-27) Views from men and women about relationships.

4. "Promiscuous And Proud Of It" (Women On Top, Vol.1, No.4 ps.36-38) Interview with a man who's slept with 250 women.

6. "Are The Beautiful Better In Bed?"

14. "Anatomy Of Three Affairs" (Playgirl, Vol.1, Issue.6 ps.40-43) Descriptions of three men who've been unfaithful.

15. *"Fighting Cocks"* (Ludus, February/March 1993 ps.12-13) Interviews with boxers.
16. *"Hot Holiday Affairs"* (Women On Top, Vol.1, No.4 ps.50-54) Two women describe their holiday affairs.
17. *"Love And Lust"* (Women Only, Vol.1, No.3) Advice on how to make your boyfriend/husband loving and sexy.
18. *"Bedside Manners"* (For Women, Vol 1, No.7) sex problems answered.
31. *"Come On Darlin', You Know You Want It"* (Ludus, February/March 1993 ps.16-18) Interviews with celebrities how they like to be seduced.
32. *"Size Matters"* (Women Only, Vol.1, No.3, ps.52-53) Survey of over 3,000 women and men in UK about attitudes to penis size, (75% of women stated size was important).

TITLES AND ARTICLES FROM WOMEN'S NON-SEXUAL MAGAZINES

8. *"What You Need When You're In Love"* (Cosmopolitan, February 1993, p.65) Statements about love.
10. *"She Never Said No"* (New Woman, February 1993. ps.68-70) article about child sex abusers, and whether they can be 'cured'.
12. *"He fathered my love child"* (Marie Claire, February 1993. ps.20-24) celebrity paternity suits.
20. *"Let's Get Down To Oral Sex"* (Cosmopolitan, February 1993, ps.88-89, 142-143)
22. *"Inside Story: I'm Bisexual"* (ps.76-77)
24. *"I Was Wrongly Imprisoned And Sent To An Asylum"* (p.49)

APPENDIX FOURTEEN
It's Not Acceptable - Guardian Advertising Campaign
August (1990)

Pictures courtesy of The Guardian Newspaper
(with thanks to Anne Benson)

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APPENDIX FIFTEEN
Picture Rating Questionnaire

PICTURE RATINGS SHEET

Below are a selection of statements which apply to Picture..... Please rate how much you agree or disagree with these ideas.
(1 = Strongly agree, 5 = Strongly disagree.)

1) The woman looks happy.

1 2 3 4 5

2) The woman knew she was being photographed when the picture was taken.

1 2 3 4 5

3) The woman knew her photo would appear in a magazine when this picture was taken.

1 2 3 4 5

4) What magazine do you think she expected the photo would appear in?
Please give examples of titles _____

5) How attractive is the woman in relation to other women you know? (1 = very, 5 = not at all)

1 2 3 4 5

6) Please use three words to describe this picture and how it makes you feel.

7) Please state the name of the magazine you feel that this picture came from.

8) How was the woman chosen to be in this picture?

9) Please state in your own words what you feel happened after this picture was taken.

PICTURE RATINGS SHEET

1) Please rate the pictures in terms of attractiveness.

Most

Least

2) Which picture would men like:-

Most _____

Least _____

3) Which picture would women like:-

Most _____

Least _____

APPENDIX SIXTEEN
Eight Pictures Shown 'Out of Context'

- Picture One** - *Esquire* (Men's Non-Sexual Magazine)
Picture Two - *Cosmopolitan* (Women's Non-Sexual Magazine)
Picture Three - *Penthouse* (Men's Sexual Magazine)
Picture Four - *For Women* (Women's Sexual Magazine)
Picture Five - *FHM* (Men's Non-Sexual Magazine)
Picture Six - *New Woman* (Women's Non-Sexual Magazine)
Picture Seven - *Mayfair* (Men's Sexual Magazine)
Picture Eight* - *Women On Top* (Women's Sexual Magazine)

*[On having these pictures photocopied, the male assistant commented to me about Picture Eight - "*You've had your hair cut since this was taken*". Given participant's comments about this picture, I wasn't particularly flattered. It is also interesting that as the assistant copied nine other pictures for these appendices he understood all the others to be from magazines, but wanted to know why I was adding one of myself. He also asked "*Is it [picture] for a modelling competition?*" Evidently this perceived similarity may have had some impact on participants (see Chapters Three and Seven)]

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APPENDIX SEVENTEEN
Thematic Coding of Participants' Descriptions
'What Happened Next...'

