How do women make sense of their experiences with pornography?

A thematic analysis.

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Abstract:

While pornography is increasingly widespread and accessible, women’s experiences with or views about it are seldom recognised or investigated. In this paper we explore how women make sense of their experiences with pornography. The analysis is based on data collected through qualitative questionnaires completed by 31 women. The data were analysed qualitatively using thematic analysis within a critical realist framework resulting in three key themes focusing on (1) contextualised experiences of porn, (2) female body norms and (3) gender power relations in porn. Our analysis illustrates some of the complexities in women’s experiences of and perspectives on porn and, we argue, indicates a need to view these experiences in the contexts of wider cultural ideologies of sex and gender.

Keywords: Pornography, women’s experiences, qualitative survey, thematic analysis.
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Introduction

In recent years widespread access to the internet has dramatically increased pornography’s accessibility (Lane, 2001). Studies indicate that an estimated 1.4 million under-18s in the UK accessed online pornography in May 2015 alone (DCMS, 2018) and that 20% of 11–16-year-olds report having ‘seen sexual images online’ (Livingstone et al., 2014). And, while estimates of porn use among adults vary widely, a review of several large-scale surveys suggests that 40- 46% of men and 16-19% of women, aged 18 -39 years, will have viewed porn in the last week (Regnerus, Gordon & Price, 2016). Yet, while there is a considerable body of research on pornography, the majority of this has focused on quantifying men’s consumption of pornography and assessing the effects that viewing pornography may have on men (Attwood, 2005), paying little, if any, attention to women’s experiences of or perspectives on pornography (Egan & Parmar, 2013; Landripet & Štulhofer, 2015) or to the social contexts in which sexual imagery is viewed (see Attwood, Smith & Barker, 2021). Yet, what research there is on women’s views about porn suggest those views may differ markedly from men’s (Ashton, Macdonald & Kirkman, 2018; Attwood, Smith & Barker,, 2021; Glascock, 2005). It is, therefore, vital that we develop a thorough understanding of women’s as well as mens’ perspectives. The increased accessibility and normalisation of porn, resulting in more girls and women than ever accessing or being exposed to porn (Ashton et al, 2018; Attwood, 2011; Daskalopoulou & Zanette, 2020), coupled with unresolved debates over porn’s impact on its viewers (see e.g. Ciclitira,2004; Dworkin, 1981;
Hardy, 2015; McKee, 2012) and with significant and complex shifts in societal gender ideologies (e.g. Gill, 2008) make it all the more important that we develop more thorough, indepth and culturally contextualised understandings of women’s perspectives (Attwood, 2005; Gavey, 2004; Hall & Bishop, 2007; Laqueur, 1990; Ortner & Whithead, 1981). The aim of this research is therefore to contribute to the small but growing body of critical feminist research and theory on women’s experiences of and perspectives on pornography.

Historically, feminist debates about pornography have tended to frame porn as either oppressive or potentially liberating for women. Anti-pornography feminists, point to a predominance of potentially harmful and androcentric content in porn (Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, & Liberman, 2010; Glascock, 2005; Parvez, 2006; Sun, Bridges, Wosnitzer & Scharrer, 2008), viewing porn as exploitative and damaging to women and as a celebration of patriarchal power (Dworkin & Heiferman, 1981; MacKinnon, 1985; Paul, 2005). In contrast, pro-pornography feminists have contended that characterising women only as victims of pornography is misleading (Abrams, 1995; Nash, 2014; Wiederman, 2005) and have argued instead that women’s participation in and/or consumption of pornography could be sexually liberating (Weinberg et al, 2010; Parvez, 2006).

Some research into women’s views on pornography appears to at least partially support this latter argument. For example, women have reported that pornography enhances their sexual fantasies and arousal (McKeown, Parry, & Light, 2017; Paul & Shim, 2008) and that it provides heterosexual and queer women alike with opportunities to educate themselves about sex and gain confidence in their sexuality (Rothman, Kaczmarski, Burke, Jansen, & Baughman, 2015; Weinberg et al., 2010). Other studies, however, have found that women
report that consuming pornography challenges their political and moral beliefs in ways that evoke complicated emotions (Ciclitira, 2004; Parvez, 2006), and that women can have simultaneously negative and positive experiences of porn (Fergusson et al., 1984). These studies thus highlight how women may experience complex and ambivalent responses to porn. Other studies point to the additional variation in women’s experiences that may be associated with different demographic groups of women and with different genre’s of porn (see e.g. Attwood, Smith & Barker, 2021; Morrison & Tallack, 2005; Neville, 2015).

