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**The objectification of women in mainstream pornographic
videos in Australia**

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The objectification of women in mainstream pornographic videos in Australia

Abstract

This paper measures the degree to which women are objectified in mainstream pornographic videos in Australia, using twelve measures of objectification. Seven of the measures allow for direct comparison of female and male objectification. Of these, one shows women being more objectified than men (presence of orgasms, where women have fewer orgasms). Three show men being more objectified than women (in time spent looking at camera, where men return the gaze significantly less; in time spent talking to the camera, where they are also less engaged; and in initiating sex, where men are more sexual objects than active sexual subjects in seeking their sexual pleasure in the sample). Three measures showed no difference in objectification between men and women (naming, central characters and time spent talking to other characters).

Introduction

In Australia, as in other Western countries, there is continuing political, public and academic concern about

the role of pornography in society. The accessibility of the Internet, and the kinds of material available on that medium have renewed public focus on the question of pornographic content: what kinds of pornography are people consuming? Many writers make the distinction between good and bad pornographic content. Clive Hamilton (2004), for example, notes that:

We are not talking about *Playboy* centrefolds, which are so tame by today's standards that Hugh Hefner is seen as an old prude. We're talking about a whole new world of extreme and violent images, including Internet sites specialising in rape, incest, coprophilia and bestiality ... Good, healthy erotica is one thing ... but the sex depicted in standard porn is wholly devoid of intimacy and affection. Women are uniformly portrayed as the passive objects of men's sexual urges (Hamilton, 2004, p. 11).

Of particular concern to many commentators is the degree to which the kinds of pornography that are currently being consumed tend to 'objectify' participants (see for example Rantzen, 2004, p. 56). Many commentators are worried about the effects that objectifying pornography might have on its consumers. Some worry that it causes them to be violent to women (Krome, 2003, p. 8A); that it

turns them into sexual abusers (Hamilton, 2004, p. 11); or even into murderers (Coffman, 2004, p. B02).

While there is exists a literature on objectifying content in pornography, we have little actual information about the degree to which the mainstream pornography being consumed in Australia does objectify its participants. Given ongoing public concerns about this issue, it seemed a worthwhile project to gather and provide data about the content of mainstream pornographic texts in this country.

In this, we bore in mind the important work of Scott and Schwalm, who have shown that there is an important distinction between the *availability* of pornographic material in a culture, and the *consumption* of pornographic material in a culture (Scott and Schwalm, 1988a; 1988b). It is important that we not only demonstrate what is theoretically available to consumers; but, more importantly, what they are *actually* consuming. In order to provide this information we decided to produce a detailed analysis of the content of mainstream pornographic material in Australia. It was hoped that this information would be useful in public debates about these issues¹.

In designing the study we made two key decisions. The first was that we would analyse pornographic videos

rather than Internet content². The second was that we decided to measure 'objectification' in these videos. The first of these decisions is discussed under 'Sample'; the second under 'Literature review and development of measures'.

Method

Sample

Although concerns about material available on the Internet are driving most public debate about pornography at the moment, videos and DVDs still retain the central place in the consumption of pornographic material in Australia. In a recent (2003) survey of over 1000 users of pornography in Australia, videos and DVDs were still by far the most popular pornographic medium, with 63.4% of respondents using them (43.6% of the total sample watching videos and 33.4% DVDs). 42% used the Internet to view pornography; but in terms of accessing pay sites (which is where 'premium', non-mainstream material is usually found), only 5.8% of users of pornography used these (McKee, forthcoming).

A further advantage of videos for the current research is that it is possible to find out which are the most popular videos sold in Australia in a way that is not true of Internet sites. We used a sample of fifty of the

bestselling pornographic videos in Australia (see Appendix 1). There is no national audit of bestselling pornographic videos in Australia (unlike America). However, because of the unusual nature of censorship legislation in Australia, we are in the fortunate position of being able to access reliable information about popular pornographic titles. Australia is a federated commonwealth of States and Territories, each with its own parliament. The country's two 'Territories' - the Australian Capital Territory and the Northern Territory - allow X-rated videos to be sold. The States do not allow them to be sold. However, because of free trade agreements between the States and Territories, the States cannot stop distributors of pornography in the ACT and NT selling their products by mail order into the States. So you cannot legally *sell* pornography in any State; but you can legally *buy* it in any State, by mail order. The great majority of mail order pornographic videos in Australia are sold by two companies - Gallery Entertainment and Axis Entertainment - and it is simple enough to get lists of the best-selling pornographic videos in Australia from these companies. Each of these companies supplied us with copies of their bestselling videos: merging these samples allowed us to analyse fifty of the best selling pornographic videos in Australia.

It is important to note that we cannot state that this sample represents *the* fifty top selling videos in Australia. There is some black market in this country, whereby X-rated tapes are sold in the States even though this is technically illegal. We must also bear in mind that there will be some sales directly to the public in the ACT and NT (although these two Territories have the smallest populations of Australia's federated entities). Further, there is a small Australian trade in mail-order pornography purchased directly from America. This is illegal - as the material imported is technically unclassified in Australia - and dangerous, as customs officials in Australia have in the past proven themselves keen to go after such 'soft targets'. The best estimates suggest that such material constitutes less than 5% of the market for explicit adult videos in Australia³.

For all these reasons, we make no claim that the fifty tapes analyzed represent the fifty absolute best selling pornographic tapes in Australia. However, given the important place of mail order in the Australian pornographic market, we can state with certainty that the fifty tapes in the sample were bestsellers, and that they represent mainstream tastes in pornographic videos.

The majority of the tapes were American imports; some were European imports; none were Australian-made.

Literature review and development of measures

The taxonomy of analysis for the videos was developed through the viewing of a sub-sample of five of the videos in the best selling fifty, and by drawing on an extensive previous literature on the content of pornography.

There is no agreed vocabulary of measures for studying the content of pornographic material. Any researcher interested in measuring content must review the previous material, and then take responsibility for making her or his own decisions about which measures to implement.

Social science research into pornography has tended to divide the content of pornographic material along two axes. The first of these is violent/non-violent content (see Gossett & Byrne, 2002, p. 689). There is less agreement on the vocabulary employed in analysing the second axis, but a common term employed is degrading/non-degrading (Cowan et al., 1988, p. 300; Gossett & Byrne, 2002, p. 690). Neither of these terms is transparent, and a review of the history of their usage shows that there has been considerable disagreement about what they mean and how they should be codified. There has also been considerable confusion in the literature as to the relationship between violence and degradation as measures. For some writers the terms are distinct (Palys,

1986). For others, degradation is a subset of violence (Dines et al., 1998); and for another group, violence is a kind of degradation (Cowan et al.). These facts render it difficult to make meaningful comparisons of previous content analyses of pornography; and leave the researcher with little firm guidance on developing measures for such a project.

As is explained below, after reviewing the literature we have made the decision firstly to use the term 'objectification' rather than 'degradation' to describe the dehumanization of characters in pornography; and secondly, to define violence as a subset of, and a process contributing to, objectification. Objectification is thus the key organising principle for this research, for reasons we explain below.

1. Degradation (objectification) in pornography

The division of pornography into that which is egalitarian and that which is degrading occurs in experimental work before it appears in content analysis. Perhaps because of this fact, the term is used with little precision in the early history of analysis of pornography.

Issues of representation in pornography are more complex than simply looking for violence. Researchers have long

been aware that a pornographic representation - indeed, any form of mediated representation - may show no violence against a character, but may still present that character in unattractive or undesirable ways.

The most common term which has been employed in experimental research into pornography in order to describe representations which are undesirable, but not actually violent, has been 'degrading' (Donnerstein et al., 1987, p. 4). It is worth noting from the outset that although we agree with previous researchers that it is important to make such a distinction between non-degrading and degrading pornography - and that this indeed forms the basis of this paper - in terms of research into pornography's effects this distinction is less important. There is general agreement among researchers that exposure to non-violent pornography - whether degrading or non-degrading - has no negative effects on its consumers (see Donnerstein et al., 1987, p. 2; Padgett et al., 1989, p. 482; Scott & Cuvelier, 1993, p. 3 - although see also Zillmann & Weaver, 1989, p. 119 who argue against this position).

Although the term 'degrading pornography' was in use through the 1980s in experimental work on the effects of pornography, it was only in the 1990s that definitions began to emerge (Fisher & Barak, 1991, p. 67).

Experimental work has tended not to publish detailed or validated accounts of researchers' understandings of what counts as 'degrading' material, but it is possible to draw out two underlying themes in the common use of the term in experimental work. These are: firstly that pornography is degrading if it shows non-normative sexual acts such as, for example, oral sex (Zillmann, 1989, p. 148) or casual sex (Donnerstein et al., 1987, p. 4); and secondly that pornography is degrading if it involves status inequalities between participants (for example, if one participant is shown to be older, diegetically more powerful, wearing more clothes than the other, and so on) (Donnerstein, 1984, p. 79). Most researchers agree that the definition of what counts as 'degrading' pornography in experimental research has traditionally been a subjective one (Fisher & Barak, 1989, p. 290).

In content analysis, the two broad approaches to measuring degradation - the presence of non-normative sexual acts, or the lack of reciprocity in sexual representations - have led to the counting of different kinds of measures in pornographic texts.

The first approach - measuring non-normative sexual acts - is static: it works with a list of practices which the researcher asserts are degrading (for example, oral sex), and measures the presence or absence of these in

pornographic texts (see, for example, Dietz and Sears, 1988).

