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‘Porn Literacy’ as Pedagogy?: Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet Pornography

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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at Massey University, Manawatū, New Zealand.

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Abstract

Youth encounters with Internet pornography (IP) have led to global concern regarding the healthy sexual socialisation of youth. A growing body of critical research recognises young people as agentic political actors in their sexual socialisation with legitimate knowledge of their own experiences, and seeks to understand their perspectives alongside those of influential adults in their lives. Grounded in social constructionist thinking, my research extends this emerging body of knowledge. I investigate how key stakeholders (16-18-year-olds, caregivers, and educators) account for and discursively construct youth engagement with IP, and explore their perspectives on porn literacy education. The central premise of this scholarship is to determine how such knowledge might translate positively for young people through sexuality education that recognises their lived realities.

Key stakeholders were recruited from nine schools across the North Island of Aotearoa, New Zealand. A mixed-methods design was employed over sequential phases, comprising an online survey (N = 484), a Q-sort (N = 30), and semi-structured interviews (N = 24). Descriptive statistical analyses of the survey data provided a preliminary understanding of youth engagement with IP; a specialised software programme assisted with factor analysis for the Q-methodological study investigating perspectives towards porn literacy education; and interview data were analysed by means of a critical thematic analysis, drawing on a feminist discursive approach to sexual scripting theory.

Key research findings are presented across four research articles and indicate that; (i) (gendered) youth engagement with IP is commonplace, and there are varied understandings between stakeholder groups and across genders as to why and how these encounters occur, (ii) youth take up agentic positions that suggest they are active,

legitimate sexual citizens, and adults generally harbour concerns about recognising youth in this way, and (iii) the construction of childhood innocence dubiously positions youth as uncritical, 'at risk' viewers of IP. Accordingly, protectionist adult intervention is justified and conceptualised in accordance with this construction of youth.

My research highlights dominant and alternative constructions about youth sexuality, and describes the synergies and discrepancies across key stakeholder perspectives about youth engagement with IP. Importantly, my findings suggest some youth engage with IP in a more nuanced manner than typically assumed. Through gaining a comprehensive understanding of stakeholders' perspectives, the findings of my research expand scholarly knowledge by providing practical inquiry into the *potential* of porn literacy as pedagogy.

Preface

This thesis with publications comprises published and unpublished chapters. Chapters 5-8 comprise four research articles that have been prepared for publication in peer reviewed academic journals. Table 1 overviews how the key objectives of the research are addressed in each chapter/article. The articles are presented in the same format as the rest of the thesis, and may differ slightly to how they appear in publication format (e.g., I have used consecutive table and figure numbering for the thesis, and all references are provided at the end of the thesis).

Table 1

Structure of thesis with publications

<table>
<tr><td colspan="3">Research Objectives</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1. To describe young people’s (16-18-years) patterns of engagement with IP, and adult perceptions of these engagements.
2. To examine how key stakeholders make sense of the role IP plays for youth, exploring the gendered sexual scripts that they draw on in talking about IP.
3. To explore the perspectives of key stakeholders on how to respond to youth engagement with IP, focusing on porn literacy education as a potential school-based intervention.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Objective 1</td><td>Objective 2</td><td>Objective 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Article 1, Chapter 5: Online cross-sectional survey with youth, caregivers and educators</td><td>Article 2, Chapter 6: Semi-structured interviews with youth, caregivers and educators
Article 3, Chapter 7: Semi-structured interviews using story completion</td><td>Article 4, Chapter 8: Q-methodology with youth, caregivers and educators</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Article 1, Chapter 5: Healy-Cullen, S., Taylor, J. E., Ross, K. Morison, T. (2021). Youth encounters with Internet pornography: A survey of youth, caregiver, and educator perspectives. Sexuality and Culture, 1-23. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-021-09904-y

Article 2, Chapter 6: Healy-Cullen, S., Morison, T., Ross, K. Taylor, J. E. (2021). Making sense of youth engagement with Internet pornography: Youths’, parents’, and educators’ use of sexual scripts. [Manuscript submitted for publication at Feminism and Psychology].

Article 3, Chapter 7: Healy-Cullen, S., Morison, T., Ross, K. Taylor, J. E. (2021). Constructing sexual subjectivities: How youth draw on sexual scripts to navigate representations of sex and gender in Internet pornography. [Manuscript in preparation for submission to Sexualities].

Article 4, Chapter 8: Healy-Cullen, S., Taylor, J. E., Morison, T., Ross, K. (2021). Using Q-methodology to explore key stakeholder perspectives on porn literacy education. Sexuality Research and Social Policy. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-021-00570-1</td></tr>
</table>

Acknowledgements

I never imagined I would write a PhD on pornography while living through a global pandemic which heightened public curiosity about cyber sexuality, and further highlighted the blurry separation between what is virtual and what is ‘real’. While writing this thesis, *PornHub* announced free ‘premium porn’ to a locked-down world, and ‘coronavirus porn’ became a new ‘reality’. It has been an extraordinary time to complete a PhD, and there are a number of extraordinary people who made this project, at this unusual time, possible.

I am forever grateful to the School of Psychology, Massey University for granting me the opportunity join the team as a Graduate Assistant. The time spent in classrooms was invaluable experience and has given me a grá for teaching.

I was incredibly fortunate to receive a Massey University Doctoral Scholarship. Thank you to the Graduate Research School for this financial support, and the broader opportunities to present my work among the doctoral community at Massey University.

Studying at Massey not only provided career and scholarly opportunity, but the chance to explore Aotearoa, New Zealand! I am so very grateful for all of what this beautiful country, and its kind people, has offered.

My supervisors, ‘thank you’ will never be adequate. I feel very fortunate that our paths crossed when they did. I have the utmost respect for your intellect, and am forever grateful for the time you have dedicated to this project. Thank you for believing in the legitimacy of the research and supporting me in pursuing the ideas laid out in this thesis.

This work was made easier by the encouragement of ever-supportive groups in the School of Psychology. The graduate assistant team were always a joy to be around, and I will always appreciate having a safe space to activate my anxiety! I was particularly grateful for online support groups during lockdown and while studying as a

distance student; the doctoral steering group, our ‘tea and chats’ group, and our online support group for doctoral students. The critical health psychology reading group and qualitative research group have also been wonderful learning spaces throughout the years. We as students are lucky to have such a supportive network of esteemed academics who willingly give their time to support our learning.

This project would not have been possible without the participants who took part. I am indebted to the schools who were brave enough to welcome ‘the porn lady’ through their door, and to the young people who sat across from a stranger to talk about pornography. I hope this thesis does justice to those who wanted to be heard.

Jack. Despite your initial incredulity (‘what do you *mean* there’s no hypothesis!?’), thank you for willingly opening up your curious mind to conversations about critical social psychology, epistemologies, and heteronormative heterosexuality. I am so grateful for your unwavering support of this monomaniacal endeavour; you are my boulder!

The ‘Tutere Street Gang’… how serendipitous that I had you all as a ready-made support group! Thank you for the ‘porn chats’ over countless cups of tea, and tolerating my yo-yo moods while I wallowed around our house looking perplexed!

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To my family in Ireland—especially my parents and brothers—thank you for supporting me from the other side of the world, and understanding why I had to be in New Zealand. What a joy that we are in Ireland, together, for my submission. Seán and Aidan, my teen brothers, because I know you will *hate* having a thesis about pornography dedicated to you… this is for you!

Whiria te tangata

Weave the people together

“Sex is usually seen as special, outside and apart from routine sociality, uniquely exciting and transforming, raising us above mundane quotidian banality – or alternatively as a dangerous force with the power to undermine ‘civilisation’ and reduce us to barbarism”

Stevi Jackson and Sue Scott (2010, p. 816).

Table of Contents

Abstract i
Preface iii
Acknowledgements v
Table of Contents ix
List of Figures xiv
List of Tables xv
Chapter 1: Introduction 1
Key Concepts 3
A Feminist Constructionist Approach to Exploring Young People and Internet Pornography 3
Defining Pornography 6
Porn Literacy Education 8
Positioning Myself in the Research Process 9
Overview of Thesis 10
Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework 12
Sexual Socialisation, Gender Roles and (Hetero)sexuality 12
Sexual Scripting Theory 15
Conceptualising the Sexual Script as a Discursive Resource 17
Positioning in Discursive Sexual Scripting Theory 19
Chapter 3: Literature Review 23
Effects-Focused Research 24
Research on Young People’s Engagement with Internet Pornography 25
Youth Sense-Making of Gendered and Sexual Representations in Internet Pornography 29
Responding to Internet Pornography as a Cultural Reality 32
Porn Literacy Education as a Proposed Response 34
Implementation and Evaluation 36
Research with Caregivers 40
Research with Educators 44
Research with Youth as Agentic Sexual Citizens 47
Conclusion 49
Research Aim and Objectives 50
Research Aim 50

Research Objectives 50
Chapter 4: Methodological Approach 51
Research Design 52
Recruitment 53
Participants 59
Challenges in Recruitment of Research Participants: Implications for Findings 59
Data collection 61
Online Survey 61
Interviewing and Q-Methodology Study 64
Semi-Structured Interview with Story Completion 65
Q-methodology 68
Data analysis 71
Survey Analysis 71
Critical Thematic Analysis: A Sexual Scripting Lens 72
Q-methodology: Factor Analysis 74
Ethical Considerations and Procedures 77
Sensitivity of the Topic 77
Talking to Young People about Pornography 78
Knowledge Translation 80
Reflexivity 81
Internet Pornography and Me 83
Sexuality Education and Me 85
Reflecting on the Data Collection Process 86
Pro and Anti-Pornography Positionality during Interviews. 86
Negotiating the ‘Expert’ Position during Interviews 87
Gender Dynamics in the Research Process 88
Chapter 5, Article 1: Surveying Key Stakeholders about Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography 91
Abstract 91
Young People and Internet Pornography 93
Method 96
Participants 96
Procedures 97
Results 99
Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography 99
Frequency of Internet Pornography Viewing 101
Access to Internet Pornography 103

Primary Reasons for Viewing Internet Pornography 104
Primary Sources of Information about Sex and Sexuality 106
Communication with Youth about Internet Pornography 108
Messages Delivered about Internet Pornography to Youth by Caregivers 109
Internet Pornography is harmful 109
Avoid viewing Internet pornography 110
Internet Pornography is not ‘real’ 110
‘I think…’ 110
Discussion 110
Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography 111
Sexuality Education and Internet Pornography 112
Divergences Between Caregivers, Educators and Youth 113
Understanding Gendered Patterns 116
Limitations 117
Conclusion 118
Contextualising Article 1 120
Chapter 6, Article 2: Key Stakeholders use of Sexual Scripts to Make Sense of Youth Engagement with Internet Pornography 122
Abstract 122
Youth Engagement with Internet Pornography 125
Methodology 127
Data Collection 128
Data Analysis Method 130
Analysis and Discussion 131
Theme 1: Risk Talk 132
Youth as Innocent Children Susceptible to Harm 132
Gendered Risk 134
Theme 2: Resistant Talk 139
Resisting the Position of “Innocent Little Child” 139
Resisting Gendered (Risk) Talk 141
Conclusion 144
Contextualising Article 2 147
Chapter 7, Article 3: How Youth Draw on Sexual Scripts When Navigating Internet Pornography 150
Abstract 150
Youth Sexual Subjectivity Construction and Internet Pornography 152
Methodology 153
Data Collection 153

Data Analysis 155
Analysis and Discussion 156
Theme 1. Internet Pornography as a Cultural Resource 156
Theme 2. Internet Pornography as Fake and Fantastical 161
Concluding Comments 165
Contextualising Article 3 168
Chapter 8, Article 4: Using Q-methodology to Explore Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Porn Literacy Education 170
Abstract 170
Method 174
Q-Methodology Overview 175
Data Collection 177
Data Analysis 178
Results 181
Pragmatic Response Discourse 182
Harm Mitigation Discourse 187
Discussion 190
Implications 191
Limitations 194
Conclusion 195
Contextualising Article 4 197
Chapter 9: Discussion 200
Summary of Research Findings 200
Reconceptualising Childhood Innocence to Make Space for Youth Sexual Citizenship 203
Rethinking Internet Pornography Viewing as (Gendered) Risk 204
Recognising IP as a Pedagogical Resource for Young, Critical Consumers of Internet Pornography 208
Porn Literacy as Pedagogy? 211
Conceptualising a Critical Ethical Sexual Citizenship Pedagogical Framework 213
Relinquishing the Regulation of ‘Healthy’ and ‘Good’ Neoliberal Citizens 218
Reaching Beyond Danger and Disease to Ethical Pleasure and Care 219
Replacing Didactic Teaching with Mutual Dialogue 221
Engaging with Caregivers and Educators 224
Reflecting on the Research: Limitations and Possibilities for Future Research 226
Personal Reflections 229
Conclusion 231
References 234

Appendix A. Introductory Email to Principals 294
Appendix B. Principal Information Sheet 296
Appendix C. Invitation to Caregivers and Educators to Participate in Research 301
Appendix D. Survey Information Sheet - Youth 303
Appendix E. Survey Information Sheet - Caregivers and Educators 307
Appendix F. Participant Consent Form - Survey 311
Appendix G. Support Information for Interview - Youth 312
Appendix H. Support Information for Interview - Caregivers and Educators 314
Appendix I. E-mail Invitation to Interview 315
Appendix J. Interview Information Sheet - Youth 316
Appendix K. Caregivers and Educators Interview Information Sheet 320
Appendix L. Participant Consent Form - Interview 324
Appendix M. Youth Survey 325
Appendix N. Interview Guidelines for Caregivers and Educators 334
Appendix O. Interview Guidelines for 16–18-year-olds 342
Appendix P. Survey - Caregivers and Educators 352
Appendix Q. Demographic Information - Caregiver and Educator Interview 357
Appendix R. Demographic Information – Youth Interview 358
Appendix S. Card Sorting Task 359
Appendix T. Further Detail on Factor Selection for Q-Methodology Article 366
Appendix U. Transcript Release Authority 369
Appendix V. Research with Māori - Ethical Considerations 370
Appendix W. Māori Cultural Supervision Letter 373
Appendix X. Interview Preparation 374
Appendix Y. Interim Participant Feedback Provided to Schools in December 2019 ... 379
Appendix Z. Published Version of Article 1 389
Appendix AA. Published Version of Article 4 413

List of Figures

Figure 1. Q-sort fixed distribution for 25 statements……………………………….. 69

Figure 2. Primary reasons youth seek out Internet pornography by stakeholder group (2a), youth by gender (2b), and adults by gender (2c)……………………………………... 105

Figure 3. Primary educators for youth about sex and sexuality by stakeholder group (3a), youth by gender (3b), and caregivers by gender (3c)………………………………… 107

List of Tables

Table 1. Structure of thesis with publications………………………………………... iv

Table 2. Methods used to address objectives……………………………………… 51

Table 3. Characteristics of the nine participating schools……………………….... 56

Table 4. Participant demographic characteristics - survey participants (%)………. 97

Table 5. Adult perceptions of youth disclosure of Internet pornography (%)…….. 101

Table 6. Youth responses about Internet pornography (%)………...……………... 102

Table 7. Interview participant demographics…………………………………....... 129

Table 8. Interview techniques………………………..…………………….......... 130

Table 9. Youth participant demographics……………………………………........ 154

Table 10. Participant details and q-sort factor loadings……………………..……… 176

Table 11. Factor arrays and z-scores……………………………………...……… 180

Chapter 1: Introduction

In a 21st century world of new mediated intimacies, young people have unprecedented access to an abundance of Internet pornography (IP) (Attwood, 2005; Attwood et al., 2018). In the 1970s when pornography was synonymous with Hugh Hefner's magazine *Playboy,* the outreach was just 7 million copies per month at its height (Gunelius, 2009). Today, Internet provider *PornHub* dwarfs this figure with 115 million website visits per day in 2019 (PornHub, 2019). The unanticipated unfettered access young people now have to IP has led to widespread international research focusing on understanding young people's engagement with IP, and how this may come to bear on their sexual socialisation (Scarcelli, 2014; Wright, 2014). Accordingly, I focus specifically on *Internet* pornography because it is more prolific among young people than other sources of pornography on account of its accessibility, affordability, and anonymity (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009; Collins et al., 2017; Cooper, 1998; Gibson et al., 2013).

Young people usually first encounter IP during their teenage years and subsequently have regular experiences with it, intentionally or otherwise (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Peter & Valkenburg, 2006). Prevalence rates of IP viewing among young people has been studied using a wide array of research designs, across different disciplines, with varied population samples, drawn from unique cultural and societal contexts. Consequently, as I discuss later in the thesis, it is difficult to extrapolate findings about prevalence to unstudied populations and to build a coherent picture of prevalence rates among youth. This is particularly the case in New Zealand, where my study is located, as basic descriptive data have been lacking until very recently.

The first insight into the prevalence of IP viewing among youth in New Zealand was reported by the Office of Film and Literature Classification (OFLC, 2018). Over

2000 14-17-year-olds completed a nationally representative online survey, and the findings were relatively consistent with international research (Henry & Talbot, 2019). More than half (53%) of young New Zealanders who took part had seen IP by age 14 and most of their first encounters were unintentional. While the report offers just a snapshot in time, it was an important first step towards understanding the current experiences of young New Zealanders with IP.

Concerns about potential negative impacts of IP viewing on youth sexual socialisation are evidenced by broad media coverage on the topic in recent years, both in New Zealand (e.g., Casinader, 2018; Molloy, 2019) and overseas (Ó Cionnaith & Macpherson, 2014; Sellgren, 2016). Consequently, researchers and other adults widely argue that there is an unprecedented and “immediate need to equip young people with the skills, knowledge and understanding to deconstruct and reconstruct these representations in line with the reality of gender, sex, power, sexuality and respectful relationships” (Ollis, 2016b, p. 51).

A prominent development in this regard is the proposal of ‘porn literacy education’. Porn literacy education, as I explain more fully below, is an educational intervention that aims to promote sexual health and wellbeing by teaching young people skills to critically evaluate IP (Albury, 2014; Hutchings, 2017; Vandenbosch & van Oosten, 2018). Recent evidence on porn literacy education has sought to highlight the ways in which it could be utilised as a tool to enhance sexuality education (Dawson et al., 2019; Hutchings, 2017; Rothman et al., 2018). As with sexuality education more broadly, ‘end-user’ views are crucial to policy development regarding pedagogical initiatives that address pornography (Albury, 2014; Davis et al., 2019; Ollis, 2016a). Necessarily then, this study gives young people (16–18-year-olds) a platform to voice their perspectives, ascertaining their views about porn literacy education and how they

sit alongside the views of other key stakeholders (i.e., caregivers, including guardians and parents, and educators), within their specific cultural context.

Key Concepts

A Feminist Constructionist Approach to Exploring Young People and Internet Pornography

My research contributes to a broadening body of critical social psychological research which considers youth engagement with IP outside of a harms-and-effects paradigm. Such research strives to move past a scientific, experimental focus that has traditionally focused on correlating variables through an 'exposure and effects' lens (Attwood, 2011; Naezer & Ringrose, 2018). Specifically, my research draws on feminist social constructionist understandings of pornography, sexuality, and childhood (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2013). This epistemological approach has become increasingly influential in studies of young people, media interactions, and sexuality, and is now widely used along with other poststructuralist understandings of the issue (Moore, 2018; Moore & Reynolds, 2018; Tiefer, 2018). There have been some constructionist writings that specifically relate to young people and pornography in recent years (Allen, 2006; Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014; Spišák, 2020). Such work challenges essentialist, developmental psychological discourse which positions youth as necessarily at risk and emotionally volatile due to an onset of puberty and the supposed raging hormones that accompany what is seen as a volatile transition period from child to adult (Allen, 2007a; Bay-Cheng, 2003). Rather than evaluating youth as a homogenous category, youth are understood to become social actors at a time in their lives when they are socially and historically located in one of society's age-defined categories of citizenship (Garland-Levett & Allen, 2018, Setty, 2018).

When compared to ‘traditional’ domains of sexual socialisation, IP is a novel platform for young people to negotiate their sexual subjectivities, their sexual relations and their constructions of masculinity and femininity (Coy & Horvath, 2018; Martin et al., 2007). Thus, IP as a representation of sex and sexuality can challenge, disrupt, or support existing and ever-changing youth constructions of gender and sexuality (Goldstein, 2018). In this way, IP has a normative function for youth; it is a way of exploring whether their sexuality and sexual conduct is ‘adequate’ (Tiefer, 2018). It therefore plays a role in how ‘healthy’ and ‘good’ sexuality is discursively constructed within socio-cultural contexts and institutionalised power structures that are historically racist, misogynistic and hetero-patriarchal (Allen, 2007a, 2007b).

Importantly, IP is generally constructed in popular discourse as inherently harmful when it comes to young people and is seen as a “demonised social evil” (Jarkovská & Lamb, 2018, p. 79). The historically embedded discourses that construct young people as asexual, innocent, and vulnerable have largely informed the body of research, which I alluded to earlier, focused on risk, harm, and regulation of young people’s sexuality (including access to IP) (Egan & Hawkes, 2010; Robinson & Davies, 2018). Furthermore, this focus on danger and harm has resulted in a dearth of research related to how young people experience, for example, love and intimacy and make sense of/engage with gender roles (Morrison et al., 2015). The construction of childhood innocence—which I understand as a discourse rather than an objective developmentally defined period—has therefore led to young people’s voices being subsumed by those of adults, in the belief that young people are “unknowing” and cannot adequately represent themselves (Jarkovská & Lamb, 2018, p. 78). Such tacit essentialising of youth sexuality leads to the assumption that young people are unable to define their own sexual subjectivities.

Given that youth sexuality is constructed as deviant or pathological, it is regulated and managed as adults deem appropriate (Egan & Hawkes, 2010; Jackson et al., 2010). Accordingly, young people are positioned as needing adult protection from a harmful or negative interaction with IP (McKee, 2007a). However, the ‘protection’ that ensues is potentially problematic, as it often results in concealment of information about sex/uality from youth. From this adult-oriented perspective, what is deemed as appropriate sexuality education is underpinned by constructed and value-laden notions of ‘normal’ and ‘healthy’ sex and sexual development. This ideologically charged monitoring of youth sexuality delegitimises youth as sexual citizens and allows little space for acknowledging their sexual agency (Egan & Hawkes, 2009).

In addition to the ‘innocent’ and ‘asexual’ child, youth are constructed as naïve, passive victims of media. Media effects research builds on this positioning of youth as ‘cultural dupes’, referring to the ways that youth are ‘taught’ or ‘sold’ particular constructions of gender and associated gender norms (Dines, 2017; Flood, 2009). Rather than positioning youth as active critical agents—who are presented with a range of discourses that prescribe various norms which they can accept, reject, or transform—they are thought to be at the mercy of inevitable, corruptive, trauma-inducing media forces (Mulholland, 2013; Spišák, 2017).

My research is concerned primarily with voices of young people aged 16-18-years old, who I consider agentic sexual beings. I recognise that the young person’s voice is often neglected, as the construction of what it means to be a young person happens *around* them, by adults and/or institutions (Moore & Reynolds, 2018). Crucial here is the recognition that youth sense-making of the representations of sex and gender in IP, and their sexual subjectivities in relation to IP, may differ to adults’ expectations and perceptions (Byrne et al., 2014; Sorbring & Lundin, 2012). Befitting to the critical

nature of this thesis, power and sexual subjectivities—“the telling of one’s own sexual stories and the ability to imagine oneself as an agentic sexual being”—are considered intertwined (Fahs, 2019, p. 18). Consequently, I have purposely included youth voices alongside the adults who typically regulate their sexuality, recognising their ability to constructively engage as legitimate and reliable research participants within the constraints of this adult-child power dynamic.

Defining Pornography

From a social constructionist perspective, pornography is “a form of discourse in which sexual acts and fantasies are explicitly examined, tested, and represented in order to be watched, thought about, and engaged” (Escoffier, 2007, p. 77). Not only is pornography a social construct in and of itself, it is also a form of media that serves to provide alternative understandings as to what it means to ‘do’ gender, be sexual, and to experience pleasure (Garland-Levett & Allen, 2018). Just as gender can be understood as performative, pornography can be understood as public performances of sex; it “tells the performative truth about sexuality”, rather than being “the degree zero of representation” (Preciado, 2013, p. 270). Like gender, these pornographic representations are socially, culturally, historically, and politically regulated (Butler, 1990a). Accordingly, understandings of pornography are polarised into a view of “an inevitable expression of some putatively male biology” (Kimmel, 2007, p. xiii), symbolising the abuse of women, denying them agency and bodily autonomy, *or* signifying the sexual liberation of women through visual exposure to alternative ways of being sexual and doing gender (Ashton et al., 2018, 2019; Brown et al., 2018).

However, pornography is not an unvarying construct that can easily be placed on a continuum between ‘soft’ and ‘hard core’ genres, and simplistically sit in *either* a good *or* bad camp (Corneau & Van der Meulen, 2014; Kohut, 2014). Pornography does

not represent one and the same for all viewers (Goldstein, 2018). With that foremost in my mind, the definition drawn upon for the purposes of this research is based on Short and colleagues’ (2012) comprehensive review of the definitional issues with IP research: “any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy” (Short et al., 2012, p. 21).

I considered this adequate for the purpose of providing a working definition to participants, to ensure a *generally consistent* understanding of what is meant by IP for the purposes of my research. It is a definition that can be understood in lay terms, is clear and concise, and is sufficiently detailed to elicit a response. In choosing this definition, closed criteria of what sexual arousal might pertain is not imposed. Additionally, the inclusion of the term ‘fantasy’ is relevant and purposeful, in that IP is recognised as a fictional genre of media production. By nature, then, it depicts unrealistic scenes (Döring, 2011) and portrays sex and sexuality in a fantastical manner (Morrison et al., 2004), revealing how “sexuality is always performance, the public practice of regulated repetition” (Preciado, 2013, p. 270).

As researchers, we must accept that even when providing the clearest of definitions to participants, these definitions will still be subject to participants’ subjectivities. Pornography is, after all, a “value judgment” (Zurcher & Kirkpatrick, 1976, p. ix). Thus, as discussed later in the thesis, the applicability of my chosen definition is explored with participants in this study. In step with the social constructionist grounding of my research, affording participants the opportunity to elaborate on their interpretations of key terms—pornography and porn literacy—is a key aspect of this project.

Porn Literacy Education

Given the plethora of research suggesting that IP viewing among youth may negatively impact youth sexual development, there is a call for research to explore pragmatic solutions to address these potential impacts. In this vein, equipping youth with media literacy skills to critically evaluate IP has been suggested to help young people build resilience towards the possible undesirable effects of encountering IP (McLean et al., 2016; Pinkleton et al., 2013). These media literacy interventions are referred to as 'porn literacy' education when they concern the topic of pornography (Albury, 2014; Rothman et al., 2018; Vandenbosch & van Oosten, 2018). Accordingly, this approach stems from wider media literacy education which aims to "increase students' understanding and enjoyment of media, facilitate understanding of how the media produce meaning, how they are organised, and how they construct their own reality" (as cited in Koltay, 2011, p. 214). Porn literacy education has been touted as the foundation needed to ensure the sexual and psychological health and wellbeing of young people, by equipping them with the skills needed to steer through today's "sex tech nexus" (Comella & Tarrant, 2015, p. 3).

However, while there have been discussions regarding the incorporation of porn literacy programmes into young people's sexuality education, there is no clear model of what best practice might look like in this field (Dawson et al., 2019). Thus, further research has been called for to effectively determine how to incorporate the realities of IP into sexuality education—through porn literacy education or otherwise—as the proliferation of (and accessibility to) IP in modern society grows (Albury, 2014; Dawson, 2019).

I aim to address this call by exploring how young people engage with and make sense of the representations they encounter in IP, and investigating with other key

stakeholders (caregivers and educators) whether the provision of porn literacy as part of sexuality education may be a practical step towards addressing young people's engagement with IP. As Lim et al. (2020) argue, a crucial consideration in initiating programmes for young people about IP is the acceptability of these initiatives. Therefore, key stakeholder perspectives about porn literacy education—as a *potential* response initiative—are sought, rather than assuming this is the best or optimal way forward. Crucially, I recognise the importance of youth perspectives, and how they sit alongside the views of adults who are largely tasked with delivering sexuality education, and in this way have power to regulate and shape youth sexual socialisation.

In her comprehensive suggestions for future research, Kath Albury (2014) states that “rather than seeking to set universal definitions regarding what porn really teaches... seek to understand how young people’s readings of pornography (and their reception of porn education) can reshape the broader curriculum of formal sex and relationships education” (p. 178). In this manner, and within the context of understanding how best to support the young people’s agency in navigating the current IP landscape, this study will provide practical inquiry into the potential of porn literacy as pedagogy.

Positioning Myself in the Research Process

Positioning myself in the research is an important first step in the reflexive process, particularly because this topic is laden with misconceptions and taboo, alongside “the methodological and emotional complexities of researching, writing about and responding to pornography” (Purcell, 2011, p. 556). I approached this research from a critical sexual citizenship perspective (Carmody, 2015; Macleod & Vincent, 2014; Robinson, 2012). The characteristics of this perspective meant that I was drawn to a person-centred research design using critical methodologies. Reflexivity was a key

aspect of my research approach, and so I reflect throughout the thesis on how my research was grounded in my identification as a liberal, cisgender, heterosexual, white, Irish, middle class, atheist female student (not an expert, but perhaps perceived as one) who embraces sexual diversity. It is through this specific lens—in a New Zealand context—that the data were analysed and interpreted. The self-reflections interwoven in the following chapters about research design and data collection are what I, subjectively, deemed to be relevant in terms of contextualising my research (Finlay, 2002a; Lazard & McAvoy, 2017).

Overview of Thesis

My research is situated at the intersection of critical health and social psychology, and as such unpacks practices and people's understandings related to IP, and how these concepts are socially constructed. I consider in detail the cultural nuances at play and my approach: (i) values the perspectives of other disciplines (e.g., media studies and sociology), (ii) considers IP in a contextualised manner, and (iii) considers how IP fits into the broader cultural understandings and theorisation of sex and sexuality.

This thesis comprises nine chapters, including this introductory chapter. The following chapter (Chapter 2) foregrounds the critical theoretical framework of the thesis, highlighting the epistemological underpinnings of my research which inform my approach to sexual socialisation and sexual scripting theory. Chapter 3, the literature review, explores more fully how IP has been framed as an issue, particularly in the effects-focused research that dominates the field. I examine an antithetical body of literature to this effects-focused research that is largely critical, post-structuralist and qualitative, and I explore what findings from such work means for the development of pedagogical response initiatives that resonate with young people's realities. Then, in

Chapter 4, I outline the methodological approach used to attend to the key objectives (outlined in Chapter 3, p. 51), including the importance of reflexivity in critical research and my reflective accounts throughout this doctoral journey.

Chapters 5-8 comprise four manuscripts that have been prepared for submission and publication in peer reviewed academic journals. These articles outline the research findings of this thesis. Each article is contextualised within the broader project through linking sections that weave the four articles together in a coherent story. Collectively, these articles (i) demonstrate how youth engagement with IP is more nuanced, agentic and critical than traditionally accounted for by adults, (ii) show how youth employ and upend sexual scripts when viewing IP, indicating that these youth act as empowered agents and legitimate sexual citizens, and (iii) speak to the idea that the way youth sexuality is constructed by adults shapes pedagogical response initiatives such as porn literacy education.

In Chapter 9 I discuss the key findings from each of the articles in an integrated, holistic manner and I consider the implications of these findings for sexuality education policy, and future research. Specifically, the discussion focuses on how dominant discourse that positions youth as uncritical, asexual and ‘at risk’ impede the recognition of young people’s agency. I suggest and explore how such discourses can be fundamentally challenged to resonate with young people’s realities through a critical ethical sexual citizenship pedagogical approach to education.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

Theoretically located under the broad epistemological umbrella of social constructionism, my research aligns with the view that young people construct sexual and gendered subjectivities as they move through life, negotiating information from various domains of socialisation (Ndabula, 2017; Robinson & Davies, 2018). I draw on sexual socialisation theory and sexual scripting theory to frame my analytical approach and interpretation of data. In this chapter, I explain how youth construct sexual subjectivities through available social resources, most notably the discursive resources or scripts available in their socio-cultural context (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001; Robinson & Davies, 2018).

Sexual Socialisation, Gender Roles and (Hetero)sexuality

Sexual socialisation theory is useful for exploring how young people’s engagement with IP plays a role in their understanding of gendered sexual norms and in the overall process of gender and sexual socialisation (Martin et al., 2007; Scarcelli, 2014, 2020). Contemporary sexual socialisation theory, which I adopt for this research, understands sexual socialisation as “multiple social processes through which norms, customs, understandings and practices surrounding sexuality are simultaneously enabled and constrained” (Macleod et al., 2015, p. 91). Exploring IP as a key domain of sexual socialisation involves looking beyond moral debates, to explore *how* IP acts alongside other important domains that play a role in the socialisation process, namely, caregivers (parents/guardians) and educators (Scarcelli, 2014).

Sexual socialisation is an ongoing process that involves the active negotiation of sexual knowledge as young people begin to piece together information they receive from different agents, within their specific historical socio-cultural context (Robinson & Davies, 2018). From a social constructionist position, “we are born into a world that

exists before us and already has concepts for making sense of the world” (Riley & Evans, 2017, p. 412). Therefore, sexual socialisation is shaped by shared cultural meanings regarding what constitutes ‘good’ or ideal sexual citizenship, sexual norms, and heteronormativity (Aggleton et al., 2018; Fisher et al., 2013).

Caregivers, educators in schools, peers, public health communication, and religious authorities are considered conventional socialisation domains that impart information about sex and sexuality (Ndabula, 2017; Scarcelli et al., 2020). For example, young people raised under religious doctrines such as Christianity are sexually socialised through this channel (as well as others) to consider chastity as a means of protecting against disease, and to reject masturbation, contraception, and abortion. Thus, this Christian discourse about sex and sexuality is one resource for them to draw on as they construct their sexual subjectivities (Macleod, 2009).

Unlike traditional views of socialisation, I do not consider young people to be passive recipients of socialising input. Rather, I understand the process as active and relational, shaped by an array of scripts from multiple domains of sexual socialisation (e.g., caregivers, educators, peers, and media). Notwithstanding the differing levels of power and authority between agents, youth are participatory agents in their sexual socialisation in that they engage interactively with their world, in a bid to make sense of it (Martin & Torres, 2014). This contemporary sexual socialisation lens centres the constructed nature of young people’s sexuality and views them as active and critical agents of their socialisation. Young people as sexual beings are positioned as “powerful, agentic subjects, who are actively involved in the construction of their own gender and sexuality” (Robinson & Davies, 2018, p. 55). They are not cultural dupes; they hold agency in their own sexual socialisation (Modleski, 2008).

IP plays a role in young people’s understandings of gendered sexual norms, and may play a significant role for some youth if there is silence or limited discussion about sex/uality in their other social domains. Accordingly, how sexual socialisation converges with gender construction is an important avenue of exploration (Martin et al., 2007). A constructionist account of socialisation understands the process as linked to the discursive constitution of gendered subjects, as outlined in Butler’s performativity theory (Butler, 1990a, 1990b; Scarcelli et al., 2020). It is through socialisation that young people begin to understand, evaluate, and negotiate what it means to ‘do’ gender within their specific social sphere, and how this might differ across cultural and historical contexts.

Butler (1990a, 1999) posits that the repeated acts or ‘performances’ of the gendered expectations associated with masculinity or femininity—discursively enacted through social and sexual relations and practices—ultimately fashion gendered subjects. From this perspective, gender is not a “psychological truth, but a discursive, corporal, and performative practice by means of which the subject acquires social intelligibility” (Preciado, 2013, p. 110). I therefore understand gender to be a fluid rather than a fixed, natural, internal state; gendered people are produced through competing discourses that exist in their culture (Riley & Evans, 2017). If sexual subjects are fashioned through language, it stands to reason that “the way a person thinks, the very categories and concepts that provide a framework of meaning for them, are provided by the language that they use” (Burr, 2015, p. 10). This process is, as I elaborate below, facilitated by socio-culturally sanctioned scripts that establish and regulate how to ‘do’ or perform gender in a manner congruent to one’s ascribed gender category (e.g., the oppositional construction of masculine virility and feminine servility) (Dworkin & O’Sullivan, 2007). To deviate from these scripts is socially rebellious, as one may be deemed as

“failing to do gender appropriately” and be subject to negative social sanctions (Riley & Evans, 2017, p. 414).

Significantly, young people are socialised into a world that assumes—even demands—compulsory heterosexuality, and heteronormative scripts are reiterated throughout society (Comunello et al., 2020; Martin et al., 2007). It has been argued that this heterocentric way of *doing* sexuality is engrained in systems and institutions, so that young people construct their gender identity as such, making sense of and adopting masculine and feminine behaviours to fit to these expectations (Martin et al., 2007). The way young people are sexually socialised within their specific culture has been positioned as a key factor in how they might negotiate sexual scripts (DeLamater, 2018). It is to the conceptual apparatus of sexual scripts, and sexual scripting theory, that I turn to next.

Sexual Scripting Theory

Gagnon and Simon’s (2017) germinal theorisation of sexual scripts has been taken up and deployed in various ways by sexuality researchers over the years. Although their original work was not based on social cognitive theory (their work might be characterised as ‘light’ social constructionism), sexual scripting theory has often been used in that way (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). Furthermore, there is varied commitment among researchers to distinguish and contextualise the version of script theory they are using, either cognitive or sociological. Even with disclosure by researchers that they are using a sociologically orientated version of the theory, Frith and Kitzinger (2001) have argued that sexual scripting theory “is in fact—even the *most* social version of the theory, as used in sexuality research—fundamentally *cognitive*” (p. 212). This can lead to theoretically and analytically incongruent research if, for example, social constructionist work utilises a cognitive theorisation of sexual scripts.

In my research, I focus on a discursive approach to sexual scripting theory outlined by feminist discursive psychologists (Beres, 2013; Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). My work builds on Frith and Kitzinger’s (2001) centring of the social, relational context and focus on scripts as socially available discursive resources that people actively negotiate through rhetorical processes. I therefore refer to this approach as *discursive sexual scripting theory*; a critical, qualitative methodological approach to sexual scripting theory (see Chapter 4 for detail on analytical application using this theoretical approach).

Frith and Kitzinger argue that Gagnon and Simon’s sexual scripting approach—although sociologically based—is nonetheless rooted in cognitive understandings of self and underpinned by individualistic assumptions (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001; Gagnon & Simon, 2017). Accordingly, despite the frequently cited use of sexual scripting theory in sexuality literature, its theoretical application is varied and often incongruent with its key tenet of social context. To address this issue, the theory has been developed over time in line with sexual socialisation frameworks and constructionist, discursive thinking that focuses on sociohistorical context and sexual subjectivities (Beres, 2013; Locke & Budds, 2020; Wiederman, 2015). Rather than viewing scripts as schemas, heuristics, or internalised mental representations, scripts are conceptualised as cultural knowledge. In this sense, scripts are worked up, or talked up, and produced through interpersonal discourse.

In social constructionist work, individuals are not seen as siloed organisms who learn through social interactions (à la Vygotsky). Rather, social constructionists are more concerned about the interactions between the minds of people, and how this serves to conceive multiple co-constructions of social realities created by discourse (Burr, 2015). In taking a constructionist, discursive shift, sexual scripting theory therefore

“focuses on the social function of talk… and thus removes ‘scripts’ from inside the heads” of speakers “and relocates them as interactional and social resources of the participants” (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001, p. 228). This approach therefore troubles the cognitive notion of talk as able to represent the internal identity of individuals by revealing unique cognitive processes, such as attitudes (Nentwich & Morison, 2018; Taylor, 2006). Frith and Kitzinger (2001) highlight how referring to scripts as guides, blueprints, maps, cognitive models, mental processes, attitudes, and so on, is antithetical to a social constructionist understanding of sexual subjectivities.

Accordingly, I reject the idea of pornographic scripts as “an easily accessible template for actual sexual behaviour” (Sun et al., 2016, p. 985). In the following section, I explain in more detail what constitutes a script in my research, highlighting its utility as a culturally available discursive resource that people draw on to construct sexual subjectivities.

Conceptualising the Sexual Script as a Discursive Resource

In Simon and Gagnon’s original formulation of sexual scripting theory, the sexual self is understood to be constructed based on cultural, interpersonal, and intrapsychic scripts (Simon & Gagnon, 1984). From this perspective, cultural scripts represent the broad collective framework in which sexual experiences occur based on mutual, historically specific, cultural understandings of social roles. Interpersonal scripts describe how our social interactions with other social participants (including sexual partners) are guided by patterns of socially acceptable conduct and the negotiation that occurs to meet these expectations, and; intrapsychic scripts are the “ongoing internal dialogue” (Kimmel, 2007, p. xii), a kind of reflexive self, that considers cultural mores and values, as well as personal desires and fantasies (Escoffier, 2007; Simon & Gagnon, 1986).

Comparably, research using discursive sexual scripting theory does not aim to ‘discover’ a true objective reality about sexual behaviour through interrogations of cultural, interpersonal and intrapsychic scripts. Rather, I utilise sexual scripting theory to explore and make sense of how people draw on culturally available scripts (e.g., men are biologically more sexually voracious than women) in an interactional manner and to what effect (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). For example, young women’s talk about being sexually responsible ‘good girls’ is a culturally intelligible way of presenting oneself, and can be understood as a typical shared knowledge construction, rather than an objective reflection of reality (Ashton et al., 2018, 2020). In other words, this is a sexual script.

Scripts comprise widely available sets of social meanings that are taken up, rejected, or altered in the process of constructing meanings and subjectivities related to sexuality. From this perspective, a script is a “socially established way of speaking that determines what can be said about various topics” (Morison & Macleod, 2015, p. 35). Script can be understood as discursive resources, which in critical discursive psychology, are defined as “prevailing sociocultural understandings (sets of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements, and so forth) present in society’s language practices and in the particular context in which a narrative is situated” (Morison & Macleod, 2015, p. 9). Sexual scripts, then, as discursive resources, are similar to interpretative repertoires that can be drawn on by people to “achieve certain interactional goals” (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001, p. 217;).

Importantly, sexual scripts are fashioned in a broader world that is shaped by racism, classism, and sexism that constrain how we ultimately shape ourselves, and the agency we have in so doing (Jackson, 2007; Morison & Macleod, 2013). This is not to say that scripts are foisted upon people and then blankly accepted, but are actively and

reflexively negotiated and re/constructed by social actors (Morison & Macleod, 2015). People employ, support and perpetuate socially accepted scripts, but within these discursive constraints—which implicitly pertain to class and race and so forth—they also trouble scripts or challenge them as they work to construct their sexual selves (Sakaluk et al., 2014; Wiederman, 2015).

Scripts are, therefore, not static, rather social actors reproduce them through enactment in their personal and interpersonal relations (Masters et al., 2013). As Frith and Kitzinger (2001) maintain, "scripts are actively constructed in interactions through which people 'work up' events as scripted (or as breaches of scripts), and this 'script talk' is analysable in its own right" (p. 216). Given this relational/interactive dimension, when participants talk about or offer sexual understandings that are articulated as sequential or seem scripted, this talk can be understood as the re/deployment of acceptable shared understandings of sex/uality during interpersonal interactions, rather than understood as an accurate reflection of 'how things really are' (Holman & Sillars, 2012).

In sum, sexual scripts are not sequential rigid dictations of how humans interact sexually, but are cultural resources that people agentically re/deploy in various fashions (Robinson & Davies, 2018). The "disjunctures" of sexual scripts and how these scripts can be modified or transformed in gendered ways is a rich theoretical research ground (Masters et al., 2013, p.4). Next, I attend to the "micro-politics" involved in this version of sexual scripting theory, or how participants position themselves against or challenge these scripts (Morison & Macleod, 2015, p. 34).

Positioning in Discursive Sexual Scripting Theory

A discursive sexual scripting lens does not exclusively attend to 'macro' discourses that do not account for the agency of social subjects (à la Foucauldian

analysis), nor does it focus solely on the 'micro' by only examining language in immediate interactions (à la typical discursive psychological approaches). Rather, it is 'synthetic' in the sense that it understands the speaker to be (inter)actively operating, and meaning-making, within discursive constraints (Nentwich & Morison, 2018; Wetherell, 2016). That is, broader discourse that is socio-historically specific provides a scaffolding for how an individual can create subjectivities (Locke & Budds, 2020). Sexual scripts, as discursive resources, are situated within broader discourses, which sexual subjects then actively re-negotiate. For example, a childhood innocence script is situated within a broader developmental discourse that depicts young people as developmentally lacking and supports expressions of apprehension regarding the sexualisation and "pornification" of youth culture (Mulholland, 2015, p. 321).

Positioning has been described as "actively resisting, or rebelling against, gender norms, and this is as much an act of self-making as is compliance" (Nentwich & Morison, 2018, p. 217). The sexual self is therefore constructed through positioning oneself in a socially intelligible manner, manoeuvring within the constraints of socially available scripts (Nentwich & Morison, 2018). Positions are "conferred and actively claimed or contested within interactions" such that a reflexive subject "interacts, negotiates, thinks back, and plans forward across multiple instances of talk" (Nentwich & Morison, 2018, p. 217). Speakers can, as intimated above, navigate, modify, resist, and reject confining discourses by utilising various discursive strategies through positioning (Morison & Macleod, 2013; Nentwich & Morison, 2018). I therefore view my participants as "highly skilled social actors who employ language to build accounts and to perform identities that are useful for them", through resisting, excusing, re-orientating and renegotiating prominent talk in a functional manner (Burr & Dick, 2017, p. 70). This is an empowering perspective, as it means discourse as we know it can be

modified by sexual subjects over time by re/negotiating existing scripts (Morison & Macleod, 2015).

This discursive scripting theory approach considers how participants position themselves in ways that are beneficial to them in the particular “local interactive context”, such as during research interviews (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001, p. 216). In this way, the discursive adaptation of scripting theory attends to broader power relations in the way it explores subject positions, which traditional scripting theory has failed to do (Beres, 2013). By establishing what is socially acceptable talk for certain social actors, scripts are implicated in the re/constitution of power relations between speakers and the material effects associated with these (Morison & Macleod, 2015; Riley & Evans, 2017). For example, I had to consider during interviews that personal orientations towards pornography—particularly within a power-infused research interview—are risky, imbued with trepidation, and even potential disdain given broader societal discourse pertaining to IP. Thus, participants could use rhetorical tactics by deploying particular scripts and work up particular notions about youth engagement with IP in a socially advantageous and acceptable way, in the immediate context of an interview (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001; Locke & Budds, 2020; Morison & Macleod, 2015).

For example, if during an interview a woman described watching IP for sexual stimulation, she would be challenging the aforementioned ‘good girl’ script. Such talk contradicts the dominant Western understanding of appropriate femininity in which women are typically constructed as less sexual, less desiring, less visual, and therefore less interested in IP or masturbation than men (Setty, 2021). This ‘good girl’ script might be taken up differently among friends, outside the context of a research interview. Thus, the use of particular scripts is contextually contingent and purposeful. How young people talk about engagement with IP is, therefore, not a straightforward reflection of

how they actually engage with IP. I focus on the analytical application of this approach to determine how participants draw on sexual scripts to construct shared knowledge in Chapter 4. In the next chapter, Chapter 3, I turn to a review of the literature.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Research, particularly psychological research, on the topic of IP and young people predominantly focuses on potential negative behavioural and attitudinal impacts of IP viewing (Barker, 2014). Such harm-focused research generalises, decontextualises, and is (for the most part) grounded in the scientific experimental method. This quantitative approach that primarily informs our knowledge of how young people engage with IP is limited, and cannot capture the broad and diverse meaning-making IP elicits across individuals in varied cultures (Attwood, 2005).

What follows is a brief critique of this harms-based, predominantly positivist, approach to pornography research, and why scholars might endeavour to move past this myopic approach of determining cause and effect. I argue that far too little attention has been paid to critical and social research on the topic. It is to such critically orientated work that I then turn, highlighting qualitative work that seeks to understand youth engagement with IP, and how IP operates as a domain of sexual socialisation (e.g., Allen, 2006; Attwood et al., 2018; Chronaki, 2014; Goldstein, 2021; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Mulholland, 2015; Scarcelli, 2015; Setty, 2021; Spišák, 2016, 2017, 2020).

I then review a germinal body of research on porn literacy education, the primary response initiative that has emerged in the literature as a way of addressing youth engagement with IP. I consider the little research that has been done on evaluating porn literacy education, highlighting the absence of stakeholder views as part of the evidence base that might inform the practicalities of such a pedagogical initiative (Albury, 2014). This speaks to my overall aim of situating young people's perspectives and understandings alongside those who typically manage their sexuality education (i.e., caregivers and educators) and thus hold much power in the sexual socialisation process.

Effects-Focused Research

Reviewing the vast literature on the potential effects of IP viewing is outside the scope of this thesis. However, it is important to highlight how such research often informs potential response initiatives, such as porn literacy education (Naezer & Ringrose, 2018). This effects-focused and harms orientated approach has been described as “narrow”, “deductive” and referred to as a “confirmatory search for the presumed harms of exposure” (Kohut et al., 2016, p. 585). Buckingham and Bragg (2003, p. 10) provide a pithy summary of the limitations of such effects-based research:

> It [this body of work] focuses almost entirely on negative effects; it relies on simplistic assumptions about the relationships between media use, attitudes and behaviour; it fails to explain why effects arise in some cases and not others; it isolates media use from other social variables, or accounts for those variables in unduly simplistic ways; it does not adequately consider how people relate media to other sources of information; and it tends to oversimplify complex questions to do with the meanings and pleasures people derive from the media.

Furthermore, experimental research often operates on the assumption that young people will not have the cognitive acumen or emotional maturity to negotiate the meanings they encounter in IP (McKee, 2010; Zillmann, 2000). Alongside this deficit assumption about youth, there is a dominant common-sense cause-and-effect view that watching IP *causes* sexually aggressive and other undesirable behaviours, without any recognition of pornography as part of a larger media landscape and social context (Gauntlett, 2006). Consequently, the public ‘media effect thesis’ of IP has been uncritically perpetuated in public discussion (e.g., watching violent IP makes you sexually violent) similar to moral panics related to other media like video games or music videos. This powerful and evocative message unsurprisingly leads to concern,

particularly in relation to young people who are generally deemed incapable of interpreting pornographic representations or withstanding the allure of IP (Moore & Reynolds, 2018). This deterministic and individualised Western approach to research neglects the broader societal and political factors at play, including the agency of viewers (Boyle, 2000).

The effects-focused research about young people and IP has been critiqued for its inaccurate focus “on a limited set of circumscribed topics”, potentially discounting other ways that young people engage with IP and its potential to be used as a tool for sexual meaning-making (Hare et al., 2014, p. 149). Instead, critics argue that it is critical to understand the broader cultural and social systems that support the construction of the ‘effects’ of IP (Naezer & Ringrose, 2018).

Research on Young People’s Engagement with Internet Pornography

Much psychological research about youth and IP is tacitly filtered through the adult-centred sentimentalisation of childhood (Tsaliki, 2016), which fuels discussion and research focused on youth online safety and the need for intervention (Chronaki, 2019). These concerns have led to a proliferation of research seeking to determine the prevalence, predictors, and implications of young people’s ‘exposure’ to IP (Attwood et al., 2018). However, ascertaining prevalence rates of IP viewing among youth is difficult because of inconsistency across studies (e.g., differing age ranges or time frames of IP viewing) (Fisher et al., 2013; Goldstein, 2018), the wide array of IP available, the ways in which pornography is defined, and methodological differences (e.g., survey design, sampling, varied cultural contexts). Nevertheless, it is apparent that IP is becoming an everyday reality for young people who view IP for various reasons, including sexual gratification, stress-relief, boredom, curiosity, escapism and knowledge seeking (Attwood et al., 2018; Chesser et al., 2018).

Although prevalence rates vary across countries and cultures, similarities and variances in trends across genders have been reported. Encounters with IP are more prevalent among young men than young women, and young men are more likely to seek it out intentionally, more regularly, and from a younger age (Peter & Valkenburg, 2016; Stanley et al., 2018). Additionally, young males respond more positively to IP than females, who express antipathy, discomfort and disgust (Coy & Horvath, 2018; Tsaliki, 2011). However, young females also report IP to be interesting, exciting and informative, indicating engagement is more complex and nuanced than statically harmful (Ashton et al., 2018; Attwood et al., 2021).

Statistics about gendered engagement with IP should be understood within broader cultural understandings about men’s ‘natural’ insatiable, predatory sexual urges and women’s role as passive gatekeepers of uncontrollable male advances. Such constructions unhelpfully position women as undesiring, inevitable victims and men as inherently dangerous and uncaring (Brown et al., 2018; Dworkin & O’Sullivan, 2007). Because young women are caught between the double standard of being sexy but not slutty (Tolman, 2012), there may be trepidation among women about disclosing IP viewing for fear of the stigma and shame associated with such a ‘deviant’ revelation that is at odds with a culturally intelligible, respectable, feminine (hetero)sexuality (Ashton et al., 2020; Chowkhani, 2016).

Young women are restricted in how they can orientate toward IP in a way that exhibits ‘good’ femininity (Ashton et al., 2018; Goldstein, 2021; Lee & Crofts, 2015). Thus, qualitative research suggests that young women negotiate the meanings they encounter in IP in contradictory ways through discourses related to feminism, aggression and the exploitation of female pornography actors (Ashton et al., 2018; Johansson & Thunell, 2021; Mattebo et al., 2012). These gendered understandings of

how women *should* engage with IP are reflected in how researchers approach the topic. For example, in Luder and colleagues’ (2011) study, female participants (16-20-years-old) were divided according to ‘exposure’ or ‘no exposure’ to pornography, while male participants were divided according to wanted exposure, unwanted exposure, and no exposure. The assumption here appears to be that young women, unlike their male counterparts, do not wish to watch pornography and do not intentionally seek out IP.

In this context, using quantitative measures to describe prevalence rates is useful when the aim is to provide broad brushstroke understandings about youth engagement with IP. However, qualitative research can help provide nuanced understandings of *why* (gendered) engagement occurs. For example, qualitative analysis has illuminated the way in which young people describe their “casual relationship to porn…that watching porn is becoming part of a mundane repertoire of everyday media practices among young people” (Goldstein, 2018, p. 127). This suggests that IP is now part of the media that re/produces discourses about sexuality that can perpetuate existing norms and power relations. Unsurprisingly, amid silence from other domains of socialisation (caregivers and educators), several studies suggest that youth *do* access IP as a means of learning about sex, dis/confirming their existing ideas about sexual norms and practices (Litsou et al., 2020; Rothman et al., 2015). In fact, in McKee’s (2007a) Australian research, a participant stated: “porn was pretty much my entire sexuality education” (p. 6), summarising the sentiment of the young people in his research that IP can even comprise a young person's sexuality education in totality.

Qualitative research has been particularly useful in this area of investigation about IP as a domain of sexual socialisation, with some research suggesting that IP can be a positive outlet, particularly in terms of its educational value (Watson & Smith, 2012). Australian youth have highlighted the positive educational effects of IP in

qualitative research, including: (i) IP as an informer about bodily functions, (ii) making visible that it is acceptable to be interested in sex, and (iii) tips for improving their sex lives (McKee, 2007a; McKee et al., 2008). Similarly, Smith's (2013) qualitative interviews indicated that young Australian adults consider IP as a safe avenue to explore sexuality, as it provides more realistic and varied portrayals of the body than mainstream media. A study conducted in the Netherlands with 18- to 30-year-olds using self-report measures also concluded that participants perceived IP as having primarily positive effects on their lives, particularly because it provides a wider range of representations than sexualised mainstream media (Hald & Malamuth, 2008). Similar findings were reported in the USA and UK, with young people reporting that they feel 'great, happy or fine' or not 'bothered' by their IP viewing (Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014; Rothman et al., 2018). Young people in Sweden aged 14-20-years old also IP viewing as a positive outlet in that it provides sexual information and stimulation (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). Through exploring subjective experiences, IP was perceived by some viewers as positive (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). Such work illuminates the potential educational and relational benefits of IP (Attwood et al., 2018; Kohut, 2014; Rissel et al., 2017). Importantly, IP as a domain of socialisation can create a sense of empowerment and encourage the construction of sexual subjectivities and new sexual practices for LGBTQ youth (Bothe et al., 2020; Macapagal et al., 2021; Weinberg et al., 2010). Accordingly, further research is required that applies a non-binary lens to youth engagement with IP.

Despite these findings, IP is still widely seen as a defective form of sexuality education, with critics suggesting it is a 'bad educator' and problematic for young people in particular (Crabbe & Corlett, 2011; Flood, 2009; Johnson, 2012). Concerns have been raised about IP as a damaging presence in the lives of young people, and a poor

domain of socialisation, with many researchers across disciplines arguing that it promotes risky behaviour and sexual permissiveness (Albertson et al., 2018; Carroll et al., 2008), can provide misinformation about safe sex practices, and may lead to body dissatisfaction and sexual desensitisation. Morrison et al. (2004, p. 125) argue that IP presents a “sexual fantasy land”, portraying unrealistic sexual engagements between the ideal male and female in an environment that appears consequence free.

Negative aspects of IP viewing have also been discussed in qualitative research with young people, including happening upon upsetting content inadvertently and concerns about the potential impact of IP on sexual attitudes that might manifest into ‘unhealthy’ sexual practices (Doornwaard et al., 2017; Smith, 2013; Walker et al., 2015). Nonetheless, although youth are aware of the potentially harmful nature of IP, there is some critically orientated qualitative research which suggests that IP does not preoccupy a significant proportion of their concern (as it does adults) in comparison with other sexualised popular media (Mulholland, 2013; Spišák, 2016). Rather, for some youth, it is the risk and harm discourse that surrounds IP that is most anxiety provoking (Spišák, 2016; Spišák & Paasonen, 2017).

Youth Sense-Making of Gendered and Sexual Representations in Internet Pornography

Despite the volume of research on IP and young people, relatively little attention has been paid to understanding how young people make sense of representations of sex and sexuality in IP, or how *they* would like to be supported in navigating IP (if at all) (Hammarén & Johansson, 2007; Spišák, 2020). More recently, some critical literature has emerged to address this gap (Attwood et al., 2021; Bragg, 2015). This work explores “‘meaning’ and ‘mattering’, ‘making sense’ and ‘sensing’” (Attwood et al., 2018, p. 3755), asking speakers to orient themselves to IP as “subjects of some kind,

drawing on the cultural tools for meaning making at their disposal" (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 607). It foregrounds the importance of understanding how young people agentically navigate IP, and challenges the assumption that all young people who view IP will inevitably adopt unrealistic sexual values (Attwood et al., 2018; Mattebo et al., 2012).

A small, emerging body of interdisciplinary critical research contradicts the commonly held view that young people are helpless in succumbing to IP and developing unrealistic perceptions of sexuality and gender, or engaging in harmful sexual conduct. Rather, youth are shown to be active agents constantly negotiating, modifying and adapting culturally available sexual scripts to construct and perform gendered subjectivities, often in a "smart" and "mature" manner (Naezer & Ringrose, 2018, p. 429). This small—largely poststructuralist—body of research moves past a harms-based research agenda that is preoccupied with 'effects and exposure'. Instead, it interrogates the notion that IP is inherently harmful to youth who are traditionally positioned monolithically as uncritical, unsavvy, cultural dupes (Egan, 2013).

In US and European contexts, research with youth suggests that sense-making and sexual self-construction in relation to IP occurs as a dynamic process. Media viewers actively engage in a critical manner with content rather than unquestioningly accepting media messages (Johansson & Thunell, 2021; Mulholland, 2015; Spišák, 2017). My research follows this critical understanding of youth, challenging the historical construction of youth as a homogenous group of at-risk, naïve, unagentic IP viewers. Crucially, then, my research foregrounds youth agency as a critical aspect of sexual socialisation (Martin et al., 2007).

Critical research suggests that youth make distinctions between the usefulness of IP as a learning tool and as a source of entertainment. Youth reflexively position

themselves against IP they are not attracted to with the same agency recognised in adult viewers (Mulholland, 2013; Tsaliki, 2011). This “paradigmatic shift in thinking”—the acknowledgement that youth actively and fluidly negotiate their sexual subjectivities—paves the way for youth to realise their sexual citizenship and sexual agency (Egan & Hawkes, 2009, p. 395). This stands in sharp contrast to the popularised childhood innocence script that positions youth as susceptible victims to IP, especially young women, whose virginal innocence is thought to be particularly at risk of contamination (Jackson & Goddard, 2015; Renold & Ringrose, 2011).

Demonstrating youth criticality, qualitative research with young people in Sweden and the Netherlands suggests that youth can find IP to be intriguing and arousing, yet also hold concerns about the way it represents ‘unhealthy’ ‘unrealistic’ relations, or the way it objectifies women (Doornwaard et al., 2017; Johansson & Thunell, 2021; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). Some youth, then, are aware of the flaws in how IP represents sex and sexuality. Yet, despite this awareness, IP was described as an integral and normative avenue for them to seek out sexual experiences when cultivating their personal sexual subjectivities. Indeed, participants acknowledged that the ideals portrayed in IP shape their own sexual conduct, providing them with a “frame of reference” (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010, p.9). How and what skills they use to carry out this navigation, and what ‘successful’ navigation means within this ‘frame of reference’ requires further attention.

Other research has explored how youth navigate the technological pornographic landscape within a Western postfeminist culture, which simultaneously renders IP “sexy” yet illicit (Jackson & Vares, 2011; Mulholland, 2013; Thorburn et al., 2021). Spišák (2017) pays particular attention to how youth draw on various scripts as discursive resources to reflexively orient themselves to IP. In so doing, she illustrates

how they negotiate and resist dominant scripts associated with IP; namely, the script of harm, the heterosexual script, the ‘good girl’ script, and the script of IP as a pleasurable technology. These scripts—reported elsewhere (e.g., Dworkin & O’Sullivan, 2007; Goldstein, 2021; Scarcelli, 2015; Tolman et al., 2007)—operate as discursive frameworks which youth can re/position themselves against to construct their sexual subjectivities. For example, young Finnish women orientated themselves to IP as heteronormative, ‘good’ and ‘healthy’ sexual citizens (Spišák, 2017). It would seem then, that young women in particular deploy heteronormative and binary discursive strategies to resist the position of the ‘duped’ IP viewer (Jackson & Vares, 2011; Johansson & Thunell, 2021). Accordingly, to ultimately inform a sexuality education that might be inclusive, relevant, and meaningful, it is time to begin an informed inquiry as to how young people engage with and make sense of IP as a key domain of sexual socialisation.

Responding to Internet Pornography as a Cultural Reality

The accessibility that youth now have to IP marks a shift in an historical technological context that adults believe requires a response. The regulation of both IP and young people is often considered a means of protecting young people’s innocence and saving them from themselves (Robinson, 2012). Concerns about a ‘pornified culture’ endangering youth has led to panicked public policy discourses in the global North (Mulholland, 2016). If I am to position young people as agentic media consumers and acknowledge that they will interpret sexualised material in diverse ways, then the lingering question of ‘what is to be done?' remains (Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014).