Summary of Male and Female Participant's Beliefs About "What happened next..." from Questionnaires Where Pictures Were Examined Out of Context

Table compiled from Thematic Content Analysis based on participants written answers

What happened ?	M 1		F 1		M 2		F 2		M 3		F 3		M 4		F 4		M 5		F 5		M 6		F 6		M 7		F 7		M 8		F 8		
	Dressed	5	3	3	5	0	3	9	3	0	3	9	3	5	2	7	6																
Paid	3	3	0	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	0																	
More pics	5	3	8	8	6	5	2	5	5	5	0	0	0	0	1	2																	
Home	3	6	2	3	0	3	1	3	2	0	2	8	1	0	2	4																	
Explicit pics	0	0	1	1	6	6	0	0	0	1	0	1	6	3	4	4																	
Nothing	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	3	0	1	0	0	0																	
Sex	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1																	
Wash	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0																	
Next job	0	2	0	4	0	1	0	3	0	4	0	2	0	2	0	3																	
New Model	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0																	
Warm clothes	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0																	
Did not get paid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1																	

APPENDIX EIGHTEEN
'By Invitation Only..'
(Playboy, January, 1995)

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APPENDIX NINETEEN
Date Rape Article Questionnaire

[Due space limitation, the front pages of the five different versions of the questionnaire will be included here, with the main body of the questionnaire rated by all participants]

Questionnaire To Examine Reactions Towards An Article About Date Rape

This questionnaire is concerned with your responses to an article about date rape. The article appeared in a magazine. Please read the article and then complete the questionnaire. You can refer back to the article as many times as you wish and may quote from it if you want to. Please remember that all your responses will be treated in confidence, so please be as open and honest as you like. Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Nicola Vernon
HP3
SW6

Petra Boynton
Psychology Group
SW6

4. Do you think the article was sympathetic to men?

Very Sympathetic

Un-sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. How likely is it that a woman who had experienced a date-rape might find this article to be a source of advice?

Very likely

Very unlikely

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Do you think that a woman who had been raped would find this article helpful?

Would find article

Would not find article

helpful

helpful

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Do you think that a woman who had been raped might be upset by this article?

Would be very upset

Would not be upset

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Do you think that the article is effective in dissuading a person from rape?

Highly effective

Not effective at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Do you think this article could make male readers feel guilty?

Would make them

Would not make them

feel guilty

feel guilty

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Do you think this article discourages date rape?

Discourages

Does not discourage

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Do you think that this article encourages date rape?

Does not encourage

Encourages

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Please explain your first reactions to this article? How did it make you feel? What purpose do you think it served in the magazine?

13. Do you think that articles like these in a magazine are likely to alter the way people think about rape?

Likely to change

Unlikely to change

opinion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Questionnaire To Examine Reactions Towards An Article About
Date Rape

This questionnaire is concerned with your responses to an article about date rape. The article appeared in a magazine aimed at women. Please read the article and then complete the questionnaire. You can refer back to the article as many times as you wish and may quote from it if you want to. Please remember that all your responses will be treated in confidence, so please be as open and honest as you like. Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Nicola Vernon
HP3
SW6

Petra Boynton
Psychology Group
SW6

The article you have just read was originally printed in a nonsexually explicit magazine aimed at women (eg: Cosmopolitan or Marie Claire). Please answer the following questions in relation to the article you have just read. Indicate your responses by circling the number on the scale which best matches your opinion, or by writing longer replies in the spaces provided.

1. How informative did you personally find the article?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Do you think that a person who bought this magazine would find it informative?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please explain why you think this

3. Do you think the article was sympathetic to women?

Very Sympathetic

Un-sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Questionnaire To Examine Reactions Towards An Article About Date Rape

This questionnaire is concerned with your responses to an article about date rape. The article appeared in a magazine aimed at women. Please read the article and then complete the questionnaire. You can refer back to the article as many times as you wish and may quote from it if you want to. Please remember that all your responses will be treated in confidence, so please be as open and honest as you like. Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Nicola Vernon
HP3
SW6

Petra Boynton
Psychology Group
SW6

The article you have just read was originally printed in a sexually explicit magazine aimed at women (eg: For Women). Please answer the following questions in relation to the article you have just read. Indicate your responses by circling the number on the scale which best matches your opinion, or by writing longer replies in the spaces provided.