Feminist researchers have also begun to explore questions about body norms in pornography and the impact those norms may have on women’s feelings about their own bodies (Albright, 2008; Owens et al., 2012). While research into women’s near-ubiquitous body dissatisfaction has tended to focus on the effects of ‘the thin ideal’ promoted by the fashion and diet industries (Grogan, 2017), studies are also now focusing on how pornography too promotes particular ‘idealised’ images of female bodies that have been described as ‘overly sexual’, ‘unhealthy’ and ‘physically unobtainable’ (Fritz & Paul, 2017) and that may similarly impact negatively on women’s body satisfaction (Pujols, Meston, & Seal, 2010). Thus, for instance, two recent qualitative studies found that women saw porn as unhelpfully promoting traditional gendered body ideals of women as ‘small, skinny, and large-breasted’ (Lofgren-Martenson & Mansson, 2010; Owens et al., 2012).

In short, what research there is on women’s experiences of porn suggests a complex and mixed picture and, with the increasing numbers of girls and women accessing or being exposed to porn, additional research exploring women’s experiences in this field is clearly needed.
**Method**

Our aim in this study was, therefore, to explore how women make sense of their experiences of and views about pornography. 31 self-identified women, aged 18 and over, who also identified as having some experience of viewing pornography were recruited to the study. Participants were recruited through a credit-bearing scheme for psychology undergraduates at a UK university and through posts on social media inviting women to participate. Participants were aged between 18-73 years old (mean age 30.8 years) and included 26 women who identified as white or white British, one as black British, one as British Pakistani, one as black Caribbean and two as white European. They identified their socio-economic status as middle class (n=12), working class (n=12), lower middle-class (n=3), upper middle-class (n=2), student (n=1) and ‘don’t know’ (n=1). 18 participants identified as heterosexual, five as lesbian or gay, five as bisexual, one as pan-romantic and two as bi-curious.

Once ethical approval had been gained, individuals responding to recruitment posts were sent a link taking them to an information sheet and consent form and then to an online qualitative survey; a method which we chose because it allows participants to respond anonymously and at a distance and which may, therefore, elicit more indepth and uncensored accounts about sensitive or taboo topics than might face-to-face methods (Braun, Clarke & Gray, 2017). The survey comprised some short demographic questions and 10 open-ended questions asking about various aspects of their experiences and views of pornography (see appendix). For example: How would you describe your first experience of
seeing a pornographic image? What is your current view of how porn has impacted on you personally? What kind of messages do you think porn presents about women or about how women should be? Has exposure to pornography shaped the way you manage your own appearance? The questions were developed in conversation between the two authors with the aim of eliciting accounts of both positive and negative experiences; of attending to how porn may have shaped specific aspects of experience such as feelings about participants’ own sexualities and bodies as well as asking more generally about their views and experiences with porn. Participants were encouraged to write in as much detail as they felt comfortable with and were given the opportunity to make further comments at the end of the questionnaire.

Thematic analysis, (Braun & Clarke, 2013) was chosen to analyse the data within a critical realist framework which enabled us to locate participants’ accounts within the socio-historical and cultural contexts in which they were articulated (Sims-Schouten et al, 2007). A largely inductive approach was applied following the six-stage process of analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke (2013). Data were read and re-read, generating codes which were then applied to organise the data into meaningful categories. Coded data were then collated into themes, with thematic maps used as aides to identify the relationships between themes. We then reviewed and adjusted these themes to produce a narrative about women’s experiences of and perspectives on pornography.

Results
Our participants’ responses indicated complex and often contradictory experiences of and views about pornography. They included some positively construed experiences but were predominantly negative. In the analysis that follows we illustrate some of this complexity, looking, first, at how participants’ accounts of both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ experiences indicate the importance of attending to the wider cultural contexts in which these experiences are constituted before we then explore in more detail two substantive issues that were particularly apparent in participants’ accounts, namely female body norms and gendered power-relations in porn.