The second approach is relativist: rather than looking for the presence or absence of particular acts, it measures whether characters are presented differentially. For example, in Palys' 1986 content analysis, pornographic scenes are categorised by whether the sex in them is 'mutual', 'imbalanced', 'solitary' or 'unclear' (Palys, 1986, p. 26). Cowan et. al. measure whether the sex in pornography is 'dominant', 'reciprocal', 'exploitative' or 'autoerotic' (Cowan et al., 1988, p. 303); and Cowan and Campbell measure the presence of 'status indicators' in sex scenes (1994, p.328).

I have used the term 'degrading' to this point for clarity, but in fact, in content analyses of pornography, a number of terms have been used as rough synonyms (although individual authors may make distinctions between them, there is little consistency in how this is done): these include 'degradation' (Cowan & Campbell, 1994, p. 325), 'objectification' (Dines et al., 1998, p. 93), 'dehumanization' (Monk-Turner and Purcell, 1999), and 'domination' (Barron and Kimmel, 2000). The use of these terms in the literature is confused. Often researchers use them as rough synonyms for objectification. But at other times they use the terms to

refer to distinct elements of the wider process of objectification - but with little agreement about which element should be given which name, or about how these various elements might relate to each other. For example, Cowan and Campbell define 'degrading' pornography as that involving three distinct but related themes -

'domination, inequality and objectification' (Cowan & Campbell, 1994, p. 325). They argue that objectification is part of a system of violence, if not violence itself; but also that violence follows on from degradation (Cowan & Campbell, 1994, p. 324). They also argue that 'objectification' is a subset of inequality (Cowan & Campbell, 1994, p. 329). Other authors use the terms 'objectification' and 'degradation' as synonyms (see, for example Donnerstein, 1984, p. 62); or use both as synonyms for 'dehumanizing' (Check, 1985, p. 9). Some authors use only one term or the other. Still other authors suggest objectification is separate from degradation - that objectification is a subset of degrading behaviours (Cowan & Dunn, 1994). Yet others assume the reverse - that degrading behaviour is one part of the process of objectification.

Surprisingly, despite the centrality of the non/degrading categorisation to investigations of pornography, the validity of these constructs was not examined until 1994,

when research by Cowan and Dunn found that many of these assumptions about what counted as degrading material were mistaken. In particular - and surprisingly given the importance of the term in much previous analysis of degradation and objectification in pornography - it is not clear that 'status inequality' is a valid measure of objectification or degradation.

Cowan and Dunn (1994) showed viewers pornographic scenes, which included a number of possibly degrading themes: sexually explicit behaviour; availability (casual sex); unreciprocated sex; status reduction; status inequality; submission; penis/semen worship; dominance; and objectification (p. 13). Of these, they found that dominance, objectification and penis worship were: 'the three most degrading themes' (p. 18). 'Dominance' was defined as:

sexual activity and the related scenario that explicitly shows that [one partner] is dominant. He [or she] may command [the other] to do what he [or she] wishes or insult her [him] without any regard for her desires

'Objectification' was defined as: 'sexual activity that treats [one partner] as an object or a plaything'; and penis/semen worship as: 'sexual activity that revolves around worship of the penis' (p. 13). Sexual

availability, and unreciprocated sexual acts such as oral sex were not found to be degrading.

This research suggests that if we are interested in analysing the extent to which pornography is 'degrading', the key issues we should be looking at are the ways in which pornography 'objectifies' participants, who is 'dominant' in given scenes, and the degree to which the penis is worshipped. All three of these issues centrally involve lack of reciprocity - that is, ignoring the wishes of one sexual partner and treating them as an object. This is explicitly the case with 'objectification'; but it can be argued that dominance and penis-worship can also be brought under this rubric. Dominance, as defined by Cowan and Dunn , involves ignoring the wishes of one sexual partner (treating them not as an agent or sexual subject, but as an object). Penis worship, in their measures, involves focussing on sexual acts which traditionally have pleased men more than women. Paying attention to women's pleasure involves treating them as sexual subjects; to ignore this treats them, again, as objects. We would argue that the rubric of 'objectification' can therefore function as an umbrella term to cover those elements of pornography which Cowan and Dunn identify as being valid indicators of degradation in the genre.

Within this umbrella term, we include a number of behaviours.

One of these, as discussed below, is violence. We agree with Cowan et al. (1988) that physical violence can be understood as a subset of degradation, dehumanization and objectification. We would agree that to treat another person violently is to deny their full humanity, their full subjectivity, and thus to treat them as an object rather than as another, independently existing human being.

However, we do not see violence as the only, nor even as necessarily the most powerful, form of objectifying behaviour. We would also agree with Cowan and Dunn that ignoring the agency of another person by coercing them to perform non-consensual sexual acts: 'without any regard for her [or his] desires' (Cowan & Dunn, 1994, p. 18) is a form of objectifying behaviour. We would also insist that consensual sadomasochistic performance must be understood as a separate case, simply because it very explicitly pays attention to the desires of both parties (see below). We have included measures of both of these forms of objectification - violence, and other forms of non-consensual sex - in our analysis of the content of Australian mainstream pornographic videos.

This is one advantage of taking 'objectification' as the central organising term in our analysis of pornographic content - that it allows us to pay attention, in a systematic way, to a variety of behaviours beyond violence. However, it could be argued that we could have used the term 'degradation' and achieved the same results. In answer to this, we see two further advantages to the use of 'objectification' as a key term.

The first of these is that much public debate about pornographic content is explicitly concerned with 'objectification' of participants in pornography. More than 'degrading' this has been a key term in public discussions about the genre and its effects. The data that we have produced from this study will thus be particularly useful to participants in this ongoing public debate. It allows the articulation of social science research with ongoing public debate. As Zillmann and Bryant (1986, p. 186) have argued, this is an important part of our responsibility as researchers.

A second, and equally important, point is that we also wanted to draw upon insights developed in a number of university disciplines which we felt were useful in understanding how characters might be objectified in pornographic videos. Previous social science research has tended to focus on what is *shown* in pornography. But as

Cowan et al. suggest (1988), it is also important to pay attention to *how* it is shown. It seems that status inequality might not be particularly important for understanding how characters are 'objectified' in pornographic videos. But we have another tradition - indeed an entire university discipline - which has spent decades developing a vocabulary and a series of methodologies for understanding just how characters in audio-visual media are represented as either *objects* or *subjects*. This is the discipline of film studies. By drawing on this tradition we were able to develop a series of quantifiable measures which give us an insight into the differential representational strategies of pornography for displaying the bodies of men and women in sexual acts. We used these approaches, along with the insights provided by previous analyses of pornographic content, to develop a series of detailed measures which address the objectification and subjectification of men and women in pornographic videos. We discuss this further below.

The first group of measures we wanted to employ in order to analyse the degree to which characters were presented as objects rather than as subjects was grouped around the concept of 'stereotypes'. The intent was that these variables would measure the degree to which stereotypes

are present in pornography, proposing that this is one measure of the degree to which they are denied fully characterised agency and represented as objects (see Cowan and Campbell, 1994, p.326). Following public discussions about pornography (Blacker, 2004, p. 29) we were particularly concerned about physical stereotypes - whether only a limited range of physical types were presented as attractive in these tapes, and whether this was differentiated as gender. To this end we developed four variables; age, body type, breast/penis size and presence of plastic surgery. Unfortunately tests of inter-coder reliability revealed too little agreement on these variables to make them useful for analysis, and they were discarded (see below).

We developed four measures to study the presence of *reciprocity* in pornographic texts.

As noted above, Cowan and Dunn's (1994) research suggested that 'dominance' was seen to be degrading (we would say, 'objectifying') in pornography, where dominance involved one partner commanding what they wanted from the other without 'any regard for her [or his] desires' (p. 18). It has been most common in previous research to instruct coders to code the tone or feel of each scene. Drawing on Cowan and Dunn's (1994) insight that dominance involves a lack of respect for the

wishes and pleasure of one of the partners in the sexual act, we decided instead to generate a number of more detailed measures which could take account of reciprocity in the sex scenes in these pornographic videos. These were measured by scene.

i) Initiating sex

For each scene in which sex took place in these videos, the coders noted who initiated the sex. This was taken to be an important marker of agency. A sexual object would not initiate sexual acts for their own pleasure - they would be used for the sexual pleasure of others. Coders were instructed that:

The character who first communicates their desire to have sex - whether this is verbal, a physical sexual move, or any other form of clear non-verbal communication - is the initiator.

ii) Number of orgasms in each scene

Coders were instructed to consider whose pleasure was being addressed in these films. The basic unit for measuring pleasure was taken to be the orgasm, and for each scene in which sex took place, coders were asked to note which characters had orgasms. One limitation of this approach is that it could be understood as overvaluing climax over process. Several feminist writers have pointed out that feminine sexuality is not as focussed on

orgasm as is male (see Cixous, 1988). However, it is also true that an important part of the post-sixties feminist project has been a strong fight to see women's pleasure - and in particular women's orgasms - as important (see Dell'Ollio, 1972). Counting orgasms provides only a rough guide to the way in which each scene was structured, and whose pleasure was presented as being most important. Nevertheless, it does still provide us with a guide. If a character were presented as a sexual object, their sexual pleasure would not be important in the video.

After extensive discussion with coders of both genders after viewing sample tapes, and in order to distinguish between general sounds of pleasure by female performers during sex, and an orgasm (or the performance of an orgasm), coders were instructed that 'we are not here trying to work out if they are "really" have an orgasm: the question is diegetic'. If women in the videos did not explicitly say 'I'm coming', or words to that effect, then coders were instructed that: 'The best guide to whether a female character is supposed to have had an orgasm is post-coital sighing'.

iii) Kinds of sex acts

This measure was taken at the level of individual sex acts, rather than at the level of characters or scenes.