1. How informative did you personally find the article?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Do you think that a person who bought this magazine would find it informative?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please explain why you think this

3. Do you think the article was sympathetic to women?

Very Sympathetic

Un-sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

**Questionnaire To Examine Reactions Towards An Article About
Date Rape**

This questionnaire is concerned with your responses to an article about date rape. The article appeared in a magazine aimed at men. Please read the article and then complete the questionnaire. You can refer back to the article as many times as you wish and may quote from it if you want to. Please remember that all your responses will be treated in confidence, so please be as open and honest as you like. Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Nicola Vernon
HP3
SW6

Petra Boynton
Psychology Group
SW6

The article you have just read was originally printed in a sexually explicit magazine aimed at men (eg: Playboy or Mayfair). Please answer the following questions in relation to the article you have just read. Indicate your responses by circling the number on the scale which best matches your opinion, or by writing longer replies in the spaces provided.

1. How informative did you personally find the article?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Do you think that a person who bought this magazine would find it informative?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please explain why you think this

3. Do you think the article was sympathetic to women?

Very Sympathetic

Un-sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Questionnaire To Examine Reactions Towards An Article About Date Rape

This questionnaire is concerned with your responses to an article about date rape. The article appeared in a magazine aimed at men. Please read the article and then complete the questionnaire. You can refer back to the article as many times as you wish and may quote from it if you want to. Please remember that all your responses will be treated in confidence, so please be as open and honest as you like. Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Nicola Vernon
HP3
SW6

Petra Boynton
Psychology Group
SW6

The article you have just read was originally printed in a nonsexually explicit magazine aimed at men (eg: GQ or FHM). Please answer the following questions in relation to the article you have just read. Indicate your responses by circling the number on the scale which best matches your opinion, or by writing longer replies in the spaces provided.

1. How informative did you personally find the article?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Do you think that a person who bought this magazine would find it informative?

Very Informative

Not informative at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please explain why you think this

3. Do you think the article was sympathetic to women?

Very Sympathetic

Un-sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Questionnaire To Examine Reactions Towards An Article About
Date Rape

This questionnaire is concerned with your responses to an article about date rape. The article appeared in a magazine. Please read the article and then complete the questionnaire. You can refer back to the article as many times as you wish and may quote from it if you want to. Please remember that all your responses will be treated in confidence, so please be as open and honest as you like. Thank you for your help in completing this questionnaire.

Nicola Vernon
HP3
SW6

Petra Boynton
Psychology Group
SW6

4. Do you think the article was sympathetic to men?

Very Sympathetic

Un-sympathetic

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. How likely is it that a woman who had experienced a date-rape might find this article to be a source of advice?

Very likely

Very unlikely

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Do you think that a woman who had been raped would find this article helpful?

Would find article
helpful

Would not find article
helpful

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. Do you think that a woman who had been raped might be upset by this article?

Would be very upset

Would not be upset

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Do you think that the article is effective in dissuading a person from rape?

Highly effective

Not effective at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. Do you think this article could make male readers feel guilty?

Would make them
feel guilty

Would not make them
feel guilty

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Do you think this article discourages date rape?

Discourages

Does not discourage

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. Do you think that this article encourages date rape?

Does not encourage

Encourages

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. Please explain your first reactions to this article? How did it make you feel? What purpose do you think it served in the magazine?

13. Do you think that articles like these in a magazine are likely to alter the way people think about rape?

Likely to change

Unlikely to change
opinion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. If a girl engages in necking or petting and she lets things get out of hand, it is her own fault if her partner forces sex on her.

Strongly agree

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve.

Strongly agree

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. A woman who is stuck-up and thinks she is too good to talk to guys on the street deserves to be taught a lesson.

Strongly agree

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

10. Many women have an unconscious wish to be raped, and may then unconsciously set up a situation in which they are likely to be attacked.

Strongly agree

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

11. If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered 'fair game' to other males at the party who want to have sex with her too, whether she wants to or not.

Strongly agree

Strongly disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

12. What percentage of women who report a rape would you say are lying because they are angry and want to get back at the man they accuse?

Almost all

Almost none

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

13. What percentage of reported rapes would you guess were merely invented by women who discovered they were pregnant and wanted to protect their own reputation?

Almost all				Almost none		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. A person comes to you and claims they were raped. How likely would you be to believe their statement if the person were:

a. your best friend?

Always						Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

b. an Indian woman?

Always						Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c. a neighbourhood woman?

Always						Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

d. a young boy?