**Contextualising positive and negative experiences of porn**

As noted above our data included some accounts of positively construed experiences with porn. In these accounts porn was portrayed as enjoyable, arousing, a way of exploring one’s sexuality and a potential source of education about sex. For instance,

I enjoy porn, it has enabled me to explore masturbation in different ways. ... It has helped me to develop my own desires/fantasies beyond what I have directly experienced. (P13)

Porn has made me more adventurous. ...Porn could be useful in answering questions that could be embarrassing to ask others that aren’t covered in the curriculum. (P6)

It is important not to overlook or dismiss these positive constructions. At the same time, however, it is also significant that constructions of porn as educational or perhaps even as a
way of exploring one’s sexuality, as illustrated in the above quotes, are clearly articulated in cultural contexts where asking questions about sex is experienced as difficult and where sex education curricula are often experienced as inadequate (see also Women and Equalities Committee, 2016).

Analysis of participants’ negative experiences similarly illustrated a need to attend to cultural context. In the survey extracts below, for example, participants talk about feelings of shame and guilt about viewing porn in ways that suggest they view their cultural context as being one in which their sexual pleasure may be censured.

I wonder now if I felt guilty because I was aroused? (P19)

Watching porn made me feel horny and thrilled but also like I was doing something wrong and dangerous. (P15)

I knew that they [pornographic magazines] were not meant to be seen and were supposed to be secret. ... I remember feeling deeply ashamed of myself and guilty for looking (P1)

In these extracts then participants talk about feeling shame and guilt in ways which clearly index a cultural context where not only is porn viewed as ‘wrong and dangerous’, perhaps particularly for girls and young women, but also where feeling ‘aroused’, ‘horny and thrilled’ is also considered shameful. The negativity of the experiences recounted in these extracts might therefore be read more as damning indictments of wider cultural values about sex
and women’s sexual pleasure than of porn itself. In the extracts below, however, women’s negative experiences are quite explicitly attributed to characteristics of porn itself.

Some of the messages in porn make me upset. As many women are subjected to pretty derogatory sex. (P26)

I feel disgusted with myself now when I watch porn because I know that I am engaging with something that promotes misogyny and sexual violence towards women. (P15)

Here, being upset by porn or feeling shame for watching it are specifically linked to derogatory, misogynistic and violent representations of women and of (hetero)sex. The extracts illustrate quite different negative experiences of porn to those above where women’s feelings of shame were linked to a sense of a cultural unacceptability of (women’s) sexual pleasure. Pornography’s misogynistic portrayals of women and depictions of sexual violence should clearly be understood in their wider hetero-patriarchal contexts (Gavey, 2004), just as women’s feelings of shame about their sexual pleasure require contextualisation (see Fine, 1988). But the ways in which wider cultural contexts are implicated in these experiences differ markedly.

**Women’s bodies in porn**

As noted above, while participants’ accounts included positive experiences, negative accounts predominated and within these two key issues were particularly prominent: First,
the ways in which women’s bodies are represented and, second, the ways in which gender
power relations are represented in porn. In the survey extract below, that speaks again to a
general inadequacy of sex education in the UK (see e.g. DFE 2017) and to wider cultural
failings (Albury, 2014; Mackenzie, Hedge & Enslin, 2017), participant 3 highlights how norms
in porn might accrue additional power in shaping individuals’ experiences and perspectives.

I had never seen a naked woman’s body before, I remember wondering if I would
look like her one day and if not, what would others think of me. (P3)

The absence of any prior familiarity with other female bodies is clearly linked here to the
participant’s heightened concerns about her own body when she compares it with those in
porn. Other participants similarly expressed feelings of insecurity and shame about their
own bodies as a result of watching porn or of hearing boys talking about porn.

Porn made me insecure about my labia not being neat (P2)

The boys would talk often about what kinds of breasts and vaginas they liked best,
which weren’t what mine were like and so I grew up feeling very ashamed, which has
lingered with me to this day (P15)

Porn was thus viewed as ‘mak[ing] me feel that my body isn’t attractive or good enough’
(P12) by promoting a very specific set of body norms and a requirement that women should
always appear ‘sexy’.
It [porn] presents the idea that all women are basically just sex machines and that they all look perfect, only make the right noises, and constantly look sexy, act sexy and are basically only there to get fucked. (P23)

In the extracts below the norms that constitute this ‘sexy’ female body with which participants compared themselves are further illustrated.