As noted above, one of the elements of degradation noted by Cowan and Dunn (1994) was 'penis worship' - sexual acts which pay attention primarily to the pleasure of one participant. It has been common in content analysis of pornography to pay attention to particular sexual acts (see, for example, Cowan et al., 1988). This has also been a matter of ongoing public concern about pornography, with concern commonly voiced that pornography is strongly focussed on anal sex, bestiality and sex with children (Hamilton, 2004). With regard to reciprocity, there is an issue about whether the sex acts being shown in pornography are those that are generally better for men's pleasure (for example, missionary position vaginal penetration); or those that are generally better for women's pleasure (for example, cunnilingus). Although there does not exist any agreed statistical data on which sex acts are particularly pleasurable for men and women, we recorded the amount of time spent on every sex act in the sample of fifty bestselling videos in the hope that this would be useful for public discussion about the genre, and for other researchers interested in the ongoing analysis of pornography.

Previous content analyses have tended to note only the presence of particular sexual acts in scenes, not how

long they were practised for (see, for example, Cowan et al., 1988). One of the major innovations of this project was to collect this data in much greater detail. To this end, coders were given precise instructions on choosing which acts to code and how to time them:

*In each scene, how long in seconds is spent on each of the following sexual practices? (focus only on the primary sexual act in each shot. **Choos[e] the primary sex act** ... by [following] the conventions of framing and editing ...*

A taxonomy of 74 distinct sex acts was developed for the project (73 specific acts plus 'Other'; see Appendix 2 for a complete list).

iv) Kinds of sex acts causing orgasms

As a further extension of the concept of 'penis worship', as identified by Cowan and Dunn (1994), we developed another measure to take account of a possible 'phallocentrism' in pornography. Some writers argue that mainstream representations of sexuality are 'phallogentric', or centred on the penis; and that they continue the myth of the 'vaginal orgasm' - the untrue idea that women should be able to orgasm purely from being penetrated by a penis (Dell'Ollio, 1972). If pornographic videos showed women having orgasms purely from penile intromission, it could be argued that they

were in fact showing the sex act from the point of view of the men, rather than as it is really experienced by women. This would thus involve 'objectifying' (degrading) women under the criteria identified by Cowan and Dunn (1994). The coders thus noted the sex act that caused the orgasms in each scene in the videos.

We were aware of the generic expectations of pornographic videos that the viewer will be able to see the orgasm (the 'money shot'). This means that men will often withdraw in order to ejaculate, sometimes masturbating themselves while they do so. We thus put in place specific requirements for the coders not to code this as 'masturbation':

If a man withdraws from vaginal penetration and then quickly 'finishes himself off' by hand, if this lasts less than 5 seconds, then note his orgasm as being caused by vaginal penetration; if he masturbates for more than 5 seconds, then note his orgasm as being caused by masturbation.

It was important for us to have a way to distinguish between orgasms caused primarily by masturbation, and those caused primarily by other sexual acts. It is most unusual for a man in a pornographic video, having withdrawn from penetration, to then ejaculate without touching himself. From our viewing of the videos in the

sample it seemed to us that a '5 second rule' allowed us to take account of this fact. It should be acknowledged that this is to some degree an arbitrary figure, and that some men might masturbate themselves for longer than this before orgasm, but that it might still be primarily understood as caused by vaginal intromission, or another such act. However, as we were hoping to provide more detailed and replicable accounts of reciprocity in these videos than the usual call for coders to respond to the 'overall theme' of the scene, we felt it was important to produce a standardised time for this measure.

The measures described to this point have been more detailed and developed versions of previous measures, albeit with no attention to status inequality (for reasons noted above), and with an attempt to develop a more detailed account of terms such as 'domination' and 'penis-worship' that have previously been left more to the subjective judgement of coders.

However, we also aimed to be able to measure the objectification of characters in these videos more clearly by drawing on the tradition of film studies, which has over several decades developed a precise vocabulary for understanding how audio-visual media represent some characters as objects and some characters as subjects in particularly filmic ways - and regardless

of the particular content of characterization. We are invited to identify with some characters as subjects - agents, fully human with developed internal states - and to look at others as objects - about whose inner lives we know nothing, and whose agency is not clear. In this, we believe this study offers a valuable new approach to the study of objectification in pornography. As Wicke (2002) has argued: 'Textual analysis is particularly useful in debates about pornography ... in isolating features of style and content which are shared with other forms of representation' (quoted in Attwood, 2002, p. 94). By drawing on the insights developed by film studies, we hoped to measure more precisely how characters are subjectified and objectified in pornography. We thus developed a further five measures to take account of the processes of *identification* in the pornographic films. The first of these measures functioned at the level of the video. We took from film studies the concept of 'point of view' (which is also developed in other disciplines in the humanities, such as literary theory). This concept suggests that stories are always told from the point of view of a particular character - the character from whose perspective we see the story. Coders were asked to note which was the 'central character' of each film - the character from whose point of view the

video was presented, if indeed this was the case. This measure took place at the level of the video as a whole.

v) central characters

Coders were advised to note a central character only if one was 'obvious'. A central character in a narrative film would be the one from whose perspective the story was told. In a documentary or amateur film it could be a character who appeared in multiple scenes throughout the film.

The rest of the measures of identification were developed at the level of character.

The first of these character measures of subjectification/objectification is taken from the idea that names are important signs of agency in human culture. To be granted a name is to be seen as a person with an identity; by contrast, being 'nameless' is being not fully human. The first point we checked then was whether individual characters were given names.

vi) naming

We examined whether characters were given names or remained as nameless 'bodies' having sex in these videos.

We also drew on the film studies tradition of thinking about how filmic devices are used to encourage us to see characters either as subjects to identify with, or

objects to look at. Laura Mulvey's 1975 article 'Visual pleasure and the narrative cinema' is often taken as a key piece of research in the history of understanding objectification in audiovisual media, although John Berger proposed similar ideas in 1972. From his analysis of the history of representation of female nudes Berger argued that:

Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women, but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyer of women in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object - and most particularly an object of vision: a sight (Berger, 1972, p. 47)

Mulvey expanded from this insight to strategies of filmic representation, arguing from her survey of mainstream Hollywood cinema that in audiovisual media, woman is 'image', man is 'bearer of the look' (Mulvey, 1975/1990 p. 33). She noted that subjects in film tend to have agency, and to drive the narrative, whereas particular visual strategies are used to create women as objects of the look. There are many such strategies that could be measured - which body parts the camera focuses on, who is centred in the frame and who the camera follows when they

move, who is in focus, how characters are lit, where the characters' gazes direct our gaze and so on (Mulvey, 1975/1990 p. 34). In order to construct a practicable project, we focussed on two key elements.

The first of these was to examine who gets to look at the camera in pornographic videos. This point has been articulated by Richard Dyer, one of the most important writers on pornography within film studies (Dyer, 1982, p. 61). Dyer is careful to point out that the equation of looking and power is not straightforward (1982, p. 64). However, as a way to draw attention to the ways in which characters display their subjectivity, the concept of 'returning the gaze' by looking back at the camera is now generally accepted in film studies as giving an insight into which characters are powerful (see, for example, Hantke, 1998, p. 186).

The second point we studied was the presence of speech in these pornographic films. Postcolonial theory has argued strongly for the importance of characters being allowed to speak for themselves in representations. These ideas have been extensively developed in relation to racist representation in film. It is argued that when characters speak in a film, they are showing their personality, their character and their 'subjectivity'. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988, p. 308) states that: '[t]he

subaltern [member of a dominated group] cannot speak' (see also Said, 1985, p. 5). From this perspective we would argue that if pornographic videos featured only men's voices, pleasures and opinions, this would give the masculine perspective more power.

From these insights, we developed three measures.

Obviously, in measuring such elements of the text we are being extremely reductive, and ignoring the messy textual details of *how* people speak, the tone of voice, how they hold their head, whether it sounds as though they mean what they say, and so on - all of the tiny details that actually mediate the ways in which viewers interpret audiovisual images in the real world. Nevertheless, this is a requirement of content analysis - that measures be developed which can be quantified, even at the expense of accuracy in understanding how images might actually be interpreted (McKee, 2003, pp. 127-130).

vii) time spent talking to other characters

This is obviously simplistic - there are other ways to communicate apart from speaking (for example, body language). But measuring speech at least gives some sense of relative subjectivity, and so coders measured how much talking each of the characters in these videos did. Instructions on this point were explicit, in order to

focus on conversation that could reasonably be seen as expressing character and subjectivity:

*Note length of time the character spent in conversation in course of the video. Do **not** count grunts, exclamations and exclamations like 'Oh, yes, harder', 'You like that?' etc.*

viii) Time spent looking at the camera

We also measured how much interaction the characters had with the camera. Again from film studies we take the idea that when characters look at or speak to the camera they are 'returning the gaze' (Hantke, 1998, p. 186), acknowledging that they are being watched, and thus expressing subjectivity.

ix) Time spent speaking to the camera

Taking these two previous points together, the most powerful form of interaction for suggesting agency in a film, according to the insights developed in film studies, is when a character both looks at and talks directly to the camera. Coders thus measured how much time each character spent talking directly to the camera.

2. Violence in pornography

As discussed above, we decided to follow the model presented by Cowan et al. (1988), and measure violence as

a subset of behaviours that suggest objectification (/degradation). As with the case of degrading pornography, there is no clear definition of violence available to the researcher. Although this has been a key term in the traditions of many kinds of research into pornography, no commonly agreed definition exists as to what actions or forms of representation constitute violence, and the researcher must take responsibility for developing her or his own definition after reviewing previous research.