Several measures have been attempted worldwide to reduce the availability of IP to youth, such as censorship laws, blocking, age verification measures, and criminalisation (Lim et al., 2020; McClelland, 2018). However, these measures have

limitations—foremost, the denial of youth agency—and many are unlikely to gain general support (Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014; Robinson, 2012). It must also be considered that young people's migration towards the Internet for sexual information may be partly due to a lack of comprehensive, relevant, and age-appropriate content in schools and continued adherence to outdated modes of sexuality education (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019). Many schools, in New Zealand and internationally, are not offering "alternative comparable discourses with which to contest mainstream pornography", but rather the topic is censored in sexuality education curricula (Mulholland, 2013, p. 173). Researchers internationally have postulated that education—not censorship—is the optimal way to address the omnipresence of IP in the lives of youth (Albury, 2014; Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014; Martinson, 2007).

Rather than trying to "silence it [IP], shut it down, or uncritically support it" (Tarrant, 2010, p. 420), constructively developing pedagogical strategies may be a more viable avenue to promote meaningful dialogue about sexualised media (Thomas, 2019). Response initiatives could adopt "a genuine and empathic understanding of the pressures that young people experience in regard to sexuality" and respond "in an intellectually informed and sincere manner" (Martinson, 2007, p. 47), with the ultimate aim of supporting youth agency (Robinson & Davies, 2018).

In the following sections I focus on porn literacy education as one pedagogical approach that has gained some attention in recent years (Davis et al., 2020; Dawson et al., 2019; Rothman et al., 2018). Firstly, I highlight the divergent understandings of what effective porn literacy entails, the efforts that have been made to implement and evaluate porn literacy curricula, despite these divergent understandings, and highlight the need for further research with key stakeholders to determine whether porn literacy is indeed the optimal pedagogical approach. Secondly, I discuss research that has been

carried out with key stakeholders about pornography education, recognising caregivers and educators as primary domains of sexual socialisation for youth and end-users of porn literacy initiatives.

Porn Literacy Education as a Proposed Response

It is widely contended in popular discussion, and in the extant literature, that youth need to be supported in critically navigating unrealistic depictions in IP (Dawson, 2020; El-Guebaly & Butterwick, 2016). Recommendations have been made to provide caregivers and educators with knowledge and skills about IP and young people's engagement with IP to enable them to meaningfully discuss the topic with youth (Davis et al., 2019; Zurcher, 2017). Growing out of broader media literacy pedagogy, 'porn literacy' education aims to provide young people with relevant sexuality education skills to navigate the technological pornographic landscape in a safe and informed manner, and has been proposed as a potential response initiative to increased youth encounters and engagement with IP (Crabbe & Flood, 2021; Davis et al., 2020; Dawson et al., 2019; Rothman et al., 2018).

Despite discussions regarding the incorporation of porn literacy programmes into young people’s sexuality education (Davis et al., 2020; Dawson, 2019, 2020; Dawson et al., 2019; Rothman et al., 2018), there is currently no clear definition of porn literacy (Albury, 2014). Furthermore, despite calls for the provision of porn literacy as an integral part of sexuality education (Collins et al., 2017; Rothman, 2018; Tarrant, 2010), there is still little evidence in concrete terms as to what that means in a practical sense by way of curricula development, delivery and implementation (Döring, 2011).

Conceptual nuances are beginning to emerge in the literature regarding porn literacy education (Byron et al., 2020). Porn literacy education is divergently understood on account of the varying paradigmatic approaches to pornography related

research that I have previously discussed, namely (i) effects-focused harms-based research (e.g., Davis et al., 2020; Rothman, 2018), and (ii) critically orientated research (e.g., Chronaki, 2019; Goldstein, 2020; Spišák, 2016). Porn literacy education that is informed by harms-based research focuses on the risks of IP and reducing harms of IP viewing—which might include 'unhealthy' choices or the development of 'unrealistic' ideas. This approach to porn literacy education is reflective of sexuality education more broadly, which critical scholars have argued serves to "regulate and discipline young sexualities, reinforce and perpetuate gender binarisms and hetero-normativity, re-establish global northern family values of the nuclear family within a pro-family discourse, and represent continued assumptions of adult authority in a civilising mission over young people" (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019, p. 422).

For example, both Crabbe and Flood (2021) and Rothman and colleagues (2018) explicitly state that minimising the harm of IP is a key feature of porn literacy education. Thus, the aim is to 'teach' youth how to 'critically analyse' IP *correctly* based on a charmed circle of conservative heteronormativity, or in other words, to evaluate IP as inherently negative and reject it (Rubin, 1984). Davis and colleagues (2020, p. 2) specifically describe porn literacy education as a didactic, top-down initiative:

> On the basis of the media literacy theory, the key aims of pornography literacy approaches are to teach young people skills to critically analyse the messages in pornography, to increase their understanding of risks of exposure, and to encourage them to hold critical attitudes toward viewing the content and its messages.

Comparatively, a critically orientated approach searches 'beyond porn literacies' towards ethical sexual subjectivities and sexual citizenship, positioning youth as critical

agentic consumers and legitimate sexual citizens (Aggleton et al., 2018; Garland-Levett & Allen, 2018; Richardson, 2004). This aligns with calls for a critical approach to sexuality education more generally, with scholars advocating for curricula that are focused on empowering youth to challenge sexual and social injustices (Dixon et al., 2021; Fitzpatrick, 2018; Fitzpatrick & Allen, 2019). Rather than harm reduction, this alternative approach focuses on providing a space for youth to think and talk about what is meant by *good* or *healthy* sex in a heterocapitalist society (Rubin, 1984) as well as mutuality, pleasure and desire (Allen & Carmody, 2012; Carmody & Ovenden, 2013; Goldstein, 2020).

Albury (2014, 2018) maintains that simply adding a critique of IP within sexuality education will not suffice, as broader cultural issues need to be addressed. She suggests that pedagogical initiatives about IP are “not simply a matter of critiquing representations”, but rather require “an understanding of the different literal and figurative spaces young people inhabit, and the ways they use media to bridge, escape or travel between these spaces” (Albury, 2013, p. 34). Crucially—as a result of limited research with youth, caregivers and educators regarding porn literacy education—there is currently no knowledge as to how they, as end users, understand the meaning of porn literacy education or what it means to be porn literate.

Implementation and Evaluation. In New Zealand, porn literacy education is being debated as a potential addition to secondary school's sexuality education curricula (OFLC, 2020; Salisbury, 2020). Sexuality education is taught as part of Health and Physical Education and is compulsory until year 10. From year 11, at approximately 15 years old, Health Education programmes are offered in various manners across schools, which students can opt into as part of obtaining their secondary school qualification (Dixon et al., 2021). Currently, there are a variety of resources available about

discussing IP with youth, some of which might not be considered focused on ‘porn literacy’ specifically. For example, in response to the Education Review Office’s (ERO, 2018) finding that IP was not being addressed adequately as part of sexual health curricula in New Zealand, the New Zealand Health Education Association (NZHEA, 2020) published guidelines for teaching about pornography, drawing on the following definition: “Pornography is defined as sexual action which depicts harm towards another human being i.e., degrades, violates, connects violence with sex, or involves the use of power over another individual or a group” (NZHEA, 2020, p. 5). This educational resource draws on a definition that describes IP as inherently harmful and problematic and makes a number of judgemental claims throughout, such as “there is one aspect of teaching and learning about the issue of pornography that is difficult to avoid and that is ‘beating up on the boys” (p. 14).

Although the recently updated sexuality education guidelines in New Zealand includes information about IP be included in classes, it is not delineated as *porn literacy* education as opposed to *education about pornography* (which could be value laden, judgemental, and focused on harms/effects) (e.g., Crabbe & Flood, 2021). Thus, in New Zealand, as is the case internationally, clarity is required when designing programmes; programmes must accurately address the divergence described above regarding what porn literacy education aims to do (i.e., explicitly/ implicitly discourage IP viewing, or encourage critical thinking), as well as clarifying how youth are constructed (i.e., agentic or naïve).

Internationally, there is a small body of research that has sought to implement and evaluate media literacy initiatives that are focused on IP, and findings suggest that participation in such initiatives can increase young people’s critical awareness of IP (Davis et al., 2020). For example, porn literacy classes have already been integrated into

sexuality education in countries that may be considered more liberal, for example, the Netherlands (Vandenbosch & Van Oosten, 2017). One study found that porn literacy education in Dutch schools moderated the relationship between the objectification of women and IP viewing among young people (Vandenbosch & Van Oosten, 2017). However, a particular porn literacy intervention per se was not delivered, rather porn literacy education had been received as part of Dutch participant’s general sexuality education.

Similarly, Pinkleton and colleagues’ (2013) USA based pre-test post-test study found that 922 youth who received sexualised media literacy education exhibited increased knowledge about how the media shapes people’s perceptions about sex and sexuality, and found an increase in youth’s understanding that online sexual media are not always truly representative of reality. However, the programme was implemented with the goal of reducing STIs and teen pregnancies, which is only one view as to what constitutes ‘effective’ media literacy training regarding sexual health, as previously intimated.

In response to the lack of specifically formulised porn literacy education curricula worldwide, Rothman and colleagues (2018) designed, implemented and evaluated what they claimed to be the first formal pornography literacy programme. As aforementioned, this US based programme can be understood as a harms-based effects-focused approach to porn literacy. For example, youth that attended the porn literacy education classes engaged in a role play activity which required them to pretend they are on a reality TV show. They were asked by the class facilitators how much money they would need to be paid to have a substance poured over their face (representing ejaculation in IP) or to lick a spoon that had touched faecal matter (representing ass-to-mouth sexual practices commonly seen in IP) (Jones, 2018; Rothman, 2018). These

exercises introduce a moral tone to the discussion, reiterating a range of problematic discourses and slut-shaming tropes (Vares & Jackson, 2015). They assume that certain sexual practices are 'unnatural', non-normative, wrong and shameful, particularly for women who are expected to maintain a female respectability (Robinson & Davies, 2008). Furthermore, these exercises perpetuate a stigmatisation of female pornography performers as damaged 'others'—failed sexual citizens—constructing a mired, unagentic, passive female subject in a postfeminist culture that demands self-discipline through a regulatory gaze (Riley et al., 2017; Tolman, 2012). Moreover, such moralising may be applied to other types of sex outside of the charmed circle of penile-vaginal heterosex, such as casual sex, or rough sex (Chesser et al., 2018; Gruskin et al., 2019). The exercise described above can therefore be viewed as an attempt to 'civilise' young people through instilling notions of 'respectable' responsibilisation, and can be compared to more traditional fear-mongering sexuality exercises used to encourage abstinence such as presenting graphic images of STIs (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015; Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019).

Nevertheless, the implementation of this programme in Boston, USA is foremost a reflection of the feasibility of conducting porn literacy education; students were enrolled with parental consent, and learned about how to critically analyse sexually explicit online material. Based on results of a bespoke study questionnaire, participants exhibited increased knowledge about IP (Rothman et al., 2018). Of course, the parents that consented to the young people taking part saw value in the programme, were most likely communicating with young people about IP already, and might have been more prepared to talk about it after the programme. Rothman and colleagues (2018) concluded that future porn literacy programmes should be developed in consultation with a broader array of experts and key stakeholders to advise content.

My research is concerned with the lack of knowledge about how caregivers and educators perceive youth encounters with IP in comparison to young people themselves, and furthermore, the dearth of research on how to respond to IP through stakeholder-informed approaches. Such knowledge is critical to understanding the synergies and discrepancies that might exist between key stakeholder groups (youth, caregivers and educators), to subsequently inform how to best support youth agency in navigating IP. Therefore, the following section focuses first on caregivers and educators as key domains of sexual socialisation, and then research that considers their perspectives on youth engagement with IP, and porn literacy education specifically. Finally, I evaluate research that considers youth perspectives regarding porn literacy education.

Research with Caregivers

The socialisation that happens in the home, through caregivers, is specifically located within the family’s views and values about sex and sexuality and may or may not align with broader societal discourse (Shtarkshall et al., 2007). Implicitly and explicitly, caregivers shape the way young people begin to disentangle meaning regarding how to be sexual, and what it means to be sexual (Shtarkshall et al., 2007). Caregivers have been consistently reported as a significant influence in young people’s sexual socialisation, communicating to children from a young age the heteronormative script about love and marriage (Martin & Luke, 2010; Stone et al., 2013). Caregivers also explicitly and implicitly communicate to youth in their care as to what constitutes ‘healthy’ sexual relationships and the ‘danger’ of sexual exploits (Sorbring et al., 2015). Typically, these messages focus on risk or harm and often say very little about sexual pleasure, much less IP (Allen et al., 2014; Bay-Cheng, 2010; Davis et al., 2019; Ingham, 2005; Sørensen & Knudsen, 2006; Weaver et al., 2001).

Luker (2007) notes that sexuality education delivered by caregivers varies in content, consistency, and accessibility for young people, with some caregivers lacking up-to-date knowledge and a strategy for delivery. Qualitative research suggests that despite parental motivation to educate children about sex and sexuality in a more positive manner than they were themselves educated, uneasiness about the topic can override this motivation (Frankham, 2014). Martin and Torres (2014) argue that “parents’ primary role in the sexual socialisation process can be described as one of foreclosure” (p. 175). By foreclosure, they are referring to the tactic taken by parents to only respond to questions asked of them, and not to offer information about sex and sexuality unless directly asked by a young person (Frankham, 2014). This approach puts the onus on young people to *extract* information from their caregivers.

Unsurprisingly, parental communication varies depending on how liberal their views are towards sexuality education, with younger parents more likely to broach the topic of sex and sexuality in a more open way (Grossman et al., 2016, 2018). For example, in Sweden and the Netherlands, children reportedly have better understandings of sex than their British counterparts. This has been attributed to the more open, relaxed, and liberal minded communication efforts of Swedish parents with their children (Flores & Barroso, 2017; Lewis & Knijn, 2001). Conversations about sex are also often gendered, in that mothers are more likely to talk to young girls about sex and sexuality, reproduction, use anatomically correct names of genitalia for young girls than young boys, and to be more concerned about certain sexual conduct (such as masturbation) than fathers (Kirkman et al., 2002; Larsson & Svedin, 2002; Martin & Luke, 2010).

Broader constructions of youth as being innocent, pure and asexual (alongside sex as being improper and a source of taboo) has led to anxieties among parents about introducing sexual information too early in their children’s lives (Lamb et al., 2018).

Societal taboo regarding how much knowledge is enough for young people about sex and sexuality means that parents feel pressure to ensure their child is not the one with ‘too much’ sexual know how (Robinson, 2012). Thus, the emphasis on youth access to IP and the potentially deleterious effects of viewing IP on youth in public discussion and media reporting understandably raises concerns among caregivers.

Some research specifically addresses parent-child communication about IP, and this small body of work suggests parents are unsupportive, ill equipped and reticent about discussing IP with youth (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Rasmussen et al., 2015; Rothman et al., 2017; Widman et al., 2021; Zurcher, 2017). Parents, and mothers specifically, may be more likely to explicitly condemn IP viewing among girls, yet ignore such viewing among boys, further perpetuating a double standard and demonstrating the gendered concern within the sexualisation debates (Etheredge, 2016; Gesser-Edelsburg & Arabia, 2018; Sorbring et al., 2015). Qualitative research suggests that pressure to conform to ‘good’ motherhood—by regulating young women’s sexuality—may play a role in this surveillance by mothers of their daughters (Bragg & Buckingham, 2013). Thus, the contemporary view that educators should encourage young people to talk to caregivers about their school-based sexuality education does not account for diversity in family structures, the gendered nature of sexuality education, or willingness to engage in the topic of conversation (Moore & Reynolds, 2018).

The limited research on parent-child communication has largely focused on how parenting styles relate to regulating IP viewing among youth. For example, having authoritative rules about not seeking out IP, reported poor emotional bond or commitment between parent-child, and lack of parental awareness regarding their young person’s relationships have been associated with increased searching for IP (Weber et al., 2012; Ybarra & Mitchell 2005). However, these correlational studies provide a

limited contribution, as much of this research is conducted from the perspective of understanding how IP viewing among youth can be monitored/restricted, or potential negative effects reduced, by parents (e.g.,Tomić et al., 2017; Zurcher, 2019). This is also the case with some qualitative research that addresses “exposure” to IP as a “health issue” that can lead to “negative sexual health outcomes” (Davis et al., 2019, p. 2).

The importance of effective and open child-parent communication in relation to young people and their engagement with IP is highlighted in Byrne and Lee's (2011) study, which found that this communication was the most significant factor in determining whether a young person would resist a pedagogical strategy such as porn literacy (Byrne & Lee, 2011). However, research from the Global North suggests parents are in denial about their children's engagement with IP, have negative responses if they learn their child has been exposed to IP, would rather not discuss IP with their child (reporting fear as the main reason for this), and may not be aware of their child's engagement with IP (Dawson, 2020; Rothman et al., 2017; Widman et al., 2021; Zurcher, 2017). Similarly, American parents have reported concern that discussing IP with their child may inadvertently encourage IP viewing (Rasmussen at al., 2015; Zurcher, 2017). A small percent of parents in one US study commented that they hit or chastised their child when they found out they had viewed IP (Rothman, 2017). Alternatively, Australian caregivers have been found to reject the idea that youth in their care might view IP on account of their innocence. Furthermore, caregivers may rationalise that the innocent, moral, mature and justice-oriented nature of their child will supersede any ‘naturally’ emerging sexual curiosities, so that their child will ultimately reject IP (Elliott, 2010). For these parents then, the topic does not need to be raised (Davis et al., 2019).

At the same time, qualitative research with Australian parents indicate that some would use 'good' porn, such as instructional DVDs on how to make love, and purposefully introduce their child to this material (McKee, 2007a), while others defer to trust-based open dialogue over household censorship (Page Jeffery, 2021). A recent Flemish survey found that over 70% of 3543 adults (although not all may have been caregivers) agreed to the discussion of sexually explicit material within sexuality education classes, that it would be a valuable opportunity for teachers to discuss sexuality with students, and that the development of material to support teachers in these discussions was important. However, there was more reluctance as to whether sexualised material should be *shown* in class as a learning resource (Van Puyenbroeck et al., 2017).

These various approaches to discussions about IP with youth may stem from the relationship that caregivers themselves have with IP (Malacane & Beckmeyer, 2016). Thus, room needs to be made for the diversity in perspectives among caregivers on this topic. More qualitative research is needed to explore what caregivers understand IP to represent in the lives of youth and how they understand youth engagement with IP. Research is required about caregivers’ perspectives on porn literacy education specifically.

Research with Educators

Educators and schools are also domains of sexual socialisation. How schools choose to approach sexuality education is a key factor in the sexual socialisation of students at their respective schools. Formal sexuality education has garnered much attention over the years regarding who delivers it, what content is included, and at what age it is taught. The controversy surrounding sexuality education is uncontested when compared to other subjects on the curriculum and ignites considerable concern for those

who deliver it (Allen, 2011). Schools are “agencies of cultural reproduction” where broader social discourses are re/produced (Allen, 2007a, p. 578). Notwithstanding the formal channels of sexuality education curricula in schools—which are often racist, classist, ableist and sexist—educators act as domains of socialisation for students through their everyday gendered language, gendered activities, and differentiation of expectations between genders (Bay-Cheng, 2003; Martin et al., 2007).

The appointment of schools as the delegated institution responsible for delivering sexuality education may be considered “a pragmatic response to a social need” (Giami et al., 2006, p. 486). However, educators and schools are often reluctant to teach about particular sexual matters, especially debates that are often considered contentious such as gay marriage, abortion and IP (Ollis, 2016a, 2016b). Difficulty might arise in schools that are affiliated with a specific doctrine or religious ethos as teachers may feel restricted in what discussions they can facilitate to remain in accordance with the school’s value system and ethos (Shtarkshall et al., 2007).

Given that caregivers and educators play a key role in the sexual socialisation of young people, it has been suggested that schools and educators work together to understand and support caregivers in the difficulties they experience when communicating with young people about sex and sexuality (Kirkman et al., 2002; Shtarkshall et al., 2007). Likewise, caregivers can work to understand and support schools in their role as domains of sexual socialisation. Thus, these two domains of socialisation are interlinked; caregivers have sway and input as to what the school curriculum entails, and the power to opt their child out of sexuality education in many cases (Alldred et al., 2016).

Similar to the research with caregivers, little is known about how educators perceive young people’s encounters with IP, or their perspectives on how to address the

topic as part of sexuality education, if at all. A UK survey reported that educators understood IP to have negative effects on youth and that schools should teach about potential harms (Baker, 2016). Similarly, a number of teachers participated in a Swedish focus group study, whereby participants concluded that IP conveyed contradictory messages to youth in comparison to other domains of sexual socialisation, and that educators should be equipped with the skills to discuss this topic with youth (Mattebo et al., 2014a). Other research, primarily from the UK and Australia, suggests that broaching the subject of IP in the classroom is an uncomfortable and “high risk proposition” that requires training, resources, and the support of the school community (Albury, 2014, p. 173, 2018; Ollis, 2016a).

Australian research indicates that classroom discussions about sexual media are only likely to occur when the teacher feels prepared to discuss not just pornographic content but also the culture surrounding how this content is produced and shared globally (Albury, 2013, 2018). Given that some teachers may feel awkward in delivering sexuality education (Allen, 2011), the idea of introducing structured education strategies to school sexuality education may be a way of helping educators introduce often difficult conversations about IP to the classroom, and consequently allow them to gain a greater understanding of their students' experiences and concerns (Albury, 2014). The value of such support for educators is evident in Quinlivan’s (2013) observation during a sexuality education class whereby a young girl asks “What’s wrong with looking at porn?” to which the teacher responds, “I will answer that at the end of the class, we will just keep to the puberty stuff at the moment” (p.78), but did not return to the question.

Research with Youth as Agentic Sexual Citizens

Educational programmes are more likely to be engaging, relevant and ultimately successful when youth as the recipients of school sexuality education programmes are consulted in the process (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000; Allen, 2005, 2008). Research on sexuality education more generally has demonstrated the variety of views youth have about what they want in curricula and its delivery. International research suggests that many young people are not satisfied with their sexuality education, which often consists of abstinence-only-messaging and fear-inducing information about STIs and pregnancy (Macleod, 2009; Waling et al., 2020). In New Zealand, youth have expressed a desire to move past a clinical, de-eroticised and biological model delivered in top-down fashion to one that considers them as empowered and active sexual subjects (Allen, 2005, 2008).

Internationally, some young people report wanting to learn, through a sex positive lens, how to have a fulfilling sex life by giving and receiving sexual pleasure (O'Higgins & Gabhainn, 2010; Pound et al., 2016). However, research on sexuality education curricula indicates that most formal school-based sexuality education programmes do not include information on pleasure and arousal, despite some young people's wish for the inclusion of these topics (Allen, 2005; Cameron-Lewis & Allen, 2013). An important finding from qualitative research has been the request from youth to have IP discussed, not ignored, in a timely way during sexuality education in school as a way of helping them understand the wide array of content they may encounter online (Allen, 2008; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Pound et al., 2016).

A number of studies that have sought young people's views on pornography education initiatives, some on porn literacy specifically, suggest that they generally approve of such initiatives, and have highlighted the need for porn literacy education to

be included in their sexuality education (Henry & Talbot, 2019; Davis et al., 2019; Dawson et al., 2019; Lim et al., 2020; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). These findings—supported by research on young people’s views of sexuality education—have shown that it is important to young people that their sexuality education includes critical thinking to help them contextualise what they see online (O'Higgins & Gabhainn, 2010; Pound et al., 2016).

Some researchers, across various cultural contexts, have sought young people’s input on pornography education curriculum design. Lim and colleagues’ (2020) survey of Australian young people aged 15-29 indicated that 85% supported school-based pornography education, but that “participants wanted initiatives to be implemented in a way that did not introduce harm or shame pornography users” (p. 1). Davis and colleagues (2020) worked with young Australians aged 14-23-years to co-design a digitised porn literacy resource and identified the value in creating a platform that can be accessed anonymously, without judgement, by users.

Using participatory research methods with young adults aged 18-29-years, Irish research found there to be a desire to remove the shame and stigma associated with IP viewing (Dawson et al., 2020). Based on her qualitative research with young adults (18-25-years) in Canada, Goldstein (2020) also suggests that curricula addressing IP must reach ‘beyond porn literacy’ as an inoculation framework against inherent harm and exploitation. These findings suggest the need for a nuanced approach to IP related messaging, and a need to explore how to satisfy some young people's expressed desire for conversations about pleasure (Dawson, 2020; MacDonald et al., 2018).

Sexuality education policy and development often neglects the voices of youth themselves, as evidenced by the limited research on youth perspectives regarding porn literacy education (Aggleton & Campbell, 2000; Allen, 2008). Current sexuality

education curricula and policy are too often preoccupied with adults’ concerns about youth sexuality than young people’s perspectives about their needs, creating an “institutional blindness” (Allen, 2005, 2008, 2011; Mulholland, 2013, p. 161). In my research, I consider youth to be legitimate sexual beings, agentic political actors, and valued leaders in pedagogical policy development.

Conclusion

I argue that it is time to move beyond the narrow, homogenous, harms-based perspective permeating research on IP. Rather, focus needs to shift to understanding the interplay between IP and young people’s sexual socialisation, and how they can be supported in a manner meaningful to them (Vogels, 2018; Wright, 2018). My research therefore seeks to move away from the limiting focus on what IP ‘does’ to behaviour to push past the boundaries of the behaviourist approach which labels IP as a ‘stimulus’, and it’s viewing as an ‘effect’ (Attwood, 2011, pp. 13–14).

For pedagogical initiatives to succeed, community support is required. Yet, there is little research related to stakeholder agreement with porn literacy education in both international and New Zealand schools’ sexuality education programmes. This study is intended to answer the call for research which focuses on understanding how young people navigate IP, and to do so in a way that considers the perspectives of multiple stakeholders, including young people, their caregivers, and educators. Without the perceptions and views of key stakeholders on porn literacy education, educators, practitioners, and policy makers are faced with a challenge (Zurcher, 2017).

What is pertinent then, is to explore “who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said” (Foucault, 1978, p. 11). In this way, my research contributes to an emerging body of work, in New Zealand and

overseas, that seeks to explore how youth engagement with IP is constructed, and how youth themselves make sense of gendered representations of sexuality in IP. The central premise of this scholarship is to contribute to a knowledge base that might translate positively for young people through sexuality education that recognises their lived realities.

Research Aim and Objectives

Research Aim

In recognising the sexual agency of youth, this research seeks to understand how IP shapes young New Zealanders’ sexual socialisation as a gendered process. Foregrounding the perspectives of young people, I investigate how key stakeholders (16-18-year-olds, caregivers, and educators) discursively negotiate IP using sexual scripts, and explore their perspectives on porn literacy education.

Research Objectives

1. To describe young people’s (16-18-years) patterns of engagement with IP, and adult perceptions of these engagements.
2. To examine how key stakeholders make sense of the role IP plays for youth, exploring the gendered sexual scripts that they draw on in talking about IP.
3. To explore the perspectives of key stakeholders on how to respond to youth engagement with IP, focusing on porn literacy education as a potential school-based intervention.

Chapter 4: Methodological Approach

In this chapter, I describe recruitment of participants and my data gathering procedures, motivation for my chosen methods, analytical approach, and ethical considerations. The practice of reflexivity pertained to all aspects of this project, as I describe in the concluding pages of this chapter. The various methods detailed in this chapter—survey, Q-method, interview, story completion—and data analyses are also briefly summarised in each corresponding research article (see Chapters 5-8). Table 2 provides an overview of how each of these articles relate to my three key objectives (see Chapter 3, p. 50), the primary method used to fulfil each objective, and the stakeholder group that was approached to take part.

Table 2

Methods used to address objectives

Objective	Achieved through	Stakeholder group
1. Describe young people's (16-18-years) patterns of engagement with IP, and adult perceptions of these engagements.	Online cross-sectional survey	Youth Caregivers Educators
2. Examine how key stakeholders make sense of the role IP plays for youth, exploring the gendered sexual scripts that they draw on in talking about IP.	Semi-structured interviews using story completion	Youth Caregivers Educators
3. Explore the perspectives of key stakeholders on how to respond to youth engagement with IP, focusing on porn literacy education as a potential school-based intervention.	Q-methodology with semi-structured interviews	Youth Caregivers Educators

Research Design

I employed a mixed-methods sequential explanatory design (Ivankova et al., 2006). I adopted a quantitative-qualitative data collection and analysis sequence, rather than the more common qualitative-quantitative sequence in which the quantitative data takes precedence (Creswell, 2003; Ivankova et al., 2006). The main focus of my research was to explore meaning-making and subjective perspectives. I therefore considered the qualitative aspect of this research to be of higher priority, with the quantitative data primarily serving to describe the sample population and inform the qualitative components.

Doing the quantitative data collection first was suitable for this project given the lack of basic descriptive data on young people's engagement with IP in New Zealand at the time (for research conducted since, see OFLC, 2018, 2020). Moreover, the preliminary survey findings could inform the development of qualitative semi-structured interview questions based on patterns in the data arising from the survey data. For example, participants were asked during interviews to comment on a response to an open-ended survey question which represented a common pattern across the data; "Why is it so taboo for females to watch porn but considered 'normal' for males?".

Proponents of mixed methods research design challenge the epistemological tensions that exist between quantitative and qualitative methodologies and reject the "incompatibility of methods thesis" in favour of methodological eclecticism (Mingers, 2001; Teddlie et al., 2012, p. 777). Nonetheless, to avoid paradigm pluralism I ensured that the methods and analytical approaches I used reflected the underlying philosophical assumptions of my overall theoretical lens (Denzin, 2010; Shannon-Baker, 2016; Teddlie et al., 2012). To this end, I analysed survey and interview data in a way that reflects the social constructionist lens of my research by using quantitative data

descriptively, using open-ended survey questions, and by approaching data analysis in a reflexive and critical manner (Braun & Clarke, 2019, 2020).

A mixed method design has the advantage of acting as a form of methodological crystallisation, whereby “a large spectrum of qualitative methods and a mix of genres that all together reflect contrasting ways of knowing” are used to “produce thick descriptions of (complex sets of) interpretations” (De Vries & Reinmann, 2018, p. 6; Janesick, 2000; Richard, 2000; Stewart et al., 2017). Crystallisation is a postmodern reimagining of triangulation—a method of cross-checking research data from multiple sources for ir/regularities—and is epistemologically differentiated because it is not focused on establishing objective truths (O’Donoghue & Punch, 2003; Richard, 2000; Settlage et al., 2005). In a metaphorical sense, by studying a topic from more than one methodological standpoint, one’s understandings can dynamically transform—crystallise—through reflexive, iterative, critical processes (De Vries, 2018; Settlage et al., 2005). Crystallisation as an approach to research design also adds trustworthiness and rigour to the inquiry by providing multidimensionality to the researcher’s interpretation of findings (De Vries, 2018; Janesick, 2000; Stewart et al., 2017).

Recruitment

Secondary schools were appropriate research sites as I was interested in recruiting not just students (16-18-years-old) but their educators and caregivers too. Additionally, I was interested in hearing thoughts about porn literacy education specifically, and how this might be perceived as a school-based initiative. The inclusion criteria for participants were that they must fall within one of the following three categories (there were no exclusion criteria):

1. 16–18-year-old secondary school student
2. Caregiver (parent or guardian) of secondary school student

3. Educator in a secondary school (teacher and/or principal)

The Ministry of Education provides a complete directory of New Zealand schools.

The roll data was updated by the Ministry on July 6th 2018, and from this I created a sampling framework with private, state and state-integrated, secondary schools (Years 9–13, ages 13–18). Schools with the definition 'Kura Kaupapa Māori[1]' or schools for young people with intellectual disability were not included. This choice of filtering was due to age being the focus, not language or ability. Similarly, while this research was concerned with cultural differences, this was not a sampling criterion. There were 249 schools across the North Island of New Zealand in the final sampling framework.

I cautiously prepared for significant interest in participation by only inviting schools in the Wellington and Manawatū-Whanganui regions to participate initially. I contacted schools in batches, aiming to recruit schools in a way that would be representative across socio-economic and geographical lines. I filtered schools by urban area (main or minor urban, and rural), grouped to create size categories (schools with 100 students or less = small, 101–200 = small–medium, 201–350 = medium–large and 351 or more = large), and filtered into decile[2] groups (1-2, 3-4-5, 6-7-8, 9-10) to seek a diverse range of views (Berg, 2017).

However, uptake was much less than anticipated. Thus, over the course of four months (February – May 2019) I contacted all schools in the sampling framework incrementally. Of the 249 schools contacted, eleven schools agreed to participate in the

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[1] Māori-language immersion schools in New Zealand where the school philosophy reflects indigenous cultural values.

[2] In New Zealand, school deciles indicate the extent a school draws students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools have the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools have the lowest. No schools from 0-2 deciles accepted the invitation to participate.

research project. However, one school withdrew due to two tragedies in the school community, and another did not distribute the survey due to internal miscommunications as to who was to manage the project logistics. Table 3 shows the characteristics of the nine schools that participated.

I contacted school principals directly via email where possible, and personal assistants, secretaries and general administrative emails in the second instance. My introductory email was an invitation to participate in the research study, with an information sheet specifically for principals attached to the email (see Appendices A and B). I reassured principals of the school’s and participants’ anonymity, and informed principals that participating schools would receive a $100 book voucher for the school, with no individual compensation to be offered. If they wished to participate, they were invited to respond directly to me, from which time they (as principal) would assume the role of gatekeeper. I invited principals to discuss with me any questions they may have had about the study in person, over the phone, or via email. I emphasised to principals that I would like to meet in person, as I thought this would allow us to tease out any potential apprehensions (Mulholland, 2013). Four schools requested a personal meeting, while others requested a phone call or indicated their preference to communicate via email.

Table 3

Characteristics of the nine participating schools

Characteristic	**Category**	***n***
Size	small	0
	small-medium	1
	medium- large	2
	large	6
Type	composite	0
	secondary (year 7-15)	1
	secondary (year 9-15)	8
Location	main urban area	5
	minor urban area	2
	rural area	1
	secondary urban area	1
Authority	private, fully registered	0
	state	6
	state integrated	3
Gender of students	co-educational	6
	boys' school	2
	girls' school	1
Decile bands	1, 2	0
	3, 4, 5	3
	6,7, 8	3
	9, 10	3
		9

Note. 100 student or less = small, 101–200 = small–medium, 201–350 = medium–large, 351 or more = large.

Principals disseminated an invitation to participate in the research project (with embedded survey link), on my behalf, to all of the caregivers and educators at their school (see Appendix C). All caregivers in the school received an email from the principal regardless of the age of the child in their care (i.e., even if they were not 16–

18-years-old). Parental consent was not required by the Ethics Committee for students who were 16-years or older, and so caregivers did not have the opportunity to withdraw their child from the research project. However, the email to caregivers provided information about the research being carried out with 16-18-year-olds in the school. Caregivers were advised to contact the school administration or me directly if they had any questions about the study. While some schools did experience some resistance, this was minimal, and any reservations that caregivers had were allayed by the principal.

Principals also disseminated an invitation to participate in the research project (with embedded survey link), on behalf on the researcher, to 16-18-year-olds at their school (see Appendix D). Schools had the autonomy to invite students in whatever way they deemed most suitable for their communities, ensuring confidentiality, anonymity and safety of young people were considered. Therefore, there were varying approaches across schools. Some schools chose only to disseminate across certain classes (e.g., health), and to have students complete the survey (if they wished) during class time. In these instances, students who were not participating in the research were able to remain in class and continue with their schoolwork. Other schools disseminated the survey via email, or through their school intranet, for students to access in their own time. Two schools requested that I come to the school to speak to students at an assembly prior to the survey being disseminated. In these instances, I took care to reiterate the confidential and anonymous nature of the survey, as well as highlighting that they as young people were considered to be the experts of their own lives.

There were two survey links (one for adults and one for youth) which directed participants to the relevant survey depending on what stakeholder group they were part of (caregiver, educator, caregiver and educator, or 16-18-year-old). When participants selected the stakeholder group suitable to them, they were directed to the information

sheet. There were nuances in the language I used depending on the stakeholder group the invitation/information was written for (see Appendices D and E). If participants continued, they were directed to the consent form (see Appendix F). For those who consented to participate, the first page of the survey appeared when they agreed to participate. There was an option to 'leave survey now' on every page, an option to skip any question they wished, and support information was provided for each key stakeholder group. Participants were directed to outlets such as *Youthline*, mental health services and other counselling services (This support information was also provided at the end of interviews; see Appendices G and H). I also provided an opportunity for participants to leave any final comments at the end of the survey, so they could inform me of any issues or concerns they might have.

Participants for interviews were recruited through the survey. At the end of the survey, there was an option to express interest in taking part in a focus group or interview. Interested participants were redirected to a separate form—to assure anonymity of the survey was maintained—where they provided contact details and indicated their preference for an interview or focus group. I then contacted interested participants directly by provided email (see Appendix I) with an information sheet and consent form pertaining to the interview (see Appendices J, K and L). Interview appointments were scheduled with interested participants, and logistics of this were discussed with each principal on a case-by-case basis.

While adequate numbers of caregivers and educators were recruited through the survey, this was not the case for youth. Although a sufficient number did register interest, these young people either held a preference for a focus group which could not be fulfilled due to lack of interested participants at their school, or decided upon further consideration not to participate. On one occasion, a student did not attend for the

interview and did not reply to any further contact. In a bid to contact youth through alternative means, several youth centres were contacted. However, only one of these agreed to share a post online about the study, from which there was no uptake. Thus, snowballing techniques were employed, which resulted in the recruitment of five young people and one adult. While these participants did not complete the survey, they did complete the Q-sort. In this instance the Q-sort was emailed to participants in advance of the interview, or they completed the task while the researcher was present at the interview.

Participants

A total of 484 responses were collected for the survey (see Chapter 5, p. 96 for further detail on survey participants), and 30 Q-sorts were completed (see Chapter 8, p. 174 for further detail on Q-sort participants). The Q-sort can be conducted with small sample sizes (even single case studies), with a wide range reported in the literature (Shemmings & Ellingsen, 2012). Of the 30 participants who completed the Q-sort, 24 also did an interview (see Chapter 6, p. 128 for further detail on interview participants). Those who did not complete the interview fell within the cohort of those who decided they no longer wanted to participate in an interview, or had registered a preference in a focus group that could not be facilitated on account of limited numbers.

Challenges in Recruitment of Research Participants: Implications for Findings

Difficulty in recruiting schools to participate on research related to sex and sexuality has been experienced by other researchers in New Zealand and internationally (e.g., Allen, 2005; Baker, 2016; Setty, 2018; Stanley et al., 2018), and this research was no exception. Uptake by schools was much less than anticipated. Several reasons were cited by principals, such as apprehension about the topic and drawing young people's attention to IP, time constraints due to commitment to other research projects, religious

ethos, and particular demographics of the school population. While many schools declined the invitation, they also commented that it was an important, timely piece of research, but not a topic they were comfortable discussing in their schools.

There may also have been broader institutional factors at play, such as the illegitimacy of IP as a relevant academic topic of inquiry, and the taboo associated with it as a topic of conversation in schools. Schools that participated were therefore invested in some way in sexuality education more broadly, and findings can only be read within this context. Thus, using schools as research sites and principals as gatekeepers was arguably problematic in that power relations were exacerbated; only students, educators, and caregivers associated with schools who agreed to participate had the opportunity to participate. Accordingly, I was conscious that the knowledge from this research was co-constructed only with schools and people who were willing to take the political risk of being associated with a research topic that was polarising, and could potentially elicit backlash. These macro socio-historical circumscriptions must be acknowledged as playing a key role in the co-construction of knowledge in my research (Gough, 2003; Mao et al., 2016).

The difficulty in recruiting young people for interview may be partly because they are not legally allowed to view IP until the age of 18. Thus, young people who took part in the interviews and talked about viewing IP were disclosing, technically, an illegality. This may have been a deterrent if there was a lack of trust in the research process, or a concern that I would ‘tell on them’. I was also aware that those who chose to partake were possibly more articulate, more sexually experienced, and more confident than other youth who did not feel ‘eligible’ to talk to a researcher on account of self-perceived lack of sexual knowledge. The voices of those people are missing from interviews, but hopefully were captured to some extent in the survey.

More broadly, the voices of indigenous and marginalised groups are missing. It may have been the case that certain voices were excluded because they did not have access to the Internet, or did not feel comfortable with the topic on religious grounds or a plethora of other reasons I might not even think to consider (McClelland, 2018). Additionally, those who volunteered to be interviewed were likely to be people who were comfortable talking about IP, and advocates for education about IP (Allen, 2007b; Davis & Michelle, 2011). Indeed, those who *disagree* with providing education about pornography are not represented in the qualitative data, as nobody who took part in an interview expressed that view. In this sense, those who agreed with educational response initiatives were inadvertently given more power, simply because their voice was heard.

Working with schools was also an issue on a practical level. For example, one school sent out the wrong email (without the ethics approval clause) and sent the wrong survey link to youth, as indicated by some comments (e.g., “What option do I pick if I am a student? I don't think I qualify as an educator or a parent/caregiver”). This resulted in 137 unusable survey responses.

Data collection

Online Survey

Internet based questionnaires have been shown to produce more accurate answers and less non-response when sensitive questions are involved, such as thoughts pertaining to IP viewing (Mustanski, 2010). Thus, the survey was designed with the intention of being disseminated to participants online. Paper-based surveys were offered, although this option was not taken up. A working definition of IP was provided to participants at the beginning of the survey and interview, as outlined in Chapter 1. The survey was developed by me with the aid of a computer

programmer/analyst in the School of Psychology at Massey University, using the cloud-based survey tool Qualtrics.

To gain an initial insight into young New Zealander’s engagements with IP (Objective 1), the survey was designed based on international research that has investigated young people’s encounters with IP (Flood, 2007; Mattebo et al., 2014b; Peter & Valkenburg, 2006; Wolak et al., 2007; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005). The online survey included both closed- and open-ended questions (Attwood et al., 2018, 2021, see Appendix M). Young people were asked about how regularly they view IP, why they view IP, what questions they have about IP, and whether they have received any education about IP. Questions were also asked in relation to age-specific variables, as these are rarely included in research about young people and their engagement with IP: “Did you tell anyone about encountering the Internet pornography? If yes, who?”, “Do your parents/guardians know you have seen Internet pornography?”. “How much Internet pornography do you watch compared to your peers?”, “Could you access Internet pornography at home without your parents/guardians knowing, if you wanted to?”, “Could you access Internet pornography at school without teachers knowing, if you wanted to?”, “Have you received any education about Internet pornography? If yes, where did you receive this education from?”.

Open-ended survey questions were included that were specific to the 16–18-year-old stakeholder group and dealt with how respondents make sense of the representations of gender, sex/uality they encounter in IP (Objective 2). These included: “What do you think about how Internet pornography represents sex and/or sexuality?”, “What do you think about the messages, sexual practices and emotions that are displayed in Internet pornography?”, “What Internet pornography related questions do

you have, that you would like to have answered honestly, confidentially and non-judgmentally?”, and “Why are these questions of particular importance to you?”

These questions were informed by the limited research that investigates how sexual scripts are involved in young people’s sense making and negotiation of IP (Häggström-Nordin et al., 2006; Spišák, 2016, 2017; Spišák & Paasonen, 2017, see Appendix M). The use of open-ended survey questions allowed for the voices of young people to come through—without having to complete an interview—on a sensitive and potentially embarrassing topic. This ensured there was an opportunity for young people to draw on their own language and describe what was important and meaningful to them, rather than responding to questions with closed categories (set by and influenced by me, the researcher; Braun et al., 2017). (see Chapter 5 for further detail; see Appendix M for full list of survey items). Participants who indicated that they had not seen IP before skipped the questions relating to IP viewing (Baker, 2016). The survey responses were used to inform the development of the semi-structured interview questions (see Appendices N and O for full interview guidelines).

In the survey for adults, caregivers and educators were also asked questions related to their *perspectives* of young people’s engagement with IP, as well as their role as educators (see Chapter 5 for further detail; see Appendix P). Gathering information from young people, caregivers and educators enabled similarities and differences in perspectives to be explored.

In order to explore the perspectives of key stakeholders on porn literacy education (Objective 3), two survey questions were included in the surveys for youth and adults. The first asked participants to rate their agreement with the statement “Young people should receive ‘porn literacy’ education that would teach them how to make sense of and critically analyse Internet pornography”. The second was an open-ended question,

“What does it mean to you to be 'porn literate'?”. The emerging trends from these questions informed the qualitative discussions about porn literacy education as a potential response initiative.

Interviewing and Q-Methodology Study

Both interviews and focus groups were initially offered to participants as possible formats because research suggests that young people in particular (while easily engaged and open in interviews), *may* be more inclined to speak unreservedly in a focus group setting (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). Ultimately, only interviews were carried out due to limited expression of interest in focus groups. Interviews allowed for a more individualised experience for the interviewee, focusing solely on their perspectives. However, the individual nature of interviews also has drawbacks, in that focus groups lend themselves more to the exploration of group norms and dynamics (Chronaki, 2014). The qualitative aspect of my research was particularly important for youth participants, as limited research has been carried out with young people through in-person qualitative methods about pornography, and even less so in an individual manner (e.g., Chronaki, 2014; Goldstein, 2018; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Mattebo et al., 2012; Setty, 2018).

Interviews lasted between 40 to 90 minutes and mostly took place on school premises or in libraries at a time convenient to participants. If the school principal was agreeable, this often happened during school hours. I brought along kai (food) to share with participants and show appreciation of their time. Participants were provided with a hard copy of the information sheet, support information, demographics sheet, and consent form (see Appendices J, K, L, Q and R), which were completed where applicable and returned to me before audio recording began. While I was conscious of being neatly presented, I also wore bright semi-casual clothes, rather than formal, dark,

suit attire. I ensured the environment was friendly, and to help participants feel relaxed and comfortable we engaged in informal chatting before we began any formalities. In so doing, I hoped to encourage openness and honesty throughout the interviews.

At the beginning of the interview, I reiterated some points in the information sheet and began to talk through the semi-structured interview questions (see Chapters 6 and 8; see Appendix N and O). These questions were organised in a way that would ease the participants into the discussion, rather than asking for too much information too quickly. The semi-structured nature of the interview meant that I could segue into the different topics if participants began to touch on key points before any prompting or questioning on my behalf.

Semi-Structured Interview with Story Completion. A story completion exercise was embedded in the semi-structured interviews with youth to explore Objective 2 further (see Chapter 4, p. 50). During youth interviews, participants were asked to verbally complete a story. To begin, participants were given the following instructions:

> You are invited to complete a story – this means that I will read the opening sentences of a story and then you will decide what happens next. There is no right or wrong way to complete the story, and you can be as creative as you like in completing the story! I am interested in the range of different stories that people tell. There is no need to spend too long thinking about what might happen next, just say whatever first comes to mind. Because collecting detailed stories is important for my research, we will talk about this for about 5 minutes. Some details of the opening sentence of the story are deliberately vague; it’s up to you to be creative and ‘fill in the blanks’! I want to know what YOU have to say, because your voice is important in this research.

Participants then had the ‘story stem’ read aloud to them by me:

> Jane/James just watched Internet pornography for the first time, and s/he is reflecting on what she has just watched. What kind of thoughts might Jane/James have as s/he tries to make sense of her/his first experience watching Internet pornography? What kind of questions might James/Jane want to ask?

The story stems were relatively ambiguous, to encourage participants to draw on their own discursive cultural resources (Clarke & Braun, 2016). The ‘Jane’ story stem was provided to female participants, while the ‘James’ story stem was provided to male participants. Female participants were then asked what they thought James might be thinking and male participants were asked about Jane’s possible thoughts. This reversal allowed for comparative exploration of divergent gendered understandings and sense-making related to the scenario (Frith, 2013). Participants were permitted to speak freely without interruption. However, in the event of the participant struggling or looking for direction, some probes were offered. These related directly to normative sexual scripts, and responses from the survey were drawn on to develop these probes further (e.g., ”What might Jane/James’ thoughts be regarding IP and consent, or pleasure?”).

Story completion is a novel critical qualitative method that is particularly suitable for exploring how people make meaning of and perceive sensitive social issues (Braun et al., 2017b). Story completion has previously been used to investigate orgasmic absence, sexual offending, cyber infidelity, virtual reality pornography, and eating disorders (Clarke et al., 2015b; Frith, 2013; Gavin, 2005; Walsh & Malson, 2010; Whitty, 2005; Wood et al., 2017). This methodology is suitable for the overarching philosophical paradigm of my research, in that the stories which participants produced were not understood to reveal an objective truth of ‘how things really are’. Rather, they provided me with data that reflects “contemporary discourses which people draw on in

making sense of their experiences" (Frith, 2013, p. 313). In this way, story completion is theorised as providing a way to explore how people make sense of sensitive topics, not from an individual psychological level, but through social and cultural meaning-making which highlight available sexual scripts and "socially normative or dominant assumptions" (Braun et al., 2017b, p. 255).

The story completion method was particularly useful for this research, as it allowed participants to respond in a hypothetical manner, whereby there was no requirement to rationalise their story (Braun et al., 2017b; Frith, 2013). In this way, it introduced less cause for ethical concern, as youth were not required to speak to their own experiences and were 'shielded' by the use of a third person narrative. This approach also allowed for those who may *not* have experience with IP to have a voice, and can mitigate the issue of participants feeling too uncomfortable to respond to questions about their own personal experiences. However, while some participants remain in the realm of the hypothetical—what James or Jane *might* feel—others reverted to more personal language (e.g., "well, if I was James/Jane"), almost immediately.

Overall, this method provided "fun, rich and complex" data which helped in my understanding of how young people make sense of IP in relation to contemporary sexual scripts (Braun et al., 2017b, p. 66). Story completion has typically been employed through written format. However, by embedding a story completion exercise in an interview, rather than as a written exercise, many of the limitations of written story completion were eliminated. For example, verbal completion avoided the risk of poor quality data as a result of stories that were too short (e.g., Frith's (2013) study had an average of 72 words) or shallow, and reduced the risk of the task being undertaken in an overly humorous or fantastical manner. However, I was also mindful that the face-to-

face aspect of the exercise removed the ‘mask’ of an anonymous screen between researcher and typed responses, which could equally be viewed as a limitation (Shah-Beckley, 2017).

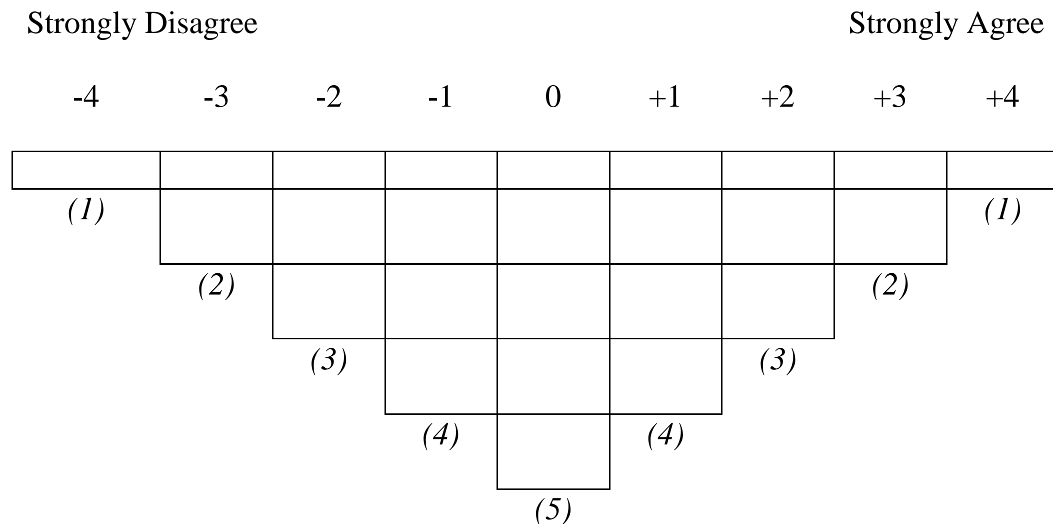
Q-methodology. Q-methodology requires participants to sort statements about a topic, in this case porn literacy, and then uses factor analysis and interview data to interpret the varying perspectives (i.e., factors) of the participants. Q-methodology was developed as a move away from primary psychological methodologies which are focused on hypothesis testing (Stephenson, 1953; Stickl et al., 2018). Q-methodology has been noted as a useful critical and social constructionist method—distinct from standard Q-methodology which has positivist underpinnings—for exploring subjectivity and meaning-making (McClelland, 2014, 2018; Sneegas, 2020; Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1990). It is understood in the literature as a mixed method that provides a constructed representation of subjective opinions, so as to “tease out the complexities that underpin seeming polarisation” (Baker, 2006; Beckner et al., 2019, p. 1228; Davis & Michelle, 2011; McKeown & Thomas, 2013; Ramlo, 2021; Watts & Stenner, 2012, 2014). It is therefore often used to explore key stakeholder perspectives on contested social matters (e.g., death, substance addiction, and sexual satisfaction) (Cousins, 2017; McClelland, 2014, 2018; McNaught, 2002; Sy et al., 2018; Webler et al., 2009).

Employing Q-methodology involved a number of particular and distinct steps (for a full account, see Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012), including (i) the development of the Q-set (collection of representative statements pertaining to the research inquiry), (ii) recruitment of the P set (participants who sort the Q-set), (iii) implementation of the Q-sort procedure (participants ranked the Q-set within a set

distribution; agree to disagree, see Figure 1), (iv) a post-sort interview, and (v) data analysis (using Q-methodology specific software) (Stickl et al., 2018; Zabala, 2014).

Figure 1

Q-sort fixed distribution for 25 statements



I developed the Q-set from the concourse or “opinion domain”, drawing on scholarly literature and media communications (such as newspapers and radio reports) about porn literacy education until reaching saturation point (i.e., statements began to be repeated) (Baker, 2006; Brown, 1993; Eden et al., 2005; McKeown & Thomas, 2013; Stickl et al., 2018; Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 67). Some of the statements included “Schools should not be teaching anything to young people about Internet pornography”, “Ultimately, it should be the responsibility of parents/guardians to ensure young people receive porn literacy education as part of their sexuality education” (See Appendix S for a full outline of the Q-sorting task including the statements or Q-set). This approach of drawing on broader social discourse feeds into the constructionist philosophy of this research whereby meaning is enacted through discourse (Davis & Michelle, 2011; Webler et al., 2009). I was careful to establish a Q-set that was “representative of the

overall opinions in the concourse, while presenting a balanced set of statements", and tried to ensure there was no bias towards a particular perspective (while acknowledging the myth of researcher objectivity) (Ayeb-Karlsson et al., 2020, p. 3).

There were a number of reasons for including a Q-set of just 25 statements. Firstly, the Q-sort was completed by participants in addition to a larger lengthier survey (e.g., Molenveld et al., 2020) and there was risk of participant fatigue. Secondly, given the limited literature on porn literacy at the time, the concourse was limited, and Byron and colleagues (2020) identified seven articles on porn literacy over the preceding 17-year period. Some interview participants reflected that there were quite a *lot* of statements to sort, which indicates that having more statements may have been problematic. The Q-set was unstructured—there was no underlying theory that anticipated particular categories emerging—which is reflective of the lack of research on this topic and the exploratory inductive nature of the Q-methodological research (Davis & Michelle, 2011; Watts & Stenner, 2005; Zabala, 2014).

At the end of the survey, participants who registered their interest in an interview were then directed to and completed the online Q-sort (these participants are known as the P-set). Each key stakeholder group completed the same Q-sort online using the HtmlQ-sorting software (HtmlQ, 2019), assessing their subjective perspectives toward porn literacy education. The card-sorting software imitates the traditional in-person card sorting task procedure, with functionality that allows users to drop, drag and position the statements on the distribution. Participants then sorted the statements on to the quasi-normal distribution (see Appendix S), ranking the Q-set items from strongly agree to strongly disagree (Brown, 1993; Watts & Stenner, 2005, 2012).

As is common practise with Q-methodology, participants' perspectives (also referred to as discourses, accounts or stories) were further explored qualitatively

through explanatory comments left at the end of the Q-sort and during follow-up interviews (Watts & Stenner, 2012). The interviews allowed for elaboration on subjective perspectives and a deeper understanding of why participants may have completed the Q-sort in a particular way (Watts & Stenner, 2012; see Chapter 8 for further detail and findings).

Data analysis

Survey Analysis

Statistical analysis was carried out using IBM SPSS Statistics (IBM Corp., 2019). I was not seeking to generalise based on representative sampling (Attwood et al., 2018), therefore data were used descriptively rather than inferentially, and power analysis was not relevant. Descriptive analyses were used to provide an initial overview of the survey data, such as measures of central tendency and frequency distributions. The data distributions were checked overall, for each group, and for gender within each group. There were no problems with skewness or bimodal distributions, so the mean was used as the measure of central tendency. Ranked data were collated across the sample as a frequency count, and rankings were determined using a weighted sum calculation (i.e., responses that were ranked first were given a higher value or weight than responses ranked last). Open-ended questions were coded thematically using NVivo12 for assistance. For more detail see Chapter 5, p. 99.

Descriptive analyses from the survey responses gave initial insight into the research topic through providing a basic summary of the key characteristics of young people’s engagement with IP and adults’ perceptions. These insights allowed me to identify “patterns, categories, tendencies and relations in the data” onto which open-ended qualitative survey data could “throw light” (Attwood et al., 2018, p. 5).

Critical Thematic Analysis: A Sexual Scripting Lens

I approached the qualitative analysis from a critical, constructionist, discursive standpoint, working within a sexual scripting theoretical framework (see Chapter 2, p. 15 for a contextualisation of sexual scripting theory in my research). I was interested in participants’ current political, social, and technological milieu, and the socio-historical-political institutions that regulate and perpetuate particular discourses (Moore & Reynolds, 2018). For example, ‘pornification’ has been explored as a discourse in and of itself, governed by notions of normality, harm and perversity that dictate what is sayable and doable in the pornographic realm (Mulholland, 2013; Scarcelli, 2015; Spišák, 2017).

Employing a critical thematic analysis through a sexual scripting lens allowed me to examine how participants draw on, position themselves against, and re/negotiate the hetero-gendered assumptions present in social discourse when making sense of youth engagement with IP (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Frith & Kitzinger, 2001; Spišák, 2017). I utilised an action-oriented critical discursive approach because it allowed me to focus on how speakers use rhetorical devices to “construct descriptions as factual, and how others undermine those constructions” (Potter, 1996, p. 6). Thus, language was understood as performative and functional rather than indicative of essentialised internal states (Burr, 2015). Within this discursive approach to sexual scripting theory, participants’ talk about youth engagement with Internet pornography does not uncomplicatedly reflect ‘reality’ (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). The shared understanding demonstrated by participants about how and why youth engage with IP was understood to be regulated by what is deemed acceptable and appropriate in a social context.

I attended to how speakers—who are *produced* by discourse—manoeuvred their position within these discursive constraints to their own ends (Morison & Macleod, 2015; Nentwich & Morison, 2018). Accordingly, I considered participants to be "agentic intimate and sexual citizens who are capable of documenting their thoughts and understandings in creative and entertaining ways" (Etheredge, 2016, p. 547). By positioning people as such—particularly youth—I could see the work that participants were doing to maintain or challenge dominant and normative sexual scripts. I identified the scripts—culturally available linguistic resources—used by speakers and examined how they *positioned* themselves within these scripts. Thus, in a synthesised manner I accounted for "both the situated nature of accounts as well as institutional practices and social structures within which they are constructed" (Burr, 2015, p. 26).

Frith and Kitzinger's (2001) conceptualisation of scripts as resources that can be drawn on by participants in an interactional, functional manner were identified in my research. For example, by reiterating that IP is not 'real' participants positioned themselves as sexually knowledgeable—that they know what sex *should* be like in *real* life. Youth in particular demonstrated their agency and autonomy to manoeuvre within discursive constraints by positioning themselves in this way and resisting the script of the innocent, naïve child (Nentwich & Morison, 2018).

I analysed the data using Braun and Clarke's (2012) approach to thematic analysis, which includes six analytic phases, namely (i) familiarisation with the data through repeated readings, (ii) initial code generation, (iii) construction of preliminary themes, (iv) refinement of themes through comparison with coded extracts and the entire dataset, (v) naming and defining themes, and (vi) reporting the findings. I therefore sought to identify the common scripts that were drawn on, including the ways that stakeholders were positioned within them (e.g., dupes, vulnerable, active/passive)

and the discursive purpose these serve (e.g., justifying adult intervention). These scripts were then organised into particular thematic categories.

When identifying these discursive resources in the participant talk, the analytic question was always ‘*what is the script?*’. From an analytical perspective, this means assessing the data for distinguishing features of talk that appear scripted, whereby participants routinely share “a sequentially ordered” set of tropes or ideas about the topic (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001, p. 216). I searched for regularity and repetition in participant talk that conveyed a common way of understanding a particular topic (i.e., the regular deployment of a particular script). These repeated and detectable discursive resources, or scripts, were traced across interviews and within each interview. The broader themes were made up of these culturally understood and shared sexual scripts I identified.

I aimed to provide a “rich thematic description” of the overall, socially produced patterns, or important themes, of the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 83; Clarke et al., 2015a). These themes, upheld through the re/deployment of particular sexual scripts, can be seen as normative ways of making sense of the role IP plays for youth. Qualitative interviews were audiotaped and transcribed using NVivo transcription and edited by me. The names of the participants were anonymised, and other identifying information removed to ensure confidentiality.

Q-methodology: Factor Analysis

Full analysis procedures that were drawn on to inform the Q analytical process can be found in extended detail elsewhere (e.g., Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012; Zabala, 2014). I provide a brief overview of the distinct steps below.

Completed Q-sorts were extracted and imported from the HtmlQ-sorting software, and analysed using a qmethod package in R statistical software that identifies

similar placements of statements (Zabala, 2014; Zabala et al., 2018). I analysed the 30 Q-sorts concurrently rather than separately by end user group as the aim was to explore key stakeholder perspectives, not to explore differences between groups (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Q analysis differs from conventional factor analysis in that it is concerned with variances and similarities between individual participants (i.e., factor analysis by person), rather than individual items or variables (Zabala, 2014). In this way, factors represented participants who produced similar Q-sorts, or whose Q-sorts correlated (known as a correlation matrix). Thus, these factors represented 25 inter-correlated Q-sorts (i.e., ‘by person’ correlations), and each factor demonstrated shared sense-making between participants of the Q-set (Davis & Michelle, 2011; McLelland, 2017; Stenner et al., 2008; Watts & Stenner, 2012; Zabala, 2014).