Of course, the pressure to have a certain body type, neat and small labia and no body hair are present too. (P2)

I feel that my body should be as sexually appealing as possible and that generally means toned, tanned and perfectly in proportion with little or no pubic hair. (P1)

It’s [porn] absolutely impacted how I see my own body. I feel as if unless I’m clean shaven, toned, and curvy in the right places I’m not living up to expectation. I have struggled to feel confident in my own skin and have worried when I am with a partner, I know watches porn that they are comparing my body to the bodies they have seen in porn. (P3)

Thus, the ‘ideal’ female body of porn was repeatedly construed as slim, toned and ‘curvy’ with little or no body/pubic hair and small, neat labia. In addition, all three of the women of colour in our study and four of our white participants also noted the normative whiteness of porn where people of colour are either absent or ‘fetishized and objectified as a kink’ (P8).
All prominent porn stars were white - it consolidated something in me that to be brown was not beautiful or sexy and that really negatively impacted me. ... POC are represented as fetishes i.e. Asian girls, ebony etc. (P4)

Being a queer woman of colour has presented itself with issues and has made me question my worth and attractiveness. I feel like I do not relate to the women in porn and have questioned my own attractiveness. (P2)

And the racist stereotyping entailed in these portrayals of black women was readily apparent.

Black women in porn have large breasts and big bums - I didn’t have these features (as a black woman myself). These features appeared to qualify black women as attractive. ... Black women are only really seen as sexy if they are lighter skinned, have a round bum and huge boobs. The theme of fetishizing women of colour runs throughout porn and puts more pressure on black women. (P2)

These participants’ accounts of how women of colour are depicted in porn clearly indexes the systemic racism of pornography and of the wider society (see also Bernardi, 2007; Cowan & Campbell, 2016; Cruz, 2015). As Miller-Young (2010: 219) has argued, in the context of the structural racism that is entrenched within the porn industry, black women are systematically marginalised against a white ‘ideal’, devalued as hypersexual, ‘hyperavailable and superdisposable’. Her ethnographic research, like these participants’
accounts, illustrates clearly how porn and experiences of porn are constituted through lenses of racism as well as misogyny (see Yuval-Davis, 2016; Else-Quest & Hyde, 2016).

**Normalising androcentric heterosex and rape culture**

In addition to these highly problematic ways in which (female) bodies are represented in porn, participants also, inevitably, talked about how sex too was often portrayed problematically in that it privileged male pleasure, sidelined consent, and normalised violence and rape. In the extracts below participants talk about this focus on ‘male pleasure’ as virtually ubiquitous.

I think a huge proportion of porn focuses on male pleasure, which suggests women are just a means to an end and this message is held within society more generally.

(P13)

And, as several lesbian participants noted, this was the case even when portraying lesbian sex.

Porn is not focussed on women’s pleasure. I have a real issue with how so much porn is so clearly male-centric. Even lesbian porn is made for men. (P3)

Lesbian porn is unrealistic and very stage managed and again, just portrays what men would want to see as opposed to making gay porn for queer women. (P7)
This privileging of ‘male pleasure’ was associated not only with an absence of representations of female desire, ‘of never show[ing] women asking for what they want’ (P1), but also with concomitant representations of women as submissively ‘obey[ing] and submit[ting] to what the man wants’ (P1, see also Potts, 2002).

A lot of porn is really degrading to women and features women that act as essentially blow up dolls not as people with needs (sexual and emotional). (P32)

I think it [porn] also gave me unrealistic views on sex on what I was supposed to accept from sex, how I was supposed to behave, how to look and how men should treat me. porn makes men’s orgasms look like the point of sex. It typically represents women as submissive or willing to let the man control the sex, so promotes the idea of women behaving submissively. (P14)

In this context it is easy to see how questions of consent are erased such that violence and rape are normalised.

I think porn can cause issues around consent. ... Consent is often a blurred line and violence is accepted. (P17)

Porn puts out the message that women want to be forced - women want to be raped, that no really means yes. (P12)

I feel as if porn just facilitates rape culture. (P28)
Normalising really violent acts against women makes women feel that this is normal and that you have to submit to violent acts during sex is really harmful. (P27)

In sum, while participants articulated some positive accounts of their experiences with porn, they also offered incisive and clearly elaborated critiques of the ways in which female bodies, racialised bodies, sex and gender power relations are portrayed in porn and of the felt impact of these representations.

Discussion:
In this paper we have sought to explore some of the complexities in women’s accounts of their experiences with pornography. And, in doing so, we have also sought to illustrate the importance of locating these experiences in the wider socio-cultural and historical contexts in which they occur. That is, as we and others (e.g. Ciclitira, 2004; Miller-Young, 2010) have argued, both positively and negatively construed experiences of porn can only be adequately understood in the contexts of the dominant cultural values and norms surrounding bodies, gender, sex and sexuality (particularly the sexualities and bodies of girls and women) in which our participants are located.