The analysis of the effects of pornography on its consumers has been the dominant social science tradition of research into the genre. This research has raised the issue of violence in pornography - but, surprisingly, has offered little in the way of an explicit definition of violence, nor tested the validity of the concept. It is useful to present an overview of research on the effects of violent pornography before going on to attempt to isolate a workable definition of the concept for the current project.

There are three main traditions of analysis into pornography, violence, and effects on consumers: sex offender studies, aggregate studies and laboratory experiments.

In sex offender studies, researchers interview subjects who have committed sex crimes - including, though not always limited to, rape - and find out about their exposure to pornographic materials. This information is then compared with the pornographic consumption of non-offending control groups. This methodology has provided the most reliable data we currently possess about the effects of pornography on its users - findings from such studies have proven consistent and replicable and there is little dispute about the interpretation of such data (although for exceptions see Check & Malamuth, 1986; Brannigan, 1991). It is generally agreed that these studies have demonstrated that rapists tend to use less pornography - either violent, or non-violent - than control groups; and that, on average, they come from more sexually repressed backgrounds and are exposed to pornography at a later age (see Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy & Christensen, 1965; Goldstein & Kant, 1973; Abel, Becker & Mittleman, 1985).

By contrast the data generated by both aggregate studies and laboratory studies are contradictory and highly contested.

In aggregate studies researchers compare the availability or consumption of pornographic material in a society with reported levels of sex crimes - particularly rape. Some

aggregate studies show that in societies where pornographic material - either violent or non-violent - is more readily available, rates of reported rape drop, or at least rise less quickly than other forms of crime (see for example Kutchinsky, 1991, pp. 51, 58). However, other studies show that there is a correlation between availability of pornography and rape rates (see Scott & Schwalm, 1988a). Various explanations have been suggested for these disjunctions - including the distinction between availability and consumption, the presence of intervening variables, the fact that people consuming pornography are not demonstrably the same people as those committing sexual violence, and the fact that evidence is being interpreted in multiple, contradictory ways. Aggregate studies are now falling from favour because of these problems.

Laboratory studies face similar difficulties: thirty years of research have produced wildly contradictory results, and no consensus about the effects of pornography on individual behaviour (Fisher and Grenier, 1994, p. 24). Issues that have been raised include the fact that data are open to multiple, contradictory interpretations (Brannigan, 1987); the possibility of, as yet unconfirmed, mediating variables such as the reactions of victims in the films (Donnerstein and

Berkowitz, 1981); and the issue of the ecological validity of the experiments (Fisher & Grenier, 1994; Donnerstein et al., 1987). An emerging genre of research attempts to address these issues by studying the effects of pornography on its users within natural environments. Some researchers now use surveys of self-nominated pornography users in order to understand how the genre functions in everyday life (Davies, 1997; Padgett et al., 1989).

For the purposes of the present research, a key issue in previous laboratory studies has been the failure of researchers: 'to arrive at a suitable operational definition of media violence, or a suitable definition of what constitutes aggressive behaviour' (Donnerstein et al., 1987, p. 18). As Gossett and Byrne point out: 'Researchers vary in how to classify certain depicted acts as violent, aggressive and coercive' (2002, p. 693). It is difficult to find a laboratory study into the effects of violent pornography in which researchers state explicitly what their definition of violence is; or test the validity of that definition.

In previous content analyses, it is more common to find definitions of violence; but there is no agreed standard definition, and there is much contradiction in the literature.

Two key points of disagreement stand out (although they are rarely discussed explicitly).

The first is the issue of consent. Some writers feel that consensual sex should not be counted as violence, even if it is physically aggressive (Robert Baron, quoted in Donnerstein et al., 1987, p. 18). However, such writers have been in the minority: most previous researchers have tended to code all physically aggressive sexual acts - even if they are consensual, as in sadomasochistic practises - as violence (see, for example, Palys, 1986, p. 31; Dietz & Sears, 1988, pp. 22-23; Barron & Kimmel, 2000, p. 163). Other authors use a mixture of these approaches (Cowan, et al., 1988, p. 304; Monk-Turner & Purcell, 1999, p. 62).

For this research, we decided to follow the model set out by Donnerstein et al. in relation to violence:

The majority of social scientists have agreed on a definition of violence ... One of the leading researchers in the field of aggression, Robert Baron, has summarized the definition acceptable to most social scientists and implicit in most research on the effects of violent pornography: 'Any form of behaviour directed toward the goal of harm; or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment' (Donnerstein et al., p. 18)

We thus did not count consensual acts of sadomasochism, Bondage and Domination as 'violence', as they include no intent to harm, and no motivation to avoid such treatment (Schramm-Evans, 1995, pp. 137-138; 147-148).

A point of possible confusion must be addressed here. Previous research on pornography has shown particular concern about those scenarios in which a woman is forced into non-consensual sexual acts, but then begins to enjoy her own rape, portraying a character who: 'has been sexually assaulted and eventually appears to be aroused by the assault' (Fisher & Grenier, 1994, p. 32). Such representations are troubling as: 'this positive reaction on the part of the victim justifies aggression and reduces inhibitions [in viewers]' (Donnerstein, 1984, p. 69). They support the 'rape myth' that women really want to be forced into sex (Burt, 1980).

However, this is not the same thing as consensual sadomasochist or Bondage and Domination/Discipline acts, and must not be confused with them. In sadomasochistic and consensual B&D scenes, there is no point at which consent is not clear: all participants make it explicit that they are willing participants at all points in the process. There is no initial non-consent which might encourage a spectator to think that people might really enjoy being forced to do things which they say they do

not want to do. There is no point at which it is suggested to viewers that 'No' actually means 'Yes'. In sadomasochistic scenes, explicitly, 'Yes' means 'Yes' (Albury, 2002).

The second key point of disagreement in previous research into violence in pornography is how expansively one should understand violence. Should the concept include only physical force, should it include verbal and emotional force (Cowan et al, 1988), should it include putting people into awkward situations (Cowan and Campbell, 1994), anything that causes any kind of physical or social discomfort, or any kind of physical contact that is not explicitly gentle and tender (Dines et al, 1998)? There is no agreement on these questions in the literature.

With an awareness of this tradition of research, we aimed in this analysis to produce measures of violence which were as detailed in description and execution as possible. To this end we drew on previous research to identify three familiar areas of violence: physical violence; verbal violence; and coerced sex that does not necessarily involve physical or verbal force:

- x) Number of scenes including non-consensual physical sexual violence

- xi) Number of scenes including non-consensual use of sexually violent language
- xii) Number of scenes including other forms of non-consensual sex

We believe that this is the first study to make explicit the issue of consent in relation to violence. We also made explicit the limits of what would be counted as violence. Our definition of violent actions comprised physical or verbal attacks which were obviously not consensual and therefore included an element of desire to harm (including emotional harm) other participants. In deciding what counted as violence we drew on the work of a number of previous researchers. Our basic definition fitted that of Baron, as quoted above: 'Any form of behaviour directed toward the goal of harm; or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment'. We attempted to make it possible to measure this as objectively as possible by explicitly drawing the attention of coders to a number of exclusions from the category of violence.

'Isolated moments of rough sex play' were defined for coders as including those moments: 'where a character may throw another on to a bed, push them back against a wall, etc, while the character being pushed laughs or makes clear in another way that they are enjoying this'.

As we were excluding consensual sadomasochistic practices, we provided a detailed definition of sadomasochistic scenes for coders in the following terms:

Sadomasochistic scenes are obviously generic and consensual. Recognisable sadomasochistic tropes will often be employed - referring to 'the mind as the ultimate sexual organ', characters referring to each other as 'Miss' or 'Master', instructions that characters must not use their hands, explicit and forceful instructions as to sexual practice, the use of iconography such as leather, shoes, whips etc. Such scenes are not counted as 'sexual violence', even though they may include isolated moments which are, in the strictest sense, violent - for example, isolated slaps, shoves, pokes, etc.

However, coders were also informed that if at any point a sadomasochistic scene appeared to be non-consensual, or if it inflicted real bodily damage, then it should be counted as sexual violence. Although occasionally sadomasochistic scenes will involve cutting, branding or piercing, this is rare in mainstream pornography and such behaviour suggested at least the possibility that the scene may have gone out of control. We wished to err on the side of caution and to ensure that even the possibility of this would be picked up in our coding:

The one exception to this taxonomy is if a sadomasochistic scene involves an act which is more violent than one would expect, to the point where it conceivably cause lasting injury - for example, a punch in the face or a cut that leads to bleeding. Such acts SHOULD be counted as sexual violence.

Sexually rough language was defined for coders as:

language that would be insulting outside of the sexual context: eg, 'you're a whore, what are you? Tell me what you are. You're a whore!' Don't include expletives used outside of the sexual context. Don't include simply saying 'Fuck' during sex - the category is reserved for language that is explicitly addressed to another person.

Coders had to note for each scene where sexually rough language appeared whether the character at whom it was addressed appeared to be pleased by it or offended by it. In those instances where they were pleased, it was taken to be consensual and not defined as violence. In those instances where they were upset, it was counted as a violent act.

We also introduced the category of: 'scenes including other forms of non-consensual sex' in order to capture any moments when it seems that characters were being forced into particular acts that they may not want to do,

even if they were not actually being subjected to physical violence. This category was introduced in order to ensure that our coding was as inclusive as possible in picking up any non-consensuality in sexual acts in these videos:

include in this category any character who states that they don't want to partake in a particular sexual practice and is then forced to do so; any restraint forcing someone to remain within a sexual scene, outside of obviously consensual sadomasochistic roleplaying; any character who appears to be unhappy performing a given sexual act even if they do not explicitly say so; and any actor who appears to be unhappy performing a given sexual act even if they do not explicitly say so.