The correlation matrix was analysed using the principal components procedure—the extraction method featured on the qmethod package (Zabala, 2014). This process reduced the data from the matrix into factors (perspectives, or discourses) based on the total variability explained by each factor (Zabala, 2014). A review of Q-methodological studies found that the majority used principal components as the data reduction technique (Zabala et al., 2018). Despite each technique presenting similar results (McKeown & Thomas, 2013; Zabala, 2014), there are frequent debates, discussed at length elsewhere, about which method is most appropriate (e.g., Ramlo, 2017). However, Watts and Stenner (2012) maintain that principal components analysis provides a “single, mathematically best solution, which is the one which should be accepted” (p. 99). In this instance the decision to use principal components was also pragmatic as it was the only available option with the software package (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Varimax rotation was used to rotate the factors and transform the data to a simpler structure. Varimax offers the most statistically and mathematically reliable option (McKeown & Thomas, 2013; Stickl et al., 2018; Zabala, 2014), and was most appropriate in my study as it draws out the maximum variance explained by each factor (Brown, 1980; Cousins, 2017; Webler et al., 2009). This produced rotated factor loadings represented by a coefficient that indicated the relationship between each participant and the factor, and automatically flagged significant Q-sorts (for discussion on flagging criteria, see Brown 1980; Zabala, 2014). In this case, Q-sorts that loaded significantly on the same factor represented a shared understanding (Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Z-scores that represent the relationship between each statement and the factor were then produced, and this standardisation in the form of z-scores allowed for cross-factor comparability. The z-scores are weighted averages, representing the difference between the absolute score and the mean average score of the total sample. Thus, they indicated how much agreement existed between each statement and each factor. The z-scores were then translated through weighted averaging into a factor array matrix that represented the original Q-sort quasi-normal distribution (i.e., -4 to +4), creating an “exemplifying Q-sort” that represents the perspective of each particular factor (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 140; Zabala, 2014). Finally, distinguishing and consensus statements (which indicate if each statement is of consensus or distinguishing for one or more of the factors) and crib sheets (a useful tool for illustrating statements with high and low rankings) were generated to aid interpretation alongside the factor arrays (Watts & Stenner, 2012; Zabala, 2014).

Interpretation occurred in conjunction with interview data to capture the perspective of each factor, where each factor was made up of participants with

statistically significant loadings (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Stickl et al., 2018; Watts & Stenner, 2012; Zabala, 2014; Zabala et al., 2018). In keeping with the social constructionist conceptualisation of Q-methodology, I understood each factor to represent a social discourse (Heffernan, 2017). The factor selection process for my research is described in further detail in Appendix T. Full interpretation of these two factors are provided in a narrative style in Chapter 8 (Baker, 2006; Beckner et al., 2019; Cousins, 2017; Lehrer & Sneegas, 2018; Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Ethical Considerations and Procedures

This project was reviewed and approved on 27 September 2018 by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51. Standard ethical particulars related to consent, right to withdraw, confidentiality, data anonymisation, data storage and deletion are assured (see information sheets, consent forms and transcript release authority in Appendices B, D, E, F, J, K, L, U).

New Zealand is a bicultural country and so cultural considerations and consultations—particularly given I am not from New Zealand—were engaged in to ensure cultural sensitivity and awareness (see Appendices V and W). Some of the ethical quandaries pertaining to this research are discussed in further detail below.

Sensitivity of the Topic

IP may be considered a sensitive research topic given the taboo and stigma associated with those who produce it, act in it, and watch it. Studying the sexual socialisation of young people is also a sensitive topic because it challenges broader social discourse about the innocence and a/sexuality of young people, ignites concerns related to the power dynamics between the researcher and young participants, and potentially involves disclosure of abuse (Martin et al., 2007). In order to build trust, I

offered to meet with principals in person to talk through any questions they might have regarding the ethics of the project before they made a decision about participation.

As discussed, viewing IP has also been reported as confusing or distressing, and so there was a risk that the survey or interviews could be confronting for participants. Those who had negative experiences with IP or a history of sexual abuse may have been triggered or upset by the topic. For many young people, the interview was the only time they had talked to anybody about IP, indicating that it is a private, stigmatised topic. Given the sensitive nature of the topic, there was increased responsibility to ensure participants were supported and protected through all aspects of the project (Chronaki, 2013). The ethics committee agreed that potential risk could be managed in the context of the importance and value of the research. To manage this risk, I sent the information sheet and consent form via email in advance of interviews so participants would have ample time to consider their participation. I prepared for interviews with my supervisors. I devised a list of potentially tricky interview scenarios, so that we could discuss how to ethically approach challenging questions from participants (see Appendix X). I also did a mock interview/feedback session with a young person and an adult before the interviews. Likewise, the survey and online Q-sort were piloted with young people and feedback was considered accordingly, although no major changes were made after piloting.

Talking to Young People about Pornography

While it would have been useful and insightful to talk with people younger than 16-years-old, there would have been ethical implications in doing so. Sixteen was ultimately chosen because that is the age a young person in New Zealand can take part without parental consent. Even for 16–18-year-olds, there was considerable trepidation on behalf of the ethics committee that I might cause distress to participants if I asked

them to reflect on their personal experiences. However, this was mitigated to some extent because participants were not divulging personal information in so much as they were outlining general anecdotes and providing perspectives (Mulholland, 2016).

The ethics committee raised the point that there may be parental concern that the survey would encourage IP viewing among youth, or that information would be divulged to them about IP that they did not already know. There was also the ethical issue of disclosure of illegal activity—which viewing IP is, if you are under 18. However, from my perspective, there are parallels between drug research and IP related research; people who are dependent on drugs also take part in research, despite disclosing illegal drug-taking activity. Additionally, drug and alcohol research is regularly conducted with those who are underage consumers. However, if participation in the *production* of IP was disclosed, this would have been considered imminently harmful and I would have reported this to my supervisors.

In talking to young people about this topic, I perceived their active participation and their voices as agentic. However, I do not suggest that sexual agency and autonomy of youth be glorified, nor do I align with hyperbolic and alarmist discourse about the pornification of youth culture (Tsaliki & Chronaki, 2020). Jarkovská and Lamb (2018) are forthright with their description of 'innocence' as having an "insidious" effect on the social discourse about children and related policies, in that it "positions children as helpless, incompetent, and entirely dependent on the will and decisions of adults…it also supports political agendas harmful to children and other marginalized groups" (p.76). They argue for innocence to be reframed as vulnerability. I align with this important distinction, in that although young people have arguably been unhelpfully constructed as innocent to the point of being unagentic sexual beings, there are still 'vulnerabilities' among young people, particularly those who exist within marginalised

racial or class groups. Therefore, Jarkovská and Lamb (2018) encourage scholars, when critiquing these “insidious” effects, to be considerate of young people’s protection, but in terms of *vulnerabilities*, rather than innocence.

Giving young people the opportunity to speak about their sexuality is traditionally seen as risky and potentially harmful, but can also be considered liberating in terms of developing sexual subjectivities and “human living and becoming” (Søndergaard, 2019, p. 483). In this sense, the ethics of this research can be considered not just in terms of avoiding harm, but also the pursuit of emancipation and belonging (Freire, 2005; Søndergaard, 2019).

Knowledge Translation

Viewing knowledge as a vessel of power, and being aware of the claims I as a researcher make based on my own understandings of what constitutes knowledge, is a key aspect of critical psychological research. This is especially the case for social psychology, which deals with humans and human quandaries, and has very real-life consequences (Kitzinger & Rogers, 1985).

Discourse and language are often the focus in critical research, and discourses can serve to reinforce or challenge positions of power. In this way, there is a sort of feedback loop, whereby knowledge bears power, and power bears knowledge (Foucault, 1978). For example, power dynamics are apparent in the academic space in terms of how young people are positioned as ‘at risk’ and innocent, which has led to a flurry of research that feeds into this palatable social construction of young people, often by adult researchers. McClelland (2018) highlights the ways in which both societal and academic discourse around certain concepts pertaining to childhood sexuality in particular have affected—perhaps inhibited—the development of research questions and limited the scope of studies to fit within these ‘acceptable’ definitional and conceptual

parameters. Equally, the act of conducting and disseminating findings from my research reinforces academia as a dominant source of knowledge, and the ideas it includes act as cultural capital for me as the researcher to maintain my status as an early career academic.

With this in mind, a primary consideration for my research was the importance of knowledge translation and sharing of information in Aotearoa New Zealand, a bicultural country with a complicated history of psychological research (Groot et al., 2018). Thus, stakeholder engagement was an ethical prerogative and the preliminary feedback that was shared with schools was a key component (see Appendix Y). This was sent to schools to thank them for their participation, in the hope that they found the experience valuable and useful.

Reflexivity

Within critical social psychology, scholars posit that objective, value-free, neutral, detached and impartial research is a myth (Boyle, 2012; Finlay, 2002a, 2002b). Indeed, the search for objectivity is immediately subverted upon consideration of the importance of socio-historical and cultural context, as knowledge cannot be translated across these dimensions (Gough, 2016). Although reflexivity will not ‘uncover’ a truer ‘reality’ (an ultimately positivist idea) with regard to the research knowledge produced, it does consider some of the broader societal influences that the researcher and researched work within, and how they may shape the socially constructed practise of carrying out research (Finlay, 2006; Gough, 2003; Gough & Madill, 2012).

Accordingly, I consider myself an active and dynamic participant in the research process, bringing multiple layers and subjectivities, as opposed to a detached inquirer of the social phenomena being studied (Kingdon, 2005; Ryan & Golden, 2006). How my role as a researcher might be obtrusive or otherwise, should therefore be considered and

reflected upon. For example, McClelland notes in a reflexive manner how she and her colleague (Michelle Fine) “... worried, our ears might be clogged with our own dominant feminist discourses for their desires”, when speaking with young women about their sexual desires (McClelland, 2018, p. 284). This internal investigation of oneself, as a researcher, is a key aspect of critical work.

I reflected on myself and assessed how intersubjective elements affected the collaborative co-construction of meaning between myself and the participants (Finlay, 2002a; Ryan & Golden, 2006; Shaw, 2010; Tracy, 2010). Through interrogating my “positionality and social location, power and privilege” I unpacked how the particular historical, cultural, economic and political context surrounding me, and the research participants, shaped the research process (Mao et al., 2016, p. 6). The process of stating my positionality gives a platform to my voice, which might be viewed as domineering (Fox & Allan, 2014). The risk is that the process of being the object of your own gaze becomes overly self-analytical, self-indulgent, or “too reflexive” (i.e., navel-gazing) and neglects to consider why this self-analysis is necessary, both in terms evaluating the study quality (transparency) and understanding the findings (Fox & Allan, 2014, p. 103). My aim, then, is to provide some reflections that might help readers to understand and evaluate my research, and specifically my research findings. I provide insight into *who* conducted this research, *where* I came from, *why* I conducted this research in this manner, and *what* my intended purpose was for the constructed knowledge (Lazard & McAvoy, 2017). These reflections are not just for the reader, but also assisted my own evaluations of the data.

As recommended, I kept a detailed reflexivity diary throughout all phases of the research from project conceptualisation, to survey development, to analysis. This was tremendously useful, and these diary reflections are drawn on below (Cooper & Burnett,

2006; Probst, 2015). Keeping a reflexive journal was not intended to identify particular biases that might impact my data, with the aim of actively trying to circumvent these biases materialising. Rather, it served as an exercise to consider and be sensitive to any underlying assumptions (epistemological and personal) that became visible throughout the process, and acknowledge their potential influence (Levitt et al., 2017; Pyett, 2003). In this way, the sole purpose of the reflexive process was not about ensuring trustworthiness and integrity (although these are important in a broader sense), but rather describing—using the contemporary cultural discourses available—the interpersonal and intrapersonal factors that have affected my research in its entirety (Finlay, 2006).

Internet Pornography and Me

In recalling through a critical eye the events that brought me to embark on this research, it is important to provide some personal context. There were two main catalysts to my choosing this topic: (i) volunteering at *Childline,* and (ii) my two younger brothers. In 2015, I began volunteering with an organisation called *Childline*, a telephone-based listening service for children under the age of 18. Questions about sex and sexuality were expected and common. However, there was a stark difference between a ‘porn’ call and a ‘sex/uality’ call. Even more notable was the gendered differences between ‘porn’ calls. Girls were primarily asking questions like ‘what if sex really hurts, because what I have seen looks sore’, or ‘am I supposed to make noises’ and ‘how do I know if I am doing it right’. Calls from boys were much more boisterous, and often consisted of them telling me what they would do (sexually) to girls—or to me.

During my time at *Childline*, Ireland’s Taoiseach (equivalent of New Zealand’s Prime Minister) made a statement that Ireland needed to have a ‘national conversation’ about pornography in order to *protect* young people (Duffy, 2016). The months

following this statement saw national radio stations and talk shows focusing on IP as a societal harm, the potential for addiction, the value in censorship, and the options for therapy and clinical intervention. I was interested in this positioning of IP and was disappointed when the conversations stopped, with no apparent outcome aside from a newly fuelled societal moral panic.

While this ‘national conversation’ was happening, and I was volunteering at *Childline*, my brothers turned 11 and 9. Both had IP introduced to their lives at a young age. My youngest brother saw a neighbour showing a video on his smartphone to two uncomfortable looking girls. When my brother tried to interject, he returned home with a black eye. My other brother had a classmate who was showing the other students IP. When my brother told my mother about this, my mother felt obligated to tell his classmate’s mother. This led to my mother being accused of lying, and subsequent awkward social occasions between both mothers.

As a young person who had limited access to information about sex and pleasure, I empathise with young people. During 2019, over *Skype*, my brothers confirmed that their sexual education *in toto* was *one* conversation in their final year of primary school (at 12-years-old), colloquially known as ‘The Talk’. As my Mum said, ‘they fill in the blanks’ after that. I know there is discomfort in my home—as there is in many households—about broaching the topic of sex, let alone pornography. I was therefore interested in the barriers that exist to young people receiving the sexual information they need and want, particularly now that IP is omnipresent. I did not want to add to the litany of research on potential negative effects, I wanted to be part of the ‘what next’ agenda. For me, investigating IP as an academic subject is a rich and engaging means of uncovering social and cultural understandings of sex, gender, sexuality, power, norms, heterocapitalism, race, and more. I was not as interested in IP

as a stimulus—a causal site of potential effects—as I was in IP as a cultural reality to be reckoned with.

I logged on to *PornHub* intermittently throughout this research project, to check in on trends and the titles of popular or highly rated videos. At 28-years-old, with all my background reading on the topic, it could still be overwhelming at times. There are *so* many videos with racist, sexist, ageist, and objectifying titles. I reflected in my diary about this, wondering if I, someone researching IP, was finding the material confronting, then surely *PornHub* is at least a little disconcerting for younger people who might have *no* interpersonal sexual experiences. This response is of course a projection of my own discontent *on to* young people, and contradicts my positioning of them as agentic and critical consumers of media. I had to be mindful of this when carrying out the research interviews in particular.

Sexuality Education and Me

As a white, middle class cis-hetero female who had attended a public Catholic school in the southeast of Ireland, I was both sheltered and privileged. I, and I expect others from my cohort, were not well attuned to our sexuality. We were interested in romantic ideals and having boyfriends; occupying the circle of charmed sex (Rubin, 1980). Sex was an uncomfortable topic among my friends. We received minimal sexuality education in school, and the classes we did receive were centred on eliciting fear and focused on STIs, abstinence and chastity. We were told that if we had sex before marriage we would lose the ability to fully connect sexually and emotionally with our future husbands. A number of public health nurses came to our school and showed us pictures of infected vaginas on a large projector screen. In the Irish Catholic context, pornography never crossed my mind. Sex and sexuality outside of a loving monogamous relationship was chastised, and seeking pleasure was an unknown.

I assumed that most young people involved in my research would state that their sexuality education was insufficient based on the Education Review Office's report (2018), but also my own experiences. However, this was not always the case, and many young people commented on how valuable the *Mates and Dates* programme was (an externally provided programme about relationships and consent delivered by a governmental agency in New Zealand).

I have no doubt that my feelings towards religion and Catholicism in particular have impacted the research process. I anticipated there would be resistance among religious or conservative groups to porn literacy education. During interviews, I felt challenged by those who expressed strong faith. In comparison, I found myself complimenting one educator on the liberal and open-minded approach he was taking towards sexuality education. I also felt a connection when he described the negative experience he had as a student in a Catholic school, and I could understand what he meant when he said he did not want 'those religios [*sic*]' getting their hands on education about this topic. It was important for me to be aware of my own religious position, to be cautious in how I interacted with participants, so as not to compromise their voice. I had to remind myself that this was not Catholic Ireland, and so I needed to be aware of projecting my own assumptions and values onto participants.

Reflecting on the Data Collection Process

Pro and Anti-Pornography Positionality during Interviews. This research is not a personal, moral crusade. Exploring this topic is not a symptom of my hatred towards IP, or an indication of my condoning and positive appraisal of IP. I stated at the beginning of every interview that I am not pro or anti-pornography. This disclosure was especially important given that female researchers who study pornography are often assumed to conceptualise IP as harmful and damaging, with a mission to highlight the

inherently detrimental nature of pornography to women (Attwood et al., 2018). During one of the research interviews, one young male participant was of the opinion that my neutral position on the topic was a ‘cop out’ of sorts, and he assuredly and confidently stated that he simply saw no value in IP. I felt quite un-opinionated—ambivalent almost—while he seemed so resolute. However, on reflection, I realise that by choosing ‘porn literacy’ and education as a topic of inquiry, I am implicitly taking a position that knowledge is a good thing—that education is a good thing—which is a source of morality in itself. As stated by Edwards et al. (1995), “To argue for something is to care, to be positioned, which is immediately non-relativist” (p. 39). Being in favour of research that foregrounds education is an agenda, it is a subjective opinion.

Negotiating the ‘Expert’ Position during Interviews. I reiterated to participants at the beginning of interviews that *they* were the experts, that this was about hearing *their* voice, and sharing what *they* thought was important and relevant. Nonetheless, I was asked about my ‘expert’ opinion on several occasions, which indicated that some participants positioned me as some kind of erudite scholar; a dynamic I resisted, but knew was inevitable (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). As a figure from a public institution—a university—I represented power and prestige, and discourse could only be constructed in this context. I played a part in upholding this dynamic. For example, when participants were tentative or expressed some ‘I don’t knows’, I wanted to ensure they did not feel badly about that, and consequently talked too much in a bid to keep things upbeat and moving along. I was already so appreciative of participants being there, given the struggle with recruitment, that I wanted to make it worth their while. I felt like I had to give them something to show my appreciation and thanks, and often that ‘something’ was my opinion when requested. In these instances, I was regretful that I could not manage the interview in a more collaborative way.

In other efforts to put participants at ease, I made blatant comments that were contradictory to my own beliefs so I would not have to counter point or engage in any form of disagreement with the participant. For example, one father spoke of the ‘natural’ sexual drives that men have, but are absent for women. Rather than nodding passively at such essentialist remarks, what if instead I probed more deeply? Why this silence rather than refutation (Braun, 2000)? There was a challenge in these instances to maintain personal integrity while also acknowledging participants’ understanding of the world, which is what I asked for, after all.

Interestingly, this ‘expert’ position was somewhat affected by age; I found it easier to gently probe youth participants. On reflection, I believe my training as a volunteer for *Childline* stood me in good stead. I was trained in non-judgemental ‘active listening’, which meant we explored in a calm and reasonable manner young people’s feelings using techniques such as repeat paraphrasing and open-ended questioning. This was somewhat confirmed by one 17-year-old participant who said; “You’re really good at paraphrasing! You make me sound smart!”. However, I found it more difficult to implement this active listening style with adult participants than with students. Thus, by being positioned as the expert by some, but then being too reluctant to challenge other participants on their positions, the power dynamics shifted and were fluid.

Gender Dynamics in the Research Process. Previous research on youth sexuality has found no variation in willingness to talk about experiences based on the gender of the interviewer (Shoveller et al., 2004). However, the gender of a researcher will inevitably shape participants’ responses, particularly in relation to a gendered topic like IP. Moreover, I was aware that some participants, particularly males, might feel uncomfortable discussing a topic of a sexual nature with a female researcher. Therefore,

I did offer participants a choice to speak to a male researcher, but no participant indicated this preference.

On the first day of interviews, I was greeted by a school receptionist in hushed yet jovial tones as ‘the porn lady’, and I immediately wondered if a male researcher would have been labelled ‘the porn gentleman’, or how I would feel if I had been called ‘the porn *girl*’. I wondered did this receptionist assume—or expect—that I would be some kind of pornography aficionado, or ‘into porn’ the same way I am interested in it as an academic research subject. I was apprehensive about these gendered dynamics prior to the interview, having read Arendell’s (1997) article that broaches this issue.

There was just one instance that made me question the gendered relationship between interviewer and interviewee, when a male adult stated ‘I am not a sexual person’. Why did he make this comment? Did he want affirmation from me that he is?! He explained his self-identification as non-sexual by stating he only masturbated once a day when he was young, and compared to other boys, he felt this was below average. It was interesting that the amount he masturbated equated to how sexual or otherwise he was in his eyes. In this vein, he asserted based on his anecdotal experience that porn stars are also ‘more sexual’ than he is. Or made him feel, in any case. Would he have spoken this way to a male researcher? Aside from this incident, there were no other moments where I explicitly noticed gendered power dynamics at play, although I am sure my being female influenced how participants chose to converse with me.

Similarly, if I presented as gay, black or a different ethnicity, this may have also affected responses. Indeed, my being Irish was commented on jovially by most participants, who were eager to talk about their own Irish lineage, rugby, or where New Zealand sits on the conservative-liberal continuum in comparison to Ireland. My being Irish might have put some people at ease, given the stereotype of the non-threatening

friendly Irish. Perhaps my ‘outsider’ status and Irish accent meant I could get away with sounding naïve or out of touch, and this could be chalked down as a lack of cultural understanding. That being said, I was still a cultural outsider, and although I chose to give participants the option of speaking with a male researcher if they wished, upon reflection, I gave no such option for alternative social categorisations (e.g., race, sexuality).

The gendered dynamics between me and the survey participants were arguably more dynamic than with the interview participants (Ryan & Golden, 2006). The survey data was much more confronting than I had anticipated, and I was surprised at the number of ‘jokey’ responses from youth. I was not expecting to feel as challenged by some of the commentary, because I was not expecting such explicit ‘bloke-ish’ locker room talk in the survey responses. After speaking with my supervisors, we determined that these responses warranted an exploration of the gendered power dynamics between male participants and female researchers, and what that might mean for female researchers working on sensitive/taboo topics with men. I look forward to writing on this topic further after my doctoral studies, taking inspiration from Louise Allen’s (2006) research paper that explores such responses as a rejection and retaliation against the de-eroticised and disconnected nature of sexuality education curricula, and an assertion of sexual agency and citizenship. In the following chapters (Chapters 5-8), I present my findings, prepared for publication in journal article format.

Chapter 5, Article 1: Surveying Key Stakeholders about Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography

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Abstract

Despite international inquiry regarding young people’s encounters with Internet pornography (IP), there is a lack of knowledge about how their caregivers (parents or guardians) and educators perceive these encounters in comparison to young people. Such knowledge is critical to understanding the synergies and discrepancies that might exist between these key stakeholder groups (youth, caregivers and educators) and across genders, to subsequently inform how to best support youth in navigating IP. To this end, the present study describes youth (16-18-year olds) encounters with IP, as well as caregiver and educator perceptions of these encounters. An online survey was completed by 256 youth and 217 caregivers and educators recruited from nine schools with an existing investment in sexuality education in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Similar to global trends, this group of young New Zealanders were familiar with IP and patterns of encounters were gendered. However, there were varied understandings between stakeholder groups and across genders as to why and how these encounters occur. Understanding the ways youth encounter IP—and exploring how caregivers and educators perceive these encounters—serves as a springboard for future research that considers the broader socio-cultural context within which these perspectives are constructed.

Keywords: *Internet pornography, New Zealand, youth, caregivers, educators.*

Youth encounters with Internet pornography (IP) have led to global concern regarding the healthy sexual socialisation of youth (Scarcelli, 2014; Tomić et al., 2017). The majority of research in this field is framed using a harms-based lens, often with a view to ameliorating negative effects and regulating youth encounters with IP (Bragg & Buckingham, 2009). Such research provides a broad understanding of young people's encounters with IP, but does not explore the relevance of IP in the lives of young people, or their thoughts about the involvement of caregivers and educators in youth IP viewing (Attwood et al., 2018). This is problematic because research on sexuality education suggests that there is frequently a disconnect between the ways youth understand and engage with sexual matters and the ways adults tasked with their sexual socialisation believe that they do (Jackson, 2004; Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015). Failing to bridge this divide undermines attempts at providing sexuality education that is relevant to youth, including assisting young people to navigate the realities of a digital world that affords increasingly easy, anonymous, and free access to diverse online sexual content (Davis et al., 2018). Thus, in addition to a broader understanding of young people's encounters with IP, it is also important to understand how caregivers and educators perceive young people's encounters with IP, given their roles in sexuality education.

Although there is a large body of research on youth engagement with various mediated intimacies (e.g., sexting) (Stanley et al., 2018; Widman et al., 2021), no published work to date has concurrently examined the perspectives of caregivers and educators as well as young people about youth encounters with IP. Additionally, given IP is an inevitably gendered topic (Attwood, 2005), it is unknown as to whether, like youth encounters, these adult perceptions are gendered. Such knowledge is critical to

further understand how adults might support young people in negotiating the IP they encounter (Sorbring et al., 2015). The present study aims to address this knowledge gap.

Young People and Internet Pornography

The prevalence of young people's encounters and engagement with IP is difficult to ascertain as it depends on cultural context and research design (Lim et al., 2017; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005). In Aotearoa New Zealand, where the current research was conducted, a recent nationally representative government survey suggests that 67% of 14-17-year olds have seen IP (Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018). International research suggests that encounters with IP are more prevalent among boys than girls, and boys are more likely to report intentionally seeking out IP, more regularly, and from a younger age (Ševčíková & Daneback, 2014; Stanley et al., 2018). Qualitative research suggests that these patterns are tied to binary gender norms that demarcate pornography viewing as a male activity (Albury, 2018; Spišák, 2017). Indeed, much of the literature on youth encounters with IP takes a binary view of gender, although IP viewing may be more frequent among LGBTQ youth (Bothe et al., 2020).

International research also indicates that IP is a key medium young people turn to when seeking information about sex and relationships (Brown & L'Engle, 2009; Štulhofer et al., 2010). In New Zealand, 71% of youth surveyed reported using IP as a tool for learning about sex and sexuality, including for their own sexual practices (OFLC, 2018), so IP also functions as a cultural resource and source of education about sex (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). IP may act as a source of sexual socialisation in the absence of input from significant adults, given that youth report a lack of communication about IP with their caregivers, difficulty in talking to them about

the topic, and a general lack of information about IP in sexuality education (Pound et al., 2016; Priebe et al., 2013).

Minimal research contributes to an understanding of how caregivers can play a role in young people's encounters with IP as a cultural resource (Scarcelli, 2014), especially how caregivers perceive and understand youth encounters more generally, and what this means for their communication with youth about IP (Livingstone & Bober, 2004; Rothman et al., 2017). Caregivers perceive youth encounters with IP as inherently negative, and are fearful and embarrassed about discussing the issue with youth, even if they would like open dialogue on the topic (Davis et al., 2019; Dawson, 2020; Tsaliki, 2011; Widman et al., 2021; Zurcher, 2017). Gender influences how parents communicate with youth about IP, with fathers reportedly less likely to engage in discussion than mothers (Boniel-Nissim et al., 2020). Double standards also exist in gender socialisation, as parents may also be more likely to condone IP viewing among young men than women, attributing male interest to 'natural' sexual urges (Gesser-Edelsburg & Arabia, 2018; Tolman & McClelland, 2011).

Educators are another important group of adults in the lives of youth, with schools acting more broadly as key domains of sexual socialisation. Some schools and individual educators may be reluctant to provide instruction on sexually contentious topics (e.g., abortion, masturbation, and IP) which, in some instances, may be borne out of apprehension of caregiver responses, or the values and ethos of the school (Shtarkshall et al., 2007; Weaver et al., 2001). Whether and how schools approach the issue of IP in sexuality education will shape the sexual socialisation of students in various ways, yet little is known about how educators perceive young people's encounters with IP.

One survey of educators in the UK reported that teachers perceived viewing IP to have negative effects on youth and that schools should teach about these potential risks (Baker, 2016). Similarly, participants in a Swedish focus group study that included a small number of teachers discussed the ways IP conveys contradictory messages to youth in comparison to other domains of socialisation, and therefore educators should be equipped with the skills to discuss this topic with youth (Mattebo et al., 2014a). Research primarily from the UK and Australia posits that broaching the subject of IP in the classroom is an uncomfortable and "high risk proposition" that requires training, resources, and the support of the school community (Albury, 2014, p. 173, 2018; Baker, 2016; Ollis, 2016b).

Given the limited research on caregiver and educator perceptions about young people's encounters with IP, and the lack of consideration of their views alongside those of youth themselves, the present study describes young people's (aged 16-18-years-old) encounters with IP and their caregivers' and educators' perceptions of these encounters. A descriptive rather than inferential approach was taken given that IP is under-researched in New Zealand and it is as yet unknown whether there are sociocultural factors that might impact such research, such as the perspectives of Māori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) young people and adults regarding IP, and the diversity of school-based sexuality education. Our research was also part of a larger mixed methods study that was situated within critical social psychology and based on a social constructionist approach. Therefore, our focus was to *describe* the characteristics of youth encounters with IP from the perspectives of youth, caregivers, and educators and to identify similarities and divergences for interpretation through a sociocultural lens.

Method

Data were collected through a cross-sectional online survey as part of a broader mixed methods study about youth encounters with IP in New Zealand (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a, 2021b, 2021c). The survey elicited the perspectives of students aged 16-18-years, caregivers (parents and guardians), and educators on this topic.

Participants

Participants were recruited from nine high schools with various characteristics (e.g., co-educational, single sex, rural, urban, and differing decile groupings). While 249 schools were invited to take part, many declined, noting they were not able to bring the topic into their school for a range of reasons, despite the importance of the topic. This meant that the participating schools tended to be more interested in the topic in general, and do not represent a full range of perspectives. Each school decided on the process of providing information about the study and survey dissemination to young people and their caregivers and educators, and we therefore could not ascertain response rates given the varying approaches used. However, a total of 473 responses were collected, 256 (54.12%) from youth and 217 (45.88%) from adults, 98 of whom were caregivers (45.16%), 73 educators (33.64%), and 46 people were both caregivers and educators (21.20%). The average age of students was 16.69 years (*SD* = 0.68). Most participants identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā (i.e., New Zealander of European descent). Table 4 provides demographic details for the participants.

Table 4

Participant demographic characteristics - survey participants (%)

	Youth	All adults	Caregivers	Educators	Caregivers & Educators
	(*N* = 256)	(*N* = 217)	(*n* = 98)	(*n* = 73)	(*n* = 46)
Gender					
Male	51.95	43.32	30.61	53.42	54.35
Female	39.45	45.62	62.24	35.62	26.09
Gender Diverse	8.60	11.06	7.14	10.96	19.57
Age					
16 years	43.48				
17 years	43.87				
18 years	12.65				
16-25 years		27.78	22.68	43.84	13.04
26-35 years		10.19	6.19	16.44	8.70
36-45 years		18.98	21.65	12.33	23.91
45-55 years		24.07	35.05	9.59	23.91
55 years +		18.98	14.43	17.81	30.43
Ethnicity					
New Zealand European/Pākehā	64.50	73.30	76.50	72.60	67.40
New Zealand Māori	27.70	14.30	15.30	15.10	10.90
Asian	12.10	17.00	1.00	5.50	13.00
Other ethnicity	11.70	5.10	14.30	16.40	23.90

Note. Pākehā is the indigenous term for non-Māori/non-Polynesian New Zealanders.

Procedures

School principals distributed electronic information sheets about the study for students aged 16-18-years, caregivers, and educators, along with an invitation to take part in the online survey. Principals communicated this information in ways suitable to their specific school community (e.g., mailing lists) in accordance with ethical protocol regarding consent. The working definition of IP provided at the beginning of the survey was *"any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy"* (Short et al., 2012, p. 21). There were 27 questions for youth

and 13 questions for adults about youth encounters with IP, made up of a combination of ranking order (respondents ranked their answers in order of applicability, and selected the options that were relevant to them), Likert scale questions (i.e., 1= strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), closed questions (which always had an 'other' option and space for further comment), and open-ended questions. The youth survey included questions about demographic details, age of first encounter, access to IP, intentionality and frequency of viewing, primary reasons for accessing IP, where, how and with whom IP is accessed, perceived personal effects of IP viewing in comparison to peers, sources of sexuality education, and experiences of education/communication about IP at home or school. A key open-ended question in the youth survey was; "Have you received any education about Internet pornography? If yes, where did you receive this education from?". These questions were informed and developed from international literature that has investigated young people's encounters with IP (e.g., Mattebo et al., 2014b; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005), rather than using 'scientific' measures more familiar to clinical, positivist research designs where hypotheses and generalisation are appropriate (Fisher & Kohut, 2019; Kohut et al., 2020).

To compare with youth, caregivers and educators were asked the same questions as youth, outlined above, regarding their *perceptions* of young people's encounters with IP. The same open-ended question to educators and caregivers was phrased accordingly; "Have you delivered any education about IP to the young person in your care? If yes, please outline what you discussed". Due to a problem with the survey setup that was not detected until data collection was completed, data were missing for two questions related to the educator group, namely, their perceptions of youths' primary reasons for viewing IP and sources of information about sex and sexuality.

Data analysis

Data were used descriptively rather than inferentially as we did not aim to make inferences beyond the sample. Thus, power analysis and tests of statistical significance were not relevant. Descriptive data (such as measures of central tendency and frequency distributions) were used to explore variability in the data between the groups and by gender. The data distributions were checked (overall, for each group, for gender, and for gender within each group) and there was no skewness or bimodal distributions, so the mean was used as the measure of central tendency. Ranked data were collated across the sample as a frequency count, and rankings were determined using a weighted sum calculation (i.e., the weighted sum for the response that was ranked first was worth more than the response ranked last). Thematic analysis was completed for the open-ended questions described above using Nvivo 12 to assist coding (Braun et al., 2012).

Results

Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography

Most young people (85.31%) had seen IP on one or more occasion, either intentionally or unintentionally, at some point in their life. This was the case for 95.20% of boys, 70.41% of girls, and 95.45% of gender diverse youth. Of those who had seen IP, the average age of first encounter was 11.70 years (SD = 3.32), although this differed according to gender; the average age for boys was similar to the overall average at 11.33 years (SD = 3.16), older for girls at 12.83 years (SD = 2.12), and younger for gender diverse youth at 10.10 years (SD = 5.56). Across groups, adults perceived youth encounters to occur earlier than youth themselves reported, on average at 10.58 years (SD = 3.40), with similar reports within each group of adults (caregivers: M = 11.20, educators: M = 10.08, caregivers and educators: M = 10.18).

For just over half of youth (54.68%), their first encounter with IP was unintentional. However, this varied based on gender, with more boys (59.29%) and gender diverse youth (42.86%) reporting an intentional first encounter than girls (23.19%). For those whose first encounter was unintentional, the most frequent reasons were being shown by peers, happening across it while browsing, and pop-up advertisements. Some of the other reasons provided by female youth as open comments included “I opened a relative’s iPad and it was accidentally left on it”, “Brother didn't exit the tab”, and “Watching anime”.

Of those youth who unintentionally came across IP for the first time, most (76.15%) did not tell anyone about it. Additionally, from that group, more boys (86.96%) than girls (69.23%) and gender diverse youth (63.64%) did not disclose to someone. Of those who did tell someone, this person was most frequently a peer for boys (83.33%) and girls (56.25%). Gender diverse youth more frequently told a teacher (50.00%), although neither boys nor girls told a teacher. However, 16.67% of boys and 37.50% of girls told a caregiver, while no gender diverse youth told their caregiver. Similar to the gendered patterns among youth, more male adults across groups indicated that youth would not tell a caregiver or educator compared to female and gender diverse adults across groups (see Table 5). Additionally, across genders, those in the educator group reported that youth would not disclose unintentional encounters to IP to them (see Table 5; note that caregivers were not asked about disclosure to educators, and educators were not asked about disclosure to caregivers). In terms of the content they had seen, just over half of youth (52.49%) indicated that they would describe what they had seen as ‘hardcore’, based on their own definition (see Table 6).

Table 5

Adult perceptions of youth disclosure of Internet pornography (%)

	Caregivers				Educators				Caregivers & Educators			
	All (N = 98)	*Male (n = 30)*	*Female (n = 61)*	*GD (n = 7)*	*All (N = 73)*	*Male (n = 39)*	*Female (n = 26)*	*GD (n = 8)*	*All (N = 46)*	*Male (n = 25)*	*Female (n = 12)*	*GD (n = 9)*
Would tell **caregiver**	43.53	26.09	52.73	28.57					40.00	31.82	41.67	66.67
Would not tell	34.12	56.52	23.64	42.86					35.00	45.45	25.00	16.67
Unsure if would tell	22.35	17.39	23.64	28.57					25.00	22.73	33.33	16.67
Would tell **educator**					12.68	7.69	16.00	28.57	20.00	22.73	8.33	33.33
Would not tell					66.20	74.36	56.00	57.14	57.50	63.64	50.00	50.00
Unsure if would tell					21.13	17.95	28.00	14.29	22.50	13.64	41.67	16.67

Note. GD = Gender Diverse

Frequency of Internet Pornography Viewing

There were gendered patterns in young people's viewing of IP. Girls most frequently had seen IP once (38.46%) or once or twice a year (20.00%), while nearly a quarter of boys viewed IP 2-4 times a week (24.51%) and 45.00% of gender diverse youth viewed IP more than once a day. Additionally, whenever they viewed IP, boys and gender diverse youth more frequently viewed for longer periods of time than girls (see Table 6). When asked to compare the frequency that they viewed IP with that of their peers, youth were generally uncertain as to how much IP they viewed compared to their peers, or thought they viewed the same. However, as shown in Table 3, 45.90% of girls perceived their viewing to be "much less" than their counterparts, while 31.60% of gender diverse youth reported viewing "much more".

Table 6

Youth responses about Internet pornography (%)

Survey item	All youth (N = 256)	Girls (n = 101)	Boys (n = 133)	Gender diverse (n = 22)
Frequency of IP viewing				
Only once	18.18	38.46	6.86	10.00
Once or twice a year	9.63	20.00	4.90	0.00
Every couple of months	10.16	12.31	9.80	5.00
Every month	10.16	10.77	10.78	5.00
Once a week	11.23	6.15	15.69	5.00
2-4 times a week	17.65	7.69	24.51	15.00
Once a day	9.63	1.54	13.73	15.00
More than once a day	13.37	3.08	13.73	45.00
Time spent viewing IP				
Less than 10 minutes	49.15	41.18	73.21	21.05
Less than 30 minutes	30.51	35.29	21.43	31.58
Between 30 minutes and an hour	5.65	7.84	3.57	0.00
More than an hour	1.13	1.96	0.00	0.00
More than 2 hours	13.56	13.73	1.79	47.37
IP viewing compared to peers				
Much less	26.00	45.90	14.40	21.10
Less	12.40	6.60	17.50	5.30
The same	27.10	11.50	37.10	26.30
More	3.40	4.90	3.10	0.00
Much more	10.70	3.30	11.30	31.60
Unsure	20.30	27.90	16.50	15.80
Seen ‘hardcore’ IP				
Yes	52.49	37.50	58.59	72.22
No	24.86	23.44	26.26	22.22
Unsure	22.65	39.06	15.15	5.56

(continued)

Table 6 (continued)

Youth responses about Internet pornography (%)

Survey item	All youth (N = 256)	Girls (n = 101)	Boys (n = 133)	Gender diverse (n = 22)
IP practices applied in personal life				
Yes	39.89	46.46	26.15	52.63
No	43.17	39.39	55.38	21.05
No, but I would like to	7.65	7.07	7.69	10.53
No, I would not like to	6.56	6.06	9.23	0.00
Other	2.73	1.01	1.54	15.79
Perceptions of caregiver awareness				
Caregivers are aware	27.93	29.59	14.29	66.67
Caregivers are not aware	27.93	22.45	42.86	5.56
Unsure of caregiver awareness	44.13	47.96	42.86	27.78
Education received about IP				
Received any education	37.38	51.52	16.84	65.00
Did not receive any education	62.62	48.48	83.16	35.00
Sources of this education	n = 80	n = 16	n = 51	n = 13
Teacher in sexuality education	61.25	68.75	64.71	38.46
External educator in school	12.50	12.50	11.76	15.38
Caregivers	8.75	18.75	5.88	7.69
Peers	3.75	0.00	3.92	7.69
The Internet	2.50	0.00	3.92	0.00
Other	11.25	0.00	9.80	30.77

Access to Internet Pornography

Young people reported that they generally viewed IP on mobile phones (65.71%) rather than desktop computers or tablets, with the majority watching IP alone

(75.00%) rather than with peers or partners. Most youth indicated that they “could definitely” (51.40%) or “probably” (25.70%) access IP at home without their caregiver knowing, if they wanted to. At school, almost a fifth (19.25%) of youth responded that they “definitely could *not”* access IP, while a third (33.33%) indicated that they definitely *could*.

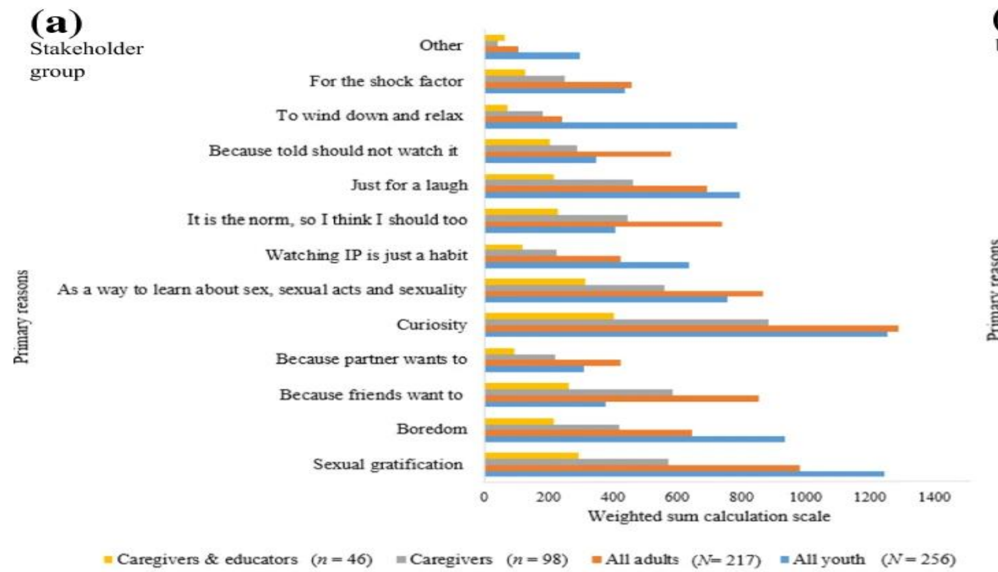
Aligning with youth responses, caregivers reported that youth could “definitely” or “probably” access IP at home (45.88%, 35.29% respectively), while educators reported that youth could “definitely” or “probably” access IP at school (30.56%, 37.50% respectively) without their knowledge. However, male teachers more frequently indicated that students could “definitely not” access IP at school (17.95%) compared to female (3.85%) and gender diverse educators (0.00%).

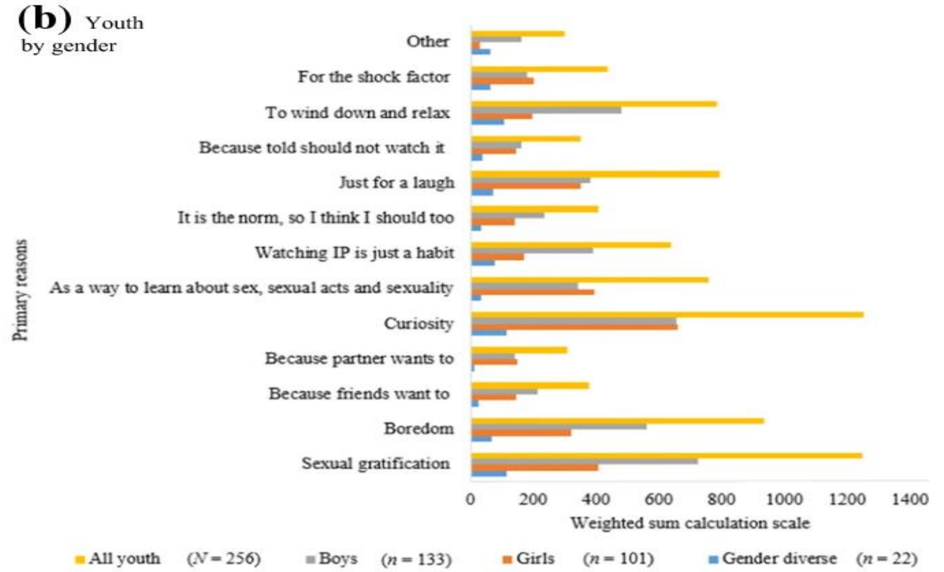
Primary Reasons for Viewing Internet Pornography

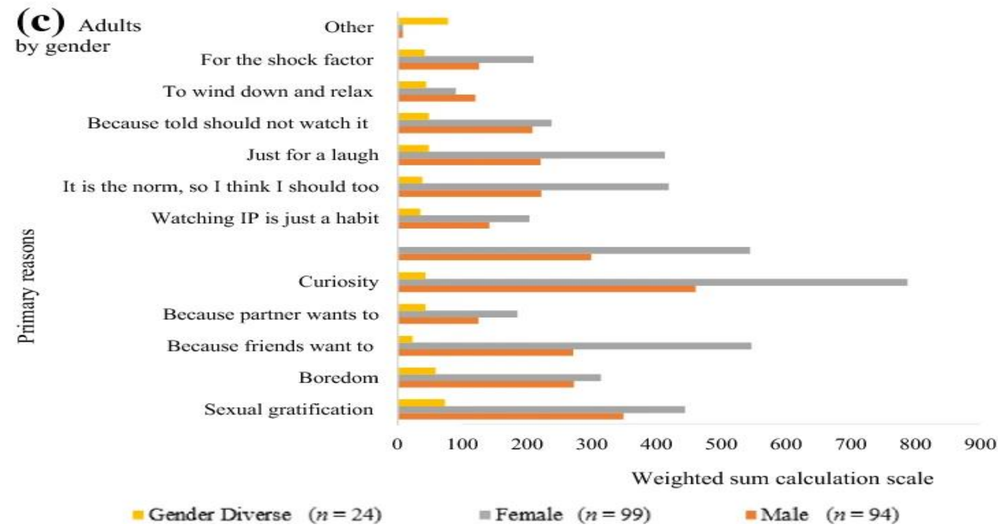
Participants were asked to rank a list of possible motivations that young people might have for viewing IP. Overall, across stakeholder groups, curiosity was ranked as the primary motivation (see Figure 2a). However, thereafter there was some divergence between the rankings of adults (caregivers and educators) and youth, indicating a discrepancy in understandings between these groups. Young people included “boredom” and “to wind down and relax” among their top five reasons for IP viewing, but adults did not include these reasons. Rather, they ranked peer influence and learning about sex more highly (see Figure 2b).

Figure 2

Primary reasons youth seek out Internet pornography by stakeholder group (2a), youth by gender (2b), and adults by gender (2c).







There were gendered differences among youth in terms of their primary reasons for seeking out IP (see Figure 2b). Sexual gratification was given as a primary motivation by male youth, who, for example gave reasons such as "cause I'm horny" (male student), and "pleasure" (male student). Only girls indicated in their top five reasons that IP was used as a way to learn about sex, sexual acts, and sexuality. For example, in the open-ended comments relating to this question, they said: "To understand how sexual encounters happen as school does not teach this and i [sic] want to be able to feel okay for my first time, by know [sic] the 'lingo' and knowing what to do" (female student). Compared to girls (26.15%), more boys (46.46%) and gender diverse youth (52.63%) had engaged in sexual practices that they had also seen in IP (see Table 6).

Adult perceptions of the reasons that youth seek out IP also varied according to their own gender. Like female youth, sexual gratification was ranked less frequently by women than men and gender diverse adults across stakeholder groups (see Figure 2c). Also mapping onto trends in youth responses, "boredom" was ranked in the top five perceived reasons by men and gender diverse adults across stakeholder groups, whereas this was not the case for women. Additionally, "because their friends want to" was ranked particularly highly by female caregivers as their second perceived reason for youth viewing.

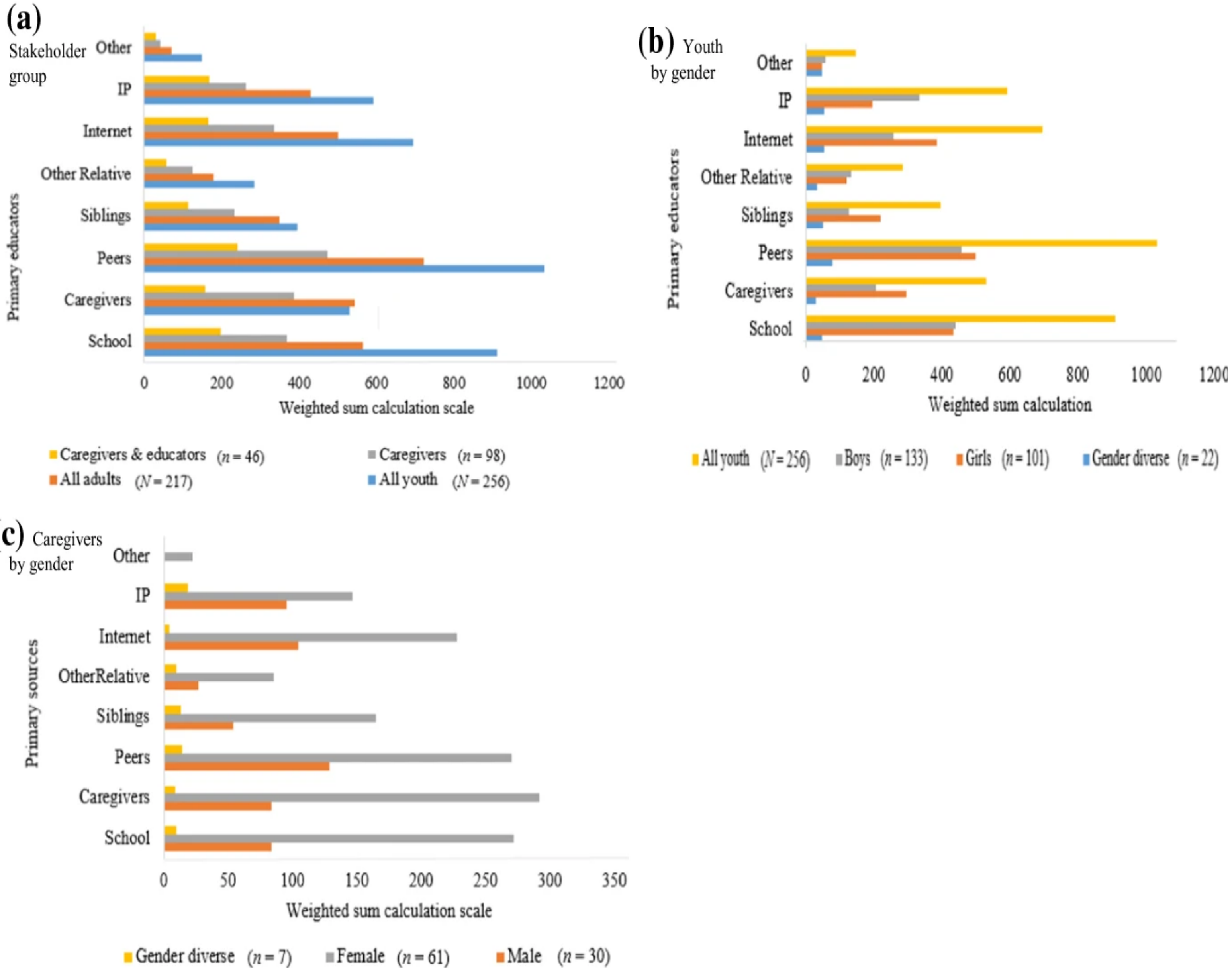
Primary Sources of Information about Sex and Sexuality

Participants were asked to rank young people's primary sources of information about sex and sexuality. Across the stakeholder groups, there was a shared understanding that peers are a primary source of information about sex and sexuality for youth (see Figure 3a). When it came to young people themselves, IP was ranked third by boys and gender diverse youth, and sixth by girls. Adults ranked caregivers as an

information source third overall; however, this did not feature as high from the perspective of gender diverse youth, who ranked caregivers last (see Figure 3b).

Figure 3

Primary educators for youth about sex and sexuality by stakeholder group (3a), youth by gender (3b), and caregivers by gender (3c).



Note. ‘Internet’ refers to information on the internet that is *not* IP.

There were some differences between adults’ responses depending on stakeholder group. Overall, the rankings of participants who were educators as well as caregivers more closely aligned with youth rankings than those who were only caregivers. In particular, these respondents gave a higher ranking to the Internet and IP as a source of information than caregivers, who ranked themselves more highly than either the Internet or IP (see Figure 3a).

Differences among adult participants also related to gender, mapping on to the gender patterns observed among youth. Most notably, female caregivers were the only cohort who most frequently ranked themselves as young people’s primary information source (i.e., first). Male and gender diverse caregivers perceived IP as a more important information source about sex and sexuality than caregivers (see Figure 3c).

Communication with Youth about Internet Pornography

Many (44.13%) of the youth were unsure if their caregivers knew whether they had seen IP. Girls reported less frequently (14.29%) than boys (29.59%) or gender diverse youth (66.67%) that their caregivers were aware of their IP viewing (see Table 6).

Many caregivers were aware that youth in their care had seen IP (48.39%), approximately a third were also unsure (34.68%), while a small proportion (16.94%) did not think that the young person in their care had ever seen IP. Overall, more than half (56.91%) of caregivers had provided some education about IP to the young person in their care, but only a small number (8.75%) of youth reported that any education they had received was from caregivers (see Table 6). Girls also reported less frequently that they had received any education about IP in comparison to boys and gender diverse youth (see Table 6). Additionally, female caregivers more frequently reported that they

delivered education about IP to youth (72.73%) compared to male (38.64%) or gender diverse (38.46%) caregivers.

Of the 30.36% of educators who indicated that there had been some delivery of education about IP at their school (40.18% were unsure, while 29.46% indicated that there had not been any), this education was most often provided by a teacher during sexuality education at the school (63.64%), rather than (for example) external providers (27.27%). This maps on to the youth findings, as of the 37.38% of youth who indicated they had received any education about IP, most (61.25%) reported that this was predominantly delivered by a teacher as part of sexuality education in school (see Table 6).

Messages Delivered about Internet Pornography to Youth by Caregivers

Caregivers were asked to describe what they had discussed about IP at home with the young person in their care. There were a broad range of responses to this open-ended question that were thematically organised.

Internet Pornography is harmful. Overall, IP was portrayed in a negative light and discussed with youth in relation to the "ugliness that can pop up in the world", "offensive sites", the "dark web", "pedophiles [sic]", "incredibly evil people", and subject to monitoring by "the Internet police". Most caregivers indicated that IP was harmful, addictive, unsuitable, and dangerous, for instance, something "that is not acceptable in our household". This was primarily related to the potential deleterious impacts or "nasty consequences" of IP viewing, which ranged from being "psychologically unhealthy" to "potentially harmful for future relationships and self". For some, this harm was conceptualised as "temptation to sin" and "alienation from God". IP was also described as objectifying, degrading, abusive, and exploitative of women.

Avoid viewing Internet pornography. While some caregivers acknowledged that curiosity was to be expected among youth, and they should not feel badly about experiencing arousal if they happen across IP, youth were still encouraged to avoid it. While not necessarily forbidden, many caregivers voiced their disapproval of IP viewing to youth, while others censored it; for example, “please don’t watch it”, “we operate open DNS for their protection”.

Internet Pornography is not ‘real’. Another primary message that caregivers reported delivering to youth about IP was that it is fake and unrealistic; a performance by paid actors/actresses. This idea of “reality vs. fantasy” was a distinction taken up by many caregivers, highlighting that IP is not “a reflection of true intimacy between people”, and “not a true depiction of real sex”. How IP might be compared to ‘real life’ was often mentioned in the context of intimacy and consent “which is not indicative of normal healthy sexual relationships”.

‘I think…’ Responses indicated that caregivers delivered education to youth about IP based on their own views; “I believe [emphasis added] Internet pornography degrades and objectifies women”, or “I’m [emphasis added] not a fan of pornography”. Thus, it may understandably be the case that youth are receiving a variety of messages about IP that are based on particular perspectives, beliefs, and worldviews, such as religious affiliations (e.g., “We have a pornography education resource which is offered by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints”).

Discussion

This study provides some insights into encounters with IP among these New Zealand youth, including their initial encounters, viewing regularity, and motivations for viewing IP. Additionally, this study provides an understanding of the perceptions of these caregivers and educators, as key domains of sexual socialisation. In the following

discussion, we contextualise our findings in relation to the wider context in which youth IP viewing is deemed largely negative and shameful, particularly for girls (Ashton et al., 2018; Ševčíková & Daneback, 2014). The findings are also contextualised within the limitations of who these participants were (i.e., members of school communities who were already invested in sexuality education), and we recognise that a full range of perspectives are not represented.

Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography

Our findings are consistent with international research, showing that most young people (85.31%) have seen IP on one or more occasion at some point in their life, either intentionally or unintentionally (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Peter & Valkenburg, 2016). Additionally, for many young people, particularly girls, first encounters were reported as unintentional (54.68%), often as a result of being shown by peers or pop-up links appearing while browsing the Internet. Consistent with previous findings, of those young people in the study who unintentionally came across IP, most (76.15%) did not tell anyone about their encounter (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009; Lim et al., 2017).

Of youth who had seen IP before, the average age of first encounter was approximately 12 years old, which was slightly older than what adults perceived (10.58 years). Adults' assumption of a younger age may reflect the public concern—often amplified by the media— about IP viewing among young people (Taylor, 2020). Although there is variation regarding first encounters in the literature, that these young New Zealanders first encountered IP at approximately 12 years old is slightly younger than global trends and a previous New Zealand report (OFLC, 2018). However, encountering IP during early teenage years is unsurprising given sexual curiosity (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005), and perhaps coincides with personal internet access via mobile phone.

Gender diverse youth reported viewing IP at a younger age (10.10 years) than their female and male peers, and may be exploring their identity and sexuality in a world where there are not as many resources to do this with, or people to talk with (Collier et al., 2013). Our research suggests that some young people seek out IP to try to learn about sex, and this occurs alongside reluctance to discuss sex (and particularly IP) with adults, and their perception of adults being reluctant to discuss it with them, consistent with previous findings about IP as a source of information about sex and sexuality (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Rothman et al., 2018).

Sexuality Education and Internet Pornography

Many youth stated that they did not receive any education about IP as part of their sexuality education (62.62%), despite most having seen IP, consistent with the wider literature that suggests IP is often omitted from conversation among youth and adults, perhaps on account of the perceived difficulties in having such conversations (Albury, 2018). In New Zealand, and internationally, sexuality education is very context-specific and varies between types of schools and school cultures. Although the recently updated sexuality education guidelines in New Zealand include information about IP be included in classes, clarity is required regarding programme aims (e.g., discourage IP viewing, or encourage critical thinking), as well as critical reflection on how youth are constructed (i.e., agentic or naïve).

Furthermore, students may have varied needs that, among other things, vary by gender, and are currently not addressed by sexuality education curricula. Girls were less likely to have received any kind of education about IP than boys and gender diverse youth, consistent with a recent survey (Family Planning New Zealand, 2019). Girls may be receiving less education about IP due to the presumption that they either do not view IP or are not generally attracted to IP (Sorbring et al., 2015; Spišák, 2017). Curricula

must also be relevant to gender diverse learners as despite improvements that focus on inclusivity, sexuality education curricula often mirrors the implicit heteronormativity of wider society (Chesir-Teran, 2003). This is suggested by the fact that gender diverse youth ranked school sixth as their source of information about sex and sexuality in general, in comparison to second by girls and boys. However, these young people also listed peers as their primary source of information, indicating a level of comfort in talking among friends about identity and sexuality (Jackson, 2004).

Thus, although young people ranked school second (after peers) as a primary educator about sex and sexuality—challenging the notion of IP as becoming their primary channel of sexuality education (Rothman et al., 2018; Tanton et al., 2015)—these findings raise questions about whether the content is relevant and wholly valuable to them. In this regard, an important finding in the extant literature is the request from some youth to have IP discussed, not ignored, in a timely way during sexuality education in school and with caregivers as a way of helping them understand the content they may encounter online (Pound et al., 2016; Sørensen & Knudsen, 2006). Some research suggests that, although youth take some basic information away from sexuality education, a key aspect that is lacking, based on their needs, is a discourse of erotics or desire (Allen, 2004). This observation coheres with our finding of the absence of teaching about IP. These findings point to a *gap* in the conversation that youth are having with caregivers and educators about sex, sexuality, and IP, as we will now elaborate on.

Divergences Between Caregivers, Educators and Youth

In line with previous findings, our results suggest that caregivers overestimate the likelihood of youth disclosure to them, while educators (who anticipate lack of disclosure) arguably have a more realistic understanding (Priebe et al., 2013;

Wisniewski et al., 2017). Existing studies point to fear or embarrassment as potential reasons for youth non-disclosure, even when encounters with IP are unintentional (Rothman et al., 2017). Thus, whether young people feel comfortable or safe to disclose their encounters is a socio-cultural factor worth considering when examining some of our results, particularly the gendered patterns.

Aside from curiosity about sex and sexuality, there were differences between these caregivers, educators and youth regarding what motivates young people to view IP, indicating a disconnect in how youth and significant adults understand the function of IP in young people's lives, and their sexuality more broadly. Youth ranked IP as providing entertainment and relaxation in their top five motivations, which aligns with the literature (Attwood et al., 2018; Bale, 2011), while relaxation was ranked last across each of the adult stakeholder groups, so there are differing views about how youth perceive the role of IP in their lives, and how their caregivers and educators understand the meaning and presence of IP for youth.

Furthermore, that youth may be motivated to view IP on account of their friends was ranked in the top five across all adult groups, and ranked second after curiosity by caregivers (in comparison to 10th by youth themselves). Caregivers' attribution of youth IP viewing to peer pressure downplays the challenging notion of children as sexual beings and may to some extent preserve an image of childhood innocence (Jarkovská & Lamb, 2018). The widespread and dominant Western view of children as innocent, pure and asexual (alongside sex as being improper and a source of taboo) has led to anxieties among caregivers about introducing sexual information too early or too much in their children's lives, which is reflected in the types of messages caregivers deliver to youth about IP (Lamb et al., 2018).

There was also a divergence in understanding between youth and their caregivers as to how prominently caregivers feature as sexuality educators in young people’s lives in comparison to media (Sprecher et al., 2008). Boys and gender diverse participants selected IP as one of their top three sources of information about sex and sexuality (after peers and school, and peers and the Internet, respectively) (Allen, 2009; Scarcelli, 2014). As with previous research, this contrasts with girls’ responses (Tanton et al., 2015). Unlike boys and gender diverse participants, girls did not include IP in their top three sources of information about sex and sexuality, ranking it only sixth. Thus, boys and gender diverse youth reported turning to IP for information about sex before going to caregivers, while girls reported going to the internet in general before caregivers.