While pornography has become very easily accessible, conversations about sex and sexuality, including conversations about porn, are still often stilted while Relationship and Sex Education in the UK remains inadequate (DFE, 2017). Participants’ positively construed accounts of porn as educational or as a resource for exploring their own sexualities can be seen to index this wider cultural context in which sex is framed as something shameful to be
hidden and where there may be few options available for learning about sex (see also Rahmani, Merghati-Khoei & Fallahi, 2019; Philpot, Gamlin & Singh, 2017). Negatively construed accounts of feeling guilt and shame for viewing porn similarly index this context in which anti-sex values circulate and in which female desire in particular is often censored (see Fine, 1988) in line with traditional ideas of respectable bourgeois femininity (see Arthurs, 2003). These accounts, we have argued, thus say as much about problematic representations of women in the wider society as they do about porn.

Our analysis thus also complicates pro- and anti-porn debates about women’s positive and negative experiences of porn by illustrating some of the complex ways in which wider cultural values are implicated in shaping those experiences (for instance, the cultural framing of women’s sexual pleasure as shameful) as well as the ways in which wider cultural gender ideologies are re-produced and amplified within pornography (e.g. Gavey, 2004). Moreover, while the diversity within our sample of participants was quite limited, women’s diverse positionings clearly added further layers of complexity to their perspectives on porn. For instance, the cross-cutting of these systematically sexist representations with a racist marginalisation and fetishisation of women of colour was noted by all three women of colour in our study but by only four other participants while the androcentrism of portrayals of lesbian sex was noted only by participants who identified as lesbian or gay (see also Morrison & Tallack, 2005). Further research that explores this complexity and which, in particular, prioritises the perspectives of women of colour and of LGBTQ+ women is clearly needed if we are to develop better contextualised understandings of pornography (see also Ashton et al, 2018).
While the fashion and diet industries are the more frequent foci in analyses of gendered and racialised heteronormative ‘beauty ideals’ (Bordo, 2003; Grogan, 2017), the claim that porn is also a site in which these body norms are constituted and commodified is not new (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014) and is further illustrated in our analysis above. For our participants, porn was often viewed as a major (or even sole) source of knowledge about naked female bodies, detailing a largely homogenous set of body norms with which they often compared themselves unfavourably. Porn thus featured in participants’ accounts as oppressively promoting ‘small neat labia’ (see also Barnett, Maciel & Gerner, 2018) and bodies with little or no public hair and body hair (see also Rudolfsdottir & Johannsdottir, 2018; Jennings, Braun & Clarke, 2019) as well as re-articulating the more widely circulated cultural norms of weight and shape, compulsory sexiness, able-bodied youth and whiteness (see Bordo, 2003, 2009; Gill, 2008) in which women of colour appeared only as fetishised objects in deeply problematic ways (see also Miller-Young, 2010).

Porn can thus be seen in our participants’ accounts as a site - or network of sites - in which female bodies are regulated and required to be always and only heteronormatively ‘sexy’. Numerous feminist scholars (e.g. Arthurs, 2003; Gill, 2008; McRobbie, 2008) have, of course, elucidated the emergence of a post-feminist sensibility in which women are represented not as passive objects of a male gaze but as ‘empowered’ and sexually agentic but in which images of empowered femininity are intensely focused on a very narrowly defined and hypersexualised ‘ideal’ female body. As Gill (2008) and others have argued, post-feminism displaces traditional, domestic and bourgeois femininities with an image of a sexually ‘liberated’ and ‘empowered’ woman who chooses to make her body ‘fit’ and ‘hot’ (see also
Griffin et al, 2013; Renold & Ringrose, 2011). Referring to Janice Turner’s analysis of ‘lad mags’, Gill quotes:

> Once porn and real human sexuality were distinguishable. Not even porn’s biggest advocates would suggest a porn flick depicted reality, that women were gagging for sex 24/7 and would drop their clothes and submit to rough, anonymous sex at the slightest invitation. But as porn has seeped into mainstream culture, the line has blurred. To speak to men’s magazine editors, it is clear they believe that somehow in recent years, porn has come true. The sexually liberated modern woman turns out to resemble – what do you know! – the pneumatic take-me-now-big-boy fuck-puppet of male fantasy after all (Turner, 2005, quoted in Gill 2008: 45).