Coders

Three coders worked on the project. All were graduate students at the University of Queensland, all were in their twenties and all were white. Two were female and one was male; one was heterosexual and two were homosexual. Both of the women had some familiarity with sexually explicit materials from their own research projects; the man had less familiarity. The coders met with the project leader for several sessions in which

they were talked through the elements being measured, and practised these as a group. They were provided with pictorial reference material for coding physical aspects of actors' bodies.

All three coders coded a randomly chosen video from the sample - *Nineteen* - in order to test inter-coder reliability. Two forms of reliability statistics were required due to the different forms of data. For the nominal ratings the appropriate measure of inter-rater reliability is the multi-rater kappa as described by Siegel and Castellan (1988). The multi-rater kappa is an extension of the more usual Cohen's (1960) kappa beyond just two raters. For the variables which used continuous measurement (the time-based measurements), an intra-class correlation was used (McGraw & Wong, 1996).

Tests of reliability for the nominal ratings revealed that four of the variables had multi-rater kappas of below .75 (age; body type; breast/penis size; and plastic surgery); these were discarded from the analysis. The discrepancies between coders for these variables may have arisen because each of these categories relied on making fine distinctions across a continuum. By contrast, intercoder reliability was high for those variables where coders were measuring the presence or absence of a factor. On the questions of whether characters were

named, who initiates sex in a scene, whether there was sexual violence, sex without consent, who had orgasms, and which sex acts caused orgasms, multi-rater kappas were all 1.

For the variables using continuous measurement, reliability on time spent talking to other people was analysed as an intraclass correlation of over 0.9; time spent looking at the camera without talking had an intraclass correlation of 1; and time spent talking to the camera had an intraclass correlation of close to 1. Reliability on time spent in particular sex acts was analysed as an intraclass correlation of 0.85.

Results

Reciprocity

Of the 838 scenes, 196 (23.4%) did not contain sex. Of the 642 that did, 198 (30.8%) of them had sex initiated by women; 110 (17.1%) had sex initiated by a man. 47 (7.3%) had sex initiated by both or all participants equally; and 287 (44.7%) opened in media res, so nobody was seen to initiate sex. More women initiated sex (including both/all, 38.1% of scenes) than did men (24.5%).

Coders found that in 102 of the 642 sex scenes (15.9%), no characters had orgasms. In 51 cases (7.9%) all characters had orgasms and in 23 cases (3.6%) some characters of each gender (but not all characters) had orgasms. In 25 cases, only women had orgasms in the scene (3.9%). However in a majority of cases (436 cases, 68%) of scenes, only male characters had orgasms. In 3 cases (0.5%) only intersexed characters had orgasms. In total, in 79.5% of sex scenes, a male character had an orgasm (bearing in mind that some scenes will be 'lesbian' scenes); while in only 15.4% of scenes did women clearly have orgasms.

Table 1: most common sex acts (over 1 hour in the sample)

Sex act	Time in sample		
Vaginal penetration by man, with penis ('other', including woman on side with one leg in the air, scissors, woman's legs on man's	18 h 33m 25s	shoulders)	
		Oral sex on man by woman	15h 26m 07s
		Anal penetration of woman, by man (penis)	7h 35m 30s
		Exhibitionism	5h 53m 47s
		Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis	5h 40m 46s

(doggy style)	
Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis (woman on top)	5h 01m 33s
Oral sex on woman by man	4h 45m 27s
Dildo use, hand held	3h 49m 56s
Masturbation (male)	3h 28m 51s
Masturbation (female)	3h 18m 48s
Oral sex on woman by woman	2h 54m 03s
Talking dirty	2h 28m 49s
Intersexed lovemaking (coded under 'Other')	2h 00m 20s
Nipple stimulation	1h 50m 50s

Kissing, man and woman	1h 16m 32s
Hand job by a woman	1h 16m 29s
Breast rubbing	1h 13m 37s
Rubbing of area around vagina without penetration	1h 07m 17s
Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis, missionary position	1h 5 m 49s
Rubbing of body other than those areas specified elsewhere	1h 04m 32s

Table 1 shows the most common sex acts in the sample, including all of those which featured for over an hour. It can be seen that penile/vaginal penetration is the most popular act, although missionary position is not the most popular. Oral sex is also popular, although it is more common for women to give oral sex than it is for men. This accords with the findings of Dines et al., (1998) who found that 'the scenes of men performing cunnilingus, if they appeared at all, were shorter in duration than those of women performing fellatio' (Dines et al., p. 77). The range of sex acts presented is also notable.

Table 2: most common sex acts causing orgasms, by gender

	n=141	n=628
Sex act	Number of orgasms caused for female characters	Number of orgasms caused for male characters
Masturbation (male)	-	241 (38.4% of male orgasms)
Vaginal penetration by man, with penis (other)	15 (10.6% of female orgasms)	144 (22.9%)
Anal penetration,	12 (8.5%)	77 (12.3%)

of woman, by man, with penis		
Oral sex on man by woman	-	50 (8.0%)
Hand job by woman	-	42 (6.7%)
Vaginal penetration by man, with penis (doggy style)	12 (8.5%)	35 (5.6%)
Masturbation, female	32 (22.9%)	-
Vaginal penetration by man, with penis (missionary)	3 (2.1%)	15 (2.4%)
Vaginal penetration by man, with penis (woman on top)	8 (5.7%)	11 (1.8%)
Oral sex on woman, by woman	17 (12.1%)	-
Dildo use, hand held	15 (10.6%)	-

Masturbation of man with breasts	-	7 (1.1%)
Oral sex on woman, by man	6 (4.3%)	-
Vaginal penetration, by man, with finger	5 (3.5%)	-
Clitoral rubbing	4 (2.8%)	-
Rubbing of area around vagina without penetration	4 (2.8%)	-
Other causes	8 (5.7%)	6 (1.0%)

Table 2 shows the most common causes of orgasms differentiated by gender. It can be seen that male characters had many more orgasms than female characters. The most common causes of both male and female orgasms were penile-vaginal intercourse and masturbation.

Identification

Coders identified 1494 characters in the fifty video tapes. About 52% of the characters were female, 47% were male; the rest consisted of hermaphrodite, transsexual and drag queen characters.

In terms of central characters, 54% of the videos had no central character, and were not told from a specific viewpoint. 20% were presented from the point of view of a central male character. 20% were presented from the point of view of a central female character. 6% were structured around two central characters - one male and one female.

Most characters in the videos did not have names. 1158 out of 1494 (77.5%) were nameless. 592 female characters (76.0%) were nameless; as were 549 (78.9%) of male characters.

Table 3: 'giving voice' (looking and speaking) by gender

	Female	Male
	n=779	n=696
<i>Talking to other characters</i>		
Number of characters who talk to others	399 (51.2%)	389 (55.9%)
Mean length of time spent talking to others	2 m 22s	2m 9s
<i>Looking at the camera</i>		

Number of characters who look at camera	70 (9.0%)	34 (4.9%)
Mean length of time spent looking to camera	1m 13s	1m 11s
<i>Talking to camera</i>		
Number of characters who talk to camera	137 (17.6%)	38 (5.5%)
Mean length of time spent talking to camera	29s	5s

Table 3 shows the extent to which characters were 'given voice' in the videos, by gender. As can be seen, a slightly larger percentage of men speak to other characters than do women, but each speaks for slightly less time than the women who speak. More female characters look at the camera, for slightly longer than each male character does. Neither of these differences is large. Many more women speak to the camera, and for longer than male characters. This is a notable difference.

Violence

In the sample of 838 scenes, coders identified seven scenes which contained physical sexual violence. All featured male violence against women.

Coders identified one scene where sexually violent language was used, between two women.

Coders identified eight scenes which featured other forms of non-consensual sex. In five of these, men forced women into non-consensual acts. In two, a women forced men. In the eighth, a man and a woman forced another woman into a non-consensual act.

Adding these, we find a total of sixteen scenes (1.9%) which feature some form of violence, where violence is taken to be: 'Any form of behaviour directed toward the goal of harm; or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatment'. We argue below that even this figure might overstate the presence of violence in these videos. In thirteen scenes (1.6%) men were violent to women; in four (0.5%) women were violent to men.

Discussion

As noted in the literature review, it is difficult to make meaningful comparisons of results between different content analyses of pornographic material because there

has been little standardisation of measures. Previous studies have used a variety of names for measures - objectification, degradation, dehumanisation, dominance, violence, and so on - and have defined these measures in contradictory ways.

Objectification

We chose not to count particular acts - like anal sex or the use of toys - as being degrading or dehumanizing (unlike, for example, Dietz and Sears, 1988). Similarly, we did not analyse status inequalities (as did Cowan & Campbell, 1994), as research has shown this not to be a valid measure of degradation (Cowan & Dunn, 1994).

Rather, we measured objectification by looking at elements of pornographic texts under three broad headings - *reciprocity*, *identification* and *violence*, which we took to be a subset of objectification. We had hoped to measure stereotyping, but intercoder reliability was too low to be useful for the relevant measures.

Previous researchers have measured the presence or absence of reciprocity as a single variable - often named 'dominance'. Detailed definitions of the textual features that would count as dominance, beyond the presence of status inequalities, are rarely provided - often coders are instructed to respond to the tone or the feel of a scene. This may explain the wide range of previous

findings. Palys found that in Triple X porn, 13.7% of the sex scenes are imbalanced; and in adult porn, 15.4% (Palys, 1986, p. 27). Monk-Turner and Purcell (1999) reported that 39% of sex scenes in pornographic videos involve subordination (Monk-Turner & Purcell, 1999, p. 64). Cowan et al reported that 52% of sex scenes involved either dominance or exploitation (Cowan et al., 1988). Barron and Kimmel (2000) measured patterns of dominance and submission in pornographic magazines, videos and the Usenet and found that in magazines, 69.5% of scenes are 'egalitarian', and in videos, 80.8% are reciprocal; in the Usenet, only 49.3% of scenes are reciprocal (Barron & Kimmel, 2000, p. 164).