In contrast, caregivers ranked themselves *higher* as a source of education than the Internet or IP. This was especially true for female caregivers who ranked themselves as youth’s primary source of information about sex and sexuality. This could reflect a gendered expectation of mothers to place themselves in this role (Jackson, 2004; Sprecher et al., 2008). Men overestimated the role that IP plays as an information source compared to youth, ranking it second after peers, with gender diverse adults ranking it first.

These discrepancies suggests a disconnect between young people and adults that may need to be evaluated when considering how to best support youth in navigating IP and igniting relevant conversations about sexuality in general, and IP specifically (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015). How young people make sense of IP and how they construct sexual identities in relation to their understandings of IP may differ to dominant constructions and perceptions of young people’s experiences with IP (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a). For example, caregiver communication with youth about IP not

being ‘real’ assumes that youth are ‘duped’ by IP. In this way, adults draw on dominant scripts of harm and innocence to position youth as unagentic and uncritical consumers of IP, despite research that suggests youth are engaging critically with this material (Goldstein, 2020; Spišák, 2017). Thus, further exploration is required of youth’s sense-making practices, signalling a move in direction from harms-focused effects research towards understanding what would be meaningful and beneficial for youth in terms of support.

Understanding Gendered Patterns

Variation in understanding between the stakeholder groups also appear to reflect gendered understandings of IP, as shown by gendered patterns that map across youth and adult findings. Wider social understandings are relevant to interpreting these findings. For example, boys and gender diverse youth reported that they watched IP for sexual gratification, and this was a primary motivation for viewing IP, which corresponds with existing research that consistently reports on young men’s sexual excitement in relation to IP (Coy & Horvath, 2018).

Girls listed curiosity rather than sexual gratification as their main reason for viewing IP and placed “as a way to learn about sex” third, which did not feature in the top five reasons given by boys or gender diverse youth. Such differences can be understood in relation to gendered meanings of pornography, which are underpinned by broader understandings of women’s and men’s sexual desire and what is considered appropriate gender behaviour in sexual matters (Spišák, 2017). It is socially permissible for boys to show an interest in IP as a source of sexual pleasure, and so it was possibly easier for these participants to provide sexual gratification as their main reasons for viewing IP than their female counterparts (Tolman & McClelland, 2011). Furthermore, as some research has shown, “girls perceive themselves as being unnatural if their

desires do not revolve around boys” (Spišák, 2017, p. 368). Accordingly, the motivation of viewing IP to learn about sex and sexual acts given by girls—and not boys—may represent a socially desirable presentation of femininity. This use of IP as a learning tool for how to ‘do’ sex, for young girls especially, needs to be investigated further (Jackson & Scott, 2007).

Limitations

There were several limitations of the present study. Difficulty in recruiting schools to participate on research related to sex and sexuality has been experienced by other researchers in New Zealand and internationally (e.g., Baker, 2016; Stanley, 2018), and this research was no exception. Uptake by schools was less than anticipated; nine of the 249 schools contacted agreed to participate. Although some principals commented that the research was important and timely, they declined to participate due to apprehension about the topic, drawing young people’s attention to IP, time constraints, religious ethos of the school, and other characteristics of the school population. Thus, this is not a representative study; schools that participated were invested in some way in sexuality education more broadly. Our findings do not represent the views of youth and adults from schools where there is no such investment. Thus, using schools as research sites and principals as gatekeepers, while beneficial in some respects, was also potentially problematic in that power relations were exacerbated; only young people, educators, and caregivers associated with schools who agreed to participate had the opportunity to take part. Future work that seeks to make inferences based on group and/or gender should read these results within this context, and garner perspectives from a more representative sample.

A further limitation was the missing data for two questions related to the educators’ group due to a problem with the survey setup that was not detected until data

collection was completed. This meant that two questions (i.e., primary educators about sex and sexuality, and primary motivation for viewing IP) could not be explored in full.

We are aware that there are issues with measurements in this field of research (Fisher & Kohut, 2019). Our questions were derived from the literature, and there are issues with that literature, just as there are issues with the use of Westernised, individual-orientated scientifically-grounded measurements/scales concerned with psychometric properties. Our research was exploratory, and our analyses were descriptive only. Hypotheses were not appropriate to the study aim, and we did not test for generalisable differences using inferential statistics given the nature of the sample. Future research that does aim to make inferences or make generalisations may wish to take a different analytical tack.

Finally, although not attended to in our research, there are documented differences in IP use not only by gender but also by sexual orientation (Bothe et al., 2020). Future research could collect information about sexual orientation and consider how that may influence both youth experiences as well as access to sexuality education through domains of sexual socialisation such as caregivers and educators.

Conclusion

Overall, in keeping with international and local findings, these young New Zealanders are encountering IP, intentionally or otherwise, in the early teenage years. Although caregivers and educators are aware of youth encounters with IP, there is a lack of open communication between these significant adults and young people about the topic. Additionally, there are convergences and divergences in understanding youth encounters with IP between the stakeholder groups and across genders, particularly regarding youth motivations for viewing IP and youth’s primary sources of information about sex and sexuality. More in-depth research with these three stakeholder groups,

especially representing a broader range of perspectives about sexuality education, would be valuable in order to unpack these synergies and discrepancies, to ultimately inform how to best support youth in navigating IP. If IP is to be accepted as a new cultural resource for youth, the next step is to explore with youth how they make sense of such a resource, and how these understandings might manifest in gendered ways based on available social discourse. Thus, further research on the socio-cultural norms that exist to shape the gendered ways in which youth engage with IP would be valuable.

Contextualising Article 1

While bearing in mind the limitations of research on prevalence rates (see Chapter 3, p. 25), this article presents findings that describe a small group of 16-18-year-old New Zealanders’ encounters with IP, and the perceptions of their caregivers and educators about these encounters. These findings are unique in the way they concurrently present these perspectives among key groups.

We interpreted these findings in relation to prevalent gender norms and the ways these shape sexual socialisation within specific locations (Martin et al., 2007; Tolman & McClelland, 2011). We considered the ways dominant gender norms prescribe particular practices and performances of sexuality for women and men, which young people are socialised into (Evans et al., 2010). For example, ‘admitting’ to viewing IP is risky for young women as it contravenes gendered notions of sexual desire and broader socio-cultural ideals of what is considered ‘normal’ or ‘proper’ for a teenage girl (Coy & Horvath, 2018; Spišák, 2017). Such widespread socio-cultural norms about sexuality deny women’s interest in sex (Coy & Horvath, 2018), creating what Tolman (2005) has referred to as “a roaring silence about female adolescent girls’ sexual desire” (p. 6). The silencing of women’s sexual desire perpetuates stigma of girls’ and women’s viewing of IP for pleasure (Scarcelli, 2015; Spišák, 2017; Tolman & McClelland, 2011). In contrast, boys and men are generally seen as sexually voracious and susceptible to sexual urges, and so expressing desire and interest in IP is viewed as normative for boys (Albright & Carter, 2019).

However, the findings and interpretations presented in this article require a more comprehensive understanding by examining how people *talk* about youth encounters with IP. In this way, these findings served as an important springboard for qualitative inquiry into youth engagement with IP, which we turn to next.

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

We, the candidate and the candidate’s Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate’s contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Siobhán Healy-Cullen
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Associate Professor Joanne E. Taylor

In which chapter is the manuscript /published work: Chapter 5, Appendix Z

Please select one of the following three options:

◯ The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

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- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: The candidate (i) developed the research questions and study methods in collaboration with co-authors, (ii) collected all data, (iii) analysed the data with advice from co-authors, (iv) wrote the manuscript with advice and feedback from co-authors.

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Date:	03/09/2021

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Chapter 6, Article 2: Key Stakeholders use of Sexual Scripts to Make Sense of Youth Engagement with Internet Pornography

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Abstract

In this article, we explore how culturally available sexual scripts are drawn on to make meaning of young people’s engagement with Internet pornography (IP). We draw on a version of sexual scripting theory developed by feminist discursive scholars to perform a critical thematic analysis on 24 interviews with parents, educators and young people. We identify three main scripts commonly drawn on by participants to make sense of youth engagement with IP, namely: (i) a script of harm, (ii) a heterosexual script, and (iii) a developmentalist script. These scripts, often interweaving with one another, were deployed in various ways by both groups, firstly, as ‘risk talk’ and, secondly, as ‘resistant talk’. While both groups drew on dominant and alternative discourses, adults primarily positioned youth within this ‘risk’ talk. We show how alternative ‘resistant’ talk disrupts common, scripted ways of accounting for youth engagement with IP in a way that demonstrates more nuanced sexual subjectivities—particularly among youth—than the traditional media effects paradigm acknowledges. Importantly, our findings show how, within discursive restraints, essentialised gender constructions are resisted to position youth as agentic sexual subjects. By considering the wider social context in which youth engagements with IP are situated, and recognising young people as active and legitimate sexual citizens, we can begin to foster conversations about how to meaningfully support youth agency when navigating IP.

Keywords: *Internet pornography, young people, sexual citizenship, youth agency, sexual scripting theory.*

Sexual socialisation involves active engagement with culturally available sexual scripts—the shared cultural meanings about sexuality in a given time and place—to construct and enact sexual identity. As part of this process, young people must engage with an array of potentially conflicting sexual scripts—(inter)actively interpreting, managing, resisting, and altering these (Beres, 2013; McCormack & Wignall, 2017). As societies become increasingly digitalised, digital media play an ever more significant role in young people’s sexual socialisation (Naezer & Ringrose, 2018). As part of the wider media landscape, research indicates that Internet-based pornography (IP) is a key space for such sexual meaning-making (Ashton et al., 2020; Goldstein, 2020; Taylor & Jackson, 2018). This forms an important part in the bricolage of cultural resources available to youth (Scarcelli, 2014).

To support young people’s sexual socialisation in relevant and meaningful ways, and to enhance their agency to navigate digitalised social contexts, research is needed to gain a comprehensive understanding of youth engagement with IP. To this end, feminist researchers have sought to investigate the meanings young people make of IP, how they navigate potentially conflicting or partial sources of meaning, and how they understand IP vis-à-vis their own cultural realities (Attwood et al., 2018). Focusing on young people’s accounts is needed since much research related to youth sexuality neglects their perspectives and legitimate knowledge in this area (Moore & Reynolds, 2018).

However, a comprehensive understanding of the role of IP in young people’s sexual socialisation and their construction of sexual subjectivities requires attention to their wider social context, including parents and educators as highly influential adults tasked with providing sexuality education (Scarcelli, 2014). In this article, we present findings from the qualitative component of a larger mixed-methods project about school-based ‘porn literacy’ education conducted with students, educators, and parents

recruited from high schools in the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand (see Healy-Cullen et al., 2021b, 2021c, 2021d). Following the move in feminist research to situate IP viewing in the broader discursive context (Ashton et al., 2020) our study is informed by a feminist discursive adaptation of sexual scripting theory (Beres, 2013; Frith & Kitzinger, 2001), originally formulated by Simon and Gagnon (1986) as explained further below.

Youth Engagement with Internet Pornography

A growing body of qualitative and mixed-methods research has emerged in recent years that locates IP as part of wider socio-cultural and discursive contexts (Goldstein, 2020). Work in this area is multidisciplinary and draws on a range of critical theories, notably feminist poststructuralism (Taylor & Gavey, 2019; Taylor & Jackson, 2018), cultural studies (Attwood et al., 2018; Smith et al., 2015), and media practice theory (Attwood, 2005). This critical scholarship rejects the dominant research focus on the harmful effects of IP on youth. Rather, IP is viewed as neither inherently harmful nor emancipatory, but as requiring the meaning to be ascribed by context and viewer (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2013). Departing from the dominant focus on what IP *does to* youth to consider what they *do with* IP and why, most of this research engages youth (older adolescents) on their perspectives and experiences of negotiating IP and its meaning and significance in their lives (Attwood, 2005; Attwood et al., 2018; Goldstein, 2020). Taken together, findings from this literature paint a complex picture of varied youth engagement (Ashton et al., 2018; Goldstein, 2021; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010), purpose of engagement (e.g., information, entertainment, exploring desire) (McCormack & Wignall, 2017; Scarcelli, 2014), and experiences, and views of IP (Häggström-Nordin et al., 2006; Scarcelli, 2015; Spišák, 2016). IP is shown to be a significant resource for sexual meaning-making outside of traditional or formal spaces

(Scarcelli, 2014). Youth report finding IP entertaining and influential, at the same time as being critical of its portrayals (Attwood et al., 2018; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Spišák, 2017, 2016). Where formal sexuality education is lacking or risk-orientated, IP is shown to act as a site of sexual empowerment and agency, albeit in highly gendered ways (Ashton et al., 2020; Goldstein, 2020; Taylor & Jackson, 2018).

There is, as intimated above, comparatively far less research, critical or otherwise, on adult understandings of youth encounters with IP (Livingstone & Bober, 2004). Research with parents largely focuses on correlating parenting styles with youth IP engagement, often with the objective of determining how parents can regulate such engagement or mitigate potential negative effects (Tomić et al., 2017; Zurcher, 2019). Qualitative research suggests that parents generally view their children's involvement with IP negatively. Several studies have found that, as with sexuality in general, parents are hesitant, fearful, nervous, and/or embarrassed to discuss the subject of IP with their child (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Rasmussen et al., 2015; Rothman et al., 2017; Tsaliki, 2011; Zurcher, 2019). Unsurprisingly then, research in several contexts indicates that parent-child discussion of IP is uncommon and/or inadequate (Barbovschi & Staksrud, 2020; Davis et al., 2019; Gesser-Edelsburg & Arabia, 2018; Widman et al., 2021). Barriers to parental engagement include their poor technological competency or digital/media literacy and limited knowledge (real or perceived) regarding their children's Internet use (Davis et al., 2019; Pacheco & Melhuish, 2018; Page Jeffery, 2021). There is also indication of cultural differences. For instance, studies in Brazil and the Middle East report that parents express restrictive and paternalistic attitudes toward youth IP viewing, especially among girls (Barbovschi & Staksrud, 2020; Gesser-Edelsburg & Arabia, 2018), while research in Australia and New Zealand report that

parents also express interest in developing constructive ways to converse with youth about IP (Davis et al., 2019; Healy-Cullen et al., 2021c; McKee, 2007b).

Educators have been found to hold similar views on the issue to parents. For instance, in a UK survey, educators commonly considered that schools should teach about the potential harms of IP (Baker, 2016). Similarly, in a Swedish focus group study, some educators emphasised the problems that could arise due to problematic ideals and norms conveyed in IP and the need to educate adolescents to enhance awareness, understanding and critical thinking regarding the content (Mattebo et al., 2014a). Additionally, some teachers (and parents) support school-based initiatives, such as porn literacy education, as shown in Healy-Cullen et al.'s (2021c) New Zealand study. Nonetheless, broaching the topic of IP in the classroom is seen as challenging, requiring training, resources, and school community support (Albury, 2014, 2018; Baker, 2016; Ollis, 2016a, 2016b).

To date, no research has concurrently examined youth, parent, and educator understandings of youth engagement with IP. Our research aim is to address this gap and contribute to the emerging international research that adds nuance and complexity to discussions regarding responses to youth engagement with IP.

Methodology

Our mixed-methods project comprised an online survey followed by semi-structured interviews (see Healy-Cullen et al., 2021b, 2021c, 2021d). Given the limited data available regarding the extent and nature of youth engagement with IP in New Zealand, the aim was to gain a broad understanding through the survey, which would then inform the design of the qualitative component, which is the focus of this article.

Data Collection

We used a school-based recruitment strategy, seeking permission from 249 high schools to recruit students (aged 16- to 18-years), educators, and caregivers (guardians or parents). Nine schools agreed to circulate an invitation to participate to these three groups. At each school, the invitation to take part in the online survey was circulated and, at the end of the survey, survey respondents were invited to indicate interest in participating in an individual interview. The schools ranged in type (co-ed/single sex, religious/secular, public/private), location (rural, urban), and decile grouping, thereby providing a diverse range of views. We recruited 14 adults (1 educator, 7 parents, 6 who were both educators and parents) and five young people. Due to this low response among youth (which may be related to the topic), we used peer referral to recruit five more young people. The demographic characteristics of the participants are summarised in Table 7.

The first author, Siobhan, conducted in-person semi-structured interviews from August to November 2019. Participants were invited to share their understandings of youth engagement with IP, including what they believe constitutes IP; reasons youth view IP; whether adults should respond in any way, why and how; and their thoughts on formal education about IP. To keep the discussion focused on the topic in general and prevent interviewees from feeling they were being questioned about their own experiences, especially youth and parents, we used the same interview format/techniques summarised in Table 8 across groups.

Table 7

Interview participant characteristics

Cohort	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnicity
	Kate	17	Female	Pākehā & Māori
Young people	Amelia	16	Female	Pākehā
	Belinda	18	Female	Pākehā
	Danielle	18	Female	European
	Liane	17	Female	Pākehā
	Avery	16	Male	Pākehā & Asian
	Tristian	16	Male	Asian
	Adam	17	Male	Pākehā
	Frank	18	Male	Pākehā & Māori
	Anthony	18	Male	Pākehā & Māori
Adults	Tim	46-55	Male	Pākehā
	Diane	36-45	Female	Pākehā
	Marie	46-55	Female	Pākehā
	Jessica	36-45	Female	US American
	Willow	46-55	Female	Pākehā
	Ava	36-45	Female	Pākehā
	Aidan	36-45	Male	Pākehā
	Naomi	46-55	Female	Pākehā
	Polly	46-55	Female	Pākehā
	Gareth	36-45	Male	Pākehā
	Liam	26-35	Male	Pākehā
	Raymond	46-55	Male	Pākehā
	Mia	46-55	Female	Asian
	James	46-55	Male	Pākehā

Table 8

Interview techniques

Technique	Purpose	Example
Discussion of survey findings	Icebreaker, generate discussion, probe	- *“Why is it so taboo for females to watch porn but considered ‘normal’ for males?”* This quote captured a common theme about gendered expectations in the comments section of the student survey. This query was used as a probe for further discussion. - Results of the top 5 reasons for youth IP viewing given by student and adult respondents were graphically provided to participants for discussion.
Discussion of how to define IP	Elicit own/alternative understandings of what IP is and its purpose	- How would you define IP? - What are your thoughts about the definition used in the survey [probe: dis/agreement]?
Story completion (youth only)	Generate discussion, probe	A fictitious youth’s first encounter with IP – what might they be thinking/want to ask?
Story Completion		A fictitious announcement of porn literacy as part of national sexuality education curriculum

Data Analysis Method

Our study is located within feminist discursive sexual scripting theory, which (unlike traditional scripting theory) connects sexual socialisation to the re/production of and resistance to cultural norms and power relations (Beres, 2013; Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). According to this theory, sexual socialisation involves the negotiation and use of culturally available sexual scripts to construct sexual identities. Sexual scripts comprise shared cultural meanings about sexuality in a given time and place, allowing people to construct culturally recognisable and acceptable sexual selves. In this way, scripts establish the limits of what is possible and acceptable regarding sexual identity

construction, but they may also be improvised on to some extent (Morison & Macleod, 2015). We use this theory to examine how, when accounting for young people’s engagement with IP, participants draw on, position themselves against, and re/negotiate sexual scripts, as broader socially available meanings about youth sexuality (Beres, 2013).

Analysis therefore goes beyond individual-level meaning-making to consider how the construction of sexual subjectivities is informed by broader socio-cultural understandings about sexuality and gender (Beres, 2013; Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). We used critical thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2012) to explore the latent content of talk (underlying concepts, assumptions, and ideologies) about youth engagement with IP and trace patterns of shared meaning. We searched across the dataset and within each interview for regularity in participant talk that represent common ways of accounting for youth engagement with IP drawing on specific scripts. Accordingly, our analysis focused on the overall organisation of talk in relation to the scripts drawn upon and the negotiation of the subject positions they provide (e.g., innocent child, passive victim).

Analysis and Discussion

We present the two overarching themes generated in our analysis. The first, ‘risk talk’, largely reiterates the dominant public framing of IP as harmful to youth, evidenced in frequent references to news articles and documentaries on its damaging consequences. These dominant constructions of youth are challenged and disrupted to varying degrees in the second theme, ‘resistant talk.’ Risk talk featured across the dataset and represents the overriding way in which youth engagement with IP was spoken about, while resistant talk was less frequent, appearing almost exclusively in young people’s accounts.

Theme 1: Risk Talk

Risk talk constructs young people’s engagement with IP as invariably bearing negative consequences. This talk was predominantly informed by a script of harm, which intersects with familiar and powerful scripts about young people’s sexual development. Participants positioned youth as at-risk on account of being unable to be discerning of IP, and this construction of risk was gendered. We discuss each of these instances of risk talk in turn.

Youth as Innocent Children Susceptible to Harm. Youth were commonly positioned as not-yet-adults and so incapable of discernment and decision-making in their own best interests. It is their developmental status, therefore, that renders them inherently ‘at risk’ of the harms of IP. In this talk, the harm script intersects with a developmentalist script to construct youth “as inherently deficient and risk prone due to their developmental status” (Morison & Herbert, 2019, p. 9) and thus, requiring adult protection. This construction is illustrated below.

> ***Extract 1*, Diane (mother):** The Internet’s got a lot to answer for when it comes to young people, it's taking their innocence away. […] they could put a word in to the internet and it all pops up anyway. So, either way, their innocence is taken. So, it's the sooner you start [having discussion with youth about IP] the better. […] We can't protect our children from the Internet anymore unless we make them aware of what's right and what's wrong.

> ***Extract 2,* Gareth (father, educator):** …there is probably another whole level of people with (.) issues because of their exposure to porn and their understanding of what an appropriate relationship is, and an appropriate sexual relationship, isn't what I guess society would probably deem it is, because they've got their ideas, their education, from pornography […] Because if we

leave it to kids to do their own research, which they will, what they uncover may well not meet what we would say is a healthy relationship or healthy sexual activity.

Cohering with the extant literature, the harm script is drawn on in these extracts as speakers construct IP as responsible for "people with issues" (Extract 2) due to 'early' and/or 'unhealthy' sexualisation (Spišák, 2017). Rather than active consumers or viewers, young people are positioned as passive, unagentic victims whose "innocence is taken" (Extract 1) when "exposed" to IP (Extract 2), invoking the dominant Western conception of youth as intimately connected to innocence, and thus associated with purity, naivety, irrationality, and ignorance (Robinson, 2013). Innocence here is informed by a developmentalist script—notably the speakers explicitly position young people as "children" or "kids"— which renders young people as lacking capacity to discriminate between 'real' sex and media representations. Accordingly, they cannot be trusted to "do their own research" (Extract 2) and parents are positioned as needing to "protect our children from the Internet" and "make them aware" (Extract 1) of "what's right and what's wrong" or "healthy" and unhealthy (Extract 2).

The implication, especially extract 2, is that youth will replicate the "wrong" or "unhealthy" sexual activities observed in IP. This assumption was common across the data and is illustrated more clearly in the following.

> ***Extract 3,*** **Willow (mother):** …we're probably quite permissive for some violent movies and things, whereas typically we're a bit more careful with the sexual content. Just because of the way that people can imitate that. Whereas violence, I suppose they can imitate that too, if they've got the tendency.

> ***Extract 4,*** **Ava (mother):** Because you'd kind of imitate it [IP], right, if you've seen that (.) if you don't know what else to do?... And I think that is this scary

> thing and why I think it is so important to be literate about it, just that they haven't had the real-life experience, so they don't actually know the difference… And I think that's probably the thing that could cause a lot of problems.

This common construction of young people and dominant societal understanding of media consumption as harmful is informed by social learning theory (Goldstein, 2020). As evident in these extracts, the potential for young people to reproduce undesirable behaviours is constructed as necessitating “careful” parental responses: monitoring media content (Extract 3), and ensuring youth are “literate” (Extract 4). In extract 3, the construction of “sexual content” as requiring special parental vigilance and control rests upon the notion of sexuality as particularly detrimental to childhood innocence (Robinson, 2013). In line with this view, in extract 4, IP is rendered an undesirable sexuality educator for young people who are sexually naïve and credulous (“haven’t had the real-life experience”, “don’t know the difference”). Their sexual innocence thus renders them particularly vulnerable and at risk of “a lot of problems” from viewing IP. Accordingly, as reported elsewhere, participants commonly supported the need for adult intervention, despite differences in understandings of what negative consequences might arise (e.g., addiction or sexist views) and how to mitigate these (e.g., censorship or education) (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021c).

Gendered Risk. Although youth in general are depicted as passive, developmentally vulnerable, and, therefore, prone to being fooled by IP, specific gender-related factors were deemed responsible and different negative consequences predicted for women and men. Constructions of risk therefore intertwined with gendered understandings of sexuality informed by a powerful and ubiquitous Western sexual script, vis-à-vis the heterosexual script, identified in Kim et al.’s (2007) and

Tolman et al.’s (2007) US research. This script, as we show, delineates culturally appropriate relational and sexual practices based on gender.

Young men’s IP viewing was construed as motivated by a natural sexual drive (i.e., desire). Participants maintained, for instance “boys are maybe a bit more wired to [pause] being sexually active or being interested in that [IP]” (Aidan, father) and that “the male has a visual mind” (Avery, student). Accordingly, male engagement with IP and other sexualised media/entertainment was commonly construed as signifying “normal” masculine development and even a “rite of passage” (Liane, student), in line with wider understandings of men’s explicit enjoyment of sex as integral to heterosexual manhood, as also identified in other research (Allen, 2006; Scarcelli, 2015; Taylor & Jackson, 2018).

At the same time, the assumption of a voracious male sex drive, combined with unprecedented access to IP, is widely regarded as the foundation for men's proclivity to “pornography addiction” (Stoops, 2017). For instance:

> ***Extract 5,*** **Aidan (father):** I guess with our boys growing—and thinking back to how I grew up and how I learned and what we were exposed to—but now that you have a device, and you can just do it [watch pornography] anywhere. [...] Yeah because I guess there's also the theme that comes under that is the addiction, that possibly some kids get hooked on that.

Here Aidan distinguishes between what he was “exposed to” as a youth and contemporary young men’s easy digital access to IP—which he presumes they will seek out—invoking the ‘common-sense’ public understanding in which addiction is fuelled by easy access (Stoops, 2017). Likewise, our participants construed the supposed “primal” (Adam, student) nature of men’s interest in IP as predisposing them to harm, particularly IP addiction. This particular risk was either spoken of generically or

specifically as a risk to boys. No similar mention was made in relation to girls and the notion of female addiction to IP was even explicitly rejected, for instance by Mia (mother, educator) who stated, “I would be very surprised if they [her daughters] were addicted by it [*sic*] or they were looking for it because they enjoy it”. Moreover, the risk was depicted as compounded by *adolescent* male sexuality, as the extracts below illustrate.

> ***Extract 6,*** **Avery (student):** And one of the things that tears young guys up the most, myself included, is, like, sexual thoughts. They're not great. Um, I mentor a couple of guys and they're just like, “Oh, I saw porn and it's absolutely destroying me. I'm addicted now. I'm not sure how to stop.” And it's just got a negative impact on like their lives.

Avery’s positioning of young men (Extract 6) coheres with a wider cultural assumption of IP as a male vice (Stoops, 2017). His reference to young men’s struggle with “sexual thoughts” is informed by the developmentalist script, which renders adolescent masculinity as “subject to powerful sexual urges fuelled by ‘raging hormones’ that they find difficult to control” (Richardson, 2010, p. 740). The adolescent male thus goes from being sexually driven—the construction of ‘normal’ male sexuality given by the heterosexual script— to being sexually compelled, due to developmental stage. The developmentalist and heterosexual scripts therefore work together to construe the problem as located in “the boy brain” (Raymond, male parent educator) and ultimately to render adolescent male sexuality especially risky. This danger is emphasised in extract 5 by the extreme terms (“tears up”, “destroying”) used to describe “the impact” of IP on young men.

Following the heterosexual script, young women are positioned as less interested in sex than young men, since female sexuality is not centred on physical gratification

but “more sentimental… It’s the emotion as well” (Kate, student). Accordingly, resonating with other research with young women in New Zealand and Australia, explanations for female engagement with IP often centred on female responsibility for ensuring male pleasure in heterosex (Ashton et al., 2020; Brown et al., 2018). For instance, Belinda (student) maintained that a woman “doesn't get much out of it [IP] but she has to put work in for the guy”. This construction aligns with the heterosexual script’s prescription that women “should be sexual objects and should please their male partners” (Tolman et al., 2007, p. 84.e10).

In line with this construction, young women are positioned as *indirectly* harmed by IP due to the ways that it negatively affects young men, as shown in the following extracts.

> ***Extract 7,*** **Ava (mother):** I read an article about some of the stuff that it [IP] does… You know that it has already affected, you know like, with just, like, expecting woman to be shaved all the time and to have anal sex and, you know, things that they might not necessarily be comfortable with, and just to think of it as a real norm.

> ***Extract 8,*** **Avery (student):** From what I've seen, males think that porn is good because it's all about pleasing the guy; and to be honest like some of the stuff that the woman do to men, most guys are like “I'd like that” while a girl might be like “I don't want ever to give that” … I think also females, like I said earlier, are sort of tricked into believing almost that their sole purpose in life is to give pleasure to the man and not vice versa. … like, talking to a couple of girls I know, they said that they would google how to give blowjobs and stuff so that they could please their boyfriend. I'm like ((breathes deeply)) “Right, please slap me in the face if I turn into a guy like that!”.

These extracts invoke broader public discussion of harmful media effects, as evident in Ava’s description of what IP “*does*”. Young men are depicted as largely accepting of, or even duped, by idealised portrayals of sexuality and bodies in IP, while young women are portrayed as striving to attain these ideals to please men. Hence, young women are positioned as vulnerable to unrealistic and normalised body ideals (shaving “all the time”) and male pressure or coercion to engage in unwanted sexual practices. Likewise, Avery depicts young women as engaging in practices depicted in IP even if they “don’t want to” because they are “tricked into believing” that they must prioritise and ensure male sexual gratification. Young men are therefore positioned *as risk* to women: “some boys might get the idea that they should be expecting certain things from a girl” (Danielle, student) and young women might be “pressured to do things *that the boys see* on pornography” (Willow, mother). Thus, young women are positioned as hapless victims of “the boys” who are harmed by IP, a subject position that is particularly evident in Avery’s comment about girls being “tricked” (Extract 8).

At the same time, the construction of young men *as a risk* is associated with the common depiction of them as “simple creatures” (James, educator), more likely than young women to be taken in by IP and thus prone to uncritically imitating ‘unhealthy’ behaviours or developing sexist attitudes. For example, Adam (male, student) explained that “girls know this kind of stuff, but boys will just watch it and like, ‘Oh yeah. This is kind of what’s normal’…Boys probably need a bit of help”. This remark illustrates how although all young people were construed as needing to be educated about the “difference between pornography and … actual real life” (Ava, mother), different gendered risks and concomitant responses were envisaged. For young women, intervention is commonly construed as needing to focus on “keeping safe” (Willow, mother) from coercion and unwanted sexualisation and addressing “addiction and things

like that” (Anthony, student) for young men. Alongside this, young men were also depicted as needing to learn “what does consent mean” (Mia, mother educator) and being taught to hear or accept a woman’s refusal. Maria (mother) put it thus: “sex happens to women so sort the boys out”. Thus, the harm script which supports a simplistic understanding of media effects works together with the heterosexual script to undermine the agency of both young women and young men in particular gendered ways, which we elaborate on further in our conclusion.

Theme 2: Resistant Talk

Resistant talk captures how the construction of youth as vulnerable and unable to navigate the porn-tech nexus was resisted. This talk also challenged gendered constructions of risk, albeit to a lesser extent. Although resistant talk was not as salient among adults, who widely deployed the harms and developmentalist scripts, there was some resistance to the heterosexual script in the ways they recognised that young women also view IP. We discuss each of these instances of resistance in turn.

Resisting the Position of “Innocent Little Child”. Youth participants portrayed parents as out of touch with and unable to grasp their realities. This resonates with international research showing a disconnect between what adults believe young people should do in relation to intimate relationships and sexuality and what they actually do (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015; Martellozzo et al., 2017). In this regard, Jearey-Graham and Macleod (2015) refer to a ‘discourse of disconnect’. This discourse is evident in the following quotes and works to reverse attributions of ignorance that typically discredits young people.

> ***Extract 9,*** **Adam (student):** I think it's a bit more nuanced than just looking at it as an entirely harmful thing. Teenage boys especially, being rebellious, aren’t really up to listening to that type of thing… like, “Oh no my innocent little child

can't be watching this!” And you go in there with your like big stick diplomacy and you basically say, “No, you can't be watching this, it is absolutely terrible. We will lock you out of it, put the parental controls on the Wi-Fi.” That type of thing is just not helpful.

Extract 10, **Tristian (student)**

I: ((presenting figures from survey)) This is young people's perspectives versus what parents/educators think. So, I was pretty surprised at the top five of young people's reasons!

T: Actually, if I'm being honest, I'm not. [I: No?] No! ((laughter)) because most people view porn for gratification anyway and, of course, I know that from friends and what they do. I think if they [parents] think that their children are watching porn, it would rather be for curiosity, rather than actually gratifying themselves to it.

Extract 11, **Liane (student):** There weren't any conversations [about IP with adults]. I did get caught once. That was like your typical “You shouldn't do that. You’re getting grounded. I'm taking away your computer privileges.” that kind of thing. And it's like “Oh, OK I'm not supposed to watch that? Cool.” Just like a blanket ban kind of thing without any context. It was like OK… and I still watched it.

Here, resisting being positioned as ignorant—an “innocent” “child”—participants instead ascribe these attributes to adults. Parents are rendered mistaken and naïve about the harmful nature of IP and youth’s reasons for viewing it. In response to the interviewer’s surprise, Tristian adopts the position of informed insider (“I know”) positioning parents as the actual dupes who would rather ascribe innocent motives to their children’s IP viewing (“curiosity”) than view them as sexual beings. Likewise,

Adam disputes the common (adult) view of IP as "entirely harmful' and wholly negative ("terrible"), instead positioning himself and other youth "as active and savvy social actors in the online space" (Keen et al., 2020, p. 867). This construction of parental ignorance coheres with international findings indicating that youth view IP as part of a mundane repertoire of everyday media practices and that they are more adept at navigating than adults believe (Goldstein, 2020, 2021).

In this vein, parental responses to their children's IP viewing are characterised as overreactions, based on parental ignorance and thus "not helpful" (Tristian). Parents are consequently positioned as unable to provide meaningful support. Rather than youth's vulnerability, the lack of relevant dialogue ("weren't any conversations," Extract 11) between youth and adults is constructed as problematic. In this way, youth participants resisted the position of innocent, asexual subjects whose access to IP should be controlled by adults.

Resisting Gendered (Risk) Talk. Despite the wide deployment of the harms script by adults, there was resistance to the heterosexual script in the ways some adults *recognised* that women view IP; "I mean girls watch pornography too" (Liam, parent, educator), "Girls watch porn [laughter]" (Naomi, educator). However, this resistance was more prominent in instances where youth participants resisted the gendered positions prescribed by the heterosexual script. Among the participants, all the young women and some of the young men questioned the proscription of IP viewing for young women, as shown below.

> ***Extract 12,*** **Adam (student):** …it's definitely this big kind of (.) culture that there are quite enforced stereotypes. For a male it's fine if you watch porn most the time, whereas as [for] a female it's like, "Why are you doing that? You're a female. You shouldn't be doing that!" type of thing. […] I can't give you a reason

for its existence in the first place. Well, I could, but it's like an hour-long rant on sexism! ((Laughter))

***Extract 13,* Liane (student):** I think (.) this is my personal experience it's more normalised for guys to watch it (.) because it's just boys being boys, normal teenagers, and yadda-yadda. But um if girls watch it, it’s like “Oh they watch porn that’s so gross!” and it’s like, like a double standard. If a guy watches it (.) he's just trying to get it up, but if a girl watches it, she's, I don’t know, like a whore or [pause] dirty.

The speakers question the gendered characterisation of IP viewing as normal male behaviour but aberrant for young women and indicative of failed femininity (“gross,” “dirty” “whore”). Adam describes these gendered positions as “enforced stereotypes” and ascribes these to “sexism”. Liane, like the other young women in our study and those in Spišák’s (2017) Finnish study, challenges the sexual “double standard” supported by the heterosexual script that suggests IP is only for the male realm. Young women also frequently resisted the notion that they are vulnerable, passive victims to men’s porn-informed advances, as evidenced in the extract below.

***Extract 14,* Danielle (student):** Yeah, they've got those ideas in their head where they're like “oh let's have a threesome”. And it's like, “no, like no!” [laughter]. Like that kind of thing where they just kind of exp-, they just think like “oh why not, I saw it in porn, that'd be cool”. And it's like, “yeah no”.

In this way, young women frequently perpetuated the notion that they are tasked with navigating unrealistic sexual expectations from young men who have been ‘duped’ by IP. Thus, although women did not challenge the heterosexual script that construct men as the keen ‘pushers’ of sex and women as gatekeepers, they did resist the notion

that they are (i) uninterested in IP, and (ii) *unagentic* gatekeepers, as evident in Danielle’s dismissal (“And it’s like, ‘yeah no’”). At times, this extended to an agency that foregrounded female pleasure, with young women demonstrating their understanding that women should “understand what they should be getting in terms of sex, like compared to porn” (Amelia, student). Indeed, some of the young women also recognised the pressure their male counterparts might feel “to live up to like those expectations as well, to like please like the girl” (Belinda, student). In this way, young women often demonstrated a keen awareness that young men and women face different pressures, but that these pressures can be agentically navigated.

There was some resistance among young men to the gendered risk that positioned them as uncontrolled, duped IP viewers. In line with previous findings, participants, particularly young men, sometimes negotiated a more agentic position by positioning *others* as naïve or susceptible to the harms of IP, but not themselves (Goldstein, 2020; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). For example, when discussing the vignette about a fictitious youth’s first encounter with IP (see Table 8), Anthony (student) said, “I guess they [other young men] kind of see it, or just take it for granted, or just believe it”. In his way, young men positioned *themselves* as exceptions to the rule—as savvy and not duped—while still supporting the dominant harm scripts and developmentalist script. In claiming agency by utilising the common script of harm and using it to their own ends, young men paradoxically reinforce an ultimately disempowering script. This is shown in the quotes below from young men, one identifying as gay and the other as Christian:

> ***Extract 15,* Tristian (student):** It's not something I do. Most people talk about porn and they make jokes about the type of porn they watch. They talk about, you know, things I don't particularly want to say but, but they talk about the

types and the categories they watch and blah, blah, blah. They don't talk about how if it's good or bad. So, I don't think I could talk to them about the actual effects of it.

Extract 16, **Avery (student):** I have tried to put blocks and stuff on my phone and stuff. So, I don't actually have a browser on my phone. So, I can't accidentally, or on purpose access it... I take the Bible literally … if you look with lust with a young girl, you're actually committing adultery with her.

In these extracts, both speakers draw on the harms script to support opting out of what would otherwise be considered socially sanctioned masculine behaviour among their peers (Taylor & Jackson, 2018). Tristan talks about the potential “effects” of Internet pornography, while Avery refers to spiritual harm. Returning to extract 8, Avery also carves out an alternative positioning to “a guy like that” (i.e., who expects women to focus on male pleasure), which further perpetuates the construction of *other* men *as risk*. These rhetorical devices can be seen as attempts to resist—within discursive constraints—dominant constructions of masculinity (Meenagh, 2020). The resistance to the position of young men as “…the culprits. You know, the porn sinners” (James educator) was minimal, however, and this relative silence among young men demonstrates the difficulty in escaping this position (Morison & Macleod, 2015).

Conclusion

Participants draw on dominant and alternative constructions of how youth engage with IP, positioning youth within the ‘risk’ talk and ‘resistant’ talk we identified. Risk talk is gendered; dominant and evident across the datasets. We have demonstrated how risk talk is supported by three interweaving scripts: the harm, heterosexual, and developmentalist scripts. A risk-focused and highly gendered construction of youth engagement with IP was evident in this talk. In this theme, young people in general are

depicted as developmentally incapable and vulnerable, as well as susceptible to risks based on gender. Hormone-driven young men are positioned as easily duped by the misrepresentations of sexuality in IP and so positioned as *at risk*, especially to addiction, but also *as a risk* to female counterparts. Correspondingly, young women are positioned as hapless victims, either indirectly (through attempts to please men) or directly (through coercive male behaviour). These positionings reinforce dominant pathologising and deficit focused constructions of youth sexuality that reinforce adult authority and control over sexual learning (Morison & Herbert, 2019). Ultimately, the sexual agency of both young women and young men is undermined.

However, resistance to these gendered positions is evident in *resistant* talk that can construct alternative, agentic positions for young people. Participants, mostly young people, resisted dominant, gendered constructions of youth sexuality. However, it should be highlighted that our findings are more nuanced than adults engaging in ‘risk talk’ and young people countering with 'resistant talk'. Both groups drew on dominant and alternative discourses; youth also engaged in ‘risk talk’, and ‘resistant talk’ does not represent youth resisting adult constructions of them.

Resistant talk offers an important and much-needed alternative perspective to the discussion of how to respond to youth engagement with IP. This talk (i) paints a more complex picture of youth sexual subjectivities than the dominant construction of young people as “innocent little children,” and (ii) challenges the prevailing gendered constructions that establish a sexual double standard for engagement with IP. However, we also noted a lack of alternative, more empowering sexual scripts, as evidenced by the difficulty in constructing alternative gendered identities in relation to IP. Although many participants acknowledged problematic gendered constructions, they still drew on the dominant heterosexual script and its essentialist notions of gendered risk.

This has implications for engaging with young people on this topic. To help generate alternative scripts that support youth sexual agency, feminist scholars advocate for participatory approaches modelled on critical consciousness raising of Freirean dialogical pedagogy as part of comprehensive sexuality education. The goal of these approaches is to create reflective spaces in which “young people can be active participants in shaping their own lives and the extent to which they conform or resist gendered scripts” (Carmody & Ovenden, 2013, p. 794). In so doing, youth are equipped to negotiate broader issues regarding sexuality and are empowered to question, reflect, and act upon sexual scripts that support inequitable power relations (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2019; Quinlivan, 2018). Such approaches to sexuality education with youth have been successfully attempted by Jearey-Graham and Macleod (2017), who piloted “sexuality dialogues” in South Africa, and Goldstein (2020), who ran small-group discussions on pornography in the USA. Further research is required to investigate how such an approach may be received by various stakeholders—including parents and teachers—and implemented in various contexts, among diverse students. If we are to take young people’s voices seriously, as equally legitimate to those of parents and teachers, we must recognise them as active cultural consumers and legitimate sexual citizens who have relevant knowledge and the agentic potential to navigate the porn-tech nexus.

Contextualising Article 2

Article 1 provided initial insight into young New Zealanders’ engagement with IP, as well as the synergies and discrepancies that exist between their engagement, and the perceptions of educators and caregivers. Article 2 illuminated these findings. By reading the quantitative alongside the qualitative, a more holistic picture is painted.

Drawing on qualitative methods allowed me to further unpack how youth—alongside their caregivers and educators—accounted for and understood the evident presence of IP in their lives. This allowed for cultural mores (e.g., sexuality education and socio-political contexts) to be explored more fully (Peter & Valkenburg, 2016). Article 2 demonstrated how youth, caregivers and educators negotiate available sexual scripts in ways that throw light on the gendered patterns and trends that are apparent in quantitative pornography research, such as the findings presented in Article 1.

For example, the qualitative findings described in Article 2 help to clarify how gendered engagement with IP may be reflective of an adherence to gender rules (Nentwich & Morison, 2018). While the quantitative data indicates that young males engage more with IP than females, the qualitative data tells a story about these gendered patterns; rather than biological/natural explanations, it may be the case that the discursive (social) world positions girls and women within disciplinary regimes so that they *should no*t engage with IP, while boys and men *should*, in order to abide by social and gender rules (Nentwich & Morison, 2018). Thus, trepidation among some young girls about disclosing their IP viewing (for fear of the stigma/shame associated with this) may be influencing the gendered trends we see in quantitative research (Chowkhani, 2016; Tsaliki, 2011).

By understanding the various ways youth and their caregivers draw on available scripts to account for youth encounters with IP, we can reflect on the implications such

variations might have on the support youth are offered by caregivers (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015; Tsaliki, 2011). For example, we see in Article 2 how the notion that IP is for the male realm only is resisted in participant talk, yet concerns about the negative effects of IP are harboured, and participants construct gendered risk when accounting for youth engagement with IP. To better understand how pedagogical initiatives can best attend to the lived realities of youth, an important avenue of focused exploration is the way youth make sense of the gendered representations of sexuality in IP. Thus, in keeping with the positioning of young people as legitimate sexual citizens and experts of their own lives, the youth voice is prioritised in Article 3, which I turn to next.

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

We, the candidate and the candidate’s Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate’s contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Siobhán Healy-Cullen
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Associate Professor Joanne E. Taylor
In which chapter is the manuscript /published work: Chapter 6	
Please select one of the following three options: ◯ The manuscript is currently under review for publication – please indicate: • The name of the journal: Feminism and Psychology • The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 75% • Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: The candidate (i) developed the research questions and study methods in collaboration with co-authors, (ii) collected all data, (iii) analysed the data with advice from co-authors, (iv) wrote the manuscript with advice and feedback from co-authors.	
Candidate’s Signature:	Siobhan Healy-Cullen
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Date:	03/09/2021

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Chapter 7, Article 3: How Youth Draw on Sexual Scripts When Navigating Internet Pornography

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Abstract

An emerging body of critical, qualitative research suggests that youth are savvy and competent navigators of Internet pornography (IP). To extend such findings, our research explores the sexual scripts drawn on by youth when navigating representations of sex and gender in IP. We draw on sexual scripting theory, as developed by feminist discursive psychologists, to examine how participants re/negotiate broader socially available meanings about IP to construct personal sexual subjectivities. Drawing on interview data generated with ten New Zealand youth (aged 16-18-years), we identified three primary scripts used in talk about IP, namely: (i) the frame of reference script, (ii) the permissive script, and (iii) the critical feminist script. These scripts were drawn on to construct IP in two main ways: first, as a cultural resource (theme one) and second as fantastical and fake (theme two). Within this talk, youth participants positioned themselves as savvy IP consumers who reflexively navigate the IP landscape. These findings demonstrate how youth negotiation of IP is more complicated and nuanced than the traditional social learning model allows for.

Keywords: *Sexual scripting theory, sexual subjectivities, Internet pornography, sense-making, youth.*

Effects-focused research, with its claims of risk and harm, has fuelled public discussion regarding youth and Internet pornography (IP). Cause-and-effect research agendas are often underpinned by a powerful developmentalist discourse that constructs young people as innocent children who may be easily duped by the representations in IP due to their developmental inability to discern reality from fantasy. This discourse therefore works to position youth as at risk viewers of IP, requiring adult intervention and protection from themselves (Tsaliki & Chronaki, 2020). The construction of childhood innocence has led to young people’s voices being discredited and subsumed by adults, in the belief that youth (as a monolithic category) are “unknowing” and cannot, in any meaningful way, represent themselves (Jarkovská & Lamb, 2018, p. 78). Adults often fail to recognise that young people hold valid knowledge on this topic, and their lived realities more generally. Such essentialising and positioning of youth as unagentic asexual beings fuels social discourse that renders youth sexuality as improper and a source of taboo. This adult-centric construction of youth places young people in a double-bind: IP is both illicit, yet omnipresent (Mulholland, 2013; Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019). In recognising the complexity of youth negotiations with IP—and the relationship with sexual subjectivity construction—an emerging body of qualitative feminist research takes a broader socio-political perspective on the topic and critically engages with youth as legitimate sexual citizens (Allen, 2006; Bale, 2011; Chronaki, 2014).

Our study adds to this body of literature and instead considers the ways they engage with IP critically through the discursive re/negotiation of sexual scripts (McKee, 2005). Along with other critical scholars, we consider youth as agentic in their own sexual subjectivity construction, within the constraints of social discourse in a given social context (Robinson & Davies, 2018). In this study, we recognise that this

meaning-making is enacted in a specific, 'pornified' cultural context, where youth regularly encounter IP (Mulholland, 2015).

Youth Sexual Subjectivity Construction and Internet Pornography

IP is part of the wider discursive landscape in which youth sexual subjectivity construction occurs. IP reproduces various constructions of gender and sexuality, many of which have been deemed problematic by feminist and other researchers. However, rather than assume that youth need to be shielded from these or instructed about them, we are interested in how youth themselves make sense of and negotiate these constructions. These meanings about sexuality and gender are part of an array of discursive resources that youth encounter in the media and as part of their daily lives. IP therefore offers youth a platform to explore their sexuality and develop their own sexual subjectivities by making sense of the representations they see in IP in relation to messages from other domains of socialisation (e.g., educators and caregivers) (Van Damme, 2010). It provides alternative understandings as to what it means to 'do' gender, to be sexual, and to experience pleasure (Garland-Levett & Allen, 2018).

Youth may turn to IP when negotiating their sexual embodiment, relational sexual interactions, and constructions of gender identities (Coy & Horvath, 2018). Representations of sex and sexuality in IP can disrupt or support existing dominant, socially acceptable constructions of gender and sexuality (Goldstein, 2018). Therefore, young people must navigate the representation they see in IP and make sense of them alongside various (potentially conflicting) channels of sexual socialisation. Additionally, in terms of positioning towards IP, youth must contend with issues such as whether it is 'acceptable' to view IP in order to be a 'functioning' or 'good' sexual citizen in a society that constructs IP as inherently harmful to youth (Aggleton et al., 2018).

Our research explores how young New Zealanders construct sexual subjectivities by drawing on sexual scripts when negotiating IP. We draw on a discursive iteration of sexual scripting theory (described below), which allows for an examination of how youth participants re/negotiate broader socially available meanings about IP (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a; Spišák, 2017).

Methodology

This article is based on a mixed-methods project that explores key stakeholder (16-18-year-olds, caregivers, and educators) understandings of youth engagement with IP, including their perspectives on educational responses to this issue. We conducted an online exploratory survey, customised for each stakeholder group, which was intended to provide a broad overview of trends and to inform the design of the qualitative component. At the end of the survey, respondents from each stakeholder group were invited to register their interest in an in-depth, semi-structured interview (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021d). In this article, we report on the interviews conducted with young people.

Data Collection

Students, aged between 16- and 18-years old, from nine participating schools across the North Island of New Zealand who registered interest in taking part in an interview were contacted by the first author, Siobhan, with further information about the interview and to answer any questions they had. Alongside this approach, convenience sampling was used in the form of participant referrals. In this way, ten young people were recruited. Participant characteristics are summarised in Table 9. All names are pseudonyms and identifying information has been removed to ensure confidentiality.

Table 9

Youth participant demographics

Alias	Age	Gender	Ethnicity
Kate	17	Female	Pākehā & Māori
Amelia	16	Female	Pākehā
Belinda	18	Female	Pākehā
Danielle	18	Female	European
Liane	17	Female	Pākehā
Avery	16	Male	Pākehā & Asian
Tristian	16	Male	Asian
Adam	17	Male	Pākehā
Frank	18	Male	Pākehā & Māori
Anthony	18	Male	Pākehā & Māori

Note. Pākehā is the indigenous term for non-Māori New Zealanders.

In-person interviews were conducted from August to November 2019 by the first author, Siobhan, at a time and location (mostly at their school) convenient to participants and lasted between 40 – 90 minutes. Interviews centred around participants’ meaning-making processes, for example, the ways IP represents sex and sexuality. To generate discussion and elicit participants’ own understandings of the topic, and to ensure that discussion centred on the topic in general, rather than personal experiences, the interview schedule made use of three elicitation strategies. First, at the start of each interview the definition of IP being used in the survey was discussed (“any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy” (Short et al., 2012, p. 21)). Second, several findings from the survey were presented to each participant to provide their perspectives on. Third, a story completion exercise about a young person’s first time viewing IP provided a non-threatening way to

share their perspectives and a space for participants to discursively demonstrate their sense making (Clarke et al., 2019). Participants were provided with a story stem, and then proceeded to describe how they might complete the story. This approach of using story completion was valuable for speaking with youth about a sensitive topic as it allowed for a degree of separation. This approach allowed us to explore the discourses and normative gendered scripts they draw on to construct personal sexual subjectivities in relation to IP.

Data Analysis

We draw on a feminist, discursive approach to sexual scripting theory that conceptualises gendered sexual scripts as inter-actively constructed within a local social context, rather than simply as internal cognitive heuristics (Beres, 2013; Frith and Kitzinger, 2001; Morison and Macleod, 2015). From this perspective, scripts are discursive ways of negotiating the sexual and gendered representations they encounter in IP that are available for young people to draw on.

The discursive resources available to construct and enact meaning are historically, socially, and culturally specific and therefore are fluid and changeable. Thus, scripts are not static; social actors perpetuate them through enactment in their personal and interpersonal discursive interactions (Masters et al., 2013; Nentwich & Morison, 2018). As we have documented elsewhere (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a), using feminist discursive sexual scripting theory allows us to explore the discursive strategies deployed by youth when making sense of the gendered and sexual norms represented in IP as a resource for sexual subjectivity construction (Tsaliki & Chronaki, 2020).

We carried out a critical thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's (2012) six stage coding guidelines. We took a deductive approach, focused on latent meaning, drawing on sexual scripting theory to generate and interpret themes (Braun & Clarke,

2006; Frith & Kitzinger, 200; Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a). The analysis focuses on patterns of meaning-making based on common scripts in youth talk about their sexual subjectivity construction in relation to IP (Clarke et al., 2015a). Each overarching thematic category captures how sexual scripts—as discursive resources—were drawn on and improvised in particular ways (Nentwich & Morison, 2018), as we further detail below.

Analysis and Discussion

We identified three primary scripts, supported in the literature, commonly drawn on by participants: (i) the frame of reference script, (ii) the permissive script, and (iii) the critical feminist script (Goldstein, 2021; Hollway, 1984; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). These scripts, often intersecting with one another and other less-prominent scripts, were deployed to various discursive ends. In the analysis below, we demonstrate how youth draw on these scripts to construct, firstly, IP as a useful cultural resource (theme 1) and, secondly, IP as fantastical and fake (theme 2).

Theme 1. Internet Pornography as a Cultural Resource

Cohering with international literature, youth drew on the “frame of reference” script when negotiating the meanings they encounter in IP (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). As such, IP was normalised as a useful source of sexual information (Litsou et al., 2020; Scarcelli, 2015). Although youth did not explicitly refer to IP as a ‘sex educator’, it was acknowledged as a way of accessing information about sex, and as a way of seeing what aroused bodies look like in the absence of alternative visualisations (Allen, 2006; Rothman et al., 2015). Often the messages that caregivers and educators deliver to young people about sex are not explicit regarding what sex will actually be like. Some young people may therefore access IP as a means of ascertaining what it looks like in ‘real life’ to reduce anxiety about first sexual intercourse, and to

dis/confirm their existing ideas about sexual norms and practices (Martin, 2017; Scarcelli, 2014). In our data, youth therefore made sense of IP through positioning themselves as legitimate sexual subjects who are interested in how sex works and how to ‘do’ sex, as illustrated in the extracts below.

> ***Extract 1*, Adam -** Watching porn is like “sure that's how I learned about sex”. That's normal. Like that's basically how I learned what happens, and like what I want and what women want.

> ***Extract 2*, Amelia -** Like, if you are going to have sex then like you kind of need to learn like how to actually do it so like ((laughter)) even though it's not a very good representation, it's like, really the only way you can get visuals on how to do it.

This notion of IP as a normalised learning tool for how to ‘do’ sex described in the above extracts demonstrates how IP is seen as “the only way” to learn “how to actually do it” (Extract 2). Adam also draws on a contemporary script described by feminist researchers—the permissive script—to describe how he learned “what I want and what women want” (Extract 1) from IP. This script is built upon the perceived importance of both women *and men* sexually pleasing one’s partner (Hollway, 1984). Thus, while Adam and Amelia (Extracts 1 and 2) construct IP as a valuable cultural resource, this ‘learner’ orientation towards IP intersects with the permissive script, as participants understand IP as a way to learn how to please and pleasure others (Attwood et al., 2018; Goldstein, 2021).

This permissive script intersects with the heterosexual script, however, as women are expected to focus on pleasing their partner, while women have sex done to them (Bay-Cheng & Eliseo-Arras, 2008; Ringrose, 2010). Young women must navigate a postfeminist culture that places emphasis on agency and liberation through self-

sexualisation, yet requires them to be quintessentially pleasing women who can sexually satisfy their partner (Bay-Cheng & Eliseo-Arras, 2008; Jackson et al., 2013; Tolman, 2012). This can potentially explain why girls in particular—who are constructed as ostensibly not sexual like boys—constructed sex as something with expected roles and practices that need to be learned, rather than instinctual. This ‘learner’ orientation offers girls a way to justify viewing IP in a culturally intelligible manner that adheres to feminine respectability, allowing them to evade the spoiled position of ‘dirty’ (Goldstein, 2021; Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a). Thus, young women constructed IP as an educationally instructive way of learning “how we should be doing it” (Belinda) to please their partners (Goldstein, 2021; Smith et al., 2015). For example, Kate described negotiating the “persona” women “have to have” that involves “doing things for your sexual partner and more attention on them […] just being more submissive”. She describes viewing IP to learn about “what was kind of expected of me as well as a sexual partner […] It was just more the curiosity of, what I’m supposed to do, essentially”. Accordingly, since IP generally centres on male pleasure and portrays women as providing pleasure to men (Klaassen & Peter, 2015), young women discursively constructed IP as a cultural resource to learn about how to perform sex in ways that please male partners.

In step with previous research, young women in particular commented on how expectation exists for them to behave according to gendered and sexual representations in IP, even if this does not centre their own pleasure (Ashton et al., 2020), as further illustrated in the quotes below.

> ***Extract 3*, Liane -** They [boys] think every woman is submissive and is happy to take it […] In my experience a lot of porn is made to benefit the male, for the male to enjoy. So, a lot of it is like for them. And I find that they don't, in my

experience with the boys from this particular boys’ school, they don't even think about what we feel as women and how we could potentially enjoy or not enjoy what's happening and having that done to us.

***Extract 4*, Belinda -** Yeah, I feel like it's more like pleasure for the guy, more than the girl. And like, yeah. So, she might think that she has to like... She doesn't get much out of it, but she has to like put work in for like the guy... Like she feels like she's expected to do all of these things for like the guy. But she’s not getting, like, much back.

Here, young women draw on the permissive script to enact neoliberal postfeminist sensibilities when questioning ways to give and receive pleasure, describing how they must “put work in for like the guy” (Extract 4) and be “happy to take it” (Extract 3). However, within this permissive script, women’s pleasure was largely unknown and recognised by female youth as a secondary nice-to-have rather than a prioritisation (Allen, 2006; Ashton et al., 2020). Sex was described as something that is “done to” (Extract 3) or ‘on’ women’s bodies – rather than *with* women (Allen, 2006). This is reflective of Fine’s (1988) work on the absence of a discourse of desire, particularly with regard to young women. Women are passively positioned in this script as simply responding to male overtures, whose insatiable sexual needs must be fulfilled (Ashton et al., 2018). This gendered construction of ‘the pleasing woman’ is an important area of exploration in how youth who identify as varying genders are afforded the space to desire, and to seek sexual pleasure (Stephens & Phillips, 2003).

As well as the permissive script, the construction of IP as a cultural resource was bolstered by the script of IP as ‘no big deal’. In this sense, youth described how IP is for leisure and pleasure (Goldstein, 2021; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Mulholland, 2013). This banality works in conjunction with the “mediated intimacies”

script (Attwood et al., 2018, p. 3738), which highlights how technological developments, of which youth are digital natives, has promoted mediated intimacies through digital means such as IP. Indeed, youth participants described IP as an unavoidable everyday reality that is embedded in their day-to-day life (Bay-Cheng, 2003). Cohering with other qualitative research, youth casually described IP as but one technological resource they use to construct sexual subjectivities and engage in sexual meaning-making (Ashton et al., 2020; Spišák, 2020). As Danielle (female, youth) explained, she enjoys engaging with IP actors as “social media people” and maintained that “I guess parents kind of miss the whole thing where it's like (.) Internet porn is a massive industry, and it's like porn stars are famous … I follow heaps of porn stars on *Instagram*, not because I watch them, but cause they're like famous people”. For many youth, online spaces are intrinsic to their social interactions, and IP is normalised within these broader online social interactions as part of a pornified entertainment culture (Attwood et al., 2018).

Given that IP was nonchalantly accepted as a useful cultural resource, it is important to note that some participants—especially boys—stated that they joked about adults taking the issue too seriously. This talk aligns with Allen’s (2006) New Zealand based research which showed the ways young men joke about sex/pornography as a form of resistance to adult authority. Such responses also suggest that, for some youth, IP is normalised to the point that it does not necessarily require any critical thought or meaning-making, as reflected in the following extract.

> ***Extract 5*, Danielle -** There's not like a deeper meaning behind it when like young people are watching it but I feel like parents, they'd want their kids, to be like being safe and being knowledgeable. So obviously they'd want their kids being taught about it [...] Yeah I don’t know. I didn't really think about it very

deeply I was just like, yeah kind of, that's a lot, and I'll just leave it now like, yeah that kind of thing [laughter].

Youth participants nonchalantly referred to IP as a normalised part of their wider media landscape and fundamentally about entertainment. Danielle explains how she “didn’t really think about it very deeply”, drawing on personal experience to refute the construction of youth as credulous and inevitably harmed by IP. Likewise, Tristian (male student) explained, “I don't think it's there for people to actually make sense of. I think it's for people to like have a fantasy” (Tristian, male student), again refuting the notion that youth cannot be discerning, and instead positioning himself as shrewd and knowledgeable. Danielle and Tristian therefore position themselves as insiders in the know; aware that “there’s not like a deeper meaning behind it” (Extract 5). This brings us to the next theme about young people’s construction of IP as fake and fantastical.

Theme 2. Internet Pornography as Fake and Fantastical

Both young women and young men positioned themselves as agentic *sexual subjects*. It was apparent throughout the interviews that youth were navigating the conundrum of how to make sense of IP as a pleasure technology when it is so often spoken about within a harms and risk discourse (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Spišák, 2020). Thus, although youth understood IP as a pleasurable and entertaining means of sexual exploration (Attwood et al., 2018; McKee, 2012), they also drew on the script of harm, perhaps on account of there being limited available discourses that construct IP as a positive educational resource. As described elsewhere, this harm and risk was often gendered, with young men at risk of being ‘duped’ by IP, and young women at risk of being sexually pressured by these ‘duped’ young men (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a).

Youth resisted the common construction of youth as naïve and easily taken in by what they see in IP and other media; they positioned themselves as able to discern reality from fantasy. The implication here is that they can learn from IP or use it as entertainment because they realise that it is fake and fantastical. By drawing on a critical feminist script, youth successfully constructed themselves as knowledgeable sexual subjects who recognise that IP is fake and fantastical. This discursive strategy allowed them to challenge the notion that IP can only be experienced within a pleasure-harm dichotomy (Goldstein, 2020; Spišák, 2016, 2017).