Always						Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

e. a black woman?

Always						Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

f. a white woman?

Always						Never
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The following questions are for statistical purposes only. All responses will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Please state your age? _____

Please describe your ethnicity? (eg: black, white) _____

Please describe your sexuality? (eg: straight, gay) _____

What is your religion? _____

How religious are you?

Very religious

Not religious at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

What is your political orientation? _____

How political are you?

Not political at all

Very political

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please state your gender _____

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. If you have any further questions or comments about this study and the issues it raises, please add them in the space provided below.

APPENDIX TWENTY
Thematically Organised Summaries of
Participants' Ratings of Date Rape Article

**General Themes Relating To Participant's Beliefs About Reader Finding Article
Informative As Influenced By Perceived Source**

Reaction	Women's Non-Sexual Title		Women's Sexual Title		Men's Non-Sexual Title		Men's Sexual Titles		Control	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
States the Obvious.	3	0	3	1	0	2	0	0	1	3
No Supporting Statistics.	4	2	1	1	4	1	4	2	1	3
Aims to Shock.	1	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
Modern.	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Informative.	3	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	0
Not Informative.	5	0	4	2	1	4	5	3	5	2
Doesn't Give Advice.	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Thought Provoking.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Flippant.	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Might lead to Change	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emotive.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Why Put in a Woman's Magazine?	4	1	1	2	*	*	*	*	*	*
Get's Message Across.	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	1	1
Does Not Get Message Across.	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Gives the Wrong Message.	0	0	1	1	1	0	5	0	1	0
Depends on Reader	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	0
It's like an Advert	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Might Cause Rape	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0
Reader Would Only Look at Pictures.	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	1	0	0
Too Short.	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Reader Wouldn't Be Interested.	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0

APPENDIX TWENTY-ONE
Character Profile Questionnaires

This is a study designed to gauge your opinion about a person who is a **'glamour model'** (eg: **page three or top shelf magazine**). Please could you answer the following prompt questions about the person, which will end up providing a profile of them. This is obviously not an easy task, so it is acceptable to base your ideas on stereotypes or things you have seen in films or on television. All information here will be treated in confidence.

P.Boynton, OS and AP Division.

Please could you describe the person's:

GENDER _____

AGE _____

ETHNICITY _____

HEIGHT: (are they tall, small etc) _____

EYE COLOUR _____

HAIR COLOUR _____

BODY SHAPE/FIGURE (are they slim, fat etc) _____

On a scale of one to seven (with one meaning very physically attractive and seven meaning not physically attractive at all) please rate this person by circling the number that applies most to them:

VERY ATTRACTIVE							NOT ATTRACTIVE AT ALL
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES DO YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO THIS PERSON?, (eg: bottom, legs, waist, shoulders etc)
WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES (IF ANY) DO THEY NEED? _____

WHY DO YOU THINK SOMEONE BECOMES A GLAMOUR MODEL?

WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY DID BEFORE THEY BECAME A GLAMOUR MODEL?

PLEASE LIST THREE WORDS THAT YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO
A GLAMOUR MODEL? _____

About YOU.

The following questions ask about you. They are for statistical calculations only, so please be as open and as honest as you can.

Gender _____

How old are you? _____

Please state your occupation? _____

Please describe your ethnicity? _____

Please describe your sexuality? _____

What is your religion? _____

(on a scale of one to seven, with one meaning very religious and seven meaning not religious at all, please indicate how you feel about your religion by circling the number that best matches your view)

Very religious

**Not religious at
all**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire.

This is a study designed to gauge your opinion about a person who is a **'hardcore model'** (eg: **has sex on film or in photographs**). Please could you answer the following prompt questions about the person, which will end up providing a profile of them. This is obviously not an easy task, so it is acceptable to base your ideas on stereotypes or things you have seen in films or on television. All information here will be treated in confidence.

P.Boynton, OS and AP Division.

Please could you describe the person's:

GENDER _____

AGE _____

ETHNICITY _____

HEIGHT: (are they tall, small etc) _____

EYE COLOUR _____

HAIR COLOUR _____

BODY SHAPE/FIGURE (are they slim, fat etc) _____

On a scale of one to seven (with one meaning very physically attractive and seven meaning not physically attractive at all) please rate this person by circling the number that applies most to them:

VERY ATTRACTIVE						NOT ATTRACTIVE AT ALL	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES DO YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO THIS PERSON?, (eg: bottom, legs, waist, shoulders etc)
WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES (IF ANY) DO THEY NEED?