Rather than taking *reciprocity* as a single variable to be assessed by coders, we measured a number of distinct textual features which would make the presence or absence of reciprocity visible.

The fact that women in pornographic videos initiate sex more often than do men has lead to concerns that the genre provides an unrealistic vision of women's sexuality. However, it also makes clear that, in the terms of this research, women in pornography are presented not as sexual objects but as active sexual *subjects*. However, if we take account of how much women's pleasure is addressed in these videos, there is more

cause for concern. Women in pornographic videos are less likely to have orgasms than are men.

In analysing the sexual acts presented in mainstream pornography in Australia, we note the wide range of sexual acts that are included - the genre is not as 'phallogentric' as some of its critics fear in the sense of defining sex only as penile intromission in the vagina (Dworkin, 1981, p. 23). We found over sixty distinct sexual acts even in mainstream pornography (which, in accordance with Australian law, does not include such specialised tastes as golden showers) - including vaginal, anal and oral sex, rimming, slapping the face with the penis, masturbating a man with the breasts, handjobs, frottage, use of dildos, vibrators and buttplugs, cross dressing, foot worship, panty sniffing, voyeurism, and so on.

There were no animals or children involved in any sex scenes. There is no bestiality or paedophilia in the mainstream of Australian pornographic videos.

In thinking about whether women are regarded as sexual subjects in these videos rather than passive sexual objects it is important that, while penile/vaginal intromission remains the most common sexual act in the sample (with a total of 37 hours 6 minutes and 3 seconds in the sample), the missionary position - which is

generally agreed to provide least direct pleasure to the woman (Dell'Ollio, 1972) - is by far the least popular form. Doggy style sex and woman on top - both of which are generally agreed to provide more clitoral stimulation for women - are much more popular. Although women have fewer orgasms in these videos, we might suggest that in this way at least they are not regarded as sexual objects whose own pleasure is unimportant.

The next most popular sexual act is oral sex. In this we find an important disparity in gender representation: women perform oral sex on men far more than men perform oral sex on women. This may indeed represent an overvaluing of male over female sexual pleasure in these videos. If we add woman on woman oral sex (there were only three examples of man on man oral sex in these 838 scenes, which lasted for a combined total of only 43 seconds) - there is a total of 7 hours, 33 minutes and 58 seconds spent on oral sex for women - about half of the time spent on men. The presence of this lesbian sexual act in these videos is worth noting. This compares with Dietz and Sears' (1988) listing of the most popular sexual acts presented on book, magazine and video covers, which has fellatio at the top of the list (21.9%), followed by penile/anal penetration (11.7%), then penile/vaginal intromission (7.0%), cunnilingus (6.9%),

masturbation (4.5%) and penetration by inanimate objects (2.9%) (Dietz and Sears, 1988, p. 29).

The largest group of female orgasms in the sample are provided by forms of penis/vagina penetration: a total of 38 orgasms (27.0% of female orgasms). But only 3 of these were caused by traditional missionary position penetration (2.1%). 12 orgasms (8.5% of total female orgasms) were caused by doggy style penetration; 8 (5.7%) by the woman on top and 15 (10.6%) by other penetrative situations. Penetrative anal sex caused 12 orgasms (8.5%); and vaginal penetration by dildo caused 15 (10.6%).

Although these traditional forms of heterosexual sex are privileged, they are not unchallenged as the provider of female pleasure. Other forms of sex which researchers have argued are more suitable to providing female pleasure are also an important part of pornography's representation of sex.

Masturbation provided women with 32 orgasms in the sample (22.5%). If we also include clitoral and vaginal rubbing, a total of 40 orgasms for women - more than are caused by penile penetration - are the result of non-penetrative genital stimulation.

Cunnilingus further provided 23 orgasms (16.2%) in the sample: 17 (12.0%) occurring due to cunnilingus performed

by a woman; 6 (4.2%) resulting from cunnilingus performed by a man.

Although there is no agreed scale with which to measure how much attention is paid to women's pleasure in sex, we suggest that the above figures demonstrate that the many of the sex acts in pornography pay attention to women's pleasure.

For men, the single most important cause of orgasm (even when all penile/vaginal penetrative positions are added together) is male masturbation. This caused 241 orgasms (38.4%). When hand jobs (masturbation by another character - 43 orgasms) are included in this total, masturbation caused 283, or 45.0% of male orgasms in these videos. This was true even when coders were instructed not to code as 'masturbation' those scenes where men withdrew from penetration and quickly 'finished themselves off' (see above).

The second most popular causes of orgasm were the vaginal/penile penetrative positions. Together these caused 205 orgasms (32.6%). The single most popular position was doggy style (35 cases, 5.6%). Missionary was second most popular with 15 (2.4%), then woman on top with 11 (1.8%). Various other innovative penetrative positions provided 144 male orgasms (22.9% of all male orgasms). Anal sex with a woman provided 77 orgasms

(12.3%). Oral sex on a man by a woman provided 50 (8.0%). Again, this suggests that the sample is not straightforwardly phallogocentric in its presentation of sex. Although penile/vaginal intromission was important, masturbation was more important; and even within the penetrative acts, the missionary position was not the most popular.

These measures together provide us with data relevant to the ongoing concern in both experimental and content analysis work about the issue of dominance or inequality in pornographic representations. There is not full equality in the attention paid to male and female pleasure. However it is equally clear that women's pleasure is not ignored in these videos. There is a degree of reciprocity in pleasure-giving - and thus, a lack of dominance or inequality - in this sample of mainstream pornographic videos in Australia.

The second set of measures which were developed to address concerns about objectification in pornography were those which dealt with the issue of *identification*. Here we looked at whether the viewer was encouraged to see characters as being a subject or an object in the video. Again, the measures we used were developed from the concerns of previous writing, but rather than taking objectification to be a single variable to be coded,

identified various textual features which make clear whether characters were subjectified or objectified. We found that there is no gender differentiation in the numbers of central characters in the films - equal numbers of the fifty have male and female central characters. This is also true of the naming of characters. Almost all characters in these videos are 'objectified' in this sense (not being supplied with names). There appears to be no gender differentiation in the presentation of characters' speech to each other. Slightly fewer female than male characters spoke in the videos; but the mean of female speaking time was slightly longer. These are minor differences, however. Of course, in a general content analysis such as this it is not possible to analyse in detail what was said by the characters - but, as shown above, the coders were instructed to exclude speech which was merely expressions of pleasure at what was being done to somebody. We can state with confidence that the female characters are not being presented as silent, passive objects. This is an invitation to identify with female characters as subjects.

More female than male characters 'returned the gaze' by looking directly at the camera. The mean amount of time spent looking at the camera by each character of each

gender is almost the same, however. Most characters - male and female - do not return the gaze.

Similarly, more female characters than male characters spoke directly to the camera (over three times as many); and they spoke for longer (almost six times as long). From this we can see that although speaking to the camera - the ultimate example of agency in a video - is unusual in popular pornographic videos, in those instances where it does occur, women are more likely to take this powerful role; and are likely to do so for longer than men. Again, we are thus invited to identify with the female characters in these tapes as subjects.

In our analysis of reciprocity and identification in these tapes, we have found data that is relevant to ongoing concerns in the literature that pornography degrades or dehumanizes female characters, either through dominance, or through a specific form of objectification which denies human agency. It seems clear from our data that in mainstream pornographic videos in Australia this is not the case.

Violence

Our figure of 1.9% of scenes featuring violence is lower than has been discovered by some other researchers. As noted above, there has been little consensus about the

definition of violence in content analyses of pornography, and this may be part of the explanation of the very different results discovered by researchers. Another possible explanation is differences between media. Scott and Cuvelier's analysis of magazine pornography found that 3.13% of cartoons are sexually violent on average each year; and 2.79% of all pictorials were either violent or sexually violent (Scott & Cuvelier, 1993, p. 367). Yang and Linz found violence in 4.88% of X-rated movie scenes (Yang & Linz, 1990, p. 39). Malamuth and Spinner's analysis of magazine pornography found that 10% of cartoons and 5% of the pictures contain sexual violence (Malamuth & Spinner, 1980, p. 235). Palys' analysis of pornographic videos found that 6.3% of scenes included sexual aggression (Palys, 1986, p. 27). Dietz and Sears (1988, p. 26) find that a total of 12.7% of book, magazine and video covers show violence. Monk-Turner and Purcell found violence in 17% of pornographic video scenes (Monk-Turner & Purcell, 1999, p. 62). Cowan et al found that 23% of pornographic video scenes include physical aggression (Cowan, et al., p. 304). Barron and Kimmell found violence in 24.8% of magazine scenes, 26.9% of video scenes and 42.1% of Usenet scenes (Barron & Kimmel, 2000, p. 163).

As there has been so little agreement in previous studies, which have found that between 3.13% and 42.1% of scenes are sexually violent in a variety of media, do not feel a strong need to specifically justify the variance between previous findings and our own. However, two points of specificity stand out.

Firstly, the specific legislative context in Australia must be borne in mind. Although sexually explicit videos can legally be bought throughout Australia by people over the age of 18, since changes to the country's classification system in 2000 it is illegal for any sexually explicit scene in a video to have any violence in it. The instances of violence which were identified in this sample must therefore be explained by our definition of violence being more inclusive than that employed by the Australian government (for example, counting aggressive speech as violence). We have erred on the side of inclusion: where it was not clear from the video whether a forceful act was consensual, we have always coded those acts as violence - even though in most cases they could be equally well consensual as violent.