In this way, youth can justify using IP as a cultural resource and learning tool because they are aware that it is “sanitised and fake” (Extract 9). Youth in our research highlighted that they are capable of separating IP—a commercial and commodified product—from their real world intimacies (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Spišák, 2020). Youth effectively positioned themselves as critical IP viewers who can adeptly navigate and be discerning when viewing IP, for example, by recognising that lesbian IP is “geared towards males who want females even though they might say its lesbian porn anyway” (Tristian, student). As illustrated below, youth constructed IP as one representation of ‘reality’ entertainment.

> ***Extract 6*, Danielle -** I think it's very like intense and like it's very like put on and like everything's more dramatised and like... Yeah everything's like, yeah way out of what it's actually like and like the people […]. Like the girl's always like had some like work done, you know like looks really like fake boobs and, yeah.
>
> ***Extract 7*, Kate -** I think you can kind of segregate the physical act and the actual acting of it. I think you’re able to determine what's real and what's not, I think.

These extracts illustrate how "you" (people in general, including youth) "can kind of segregate", compartmentalise and discern input from IP as a domain of socialisation "to determine what's real and what's not". Furthermore, youth demonstrated their understanding of IP as inherently misrepresentative of 'real' sex by highlighting how women are often objectified, there are unhelpful gender roles, consent is not present, safe sex is not practiced, and bodies are often unrealistic i.e., "fake boobs" (Extract 6) (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Mattebo et al., 2012). On account of this positioning as savvy IP consumers, the validity of pedagogical initiatives, and what exactly would be on a porn literacy curriculum, was questioned; "…'cause obviously I know being taught like the difference between it [IP], that's not real and this is what is real, like your expectations. But what else I'd like *learn* about." (Danielle, student).

Although these youth recognised that the body ideals portrayed in IP are unattainable and criticised fake portrayals of bodies in IP (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Mattebo et al., 2012), IP's portrayal of narrow Western ideals pertaining to hetero-femininity and masculinity can play a multi-faceted role in young people's sexual meaning-making. In this vein, two participants, who identified as queer (Liane) and gay (Tristian) highlighted that they take issue with how IP represents certain sexualities, such as the fetishisation of lesbians and 'buff' gay pornography (Extracts 8 and 9). Thus, these youths were agentically capable of using IP as a learning tool while at the same time acknowledging it as a flawed representation of sex and sexuality. As illustrated below, youth demonstrated a resistance to normative gendered constructions, thereby challenging the construction of youth as a monolithic category of passive, uncritical IP viewers.

***Extract 8*, Liane -** Emm, it's just not at all accurate. It's (.) especially like you go on *Pornhub* and you see like “Two hot girls scissoring”! and it’s like, that seems a. very uncomfortable and b. like no one's going to get satisfaction out of that, and it's twisted the public's perception on how lesbian women have sex.

***Extract 9*, Tristian -** It's all really ummm sanitised and fake and it's the two buff guys thing that's not really good. I haven't seen anything that I think is actually real, yet anyway […]. It really was really crystal clear. That's not how it is.

It was evident from this talk that Liane and Tristian were discursively reckoning with the gendered expectations that surround IP viewing in terms of heteronormative practices (Jackson & Scott, 2007; Spišák, 2016, 2017). They position themselves as astute to the artifice of IP, and appraise representations of queer sex as “just not at all accurate” and “sanitised and fake”. They also position themselves as able to judiciously problematise unhelpful misrepresentations that are “not really good” (Extract 9) and can “twist public perception” (Extract 8).

Here, they are not needing to learn from IP, but rather they are knowledgeable about what sex is actually like and how it is actually done – distinct from the ‘innocent child’. Speaking about IP in a sophisticated manner, referring to the intentions of different genres, and criticising representations of sex/uality suggests that it is the construction of ‘normal’ sexual practice that can have implications for youth, as illustrated in Liane’s reflections on “scissoring”; “And it's like the first thing I think of is like that weird scissoring situation and it’s like I know that's not the way to do it. But why am I thinking it?”.

Overall, youth exercised critical agency by engaging with IP in a reflective way that demonstrates their ability to use IP as a cultural tool to perform agentic sexual subjectivities (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Spišák, 2017). This suggests that

youth, rather than uncritically using IP as a sex guide, are actively negotiating and challenging what they view in IP and relating it to their own life in a way that adults do not frequently recognise (Spišák, 2020; Vares & Jackson, 2015). In so doing, young people construct sophisticated sexual subjectivities that suggest their sense-making of representation in IP is more complicated and nuanced than the popularised social learning model allows for.

Concluding Comments

In the analysis above, we demonstrate how youth deployed three primary sexual scripts, supported in the scholarly literature, to understand and make meaning of IP: (i) the frame of reference script, (ii) the permissive script, and (iii) the critical feminist script (Goldstein, 2021; Hollway, 1984; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). In so doing, they demonstrate how IP can be simultaneously constructed as a useful cultural resource (theme 1) *and* fake and fantastical (theme 2). Youth participants presented themselves as cognisant and critical of the ostensive harms, discerning of the artificiality of IP, and able to critically reflect on and reflexively navigate the IP landscape (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). In line with previous literature, these youth demonstrate how young people's meaning-making is more nuanced and complex way than is often presented and can occur for some youth in a critical manner (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a; McKee, 2010; Spišák, 2017).

Our findings support several other studies in a range of contexts reporting that youth commonly distinguish between sexual representations in IP versus real life practices. For instance, in a recent Finnish study the young women participating commonly characterised "sexual practices seen in pornography … as commercial, promiscuous and fake forms of sexuality" (Spišák, 2020, p. 8). Such talk resists and challenges sexual scripts that construct youth as vulnerable dupes, unable to distinguish

between fantasy and reality (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a). Thus, this research indicates that the childhood innocence script that renders youth as passive and naïve—and is so regularly relied on in talking about youth engagement with IP—needs to be challenged and renegotiated if we are to support youth in navigating IP in a way that is meaningful for them.

Our research findings represent more empowering self-positioning among youth, similar to that of the young New Zealanders in Allen’s (2006, p. 397) study, who positioned themselves as “sexually knowing subjects”. Positioning “young people as positively and legitimately sexual”, Allen (2006) argues, is potentially more productive “than a subject positioning that is negatively construed”, as in mainstream discussion of youth IP engagement (p. 402). Not only is such an empowering subjectivity more aligned with youth’s own preferred self-positioning, but adults’ acceptance of young people as sexual subjects potentially allows for more purposeful and productive conversations about sex and sexuality than risk and harm focused responses (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015).

Indeed, our findings resonate with and contribute to work that is focused on generating constructive ways to support youth’s sexual socialisation in a Western, postfeminist, digitalised culture that renders IP simultaneously “sexy” and illicit (Goldstein, 2020; Spišák, 2020). Moving past the overwhelming focus on potential negative effects of IP viewing, critical scholars suggest that research should shift focus to identifying pedagogical strategies to support youth agency (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2017). Policy agendas that consider how best to support youth must recognise the sexual subjectivities and sexual agency expressed by these youth and take them seriously (Scarcelli, 2015). Pedagogical initiatives may indeed be useful and have some

positive outcomes if approached in ways that consider these dominant scripts and the current ways youth make sense of representations in IP (Goldstein, 2020).

For example, strategies that adopt an ethical sexual citizenship lens and justice-orientated approach to sexuality education, rather than top down didactic ‘porn literacy’ interventions, might prove more relevant and meaningful to youth (Byron et al., 2020; Carmody & Ovenden, 2013; Macleod & Vincent, 2014). Indeed, our findings suggests that educational discussions about IP would be best situated among broader learnings about how a young person can explore IP as a new cultural reality, in a way that makes sense to their personal lived experiences, and respects their orientation to IP as critical viewers. What is often missing from the fearful discourse regarding youth encounters with IP is the recognition that youth can, as we have demonstrated, actively negotiate with IP, rather than passively subsuming its messages and blindly imitating what they see (Jackson & Scott, 2007; Scarcelli, 2015; Spišák, 2016).

That youth have agentic critical sexual subjectivities must first be acknowledged in order to support youth in exploring the subjectivities described in this article. If the voices of these young people are to be taken seriously, young people must be recognised as active cultural consumers and legitimate sexual citizens with the potential to discern and navigate the IP landscape.

Contextualising Article 3

Article 3 builds on the understandings gleaned from Article 1 regarding how youth engage with IP at a fundamentally descriptive level, and Article 2 which considers how both youth and adults account for youth engagement with IP within the constraints of available sexual scripts. In Article 2, ‘risk talk’ was met with ‘resistant talk’ when accounting for IP in the lives of youth. It was therefore a pertinent step to explore this alternative construction of youth sexuality and how youth draw on sexual scripts to discursively negotiate the meanings they encounter in IP.

The strength of Article 2 was the crystallisation of perspectives among three key stakeholder groups regarding how youth engagement with IP is accounted for. The strength of Article 3 is the way it hones in on the qualitative interview data with the youth group *only*. As demonstrated in Article 3, youth were not reticent about their views and richly articulated their perspectives. We showed how youth positioned themselves as savvy, and critical viewers of IP, acknowledging IP as a cultural resource which they recognise as imperfect when it comes to learning about sex/uality. Thus, Article 3 delved into a more complex exploration of how youth draw on sexual scripts to negotiate IP. Cohering with international findings, the youth voice presented in Article 3 complicates understandings of youth as hapless victims (Mulholland, 2013).

Crucially, Article 3 provides a research foundation for exploring porn literacy education as a potential response initiative. Understanding how youth currently negotiate the representations they encounter in IP is a key knowledge base to acquire before establishing educational policy that aim to assist youth in such sense-making. It is to this concept of porn literacy education that I turn to next, presenting the findings of key stakeholder perspectives about porn literacy education in Article 4.

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Siobhán Healy-Cullen
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Associate Professor Joanne E. Taylor

In which chapter is the manuscript /published work: Chapter 7

Please select one of the following three options:

◯ It is intended that the manuscript will be published, but it has not yet been submitted to a journal.

- The name of the journal: Sexualities
- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 85%
- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work: The candidate (i) developed the research questions and study methods in collaboration with co-authors, (ii) collected all data, (iii) analysed the data with advice from co-authors, (iv) wrote the manuscript with advice and feedback from co-authors.

Candidate's Signature:	Siobhan Healy-Cullen
Date:	03/09/2021
Primary Supervisor's Signature:	Joanne Taylor
Date:	03/09/2021

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Chapter 8, Article 4: Using Q-methodology to Explore Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Porn Literacy Education

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Abstract

Introduction: 'Porn literacy education' is emerging as a pedagogical strategy to support youth in navigating the new technological pornography landscape. However, the characteristics of effective porn literacy education according to those who will be most affected by it—young people, their caregivers, and educators—is unknown. Yet, end user views are imperative to policy development in sexuality education worldwide.

Methods: Using Q-methodology, the commonalities and idiosyncrasies of these stakeholder views were explored. In 2019, 30 participants recruited through nine schools in New Zealand completed an online Q sort, and 24 also took part in a follow-up interview.

Results: There were two distinct discourses regarding porn literacy education among stakeholders: (i) the pragmatic response discourse, and (ii) the harm mitigation discourse.

Conclusions: Stakeholders hold nuanced and ideologically charged perspectives about porn literacy education and educational initiatives more generally. It is important that policy acknowledges that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach may be unattainable, and allows for different perspectives.

Policy Implications: It is crucial that policy development is guided by evidence about what constitutes successful sexuality education. The social discourses reported here are important to consider in developing policy about porn literacy education, and require further research if we are to more fully understand the potential of porn literacy as pedagogy.

Keywords: *Internet pornography, porn literacy education, Q-methodology*

Internet pornography (IP) is one of the many cultural resources youth draw on to make sense of their sexual selves, and is fast assuming the role of a key domain of sexual socialisation for young people (Ingham, 2005; Wright, 2014). There is an unprecedented and “immediate need to equip young people with the skills, knowledge and understanding to deconstruct and reconstruct these representations in line with the reality of gender, sex, power, sexuality and respectful relationships” (Ollis, 2016a, p. 51). A relatively recent approach to steering youth through the “sex tech nexus” (Comella & Tarrant, 2015, p. 3) is “porn literacy” education, a media literacy intervention (Albury, 2014). This approach aims to support youth in navigating and critically reflecting on IP by equipping caregivers and educators to talk with young people about the representations of sex and sexuality in IP (Albury, 2014).

Porn literacy education is emerging as a favourable alternative to other strategies, such as censorship or legislation (Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014), but is not yet widely integrated within school curricula in New Zealand or internationally. Research has highlighted the value of teaching porn literacy skills and the ways that it could be a useful addition to sexual and reproductive health curricula (Dawson et al., 2019; Hutchings, 2017; Oosterhoff et al., 2017). However, curricula and models are being developed with very little understanding of the perspectives of those who will be most affected by porn literacy education, including young people as recipients as well as caregivers (parents or guardians) and educators as potential implementers (Davis et al., 2020; Rothman et al., 2018). Each of these end user groups may have a particular view of porn literacy education (Cousins, 2017), and we know that caregivers and educators address the topic of IP with young people in diverse ways (ERO, 2018; Ollis, 2016b; Rothman et al., 2017).

However, there is limited evidence on the perspectives of young people, caregivers, and educators (Dawson, 2019, 2020), and we do not know how these end users perceive their role in porn literacy education delivery. While British teachers support the discussion of IP as part of sexuality education with youth, in terms of highlighting the ‘issues’ and ‘dangers’ of pornography (Baker, 2016), some teachers report feeling awkward in delivering sexuality education (Allen, 2020). Research in Australia suggests that, unless a teacher feels prepared, supported by the community, and equipped with resources, classroom discussions about sexual media are unlikely to occur (Albury, 2013, 2018). Similarly, some parents may consider that pornography negatively affects youth (Dawson, 2020), and that discussions about IP should take place in the classroom (Baker, 2016; Weaver et al., 2001). A Flemish survey found that over 70% of adults (N = 3543) (although not all may have been parents) agreed that including sexually explicit material in sexual education classes would be a valuable opportunity for teachers to discuss sexuality with students, and that it was important to develop material to support teachers with this work (Van Puyenbroeck et al., 2017). Incorporating structured porn literacy education strategies may better support educators and caregivers in their potential role as sexuality educators (Albury, 2014). Research with young people indicates that some youth want IP be addressed in sexuality education (Allen, 2008; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Pound et al., 2016).

However, these studies of stakeholder groups do not provide a detailed understanding of the perspectives of educators, caregivers, and youth about the characteristics of effective porn literacy education. Furthermore, the lack of research on young people’s perspectives reflects a more general failure to consult young people on issues related to youth sexuality (Morison & Herbert, 2019) and sexuality education (Allen, 2007b), despite their insights being crucial to the success of sexuality education

initiatives (Allen, 2007a, 2007b; Beyers, 2013). The lack of consideration of young people’s perspectives motivated the inclusion of young people in this study. Knowledge of stakeholder views can provide valuable insights for effective programme design and implementation. We sought to understand the views of end users about porn literacy education, and what porn literacy education might look like in practise (Albury, 2014; Dawson et al., 2019; Vandenbosch & van Oosten, 2018), using the unique approach of examining the perspectives of all three end user groups within our study. We used Q-methodology to explore stakeholder perspectives. This study was part of a larger mixed methods project exploring stakeholder perspectives about understanding and responding to youth encounters and engagement with IP in New Zealand (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a, 2021b, 2021d).

Method

Young people aged 16- to 18-years-old, caregivers, and educators were recruited from nine schools of different types (e.g., co-ed, single sex, rural, urban, and from differing decile groupings) to ensure a diverse range of views. Participants were first invited to participate (via the principal at their school) in an online survey about youth engagement with IP. After completing the survey, participants were asked about their interest in taking part in a Q-sort and follow-up interview. Snowballing techniques were used to recruit an additional five young people due to difficulty in recruiting student participants through the survey alone.

The online Q-sort was completed by 30 participants; 15 adults (6 men, 9 women) and 15 youth (7 boys, 8 girls) of varying ethnicities. Of these, 24 participants took part in a semi-structured follow-up interview conducted by the first author; 10 were youth (5 boys, 5 girls) and 14 were adults (6 men, 8 women) and were caregivers

(*n* = 7), educators (*n* = 1), or both caregivers and educators (*n* = 6). Table 10 provides demographic information for the participants.

Q-Methodology Overview

Q-methodology uses factor analysis along with interview data to identify factors representing a shared and coherent perspective on a topic, which we understand as a discourse. Interview data are used to interpret these perspectives (Stainton-Rogers, 1998; Watts & Stenner, 2012). Q-methodology was suited to our aims because it is expressly designed “to explore the subjective dimension of any issue towards which different points-of-view can be expressed” (Stenner et al., 2017, p. 212). It allows for a richer and more rigorous exploration of diverse opinions than traditional surveys. Rather than measuring understandings in relation to a researcher-imposed operational definition, Q-methodology illuminates participants’ own perspectives, understandings, and definitions (Kitzinger, 1999), which was of particular importance to this study. The addition of follow-up interviews adds further nuance, enabling exploration of why participants may agree or disagree with an item or to “tease out the complexities that underpin seeming polarisation” (Beckner et al., 2019, p. 1228). Given these benefits, the methodology is often used in order to explore stakeholder perspectives about complex or contested social matters, such as porn literacy education (Webler et al., 2009). We utilised this methodology as a way to “know your audience” (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 176) and to disentangle shared and differing perspectives about porn literacy education.

Table 10

Participant details and Q-sort factor loadings

Q-sort	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Participant	School	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	36-45	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Co-ed	**0.68**	0.33
2	17	Female	NZE	Youth	Co-ed	**0.74**	0.05
3	36-45	Male	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.81**	0.22
4	46-55	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.71**	0.44
5	46-55	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	-0.19	**0.83**
6	36-45	Female	American	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.77**	0.03
7	26-35	Male	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.64**	-0.06
8	46-55	Male	NZE	Caregiver/Educator	Single sex	**0.72**	-0.04
9	46-55	Female	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.72**	0.42
10	17	Male	NZE/NZM	Youth	Single sex	**0.72**	0.03
11	16	Male	NZM	Youth	Single sex	**0.73**	0.06
12	26-35	Female	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.77**	0.16
13	26-35	Male	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.79**	0.41
14	16	Female	NZE	Youth	Co-ed	-0.38	-0.03
15	16	Male	Sri Lankan	Youth	Single sex	**0.68**	0.37
16	16	Female	No response	Youth	Co-ed	**0.76**	0.43
17	36-45	Male	NZE	Educator	Co-ed	0.25	0.13
18	17	Female	NZE	Youth	Single sex	**0.62**	0.55
19	55+	Female	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.89**	0.23
20	46-55	Male	NZE	Caregiver	Co-ed	**0.79**	0.50
21	16	Male	NZE	Youth	Co-ed	0.18	**0.60**
22	16	Male	NZE/Other	Youth	Co-ed	0.02	**0.88**
23	17	Female	NZE/NZM	Youth	Co-ed	**0.74**	0.29
24	46-55	Female	Asian	Caregiver/Educator	Co-ed	**0.71**	0.40
25	18	Male	NZE/NZM	Youth	Single sex	0.07	**0.54**
26	18	Female	NZE	Youth	Single sex	**0.80**	0.04
27	16	Female	NZE	Youth	Single sex	**0.87**	0.19
28	36-45	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.92**	0.01
29	18	Female	Irish	Youth	Single sex	**0.85**	0.26
30	18	Male	NZE/NZM	Youth	Single sex	**0.88**	0.05

Note. New Zealand Māori (NZM) are the indigenous people of New Zealand. Pākehā (NZE) refers to New Zealanders of non-Māori /non-Polynesian heritage (Ranford, 2015). Significant factor loadings are in bold.

We used a discourse analytic approach to Q-methodology, to demarcate distinct discourses regarding porn literacy education (Mckenzie & Macleod, 2012; Stainton-Rogers, 1998). By discourse we refer to “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events” (Burr, 2015, pp. 74–75). Following Stainton-Rogers (1998), the perspectives identified through Q-methodology are treated as discourses or sets of representations of the issue at hand (Kitzinger & Rogers, 1985). Thus, we used Q-methodology to demarcate distinct discourses regarding porn literacy education (Mckenzie & Macleod, 2012).

The intention of Q-methodology is not to generalise, but rather to dig deep and identify shared understandings. This methodology accommodated an exploration of the multiple ways of constructing porn literacy education as an object of knowledge. As such, the discourses identified can be useful for informing further research directions that seek to explore the nuances and diversity of stakeholder views, considering their social context and culture (Webler et al., 2009).

Data Collection

A Q-sort involves participants arranging a set of statements about a topic (called the Q-set) into a response matrix representing a normal distribution, to provide their subjective rankings of agreement and disagreement about a topic. Meaning is constructed through participant engagement with and evaluation of the statements they agree or disagree with (Mckenzie & Macleod, 2012). The Q-set comprised a set of 25 statements about porn literacy education derived from a careful review of scholarly literature and media communications (e.g., news reports; see Appendix S for the list of items). It was completed online using sorting software (HtmlQ, 2019) and piloted prior to data collection which took place in February-July 2019.

All participants sorted the 25 statements along the dimension of relative dis/agreement, ensuring that every statement was allocated a place on the scale (–4 to +4) in the Q-set (see Appendix S). Each participant's sorting pattern reflected their distinct perspective on the topic. Sorting patterns were then compared to determine similarities and divergences. The data for analysis comprised of each participant's sorting pattern from their Q-sort and their explanatory comments from the end of the Q-sort or at follow-up interview (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1990; Watts & Stenner, 2012). Follow-up interviews were conducted by the first author, Siobhan, between August and November 2019. Those who completed the Q-sort were invited to take part in an individual, in-person interview. The interviews were semi-structured and most took place on school premises during school hours. After giving informed consent, participants were reminded of the working definition of IP used in the present study: "sexually explicit material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy" (Short et al., 2012, p. 21). Interviews took approximately 40 to 90 minutes and gave participants an opportunity to elaborate on their perspective, and explain why they completed the Q-sort in a particular way (Stainton-Rogers & Stainton-Rogers, 1990; Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Data Analysis

Q-methodology reformulates Spearman's factor analysis method to enable the "holistic identification and rich description of a finite range of distinct viewpoints" (Stenner et al., 2017, p. 213). Completed Q-sorts were extracted from the HtmlQ sorting software and imported to a Q-method analysis programme. The programme identifies similar placements of statements using factor analysis with varimax rotation to derive factor analytic patterns (Zabala, 2014; Zabala et al., 2018). Factor solutions for each Q-sort were adopted on the basis that they provide clear factors. Q-sorts that load

significantly on the same factor represent a shared understanding or perspective (Watts & Stenner, 2012; see Table 11). Thereafter, the data are considered in terms of each participant's entire pattern of response, rather than looking for individual differences item by item across participants.

Interviews "cross validate" and enhance the insights from the Q-sort in a "mutually informative" manner. Thus, rather than analysing interviews in accordance with a structured theoretical qualitative method (e.g., narrative analysis), the factor analysis guides how the interview data are drawn on to assist with factor interpretation. We familiarised ourselves with the interview data through repetitive reading and took direction from the distinguishing and consensus statements (which indicate if each statement is of consensus or distinguishing for one or more of the factors) retrieved from the factor analysis. This allowed us to identify and unpack themes that related to underlying ideologies and cultural values which informed the discourses. This combination provides a holistic picture of each discourse and how they may relate to one another (Kitzinger, 1999; Kitzinger & Rogers, 1985, p. 171).

Table 11

Factor arrays and z-scores

	Z-scores		Factor arrays	
Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	1.26	0.70	3	2
2	-1.39	-1.79	-2	-3
3	-0.85	-0.74	-1	-2
4	1.54	0.06	4	0
5	-1.40	-1.67	-3	-3
6	-1.08	1.78	-2	3
7	0.70	0.08	1	0
8	0.88	0.70	1	2
9	0.65	0.23	1	0
10	-1.62	-1.04	-4	-2
11	-0.31	0.48	-1	1
12	-0.12	0.17	0	0
13	-0.93	-0.23	-2	-1
14	0.98	0.49	2	1
15	-0.58	-0.66	-1	-2
16	1.05	0.37	2	1
17	0.79	-0.34	1	-1
18	-0.18	0.64	0	2
19	1.45	0.03	3	0
20	0.98	0.27	2	1
21	-0.39	-0.47	-1	-1
22	0.16	-1.91	0	-4
23	0.25	-0.65	0	-1
24	-0.24	1.89	0	4
25	-1.60	1.61	-3	3

Results

The Q-methodology approach indicated two distinct overarching discourses across youth, caregivers and educators (see Tables 8 and 9). The first factor had an eigenvalue of 14.38 and explained 47.94% of the variance, while the second factor had an eigenvalue of 4.13 and explained a smaller amount of variance (13.78%). Each of these factors represent a distinct discourse in relation to porn literacy education, which we named (i) the pragmatic response discourse, and (ii) the harm mitigation discourse, respectively.

The pragmatic response discourse constructs porn literacy education as essential; a pragmatic response to young people's current realities in which contact with online pornography is unavoidable. The heavy weighting on this discourse (47.94% of overall variance) might indicate that those supportive of porn literacy education were more interested in taking part in the study. The pragmatic response discourse was drawn on by participants of varying ages, ethnic groups, and from all three end user groups, as 24 significant sorts loaded on this factor, from five educators (2 men, 3 women), three caregivers/educators (2 male, 1 female), five caregivers (1 male, 4 female), and 11 young people (7 female, 4 male) (see Table 10).

The harm mitigation discourse represents a more conservative view, in favour of censoring IP and teaching about potential harms. The data indicate that this view was held by a smaller group of participants but also includes both adult and youth views. Four significant sorts loaded on this factor, from one female caregiver aged between 46-55 years and three male youths (two 16-year-olds and one 18-year-old). Participants were affiliated with both co-ed and single sex schools (see Table 10).

Membership of a stakeholder group (youth, caregiver, educator) does not appear to explain the particular discourse used, as these three seemingly diverse stakeholder

groups were not siloed into cohorts (Cousins, 2017). Thus, the use of a particular discourse was not shaped by age, group membership, or other socio-demographic variables. We discuss each of these discourses in more detail below.

Pragmatic Response Discourse

The pragmatic response discourse was characterised by a need for open dialogue, as argued by one young woman: "These issues need to be talked about rather than hidden away from us as students" (Q-sort 27, female youth). Porn literacy education was constructed as a pragmatic response to a new social and cultural reality; something that cannot be ignored or censored. As stated by a father: "There's not much point in trying to avoid talking about IP as statistics and anecdotes from teenagers show that many are exposed from an early age no matter how censored we try to be" (Q-sort 20, male caregiver). Censorship was therefore construed as futile (#25: -3[3]), as well as conservative, judgmental and 'sex negative'. Focusing on censorship rather than education was described as "sweeping it under the rug" and thereby "furthering taboo" (Q-sort 23, female youth). As one youth participant maintained: "If it is blocked, then it will make pornography a topic that is discussed even less and make people feel bad for watching it" (Q-sort 26, female youth). Censorship was therefore constructed as potentially detrimental.

Rather, it was stated that youth should receive "critical literacy skills" (Q-sort 18, female youth) in a "non-judgemental" manner (Q-sort 15, male youth), and education about broader issues related to IP, such as racism and consent (#19: +3). For example, one mother highlighted how porn literacy should include discussions relating

[3] #25 refers to statement number 25 (i.e., "Our efforts should be focused on censorship (blocking and restricting access to internet pornography), rather than porn literacy education"), and -3 refers to the position of this statement on the Q-set distribution for this discourse, in the direction of strong agreement.

to: “The whole straight, straight, [*sic*] gay you know blonde woman black woman. There’s a whole lot of misconceptions about sexualising women of colour, men of colour even as well, you know. Disabilities, how there's no diversity…” (Interview 3, female parent). Thus, critical engagement with IP as an academic topic and teaching about how to ‘make sense of it’ (#4: +4) was considered more practical than focusing on the potential negative effects and avoiding access to IP (#6: -2).

According to this discourse, delivering porn literacy education is “essential” (Q-sort 3, male caregiver/educator) and “vital” (Q-sort 11, male youth) (#1: +3). Opposition to this view was construed as conservative moral panic (#2: -2). Porn literacy was described as necessary, as one participant explained: “It is important for young people to be educated by a professional and not just figure it out alone as they may have unanswered questions or be unsure of what is wrong and right in terms of what porn portrays and the real world” (Q-sort 29, female youth). Thus, IP was constructed as something that youth are not necessarily equipped to make sense of alone (#5: +3/#1: +3) without “professional” guidance.

In terms of how and when this education might be delivered, participants constructed early intervention as ideal, with 16 years old considered “too late” (#21: -1), and 13 regarded as a more realistic and beneficial age, if not younger (#20: +2). In addition, ongoing porn literacy education was deemed necessary rather than a single session (#14: +2). In this regard, one caregiver-educator participant constructed repetition as important because “kids today do not remember anything if they are told just once. I can tell them the same thing every day for a week and they still don't learn it” (Q-sort 8, male caregiver/educator). Finally, porn literacy education was deemed to be best taught in schools as part of the broader sexual health agenda (#16: +2/12: 0/#10: -4), rather than an after-school programme that may prove logistically difficult to

manage (#13: -2/#15: -1). School-based education as opposed to online resources (#3: -1) was construed as more equitable, given that children come from varying backgrounds where there may not be interest in engaging with these conversations (#7, #8, #9 & #17: +1). As one teacher maintained, “Some students will not get any information from home so schools should be providing it” (Q-sort 19, female educator). Concern with access further reinforced the construction of porn literacy education as essential for all young people.

However, there was also the suggestion that a preference for school may be related to the view of parent-child conversations as challenging or “uncomfortable”, as one young person explained:

> So [school is] definitely a better place to have the conversation rather than, like, one-on-one with a parent or guardian. You don't want to have that conversation with your mum or dad just, like, in your bedroom at some point … That would just make you feel uncomfortable (Interview 20, male youth).

In this vein, education as part of the school curriculum—whether delivered by teachers or unknown external providers—was considered preferable to “uncomfortable” conversations between youth and caregivers. Nonetheless, young people expressed that school-based porn literacy education could potentially be “awkward” (Interview 24, male youth) and students may not be inclined to take it seriously as a result.

Thus, although schools were constructed as more appropriate sites for porn literacy education, the topic was further deemed to require “professionals” (Q-sort 7, male educator) to deliver it. Porn literacy was regarded as too sensitive for parents or possibly too much for teachers to take on (#11: -1/#18: 0). One young man commented: “Although it would be good if parents had education and educated their children, professionals would be better as it would be less awkward and students could learn

properly” (Q-sort 25, male youth). Here, “professionals” are positioned as superior sex educators to parents, although there is an implication that caregivers *could* be good educators if they were equipped.

Participants assigned more responsibility to teachers or external providers as “experts” (Interview 12, female caregiver) than to caregivers (#9: +1/#11: -1/#18: 0). As one mother explained, “As a parent I would think that, yes, I'd be grateful for the input of experts” (Interview 12, female caregiver), and another teacher maintained: “This would be better occurring at school where teenagers are getting consistent messages from trained professionals rather than biased learnings from parents” (Q-sort 7, male educator). Thus, youth are positioned as needing guidance and being unable to critically consume IP themselves. Parents are positioned as not expert enough and too biased. Unknown ‘experts’ are then talked about as being needed, which does not recognise the expertise of youth, or that teachers or parents are experts about their children. Nevertheless, parental involvement was construed as valuable (e.g., attending information sessions). As one young man stated, “I think it would help for the student to have support from the school and from the parent at the same time” (Interview 10, male youth).

In terms of content, showing images or videos of sexual interactions as part of porn literacy education was constructed as a complex issue (#22, #23, #24: 0). The ranking of statements pertaining to this idea at zero is not necessarily indicative of indifference but may reflect a tentative or curious acquiescence, with some support for the idea. However, as a young woman stated, “It's a bit taboo to show in school” (Interview 23, female youth). The legality of doing so was raised as an issue since IP is age restricted. Young people also construed being shown images or videos in school as potentially uncomfortable for them. However, rather than constructing this as out of the

question, interview discussions often focused on how these resources could be implemented effectively.

Given that exposure to IP was deemed inevitable, viewing it with adult guidance was considered preferable to encountering it alone. This construction is evident in the following statement, for instance: “I think that they're going to see it anyway, so they might as well see it in a chaperoned fashion, or a curated fashion, where somebody is explaining something” (Interview 12, female parent). Here “explaining” is deemed the rationale for viewing IP in class, resonating with the construction of youth as ill-equipped to make sense of IP alone. The proposition here is that young people will not understand content, so that implicitly an authorised adult’s guidance—from an ‘expert’ or otherwise—needs to be provided. There was also the suggestion that viewing IP without adult guidance could be detrimental. As one participant put it: “I think that as long as it is followed by a pre-discussion and a post-discussion it is OK… You have no idea what is going on in their life and so how are you safeguarding that child so that when they come out there’s support around them” (Interview 19, female caregiver/educator). Thus, in line with the support for porn literacy education, adult intervention was constructed as crucial to “safeguarding” young people.

Thus, the first discourse—a pragmatic response—represented agreement with the central premise of porn literacy education that youth should be supported in building critical analytic skills to make sense of IP. This discourse endorsed young people’s critical engagement with IP, but preferably with expert guidance. Professionals were construed as less biased and uncomfortable than parents, and the most appropriate people to implement porn literacy education. Notably, this discourse supported a pragmatic stance regarding the use of sexual or pornographic imagery for educational purposes.

Harm Mitigation Discourse

The second discourse, the harm mitigation discourse, was distinguished by a more conservative approach to addressing young people's engagement with IP. It encompassed broad and varied interpretations of what porn literacy education means. Both "porn literacy skills" and a focus on "IP's negative effects" were rendered important (#1: +2/#6: +3). Nevertheless, as in the previous discourse, IP *was* constructed as requiring adult attention and intervention. IP was deemed an important topic for sexuality education. As in the previous discourse, education was constructed as needing to be integrated and ongoing (#13: -1/#14: +1/#16: +1) from an early age (13 rather than 16 years) (#21: -1/#20: +1) and delivered by adults (#2: -3/#5: -3/#3: -2). Even those who positioned themselves as anti-pornography for religious reasons constructed education about IP as necessary. Again, this could reflect that those who agreed to take part believed that intervention is required, but using a different approach than outlined in the first discourse.

This discourse was characterised by different understandings to the previous discourse as to what should be taught, who should teach it and why such education is needed. While schools were described as a place that could offer support, caregivers were positioned as ultimately responsible for delivering porn literacy education (#11: +1/ #18: +2/ #8: +2), rather than the school, government (#10: -2/#11: +1/#12: 0/#15: -2/#18: +2), teachers or external providers (#7: 0/#9: 0/#17: -1). Caregivers would therefore decide on the content delivered and potentially keep discussions in line with their values and belief system. For some, the family unit was depicted as preferable to school-based delivery, if the familial relationship is open and valued.

In terms of the content of porn literacy education, this discourse was explicitly focused on the negative effects of IP viewing. Unlike the previous discourse, broader

issues like racism, sex work, sense-making about IP were not considered to be as pertinent (#4: 0/#6: +3/#19: 0). The following explanation from a young person illustrates how the need for focusing on harm was constructed:

> Pornography has numerous harmful effects and ignoring these is invalidating of both those who are addicted and the trauma the actors endure. Pornography is known to wreck relationships, cause addiction, low mental health and it causes physical harm to the actors. For one to say porn is ok is to say that violence, addiction and ill mental health is also ok (Q-sort 22, male youth).

Here, a psychological discourse of “addiction” and “trauma” is drawn on. An implicit appeal is made to evidence of harmful consequences—not only to the viewer but also the performers—which are constructed as “known”. A moral argument is mobilised, as condoning pornography is construed as tantamount to accepting its “known” “harmful effects”.

In addition to an explicit focus on harm, advocacy of censorship was a key aspect of this discourse, including education about how to self-censor IP viewing (#6: +3/#25: +3). The idea of utilising sexual images or videos as part of porn literacy education as educational resources was strongly rejected (#24: +4/#22: -4/#23: -1): “There is no such thing as healthy pornography. Because imagery and videos are part of the problem and images could serve to reinforce an opposite message to what is being discussed” (Q-sort 5, female caregiver). Accordingly, IP was rendered inherently problematic. Cause-effect rhetoric was invoked to maintain that the implicit unhealthy effects of pornography would override the educator’s “message”. From this harms-based perspective, viewing sexual images or videos (even with adult guidance) was constructed as leading to potential harm:

> I know for myself and for other guys we try and like limit the amount of sexual content we see… because stuff like that is an addiction. The last thing personally I would want to do is provide material that while it might not fuel most people's arousal, it could fuel this one person's addiction (Interview 13, male youth).

In this instance, IP was constructed as “triggering” and addictive, so that showing such material was rendered dangerous. Instead, participants argued that alternative modes of visualisation (e.g., drawings, cartoons, scientific illustrations) could be used that were more appropriate.

The construction of pornography as inherently harmful, and thus dangerous, does not allow for the pragmatic response of viewing IP with adult guidance endorsed by the previous discourse. Rather, censorship—in conjunction with self-regulation and self-control—was constructed as a valuable outcome to be instilled by any intervention. One participant explained that: **“**One of the best things I've found with young people with porn is accountability. If you've got someone who's going to text you ‘Hey how's the week going? You watch porn? You masturbate? You done anything like that?’, you're a lot less likely to do it than if it was just like “freedom!” (Interview 13, male youth). In this way, both watching IP and masturbation were constructed as undesirable activities to abstain from and be held “accountable” for.

Thus, the harm mitigation discourse was focused on protection and self-regulation. Intervention was construed as most appropriately involving (i) restricting access to pornography, (ii) educating young people about its inherent dangers, and (iii) equipping them to avoid it. Caregivers were positioned as the most trusted adults responsible for this task. This view was underwritten by moral arguments that appeal to the privacy and sanctity of the family, and the need for caregivers to safeguard the values and beliefs of their families; a task that cannot be trusted to outsiders. This

discourse constructed youth sexuality as risky, making youth vulnerable to potential violence, victimisation and thwarted sexual morals (Bay-Cheng, 2003). It therefore supports the view that youth should be shielded from explicit or pornographic material, even for educational purposes, with a strong opposition to educational visual displays of 'healthy pornography' or 'healthy consensual sex'.

Discussion

We explored perspectives about porn literacy education delivery to young people in New Zealand, uniquely drawing from all three end user groups of youth, caregivers, and educators in our study. We identified two discourses which represent two distinct ways that porn literacy education was constructed by stakeholders. Many stakeholders, including young people, constructed porn literacy education as a valuable endeavour for supporting youth to make sense of IP. This common construction was evidenced by parallels between the "opinion domain" drawn on to formulate the Q-set and the interviews with participants (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 58). Overall, participants supported the introduction of the topic of IP in sexuality education. A concern with how young people may be affected by pornography was common to both discourses, though decidedly more pronounced in the harm mitigation discourse.

The impact of pornography on young people is a complex issue that requires further study, and additional research is required to explicitly understand the potential influence of pornography on the sexual socialisation of younger people (Wright, 2014). Fear-based news reporting overwhelmingly portrays IP as dangerous, addictive and the cause of a range of negative effects (Albury, 2013). Young people are considered especially vulnerable due to the common construction of childhood as a time of innocence and sexual dormancy, which historically renders youth asexual until they are deemed mature enough to be sexual (Spišák, 2016). According to this construction,

childhood innocence must be protected, and youth kept from sexual corruption and "prematurely" engaging in sexual activities such as viewing pornography. In this way, adult surveillance and intervention is justified (Buckingham & Bragg, 2003; Egan, 2013).

Based on this shared construction of youth sexuality and the associated concern about young people's welfare, both discourses support adult intervention at an early age (as indicated by consensus statements 2, 3, 5, and 14). Nevertheless, there were significant differences regarding *how* to intervene. The positions supported by the two discourses were differentiated by: (i) whose responsibility it is to educate young people about IP (indicated by significantly distinguishable statements 5, 7, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, and 25), (ii) whether the key message should be about negative effects or critical engagement, and (iii) the role of censorship (indicated by significantly distinguishable statements 22, 23, and 24).

In line with previous literature, this study indicates how some stakeholders view porn literacy education as a way to fundamentally address the shame associated with viewing IP, and to encourage young people's critical thinking regarding pornography as a social construct and domain of socialisation (Goldstein, 2020). For others, porn literacy education is seen as a harm-reduction technique which aims to teach youth about the potential dangers of pornography (Rothman et al., 2018). These diverging views correspond with emerging scholarly approaches to porn literacy education based on underlying understandings of youth, particularly youth a/sexuality (Albury, 2018; Byron et al., 2020; Goldstein, 2020).

Implications

In response to the interplay between IP and young people's sexual socialisation, it has been suggested that developing sound, evidence-based educational policy would

be a valuable next step (Albury, 2014; Smith, 2013). To that end, stakeholder engagement is critical to developing and implementing policy in porn literacy education (Baker, 2016; Ollis, 2016a, 2016b). Currently, there is insufficient research based on end user perspectives to support evidence-based policy and practice for the development of such curricula, which we sought to address (Albury, 2014; Dawson, 2020). Our research demonstrates that participant perspectives of porn literacy education are not associated with membership of a stakeholder group (youth, caregivers, or educators). Rather, participants from across the three stakeholder groups drew on each of the two discourses. This implies that both youth and adults consider IP as requiring attention in young people’s sexual socialisation. Focusing on this commonality as a starting point may be a useful first step in breaking down some of the diverging views between groups.

In line with the common construction of the need to address IP, our findings also show that stakeholders, including young people, emphasise a need for adult-led, top-down guidance. This approach is premised on the construction of young people as naïve and emotionally unequipped to navigate IP independently. In the absence of sufficient evidence to inform policy, along with widespread societal ‘moral panic’ related to the effects of IP on young people, there is a risk that sexuality education policy and curricula may be developed in response to concerns motivated by this dominant harms-based view. Emerging solutions to technological changes are often based on dominant cultural and popular discourse, and are frequently built on regulation and restriction (Moore & Reynolds, 2018).

This dominant taken-for-granted assumption about youth needs to be challenged in order to move away from a deficit view of youth sexuality towards a more empowering view. Such a view potentially allows for more purposeful and productive

conversations about sex and sexuality than risk and harm-focused responses, which youth frequently experience as patronising and irrelevant (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015, 2017). For example, sex education that takes a dialogic approach rather than an adult-centred one engages young people as sexual subjects in interactive and non-linear discussion, generating curiosity about and engagement with complex topics like IP. Such an approach, with its more complex and empowering view of youth sexuality, has been found to be more productive than a harms-focused, adult-centred approach to sexuality education (Allen, 2005; Goldstein, 2021; Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015, 2017).

Effective approaches to sexuality education and health promotion thus require a shift from a “focus on ‘what porn does to young people’ [to] … what young people do with porn – and why” (Albury, 2018, p. 107). Indeed, recent research indicates that youth are more readily able to reflect on and reflexively navigate IP than is typically assumed in public discussion (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a, 2021b; Goldstein, 2020; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). More context-sensitive research on young people’s digital media practices and sense-making of the gendered representations of sexuality in IP is needed to highlight the specificities of youth engagement with IP (Goldstein, 2020; Spišák, 2016).

Given the nuanced and ideologically charged perspectives that our study has highlighted, it is quite possible that there will be some parties who do not agree with interventions that are developed, even if they are evidence-based. It is important that policy acknowledges that a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach may be unattainable and allows for different views. For example, parents could ‘opt out’ youth in their care who are under 16 from certain sexuality education sessions on religious grounds, or a young

person older than 16 years could make this decision themselves (Sex Education Forum, n.d.).

Finally, policy makers should consider how to account for the varied perspectives that we identified when devising optimal intervention strategies. Future research regarding educational policy related to IP could consider alternative approaches that may align and unite educators, caregivers and youth, rather than further polarise end user groups. In considering different perspectives about who should deliver porn literacy education (e.g., public service departments, or family), and what kind of response may be most desirable (e.g., pragmatic or harm mitigation), a suite of resources grounded in sexual ethics and sexual citizenship could prove useful if made available for end users (Lamb & Randazzo, 2016a, 2016b; Macleod & Vincent, 2014). Such an approach could reduce tensions between opposing views, as it shifts focus away from the individual responsibility of the educator or caregiver to “teach” in a didactic way about IP, to a dialogical approach that considers IP as an object of enquiry within a socio-historical and ethical context. By drawing on an ethically orientated pedagogical approach to pornography, it is possible to discuss IP as a pleasure technology while concurrently reflecting on how it can recreate unhelpful portrayals across racial, sexual, and socio-economic lines (Goldstein, 2020). Such an approach may be a less polarising position to take for the future of policy development, because it shifts focus away from the ‘harmful effects/no harmful effects’ debate. Rather, discussions turn to sexually ethical practices that encourage care of the self but also care of others (Goldstein, 2020; Macleod & Vincent, 2014).

Limitations

There were some limitations to this research. Notably, the implications of definitional uncertainty regarding porn literacy was apparent in, for example, the second

discourse, where participants valued both porn literacy education delivery *and* teaching about negative effects/avoidance. On reflection, this may have been exacerbated by the use of double-barrelled items in the Q-sort (see Appendix Z). This contradictory position is also reflective of developments in the academic field of porn literacy education (Byron et al., 2020). Albury (2014, 2018) notes that, on account of varying ideologies, some teaching may stem from an inoculation framework, while other approaches centring around 'ethical erotics' and 'thick desires' are beginning to transpire (Carmody, 2005; Fine & McClelland, 2006). Thus, it may have been the case that participants held different understandings as to what is meant by 'porn literacy' and what it means to be 'porn literate'. Definitional clarity is important to consider when evaluating these results, and communicating about the topic in future research.

Conclusion

Porn literacy education is one pedagogical strategy currently being considered in New Zealand and internationally with regard to intervention development. Thus, impending decisions regarding policy have global implications for sexuality education (Albury, 2014; OFLC, 2018). Understanding how the discourses outlined in this study may hinder or enable forward-thinking conversations regarding porn literacy education is an important step in further exploration of this topic. Exploring how these discourses work to influence policy related to educational initiatives would be valuable in future research. In particular, there is scope for using a critical lens when considering how these discourses position youth as uncritical consumers of IP, and passive 'receivers' of didactic teachings on porn literacy education (Chronaki, 2014, 2019; Goldstein, 2020). To this end, it is crucial that the youth voice is foregrounded alongside other

stakeholders in future research that considers the potential for porn literacy as pedagogy.

Contextualising Article 4

Researchers have argued for the development and implementation of strategies to support youth in navigating IP, and porn literacy education has gained popularity in this regard (Albury, 2013, 2014, 2018; Byron et al., 2020; Dawson, 2019; Goldstein, 2020; OFLC, 2018; Rothman, 2018). In Article 4, we explored porn literacy education as a means of addressing the 'what next'; moving from the when, how and why of youth engagement with IP, to how to support young people and meet their needs around IP and sex/uality more broadly.

There was a "know your audience" rationale for using Q-methodology (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 176). The perspectives of youth, caregivers and educators are of particular importance, because these are the people who will be most affected by porn literacy education. Additionally, as demonstrated in Articles 1-3, youth engagement with IP is constructed in various ways, which will come to bear on perspectives towards response initiatives. It was crucial to have stakeholders from these different groups in order to understand shared or divergent perspectives that might emerge, as they each have a particular investment in the concept of porn literacy education (Cousins, 2017, p. 46).

Given that sexuality education curricula are often consulted upon with school communities, understanding key stakeholder opinions, which may conflict, is important for more contentious topics such as porn literacy education (Cousins, 2017; ERO, 2018). However, despite their relevant and active participation in sexuality programmes, youth are not often considered as key stakeholders, and their voice is overlooked. Research suggests that what youth would like to have included in sexuality education curricula and what they receive is often at odds, for example the well cited 'missing discourse of desire' (Allen, 2007b, 2007a; Beyers, 2013; Fine, 1988; Rasmussen, 2004).

Thus, recognising young people alongside caregivers and educators as key stakeholders was a key aspect of this research article.

Exploring end user perspectives can assist policy makers and sexuality education experts in understanding how these key stakeholders view the matter. This is valuable in a social environment where there are calls to support youth in navigating IP through porn literacy education, but there is disagreement and lack of information as to how to begin (Cousins, 2017). In addressing this information gap, Q-methodology allowed us to explore the commonalities and idiosyncrasies of key stakeholder perspectives towards porn literacy education. Accordingly, the findings presented in Article 4 provides some initial insight as to the perspectives of key stakeholders about school-based porn literacy education (Cousins, 2017; Watts & Stenner, 2012). These findings have highlighted “the discursive alliances and divisions that forge disparate groups together” and how “connections forge across diverse stakeholder groups” (Cousins et al., 2017, p. 50).

STATEMENT OF CONTRIBUTION DOCTORATE WITH PUBLICATIONS/MANUSCRIPTS

GRADUATE RESEARCH SCHOOL

We, the candidate and the candidate's Primary Supervisor, certify that all co-authors have consented to their work being included in the thesis and they have accepted the candidate's contribution as indicated below in the *Statement of Originality*.

Name of candidate:	Siobhán Healy-Cullen
Name/title of Primary Supervisor:	Associate Professor Joanne E. Taylor

In which chapter is the manuscript /published work: Chapter 8, Appendix AA

Please select one of the following three options:

◯ The manuscript/published work is published or in press

- Please provide the full reference of the Research Output:

  Healy-Cullen, S., Taylor, J. E., Morison, T., Ross, K. (2021). Using Q-methodology to explore key stakeholder perspectives on porn literacy education. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-021-00570-1

- The percentage of the manuscript/published work that was contributed by the candidate: 80%

- Describe the contribution that the candidate has made to the manuscript/published work:

  The candidate (i) developed the research questions and study methods in collaboration with co-authors, (ii) collected all data, (iii) analysed the data with advice from co-authors, (iv) wrote the manuscript with advice and feedback from co-authors.

Candidate's Signature:	Siobhan Healy-Cullen
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Primary Supervisor's Signature:	Joanne Taylor
Date:	03/09/2021

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Chapter 9: Discussion

In this thesis, I sought to add to the overall discussion about how to respond to youth engagement with IP by hearing from young people themselves and situating their voices alongside those who typically manage their sexuality education (i.e., caregivers and educators). A key attribute of my research is the polyvocality of this holistic approach. Hearing from three stakeholder groups concurrently provides a rich dataset.

Collectively, my findings suggest that it is time to move away from a limited focus on what IP *does* to behaviour, to push the boundaries of the behaviourist approach which labels IP as a 'stimulus', and *viewing* as an 'effect' (Attwood, 2011, p. 13/14). Presented across four research articles (See Chapters 5-8), my findings are summarised in the following section. These findings resonate with, and add to, those of critical scholars in the field.

Summary of Research Findings

Objective 1, findings provided in Article 1: The young New Zealanders who participated in my research are encountering IP, intentionally or otherwise, at a relatively young age. However, there are varied understandings between stakeholder groups and across genders as to why and how these encounters occur. For example, the survey findings indicated that, unlike boys and gender diverse participants, girls did not list "sexual gratification" as their main reason for viewing IP. Rather, they ranked "curiosity" as their main reason, and placed "as a way to learn about sex" third. Notably, this latter reason did not feature in the top five reasons given by boys or gender diverse youth. These differences may be understood in relation to gendered meanings of pornography, which are underpinned by broader understandings of women's and men's sexual desire. I further discuss these gendered nuances from a sexual socialisation lens

in the following pages, highlighting how the interview data elucidates these gendered patterns.

In terms of varied understandings among groups, the survey findings indicate that some young people seek out IP to learn about sex, and that this occurs alongside reluctance to discuss IP with adults. This reluctance is not unjustified, as the widespread and dominant Western view of children as innocent, pure and asexual has led to anxieties among caregivers about introducing sexual information too early in their children’s lives; this was reflected in the survey results regarding the type of messages caregivers deliver to youth about IP. These findings provided context to conduct the research interviews, where participants accounts discursively preserved an image of childhood innocence (Jarkovská & Lamb, 2018).

Objective 2, findings provided in Article 2: Key stakeholders account for youth engagement with IP by drawing on several sexual scripts; (i) developmentalist script, (ii) heterosexual script, and (iii) a script of harm. This dominant risk talk (theme one) was gendered, and evident across the dataset. This risk talk was actively renegotiated through resistant talk (theme two), that constructs alternative, agentic positions for young people. Both adults and youth drew on dominant and alternative discourses. Although some adults resisted essentialised and gendered constructions of youth, adults primarily positioned youth within ‘risk’ talk. It is also notable that the alternative pattern of resistant talk largely mapped onto youth talk. This is unsurprising given there is more at stake for youth in countering the limiting construction of ‘at risk’ youth.

The findings from this article begin to illuminate why there may be a disconnect between the ways youth engage with IP, and dominant constructions of how they engage with IP. The way that young people and their IP viewing is constructed will invariably shape responses to youth engagement with IP. Thus, the findings from this

three-perspective-approach opens space to consider the ways youth, their educators, and caregivers discursively construct youth engagement with IP.

Objective 2, findings provided in Article 3: Youth commonly drew on three scripts when negotiating the representations they encounter in IP, namely: (i) the frame of reference script, (ii) the permissive script, and (iii) the critical feminist script. In so doing, young people construct IP both as a cultural resource (theme one), and IP as fantastical and fake (theme two). Honing in on the youth voice was a key element of the overall thesis. This was especially important given the resistant talk that was demonstrated in Article 2, which was largely evident in youth accounts, and the analysis in Article 3 focused on youth talk alone. This afforded the space to demonstrate the ways youth negotiate the various, diverse representations of gender and sex/uality they encounter in IP. The findings from this article provide a springboard to rethink porn literacy as the most relevant and meaningful response to youth engagement with IP.

Objective 3, findings provided in Article 4: Q-methodology allowed for an exploration of the commonalities and idiosyncrasies in key stakeholder perspectives towards porn literacy education. This Q-methodology approach indicated two distinct overarching discourses in relation to porn literacy education: (i) the pragmatic response discourse, and (ii) the harm mitigation discourse. These two discourses essentially trace how discursive constructions of youth come to bear on the ways pedagogical responses are conceptualised. In the following discussion, I apply a critical lens to consider how these discourses position youth as uncritical consumers of IP, and passive 'receivers' of didactic teachings on porn literacy education (Chronaki, 2014, 2019; Goldstein, 2020). To this end, I also draw on findings from Article 2 and 3, foregrounding the youth voice to reconsider the potential for porn literacy as pedagogy.

In my concluding chapter, I unpack these summarised findings in an integrated manner. The limitations of my research are outlined at the end of this chapter, but it should be foregrounded that the following discussion centres around my research with a very small, specific group of New Zealanders, and an even smaller group of interview participants. I do not generalise, but rather contextualise my findings within a broader scholarship about youth sexual citizenship and pedagogical approaches to sexuality education. I focus on interpreting the nuance and depth provided by the interview data, which built on patterns identified in the survey data, and the perspectives identified in the Q-methodological study. I pay particular attention to my findings from the discursive, sexual scripting analyses, as this methodological approach offers a significant scholarly contribution to the thesis.

Reconceptualising Childhood Innocence to Make Space for Youth Sexual Citizenship

In accordance with the wider literature, some adult participants were reckoning not only with the prominence of IP in society, but with expressions of youth sexuality as well (Bragg & Buckingham, 2004; Egan & Hawkes, 2010). This was apparent in the survey, whereby adults did not attribute youth IP viewing to sexual gratification, but rather attributed curiosity or desire to learn about sex to their viewing (see Chapter 5). Accordingly, the importance of promoting ‘good’, ‘healthy’, sexual relations among youth was taken up by adult participants in the interviews from the perspective of ‘protection’ (Robinson, 2012). When young people’s innocence is thought to be in jeopardy in some way (from themselves or others) through deviations in the heteronormative script, this taps into wider societal fears about youth sexuality (Robinson, 2012).

What it means to ‘protect youth’ was understood in different ways, such as through institutional regulation (i.e., censoring), or through education (i.e., training). The construction of youth as ‘innocents’ requiring continuous monitoring demonstrates the present power relations between youth and adults; the adult state surveils and ensures the ‘protection’ of youth in ways that reinforces adult authority and ultimately their control over youth sexuality (Foucault 1978; Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019; Shah-Beckley, 2017).

I argue that this dominant construction of young people as sexually innocent not-yet-adults and the ‘protection’ that ensues can in fact be harmful, as it often results in concealment of information about sex, which can have implications related to youth sexual agency and citizenship (e.g., to access/utilise contraception) (Robinson & Davies, 2018; Stone et al., 2013). In my findings youth actively worked to resist this position of ‘the innocent, passive, naïve child’ by positioning ‘other’, younger youth as less savvy than them (Bragg & Buckingham, 2004; Doornwaard et al., 2017; see Chapter 6). Furthermore, it has been argued that this focus on ‘sexual protectionism’, perpetuated by the childhood innocence script, has led to a dearth in research that explores broader understandings of youth sexual subjectivity construction (Garland-Levett & Allen, 2018, p. 527; McGinn et al., 2016). I argue that this dominant view of youth needs to be critically assessed as a fundamental preliminary to designing further pedagogical approaches about IP.

Rethinking Internet Pornography Viewing as (Gendered) Risk

Taking the survey findings alongside interview data (see Chapters 5 and 6), we can begin to understand the nuances of youth engagement with IP; scripts related to ‘natural’ biological sexual drives contribute to gendered patterns by creating social stigma for girls, and expectations for boys. Simple disclosure of whether or not one

engages with IP acts as a mechanism for both young men and women to perform ideal masculinity and femininity (Antevska & Gavey, 2015). These traditional gender constructions create pressure for both young men and women to uphold ideals of gender. As Goldstein (2021) asserts, “we are compelled to produce ourselves as certain kinds of people, to turn ourselves in the right direction in relation to porn, particularly in the presence of other people who might observe or acknowledge our turning” (p. 2). Thus, youth ‘produce’ themselves using available discursive resources, within their own specific socio-historical context (Goldstein, 2020).

This notion of discursive re-production helps make sense of the gendered patterns apparent in the survey data. For example, although the script of harm was salient when discussing youth engagement with IP in general, it was particularly pronounced for young women in the way it resides alongside heteronormative notions of female sexual propriety (Buckingham & Bragg, 2003). To actively and vocally express enjoyment of IP as a young female was described by youth participants as a social failure and amounted to a breach of ‘good’ sexual citizenship. Thus, it was arguably more difficult for young female participants to ‘admit’ to viewing IP, or to discuss IP outside of the acceptable social discourse that constructs IP as inappropriate and harmful for youth, and especially young women (Widman et al., 2021; see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). This finding stands in some contrast to Goldstein’s (2018) work, who suggests that young women are afforded the space to construct their engagement with IP as healthy through feminist, sex-positive discourse.

However, the small group of youth who took part in my qualitative study (and some of the adult participants) questioned these essentialised discourses that restrict women from viewing IP (see Chapter 6) by explicitly naming the sexual double standard, even though they were more cautious in ‘admitting’ they view IP for

enjoyment (Dobson & Ringrose, 2016; Spišák, 2017, 2020). In this vein, rather than risk and harm, young men and women in my research were more preoccupied with how IP represents sexual norms, and how engaging with IP is a gendered norm in and of itself (Spišák, 2017). While young women described an expectation that they should *not* engage with IP, the bravado and jokes about IP viewing was described as part of the arsenal that males draw on to perform their masculinity for women and other men. To vocalise to other males that one views IP is another way for men to prove they are *not like women*, because viewing IP as a woman is seen as unfeminine and contrary to the performative rules of gender. In a contradictory manner, young male participants often deployed the harm script while *demonstrating* personal reflection of how IP is not an accurate reflection of 'real life', and is a problematic sex 'guide'. This tentative resistance among this small sample of young men regarding the potential for risk signals that there are limited ways they could orient themselves towards IP in a way that supports their agency *and* is culturally acceptable.

As I argue in Chapter 6, the limited subject positions available for youth represses the agency of both young men (who cannot say no to IP) and young women (who cannot say yes to IP). The traditional sexual scripts that subsequently situate and orientate young men and women differently to IP are limiting, and could be interrogated in a pedagogical approach that addresses IP. Challenging biologically informed social discourses by generating alternative scripts regarding youth sexuality, and sexual pleasure seeking, could be a key tenet of future educational initiatives, promoting instead critical and constructionist ways of thinking about IP (Jackson, 2004; Jackson & Weatherall, 2010).

While participants both ascribed to and challenged the traditional heterosexual script and gendered assumptions of youth IP engagement, participants—mainly youth—

challenged the prevailing discourse that all youth are inevitably harmed by IP (see Chapter 6 and 7). The ‘resistant talk’ challenged power structures that regulate and dictate subjectivities regarding what it means to be a ‘healthy’ child (asexual and disciplined), and a ‘good’ sexual citizen (self-controlled and aware of the ‘logical’ corruptive nature of IP). This coheres with Finnish and New Zealand research that describes the effects-discourse *itself* as harmful in the way it (i) provokes anxieties about potential risks, and (ii) stigmatises young people who view IP as irresponsible, corrupted, or, if they are female, deviant (Spišák, 2016; Taylor, 2020).

It is worth highlighting how the ‘risk talk’ mobilised by participants was mostly hypothetical. Although the third person effect is often understood in IP research as indicative of people assuming they are immune to potential effects, it can also be interpreted as the deployment of a socially acceptable discourse: *youth will inevitably be harmed by IP*. Youth participants employed counter discursive strategies and claimed agency by resisting, deflecting and personally detaching themselves from the construction of ‘the harmed youth’ to the point where—if we are to take the youth voice seriously—future research might consider whether youth are indeed experiencing risk and harm to the extent public debates would suggest (Bragg & Buckingham, 2004; Jackson et al., 2010; McKee, 2010; Mulholland, 2013). These counter scripts show the possibilities to occupy positions outside of the taken-for-granted or common-sense ‘risk talk’, which many youth, as well as adults, also occupied.

In summary, that harm, risk and effects largely dictated discussion among participants tells a story of what is sayable and doable for these youth, their caregivers, and their educators regarding IP in the context of a research interview. However, informed by previous research, I was attuned to how heteronormative talk about harms/risk and deviancy/normalcy may be performative; an accepted and normative

way of orientating oneself towards IP, and presenting oneself to others (Goldstein, 2020). It is possible that participants engage and perpetuate these culturally and socially accepted discourses, while not necessarily experiencing what they *describe* as ‘how things are’; there may be “significant variation in how they are lived, spatial, temporally and in different material conditions of social life” (Moore & Reynolds, 2018, p. 45). Although youth may hear, through various socialisation domains, that IP is dangerous and risky, this may not be their personal experience. This can create an onto-epistemological gap (Hemmings, 2012), whereby youth experience the world in alternative ways that exist outside of the parameters afforded by traditional, available scripts. Although asked about their own perspectives, it must therefore be considered that participants draw from these “very panicky discourses in the broader sexual culture to understand their own lives” (Fahs, 2019, p. 4).