Pornography’s apparent insistence that women must always and only appear ‘sexy’ - and its delineation of what constitutes a ‘sexy’ body- can clearly be seen to have informed post-feminist images of women’s bodies (Gill, 2008) and to inform participants’ accounts about their own bodies. But while participants felt porn promotes a view that women should look and act ‘sexy’, their accounts also suggest that the post-feminist themes of female sexual agency, desire and pleasure were largely or entirely absent in porn. Indeed, as our analysis above illustrates, participants frequently commented that porn promotes a view of sex in which ‘men’s orgasms look like the point of sex’ and that it ‘never shows women asking for what they want, they just seem to obey and submit to what the man wants’. A post-feminist imperative to always look and act ‘sexy’ appears to combine in porn with an image of women as essentially lacking in sexual agency and desire; an image that resonates with more traditional constructions of (bourgeois) femininity that preclude recognising female
desire except as something shameful (see Arthurs, 2003). The long-standing cultural
censuring of women’s sexual agency and desire that shapes traditional ideas of female
‘modesty’ and which we saw shaping women’s experiences of shame in watching porn or
feeling aroused can also be seen to underpin this absence of agentic female desire in porn.
This, in turn, can be seen to scaffold the erasure of consent, the privileging of male pleasure
and the normalising of rape in porn that many participants discussed (see also Gavey, 2011).

A recent poll indicates that 97% of young women aged 18-24 and 80% of women of all ages
in the UK have experienced sexual harassment in public places (Topping, 2021) while
domestic violence and online sexual harassment and abuse have also escalated considerably
(Ringrose, 2021). As Nicola Gavey (2011) has argued, porn can clearly be understood as a
microcosm of the wider cultural contexts in which it is located. And, thus, ‘there is a need
for education that tackles the inequalities of gender, ethnicity, class and sexual identity that
normalise the violent, predatory forms of masculinity’ (Ringrose, 2021) that our participants
clearly identified in discussing the porn that they had seen. Equally clearly however, degrees
of misogyny, heterosexism, violence and racism vary across different types of porn while
some genres might be viewed as progressive (see e.g. Attwood et al., 2021; Morrison
&Tallack, 2005; Neville, 2015). One of the limitations of this study, in addition to the limited
diversity of our sample, noted above, is that we have tended treat pornography as a singular
entity. Although we included one question asking about participants’ experiences of
‘different categories’ of porn, most of our survey questions asked participants about porn in
general as if it were a homogeneous entity. Future research might usefully explore women’s
perspectives on different types of porn in greater detail.
In conclusion, we have sought in this study to explore women’s views about and experiences of pornography. While further research is clearly needed to develop more in-depth understandings of a wider range of women’s experiences, our analysis has, we would argue, usefully illustrated the value of exploring how women make sense of porn and its impacts on themselves and others. As active and critical audiences of porn, our participants produced rich and varied accounts which allowed us to map out some of the complex flow of constructions of gender, back and forth between pornography and the wider mainstream culture and to explore the complex ways in which the gender norms of the wider cultural context shaped these women’s varied but often very negative experiences of porn.

References:


https://www.lse.ac.uk/media-and-communications/research/research-projects/eu-kids-online


Appendix: Survey

How do women make sense of their experiences of pornography and its impact on their sense of body satisfaction and sexuality?

1. How would you describe your first experience of seeing a pornographic image? Please include as much as detail as possible regarding your thoughts and feelings about it.

2. What is your current view of how porn has impacted on you personally? Please describe your thoughts and feelings about your understanding of pornography and how you believe it has, if at all impacted on you personally.

3. What kind of messages do you think porn presents about women or about how women ‘should be’?

4. How if at all have these messages and images affected the way you feel about your own body?

5. Has your exposure to porn shaped the way you manage your own appearance? Please describe its impact in as much detail as possible.

6. What impact if any have these images had on your sense of your own sexuality?

7. What are your perceptions of different categories of porn that you are aware of?
8. Are there any aspects of pornography that you would identify as having been harmful? Please elaborate and give insight into your personal thoughts and feelings.

9. Are there any aspects of pornography that you would identify as having been beneficial? Please elaborate and give insight into your personal thoughts and feelings.

10. How, if at all, does porn personally impact on your perception of your own body image i.e. does it help or hinder your sexuality and body confidence?

11. Do you have any other thoughts that you haven’t had the opportunity to say? If so, please feel free to add your comments below.