Secondly, as discussed in the literature review, many previous researchers have chosen to include consensual BDSM acts as violence. As we have excluded consensual

acts from our definition of violence, we have not done so.

The violent scenes we discovered in the sample are as follows.

Seven scenes include physical sexual violence.

In *Debbie Does Dallas* scene sixteen a school principal puts schoolgirl Debbie over his knee and spanks her (starting at 56 minutes/00 seconds into the video). She sobs and cries. This becomes sexual. This is the only scene in the entire sample where non-consensual physical sexual violence is unambiguous. In *The Best of Rocco*, scene eight (1/4/14), Rocco attends a karate fight at a boxing ring with a woman. She fantasises about being in the ring with him, wrestling and having sex. He handles her roughly, pulls her hair, pushes her to the floor and has sex with her. Also in *The Best of Rocco*, scene twelve (1/27/36), Rocco has sex with a woman in a hotel room. He forces her head down the toilet while he is penetrating her. In *Action Sports Sex*, during a scene in a surf clothes shop (0/4/59) it appears that at one point, a woman is punched lightly in the ribs by a man who is having sex with her. In *Rocco Never Dies*, scene eight (0/46/39), during a foursome in a hotel room, one of the men slaps one of the women in the face while they are having sex. In *Bad Wives*, scene fourteen (0/41/19), a

woman has sex with her husband. In the course of this the sex becomes rough, with extreme hair pulling and throwing each other around. In *Bad Wives*, scene fifteen (0/48/49), another woman is having sex with her husband, and again it moves into very rough sex play. In each of these two scenes the woman initiates sex, and demands it rougher, stating that this is what will give them orgasms - but in the actual performance of it, it is not entirely clear that every single rough moment is consensual.

In *Debbie Does Dallas*, the violence is clearly non-consensual, at least at the start. In the other six scenes it is not clear whether these acts are consensual.

Five of the seven scenes of physical violence come from videos that are specifically aimed at female viewers of pornography. It is also worth noting that one of the scenes is explicitly a fantasy scene.

There was one scene in the videos analysed that included violent language (where there was no reciprocity or pleasure). This can be contrasted with Cowan et al's finding that 28% of pornographic scenes included 'Verbal dominance' - taken to be: 'Verbal demands and commands' (Cowan et al., p. 305), but without attention to consent or reciprocity. In *Seven Deadly Sins* (0/7/3), a female fan obsessed with a female pornography star fantasises about meeting the star in a surreal fantasy landscape. In

her fantasy they end up arguing viciously and then having sex, before realising that they are actually both the same person - two sides of the same personality. Again, it is notable that this is explicitly a couples video, with high production values, marketed to women as well as men. Also, it is explicitly a fantasy sequence - indeed, a surreal one.

Eight scenes included other forms of non-consenting sexual contact. Five showed men forcing women; two showed women forcing men, and one showed a male/female couple forcing a woman.

In *Sorority Sex Kittens*, scene forty three (2/37/15), a large group of naked women overcome a man, pulling him down and having sex with him. In *Faust Fucker*, scene two (0/2/44), a doctor chatters to the camera, while trying to grope his female nurse. She pushes his hands away, smiling broadly all the time. This lasts for a few seconds. In *Debbie Does Dallas*, scene eight (0/21/53), Debbie is reluctantly persuaded into letting her boss at the store where she works look at, then fondle, then lick her breasts. She is reluctant all the way through the scene, and finally has to threaten to 'tell my mother' to get him to stop. Also in *Debbie Does Dallas*, scene twelve (0/28/49), a young woman, Roberta is working in a candle store. Her boss's wife - Mrs Hardwick - comes back and

finds her masturbating with the candles. The boss's wife then starts to grope and fondle Roberta. Roberta tries to push her away. Mr Hardwick enters the shop and sits beside them. She protests. They continue to cajole her, and grope her. We see a close up as she decides to have sex with them, and it becomes consensual. She has sex with both of them. In *Seven Deadly Sins*, scene twenty two (1/40/07), a boastful man who claims he can get any woman is dragged down to hell in a fantasy sequence, and overrun with sexually demanding woman who swamp him. In *Ancient Secrets of the Kama Sutra*, scene eight (1/0/27), in a fantasy scene read out of the Kama Sutra, and set in a mystical version of the Arabian past, two princesses are seduced by guards with whom they should not have sex. At first the princesses are uncomfortable, but as they are stimulated by the secrets of the Kama Sutra, they give in to the guards. In *Bonnie and Clyde*, scene four (0/5/11), the two outlaws are beside their getaway car in a field. She appears turned on as he grasps her, and she talks very sexually and rubs against him, but she struggles and says that they can't have sex here, in public - before reciprocating his advances. In *Jinx*, a pimp goes into a bar (1m/00s). He hassles the barmaid, groping her and she struggles to get free of him. After a few seconds she stops struggling and begins to fellate him.

Three of these scenes are from videos marketed to women (*Seven Deadly Sins*, *Ancient Secrets of the Kama Sutra* and *Bonnie and Clyde*). Two of them are explicitly fantasy scenes (*Sins* and *Kama Sutra*).

In analyzing these moments of sexual violence, several points arise.

Three of the moments of sexual violence in the sample of fifty tapes occur in a single video: *Debbie Does Dallas* (1978). This is the only video which shows a woman being spanked against her will, and starting to enjoy it. This variation on the 'rape' theme - women say no, but they really like it when it's done to them - has vanished from recent pornography. In fact, in comparing the original *Debbie Does Dallas* with its sequel, *Debbie Does Dallas '99* - it seems that pornography has changed remarkably over the two decades. The storyline of the latter video features women embracing their sexuality, and being empowered by it. In the original *Debbie Does Dallas*, a cheerleading team want to get the money to travel to see their team play, and take on a variety of low paid and humiliating jobs to make money, many of which end up in sexual encounters which they do not seem to enjoy. This is the only 1980s tape in the sample. More recent tapes (the rest of the videos that provide production dates were all produced after 1990 - see Appendix 1) tell very

different stories. *Bad Wives*, which provides several examples of violence, is about women who are unsatisfied with the sexual performance of their husbands who seek out new ways to guarantee their sexual pleasure. In couples tapes such as *Conquest*, which tells the story of a headstrong young woman who joins a pirate ship, it is the female characters who are at the centre of the story and drive the narrative - and they seek out and enjoy sexual pleasure. *Search for the Snow Leopard* tells of an internationally successful female anthropologist who leaves her partner, who constricts both her career and her sexuality, travelling the world and rediscovering sexual pleasure. These tapes are the bestsellers of the current generation. In recently produced mainstream pornographic tapes we no longer see women being abused, and learning to enjoy it. The narrative trope of the women learning to enjoy her own rape has vanished from mainstream pornography.

Of the sixteen violent scenes, nine occur in videos marketed to women. Four are set in explicitly fantasy environments. These points may be related: much popular women's fiction is set in melodramatic, or explicitly fantastic situations. We may be seeing here a gendered address in pornography - where it is material aimed at women that is more likely to include violence. In the

examples of physical violence found in this sample, *Bad Wives* is an example of expensive 'couples porn', which is sold to female viewers on the basis of more elaborate storylines, more developed characters, higher production values and more attractive male actors than other tapes. Rocco Siffredi, whose tapes are responsible for three of the seven physically violent moments, is the most popular male porn star with female audiences (Albury, 2002b). Only two of the violent acts come from tapes primarily marketed at straight men. This raises interesting questions about the relationship between sex, aggression and gender in twenty first century Western countries.

Conclusion

This analysis of fifty of the bestselling pornographic videos in Australia shows that women are not objectified in this genre more than men . Of our twelve measures, seven can be analysed to measure gendered differentiation of objectification in pornography. We excluded the kinds of sex acts, and sex acts causing orgasm from this part of the analysis - this data is important and suggestive but cannot be compared in this particular way as there exists no agreed scale to quantify the pleasure different sex acts cause each gender. We also excluded measures of violence from gendered comparison, as they are too few in

the sample to allow comparison of gender roles to be meaningful.

Of these seven measures, one shows women being more objectified than men (presence of orgasms, where women have fewer orgasms). Three show men being more objectified than women (in time spent looking at camera, where men return the gaze less; in time spent talking to the camera, where they are also less engaged; and in initiating sex, where men are more sexual objects than active sexual subjects in seeking their sexual pleasure in the sample). Three measures showed no large difference in objectification between men and women (naming, central characters and time spent talking to other characters).

We hope that these results will reassure those commentators who are worried about the content of pornography. Although the Internet is emerging as a source of pornography, videos and DVDs remain the central medium. In the mainstream of pornographic videos in Australia we found no bestiality, no children involved in sexual situations, and a very small amount of violence - and then, only when we erred on the side of inclusiveness in deciding whether situations might be consensual or not. The majority of scenes containing violence came from videos which were explicitly marketed to women. Overall,

women were no more objectified than men in the mainstream of pornography. These results are reassuring.

This is the first study, we believe, to survey and attempt to reconcile the measures employed in previous content analyses of pornography. By choosing to use the term 'objectification' as the key concept under which various other forms of undesirable representation (including violence) can be measured, we believe that we have offered a potentially useful new approach to the analysis of pornography; one that allows for analyses that are sensitive to the specificity of filmic representations, that work within accepted social science definition of aggression, and can be easily articulated to ongoing public debates about the genre. We hope that other researchers will take up this approach to provide a more detailed understanding of the workings of pornography across media, and across cultures. Topics we would be particularly interested to see explored in future work include:

- How objectifying are different media genres in their presentation of gender (comparing genres such as visual art, art films, mainstream films, advertising, fashion and pornography)?