Recognising IP as a Pedagogical Resource for Young, Critical Consumers of Internet Pornography

While the survey findings demonstrated *patterns* of youth encounters with IP, and adults’ perspectives of these encounters, understanding young people's *negotiation* of representations they encounter in IP was a vital aspect of this project to further explore porn literacy education as a suitable response initiative (Davis et al., 2018). In line with previous critical scholarship that suggests youth use IP in a more nuanced way than is often presented, my findings elucidate how some youth *do* engage in some level of critical evaluation when viewing IP (El-Guebaly & Butterwick, 2016; Fox & Bale, 2017). Coalescing with the survey findings that IP is a normalised aspect of youth sexual socialisation, many youth described IP as a routine and mundane aspect of teenage life; it was assumed among participants that most youth would access it to see visualisations of sex and bodies at some stage or another (Mulholland, 2013). Given the

de-eroticised nature of much formal sexuality education (Allen, 2006), IP offers a unique opportunity to see the physical act of sex. Thus, youth constructed IP as a useful pedagogical cultural resource (Attwood et al., 2018; McKee, 2010).

In accordance with previous qualitative research, although youth in my study reported the pedagogical value of IP, they also articulated critical awareness that it was *not* an accurate or representative account of ‘real sex’, and thus was not a reliable guide manual for how to ‘do’ sex through the emulation of sexual practices (Mulholland, 2013; Rothman et al., 2015; Spišák, 2017). As described in Chapter 7, youth adopted a critical position whereby they demonstrated their understanding of IP as fake and fantastical; a commercial product intended to produce profit. Accordingly, it seems that youth in this small sample recognise that both ‘porn sex’ and ‘real sex’ “have become increasingly blurred and intertwined so as to form a complex cultural fabric” (Hammarén & Johansson, 2007, p. 34).

The distinctions made by youth when demonstrating that they knew IP was not ‘real’ focused on: IP as scripted performances with actors/actresses that are professionals; how IP fetishises certain people (e.g., lesbians and gay men); IP as a product of the male gaze; and IP as a re/production of fantasy (see Chapters 6 and 7). Youth were at pains to demonstrate that they themselves could navigate IP, and expressed their knowledge of the way IP makes more explicit, for example, broader constructions of ‘ideal’ femininity as dainty, hairless (i.e., childlike), and displays incestuous relationships such as between step siblings/parents. Youth demonstrated an awareness that—although arguably not inherently detrimental—IP can depict idealistic images of women and men’s bodies, and sexually unsafe practices (Bridges et al., 2010; Klaassen & Peter, 2015). Youth talk illuminated how sex and sexuality are social and cultural constructs that dictate what constitutes ‘normal’ sex (e.g., the coital imperative),

for what purposes (e.g., reproduction, money, and pleasure) and between whom (conjugal, monogamous, heterosexual relationships) (Brown et al., 2018; Tiefer, 2018). Additionally, young women drew on the permissive script to object to women having sex 'done to' them, and were critical of how IP conflates women's pleasure with the performance of sexual acts on to others (see Chapter 7). In this way youth sense-making of representations in IP is "socially mediated, reflexively constructed and connected to cultural scenarios that are reworked in everyday sexual practices as forms of 'doing sex'" (Spišák, 2017, p. 360).

Despite this, agency and critical ability were not attributed to youth by many adults in my study (see Chapter 6). In their resistant talk, youth somewhat disparagingly contested the notion that they would need to be 'taught' the difference between 'real sex' and 'porn sex', while adults cited this point as a key message youth needed to be 'told'. That being said, the youth participants in my research were older teenagers (16-18 years old) and they also expressed concern that other, particularly *younger,* people may be more susceptible to potential negative effects of IP viewing (Frith & Kitzinger, 2001). Some young participants also expressed concern that young *men* would be more influenced by IP than girls, who would be victimised through the pressure to engage in sexual acts (see Chapter 6). Although youth expressed and reiterated understandings that harm and victimisation may occur for some people, it was not a concern for them *personally* as they re-positioned themselves as more able to navigate such scenarios than their peers; they were not damaged victims (Lee & Crofts, 2015). Young people therefore demonstrated how they manoeuvred within discursive constraints, shifting between their self-positioning as critical and agentic IP viewers, while at the same time perpetuating the sexual scripts of innocence, heterosexuality, and harm that confine them (Jackson et al., 2013; Renold & Ringrose, 2011; see Chapters 6 and 7).

In summary, in accordance with previous findings, youth in this small sample discursively countered and fractured historically embedded notions of childhood passivity and naïvety by reproducing themselves as competent and savvy consumers of IP (Doornwaard et al., 2017; Mulholland, 2015; Spišák, 2017). One might therefore assert that the encounters youth have with IP might *challenge* or be *confronting* to them, as it may be at odds with their construction of the world around them. However, this challenge does not necessarily equate to *harm*. Rather, in some instances, these sexual encounters can be useful ways to expand their sexual subjectivities (Green, 2014). Nonetheless, although youth in my study expressed their awareness that it is ‘not real’ and not a ‘good’ representation of sex, they still used it as a way to learn about sex in the absence of relevant, meaningful education (see Chapter 7) (Graugaard & Roien, 2007). It is to this concept of education that I turn to next, and porn literacy education specifically.

Porn Literacy as Pedagogy?

The ‘pragmatic response discourse’, and the ‘harm mitigation discourse’ discussed in Chapter 8 can be mapped onto a liberal-conservative continuum. As indicated by the current findings, social and political divisions across a Westernised liberal-conservative continuum “are the threads from which the fabric of a sexuality education is constructed” (Jackson & Weatherall, 2010, p. 16). However, in both discourses, education about IP was constructed as ‘protection’ and top-down ‘expert’ information delivery (see Chapter 8). In this way, although the liberal (i.e., pragmatic discourse) is more liberal than harms-based education, it still keeps neoliberal notions of individualistic, protective, didactic teachings at the fore (Bay-Cheng, 2017).

The findings I present in Chapter 8 suggest that there are varied perspectives about who is responsible for communicating with youth about IP, and what the message

should be. Notably, perspectives were not demarcated by stakeholder group membership; there was disconnect in some ways, but in other ways youth and adults had similar perspectives. However, my findings, supported in the literature, illustrate how adults’ ideological constructions of youth as innocent and asexual shape broader social discourses about appropriate education for youth (Egan & Hawkes, 2009). Yet, within discursive constraints, participants—particularly youth—articulated that a ‘porn is bad, do not watch it’ approach is outdated. Given the nuanced and ideologically charged perspectives that my study has highlighted regarding porn literacy, it is important that policy acknowledges that a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach may be unattainable, and instead accommodates different views. This is particularly important in places like New Zealand, where Boards of Trustees hold power over the content of sexuality education, based on the specific wishes of the community.

It would seem, then, that the resistant talk I highlighted could be explored as new ways of understanding youth sexuality that support young people’s agency. I align with Egan and Hawke’s (2009) assertion that “the discourse as it is currently conceptualised is deficient and unrepresentative because there is no place for the sexual subjectivity of children, their agency or recognition of their rights as sexual citizens” (p. 393). In this respect, educational initiatives that legitimise the sexual agency of youth, and seek to empower youth in exploring how their sexual subjectivities are situated in a broader social context, can be explored (Carmody, 2005; Carmody & Ovenden, 2013). As described in the previous sections, my findings support the existing literature that suggests young people engage with IP in various ways that are not often recognised in broader social discussion (Attwood et al., 2018; Scarcelli, 2015; Spišák, 2017). Accordingly, in the words of Tsaliki (2011):

> We need to treat young people as streetwise, active decoders of media messages and contents with sophisticated patterns of use and coping strategies, instead of adopting patronising attitudes that present them as quintessentially innocent and naïve; and, to that end, we need to develop complex methodologies where the opinions and perceptions of young people and their parents are taken into account. (p. 299)

With this assertion in mind—having heard and taken seriously the opinions and perception of youth, caregivers, and educators—what does this mean for porn literacy education? In the context of these findings, whereby engagement with IP is constructed by youth as commonplace, and youth take up agentic positions that suggest they are active sexual citizens, yet adults generally harbour concerns about recognising youth in this way… what next? How do these research findings assist in the public and academic debate about how to respond to increased global access to IP? What does my research tell us about porn literacy as pedagogy? It is to this question that I turn to next.

Conceptualising a Critical Ethical Sexual Citizenship Pedagogical Framework

Sexuality education curricula and initiatives are often grounded in cognitive theory and adopt an individual-focused behavioural change approach whereby students are taught skills to "decide what to do in a sexual situation rather than to think about what is good (ethical) behaviour in sexual matters and how we might live as a society when we consider matters of sexuality" (Lamb, 2010, p. 87). As reported in the wider literature, teaching porn literacy skills can be construed as an inoculation technique against the inevitable harms and effects of IP, or a way to promote 'good' sexual decision making (e.g., Byron et al., 2020; Goldstein, 2020; Rothman et al., 2018; Vandenbosch & van Oosten, 2018).

Even porn literacy education initiatives that seek to move away from a harms-based agenda to teach about ‘healthy’ and ‘sensible’ ways to view IP remain aligned with social learning and cognitive theories of development, which largely disregard the nuanced and contextualised ways youth engage with IP (Byron et al., 2020). I argue that such approaches are (i) implicitly harms-based and infantilising, (ii) further entrench the deterministic notion that IP is a singular, causative, explanatory variable in violent and harmful acts towards women, and (iii) do not account for the fact that IP is situated within a broader cultural context. Although this is not the only way one might approach porn literacy education, this conceptualisation was widely taken up by participants. The risk, then, is that porn literacy initiatives operate “at the expense of conversations around gender, power and culture, desire, victimisation, or how young people from different socio-cultural backgrounds navigate these relations” (Meehan, 2021, p. 1). Thus, the apparent focus in my findings on harms, risk and innocence—which fosters a discourse of disconnect among youth and adults (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015)—appears to shape the ways pedagogical support for youth about IP is conceptualised.

Based on my findings, in a bid to explore participant talk that *resisted* dominant, gendered constructions of youth sexuality, I would argue that the core objective of pedagogical initiatives that seek to address IP must be to offer an “opportunity to step outside the panic and allow for a critical examination of pornified culture” (Mulholland, 2013, p. 165). Arguably, the act of creating educational programmes focused solely on IP may only serve to further exacerbate the societal moral panic regarding IP, and entrench the notion that youth need to be inoculated against IP through didactic education. However, as stated by my small group of young participants—and further substantiated in the wider literature—youth reportedly want to reach *past* a discourse of harm, risk, and protection to a liberal negotiation of pleasurable sexualities based on

their lived experiences (Allen, 2004; Fine & McClelland, 2006). Be that as it may, the 'radical' notion of centring pleasure through a discourse of erotics or a discourse of desire in school sexuality education curricula is a prohibitive barrier to its serious consideration by school communities (Allen, 2007a; Garland-Levett & Allen, 2018). Youth are constructed as not-yet-citizens, and, more fundamentally, not yet adults. Thus, the pursuit of pleasure is policed within broader power structures (Carmody & Ovenden, 2013).

Rather than a porn literacy approach that is conceptualised as inherently harms focused, or a 'radical' pleasure orientated curriculum, ethically orientated discussions about sex and IP would bypass the now accepted status quo that youth continuously report as not working for them (Allen, 2008; Carmody, 2015). I argue that approaching sexuality education more generally—and IP specifically—from a *sexual and ethical citizenship framework* may be a way of bringing together polarised thinking along the conservative-liberal continuum that I highlighted in my Q study (Lamb, 2013).

Based on the above contextualisation of my findings in the broader literature, I would like to extend my discussion from Chapter 3 to outline the value in using a critical, ethical sexual citizenship lens to re-think porn literacy education as the dominant response initiative to youth engagement with IP. Foucault's ethics of pleasure (Foucault, 1985, 1986; Rabinow, 1984) read alongside writings on sexual citizenship (Aggleton et al., 2018; Macleod & Vincent, 2014) provide a comprehensive framework for interpreting my findings in relation to the larger question regarding porn literacy education as a pedagogical strategy. Integrating sexual ethics and sexual citizenship scholarship situates individual citizens within their broader community, and the focus centres on interconnectedness *between* beings, rather than on self-managing, isolated sexual beings (Lamb & Randazzo, 2016a).

Sexual citizenship is a broad-ranging framework that encapsulates a range of sexual matters, including sexual embodiment, relationality, diversity, and access to knowledge about resources (Robinson, 2012, p. 271). While IP has made public the illicit, sexual citizenship brings the traditionally private matter of sex/uality to the public sphere of citizenship (Aggleton et al., 2018; Mulholland, 2013). Alldred and Fox (2018) posit that sexual citizenship is about more than who belongs (e.g., white cis-heterosexual adults) and who is excluded (e.g., gender non-conforming youth). Rather, they view it as:

> …an emergent property of a material and more-than-human network or an assemblage of bodies, things, collectivities, ideas and social constructs: a flux that draws human and non-human into an affective engagement that is a part of the wider process of social production. From such a perspective, citizenship can never be a simple process whereby bodies are either assimilated into a cultural milieu or cast out as transgressive, to plough their own counter-cultural furrow (Alldred & Fox, 2018, p. 130).

It is from this perspective that I read Macleod and Vincent's (2014) theoretical understanding of citizenship and how it might be formulated as a form of critical pedagogy for sexuality education. Drawing on feminist and queer notions of citizenship, Macleod and Vincent's (2014) introduction of a sexual and reproductive citizenship is a conceptual extension of Fine and McClelland's (Fine, 1988; Fine & McClelland, 2006) work on desire, and offers a framework for promoting a discourse of desire in sexuality education.

As well as this focus on citizenship, from an ethically orientated perspective, Lamb and Randazzo (2016a) advocate for a "democratic civics education, using practical philosophy and/or ethics as a guide" to "address the marginalisation of certain

groups, problematic stereotypes, and the culture's confusing messages about sex in society" (p. 164). Thus, I argue that both ethics and sexual citizenship are inextricably linked to the lives of youth. Understanding *sexual citizenship* is a fundamental preliminary to developing a "sustainable culture of *sexual ethics*", and dialogues about these matters cannot be extricated from *sexuality education* (Robinson, 2012, p. 259).

I suggest that a *critical ethical sexual citizenship pedagogical framework*—discussed in the following sections—would encompass many of the ideals put forth by critical feminists who are invested in sexuality education going beyond responsibilisation of the individual to the societal and cultural levels. This approach stands in contrast to an isolated focus on IP through the development of specific porn literacy programmes that aim to 'teach' youth how to 'critically analyse IP' (e.g., Davis et al., 2020; Rothman et al., 2018).

It is crucial to highlight that by siloing IP as a topic, this may further embed the notion that IP is in and of itself a causative stimulus that invariably leads to negative effects if not explicitly addressed (Goldstein, 2020; McKee, 2009). This is not to say that there are *no* implications, but rather it is more nuanced than traditional polarised debates suggest (Tsaliki & Chronaki, 2020). By foregrounding ethical sexual citizenship, a deficit harms-orientated focus is avoided in favour of enhancing youth agency to navigate the interconnectedness of their (mediated) sexual cultures (Richardson, 2000). On a practical level, the key facets of citizenship are less polarising than the effects/no effects debates, and therefore might also be more useful for the future of policy development (Aggleton et al., 2018). In the following sections I outline what this framework would look like, with particular attention to how IP could be integrated in such a pedagogical approach.

Relinquishing the Regulation of ‘Healthy’ and ‘Good’ Neoliberal Citizens

As with contemporary sexuality education more generally, participants in my research were preoccupied with educational initiatives about IP being centred on health. Specifically, creating a pedagogical strategy that would defend against negative health outcomes was foregrounded. This talk aligns with the way sexuality education is often construed as a health issue, rather than a social or relational issue (Mcavoy, 2013). Rather than focusing on health and human rights—which is steeped in individualistic power dynamics and neoliberal ideals regarding duties to the state—a justice-orientated ethics of care for oneself and others, incorporated in an ethical sexual citizenship framework, may instead promote more collective and relational sexual subjectivities (Bay-Cheng, 2017; Carmody & Ovenden, 2013; Rabinow, 1984). Instead of a mandate for sexually ‘healthy’ individuals through isolated risk-mitigation goals which are embroiled in ‘empowerment’ discourse, a sexually *ethical* society would be foregrounded (Coyle et al., 2015; Lamb, 2010; Moulin-Stozek, 2020).

This is not to say that education about health is not important, but that it needs to be contextualised in a way that recognises how gendered, racialised, and classed socialisation *produces* sexual citizens, rather than focused on changing the behaviours of *individuals* (Fitzpatrick & Burrows, 2017). For example, how do those with non-normative bodies or HIV, queer youth, people of colour, immigrants, or sex workers gain access to sexual citizenship? As described by Lamb and Randazzo (2016b):

> When a curriculum focuses on health benefits to oneself, it implies to students that self-care comes first and thereby plays into a neoliberal perspective that emphasizes teens as independent choosers in a marketplace of choices rather than ethical human beings in relationship with others and society. (p. 17)

The notion of healthy sex/uality and 'good' citizenship can therefore be extended to 'good' *neoliberal* citizenship; a self-governing citizen who accepts personal responsibility for the trajectory of their life (Elliott, 2014). This Westernised construction of sexual citizenship neglects broader societal and cultural restraints, institutions and processes that are inextricably linked to decision-making (Bay-Cheng & Eliseo-Arras, 2008). Additionally, such individualised responsibilisation neglects broader involvement with families, schools, peers and society.

Within an ethical sexual citizenship education, students and educators/caregivers could examine how women and men *choose* to engage with IP *as individuals*, but this individual choice is *situated* within a broader societal discourse about how men and women *should/should not* engage with IP (Macleod & Vincent, 2014; Macleod et al., 2015). An approach to sexuality education that considers both ethical care and sexual citizenship from a social and sexual justice lens offers an avenue to reach past and critique the notion of 'good' citizenship (white, able-bodied, married, heteronormative) and the individual responsibilisation intertwined with such narrow constructions of citizenship (Lamb, 2010; Robinson, 2012).

Reaching Beyond Danger and Disease to Ethical Pleasure and Care

Contemporary comprehensive sexuality education curricula are often centred on disease and danger, even if framed as 'empowering' youth to ultimately avoid 'risk' (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019). Education about IP risks failing to adequately address the needs of youth in the same way. Foucault's writings on the ethics of sexual pleasure and ethical sexual subjectivity can assist in conceptualising a pedagogical approach that harnesses youth agency, as requested by some youth in my research and in the extant literature (Foucault, 1978, 1985, 1986).

Ethics of pleasure is a counter position to the typical danger and disease

discourse that permeates school sexuality education, instead encouraging reflection about how to care for oneself and others, while navigating the complexities of power and pleasure (Allen, 2007b). Indeed, sexual ethics focuses on how sex can be—should be—fun, pleasurable and satisfying for all sexual citizens. Through an ethical lens, how sexual citizens relate to themselves as dialogical selves, and relate to one another through mutual care, is at the fore (Carmody et al., 2011). By drawing on an ethically orientated pedagogical approach to IP, it is possible to assuage youth desires to discuss IP as a pleasure technology while concurrently reflecting on how it can recreate unhelpful portrayals across racial, sexual, and socio-economic lines.

A useful theoretical grounding when thinking about mutual care is a key tenet of Foucault’s ideas about ethics of pleasure; *rapport à soi*. This idea conceptualises how sexual citizens agentically and reflexively choose to be in a relationship with and care for themselves, as they cannot be forced to do so by law or other regulatory means (Rabinow, 1984). For Foucault, care of self and ethics are inextricably linked; care for others is also an act of self-care. Ethical sexual citizens have the power to seek pleasure but also influence the pleasure of others (positively or negatively). Macleod and Vincent (2014), in their outline of a critical pedagogy of sexual and reproductive citizenship, also suggest a de-emphasis of the individualisation of pleasure to oneself, and the re-location of this pleasure within the social, alongside others they practise ethical care for. By focusing on this mutual care for both self and others, we can begin to consider how abuse and power relate to IP, rather than getting mired in issues of harms and effects, or danger and disease (Heyes, 2019).

Furthermore, citizenship and ethics can be discussed from an intersectional lens. Macleod and Vincent (2014) argue for discussions on chains of equivalence that consider power inequities between intersections of social categories, namely gender and

other categories, and how this shapes the political and regulatory environment within a patriarchal system that legislates on reproductive health and sexuality education. Indeed, a key tenet of Macleod and Vincent's (2014) conceptualisation of citizenship is the interrogation of traditional notions of citizenships that are premised by Westernised, heteronormative, ableist, classed, and sexist inequities, and the foregrounding of inclusive sexual and reproductive citizenship. Through focusing on these power inequities, the notion of a 'normal' sexual subject can be interrogated (Aggleton et al., 2018; Macleod & Vincent, 2014). In this way, sexual citizens have agency, but this agency is impeded by broader (patriarchal) power dynamics, sexual socialisation and social constraints (Allen, 2008).

Such socially orientated discussions are rarely foregrounded in neoliberal, danger/disease models of education. Instead of focusing on danger and disease, incorporating a dialogue of ethics and care in conversations about IP could undermine heteronormative citizenship frameworks—enforced and regulated through policy regulation—by envisaging an inclusive sexual society (Lamb, 2010; Macleod & Vincent, 2014, p. 19; Shippin, 2017).

Replacing Didactic Teaching with Mutual Dialogue

As briefly described in the introduction to this thesis, educational guidelines about IP in New Zealand construct IP as impossible for young, sexually voracious men to resist and subsequently re-enact aggressive sexual acts towards women, who are oppositionally constructed exclusively as passive victims (NZHEA, 2020). This common-sense discourse was also evident in my data, as discussed in Chapter 6. Constructing alternatives to this discourse and promoting other ways of understanding youth engagement with IP is a key tenet of my research.

Simply teaching about respect and equality will not adequately address how—in a hyper-individualised, hyper-sexualised culture—gender inequality affects (hetero)sexual decision making and negotiation between genders (Gavey et al., 2021). Therefore, I argue along with other feminist scholars that *dialogues* focusing on gender socialisation and gender roles would be most useful in challenging these traditional sexual scripts, allowing young women and men space to reorient themselves as sexual agents in a way that considers power and desire across all genders (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2019; Gavey et al., 2021; Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2017).

Critical scholars have suggested that a Freirean, dialogical approach to education can be harnessed to support conscientisation; the process of raising critical consciousness through reflective questioning about lived experiences, and encouraging curiosity as to how these experiences are situated within socio-historical contexts (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2019; Gavey et al., 2021). This process allows for the exploration of how to otherwise imagine one’s shifting, embodied, lived experiences through recontextualisation. Freirean principles related to dialogical pedagogy and critical consciousness raising have been employed in previous research with the view to challenging traditional notions of heteronormativity and fostering conversation about the social construction of gender. Such dialogical approaches aim to promote alternative discourses to mainstream hyper-individualistic and biological understandings of sex/uality (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2019; Shor & Freire, 1987). By talking with youth about how women and men are socialised in oppositional ways—constructing ‘ideal’ masculinities and femininities—this supports youth in interrogating how they interact and embody these gendered norms (Farrelly & Prain, 2007). In short, rather than “feared and demonized” as an instrument of sexual learning, IP could be explored as a site of enquiry (Etheredge, 2016, p. 554; Fitzpatrick, 2018).

Crucially, this approach would not simply aim to provide one singular ‘truth’ about how one *should* understand the IP in their lives, but rather foster critical engagement through posing questions (Calder-Dawe & Gavey, 2019; Sanjakdar, 2019). Indeed, a key finding from my research is that multiple perspectives are important, and that stakeholders, including youth, hold varying perspectives at the same time. Small group dialogic sites could foster reflection, debate, problem-solving and discussion about the multiplicity of perspectives, with the end premise being mutual education between educators and students (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2017). Most importantly, educators and caregivers might seek to understand what youth see in IP, and how they feel about it, in order to support them in exploring these feelings from a perspective of care, rather than control and authority (Elia, 2000).

For example, rather than highlighting for youth that the aggression in IP is not ‘how things are in the real world’, and that they should not ‘imitate’ what they see, violent and aggressive content in IP could be addressed using a Socratic style of open-ended and exploratory questions (as previously demonstrated by Graugaard and Roien (2007) in a Scandinavian context). Based on such ‘horizontal’ or ‘slantwise’ interactive discussions, youth can seek to understand through a lens of sexual ethics what it means to them and to their society to engage with and consume a product of the pornography industry (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2017; Quinlivan, 2018). Such discussions, I would posit, are potentially more valuable in fostering sexual and ethical citizenship than simply providing youth with statistics describing correlations between aggressive behaviours and IP. A dialogical approach allows youth to claim their own sexual citizenship, and demonstrate their ability to think critically and agentically about these questions. Further research is required to explore the potential of peer led dialogical

education in moving away from traditional 'expert-led' approaches (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019), with pioneering work currently underway in New Zealand (Gavey et al., 2021).

Within this ethical framework, caution is required to ensure ethics are not conflated with morals (Aggleton et al., 2018). For example, I would argue that Lamb's (2010) focus on intimacy as a key aspect of sexual ethics is teetering on the realm of judging what constitutes the 'right' way of doing sex. Focusing on intimacy is associated with the taken-for-granted idea that IP is responsible for the commodification of intimacy (Spišák & Paasonen, 2017). However, moralising intimacy is the deployment of a sexual intimacy script that deems 'good' sex as intimate sex, and problematises love-less sex (even if it is ethical and pleasurable), especially for 'respectable' young women (Månsson & Löfgren-Mårtenson, 2007; Spišák, 2020). In my research, although not taken up by youth, adults commonly situated 'real' sex as opposed to 'porn sex' as affectionate and intimate; defining 'good' and 'normal' sex within a heteronormative loving monogamous relationship (Rubin, 1984). Thus, although Lamb and Randazzo (2016a) advocate for an anti-dogmatic approach, one that maintains that heterosexual marriage is not the only way to do 'good' sex, they reserve the same judgment for intimacy. Rather than intimacy, I would suggest a conversation about monogamous norms in the West, and how this compares to other non-Western ways of doing relationships, would be more fruitful.

Engaging with Caregivers and Educators. What perspectives would educators and caregivers hold towards this form of critical pedagogy, which will be messier and more complex than current didactic models (Fitzpatrick & Allen, 2019)? Western views of children as innocent, pure and asexual has led to anxieties among caregivers about introducing sexual information too early in their children's lives; this was reflected in the survey results regarding the type of messages caregivers deliver to youth about IP.

Based on the findings I have presented in this thesis, I posit that the way youth sexuality is discursively constructed by key stakeholders will ultimately shape pedagogical responses to IP. Within the specific socio historical context of my small research project, a key finding is the way youth are dubiously positioned as innocent, uncritical consumers of IP, thereby constructing youth IP viewing as inherently irresponsible and harmful (see Chapter 6). This dominant construction of 'youth at risk' stands in the way of recognising young people's agency. It needs to be fundamentally challenged for curricula to be developed that resonate with young people's realities and enhance young people's agency to navigate IP. Future work could explore these dominant constructions of youth with educators and caregivers, and explore what this critical approach would mean for adults tasked with sexuality education, including what resources would be required to enact such a pedagogical approach (Foucault, 1978; Macleod & Vincent, 2013; Rabinow, 1984). Considering the varying perspectives among stakeholders, as presented in my findings, is critical in order to respond in a manner that is relevant and relatable for these end users of potential pedagogical initiatives (see Objective 3; Article 4; Chapter 8).

In summary, the concerns related to youth sexuality expressed in my findings, and the concurrent resistant talk, represent an opportunity to further explore alternative ways of understanding youth sexuality that support young people's sexual agency (see Chapters 5, 6 and 8). To facilitate such exploration, youth must be recognised as legitimate sexual citizens who are "reflexive social agents and producers of culture, active in the complex negotiations of social life and contributing in significant ways to the everyday construction of the social world" (Best, 2007, p. 11; see Chapter 7). This re-positioning would encourage a move away from inoculation approaches to pornography education, towards dialogue and open discussion (Egan & Hawkes, 2009).

Such education would support youth agency by exploring with youth how they navigate the messiness of IP alongside their own sexual fantasies and desires.

Reflecting on the Research: Limitations and Possibilities for Future Research

My research aims and objectives informed the epistemological, theoretical and methodological underpinnings of my research. I chose a social constructionist, critical, mixed methods approach, in which case validity and generalisability were not appropriate measures of 'assessment'. I did not aim to make claims about participants in general, but rather to gain in depth insight into this culturally-specific group of New Zealanders, and contextualise my findings in the broader literature. I have situated my findings in the broader scholarship and provided a discussion based on a deep and nuanced view provided by *these* participants. I analysed survey and interview data in a way that reflects the social constructionist lens of my research (i.e., I used quantitative data descriptively, open-ended survey questions, and analysed my data in a reflexive and critical manner) (Braun & Clarke, 2019; Braun et al., 2019). Within the context of this theoretical approach, I will reflect on some aspects of the research process.

The multi-method and multi-stakeholder approach provided a rich, holistic data set. As anticipated, a mixed method design allowed for methodological crystallisation. However, this approach also meant I had to manage many methods, modes of analyses and mixed groups within these methods of analyses. Capturing the complexities of the data, and communicating the messiness of my findings, was challenging. However, I hope the findings discussed in this exploratory thesis serve as a springboard for future research, where the entanglements of the findings I present can be further un/tangled.

On a practical level, as I reflected on in Chapter 4, there were challenges with recruitment and data collection in schools. Notably, uptake by schools was less than anticipated with just nine of the 249 schools contacted accepting my invitation to

participate. Data were therefore drawn from an illustrative, small, non-representative group of participants that were recruited through schools with a particular interest in sexuality education more generally. There were also operational limitations to using schools as research sites. The wrong survey link was distributed in one school, which resulted in 137 unusable survey responses. Additionally, in terms of practical issues, there was missing data for two questions related to the educators' group due, and this was not detected until data collection was completed. Having more data, across a greater variety of schools, and no issues with the survey set-up, would have been preferable for a more cohesive dataset. It would be fruitful in future research to focus on other more representative populations, perhaps outside of a school-based context, as schools are also understood as asexual locations that police and regulate youth sexuality more broadly (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019).

Capturing marginalised voices was not in the scope of my exploratory study. However, it is notable that limited research exists that provides insight into how LGBTQ+ youth, and marginalised youth from minority groups (e.g., physical or mental disabilities) engage with IP (Albury & Byron, 2015; Horvath et al., 2013). Further concerted efforts are required to consider from an intersectional lens how youth, caregivers, and educators engage with key discourses about IP across categorical lines. This is particularly important to ensure that education about IP is informed in an inclusive, culturally sensitive manner that considers local context, and indigenous perspectives (Bird et al., 2020).

Going forward, as IP is utterly subjective in terms of how it is experienced and positioned in one's particular social understandings of sex and sexuality, qualitative research is well positioned to explore (through personal experiences) contradictory perspectives (Attwood, 2005). To continue the exploration of how youths' negotiation

of IP intersects with their sexual subjectivity construction, further unpacking of youth engagement with IP is required through a constructionist lens. The research community could begin to explore more fully how people understand, experience (both producers and viewers), and make sense of representations in IP to inform pedagogical initiatives such as, perhaps, critical ethical sexual citizenship initiatives (Weitzer, 2011).

Youth participants in my research only comprise 16-18-year-olds. Crucially, ensuring youth are key participants in such research and positioned as active agents in their own learning is a process that must continue (Chronaki, 2019; Ollis et al., 2019). It is imperative that those who would be most affected by education policy or curricula—educators, youth and caregivers—continue to be consulted and heard in decision making to promote a sense of belonging and affiliation with any outcomes (Elia, 2000). In particular, youth who are under 16, who are rarely represented in research about IP, should have the opportunity to speak and be heard through participatory, youth-centred, critical, research methods (Mulholland, 2016; Yang & MacEntee, 2015).

By extension, youth could be granted the agency to ultimately establish, implement, and evaluate sexuality education initiatives that may focus on ethical sexual citizenship (Allen, 2005). That being said, measuring outcomes and 'impact' to effectively determine the success of interventions is a particularly white and Western approach, and a challenge that those invested in creating sexuality curricula will meet. Future scholars may be cognisant of conceptualising non-Western ways of measuring success through more relational processes, such as 'yarning' and conversing (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2017). Future exploration on this topic could explore the *process* of building relationship and rapport as educational in and of itself, and how sharing of stories through dialogue may be more culturally applicable in non-Western cultures.

Finally, as with IP itself, merely including ethical sexual citizenship as an ‘add on’ to existing retroactive sexuality education models fails to address the larger scale reconceptualisation that is required regarding how sexuality education is fundamentally implemented. Future research would do well to pay heed to the transformative value in moving from notions of the individual to the broader collective social systems in which individuals reside, with the intention to “create a space for rethinking normative and oppressive gender norms and facilitating confidence and agency” (Ngabaza & Shefer, 2019, p. 422). This is largely where the bigger picture work needs to be done, not just in sexuality education curricula, but in school curricula more generally (Farrelly & Prain, 2007).

Personal Reflections

I think it is important to recognise that youth—as a socially constructed cohort—are, in reality, vulnerable. But, rather than understanding vulnerability as an inherently developmentalist feature of ‘youth’, vulnerability is partly a result of the way youth are constructed as asexual, passive, innocent, adults-in-waiting; liminal quasi citizens (Aggleton et al., 2018; Mulholland, 2015). Accordingly, they are often ‘protected’ by adults in ways that restricts their access to information that might be ‘too sensitive’, ‘too sexual’, ‘too soon’ (Robinson, 2012). At the end of this indelible journey, I feel that some youth certainly may be more adept at traversing the technological pornographic landscape than we give them credit for, but some still need space to have dialogue on this topic, *as do many adults*. Both youth *and* adults can be vulnerable when using various sites of mediated intimacies, just as some might be more invulnerable. Restricting youth access to IP and clouding the conversation with scripts of risk, harm, innocence, passivity, naïvety, deviance, and heteronormativity denies youth the opportunity to explore their sexual subjectivities (Albury & Byron, 2015).

Of course there will be youth who struggle with IP, just as there are youth who struggle with gaming, social media, and other digital platforms; just as there are adults who struggle with these technologies too. There may well be implications for engagement with IP, but these are not linear, uncomplicated, and inevitably harmful. Youth deserve to be part of a conversation that recognises this messy, coloured, fascinating topography of pornographic enquiry. Youth agency, then, cannot be hyperbolically celebrated, nor denied. However, their *agency* can be *acknowledged* while their *vulnerabilities* are *recognised* (Jarkovská & Lamb 2018; Tsaliki & Chronaki, 2020) through collaborative, youth-centred, inclusive, dialogical, ethically orientated sexuality education.

I am aware that this project displays but one way to research and produce knowledge about the presence of IP in the lives of youth, and although I believe my efforts have been thorough and reflexive, I am mindful that my own perspectives have ebbed and flowed over the past four years. I thought I would be advocating for 'porn literacy education' at the end of this project, but the data convinced me otherwise. My personal perspective on youth engagement with IP is that youth are caught in a dilemma; should they believe what the world says about IP, and perpetuate these socially accepted scripts, or should they believe their own experience? While it is important to understand the embedded dominant discourses that shape how youth negotiate IP to construct personal sexual subjectivities, this does not detract from the various ways youth experientially live among these discourses, and how they make sense of these embodied experiences (Moore & Reynolds, 2018).

I take solace in Tiefer's (2018) assertion that since her doctoral dissertation (which focused on hormonal rates), her ideas have been transformed about sexuality, and she has since embarked on a very different social constructionist research career.

For me, this signals that early career researchers do not have to have it all figured out. Rather than remain steadfast with all the ideas expressed in this thesis, some perhaps preconceived, I will embrace the progression of these ideas over time. I hope, above all, that I have done justice to the participants in my research and have reported and written in a way that they can align with, and feel as though they have been heard, represented and understood.

Conclusion

Given the ubiquity of IP, it is unsurprising that caregivers and educators are tussling with how best to attend to youth engagement with IP. The findings presented in this thesis provide a rich insight into how a small sample of young New Zealanders, their caregivers and educators account for and make sense of the role IP plays as a new cultural reality for youth, as well as their perspectives on porn literacy education. My research adds to the extant critical psychological scholarship that considers youth engagement with IP, and potential response initiatives, through a social lens. Using descriptive, critical and qualitative methods—in a world that values scientific, experimental, quantitative, hypo-deductive approaches—my findings provide nuanced understandings of the research topic. In so doing, my project of work steps away from a harms-based research agenda and instead focuses on taking youth seriously in a broader cultural context that typically renders their voices inexperienced, naïve, and passive.

My research demonstrates how youth employ and upend sexual scripts when viewing IP, indicating that these youth act as empowered agents and legitimate sexual citizens (see Chapters 6 and 7). It is evident that youth in my research are viewing IP with some level of criticality, and that adults must reach beyond a hollow conversation that is tautological to the key facet of IP's mandate; fantasy. To take the youth voice seriously means to recognise them as savvy, legitimate, sexual agents. Otherwise, if

youth consider education about IP to be infantilising, there is a risk of disconnect between them and those charged with delivering sexuality education. As I have suggested, pedagogical initiatives that reach beyond discourses of harm and innocence to consider ethical sexual citizenship could help bridge such disconnect (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015). If Westernised embarrassment about sex and being sexual are removed, and key principles of ethical sexual citizenship addressed, IP could be reframed as a resource that is historically complex, culturally specific, technologically capitalised, moralistically debated, and both condemned and celebrated among feminists (Voss, 2014).

There is a risk, based on historical trends, and the current trajectory (Byron et al., 2020), that caregivers and educators may become paralysed with fear and revert to the comfort of a harms and avoidance discourse about IP, like with alcohol and drugs (Lee & Crofts, 2015). I argue for a rejection of this easy option, and instead suggest youth are supported to pursue pleasure in ways that promotes their sexual citizenship. Accordingly, I suggest that porn literacy education, as it is currently conceptualised in the literature (Byron et al., 2020), is not the optimal pedagogical response to youth engagement with IP. Rather, from a youth-oriented perspective, dialogues about ethical sexual citizenship should perhaps be promulgated as more relevant and beneficial (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2017).

To that end, Judith Butler posits that the question of “who do I want to be?” should be shifted to “what kind of life do I want to live with others?” (Ahmed, 2016, p. 491). This aligns with the idea of exploring how we want to live as sexual beings, and seek sexually fulfilling lives *together* (Lamb, 2010). Thus, an ethical sexual citizenship pedagogical framework moves past “what would be good for me”, to “what would be good for society, for the other person and for the world” (Lamb & Randazzo, 2016a, p.

151/152). This more collective and interpersonal approach counters individualistic foci in today’s neoliberal society, while also including self-care as a key imperative. An ethically orientated pedagogical approach would therefore move away from teaching skills to students, who are constructed as individually responsible for the IP in their lives, to a more collective, collaborative approach that does not focus on mitigating harm, but rather fosters the construction of ethical sexual subjectivities (Aggleton et al., 2018; Carmody, 2015).

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Appendix A. Introductory Email to Principals

RE: Invitation to Participate in Research Study

Dear Principal (*name*),

I trust this email finds you well.

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen and I am a PhD researcher in the School of Psychology at Massey University. My doctoral research will explore young people’s engagement with Internet pornography (IP). Schools across the North Island of New Zealand are being invited to take part in this research. I am writing to invite you to support my research by acting as a research site.

About the study: The project focuses on ‘porn literacy’ education for young people. Given the increased accessibility of IP, there is a call for research that will produce information to support young people to critically navigate this material, as well as to assist parents/guardians and educators in teaching about these issues. My research is intended to contribute to this aim and to ultimately promote young people’s sexual and psychological health and wellbeing. I wish to explore how young people make sense of the messages, sexual practices and emotions displayed in IP, and what their needs are regarding porn literacy education. Only an understanding of and views on IP are sought, rather than personal experiences with IP. I am also interested in the perspectives of parents/guardians and educators i.e., teachers and principals.

The project will involve a survey (Phase 1) followed by interviews and/or focus group discussions (Phase 2). Both phases will collect data from the three stakeholder groups: (1)

school students aged 16-18-years (2) parents/guardians of secondary school students, and (3) educators at the schools.

Your school’s participation: I would be grateful if you could read the attached information sheet that provides more detail about the study and what participation would involve. Most importantly, I would like to reassure you that this research project is in no way evaluating individual schools, and your school will remain anonymous throughout (as will individual research participants). Rather, as Principal you would act as a gatekeeper, working with me to identify the best processes for communicating with and recruiting research participants to carry out the research.

As the primary researcher, I will cooperate and work closely with your school to ensure that there is minimal disruption caused as a result of the project and that all internal policies, procedures and protocols are followed throughout.

Please contact me if you have any questions or would like to discuss the project further, either over the phone or in person. I look forward to hearing from you, and hope that you are willing for your school to be involved in the project.

Best wishes | Ngā mihi

Siobhán Healy-Cullen

| PhD Student| Graduate Assistant| School of Psychology | Te Kura Hinengaro Tangata
| College of Humanities & Social Sciences | Massey University | Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa
| **Room 3.01** | Psychology Building | Manawatū Campus
| **Postal Address:** Private Bag 11 222 | Palmerston North | 4442 | Aotearoa New Zealand
| **Email:** s.healy-cullen@massey.ac.nz |**Web:** psychology.massey.ac.nz

Appendix B. Principal Information Sheet

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen, and I am a PhD candidate in the School of Psychology at Massey University. This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge about young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and the emergence of 'porn literacy' education as a potential response initiative. You are invited to have your school participate as a research site for this study. Participation is voluntary; however your schools contribution would be greatly appreciated. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether to participate.

Project Description:

Internet pornography (IP) is fast assuming the role of a de facto source of information about sex and sexuality for young people. Research has been called for to determine how to incorporate the realities of IP into sexuality education, as the proliferation, ubiquity and accessibility of IP grows. 'Porn literacy' has been suggested as the research foundation needed to ensure the sexual and psychological health and wellbeing of young people, by equipping them with the skills needed to steer through today’s 'sex tech nexus'. A key objective of the present study is to better understand perspectives on porn literacy education by including the voices of three key stakeholders, namely;

1. 16-18-year-old students

2. Parents/guardians of secondary school student/s
3. Educators (teachers and principals) in secondary schools

Participants from these three key stakeholder groups will be recruited through secondary schools. I am hoping to gather as many survey responses as possible (Phase 1), and to recruit ten participants from each key stakeholder group for follow on interviews and/or focus group (Phase 2). Each school that participates will be entered in to a draw for a $100 book voucher for the school, with no individual compensation to be offered to participants.

Project Procedures:

If you agree to your school being part of this research, I would work with you to recruit participants from your school, and request for you to act as a gatekeeper to potential participants. This would involve you, the Principal;

1. Emailing the survey link and relevant study information (provided by me) to your email lists for both the parents/guardians and educators in your school.
2. Providing the survey link to 16-18-year-old students in your school. This could be best completed during health education class (survey duration is approximately 30 minutes). However, I understand that this may not always be feasible and am happy to discuss alternatives.
3. Working together with me to arrange the logistics of interviews and focus groups, which should ideally be held on school premises either during or after school hours. This will be worked through on a case by case basis, and will be dependent on what is most suitable for your school.

Please note that:

- You and your school will not intentionally be exposed to any harm during this research.
- The purpose of this research is not to scrutinise schools, educators, parents/guardians or youth.
- I will take every effort to ensure participants feel comfortable, and participants have the right to decline to answer any particular questions to prevent such discomfort.
- Participants will be supplied with relevant support information and contacts.

I will protect schools and participants anonymity in several ways;

- In all research writing, references to individuals or the naming of particular places will be anonymous (through the use of pseudonyms), or by use of job title where appropriate, e.g. “a school/teacher/principal/student…”.
- Stories or accounts of particular experiences will not be recognisable to anyone except the participant. Contextual details will be altered as required to ensure this.
- The school will remain completely anonymous and no one will be able to tell from reading the report that the school has been involved in the research.

There will be no immediate benefits for participating in this research. However, by participating in this research you will be contributing to our understanding of young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and key stakeholder perspectives on 'porn literacy' education will be heard. This is a very topical issue affecting young people today. The findings from this research will be relevant for the development of policy and sex education programmes. I will provide you with a report outlining the findings, which you may find informative and helpful.

Data Management:

Raw data will be stored securely in password protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed by deletion or shredding.

Your Rights:

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your school's name will not be used;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Project Contacts:

You are invited to contact me and/or my primary supervisor if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you. If you are interested in your school being involved in the research, please contact me (details below) so we can discuss what might work best for you, and your school, in terms of conducting the research.

Named Investigator	**Siobhán Healy-Cullen**
Role	PhD Candidate
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 83078
Email	S.Healy-cullen@massey.ac.nz

Primary Supervisor	**Dr. Joanne Taylor**
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 85068

Email J.E.Taylor@massey.ac.nz

Thank you for your time,

Siobhán Healy-Cullen

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix C. Invitation to Caregivers and Educators to Participate in Research

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Kia ora Parents/Guardians and Educators,

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen and I am a PhD researcher in the School of Psychology at Massey University. I am writing to invite you to support my research, which will explore young New Zealanders’ engagement with Internet pornography.

Given the increased accessibility of Internet pornography, there is a call for research that will explore how to support young people to make sense of this material should they come across it, as well as how to assist parents/guardians and educators in teaching about these issues. This project focuses on ‘porn literacy’ education, which suggests young people should be taught and equipped with skills to critically analyse the messages and sexual practices Internet pornography portrays.

A key objective of this research is to assess key stakeholders’ perspectives (educators, parents/guardians, young people) towards porn literacy education. The project will involve a survey (Phase 1) followed by interviews and/or focus group discussions (Phase 2).

If you are a parent/guardian of a 16-18-year-old in this participating school, your young person will also be extended the invitation to participate in this research project. If you have any questions about their participation, please feel free to contact me directly (details below).

If you are interested in learning more about this research, and potentially participating, please follow this link. This will bring you to an information sheet that provides more detail about the study, and what your participation would involve. You will then have the option to continue to the survey, or simply exit out of the webpage. At the end of the survey, you will be offered the opportunity to register your interest in Phase 2 of this research.

Please contact me if you have any questions, or would like to discuss the project further.

Best wishes | Ngā mihi

Siobhán Healy-Cullen
| PhD Student| Graduate Assistant| School of Psychology | Te Kura Hinengaro Tangata
| College of Humanities & Social Sciences | Massey University | Te Kunenga ki Pūrehuroa
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Appendix D. Survey Information Sheet - Youth

COLLEGE OF
HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen, and I am a PhD candidate in the School of Psychology at Massey University. This study aims to learn about young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and explore people’s views on ‘porn literacy’ education.

I am exploring with young people what they think about Internet pornography and the messages it delivers. I am interested in hearing your thoughts on 'porn literacy' education, which suggests that we should teach young people how to examine and make sense of Internet pornography. This research will help us to understand how young people navigate Internet pornography, and what your views are on porn literacy education. You are invited to have your voice heard on these topics by choosing to participate. There are no right or wrong answers, I am just interested in your thoughts!

There are three key groups that are important to this study:

1. **16-18-year-old students**
2. Parents/guardians of secondary school students
3. Educators in secondary schools

The principal of your school has agreed to provide you with this survey link and this information page, so that <u>you get to decide</u> whether or not you would like to participate in any part of this study.

Project Procedures:

If you agree to be part of this research, when you click ‘next’ you will be brought to a consent form, and then to the first page of the survey. The survey should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. At the end of the survey, you will be asked to indicate whether you would like to receive further information about participating in Phase 2 of the project, which involves doing a follow on individual interview or focus group. If you choose to register interest in Phase 2, you will be directed to a separate statement-sorting task, which will take a further 10-15 minutes.

Please note that:

- You may experience some discomfort answering questions about Internet pornography, as some find this to be a sensitive topic and one that they don't often discuss with other people.
- You will have the option to skip questions or withdraw from the survey at any time.
- Relevant support information and contacts will be provided at the end of the survey, in case you need to talk to someone about anything brought up throughout the survey.

I will protect your anonymity in several ways;

- In all research writing, people who participate will be referred to using a 'fake' name (pseudonyms), or by your title e.g. “a student…”.
- Stories or accounts of particular experiences will not be recognisable to anyone except you.
- Your answers cannot be traced back to you via your e-mail address, your IP address, or by any other means. I will not attempt to capture information that you do not voluntarily provide.

- All data will be stored securely in password protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed by deletion or shredding.

Your Rights:

You are under no obligation to take part. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the survey at any time;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

This is your opportunity to have your voice heard on this topic, and I really value what you have to say. The findings from this research will be relevant for the development of policy and sex education programmes, which may affect young people like you.

Project Contacts:

You can contact me and/or my primary supervisor if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you.

Named Investigator	**Siobhán Healy-Cullen**
Role	PhD Candidate
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 83078
Email	S.Healy-cullen@massey.ac.nz

Primary Supervisor	**Dr. Joanne Taylor**
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University

Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 85068
Email	J.E.Taylor@massey.ac.nz

Thank you for your time!

Siobhán Healy-Cullen

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix E. Survey Information Sheet - Caregivers and Educators

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen, and I am a PhD candidate in the School of Psychology at Massey University. This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge about young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and the emergence of 'porn literacy' education as a potential response initiative.

Project Description:

Internet pornography (IP) is fast assuming the role of a de facto source of information about sex and sexuality for young people. Research has been called for to determine how to incorporate the realities of IP into sexuality education, as the pervasiveness and accessibility of IP grows. 'Porn literacy' has been suggested as the research foundation needed to ensure the sexual and psychological health and wellbeing of young people, by equipping them with the skills needed to steer through today’s 'sex tech nexus'. One objective of the present study is to explore key stakeholder’s views on porn literacy education. You are invited to have your voice heard on this by choosing to participate in this survey.

There are three key groups that are important to this study:

1. 16-18-year-old students (receive separate age appropriate information sheet)
2. **Parents/guardians of secondary school student/s**
3. **Educators in secondary schools**

The principal of your school has agreed to provide you with this survey link and subsequently this information page, to afford you the opportunity of deciding whether or not you would like to participate in any part of this study. Schools from across the North Island of New Zealand have been invited to participate in this study, and we are hoping to gather as many survey responses as possible.

Project Procedures:

If you agree to be part of this research, when you click ‘*next*’ you will be brought to a consent form, and then to the first page of the survey. The survey should take no more than 20 minutes to complete. At the end of the survey, you will be asked to indicate whether you would like to receive further information about participating in a follow on individual interview or focus group.

We are also interested in hearing the voices of 16-18-year-olds regarding how they make sense of the messages and sexual practices portrayed in Internet pornography, and what their perspectives are on porn literacy education. As you are now, 16-18-year-olds in this school will be afforded the opportunity to decide whether or not they would like to participate in a survey, after reading a preceding (age appropriate) information sheet. An offer to partake in an interview/focus group will also be extended to those 16-18-year-olds who take the survey.

If you have any study related questions regarding young people’s involvement in this research, please contact me on the details listed below.

Please note that:

- You may experience some discomfort answering questions about Internet pornography, as some find this to be a sensitive topic and one that they don't often discuss with other people.

- You will have the option to skip questions or withdraw from the survey at any time.
- Relevant support information and contacts will be provided at the end of the survey, in case you need to talk to someone about anything brought up throughout the survey.

I will protect your anonymity in several ways;

- In all research writing, references to individuals or the naming of particular places will be anonymous (through the use of pseudonyms), or by use of job title where appropriate, e.g. “a teacher/principal/student…”.
- Your answers cannot be traced back to you via your e-mail address, your IP address, or by any other means. I will not attempt to capture information that you do not voluntarily provide.
- All data will be stored securely in password protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed by deletion or shredding.

Your Rights:

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer any particular question;
- withdraw from the study at any time;
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Project Contacts:

By participating in this research you will be contributing to our understanding of young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and your perspectives on 'porn literacy'

education will be heard. The findings from this research will be relevant for the development of policy and sex education programmes.

You can contact me and/or my primary supervisor if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you.

Named Investigator	**Siobhán Healy-Cullen**
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Department	School of Psychology
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Thank you for your time,

Siobhán Healy-Cullen

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix F. Participant Consent Form - Survey

COLLEGE OF
HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography.

- I have read and understand the Information Page and the details of the study.
- Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.
- I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study.
- I can withdraw from the survey at anytime.
- My participation is entirely voluntary.
- I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

If you agree to participate in this survey, please tick this box (ticking this box indicates your consent to take part in this study). ☐

**please note that by ticking this box, you are consenting to completing the survey part of this study only. If you choose to be involved in a follow on interview and/or focus group, there will be a separate information sheet and consent form at that time.*

If you proceed, the next page you see will be the first page of the survey. If you do not wish to proceed with the survey, thank you for your time, and you may simply X out of this web page.

Appendix G. Support Information for Interview - Youth

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

If this interview has brought up any concerns for you, below are the details of different agencies /resources that you may wish to contact for information/support.

Youthline – 0800 376 633, free text 234 or email talk@youthline.co.nz or online chat

thelowdown.co.nz – or email team@thelowdown.co.nz or free text 5626

What's Up – 0800 942 8787 (for 5–18 year olds). Phone counselling is available Monday to Friday, midday–11pm and weekends, 3pm–11pm. Online chat is available 7pm–10pm daily

Kidsline – 0800 54 37 54 (0800 kidsline) for young people up to 18 years of age. Open 24/7

SPARX.org.nz – online e-therapy tool provided by the University of Auckland that helps young people learn skills to deal with feeling down, depressed or stressed

Rape Crisis – 0800 883 300 (for support after rape or sexual assault)

OUTLine NZ – 0800 688 5463 (OUTLINE) provides confidential telephone support (sexuality or gender identity helpline)

Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori resources on sexual and reproductive health - Resources on Māori approaches to sexuality education for rangatahi Māori (Māori young people)

Netsafe - 0508 638 723 Helps people keep safe online by providing education, advice and support.

It’s time we talked - This website offers information about Internet pornography; it offers many resources to help you understand what pornography says, why and what it means for you. http://www.itstimewetalked.com.au

Scarleteen - Scarleteen is a sex education website with information, advice and support about sexuality, sex, sexual health and relationships – including information on making sense of sexual media. http://www.scarleteen.com

Appendix H. Support Information for Interview - Caregivers and Educators

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

If this interview has brought up any concerns for you, below are the details of different agencies /resources that you may wish to contact for information/support.

Lifeline – 0800 543 354 (0800 LIFELINE) or free text 4357 (HELP)

Suicide Crisis Helpline – 0508 828 865 (0508 TAUTOKO)

Healthline – 0800 611 116

Samaritans – 0800 726 666

Parent Help – 0800 568 856 for parents/guardians/whānau seeking support, advice and practical strategies on all parenting concerns. Anonymous, non-judgemental and confidential.

Rape Crisis – 0800 883 300 (for support after rape or sexual assault)

Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori resources on sexual and reproductive health - Resources on Māori approaches to sexuality education for rangatahi Māori (Māori young people)

It’s time we talked - This website offers information about Internet pornography, it offers many resources for parents/guardians and educators to better enable conversations with young people about Internet pornography. http://www.itstimewetalked.com.au

Appendix I. E-mail Invitation to Interview

RE: Internet pornography Research – Interview

Kia ora (name),

Many thanks for registering your interest to take part in a follow up interview on the topic of young people’s engagement with Internet pornography! I really appreciate the time you have taken to complete the survey, and I hope this interview will provide an opportunity for you to elaborate further on your perspectives about this topic.

Please take the time to read the attached information sheet about the interview. A consent form will be provided at the interview, which I have also attached a copy of so that you can see what it contains. If you have any questions, or if anything requires clarification, please feel free to get in touch with me at any time (contact details below).

Please click here to indicate your preferred interview date and time!

I look forward to speaking with you at the interview!

Ngā mihi,

Siobhán

Appendix J. Interview Information Sheet - Youth

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen, and I am a PhD candidate in the School of Psychology at Massey University. This study aims to learn about young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and explore people’s views on ‘porn literacy’ education.

I am exploring with young people what they think about Internet pornography and the messages it delivers. I am interested in hearing your thoughts on 'porn literacy' education, which suggests that we should teach young people how to examine and make sense of Internet pornography. This research will help us to understand how young people navigate Internet pornography, and what your views are on porn literacy education. You are invited to have your voice heard on these topics by choosing to participate in an interview. There are no right or wrong answers, I am just interested in your thoughts!

There are three key groups that are important to this study:

4. **16-18-year-old students**
5. Parents/guardians of secondary school students
6. Educators in secondary schools

I am hoping to recruit ten participants from each of the three groups listed above to take part in an individual interview (or a focus group).

Project Procedures:

The interview should take no more than 60 minutes to complete.

Please note that:

- You may experience some discomfort answering questions or talking about your views on Internet pornography, as some find this to be a sensitive topic and one that they don't often discuss with other people,
- I will take every effort to ensure you feel comfortable, and you have the right to decline to answer any particular question to prevent such discomfort. You can choose to leave the interview at any stage,
- You will be given relevant support information and contacts, in case you need to talk to someone about anything brought up throughout the interview.

I will protect your anonymity in several ways:

- The interview will take place in a space of your choosing. If this is in a public place (e.g., public library, youth centre space etc.) then anonymity of your identity cannot be guaranteed, however any information that you give me will remain anonymous.
- In all research writing, participants will be referred to using a 'fake' name (pseudonyms), or by your title e.g. "a student…",
- Stories or accounts of particular experiences will not be recognisable to anyone except you,
- All data will be stored securely in password protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

Your Rights:

You are under no obligation to take part. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- withdraw from the study at any stage, until the data has been analysed (after one month);
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

This is your opportunity to have your say and make sure your voice is heard! The findings from this research will be relevant for the development of policy and sex education programmes, which may affect young people like you.

Project Contacts:

You can contact me and/or my primary supervisor if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you.

Named Investigator	**Siobhán Healy-Cullen**
Role	PhD Candidate
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 83078
Email	S.Healy-cullen@massey.ac.nz

Primary Supervisor	**Dr. Joanne Taylor**
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 85068
Email	J.E.Taylor@massey.ac.nz

Thank you for your time!
Siobhán Healy-Cullen

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix K. Caregivers and Educators Interview Information Sheet

COLLEGE OF
HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography

My name is Siobhán Healy-Cullen, and I am PhD candidate in the School of Psychology at Massey University. This study aims to contribute to the body of knowledge about young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and the emergence of 'porn literacy' education as a potential response initiative.

Project Description and Invitation

Internet pornography (IP) is fast assuming the role of a de facto source of information about sex and sexuality for young people. Research has been called for to determine how to incorporate the realities of IP into sexuality education, as the pervasiveness and accessibility of IP grows. 'Porn literacy' has been suggested as the research foundation needed to ensure the sexual and psychological health and wellbeing of young people, by equipping them with the skills needed to steer through today’s 'sex tech nexus'. One objective of the present study is to explore key stakeholder’s views on porn literacy education. You are invited to have your voice heard on this topic by choosing to participate in an interview.

There are three key groups that are important to this study:

4. 16-18-year-old students
5. **Parents/guardians of secondary school student/s**

6. **Educators in secondary schools**

I am hoping to recruit ten participants from each of the three groups listed above to take part in an individual interview (or a focus group).

Project Procedures:

The interview should take no more than 60 minutes to complete.

Please note that:

- You may experience some discomfort answering questions or talking about your views on Internet pornography, as some find this to be a sensitive topic and one that they don't often discuss with other people,
- I will take every effort to ensure you feel comfortable, and you have the right to decline to answer any particular question to prevent such discomfort. You can choose to leave the interview at any stage,
- You will be given relevant support information and contacts, in case you need to talk to someone about anything brought up throughout the interview.

I will protect your anonymity in several ways;

- In all research writing, references to individuals or the naming of particular places will be anonymous (through the use of pseudonyms), or by use of job title where appropriate, e.g. “a teacher/principal/student…”,
- Stories or accounts of particular experiences will not be recognisable to anyone except you. Contextual details will be altered as required to ensure this,
- All data will be stored securely in password protected electronic files or locked filing cabinets for five years, after which it will be destroyed by deletion or shredding.

Your Rights:

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- withdraw from the study at any stage, until the data has been analysed (after one month);
- ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview.

By participating in this research you will be contributing to our understanding of young people's engagement with Internet pornography, and your perspectives on 'porn literacy' education will be heard. The findings from this research will be relevant for the development of policy and sex education programmes.

Project Contacts:

You can contact me and/or my primary supervisor if you have any questions (details below), and we would be happy to discuss any aspect of the project with you.

Named Investigator	**Siobhán Healy-Cullen**
Role	PhD Candidate
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 83078
Email	S.Healy-cullen@massey.ac.nz

Academic Supervisor	**Dr. Joanne Taylor**
Department	School of Psychology
University	Massey University
Telephone	+64 (06) 356 9099 ext. 85068
Email	J.E.Taylor@massey.ac.nz

Thank you for your time,

Siobhán Healy-Cullen

> This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Dr Rochelle Stewart-Withers, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone 06 356 9099 x 83657, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix L. Participant Consent Form - Interview

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography.

I have read, or have had read to me in my first language, and I understand the Information Sheet provided to me. I have had the details of the study explained to me, any questions I had have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether to participate in this study and I understand participation is voluntary and that I may withdraw from the study at any time until the point where data has been analysed (one month).

1. I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.
2. I wish/do not wish to have my transcript returned to me for review.

   Note: The researcher may wish to use some excerpts from your interview in the final report, to reinforce a particular point or theme that has been found in the data. You have the opportunity to review the transcript from the interview, if you wish. Your identity will remain anonymous.
3. I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Declaration by Participant:

I **____________________________** [print full name] hereby consent to take part in this interview. **Signature: _______________________ Date**: **________________**

Appendix M. Youth Survey

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey – your input is really appreciated. Please remember that this survey is non-judgmental, I am just interested in knowing what you think. You can exit the survey at any time, and all of the information you provide is anonymous. I would also like to remind you that you can choose to complete this survey outside of class time if you would prefer.

Let’s begin!

For the purposes of this study, Internet pornography (IP) is defined as;

“any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy” (Short et al., 2012, p.21).

While we understand that this may not be how everyone defines IP, please bear this definition in mind when answering the following questions. The important thing to remember is that we are interested in Internet pornography, rather than magazines or books.

Section 1 – Engagement with Internet pornography

1. Have you ever seen Internet pornography on one or more occasion, be it intentional or unintentional, at any point in your life? Yes/No (*If no, survey will skip to question 19*)
2. If yes, what age were you when you first saw Internet pornography?