WHY DO YOU THINK SOMEONE BECOMES A HARD CORE MODEL?

WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY DID BEFORE THEY BECAME A HARD CORE MODEL?

PLEASE LIST THREE WORDS THAT YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO
A HARD CORE MODEL? _____

About YOU.

The following questions ask about you. They are for
statistical calculations only, so please be as open and
as honest as you can.

Gender _____

How old are you? _____

Please state your occupation? _____

Please describe your ethnicity? _____

Please describe your sexuality? _____

What is your religion? _____

(on a scale of one to seven, with one meaning very
religious and seven meaning not religious at all, please
indicate how you feel about your religion by circling the
number that best matches your view)

Very religious

**Not religious at
all**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this
questionnaire.

This is a study designed to gauge your opinion about a person who is a **prostitute**. Please could you answer the following prompt questions about the person, which will end up providing a profile of them. This is obviously not an easy task, so it is acceptable to base your ideas on stereotypes or things you have seen in films or on television. All information here will be treated in confidence.

P.Boynton, OS and AP Division.

Please could you describe the person's:

GENDER _____

AGE _____

ETHNICITY _____

HEIGHT: (are they tall, small etc) _____

EYE COLOUR _____

HAIR COLOUR _____

BODY SHAPE/FIGURE (are they slim, fat etc) _____

On a scale of one to seven (with one meaning very physically attractive and seven meaning not physically attractive at all) please rate this person by circling the number that applies most to them:

VERY ATTRACTIVE

NOT ATTRACTIVE AT ALL

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES DO YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO THIS PERSON?, (eg: bottom, legs, waist, shoulders etc)
WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES (IF ANY) DO THEY NEED?

WHY DO YOU THINK SOMEONE BECOMES A PROSTITUTE?

WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY DID BEFORE THEY BECAME A PROSTITUTE?

PLEASE LIST THREE WORDS THAT YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO
A
PROSTITUTE? _____

About YOU.

The following questions ask about you. They are for statistical calculations only, so please be as open and as honest as you can.

Gender _____

How old are you? _____

Please state your occupation? _____

Please describe your ethnicity? _____

Please describe your sexuality? _____

What is your religion? _____

(on a scale of one to seven, with one meaning very religious and seven meaning not religious at all, please indicate how you feel about your religion by circling the number that best matches your view)

Very religious

Not religious at all

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this questionnaire.

This is a study designed to gauge your opinion about a person who is a **campaigner against pornography/sexually explicit materials**. Please could you answer the following prompt questions about the person, which will end up providing a profile of them. This is obviously not an easy task, so it is acceptable to base your ideas on stereotypes or things you have seen in films or on television. All information here will be treated in confidence.

P.Boynton, OS and AP Division.

Please could you describe the person's:

GENDER _____

AGE _____

ETHNICITY _____

HEIGHT: (are they tall, small etc) _____

EYE COLOUR _____

HAIR COLOUR _____

BODY SHAPE/FIGURE (are they slim, fat etc) _____

On a scale of one to seven (with one meaning very physically attractive and seven meaning not physically attractive at all) please rate this person by circling the number that applies most to them:

VERY ATTRACTIVE							NOT ATTRACTIVE AT ALL
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES DO YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO THIS PERSON?, (eg: bottom, legs, waist, shoulders etc)
WHAT PHYSICAL FEATURES (IF ANY) DO THEY NEED? _____

WHY DO YOU THINK SOMEONE BECOMES A CAMPAIGNER AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY/SEXUALLY EXPLICIT MATERIALS?

WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY DID BEFORE THEY BECAME A CAMPAIGNER?

PLEASE LIST THREE WORDS THAT YOU THINK OF IN RELATION TO
A CAMPAIGNER AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY/SEXUALLY EXPLICIT
MATERIALS? _____

About YOU.

The following questions ask about you. They are for
statistical calculations only, so please be as open and
as honest as you can.

Gender _____

How old are you? _____

Please state your occupation? _____

Please describe your ethnicity? _____

Please describe your sexuality? _____

What is your

religion? _____

(on a scale of one to seven, with one meaning very
religious and seven meaning not religious at all, please
indicate how you feel about your religion by circling the
number that best matches your view)

Very religious

**Not religious at
all**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

Thank you for taking the time to fill in this
questionnaire.