- Are there differences in levels of objectification in different genres of pornography, including amateur, couples and traditional pornography?
- It would be particularly interesting to follow up our discovery that the majority of sexually violent scenes occurred in videos aimed specifically at women. Can this result be replicated?
- Finally, is the objectification of characters in pornography handled the same way in different national cultures, with particular reference to European countries?

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Appendix 1: Complete list of fifty videos analysed

- *100 Sex Scenes 4* (undated)
- *Action Sports Sex* (1998)
- *Anabolic World Sex Tour* (1995)
- *Ancient Secrets of the Kama Sutra* (1997)
- *Awesome Asians* (undated)
- *Awesome Asians 2* (1996)
- *Bad Wives* (undated)
- *The Best of Dripping Snatch* (1992)
- *The Best of Rocco* (undated)
- *Big Natural Tits* (2000)
- *Blue Movie* (1995)
- *Bonnie and Clyde: outlaws of love* (undated)
- *Buttbanged Naughty Nurses* (1997)
- *Conquest* (1996)
- *Consenting Adults* (undated)
- *Debbie Does Dallas* (1978)
- *Debbie Does Dallas 99* (1999)
- *Euphoria* (undated)
- *Faust Fucker* (undated)
- *The Girls of Summer* (undated)

- *Girls Who Take it Up The Ass 5* (undated)
- *Gushing Orgasms* (undated)
- *Hairfree Asian Honeys* (2000)
- *Half and Half* (1992)
- *The Hardest of Hardcore* (1999)
- *Homemade Amateur Videos 2* (1998)
- *Jenna Ink* (1996)
- *Jinx* (1996)
- *The John Holmes Collectors Edition* (1993)
- *Masseuse 3* (1997)
- *Nasty Girls* (1997)
- *Nice Rack* (1998)
- *Nineteen Video Magazine* (undated)
- *Overtime vol 30: Pierced and Penetrated* (1996)
- *Paul Norman's Nastiest Multiples* (undated)
- *Pick-up Lines 40* (undated)
- *Puritan Video Mag* (1996)
- *Ready to Drop 16* (undated)
- *Rocco Never Dies* (1998)
- *Russian Teens 3* (1992)

- *Search for the Snow Leopard* (1998)
- *Seven Deadly Sins* (undated)
- *Sex Island* (2000)
- *Sex With Older Women* (undated)
- *Sorority Sex Kittens 1&2 (double tape)* (undated)
- *Supercum 3* (1996)
- *Sweet 18 Babes from Budapest 3* (undated)
- *The World's Greatest Anal Penetrations* (2000)
- *World's Largest Cocks 3* (1999)
- *Xtreme Scenes 25* (1998)

Appendix 2: Complete taxonomy of sex acts used in coding

- 01: Anal penetration of man, by man (digital)
- 02: Anal penetration of man, by woman (digital)
- 03: Anal penetration of woman, by man (digital)
- 04: Anal penetration of woman, by woman (digital)
- 05: Anal penetration of man, by man (penis)
- 06: Anal penetration of woman, by man (penis) (If it is not clear whether it is the anus or the vagina being

penetrated, assume it is the vagina. Anal sex will usually be clearly signalled).

07: Bestiality

08: Biting or chewing of body parts other than those specified elsewhere (including, eg, chewing on side of breasts, thighs, buttocks, etc).

09: Oral sex on man, including sucking testicles, by man

10: Oral sex on man, including sucking testicles, by woman

11: Bondage (tying up)

12: Branding

13: Buttplug use

14: Candle wax

15: Clitoral rubbing

16: Cross-dressing

17: Cutting

18: Dildo use (including penetration and sucking, hand held)

19: Dildo use (including penetration and sucking, strapped on)

20: Double penetration, anal (man)

21: Double penetration, anal (woman)

- 22: Double penetration, vaginal
- 23: Enema
- 24: Exhibitionism (including public nudity or displays of nudity in private in front of one or more people; also including striptease in public or in front of one or more people. Include performances which do not reveal body parts but are obviously designed to be sexually titillating- eg, bending over, showing off panties, pulling them up the butt crack, etc)
- 25: Fanny slapping (patting or gently slapping the area around the vagina).
- 26: Feet used sexually (excluding sado-masochistic foot worship).
- 27: Fingers in mouth
- 28: Frottage (two clothed parts of the body rubbing together, more than one person involved)
- 29: Golden showers
- 30: Hand job (masturbation of penis by another man - do not include the application of a condom, unless the penis is stimulated for at least 3 seconds after the condom is applied)
- 31: Hand job (masturbation of penis by a woman - do not include the application of a condom, unless the penis

is stimulated for at least 3 seconds after the condom is applied)

32: Kissing, man and man

33: Kissing, man and woman

34: Kissing, woman and woman

35: Leather

36: Licking body parts other than those specified elsewhere

37: Massage, erotic

38: Masturbation (female)

39: Masturbation (male)

40: Oral sex on woman by man (in all cases of oral sex, if it is not clear whether it is the vagina or the anus being licked, assume it is the vagina. If it is the anus, it will probably be clearly signalled)

41: Oral sex on woman by woman (in all cases of oral sex, if it is not clear whether it is the vagina or the anus being licked, assume it is the vagina. If it is the anus, it will probably be clearly signalled)

42: Nipple stimulation with tongues, fingers or other body parts (please specify)

43: Orgy

44: Panty sniffing or licking

- 45: Piercing
- 46: Public sex
- 47: Rimming (tongue in and round anus, man rims man) (in all cases of oral sex, if it is not clear whether it is the vagina or the anus being licked, assume it is the vagina. If it is the anus, it will probably be clearly signalled)
- 48: Rimming (tongue in and round anus, man rims woman) (in all cases of oral sex, if it is not clear whether it is the vagina or the anus being licked, assume it is the vagina. If it is the anus, it will probably be clearly signalled)
- 49: Rimming (tongue in and round anus, woman rims man) (in all cases of oral sex, if it is not clear whether it is the vagina or the anus being licked, assume it is the vagina. If it is the anus, it will probably be clearly signalled)
- 50: Rimming (tongue in and round anus, woman rims woman) (in all cases of oral sex, if it is not clear whether it is the vagina or the anus being licked, assume it is the vagina. If it is the anus, it will probably be clearly signalled)
- 51: Role play (characters pretending to be other kinds of characters within the diegesis)

- 52: Rubbing of area around vagina without penetration
- 53: Rubbing of body other than those areas specific elsewhere (eg, sides of breasts, inside of thighs, the groin apart from the vagina or penis, etc. Include one person rubbing their own body through their clothes, and one person rubbing another's body parts through their clothes)
- 54: Sadomasochistic performance (including domination, refusal to touch, instructions to lick shoes, denigrating conversation, etc. Begin counting at the moment the oral performance of the scene begins - eg, 'I am your mistress ...', etc)
- 55: Shoe sniffing or licking
- 56: Sixty-nine (mutual oral sex)
- 57: Slap (isolated, on buttock)
- 58: Slap (isolated, other body part)
- 59: Spanking (more than one slap)
- 60: Talking dirty
- 61: Tit rubbing (including groping, fondling, shaking, and pressing together, either by another person, or to herself).
- 62: Masturbation of man using breasts
- 63: Toys other than those specified (please specify)

- 64: Slapping face with penis
- 65: Vaginal penetration, by man, with finger
- 66: Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis (both standing up - be quite strict in the application of definitions. If the penetration takes place in other positions from those listed - as it often will - include it in 'other') (If it is not clear whether it is the anus or the vagina being penetrated, assume it is the vagina. Anal sex will usually be clearly signalled).
- 67: Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis (doggy style - that is, from behind with the woman on all fours, including man on knees, or woman on bed or table on all fours and man standing behind her - be quite strict in the application of definitions. If the penetration takes place in other positions from those listed - as it often will - include it in 'other') (If it is not clear whether it is the anus or the vagina being penetrated, assume it is the vagina. Anal sex will usually be clearly signalled).
- 68: Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis (missionary position - be quite strict in the application of definitions. If the penetration takes place in other positions from those listed - as it often will - include it in 'other') (If it is not clear whether it

is the anus or the vagina being penetrated, assume it is the vagina. Anal sex will usually be clearly signalled).

69: Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis (woman on top - be quite strict in the application of definitions.

If the penetration takes place in other positions from those listed - as it often will - include it in 'other') (If it is not clear whether it is the anus or the vagina being penetrated, assume it is the vagina. Anal sex will usually be clearly signalled).

70: Vaginal penetration, by man, with penis (other - include in this category all sexual positions apart from the strictest definitions of those listed above) (If it is not clear whether it is the anus or the vagina being penetrated, assume it is the vagina. Anal sex will usually be clearly signalled).

71: Vaginal penetration, by woman, with finger

72: Vibrator use

73: Voyeurism (this is only for shots where 'voyeurism' is the primary sexual act being shown on the screen - eg, close ups of someone's face as they watch and take sexual pleasure from, another person's performance. However, if the performance is also on screen - ie, we can see a man giving a woman oral sex, and another person watching them - then the sex

act that is being shown as the object of voyeurism (here, the oral sex) should be coded as the primary sex act in the shot).

74: Other (please specify)

¹ This research is part of a three year study funded by the Australian Research Council entitled 'Understanding Pornography in Australia'. The study includes analysis of the production of pornography in Australia, its content and its consumers. A study of the content of Internet pornography accessed by Australians will form a later part of the project.

² In this article, the term 'video' is used to describe a feature length audio-visual presentation on video or DVD. It is very rare since the advent of the domestic video recorder for X-rated features to receive a cinematic release.

³ Data provided by the Australian Adult Industry Association, 6 October 2004.