   A range from 0 to 18 will be provided for selection.
3. Was this first encounter with Internet pornography intentional or unintentional? Will select either option (*if intentional, survey will skip to question 6*).
4. If it was unintentional, how did it come about? Please select –

I was shown by a peer or group of peers/ I was shown by a relative/ I happened across it while browsing the Internet/a pop up link appeared while on the Internet/ other - please state

5. If it was unintentional, did you tell anyone about encountering the Internet pornography?

   Yes/ No

   If yes, who? Peer/ sibling/ parent or guardian/ other relative/ teacher/ other – please state

6. Please select from the list below your reasons for seeking out Internet pornography, with number 1 being the most applicable and number 10 being the least applicable (one or all of these may apply to you, only select the ones that are relevant to you) – sexual gratification/boredom/I only watch it because my friends want to/I only watch it because my partner wants to/curiosity/as a way to learn about sex, different sexual acts and sexuality/ watching Internet pornography is just a habit now/ it is the norm for people my age to watch Internet pornography, so I think I should too/ just for a laugh/ because I was told I should not watch it / to wind down and relax/ for the shock factor/ other - please state

7. Usually, how often do you watch Internet pornography– I have only watched it once/once or twice a year/ every couple of months/ every month/ once a week/ 2-4 times a week/ once a day/ more than once a day

8. If more than once, what Internet pornography site would you go to the most? ________

9. When you watch Internet pornography, for how long would you usually watch for?

Less than 10 minutes/less than 30 minutes/ between 30 minutes and an hour/ more than an hour/ more than 2 hours

10. When you watch Internet pornography, how do you usually access it?
    Mobile phone/ desktop / tablet/ Other – please state
11. Are there sexual practices or acts that you have seen in Internet pornography that you have applied to your own life? Yes/No/No, but I would like to/ No, I would not like to/Other – please state
12. Would you describe any of the Internet pornography you have encountered online as hard-core? Yes/ No/ Unsure
13. Who do you watch Internet pornography with? alone/with siblings/with friends/with my partner/other - please state
14. Do your parents/guardians know you have seen Internet pornography? Yes/No/Unsure
15. Do you watch Internet pornography at school? never/rarely/sometimes/often/almost always
16. Do you watch Internet pornography at home? never/rarely/sometimes/often/almost always
17. Apart from at home or at school, where else do you watch Internet pornography?
    ____
18. How much Internet pornography do you watch compared to your peers? much less/ less/the same/ more/ much more
19. Could you access Internet pornography at home without your parents/guardians knowing, if you wanted to? definitely not/probably not/I don't know/probably/definitely

20. Could you access Internet pornography at school without teachers knowing, if you wanted to? definitely not/probably not/I don't know/probably/definitely
21. Have you received any education about Internet pornography? Yes / No

    If yes, where did you receive this education from?

    Parents or guardians/ by a teacher during sexual and health education/ peers/ sibling/ other relative/ the Internet/ in school through an external educator/ other – please state
22. Please select from the list below your primary source of information about sex and sexuality, with number 1 being the most applicable and number 7 being the least applicable (one or all of these may apply to you, only select the ones that are relevant to you):

    School/parents or guardians/peers/siblings/other relative/information on the Internet (not pornography)/ Internet pornography/ other – please state

Section 2 – Making Sense of Internet pornography

Part 1.

1. What do you think about how Internet pornography represents sex and/or sexuality?

   Please enter your comments here:
2. What do you think about the messages, sexual practices and emotions that are displayed in Internet pornography?

   Please enter your comments here:
3. What Internet pornography related questions do you have, that you would like to have answered honestly, confidentially and non-judgmentally?

   Please enter your comments here:
4. Why are these questions of particular importance to you?

   Please enter your comments here:

Part 2.

For each of the following statements, please select the response that most accurately represents your views on Internet pornography.

1. Internet pornography represents reality in terms of sex and sexuality.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

2. Internet pornography uses actors and actresses that follow a script.

   Disagree/ somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

3. Actors and actresses choose to be in Internet pornography, so they must be happy with their involvement.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

4. The bodies that are portrayed in Internet pornography are the ideal body types.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

5. The sexual acts that are shown in Internet pornography reflect what most women or men want in sex.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

6. Watching Internet pornography is a way to learn about the sexual acts that men and women want in sex.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

7. People are paid to act in Internet pornography.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

8. The way that men and women behave during Internet pornography is the same way that men and women behave during sex in real life.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

9. Most women want some rough play during sex.

   Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

10. Acts of dominance and submission are to be expected in sex.

    Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

11. The aroused states and orgasms seen in Internet pornography are real.

    Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

12. Internet pornography should be for adults only.

    Disagree/somewhat disagree/ not sure / somewhat agree / agree

Section 3 – Porn Literacy

When completing this section, it might be useful to note that ‘Porn Literacy’ education focuses on equipping people with skills to decode and critically evaluate the messages and sexual practices Internet pornography portrays.

1. Young people should receive 'porn literacy' education that would teach them how to critically analyse Internet pornography– strongly agree/disagree/unsure/ agree/ strongly agree
2. What does it mean to you to be 'porn literate'? Please enter your comments here:

Section 4 – Demographic Information

1. Please select your age: *Drop down option* - 16, 17, 18

2. To which gender do you most identify (e.g. male, female)? _____

3. To which ethnicity do you most identify? ____________

Section 5 – Final Comments

Are there any final comments you would like to make about any part of this survey? __________

Section 6 - Invitation to Participate in an Interview or Focus Group

In addition to this survey, you are invited to receive further information about participating in a follow on interview and/or focus group where some of these issues will be discussed further. This is an opportunity for you to have your voice heard, and participation is completely voluntary.

If you choose to be involved in an interview and/or focus group:

- You will be asked for your email address so that we can contact you to arrange a date and time for an interview and/or focus group. This e-mail address will be stored in a separate file from the other responses, so that your specific responses cannot be linked back to your e-mail address.
- The interviews can be face-to-face at your school, by Skype, or by phone.
- Each interview/focus group will take about 60 minutes and will be done at a time that suits you.
- During the interview and/or focus group, the researcher will ask questions and take notes. This will also be recorded, if you are OK with that.
- Following the interview, everything recorded will be typed up. You can have this returned to you (for interview only) if you wish. You can contact the researcher up to

a month afterwards if you decide you want to withdraw your interview and/or your focus group participation.

- The researcher will be available for contact at any time during the research process if you have any questions or you need support for any reason related to this research.
- Please note that if demand is such that all those who wish to participate cannot be accommodated, participants will be selected from schools that most meet the objectives in terms of achieving a broad sample range e.g. rural schools, urban schools, small schools, larger schools etc.

If you would like to register interest in participating in an interview and/or focus group, please **click here**. Registering interest means that you will be sent an information sheet regarding the interviews and/or focus groups, which you will have a chance to review before deciding to participate in either an interview or a focus group.

Section 8 – Thank you

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey. Your participation in this study is really appreciated, and your responses are very valuable to this research.

Section 9 – Support Information

If reading or discussing this information has brought up any concerns for you, below are the details of different agencies and organisations that you can look up online and/or contact for information and support.

Youthline – 0800 376 633, free text 234 or email talk@youthline.co.nz or online chat

thelowdown.co.nz – or email team@thelowdown.co.nz or free text 5626

What's Up – 0800 942 8787 (for 5–18 year olds). Phone counselling is available Monday to Friday, midday–11pm and weekends, 3pm–11pm. Online chat is available 7pm–10pm daily

Kidsline – 0800 54 37 54 (0800 kidsline) for young people up to 18 years of age. Open 24/7

SPARX.org.nz – online e-therapy tool provided by the University of Auckland that helps young people learn skills to deal with feeling down, depressed or stressed

Rape Crisis – 0800 883 300 (for support after rape or sexual assault)

OUTLine NZ – 0800 688 5463 (OUTLINE) provides confidential telephone support (sexuality or gender identity helpline)

Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori resources on sexual and reproductive health **-** Resources on Māori approaches to sexuality education for rangatahi Māori (Māori young people).

Netsafe - 0508 638 723 Helps people keep safe online by providing education, advice and support.

It’s time we talked - This website offers information about Internet pornography; it offers many resources to help you understand what pornography says, why and what it means for you. http://www.itstimewetalked.com.au

Scarleteen - Scarleteen is a sex education website with information, advice and support about sexuality, sex, sexual health and relationships – including information on making sense of sexual media.http://www.scarleteen.com

Appendix N. Interview Guidelines for Caregivers and Educators

Participants will be given an information sheet, and a consent form (including confirmation of their willingness to be recorded). Participants will be asked to read through these documents, provide their consent and return the consent form to the researcher before the interview begins.

Researcher will cover the following points (not necessarily verbatim)

Anonymity: Despite being recorded, I would like to assure you that your identity will be anonymous. The recording will be kept safely in a locked facility until it is transcribed word for word, then it will be destroyed. These transcriptions will contain no information that would allow you to be linked to specific statements.

As outlined in the consent form and information sheet, this interview will be recorded. The recording allows me to revisit our discussion for the purposes of transcription, but I may also take some notes as we talk. Is it OK with you if I begin to record now (if yes, turn on tape recorder)?

Before we begin, are you happy to go ahead, or is there anything else you need to make you feel more comfortable?

Remember that:

- There are no right or wrong answers.
- When you do have something to say, please do so. Even if it feels as though it is not directly related to what we are discussing at the time.
- The interview should take no more than 1 hour

- Let me know if you need a break, or if you need to use the bathroom. Feel free to enjoy a drink and a snack.

Do you have any questions?

- OK, let’s begin.

Welcome and Introduction!

**Take a few minutes to build the relationship.*

I would like to start off by thanking you for taking time to participate in this interview today. You have been invited to participate, as your point of view is important. I realise you are busy and I appreciate your time.

I will start off by telling you a little bit about me. My interest began in this research topic for a number of reasons. Anecdotally, I was receiving pornography related calls while volunteering for *ChildLine* in Ireland, where I am from. I also have two small brothers, now 14 and 12, who were both exposed to IP before the age of 12. I was interested in what this meant for them, and whether other families were experiencing similar situations. I approached this topic from a position of open curiosity, rather than with a pro or anti-pornography agenda.

What I am interested in, and what this project is all about, is the sexual health and wellbeing of young people. I am trying to understand how IP has become a new cultural reality for young people, and how they make sense of the IP in their lives. This project is not about pushing a pro or anti-pornography agenda. This research is seeking to uncover perspectives of stakeholders, as opposed to advocating an opinion on IP as a moralistic/ethical issue.

Icebreaker

As I have told you a little bit about myself, maybe you would like to share a little bit about yourself, and why you were interested in being a part of this research**?**

Definitional clarification

I would just like to remind you that the definition of Internet pornography being used for the purposes of this project is: “any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy” (Short et al., 2012, p.21).

Have you any thoughts about this definition? In your mind, does it represent what Internet pornography means to you? If not, why not?

What do you think of the term ‘porn literacy’, as opposed to ‘pornography literacy’? Would you be more comfortable teaching/your child being taught ‘pornography literacy’ or ‘porn literacy’? Do you think it trivialises the concept, or is it OK to keep language colloquial? Does it mean something different to ‘porn education’?

Perspectives on PL education

To begin, I would like to hear about your current thoughts and perspectives about porn literacy education. Please note that this interview is not about your own personal experiences with Internet pornography, but more so your views and opinions about porn literacy education.

- You were asked a question in the survey; ‘what does it mean to you to be 'porn literate''. A really broad range of responses came through from this question, and a lot of people were unsure. Where do you sit on this?
  - *Some of the responses that other parents/guardians and educators provided about this definition include ‘being aware of the impacts...and being able to self-regulate and avoid access’, ‘to understand what is OK and not OK to look*

at’ and ‘differentiate between real relationship sex and porn sex’. Some of the young people’s responses included ‘to understand the effects of what it can do to you physically and mentally’ and ‘understanding the difference between porn and sex in real life’. Many people wrote that they really didn’t know, or were unsure. Others wrote down many jokey answers, like ‘learning all the moves’. What do you think about those ideas? Do you have any further comments on this? Where do you position yourself?

- In the survey, 58.41% of parent and educators agreed that young people should receive porn literacy, 21% were unsure, and 20% disagreed. By comparison, 19% of young people also disagreed, but 36% were unsure, and 46% agreed. So, there is more uncertainty among young people (show graph). Have you any thoughts about these figures, particularly the uncertainty?

Q sort

- You completed an online statement sorting task (Q sort graph), which looked at your perspectives on PL education. The Q sort statements were based on the current literature and media commentary about PL education.
    - What was your experience of completing the Q sort?
    - Did any of the statements stand out to you as being particularly aligned or not with your views?
    - In this project, I was interested in three different groups. Do you think views might differ, and that educators, parents/guardians and young people would have completed the task differently? Why? *(this is to explore preconceptions or stereotypes about other groups)*

- In a school context, what do you think are the things that would make it *harder* to introduce PL education? What difficulties/problems might arise?
- In a school context, what do you think are the things that would make it *easier* to introduce PL education?
    - Note: one of the comments in the survey was *'it would be better if it wasn't at school due to the already full curriculum that schools have to teach but I am not sure where else you could do it'.*
- Do you see there being any bigger social issues beyond parents/guardians, educators and schools? i.e., MoH, leadership, time, training etc.

- Scenario for discussion – Imagine that you have just been informed that Porn Literacy education will be integrated as part of the sexual and health education curriculum in schools across New Zealand. What are your initial thoughts when you hear this news? Would you feel differently if it was just your school, rather than nationwide?
    - *Prompt – how does implementation at a national or local level influence the control and resistance of school communities?*

Survey Responses

Based on the survey results, some questions arose in the preliminary data in relation to young people's engagement with IP in New Zealand. In order to understand in greater depth these findings, the following questions were developed;

- Young people listed 1. Peers, 2. School, 3. The Internet, 4. IP as primary educators about sex and sexuality before 5. Parents/guardians. Whereas, parents and educators thought their top 5 sources were 1. Peers, 2. School, 3. Parents/guardians, 4. The

Internet, and 5. IP (see card 1). Does this surprise you? How does this fit with your thoughts on education sources?

  - Most young people (62%) said they had not received education about IP. Those that did, said it was received by a teacher in sexuality education. What do you think about a teacher’s role in delivering education about pornography, vs. parents?
  - The type of education delivered about IP varied, including; ‘’to not click on the links as they could be viruses or pedophiles, so more about safety rather than discussing actual porn’, ‘the dangers of watching pornography and the nasty consequences, destruction of relationships and temptation to sin’ and ‘reality versus fantasy’.

- An interesting finding, was that most young people disagreed (approx. 65%) with the statement that ‘IP is an accurate representation of the way men and women behave during sex’. However, most young people were then unsure or agreed (approx. 65%) with the statement that ‘viewing IP is a good way to learn about the sexual acts that women and men want’ (see card 2). There seems to be somewhat of a contradiction here, and I am wondering why that might be?
- I asked at the end of the survey if parent/guardians and educators had any comments… can I ask how you would respond to one of these?; *‘Very important topic and certainly a necessity in a boys school’* (see card 3).
- The top 5 reasons selected by young people for viewing IP were 1. Sexual gratification, 2. Curiosity, 3. Boredom, 4. For a laugh, and 5. To wind down and relax. The top 5 reasons why parents think young people watch it are; 1. Curiosity,

2. As a way to learn about sex, 3. Sexual gratification 4. Because their friends do, 5. Just for a laugh. Does anything in particular strike you about these findings? I am interested in what you think about IP becoming an avenue for alleviating boredom, to relax, or just for a laugh? (see card 4)

Thoughts on ‘jokey’ responses

Finally, many young people didn’t seem to think the topic warranted any kind of serious engagement, and wrote a lot of jokey responses. Have you any thoughts as to why this might have been the case?

Concluding question

- Of all the things we have discussed today, what would you say are the most important issues that have been raised?
- Is there anything else you would like to say?

Conclusion

- Thank you for participating. This has been a very useful interview.
- Your views/ideas will be a valuable asset to the study.
- I hope you have found the interview interesting.
- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to discuss about today’s interview, please contact me via e-mail or telephone or speak to me later in person.
- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this research will be anonymous.
- If you would like to withdraw or alter any comments you made today during this interview, please contact me within one month.

- If you have indicated on the consent form that you would like a copy of the transcript from this interview for review, I will take an email (or postal address) from you now. These details will only be used for returning of transcripts and will be kept confidential.
- Support information sheet provided.

Appendix O. Interview Guidelines for 16–18-year-olds

Participants will be given an information sheet, and a consent form (including confirmation of their willingness to be recorded). Participants will be asked to read through these documents, provide their consent and return the consent forms to the researcher before the interview begins.

Researcher will cover the following points (not necessarily verbatim)

Anonymity: Despite being recorded, I would like to assure you that your identity will be anonymous. The recording will be kept safely in a locked facility until it is transcribed word for word, then it will be destroyed. These transcriptions will contain no information that would allow you to be linked to specific statements.

As outlined in the consent form and information sheet, this interview will be recorded. The recording allows me to revisit our discussion for the purposes of transcription, but I may also take some notes as we talk. Is it OK with you if I begin to record now (if yes, turn on tape recorder)?

Before we begin, are you happy to go ahead, or is there anything else you need to make you feel more comfortable?

Remember that:

- There are no right or wrong answers.
- When you do have something to say, please do so. Even if it feels as though it is not directly related to what we are discussing at the time.
- The interview should take no more than 1 hour

- Let me know if you need a break, or if you need to use the bathroom. Feel free to enjoy a drink and a snack.

Do you have any questions?

- OK, let’s begin.

Welcome and Introduction!

**Take a few minutes to build the relationship.*

Reiterate that this is not judgmental, and not about what IP you watch etc.

I would like to start off by thanking you for taking time to participate in this interview today. You have been invited to participate, as your point of view is important. I realise you are busy and I appreciate your time.

I will start off by telling you a little bit about me. My interest began in this research topic for a number of reasons. Anecdotally, I was receiving pornography related calls while volunteering for *ChildLine* in Ireland, where I am from. I also have two small brothers, now 14 and 12, who were both exposed to IP before the age of 12. I was interested in what this meant for them, and whether other families were experiencing similar situations. I approached this topic from a position of open curiosity, rather than with a pro or anti-pornography agenda.

What I am interested in, and what this project is all about, is the sexual health and wellbeing of young people. I am trying to understand how IP has become a new cultural reality for young people, and how they make sense of the IP in their lives. This project is not about pushing a pro or anti-pornography agenda. This research is seeking to uncover perspectives of stakeholders, as opposed to advocating an opinion on IP as a moralistic/ethical issue.

Icebreaker

As I have told you a little bit about myself, maybe you would like to share a little bit about yourself, and why you were interested in being a part of this research**?**

Definitional clarification

I would just like to remind you that the definition of Internet pornography being used for the purposes of this project is: “any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy” (Short et al., 2012, p.21).

Have you any thoughts about this definition? In your mind, does it represent what Internet pornography means to you? If not, why not?

What do you think of the term ‘porn literacy’, as opposed to ‘pornography literacy’? Would you be more receiving ‘pornography literacy’ or ‘porn literacy’ education? Do you think it trivialises the concept, or is it OK to keep language colloquial? Does it mean something different to ‘porn education’?

Objective 2 – Sense Making

Next, I would like to do a story completion exercise. Please listen carefully to the following instructions and let me know if you are not clear about anything;

“You are invited to complete a story – this means that I will read the opening sentences of a story and then you will decide what happens next. There is no right or wrong way to complete the story, and you can be as creative as you like! I am interested in the different stories that people tell. There is no need to spend too long thinking about what might happen next – just say whatever first comes to mind. Because collecting detailed stories is important for my research, we will talk about this for about 5 minutes. Some details of the opening sentence of the story are deliberately vague; be creative and ‘fill in the blanks’! I want to know what YOU have to say, because your voice is important in this research’

Now, I will read aloud the start of the story;

Jane/James has just watched Internet pornography for the first time, and s/he is reflecting on what she has just watched. What kind of thoughts might Jane/James have as s/he tries to make sense of her/his first experience watching Internet pornography? What kind of questions might James/Jane want to ask?

**The ‘Jane’ story stem will be provided to female participants, while the ‘James’ story stem will be provided to male participants. Participants will also be asked what they think a character from the opposite sex i.e., James rather than Jane and vice versa might be thinking.* Participants will be permitted to speak freely without interruption. However, in the event of the participant struggling or looking for direction, some prompts can be offered. These prompts have been developed based on the findings from the open ended survey questions young people responded to i.e.,

‘What do you think about how Internet pornography represents sex and sexuality?’

- ‘it is a very clear representation of sex and allows us to learn more about it’
- ‘it gives harmful ideas about how sexual activity should be carried out’

‘What do think about the messages and sexual practices are displayed in IP?’

- ‘There is never really any conversation like ‘are you on the pill’’
- ‘It is for entertainment, that’s all. I watched train spotting and didn’t go out and do heroin’

‘What IP related questions do you have, that you would like to have answered honestly, confidentially and non-judgmentally? Why are these questions important to you?.’

- ‘Is anal normal?’

- ‘Is it bad if your sex life isn’t as exciting as people watch on porn?’

If participants are finding the activity challenging, the researcher may also use prompts that relate directly and more specifically to sexual scripting norms e.g., ‘what might Jane/James’ thoughts be regarding IP and consent/sexual orientation/pleasure?’.

Objective 3 – Perspectives on porn literacy education

Next, I would like to hear about your current thoughts and perspectives about porn literacy education. Please note that this interview is not about your own personal experiences with Internet pornography, but more so your views and opinions about porn literacy education.

- You were asked a question in the survey; ‘what does it mean to you to be 'porn literate''. A really broad range of responses came through from this question, and a lot of people were unsure. Where do you sit on this?
    - *Some of the young people’s responses included ‘to understand the effects of what it can do to you physically and mentally’ and ‘understanding the difference between porn and sex in real life’. Many people wrote that they really didn’t know, or were unsure. Others wrote down many jokey answers, like ‘learning all the moves’. What do you think about those ideas? Do you have any further comments on this? Where do you position yourself?*
- In the survey, 58.41% of parent and educators agreed that young people should receive porn literacy, 21% were unsure, and 20% disagreed. By comparison, 19% of young people also disagreed, but 36% were unsure, and 46% agreed. So, there is more uncertainty among young people (show graph). Have you any thoughts about these figures, particularly the uncertainty?

Q sort

You completed an online statement sorting task (Q sort graph), which looked at your perspectives on PL education. The Q sort statements were based on the current literature and media commentary about PL education.

- What was your experience of completing the Q sort?
- Did any of the statements stand out to you as being particularly in line with your views on the topic?
- In this project, I was interested in three different groups. Do you think views might differ, and that educators, parents/guardians and young people would have completed the task differently? Why? *(this is to explore preconceptions or stereotypes about other groups)*

- Scenario for discussion – Imagine that you have just been informed that Porn Literacy education has just been integrated as part of the health education curriculum in schools across New Zealand. What are your initial thoughts when you hear this news? Would you feel differently if it was just your school, rather than nationwide?
  - *Prompt – how does implementation at a national or local level influence the control and resistance of school communities?*
- In a school context, what do you think are the things that would make it *harder* to introduce PL education? What difficulties/problems might arise?
- In a school context, what do you think are the things that would make it *easier* to introduce PL education?

        - Note: one of the comments in the survey was *‘it would be better if it wasn’t at school due to the already full curriculum that schools have to teach but I am not sure where else you could do it’.*
- Do you see there being any bigger social issues beyond parents/guardians, educators and schools? i.e., MoH, leadership, time, training etc.

Survey Responses

Based on the preliminary survey results pertaining to objective 1, some questions arose in the data in relation to young people’s engagement with IP in New Zealand. In order to understand in greater depth these findings, the following questions were developed;

- An interesting finding, was that most young people disagreed (approx. 65%) with the statement that ‘IP is an accurate representation of the way men and women behave during sex’. However, most young people were then unsure or agreed (approx. 65%) with the statement that ‘viewing IP is a good way to learn about the sexual acts that women and men want’ (see card 2). There seems to be somewhat of a contradiction here, and I am wondering why that might be?
- I asked at the end of the survey if people had any questions about IP… can I ask how you would respond to one of these?; ‘Why is it so taboo for females to watch porn, but considered ‘normal’ for males?’.
    - Do you think IP viewing differs for males and females? In what way?
- In the survey, I asked how you think IP represents sex and sexuality, can you tell me a bit about your thoughts on this?

  - Some responses included; ‘it’s a very clear representation of sex and it allows us to learn more about it’, that it has ‘some negatives and positives’ and others said that it is ‘unrealistic and stupid’... what do you think?
  - What do you think about these positives and negatives mentioned?
- Young people listed 1. Peers, 2. School, 3. The Internet, 4. IP as primary educators about sex and sexuality before 5. Parents/guardians. Whereas, parents and educators thought their top 5 sources were 1. Peers, 2. School, 3. Parents/guardians, 4. The Internet, and 5. IP (see card 1). Does this surprise you? How does this fit with your thoughts on educational sources?
  - Most young people (62%) said they had not received education about IP. Those that did, said it was received by a teacher in sex ed. What do you think about a teacher’s role in delivering education about pornography, vs parents?
  - The type of education delivered about IP varied, including; ‘to not click on the links as they could be viruses or pedophiles, so more about safety rather than discussing actual porn’, ‘the dangers of watching pornography and the nasty consequences, destruction of relationships and temptation to sin’ and ‘reality versus fantasy’.
- The top 5 reasons selected by young people for viewing IP were 1. Sexual gratification, 2. Curiosity, 3. Boredom, 4. For a laugh, and 5. To wind down and relax. The top five reasons why parents think young people watch it are; 1. Curiosity, 2. As a way to learn about sex, 3. Sexual gratification 4. Because their friends do, 5. Just for a laugh. Does anything in particular strike you about these findings? I am

interested in what you think about IP becoming an avenue for alleviating boredom, to relax, or just for a laugh? (see card 4)

- In the survey, I asked if you think IP viewing might affect people your age, like your peers. A broad range of answers were received. What do you think about these differences in opinion?
    - *Some responded 'no, my peers are all mature enough to handle it and understand its fake', while others said 'yes, because it might give my peers ideas about how to treat a boy or girl'. Why do you think they differ?*
- As part of the survey, you answered questions that were considering how 'porn literate' you may or may not be. You read statements about Internet pornography, and selected to what extent you agreed or disagreed with these statements. For example, 'the bodies that are portrayed in IP are the ideal body types', and 'watching IP is a way to learn about the sexual acts that people want in sex' (*note*: the majority of people were 'unsure' about these statements). Did you think answering these questions was a good way of measuring how 'porn literate' someone may or may not be? This feedback is important as it empowers young people like you to have a voice about how measures are designed for young people.

Thoughts on 'jokey' responses

- Finally, a number of participants did not seem to think the topic warranted any kind of serious engagement, and wrote a lot of jokey responses. What do you think about that? Why do you think this might be? Do you think boys or girls were more likely to respond in this way? Do you think my being a female researcher would have influenced this response?

  - Humour as defense mechanism/power relations

Concluding question

- Of all the things we have discussed today, what would you say are the most important issues that have been raised?
- Is there anything else you would like to say?

Conclusion

- Thank you for participating. This has been a very useful interview.
- Your views/ideas will be a valuable asset to the study.
- I hope you have found the interview interesting.
- If there is anything you are unhappy with or wish to discuss about today’s interview, please contact me via e-mail or telephone or speak to me later in person.
- If you would like to withdraw or alter any comments you made today during this interview, please contact me within one month.
- If you have indicated on the consent form that you would like a copy of the transcript from this interview for review, I will take an email (or postal address) from you now. These details will only be used for returning of transcripts and will be kept confidential.
- I would like to remind you that any comments featuring in this research will be anonymous.
- Support information sheet provided.

Appendix P. Survey - Caregivers and Educators

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey – your input is really appreciated. Please remember that this survey is non-judgmental, I am just interested in knowing what you think. You can exit the survey at any time, and all of the information you provide is anonymous. Let’s begin!

For the purposes of this study, Internet pornography (IP) is defined as;

“any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy” (Short et al., 2012, p.21)

While we understand that this may not be how everyone defines IP, please bear this definition in mind when answering the following questions.

It might also be useful to note that ‘Porn Literacy’ education focuses on equipping people with skills to decode and critically evaluate the messages and sexual practices Internet pornography portrays.

Section 1 – Porn Literacy

1. Young people should receive 'porn literacy' education that would teach them how to critically analyse Internet pornography– strongly agree/disagree/unsure/ agree/ strongly agree
2. What does it mean to you to be 'porn literate'? Please enter your comments here:

Note – if you are both a parent/guardian of a young person in this school AND an educator in this school, please complete both of the following two sections.

Section 2 – Parents/guardians only

1. Could the young person in your care access Internet pornography at home without you knowing, if they wanted to? definitely not/probably not/I don't know/probably/definitely
2. Have you delivered any education about Internet pornography to the young person in your care? Yes / No

   If yes, please outline what you discussed: _____________

Section 3 – Educators only

1. Could the young people in your school access Internet pornography during school hours without teachers knowing, if they wanted to? definitely not/probably not/I don't know/probably/definitely
2. Has your school delivered any education about Internet pornography to students? Yes / No

   If yes, how was this education delivered?

   by a teacher during sexual and health education/ through an external educator/ other – please state

Section 4 – Demographic Information

1. Age? Select between range – 16-25/25-35/35-45/45-55/55+
2. To which gender do you most identify (e.g. male, female)? _______
3. To which ethnicity do you most identify? ____________

Section 5 – Final Comments

Are there any final comments you would like to make about any part of this survey? __________

Section 6 – Invitation to Participate in an Interview or Focus Group

In addition to this survey, you are invited to receive further information about participating in a follow on interview and/or focus group where some of these issues will be discussed further. This is an opportunity for you to have your voice heard, and participation is completely voluntary.

If you choose to be involved in an interview and/or focus group:

- You will be asked for your email address so that we can contact you to arrange a date and time for an interview and/or focus group. This e-mail address will be stored in a separate file from the other responses, so that your specific responses cannot be linked back to your e-mail address.
- The interviews can be face-to-face at your school, by Skype, or by phone.
- Each interview/focus group will take about 60 minutes and will be done at a time that suits you.
- During the interview and/or focus group, the researcher will ask questions and take notes. This will also be recorded, if you are OK with that.
- Following the interview, everything recorded will be typed up. You can have this returned to you (for interview only) if you wish. You can contact the researcher up to a month afterwards if you decide you want to withdraw your interview and/or your focus group participation.
- The researcher will be available for contact at any time during the research process if you have any questions or you need support for any reason related to this research.
- Please note that if demand is such that all those who wish to participate cannot be accommodated, participants will be selected from schools that most meet the

objectives in terms of achieving a broad sample range e.g. rural schools, urban schools, small schools, larger schools etc.

If you would like to register interest in participating in an interview and/or focus group, please **click here**. Registering interest means that you will be sent an information sheet regarding the interviews and/or focus groups, which you will have a chance to review before deciding to participate in either an interview or a focus group.

Section 7 – Thank you

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete this survey. Your participation in this study is really appreciated, and your responses are very valuable to this research.

Section 8 – Support Information

If reading or discussing this information has brought up any concerns for you, below are the details of different agencies and organisations that you can look up online and/or contact for information and support.

Lifeline – 0800 543 354 (0800 LIFELINE) or free text 4357 (HELP)

Suicide Crisis Helpline – 0508 828 865 (0508 TAUTOKO)

Healthline – 0800 611 116

Samaritans – 0800 726 666

Parent Help – 0800 568 856 for parents/guardians/whānau seeking support, advice and practical strategies on all parenting concerns. Anonymous, non-judgemental and confidential.

Rape Crisis – 0800 883 300 (for support after rape or sexual assault)

Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori resources on sexual and reproductive health **-** Resources on Māori approaches to sexuality education for rangatahi Māori (Māori young people).

It’s time we talked **-** This website offers information about Internet pornography, it offers many resources for parents/guardians and educators to better enable conversations with young people about Internet pornography. http://www.itstimewetalked.com.au

Appendix Q. Demographic Information - Caregiver and Educator Interview

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

How old are you?

- ◯ 16-25 year
- ◯ 26-35 years
- ◯ 36-45 years
- ◯ 46-55 years
- ◯ Older than 55 years

To which gender do you most identify?

- ◯ Male
- ◯ Female
- ◯ Gender diverse (please specify) ____

Please indicate which ethnic group or groups you belong to: (Please tick all that apply)

- ◯ New Zealand European/ Pākehā
- ◯ New Zealand Māori
- ◯ Pacific Islander
- ◯ Asian
- ◯ Please specify ____

Appendix R. Demographic Information – Youth Interview

MASSEY UNIVERSITY
TE KUNENGA KI PŪREHUROA
UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

How old are you?

- ◯ 16
- ◯ 17
- ◯ 18

To which gender do you most identify?

- ◯ Male
- ◯ Female
- ◯ Gender diverse (please specify) ____

Please indicate which ethnic group or groups you belong to: (Please tick all that apply)

- ◯ New Zealand European/ Pākehā
- ◯ New Zealand Māori
- ◯ Pacific Islander
- ◯ Asian
- ◯ Please specify ____

Appendix S. Card Sorting Task

Welcome!

Thank you for registering your interest in participating in an interview or focus group. There is one final task to complete, that should take no more than 10-15 minutes. Let’s begin!

Please click on the continue-button.

Introduction

This is a statement sorting task. You will be shown 25 statements relating to Porn Literacy education. We would like you to indicate what statements you agree and disagree with the most. There is no right or wrong way to sort these statements, it is a matter of opinion.

Please maximise your browser window and click on the continue-button to start the survey.

Step 1 of 5

Read the following statements carefully and split them up into three piles: a pile for statements you tend to disagree with, a pile for cards you tend to agree with, and a pile for the rest.

You can either drag the cards into one of the three piles or press 1, 2, 3 on your keyboard. Changes can be made later.

If you want to read this instruction a second time, press the help-button at the bottom left corner.

Strongly Disagree | Strongly Agree

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(4)*	*(3)*	*(2)*	*(1)*

1. Porn literacy education is needed, and young people should be taught porn literacy skills.
2. There is no need for porn literacy education, this suggestion is just a reaction to a societal moral panic.
3. Young people do not need porn literacy education, they just need good online resources/platforms with information about Internet pornography.
4. Since Internet pornography is here to stay, young people should be taught how to make sense of it, and the messages it delivers.
5. Porn literacy education is a waste of time, it is just something that young people figure out themselves as they get older.

6. Young people should just be taught about Internet pornography’s negative effects, and how to avoid pornography online.
7. School teachers should receive training on how to deliver porn literacy education to young people in schools.
8. Both parents/guardians and school teachers should to be trained to deliver porn literacy education to young people.
9. External providers should be brought in to schools to delivers porn literacy training to young people.
10. Schools should not be teaching anything to young people about Internet pornography
11. Parents/guardians should be provided with training to help them understand and talk about porn literacy with young people in their care, rather than leaving it to educators.
12. Porn literacy education should be separate to sexuality education, and should be delivered as a standalone programme by schools.
13. Porn literacy should be a once off session delivered by an external body, at some stage during secondary school.
14. Porn literacy education should be taught on an ongoing basis throughout the secondary school years.
15. Porn literacy education should be run as an after school programme delivered over a number of weeks, at some stage during secondary school.
16. Porn literacy education should be integrated as part of the sexuality education curriculum in secondary schools.
17. Ultimately, it should be the responsibility of the ministry of education to ensure young people receive porn literacy education as part of their sexuality education.

18. Ultimately, it should be the responsibility of parents/guardians to ensure young people receive porn literacy education as part of their sexuality education.
19. Porn literacy should be used as a platform for talking about bigger issues like consent, racism and sex work.
20. Porn literacy should be taught from the age of 13.
21. Porn literacy should be taught from the age of 16.
22. Showing ‘healthy pornography’ videos in classrooms could be a useful educational tool.
23. Showing photos of healthy consensual sex could be a useful educational tool.
24. I do not think imagery or videos need to be shown as part of porn literacy education or sexuality education, but I do think we need to talk about the imagery and videos.
25. Our efforts should be focused on censorship (blocking and restricting access to Internet pornography), rather than porn literacy education.

Step 2 of 5

Take the cards from the "AGREE"-pile and read them again. You can scroll through the statements by using the scroll bar. Next, select the statement you most agree with and place it on right side of the score sheet below the "+4".

Now read the cards in the "DISAGREE"-pile again. Just like before, select the statement you most disagree with and place it on the left side of the score sheet below the "-4".

Next, select the statements you second most agree/disagree with and place them under "+3"/"-3". Follow this procedure for all cards in the "AGREE"- and "DISAGREE"-pile.

Finally, read the "NEUTRAL"-cards again and arrange them in the remaining open boxes of the score sheet.

HtmlQ
massey.ac.nz/~psyres/healy_cullen/#/step2
MASSEY UNIVERSITY

Step 2 of 5

Take the cards from the "AGREE"-pile and read them again. You can scroll through the statements by using the scroll bar. Next, select the statement you most agree with and place it on right side of the score sheet below the "+4".

Now read the cards in the "DISAGREE"-pile again. Just like before, select the statement you most disagree with and place it on the left side of the score sheet below the "-4".

Next, select the statements you second most agree/disagree with and place them under "+3"/"-3". Follow this procedure for all cards in the "AGREE"- and "DISAGREE"-pile.

Finally, read the "NEUTRAL"-cards again and arrange them in the remaining open boxes of the score sheet.

Continue...

Disagree -4 -3 ... +3 +4 Agree

Disagree	Neutral	Agree
(4) Since internet pornography is here to stay, young people should be taught how to make	(15) Porn literacy education should be run as an after school programme delivered over a	(20) Porn literacy should be taught from the age of 13. (9) External providers should be

Step 4 of 5

Please comment on why you sorted these statements in this way.

HtmlQ
massey.ac.nz/~psyres/healy_cullen/#/step4

Step 4 of 5

Please comment on why you sorted these statements in this way.

Continue...

(6) Young people should just be taught about internet pornography's negative effects, and how to avoid internet pornography online.

Disagree (-4)

(10) Schools should not be teaching anything to young people about internet pornography.

Continue...

96%

Help me!

Step 5 of 5

In order to maintain confidentiality, we cannot link the demographic data you provided from the main survey to this statement sorting task. Thank you for your patience in answering these questions again.

Age

How old are you?

- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19-25
- 26-35
- 36-45
- 46-55
- 55+

Gender

To which gender do you most identify?

- male
- female
- gender diverse

If gender diverse, please specify

Ethnicity

Please indicate which ethnic group or groups you belong to.

- [ ] New Zealand European/Pākehā
- [ ] New Zealand Māori
- [ ] Pacific Islander
- [ ] Asian
- [ ] Other

If other, please specify

Participant

Are you a student, parent/guardian or an educator?

- ○ student
- ○ parent/guardian
- ○ educator
- ○ parent and educator

School

Is the school you are associated with co-ed or single sex?

- ○ co-ed
- ○ single sex

Appendix T. Further Detail on Factor Selection for Q-Methodology Article

Certain considerations were made when determining the number of factors to extract. Conventional guidelines suggest researchers consider at least two or more factors. I selected two factors (i.e., perspectives) based on a number of judgments and determinations. I considered the viability of various factor options by assessing Q sort loadings (*at least* two loadings on each factor) and eigenvalues (i.e., < 1.00), alongside a range of other guidelines (rather than stringent rules) (Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012; Zabala, 2014). Although two factors is relatively few, this is not uncommon (Jenks & Green, 2020.; Waugh, 2019; Webler et al., 2009; Zabala et al., 2018), and McKeown and Thomas (2013) advise that practical sense offers the best counsel when determining the number of factors (p. 54).

As a starting point, I considered the ‘one factor per 6-8 participants rule’ (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 107). Given there were 30 participants, this indicated a factor selection of between 3.75 – 5, and so following the ‘one factor per 6-8 participants’ guideline I began by extracting five factors (the upper end of the estimation) (Watts & Stenner, 2012). However, in this case, two of the factors had just one significantly loading Q-sort flagged, which indicated I should have fewer factors (at this point, the ‘magic number 7’ rule was disregarded as a viable option given that five factors was already too many) (Watts & Stenner, 2012). A four factor solution was more agreeable, as there were no factors of just one Q-sort loading on it. However, three of the four factors had just two sorts loading on them. I then investigated 3 factors, which had factor loadings of 23, 3 and 2. Both the three and four factor solution were acceptable when considering eigenvalues, as all factors were < 1.00 as per the guidance criteria. Eigenvalues indicate percentage of total variance explained by the factor (Brown, 1980; Watts & Stenner, 2012). Both also satisfied Humphrey’s rule

(Fruchter, 1954) and neither option indicated that any of the factors were too closely correlated (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p.106). However, Watts and Stenner (2012) describe factors that only have two significant loadings as “borderline” (p. 107), and that three loadings is probably “safer” (p. 131). Brown (1980), also suggests that *at least* two Q sorts are loading on each factor. Thus, extracting four factors may have been spreading the interpretation too thin, with three of the four factors having just two people loading on each factor.

Thus, the four factor solution was set aside and the three factor solution was explored. However, the third factor also had just two Q-sorts loading on it. While this is not wholly problematic in and of itself, it was also a bipolar factor, meaning that the two significantly loading Q sorts were negatively and positively positioned. This meant that these two participants attached importance to the same statements, but from opposing perspectives (Watts & Stenner, 2012). Because there were just two loadings, there would essentially be just one sort loading on each perspective (positive and negative), which is counter to the guidelines that suggest there should be more than one sort loading on each perspective. Additionally and somewhat exceptionally, two statements had an identical z-score (0.87) in the three factor solution, and there were not enough rankings (0, +1, +2 etc.,) of the same number left for them to fit the initial prescribed set distribution. There was no numerical reason to choose which one should go first and so the programme kept an *extra* statement at +1, rather than select one to move to +2. Thus, it could not accurately fit the factor array distribution (i.e., best estimates of the Q sort for each factor based on the z scores produced). Although these atypicalities are not reason enough to disregard the three factor solution, preliminary investigations and consultations with the qualitative data available indicated that its conceptual value was not considered great enough to retain it, as the two factor and three

factor solution were very similar. Additionally, reducing the amount of factors is suggested if one of the factors is not deemed “realistic or is qualitatively similar to others” (Zabala, 2018, p. 1189).

The positive Q sort from the bipolar factor loaded onto the two factor solution when the number of factors were reduced, with 24 significantly loading Q sorts on factor one, and four significantly loading Q-sorts on factor two. This reduction indicated a richer explanation than the four or three factor solutions initially explored.

Thus, despite adhering to criteria that are outlined based on theory and statistics, the final decision for which factors to extract lies with the researcher. This demonstrates the subjective nature of Q methodology, and why it fits within a non-positivist epistemology (Brown, 1980). The two factors extracted accounted for 61.72% of the variance, with Factor 1 explaining most of the overall variance (47.94%) (see Chapter 8 for findings).

Appendix U. Transcript Release Authority

Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography.

- I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview conducted with me.
- I agree that the edited transcript from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: .... Date: ....

Full Name (printed) ....

Appendix V. Research with Māori - Ethical Considerations

About the Research

The title of this research project is "‘Porn Literacy’ as Pedagogy?: Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Engagement with Internet pornography". The aim of this research is to understand (1) how young people aged 16-18-years-old deconstruct the messages, sexual practices and emotions displayed in Internet pornography, and (2) what their needs are regarding porn literacy education, to ultimately promote their sexual and psychological health and wellbeing. These aims will be examined by gathering survey and focus group/interview information from three key stakeholder groups (16-18-year-olds, parents/guardians, and educators).

The Researcher’s Consideration of Ethical Research with Māori

I, the researcher, recognise that all research conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand is potentially of interest to Māori, as tangata whenua, as it may affect Māori people, culture and society. The Treaty of Waitangi principles of partnership, participation and protection apply in my relationship as a researcher with any research participants. I have discussed with my supervision team, and consulted ‘Te Ara Tika – Guidelines for Māori Research Ethics: A framework for researchers and ethics committee members’ (Pūtaiora Writing Group), to ensure that the Treaty of Waitangi, with reference to the principles of partnership, participation and protection, has been considered in how my research affects Māori.

Within the Māori Ethical framework (Pūtaiora Writing Group), the research design (Tika) of this project is Mainstream rather than Māori-centred or Kaupapa Māori. Participants from the three stakeholder groups will be asked to indicate their ethnicity along with other

basic demographic variables. The purpose of this is so that the groups of participants can be described. Data will not be analysed by ethnicity because differences between ethnic groups are not a criteria or basis for analysis for this study. Given that this research is the first study that aims to understand these issues in a New Zealand context, exploring the needs of specific groups is beyond the scope of this PhD project.

I am likely to have participants—young people, educators, principals, and parents/guardians—who are Māori and will need to consider how best to meet their needs. Furthermore, the topic is a sensitive one that may also be thought of in particular ways in te ao Māori and have particular significance for Māori that I need to consider and be aware of. These are the primary issues I can see that need to be addressed, but am of course very open to considering others that I may have overlooked.

The principle of Whakapapa between researcher and participants to grow respectful relationships when engaging with Māori, will be followed given the face to face (kanohi-ki-te-kanohi) element of interviews and focus groups. Particularly, I am aware that Māori values such as wairua will have to be recognised and understood, and that Te Reo may be needed in some instances throughout the project. I will need to consider and seek advice about how to ensure that the focus groups/interviews are a safe space for Māori participants given the sensitive nature of the topic. All participants will be provided with information about sources of support if taking part results in any distress for them, and I will need to consider whether there are additional sources that are appropriate for Māori participants.

I, the researcher, am Irish and moved to Aotearoa New Zealand last year. I am not Māori and am less familiar with Māori research than others who are from New Zealand. Therefore, it will be necessary and valuable to consult a research advisor to ensure that

appropriate processes have been discussed, and that the research project is appropriate for a Māori audience.

Appendix W. Māori Cultural Supervision Letter

5 September 2018

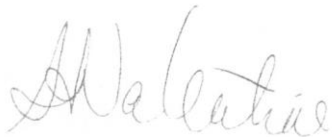
To whom it may concern

Re: Cultural consultation by Siobhan for her research titled, ‘Porn Literacy’ as Pedagogy?: Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Interactions with Internet Pornography.

This letter is to confirm that Siobhan Healy-Cullen and her supervisor Joanne Taylor came and sought cultural supervision regarding her research study. Discussions revolved around the researcher’s position and the impact of this upon Māori. We discussed perspectives relating to building relationships effectively in a culturally safe manner, reciprocity, and manaakitanga.

Siobhan will consult with myself when required. If you have any further queries please feel free to make contact.

Nāku iti nei,



Nā Dr Hukarere Valentine
Ngāti Kahungunu
Haumaru Tautoko Hauora

Appendix X. Interview Preparation

Are you focusing on Māori specifically?

‘I look forward to meeting you too and hearing more about your kaupapa and whakaaro around this subject! Ngā mihi maioha/much gratitude’ – parent in Gisborne

I am aware that this is a sensitive topic and there will be cultural layers. However, culture and ethnicity is not a focus of this research, and I am not in a position to undertake this research from a kaupapa Māori perspective. This research is preliminary and perhaps down the line this will be an area of focus. But, for now I am aware and am assuring that Māori needs are being considered, as IP may be experienced differently across cultures. Given that this research is the first study that aims to understand these issues in a New Zealand context, exploring the needs of specific groups is beyond the scope of this PhD project.

Participants from the three stakeholder groups have been asked to indicate their ethnicity along with other basic demographic variables. The purpose of this is so that the groups of participants can be described. Data will not be analysed by ethnicity because differences between ethnic groups are not a criteria or basis for analysis for this study.

Are you pro or anti-pornography?

Is this something that is important for you to know about me as a researcher? What are your thoughts about how some people pick a ‘camp’? Would you consider yourself to be in either ‘camp’?

I wouldn’t say I am pro or anti-pornography. What I am interested in, and what this project is all about, is the sexual wellness of young people. I am trying to understand how IP

has become a new cultural reality for young people, and how they make sense of the IP in their lives. This project isn’t about pushing a pro or anti-pornography agenda. This research is seeking to uncover perspectives of stakeholders, as opposed to advocating an opinion on IP as a moralistic/ethical issue. How does that sit with you?

Are you a feminist?

Why is that an important question for you to ask me? How would my being a feminist, or not, change this interview for you? Would you consider yourself a feminist? How do you see feminism as related to IP viewing for young people?

A lot of research exploring IP viewing draws on feminist theory, but that is not the theoretical grounding of this project. I am interested in exploring perspectives of all genders, and investigating how people of all genders manage IP as a new cultural reality.

Why did you pick this research topic?

Good question! Might people make certain assumptions about someone who chooses to research pornography?!

My interest was piqued for a number of reasons. Anecdotally, I was receiving a large amount of pornography related calls while volunteering for ChildLine in Dublin. I also have two small brothers, now 14 and 12, who were both exposed to IP before the age of 12. I was interested in the knock on effect this had, and whether other families were experiencing similar situations. I came at this topic from a position of open curiosity, rather than with a pro or anti-pornography agenda.

Do you watch IP? What kind do you like?

I don’t think that is appropriate or relevant to what we are talking about today. Do you think someone has to watch IP in order to be ‘porn literate’, or engage in ‘porn literacy’ education?

Why did you come to New Zealand to do this project? Why not in your own country?

Could my not being from here could hinder the project in some way? How so?

I was initially going to do a cross-cultural analysis, but it was outside the scope of this PhD. I would hope to do similar research across other cultural contexts. NZ is particularly interesting because there is currently very little research being done in this space.

What's <u>your</u> opinion on porn literacy education?

I am more interested in hearing what you have to say about that! I am doing these interviews to try to understand what the perspectives of key stakeholder groups are.

Where do <u>you</u> stand on young people viewing IP?

I am more interested in hearing what you have to say about that! I am doing these interviews to try to understand what the perspectives of key stakeholder groups are.

Don’t you think that porn literacy education would just encourage IP viewing among young people?

Is that something you have concerns about? Do you think that is a concern that would deter teachers/parents from talking to young people about IP?

There is no evidence to suggest that it would. Similar to the provision of sex education and drugs education, it does not mean that young people will start having sex or taking drugs.

Are you single?

I don’t think that is appropriate or relevant to what we are talking about today.

What’s your sexual orientation?

I am curious as to why you are asking? Can you tell me how you think sexual orientation is relevant to what we are discussing today, or the project?

I am a heterosexual cisgender female.

Safety Protocols

1. Inform the principal of the school and my supervisors of my interview schedule. I will message Jo after each interview to confirm that all went well.
2. If someone starts making me feel uncomfortable;

   Warning statement: ‘That kind of commentary makes me feel uncomfortable, and we will have to finish the interview if you proceed with this manner of talk.’

   Final statement: ‘I am going to conclude the interview now, because I don’t feel we are on the same page regarding what is appropriate, and what is not, for this interview. Thank you for your time.
3. If someone discloses something that makes me feel they, or others, are at risk;

   I will talk to the participant, and explain my concerns about what they have disclosed. I will mention that this is something I will have to talk with my supervisors about, because I am concerned about their wellbeing. I will ensure the participant is calm

and not in a state of distress when leaving the interview. I may need to assist them to make arrangements to get home. After the interview, I will report to Jo (primary supervisor) as soon as possible. I will be able to use the services of the EAP which can provide confidential and independent counselling as well as training and tools to enable better handling of issues which may arise. From there, I can reach out to the participant and contact their family/principal if needs be.

Appendix Y. Interim Participant Feedback Provided to Schools in December 2019

Interim Participant Feedback

Porn literacy as pedagogy? Key stakeholder perspectives on understanding & responding to young people's interactions with internet pornography

December 2019

For further information, contact:
Siobhán Healy-Cullen, PhD Candidate
School of Psychology
Massey University, New Zealand
Email Address: s.healy-cullen@massey.ac.nz

Thank you!

Thank you so much for you and your school's contribution to this research on young New Zealanders and Internet Pornography. Your views and perspectives are so important to this research. I am writing to provide you with some feedback on the research before the end of the year which is drawing very close! Analysis is ongoing so cannot be described fully at this stage, but I hope that you find the following feedback informative and useful.

Internet Pornography refers to "any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy"[1]. It is the focus of this study, as it is now the most popular method for viewing/watching pornography.[2]

Motivation for the research

Research has already shown that:

- Internet Pornography is fast becoming a source of information about sex and sexuality for young people[3-5], often replacing messages from parents and educators. [6, 7]
- Internet Pornography is generally not being addressed as part of sexual health and wellbeing curricula in New Zealand. [8]
- If parents and educators do not discuss Internet Pornography, young people look to peers and the Internet for advice. [6, 9]
- 'Porn Literacy' has been suggested as a potential education initiative, to assist young people in navigating these issues. [10]

Porn literacy education aims to equip people with skills to evaluate the messages and behaviours portrayed in internet pornography. It deals with issues like body image and healthy relationships. Any strategies that are developed to assist young people in this area should be based on sound evidence that includes young people's own perspectives, as well as other key stakeholders such as caregivers (parents/guardians) and educators.

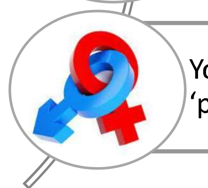
Currently, there is no research about youth, parents/guardians and educators' views on porn literacy education. My research aims to address this gap.

Aims

The overall aim of this research is to find out what youth, parents'/guardians', and educators' perspectives are on the following three aspects of this topic:

Young people's **interactions** with Internet Pornography

How young people **make sense of** Internet Pornography



Young people's needs regarding 'porn literacy' **education**

The project aims to support young people, parents/guardians and educators in their learning and teaching about sexual development.

How the research was conducted

This research consists of a survey and individual interviews. The survey of young people provides an overview of their interactions with, and how they make sense of, Internet Pornography. For example, I asked about how regularly they view Internet Pornography, why they view Internet Pornography, what questions they have about Internet Pornography, and whether they have received any education about Internet Pornography. Interviews provides more information about young people's perspectives on porn literacy education, how they make sense of messages, behaviours and emotions portrayed in Internet Pornography, and the extent to which they talk to their parents, educators and peers about this topic.

The survey with parents/guardians and educators asked about their perceptions and understandings of young people's interactions with Internet Pornography, including why they might view it. Interviews with parents/guardians and educators allowed for further discussion on perspectives relating to porn literacy education, including what that might consist of. Gathering information from young people, parents/guardians, and educators enables any similarities and differences in perspectives to be explored.

About the participants

Participants were:

1. 16-18-year-old secondary school students
2. Parents/Guardians of secondary school students
3. Educators (teachers or principals) in secondary schools

Survey: **484 participants**
- 265 young people
- 219 adults

Interviews: **24 participants**
- 10 young people
- 14 adults

Table 1: Survey respondents by gender & age

	Female	Male	Gender diverse	Total
Youth Survey	101	133	22	265
Adult Survey	99	94	24	219

All interview participants were of varying ethnicities. The 14 adult interviewees consisted of; 7 parents, 1 educator, 6 parents/guardians and educators).

Table 2: Interview participants by gender & age

	Female	Male	Total
Youth Interviews	5	5	10
Adult Interviews	8	6	14

Young people's interactions with Internet Pornography

First exposure to Internet Pornography

Most young people in the study had seen Internet Pornography on one or more occasion (85.4%), and a smaller group (18%) had seen Internet Pornography once.

Of those who had seen Internet Pornography, the average age of first exposure was approximately 12 years old (11.7 years), which was slightly higher than the perceptions of parents/guardians and educators (10.5 years).

For many of these young people, this first encounter was unintentional (45.6%), and was often as a result of being shown by peers or pop-up links appearing while browsing the internet. Of those young people who unintentionally came across Internet Pornography, 76.1% did not tell anyone about their encounter.

How often do young people view Internet Pornography?

Figure 1 shows how regularly the young people in this study viewed Internet Pornography.

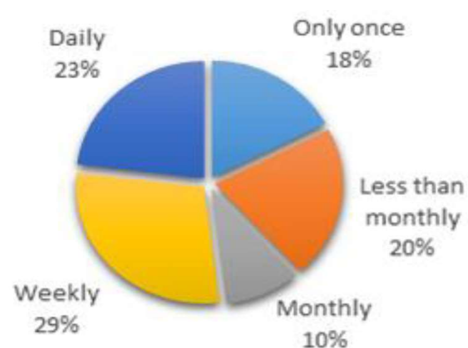


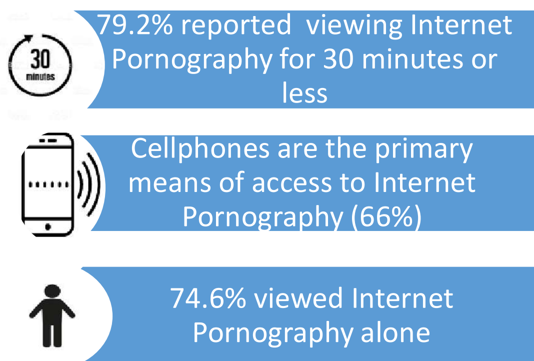
Figure 1. Regularity of youth Internet Pornography viewing

More than half of the young people viewed Internet Pornography with some regularity (52%), with 29% reporting that they viewed Internet Pornography once a week or more, and 23% once or more a day. Of the remaining respondents, 10% said they viewed Internet Pornography every

month, 20% every couple of months or once or twice a year, and 18% said that they had seen Internet Pornography once.

Viewing behaviour

Of the young people who said they view Internet Pornography, 79.2% reported doing so for 30 minutes or less. 16% of boys reported viewing Internet Pornography for more than an hour. Mobile phones were the primary means of access to Internet Pornography (66%), and most young people reported viewing Internet Pornography alone (74.6%).



Reasons for viewing Internet Pornography

When asked why they view Internet Pornography, young people listed sexual gratification and curiosity in their top three reasons, as Figure 2 shows.

While both girls and boys said that they watched Internet Pornography for enjoyment (sexual gratification), boys and gender diverse students listed this as their main reason. Girls said that their top reason for viewing Internet Pornography was out of curiosity.

There were some different reasons provided by young people compared with their parents/guardians and educators (see Figure 2). These differences in understanding will be examined in the analysis that is underway.

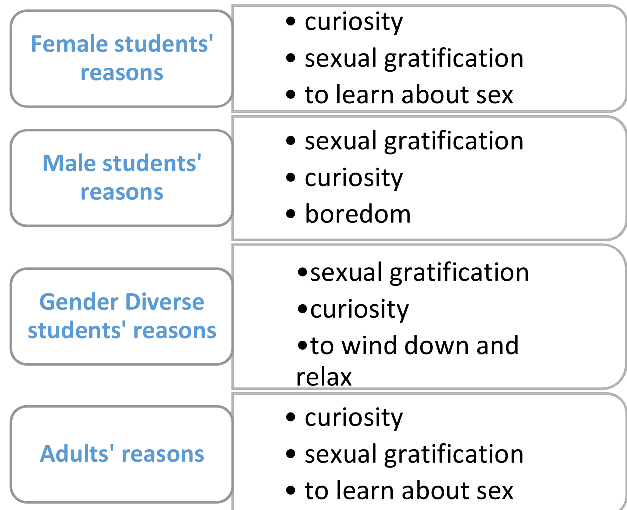


Figure 2. Comparison of reasons respondents gave for young people's Internet Pornography viewing

Internet Pornography as a source of sex education

Young people's reports that they watch Internet Pornography because they are curious or want to learn more about sex aligns with them saying that Internet Pornography is a source of information about sex and sexuality.

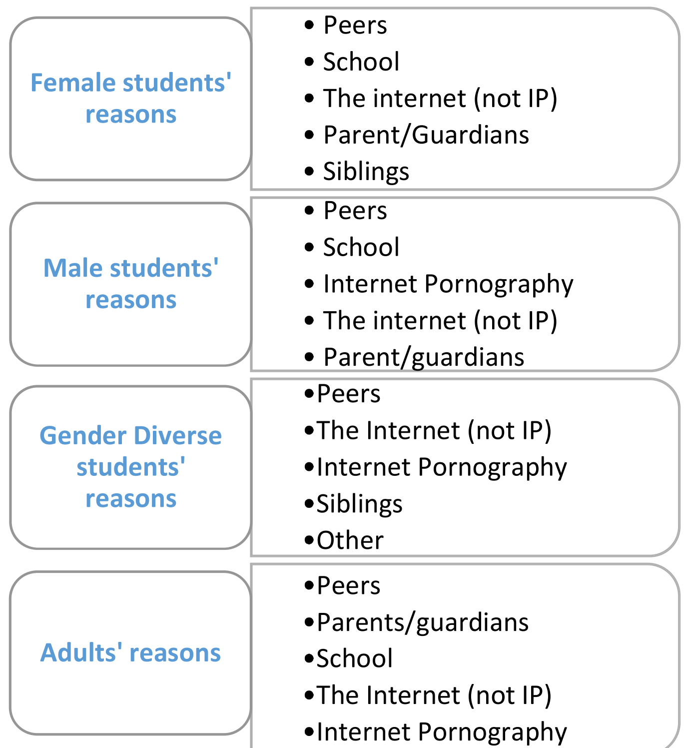


Figure 3. Top 5 sources of information about sex and sexuality

39% of young participants reported that Internet Pornography was a source of information for them about sex and sexuality.

While young males and gender diverse students rated Internet Pornography in their top 4 sources of information about sex, young female students did not. Parents also did not consider Internet Pornography would be in the top 3 sources of information for youth.

How do young people make sense of Internet Pornography?

The comments that young people made in response to open-ended survey questions and interview questions indicate that young people have questions and concerns about Internet Pornography, which will be explored in the data analysis that is underway. Some boys considered that it was not something that necessarily requires any critical thought, as reflected in the following responses:

"I don't think it's there for people to actually make sense of" (male, youth)

"It is just porn" (male, youth)

Young people provided mixed responses about how 'real' the portrayals of sex acts and bodies are in Internet Pornography**.** Some young people thought they could tell the difference, but they also asked questions about what is 'normal', or otherwise. Girls had specific questions about shame, sexual norms, and the often-unattainable expectations set by Internet Pornography. Full analysis will examine these various perspectives in detail.

Young people want to know more about Internet Pornography

While some young people (mainly boys) seemed ambivalent towards Internet Pornography, others had concerns and questions about what watching Internet Pornography says about them or the effects it could have.

Examples of young people's questions and comments
"I have very limited knowledge of Internet pornography, I think I should know a bit more but I don't want to watch it to find out" (female, youth)
"Will it affect me in anyway? ...because I am concerned" (male, youth)
"Why is internet pornography allowed? Who is the intended audience? How does internet pornography impact viewers?" (female, youth)
"Is porn bad for you?" (male, youth)
"Why do I feel like I am being a very bad person for watching this to learn about myself and what sex is like?" (female, youth)

These questions and concerns suggest there is a desire among youth for information about potential negative effects. This was explored in the interviews, and will be part of the next stage of analysis.

Perspectives on Porn Literacy Education

The survey indicated that there was a range of perspectives and levels of agreement about the need for Porn Literacy Education. As shown in Figure 4 (next page), many parents/guardians and educators agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that *'Young people should receive 'porn literacy' education that would teach them how to make sense of and critically analyse internet pornography'*. Among young people, while there was uncertainty for some (34.7%), many agreed (30.6%) or strongly agreed (15.5%) that youth should receive Porn Literacy Education.

There was slightly less uncertainty for parents/guardians (26.5%), and educators (16.4%). About 15% of educators and parents/guardians who were also educators strongly disagreed that young people should receive Porn Literacy Education, compared to 9.2% of parents/guardians. This indicates that there are a range of perspectives regarding Porn Literacy Education.

Why might people agree?

For many of the parents/guardians and educators, Internet Pornography was comparable to other social pressures or online interactions a young person might face, and education on the topic was

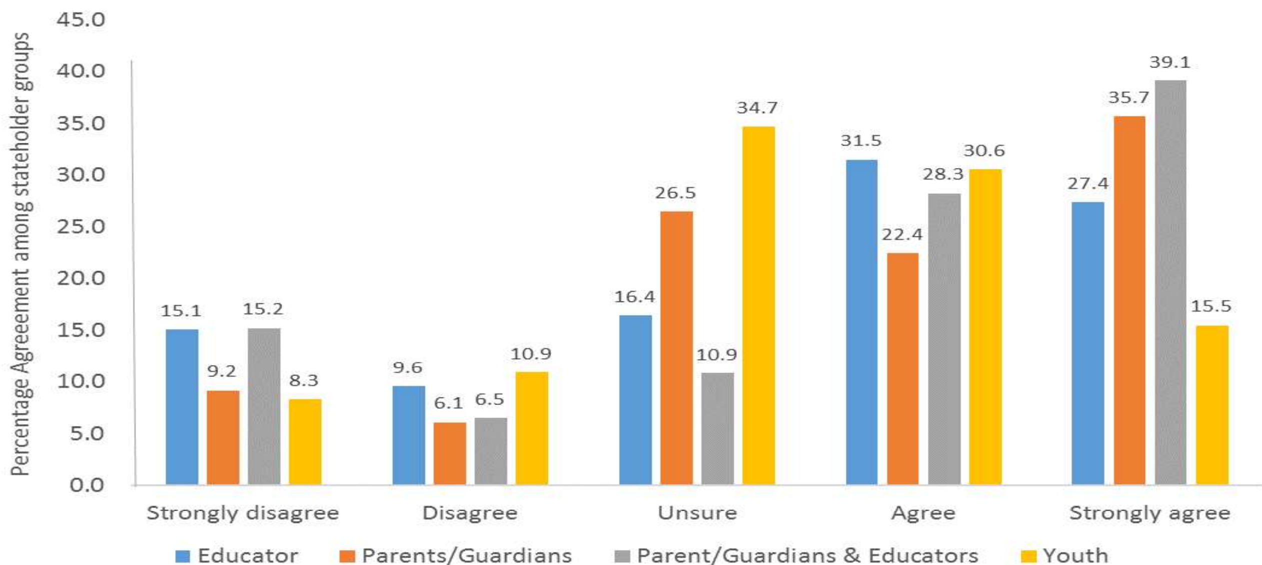


Figure 4. Proportion of agreement about young people receiving Porn Literacy Education.

viewed as a pragmatic response to a new social reality. These ideas were reflected in interviews, and the following example quotes:

"It's that whole thing with teenagers isn't it, you don't want them to drink you don't want them to do drugs you don't want them to watch porn you don't want them to…all these things you don't want them to do…Chances are most of them are gonna do it. And so it is kind of how do we best set them up to cope with that when and if they do" (female, parent).

"I think to not do this (deliver porn literacy education), I think is almost bordering on criminality, to not prepare these children" (male, parent).

"I mean I would just find it hard to work out why you would think it (porn literacy education) wasn't a good idea…I think we should be doing something, the reality is that the kids are watching this stuff. I think it's irresponsible for us to not be having conversations with them about it. We do have conversations with them about everything else that they do online…in fact it's probably more important because this does affect their healthy relationships moving forward" (female, educator)

"Like just pretty much the internet as a whole has sort of consumed like this whole generation of people, they get or basically get all their ideologies of everything off the internet. So, of course sex is going to be one of those things that they base their concepts of everything off. So if you, if like people can educate people and realise that that's not what real life's about then, yeah, it's a pretty important step to take" (male, youth)

Why might people disagree?

Ideas as to why adult participants might disagree with Porn Literacy Education were discussed in interviews:

"There's a conservative band of New Zealanders I think who would not appreciate it…" (female, parent).

"I think there'll be a larger, significantly larger very conservative group that will not trust the system because they'll think we'll be pushing the children towards pornography" (male, parent/educator)

Reasons for potential disagreement mentioned by young people in interviews included that there may be discomfort about the topic, as well as

young people thinking Internet Pornography is not a topic that warrants discussion:

"I think a. because it is an uncomfortable topic. I know I don't really like talking to people about sexual stuff especially with females and most teachers are female...and then there's also the fact that like some people watch porn and they enjoy it like I've talked to people and they're like porn's great" (male, youth)

"Maybe because they like porn and maybe they think that porn literacy will try and make them not see it, rather than not telling them not to watch it but rather helping them to have a better sense of what they're seeing" (male, youth)

"They might feel uncomfortable with the topic, or just like embarrassed to talk about it" (female, youth)

These various perspectives will be examined in detail in the forthcoming analysis.

What would Porn Literacy Education consist of?

Many interviewees said that schools would be the best place for Porn Literacy Education. There were mixed opinions about who could deliver Porn Literacy Education, with participants focusing on the roles of teachers, parents and external providers:

"The best thing is where it's actually externally provided. So people come in, I mean you can have a programme where you trained staff up to deliver it and then at the end of the year those staff get jobs somewhere else, they're gone and you're back to square one" (male, parent/educator)

"So just in terms of practicality we don't have a specialist teacher for that so it would probably be easier to have someone come in. Because who are you going get to teach it, the math teacher, physics teacher?" (male, parent/educator)

"Obviously teachers know the students, students know the teachers so I feel like you can't.... Like it would be really weird. Like if my English teacher was teaching me about porn literacy I'd be pretty weird about it. But if someone I didn't know came in I feel like it wouldn't be weird because I didn't know them and I didn't have like a connection with them" (female, youth)

"I think that having teachers talk about it is a part of sex ed would be good...But I think that the schools should also interact with the parents as well and maybe bring the parents into it. So maybe like have the parents talk to the child. I mean of course I can see how that that might be hard but I think it would pay off. I think it would help for the student to have support from the school and from the parent at the same time" (male, youth)

"I mean I guess as a parent I would think that yes I'd be grateful for the input of kind of experts in this particular… or whatever is closest to an expert, on some kind of regular basis whether that's once or twice a year" (female, parent)

All of the interview participants (who voluntarily self-selected) expressed their agreement with the concept of Porn Literacy Education. However, while interview participants thought discussions about Internet Pornography were important, there were different points of view about showing 'healthy' images or videos of sexual interactions as part of Porn Literacy Education, and this seemed to be where the line was drawn for many people, including youth:

"How awkward would it be to have sex just projected on to the whiteboard?" (female, youth).

The upcoming analysis will examine these various perspectives in detail.

Key Points

The study feedback can be summarised by the following points:

1. Many young people in the study reported viewing Internet Pornography on a regular

basis and wanted more information and understanding about Internet Pornography.
2. IP is listed as a source of knowledge about sex and young people have questions and concerns about the portrayals of sex, bodies, and gender in Internet Pornography.
3. Parents/guardians and educators may have different perspectives about young people's sexuality and sexual health education, including the role that Internet Pornography plays.
4. Many people, including young people, think that being assisted in how to make sense of Internet Pornography through Porn Literacy Education is a good idea. However, not everyone felt this way.
5. Young people's interactions with IP seems to vary depending on gender.
6. How young people make sense of the messages and behaviours in Internet Pornography is complex and nuanced.

These points will be analysed in the coming months, and it is anticipated that the findings will help to develop better understandings of sexual education, porn literacy, and Internet Pornography for young people, that takes into account the views of youth, their parents/guardians, and educators.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to all those who took the time to participate in this research. I greatly appreciate your willingness to speak with me about what is a sensitive topic.

Thank you also to participating schools for allowing me to carry out this research project at your school, especially given the sensitive topic. I hope the feedback here is useful and informative for your school community and school communities across New Zealand.

Ethics: This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51 - *'Porn Literacy' as Pedagogy?: Key Stakeholder Perspectives on Understanding and Responding to Young People's Interactions with Internet Pornography*. Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of approval (27 September 2018), reapproval must be requested.

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Support Information

Here are the details of different agencies or resources that provide information and support on sex, sexuality and pornography.

Online spaces

It's time we talked

This website offers information about internet pornography to help people understand what pornography says, why and what it means.
http://www.itstimewetalked.com.au

Netsafe - 0508 638 723 Helps people keep safe online by providing education, advice and support.

Young people

Scarleteen
is a sex education website with information, advice and support about sexuality, sex, sexual health and relationships, including information on making sense of sexual media. http://www.scarleteen.com

Te Aitanga a Tiki: Māori resources on sexual and reproductive health - Resources on Māori approaches to sexuality education for rangatahi Māori (Māori young people).

Youthline – 0800 376 633, free text 234 or email talk@youthline.co.nz or online chat.

Kidsline – 0800 54 37 54 (0800 kidsline) for young people up to 18 years of age. Open 24/7.

SPARX.org.nz – online e-therapy tool provided by the University of Auckland that helps young people learn skills to deal with feeling down, depressed or stressed.

Caregivers

Parent Help – 0800 568 856 for parents/guardians/whānau seeking support, advice and practical strategies on all parenting concerns. Anonymous, non-judgemental and confidential.

Family Planning resource on how to talk to youth about Internet Pornography.

General

thelowdown.co.nz – or email team@thelowdown.co.nz or free text 5626.

What's Up – 0800 942 8787 (for 5–18 year olds). Phone counselling is available Monday to Friday, midday–11pm and weekends, 3pm–11pm. Online chat is available 7pm–10pm daily.

Rape Crisis – 0800 883 300 (for support after rape or sexual assault).

OUTLine NZ – 0800 688 5463 (OUTLINE) provides confidential telephone support (sexuality or gender identity helpline).

Healthline – 0800 611 116

Samaritans – 0800 726 666

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Appendix Z. Published Version of Article 1

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ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography: A Survey of Youth, Caregiver, and Educator Perspectives

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Abstract

Despite international inquiry regarding young people's encounters with Internet pornography (IP), there is a lack of knowledge about how their caregivers (parents or guardians) and educators perceive these encounters in comparison to young people. Such knowledge is critical to understanding the synergies and discrepancies that might exist between these key stakeholder groups (youth, caregivers and educators) and across genders, to subsequently inform how to best support youth in navigating IP. To this end, the present study describes youth (16–18-year olds) encounters with IP, as well as caregiver and educator perceptions of these encounters. An online survey was completed by 256 youth and 217 caregivers and educators recruited from nine schools with an existing investment in sexuality education in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Similar to global trends, this group of young New Zealanders were familiar with IP and patterns of encounters were gendered. However, there were varied understandings between stakeholder groups and across genders as to why and how these encounters occur. Understanding the ways youth encounter IP—and exploring how caregivers and educators perceive these encounters—serves as a springboard for future research that considers the broader socio-cultural context within which these perspectives are constructed.

Keywords Internet pornography · New Zealand · Youth · Caregivers · Educators

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Introduction

Youth encounters with Internet pornography (IP) have led to global concern regarding the healthy sexual socialisation of youth (Scarcelli, 2014; Tomić et al., 2017). The majority of research in this field is framed using a harms-based lens, often with a view to ameliorating negative effects and regulating youth encounters with IP (Bragg & Buckingham, 2009). Such research provides a broad understanding of young people's encounters with IP, but does not explore the relevance of IP in the lives of young people, or their thoughts about the involvement of caregivers and educators in youth IP viewing (Attwood et al., 2018). This is problematic because research on sexuality education suggests that there is frequently a disconnect between the ways youth understand and engage with sexual matters and the ways adults tasked with their sexual socialisation believe that they do (Jackson, 2004; Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015). Failing to bridge this divide undermines attempts at providing sexuality education that is relevant to youth, including assisting young people to navigate the realities of a digital world that affords increasingly easy, anonymous, and free access to diverse online sexual content (Davis et al., 2019). Thus, in addition to a broader understanding of young people's encounters with IP, it is also important to understand how caregivers and educators perceive young people's encounters with IP, given their roles in sexuality education.

Although there is a large body of research on youth engagement with various mediated intimacies (e.g., sexting) (Stanley et al., 2018; Widman et al., 2021), no published work to date has concurrently examined the perspectives of caregivers and educators as well as young people about youth encounters with IP. Additionally, given IP is an inevitably gendered topic (Attwood, 2005), it is unknown as to whether, like youth encounters, these adult perceptions are gendered. Such knowledge is critical to further understand how adults might support young people in negotiating the IP they encounter (Sorbring et al., 2015). The present study aims to address this knowledge gap.

Young People and Internet Pornography

The prevalence of young people's encounters and engagement with IP is difficult to ascertain as it depends on cultural context and research design (Lim et al., 2017; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005). In Aotearoa New Zealand, where the current research was conducted, a recent nationally representative government survey suggests that 67% of 14–17-year olds have seen IP (Office of Film & Literature Classification, 2018). International research suggests that encounters with IP are more prevalent among boys than girls, and boys are more likely to report intentionally seeking out IP, more regularly, and from a younger age (Ševčíková & Daneback, 2014; Stanley et al., 2018). Qualitative research suggests that these patterns are tied to binary gender norms that demarcate pornography viewing as a male activity (Albury, 2018; Spišák, 2017). Indeed, much of the literature on

youth encounters with IP takes a binary view of gender, although IP viewing may be more frequent among LGBTQ youth (Bőthe et al., 2019).

International research also indicates that IP is a key medium young people turn to when seeking information about sex and relationships (Brown & L'Engle, 2009; Štulhofer et al., 2010). In New Zealand, 71% of youth surveyed reported using IP as a tool for learning about sex and sexuality, including for their own sexual practices (Office of Film & Literature Classification, 2018), so IP also functions as a cultural resource and source of education about sex (Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). IP may act as a source of sexual socialisation in the absence of input from significant adults, given that youth report a lack of communication about IP with their caregivers, difficulty in talking to them about the topic, and a general lack of information about IP in sexuality education (Pound et al., 2016; Priebe et al., 2013).

Minimal research contributes to an understanding of how caregivers can play a role in young people's encounters with IP as a cultural resource (Scarcelli, 2014), especially how caregivers perceive and understand youth encounters more generally, and what this means for their communication with youth about IP (Livingstone & Bober, 2004; Rothman et al., 2017). Caregivers perceive youth encounters with IP as inherently negative, and are fearful and embarrassed about discussing the issue with youth, even if they would like open dialogue on the topic (Davis et al., 2019; Dawson, 2020; Tsaliki, 2011; Widman et al., 2021; Zurcher, 2017). Gender influences how parents communicate with youth about IP, with fathers reportedly less likely to engage in discussion than mothers (Boniel-Nissim et al., 2020). Double standards also exist in gender socialisation, as parents may also be more likely to condone IP viewing among young men than women, attributing male interest to 'natural' sexual urges (Gesser-Edelsburg & Arabia, 2018; Tolman, 2013).

Educators are another important group of adults in the lives of youth, with schools acting more broadly as key domains of sexual socialisation. Some schools and individual educators may be reluctant to provide instruction on sexually contentious topics (e.g., abortion, masturbation, and IP) which, in some instances, may be borne out of apprehension of caregiver responses, or the values and ethos of the school (Shtarkshall et al., 2007; Weaver et al., 2001). Whether and how schools approach the issue of IP in sexuality education will shape the sexual socialisation of students in various ways, yet little is known about how educators perceive young people's encounters with IP.

One survey of educators in the UK reported that teachers perceived viewing IP to have negative effects on youth and that schools should teach about these potential risks (Baker, 2016). Similarly, participants in a Swedish focus group study that included a small number of teachers discussed the ways IP conveys contradictory messages to youth in comparison to other domains of socialisation, and therefore educators should be equipped with the skills to discuss this topic with youth (Mattebo et al., 2014). Research primarily from the UK and Australia posits that broaching the subject of IP in the classroom is an uncomfortable and "high risk proposition" that requires training, resources, and the support of the school community (Albury, 2014, p. 173, 2018; Baker, 2016; Ollis, 2016).

Given the limited research on caregiver and educator perceptions about young people's encounters with IP, and the lack of consideration of their views

alongside those of youth themselves, the present study describes young people's (aged 16–18-year-old) encounters with IP and their caregivers' and educators' perceptions of these encounters. A descriptive rather than inferential approach was taken given that IP is under-researched in New Zealand and it is as yet unknown whether there are sociocultural factors that might impact such research, such as the perspectives of Māori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) young people and adults regarding IP, and the diversity of school-based sexuality education. Our research was also part of a larger mixed methods study that was situated within critical social psychology and based on a social constructionist approach. Therefore, our focus was to *describe* the characteristics of youth encounters with IP from the perspectives of youth, caregivers, and educators and to identify similarities and divergences for interpretation through a sociocultural lens.

Method

Data were collected through a cross-sectional online survey as part of a broader mixed methods study about youth encounters with IP in New Zealand (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a, b). The survey elicited the perspectives of students aged 16–18 years, caregivers (parents and guardians), and educators on this topic.

Participants

Participants were recruited from nine high schools with various characteristics (e.g., co-educational, single sex, rural, urban, and differing decile[1] groupings). While 249 schools were invited to take part, many declined, noting they were not able to bring the topic into their school for a range of reasons, despite the importance of the topic. This meant that the participating schools tended to be more interested in the topic in general, and do not represent a full range of perspectives. Each school decided on the process of providing information about the study and survey dissemination to young people and their caregivers and educators, and we therefore could not ascertain response rates given the varying approaches used. However, a total of 473 responses were collected, 256 (54.12%) from youth and 217 (45.88%) from adults, 98 of whom were caregivers (45.16%), 73 educators (33.64%), and 46 people were both caregivers and educators (21.20%). The average age of students was 16.69 years ($SD = 0.68$). Most participants identified as New Zealand European/Pākehā (i.e., New Zealander of European descent). Table 1 provides demographic details for the participants.

[1] In New Zealand, school deciles indicate the extent a school draws students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools have the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools have the lowest. No schools from deciles 0–2 accepted the invitation to participate.

Table 1 Participant demographic characteristics (%)

	Youth (*N* = 256)	All adults (*N* = 217)	Caregivers (*n* = 98)	Educators (*n* = 73)	Caregivers and educators (*n* = 46)
Gender					
Male	51.95	43.32	30.61	53.42	54.35
Female	39.45	45.62	62.24	35.62	26.09
Gender diverse	8.60	11.06	7.14	10.96	19.57
Age					
16 years	43.48				
17 years	43.87				
18 years	12.65				
16–25 years		27.78	22.68	43.84	13.04
26–35 years		10.19	6.19	16.44	8.70
36–45 years		18.98	21.65	12.33	23.91
45–55 years		24.07	35.05	9.59	23.91
Older than 55 years		18.98	14.43	17.81	30.43
Ethnicity					
New Zealand European/Pākehā	64.50	73.30	76.50	72.60	67.40
New Zealand Māori	27.70	14.30	15.30	15.10	10.90
Asian	12.10	17.00	1.00	5.50	13.00
Other ethnicity	11.70	5.10	14.30	16.40	23.90

Pākehā is the indigenous term for non-Māori/non-Polynesian New Zealanders

Procedures

School principals distributed electronic information sheets about the study for students aged 16–18-year, caregivers, and educators, along with an invitation to take part in the online survey. Principals communicated this information in ways suitable to their specific school community (e.g., mailing lists) in accordance with ethical protocol regarding consent. The working definition of IP provided at the beginning of the survey was *"any sexually explicit [Internet] material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy"* (Short et al., 2012, p.21). There were 27 questions for youth and 13 questions for adults about youth encounters with IP, made up of a combination of ranking order (respondents ranked their answers in order of applicability, and selected the options that were relevant to them), Likert scale questions (i.e., 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), closed questions (which always had an 'other' option and space for further comment), and open-ended questions. The youth survey included questions about demographic details, age of first encounter, access to IP, intentionality and frequency of viewing, primary reasons for accessing IP, where, how and with whom IP is accessed, perceived personal effects of IP viewing in comparison to peers, sources of sexuality education, and experiences of education/communication about IP at home or school. A key open-ended question in the youth survey was; "Have you received any education about Internet

pornography? If yes, where did you receive this education from?". These questions were informed and developed from international literature that has investigated young people's encounters with IP (e.g., Mattebo et al., 2014; Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005), rather than using 'scientific' measures more familiar to clinical, positivist research designs where hypotheses and generalisation are appropriate (Fisher & Kohut, 2020).

To compare with youth, caregivers and educators were asked the same questions as youth, outlined above, regarding their *perceptions* of young people's encounters with IP. The same open-ended question to educators and caregivers was phrased accordingly; "Have you delivered any education about IP to the young person in your care? If yes, please outline what you discussed". Due to a problem with the survey setup that was not detected until data collection was completed, data were missing for two questions related to the educator group, namely, their perceptions of youths' primary reasons for viewing IP and sources of information about sex and sexuality.

Data Analysis

Data were used descriptively rather than inferentially as we did not aim to make inferences beyond the sample. Thus, power analysis and tests of statistical significance were not relevant. Descriptive data (such as measures of central tendency and frequency distributions) were used to explore variability in the data between the groups and by gender. The data distributions were checked (overall, for each group, for gender, and for gender within each group) and there was no skewness or bimodal distributions, so the mean was used as the measure of central tendency. Ranked data were collated across the sample as a frequency count, and rankings were determined using a weighted sum calculation (i.e., the weighted sum for the response that was ranked first was worth more than the response ranked last). Thematic analysis was completed for the open-ended questions described above using Nvivo 12 to assist coding (Braun & Clarke, 2012).

Results

Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography

Most young people (85.31%) had seen IP on one or more occasion, either intentionally or unintentionally, at some point in their life. This was the case for 95.20% of boys, 70.41% of girls, and 95.45% of gender diverse youth. Of those who had seen IP, the average age of first encounter was 11.70 years ($SD=3.32$), although this differed according to gender; the average age for boys was similar to the overall average at 11.33 years ($SD=3.16$), older for girls at 12.83 years ($SD=2.12$), and younger for gender diverse youth at 10.10 years ($SD=5.56$). Across groups, adults perceived youth encounters to occur earlier than youth themselves reported, on

average at 10.58 years ($SD = 3.40$), with similar reports within each group of adults (caregivers: $M = 11.20$, educators: $M = 10.08$, caregivers and educators: $M = 10.18$).

For just over half of youth (54.68%), their first encounter with IP was unintentional. However, this varied based on gender, with more boys (59.29%) and gender diverse youth (42.86%) reporting an intentional first encounter than girls (23.19%). For those whose first encounter was unintentional, the most frequent reasons were being shown by peers, happening across it while browsing, and pop-up advertisements. Some of the other reasons provided by female youth as open comments included “I opened a relative’s iPad and it was accidentally left on it”, “Brother didn’t exit the tab”, and “Watching anime”.

Of those youth who unintentionally came across IP for the first time, most (76.15%) did not tell anyone about it. Additionally, from that group, more boys (86.96%) than girls (69.23%) and gender diverse youth (63.64%) did not disclose to someone. Of those who did tell someone, this person was most frequently a peer for boys (83.33%) and girls (56.25%). Gender diverse youth more frequently told a teacher (50.00%), although neither boys nor girls told a teacher. However, 16.67% of boys and 37.50% of girls told a caregiver, while no gender diverse youth told their caregiver.

Similar to the gendered patterns among youth, more male adults across groups indicated that youth would not tell a caregiver or educator compared to female and gender diverse adults across groups (see Table 2). Additionally, across genders, those in the educator group reported that youth would not disclose unintentional encounters to IP to them (see Table 2; note that caregivers were not asked about disclosure to educators, and educators were not asked about disclosure to caregivers). In terms of the content they had seen, just over half of youth (52.49%) indicated that they would describe what they had seen as ‘hardcore’, based on their own definition (see Table 3).

Frequency of Internet Pornography Viewing

There were gendered patterns in young people’s viewing of IP. Girls most frequently had seen IP once (38.46%) or once or twice a year (20.00%), while nearly a quarter of boys viewed IP 2–4 times a week (24.51%) and 45.00% of gender diverse youth viewed IP more than once a day. Additionally, whenever they viewed IP, boys and gender diverse youth more frequently viewed for longer periods of time than girls (see Table 3). When asked to compare the frequency that they viewed IP with that of their peers, youth were generally uncertain as to how much IP they viewed compared to their peers, or thought they viewed the same. However, as shown in Table 3, 45.90% of girls perceived their viewing to be “much less” than their counterparts, while 31.60% of gender diverse youth reported viewing “much more”.

Access to Internet Pornography

Young people reported that they generally viewed IP on mobile phones (65.71%) rather than desktop computers or tablets, with the majority watching IP alone

Table 2 Adult perceptions of youth disclosure of Internet pornography (%)

	Caregivers				Educators				Caregivers and educators			
	All (N=98)	Male (n=30)	Female (n=61)	GD (n=7)	All (N=73)	Male (n=39)	Female (n=26)	GD (n=8)	All (N=46)	Male (n=25)	Female (n=12)	GD (n=9)
Would tell caregiver	43.53	26.09	52.73	28.57					40.00	31.82	41.67	66.67
Would not tell	34.12	56.52	23.64	42.86					35.00	45.45	25.00	16.67
Unsure if would tell	22.35	17.39	23.64	28.57					25.00	22.73	33.33	16.67
Would tell educator					12.68	7.69	16.00	28.57	20.00	22.73	8.33	33.33
Would not tell					66.20	74.36	56.00	57.14	57.50	63.64	50.00	50.00
Unsure if would tell					21.13	17.95	28.00	14.29	22.50	13.64	41.67	16.67

GD, gender diverse

Table 3 Youth responses about Internet pornography (%)

Survey item	All youth (n = 256)	Girls (n = 101)	Boys (n = 133)	Gender diverse (n = 22)
Frequency of IP viewing				
Only once	18.18	38.46	6.86	10.00
Once or twice a year	9.63	20.00	4.90	0.00
Every couple of months	10.16	12.31	9.80	5.00
Every month	10.16	10.77	10.78	5.00
Once a week	11.23	6.15	15.69	5.00
2–4 times a week	17.65	7.69	24.51	15.00
Once a day	9.63	1.54	13.73	15.00
More than once a day	13.37	3.08	13.73	45.00
Time spent viewing IP				
Less than 10 min	49.15	41.18	73.21	21.05
Less than 30 min	30.51	35.29	21.43	31.58
Between 30 min and an hour	5.65	7.84	3.57	0.00
More than an hour	1.13	1.96	0.00	0.00
More than 2 h	13.56	13.73	1.79	47.37
IP viewing compared to peers				
Much less	26.00	45.90	14.40	21.10
Less	12.40	6.60	17.50	5.30
The same	27.10	11.50	37.10	26.30
More	3.40	4.90	3.10	0.00
Much more	10.70	3.30	11.30	31.60
Unsure	20.30	27.90	16.50	15.80
Seen 'hardcore' IP				
Yes	52.49	37.50	58.59	72.22
No	24.86	23.44	26.26	22.22
Unsure	22.65	39.06	15.15	5.56
IP practices applied in personal life				
Yes	39.89	46.46	26.15	52.63
No	43.17	39.39	55.38	21.05
No, but I would like to	7.65	7.07	7.69	10.53
No, I would not like to	6.56	6.06	9.23	0.00
Other	2.73	1.01	1.54	15.79
Perceptions of caregiver awareness				
Caregivers are aware	27.93	29.59	14.29	66.67
Caregivers are not aware	27.93	22.45	42.86	5.56
Unsure of caregiver awareness	44.13	47.96	42.86	27.78
Education received about IP				
Received any education	37.38	51.52	16.84	65.00
Did not receive any education	62.62	48.48	83.16	35.00
Sources of this education	*n* = 80	*n* = 16	*n* = 51	*n* = 13
Teacher in sexuality education	61.25	68.75	64.71	38.46
External educator in school	12.50	12.50	11.76	15.38

Table 3 (continued)

Survey item	All youth (n = 256)	Girls (n = 101)	Boys (n = 133)	Gender diverse (n = 22)
Caregivers	8.75	18.75	5.88	7.69
Peers	3.75	0.00	3.92	7.69
The Internet	2.50	0.00	3.92	0.00
Other	11.25	0.00	9.80	30.77

(75.00%) rather than with peers or partners. Most youth indicated that they "could definitely" (51.40%) or "probably" (25.70%) access IP at home without their caregiver knowing, if they wanted to. At school, almost a fifth (19.25%) of youth responded that they "definitely could *not*" access IP, while a third (33.33%) indicated that they definitely *could*.

Aligning with youth responses, caregivers reported that youth could "definitely" or "probably" access IP at home (45.88%, 35.29% respectively), while educators reported that youth could "definitely" or "probably" access IP at school (30.56%, 37.50% respectively) without their knowledge. However, male teachers more frequently indicated that students could "definitely not" access IP at school (17.95%) compared to female (3.85%) and gender diverse educators (0.00%).

Primary Reasons for Viewing Internet Pornography

Participants were asked to rank a list of possible motivations that young people might have for viewing IP. Overall, across stakeholder groups, curiosity was ranked as the primary motivation (see Fig. 1a). However, thereafter there was some divergence between the rankings of adults (caregivers and educators) and youth, indicating a discrepancy in understandings between these groups. Young people included "boredom" and "to wind down and relax" among their top five reasons for IP viewing, but adults did not include these reasons. Rather, they ranked peer influence and learning about sex more highly (see Fig. 1b).

There were gendered differences among youth in terms of their primary reasons for seeking out IP (see Fig. 1b). Sexual gratification was given as a primary motivation by male youth, who, for example gave reasons such as "cause I'm horny" (male student), and "pleasure" (male student). Only girls indicated in their top five reasons that IP was used as a way to learn about sex, sexual acts, and sexuality. For example, in the open-ended comments relating to this question, they said: "To understand how sexual encounters happen as school does not teach this and i [sic] want to be able to feel okay for my first time, by know [sic] the 'lingo' and knowing what to do" (female student). Compared to girls (26.15%), more boys (46.46%) and gender diverse youth (52.63%) had engaged in sexual practices that they had also seen in IP (see Table 3).

Adult perceptions of the reasons that youth seek out IP also varied according to their own gender. Like female youth, sexual gratification was ranked less frequently by women than men and gender diverse adults across stakeholder groups

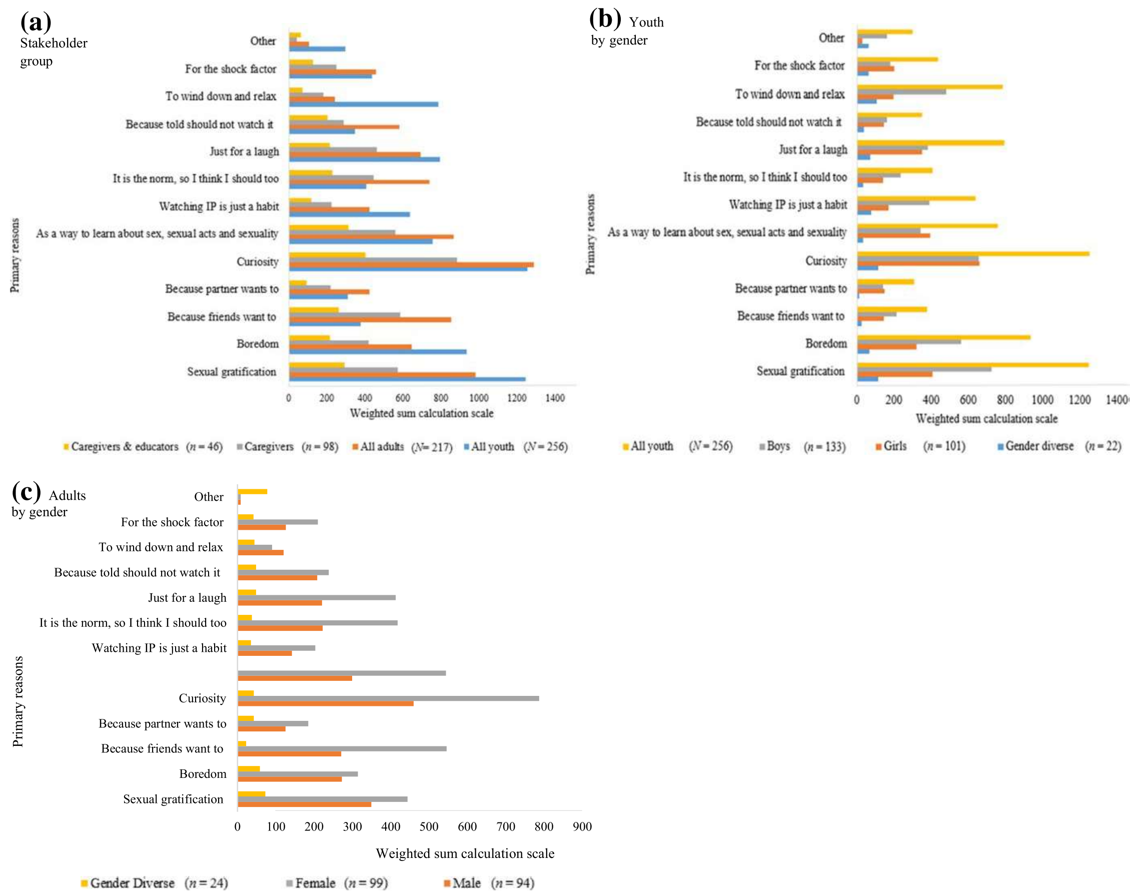

Fig. 1 Primary reasons youth seek out Internet pornography by stakeholder group (**a**), youth by gender (**b**), and adults by gender (**c**)

(see Fig. 1c). Also mapping onto trends in youth responses, “boredom” was ranked in the top five perceived reasons by men and gender diverse adults across stakeholder groups, whereas this was not the case for women. Additionally, “because their friends want to” was ranked particularly highly by female caregivers as their second perceived reason for youth viewing.

Primary Sources of Information About Sex and Sexuality

Participants were asked to rank young people’s primary sources of information about sex and sexuality. Across the stakeholder groups, there was a shared understanding that peers are a primary source of information about sex and sexuality for youth (see Fig. 2a). When it came to young people themselves, IP was ranked third by boys and gender diverse youth, and sixth by girls. Adults ranked caregivers as an information source third overall; however, this did not feature as high from the perspective of gender diverse youth, who ranked caregivers last (see Fig. 2b).

There were some differences between adults’ responses depending on stakeholder group. Overall, the rankings of participants who were educators as well as caregivers more closely aligned with youth rankings than those who were only caregivers. In particular, these respondents gave a higher ranking to the Internet and IP as

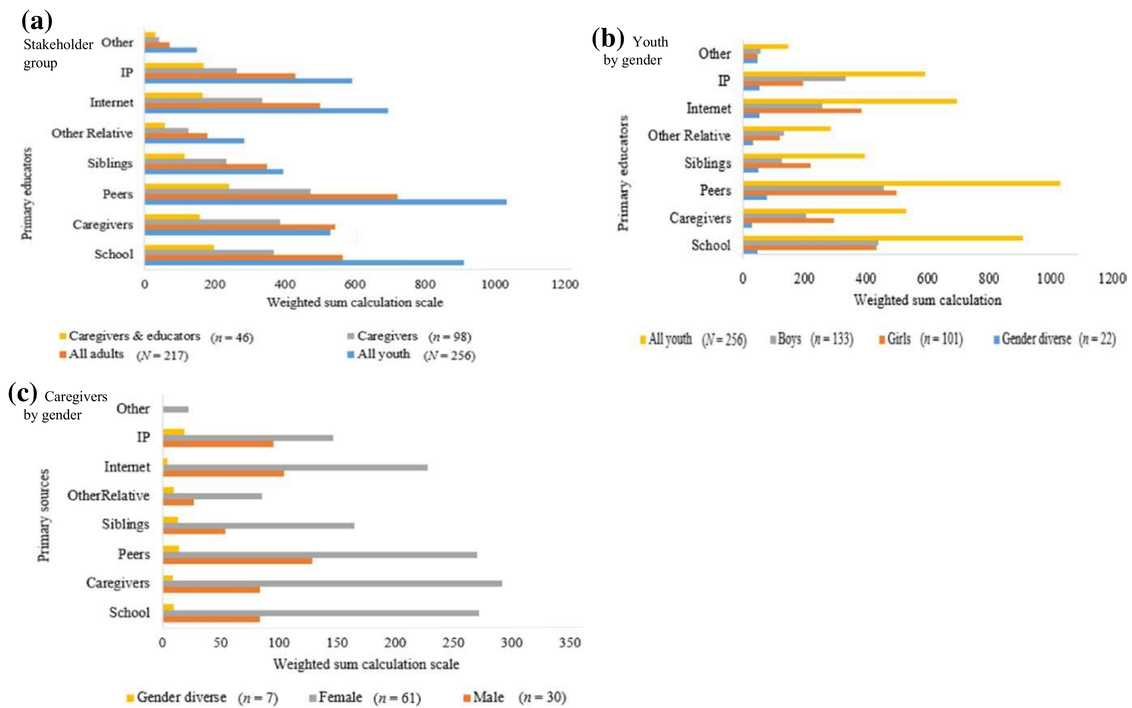

Fig. 2 Primary educators for youth about sex and sexuality by stakeholder group (**a**), youth by gender (**b**), and caregivers by gender (**c**)

a source of information than caregivers, who ranked themselves more highly than either the Internet or IP (see Fig. 2a).

Differences among adult participants also related to gender, mapping on to the gender patterns observed among youth. Most notably, female caregivers were the only cohort who most frequently ranked themselves as young people's primary information source (i.e., first). Male and gender diverse caregivers perceived IP as a more important information source about sex and sexuality than caregivers (see Fig. 2c).

Communication with Youth About Internet Pornography

Many (44.13%) of the youth were unsure if their caregivers knew whether they had seen IP. Girls reported less frequently (14.29%) than boys (29.59%) or gender diverse youth (66.67%) that their caregivers were aware of their IP viewing (see Table 3).

Many caregivers were aware that youth in their care had seen IP (48.39%), approximately a third were also unsure (34.68%), while a small proportion (16.94%) did not think that the young person in their care had ever seen IP. Overall, more than half (56.91%) of caregivers had provided some education about IP to the young person in their care, but only a small number (8.75%) of youth reported that any education they had received was from caregivers (see Table 3). Girls also reported less frequently that they had received any education about IP in comparison to boys and gender diverse youth (see Table 3). Additionally, female caregivers more frequently

reported that they delivered education about IP to youth (72.73%) compared to male (38.64%) or gender diverse (38.46%) caregivers.

Of the 30.36% of educators who indicated that there had been some delivery of education about IP at their school (40.18% were unsure, while 29.46% indicated that there had not been any), this education was most often provided by a teacher during sexuality education at the school (63.64%), rather than (for example) external providers (27.27%). This maps on to the youth findings, as of the 37.38% of youth who indicated they had received any education about IP, most (61.25%) reported that this was predominantly delivered by a teacher as part of sexuality education in school (see Table 3).

Messages Delivered About Internet Pornography to Youth by Caregivers

Caregivers were asked to describe what they had discussed about IP at home with the young person in their care. There were a broad range of responses to this open-ended question that were thematically organised.

Internet Pornography is Harmful

Overall, IP was portrayed in a negative light and discussed with youth in relation to the “ugliness that can pop up in the world”, “offensive sites”, the “dark web”, “pedophiles [sic]”, “incredibly evil people”, and subject to monitoring by “the Internet police”. Most caregivers indicated that IP was harmful, addictive, unsuitable, and dangerous, for instance, something “that is not acceptable in our household”. This was primarily related to the potential deleterious impacts or “nasty consequences” of IP viewing, which ranged from being “psychologically unhealthy” to “potentially harmful for future relationships and self”. For some, this harm was conceptualised as “temptation to sin” and “alienation from God”. IP was also described as objectifying, degrading, abusive, and exploitative of women.

Avoid Viewing Internet Pornography

While some caregivers acknowledged that curiosity was to be expected among youth, and they should not feel badly about experiencing arousal if they happen across IP, youth were still encouraged to avoid it. While not necessarily forbidden, many caregivers voiced their disapproval of IP viewing to youth, while others censored it; for example, “please don’t watch it”, “we operate open DNS for their protection”.

Internet Pornography is not ‘Real’

Another primary message that caregivers reported delivering to youth about IP was that it is fake and unrealistic; a performance by paid actors/actresses. This idea of “reality vs. fantasy” was a distinction taken up by many caregivers, highlighting that IP is not “a reflection of true intimacy between people”, and “not a true depiction

of real sex". How IP might be compared to 'real life' was often mentioned in the context of intimacy and consent "which is not indicative of normal healthy sexual relationships".

'I Think…'

Responses indicated that caregivers delivered education to youth about IP based on their own views; "*I believe* [emphasis added] Internet pornography degrades and objectifies women", or "*I'm* [emphasis added] not a fan of pornography". Thus, it may understandably be the case that youth are receiving a variety of messages about IP that are based on particular perspectives, beliefs, and worldviews, such as religious affiliations (e.g., "We have a pornography education resource which is offered by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints").

Discussion

This study provides some insights into encounters with IP among these New Zealand youth, including their initial encounters, viewing regularity, and motivations for viewing IP. Additionally, this study provides an understanding of the perceptions of these caregivers and educators, as key domains of sexual socialisation. In the following discussion, we contextualise our findings in relation to the wider context in which youth IP viewing is deemed largely negative and shameful, particularly for girls (Ashton et al., 2018; Ševčíková & Daneback, 2014). The findings are also contextualised within the limitations of who these participants were (i.e., members of school communities who were already invested in sexuality education), and we recognise that a full range of perspectives are not represented.

Youth Encounters with Internet Pornography

Our findings are consistent with international research, showing that most young people (85.31%) have seen IP on one or more occasion at some point in their life, either intentionally or unintentionally (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Peter & Valkenburg, 2016). Additionally, for many young people, particularly girls, first encounters were reported as unintentional (54.68%), often as a result of being shown by peers or pop-up links appearing while browsing the Internet. Consistent with previous findings, of those young people in the study who unintentionally came across IP, most (76.15%) did not tell anyone about their encounter (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009; Lim et al., 2017).

Of youth who had seen IP before, the average age of first encounter was approximately 12 years old, which was slightly older than what adults perceived (10.58 years). Adults' assumption of a younger age may reflect the public concern—often amplified by the media— about IP viewing among young people (Taylor, 2020). Although there is variation regarding first encounters in the literature, that these young New Zealanders first encountered IP at approximately 12 years old

is slightly younger than global trends and a previous New Zealand report (Office of Film & Literature Classification, 2018). However, encountering IP during early teenage years is unsurprising given sexual curiosity (Ybarra & Mitchell, 2005), and perhaps coincides with personal internet access via mobile phone.

Gender diverse youth reported viewing IP at a younger age (10.10 years) than their female and male peers, and may be exploring their identity and sexuality in a world where there are not as many resources to do this with, or people to talk with (Collier et al., 2013). Our research suggests that some young people seek out IP to try to learn about sex, and this occurs alongside reluctance to discuss sex (and particularly IP) with adults, and their perception of adults being reluctant to discuss it with them, consistent with previous findings about IP as a source of information about sex and sexuality (Martellozzo et al., 2017; Rothman et al., 2018).

Sexuality Education and Internet Pornography

Many youth stated that they did not receive any education about IP as part of their sexuality education (62.62%), despite most having seen IP, consistent with the wider literature that suggests IP is often omitted from conversation among youth and adults, perhaps on account of the perceived difficulties in having such conversations (Albury, 2018). In New Zealand, and internationally, sexuality education is very context-specific and varies between types of schools and school cultures. Although the recently updated sexuality education guidelines in New Zealand include information about IP be included in classes, clarity is required regarding programme aims (e.g., discourage IP viewing, or encourage critical thinking), as well as critical reflection on how youth are constructed (i.e., agentic or naïve).

Furthermore, students may have varied needs that, among other things, vary by gender, and are currently not addressed by sexuality education curricula. Girls were less likely to have received any kind of education about IP than boys and gender diverse youth, consistent with a recent survey (Family Planning New Zealand, 2019). Girls may be receiving less education about IP due to the presumption that they either do not view IP or are not generally attracted to IP (Sorbring et al., 2015; Spišák, 2017). Curricula must also be relevant to gender diverse learners as despite improvements that focus on inclusivity, sexuality education curricula often mirrors the implicit heteronormativity of wider society (Chesir-Teran, 2003). This is suggested by the fact that gender diverse youth ranked school sixth as their source of information about sex and sexuality in general, in comparison to second by girls and boys. However, these young people also listed peers as their primary source of information, indicating a level of comfort in talking among friends about identity and sexuality (Jackson, 2004).

Thus, although young people ranked school second (after peers) as a primary educator about sex and sexuality—challenging the notion of IP as becoming their primary channel of sexuality education (Rothman et al., 2018; Tanton et al., 2015)—these findings raise questions about whether the content is relevant and wholly valuable to them. In this regard, an important finding in the extant literature is the request from some youth to have IP discussed, not ignored, in a timely way during sexuality

education in school and with caregivers as a way of helping them understand the content they may encounter online (Pound et al., 2016; Sørensen & Knudsen, 2006). Some research suggests that, although youth take some basic information away from sexuality education, a key aspect that is lacking, based on their needs, is a discourse of erotics or desire (Allen, 2004). This observation coheres with our finding of the absence of teaching about IP. These findings point to a *gap* in the conversation that youth are having with caregivers and educators about sex, sexuality, and IP, as we will now elaborate on.

Divergences Between Caregivers, Educators and Youth

In line with previous findings, our results suggest that caregivers overestimate the likelihood of youth disclosure to them, while educators (who anticipate lack of disclosure) arguably have a more realistic understanding (Priebe et al., 2013; Wisniewski et al., 2017). Existing studies point to fear or embarrassment as potential reasons for youth non-disclosure, even when encounters with IP are unintentional (Rothman et al., 2017). Thus, whether young people feel comfortable or safe to disclose their encounters is a socio-cultural factor worth considering when examining some of our results, particularly the gendered patterns.

Aside from curiosity about sex and sexuality, there were differences between these caregivers, educators and youth regarding what motivates young people to view IP, indicating a disconnect in how youth and significant adults understand the function of IP in young people's lives, and their sexuality more broadly. Youth ranked IP as providing entertainment and relaxation in their top five motivations, which aligns with the literature (Attwood et al., 2018; Bale, 2011), while relaxation was ranked last across each of the adult stakeholder groups, so there are differing views about how youth perceive the role of IP in their lives, and how their caregivers and educators understand the meaning and presence of IP for youth.

Furthermore, that youth may be motivated to view IP on account of their friends was ranked in the top five across all adult groups, and ranked second after curiosity by caregivers (in comparison to 10th by youth themselves). Caregivers' attribution of youth IP viewing to peer pressure downplays the challenging notion of children as sexual beings and may to some extent preserve an image of childhood innocence (Jarkovská & Lamb, 2018). The widespread and dominant Western view of children as innocent, pure and asexual (alongside sex as being improper and a source of taboo) has led to anxieties among caregivers about introducing sexual information too early or too much in their children's lives, which is reflected in the types of messages caregivers deliver to youth about IP (Lamb et al., 2018).

There was also a divergence in understanding between youth and their caregivers as to how prominently caregivers feature as sexuality educators in young people's lives in comparison to media (Sprecher et al., 2008). Boys and gender diverse participants selected IP as one of their top three sources of information about sex and sexuality (after peers and school, and peers and the Internet, respectively) (Allen, 2009; Scarcelli, 2014). As with previous research, this contrasts with girls' responses (Tanton et al., 2015). Unlike boys and gender diverse participants, girls

did not include IP in their top three sources of information about sex and sexuality, ranking it only sixth. Thus, boys and gender diverse youth reported turning to IP for information about sex before going to caregivers, while girls reported going to the internet in general before caregivers.

In contrast, caregivers ranked themselves *higher* as a source of education than the Internet or IP. This was especially true for female caregivers who ranked themselves as youth's primary source of information about sex and sexuality. This could reflect a gendered expectation of mothers to place themselves in this role (Jackson, 2004; Sprecher et al., 2008). Men overestimated the role that IP plays as an information source compared to youth, ranking it second after peers, with gender diverse adults ranking it first.

These discrepancies suggests a disconnect between young people and adults that may need to be evaluated when considering how to best support youth in navigating IP and igniting relevant conversations about sexuality in general, and IP specifically (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015). How young people make sense of IP and how they construct their personal sexual identities in relation to their understandings of IP may differ to adults' constructions and perceptions of young people's experiences with IP (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a). For example, caregiver communication with youth about IP not being 'real' assumes that youth are 'duped' by IP. In this way, adults position youth as unagentic and uncritical consumers of IP, despite research that suggests youth are engaging critically with this material (Goldstein, 2019; Spišák, 2017). Thus, further exploration is required of youth's sense-making practices, signaling a move in direction from harms-focused effects research towards understanding what would be meaningful and beneficial for youth in terms of support.

Understanding Gendered Patterns

Variation in understanding between the stakeholder groups also appear to reflect gendered understandings of IP, as shown by gendered patterns that map across youth and adult findings. Wider social understandings are relevant to interpreting these findings. For example, boys and gender diverse youth reported that they watched IP for sexual gratification, and this was a primary motivation for viewing IP, which corresponds with existing research that consistently reports on young men's sexual excitement in relation to IP (Coy & Horvath, 2018).

Girls listed curiosity rather than sexual gratification as their main reason for viewing IP and placed "as a way to learn about sex" third, which did not feature in the top five reasons given by boys or gender diverse youth. Such differences can be understood in relation to gendered meanings of pornography, which are underpinned by broader understandings of women's and men's sexual desire and what is considered appropriate gender behavior in sexual matters (Spišák, 2017). It is socially permissible for boys to show an interest in IP as a source of sexual pleasure, and so it was possibly easier for these participants to provide sexual gratification as their main reasons for viewing IP than their female counterparts (Tolman & McClelland, 2011). Furthermore, as some research has shown, "girls

perceive themselves as being unnatural if their desires do not revolve around boys" (Spišák, 2017, p. 368). Accordingly, the motivation of viewing IP to learn about sex and sexual acts given by girls—and not boys—may represent a socially desirable presentation of femininity. This use of IP as a learning tool for how to 'do' sex, for young girls especially, needs to be investigated further (Jackson & Scott, 2007).

Limitations

There were several limitations of the present study. Difficulty in recruiting schools to participate on research related to sex and sexuality has been experienced by other researchers in New Zealand and internationally (e.g., Baker, 2016; Stanley et al., 2018), and this research was no exception. Uptake by schools was less than anticipated; nine of the 249 schools contacted agreed to participate. Although some principals commented that the research was important and timely, they declined to participate due to apprehension about the topic, drawing young people's attention to IP, time constraints, religious ethos of the school, and other characteristics of the school population. Thus, this is not a representative study; schools that participated were invested in some way in sexuality education more broadly. Our findings do not represent the views of youth and adults from schools where there is no such investment. Thus, using schools as research sites and principals as gatekeepers, while beneficial in some respects, was also potentially problematic in that power relations were exacerbated; only young people, educators, and caregivers associated with schools who agreed to participate had the opportunity to take part. Future work that seeks to make inferences based on group and/or gender should read these results within this context, and garner perspectives from a more representative sample.

A further limitation was the missing data for two questions related to the educators' group due to a problem with the survey setup that was not detected until data collection was completed. This meant that two questions (i.e., primary educators about sex and sexuality, and primary motivation for viewing IP) could not be explored in full.

We are aware that there are issues with measurements in this field of research (Fisher & Kohut, 2020). Our questions were derived from the literature, and there are issues with that literature, just as there are issues with the use of Westernised, individual-orientated scientifically-grounded measurements/scales concerned with psychometric properties. Our research was exploratory, and our analyses were descriptive only. Hypotheses were not appropriate to the study aim, and we did not test for generalisable differences using inferential statistics given the nature of the sample. Future research that does aim to make inferences or make generalisations may wish to take a different analytical tack.

Finally, although not attended to in our research, there are documented differences in IP use not only by gender but also by sexual orientation (Bőthe et al., 2020). Future research could collect information about sexual orientation and consider how

that may influence both youth experiences as well as access to sexuality education through domains of sexual socialisation such as caregivers and educators.

Conclusion

Overall, in keeping with international and local findings, these young New Zealanders are encountering IP, intentionally or otherwise, in the early teenage years. Although caregivers and educators are aware of youth encounters with IP, there is a lack of open communication between these significant adults and young people about the topic. Additionally, there are convergences and divergences in understanding youth encounters with IP between the stakeholder groups and across genders, particularly regarding youth motivations for viewing IP and youth's primary sources of information about sex and sexuality. More in-depth research with these three stakeholder groups, especially representing a broader range of perspectives about sexuality education, would be valuable in order to unpack these synergies and discrepancies, to ultimately inform how to best support youth in navigating IP. If IP is to be accepted as a new cultural resource for youth, the next step is to explore with youth how they make sense of such a resource, and how these understandings might manifest in gendered ways based on available social discourse. Thus, further research on the socio-cultural norms that exist to shape the gendered ways in which youth engage with IP would be valuable.

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Data Availability Please contact the lead author to request access to the data.

Declarations

Competing interests The authors declare no competing interests.

Ethics Approval This research was approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application SOB 18/51. Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study, and the procedures used in this study adhere to the tenets of the Declaration of Helsinki.

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Appendix AA. Published Version of Article 4

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Using Q-Methodology to Explore Stakeholder Views about Porn Literacy Education

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Abstract

Introduction 'Porn literacy education' is emerging as a pedagogical strategy to support youth in navigating the new technological pornography landscape. However, the characteristics of effective porn literacy education according to those who will be most affected by it—young people, their caregivers and educators—is unknown. Yet, end user views are imperative to policy development in sexuality education worldwide.

Methods Using Q-methodology, the commonalities and idiosyncrasies of these stakeholder views were explored. In 2019, 30 participants recruited through nine schools in New Zealand completed an online Q sort, and 24 also took part in a follow-up interview.

Results There were two distinct discourses regarding porn literacy education among stakeholders: (i) the pragmatic response discourse and (ii) the harm mitigation discourse.

Conclusions Stakeholders hold nuanced and ideologically charged perspectives about porn literacy education and educational initiatives more generally. It is therefore important that policy caters for these different perspectives and that a 'one-size-fits-all' policy approach is acknowledged as insufficient.

Policy Implications It is crucial that policy development is guided by evidence about what constitutes effective sexuality education. The social discourses reported here are important to consider in developing policy about porn literacy education and require further research to more fully understand the potential of porn literacy as pedagogy.

Keywords Internet pornography · Porn literacy education · Q-methodology

Introduction

Internet pornography is one of the many cultural resources youth draw on to make sense of their sexual selves and is fast assuming the role of a key sexual socialisation agent for young people (Ingham, 2005; Wright, 2014). There is an unprecedented and "immediate need to equip young people with the skills, knowledge and understanding to deconstruct and reconstruct these representations in line with the reality of gender, sex, power, sexuality and respectful relationships" (Ollis, 2016a, p. 51). A relatively recent approach to steering youth through today's "sex tech nexus" (Comella & Tarrant, 2015, p. 3) is "porn literacy" education, a media literacy intervention (Albury, 2014). This approach aims to support youth in navigating and critically reflecting on Internet pornography by equipping caregivers and educators with skills to talk with young people about the representations of sex and sexuality in pornography (Albury, 2014).

Porn literacy education is emerging as a favourable alternative to other strategies, such as censorship (Buckingham & Chronaki, 2014), but is not yet widely integrated within school curricula in New Zealand or internationally. Research has highlighted the value of teaching porn literacy skills and the ways that it could be a useful addition to sexual and reproductive health curricula (Dawson et al., 2019; Hutchings, 2017; Oosterhoff et al., 2017). However, curricula and models are being developed with very little understanding of the perspectives of those who would be most affected by porn literacy education, including young people as recipients as well as caregivers (parents or guardians) and educators as potential implementers (Davis et al., 2020;

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Rothman et al., 2018). Each of these end user groups may have a particular view of porn literacy education (Cousins, 2017), and research indicates that caregivers and educators address the topic of Internet pornography with young people in diverse ways (Education Review Office, 2018; Ollis, 2016b; Rothman et al., 2017).

There is limited research on the perspectives of educators, caregivers and young people on porn literacy education (Dawson, 2019, 2020), and it is not yet understood how caregivers and educators perceive their role in porn literacy education delivery. Baker's (2016) research with British educators suggests there is support for the discussion of Internet pornography as part of sexuality education with youth in terms of highlighting the 'issues' and 'dangers' of pornography. It is understood that some educators report feeling awkward in delivering sexuality education (Alldred et al., 2003) and that unless an educator feels prepared, supported by the community and equipped with resources, classroom discussions about Internet pornography are unlikely to occur (Albury, 2013, 2018). Some caregivers consider Internet pornography to be a negative presence in the lives of youth and, like educators, support the development of educational initiatives on the topic (Baker, 2016; Dawson, 2020; Weaver et al., 2001). A Flemish survey found that over 70% of adults ($N=3543$) (although not all may have been caregivers) agreed that including material on sexually explicit content in the classroom would be a valuable opportunity for educators to discuss sexuality with youth, and that it was important to develop material to support educators with this work (Van Puyenbroeck et al., 2017). Crucially, research with young people indicates that some youth want Internet pornography to be addressed in sexuality education (Allen, 2008; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010; Pound et al., 2016). Thus, incorporating structured porn literacy education strategies that foreground the needs of youth may better support educators and caregivers in their role as sexuality educators (Albury, 2014).

Knowledge of stakeholder views can provide valuable insights for effective programme design and implementation. However, the aforementioned studies of stakeholder groups do not provide a detailed understanding of the perspectives of educators, caregivers and youth about the characteristics of effective porn literacy education. Furthermore, the lack of research on young people's perspectives reflects a more general failure to consult young people on issues related to youth sexuality (Morison & Herbert, 2019) and sexuality education (Allen, 2007b), despite their insights being crucial to the success of sexuality education initiatives (Allen, 2007a, b; Beyers, 2013). The lack of consideration of young people's perspectives motivated the inclusion of young people in this research. The present study sought to understand the views of key stakeholders about porn literacy education, and what porn literacy education might look like in practise (Albury, 2014; Dawson et al., 2019; Vandenbosch & van Oosten, 2018). Taking a unique approach, we explored the perspectives of all three end user groups (educators, caregivers and youth) using Q-methodology. This study was part of a larger mixed methods project exploring stakeholder perspectives about understanding and responding to youth encounters and engagement with Internet pornography in New Zealand (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a, b).

Method

Participants

Young people aged 16 to 18 years old, caregivers and educators were recruited from nine schools of different types (e.g. co-ed, single sex, rural, urban and from differing decile[1] groupings) to ensure a diverse range of views. Participants were first invited to participate (via the principal at their school) in an online survey about youth engagement with Internet pornography. After completing the survey, participants were asked about their interest in taking part in a Q-sort and follow-up interview. Snowballing techniques were used to recruit an additional five young people due to difficulty in recruiting student participants through the survey alone.

The online Q-sort was completed by 30 participants: 15 adults (6 men, 9 women) and 15 youth (7 boys, 8 girls) of varying ethnicities. Of these, 24 participants took part in a semi-structured follow-up interview conducted by the first author; 10 were youth (5 boys, 5 girls) and 14 were adults (6 men, 8 women) and were caregivers ($n=7$), educators ($n=1$) or both caregivers and educators ($n=6$). Table 1 provides demographic information for the participants.

Q-Methodology Overview

Q-methodology uses factor analysis along with interview data to identify factors representing a shared and coherent perspective on a topic, which we understand as a discourse. Interview data are used to interpret these perspectives (Stainton-Rogers, 1998; Watts & Stenner, 2012). Q-methodology was suited to our aims because it is expressly designed "to explore the subjective dimension of any issue towards which different points-of-view can be expressed" (Stenner et al., 2017, p. 212). It allows for a richer and more rigorous exploration of diverse opinions than traditional surveys. Rather than measuring understandings in relation to a researcher-imposed operational definition, Q-methodology

[1] In New Zealand, school deciles indicate the extent a school draws students from low socio-economic communities. Decile 1 schools have the highest proportion of students from low socio-economic communities, whereas decile 10 schools have the lowest.

Table 1 Participant details and Q-sort factor loadings

Q-sort	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Participant	School	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	36–45	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Co-ed	**0.68**	0.33
2	17	Female	NZE	Youth	Co-ed	**0.74**	0.05
3	36–45	Male	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.81**	0.22
4	46–55	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.71**	0.44
5	46–55	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	−0.19	**0.83**
6	36–45	Female	American	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.77**	0.03
7	26–35	Male	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.64**	−0.06
8	46–55	Male	NZE	Caregiver/educator	Single sex	**0.72**	−0.04
9	46–55	Female	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.72**	0.42
10	17	Male	NZE/NZM	Youth	Single sex	**0.72**	0.03
11	16	Male	NZM	Youth	Single sex	**0.73**	0.06
12	26–35	Female	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.77**	0.16
13	26–35	Male	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.79**	0.41
14	16	Female	NZE	Youth	Co-ed	−0.38	−0.03
15	16	Male	Sri Lankan	Youth	Single sex	**0.68**	0.37
16	16	Female	Not specified	Youth	Co-ed	**0.76**	0.43
17	36–45	Male	NZE	Educator	Co-ed	0.25	0.13
18	17	Female	NZE	Youth	Single sex	**0.62**	0.55
19	55+	Female	NZE	Educator	Single sex	**0.89**	0.23
20	46–55	Male	NZE	Caregiver	Co-ed	**0.79**	0.50
21	16	Male	NZE	Youth	Co-ed	0.18	**0.60**
22	16	Male	NZE/other	Youth	Co-ed	0.02	**0.88**
23	17	Female	NZE/NZM	Youth	Co-ed	**0.74**	0.29
24	46–55	Female	Asian	Caregiver/educator	Co-ed	**0.71**	0.40
25	18	Male	NZE/NZM	Youth	Single sex	0.07	**0.54**
26	18	Female	NZE	Youth	Single sex	**0.80**	0.04
27	16	Female	NZE	Youth	Single sex	**0.87**	0.19
28	36–45	Female	NZE	Caregiver	Single sex	**0.92**	0.01
29	18	Female	Irish	Youth	Single sex	**0.85**	0.26
30	18	Male	NZE/NZM	Youth	Single sex	**0.88**	0.05

New Zealand Māori (NZM) are the indigenous people of New Zealand. Pākehā (NZE) refers to New Zealanders of non-Māori/non-Polynesian heritage (Ranford, 2015). Significant factor loadings are in bold

illuminates participants' own perspectives, understandings and definitions (Kitzinger, 1999), which was of particular importance to this study. The addition of follow-up interviews adds further nuance, enabling exploration of why participants may agree or disagree with an item or to "tease out the complexities that underpin seeming polarisation" (Beckner et al., 2019, p. 1228). Given these benefits, the methodology is often used in order to explore stakeholder perspectives about complex or contested social matters, such as porn literacy education (Webler et al., 2009). We utilised this methodology as a way to "know your audience" (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 176) and to disentangle shared and differing perspectives about porn literacy education.

We used a discourse analytic approach to Q-methodology, to demarcate distinct discourses regarding porn literacy education (Mckenzie & Macleod, 2012; Stainton-Rogers, 1998). By discourse, we refer to "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events" (Burr, 2015, pp. 74–75). Following Stainton-Rogers (1998), the perspectives identified through Q-methodology are treated as discourses or sets of representations of the issue at hand (Kitzinger & Rogers, 1985).

The intention of Q-methodology is not to generalise, but rather to dig deep and identify shared understandings. This methodology accommodated an exploration of the multiple ways of constructing porn literacy education as an object of knowledge. As such, the discourses identified can be useful for informing further research directions that seek to explore the nuances and diversity of stakeholder views, considering their social context and culture (Webler et al., 2009).

Data Collection

A Q-sort involves participants arranging a set of statements about a topic (called the Q-set) into a response matrix representing a normal distribution, providing their subjective rankings of agreement and disagreement about a topic. Meaning is constructed through participant engagement with and evaluation of the statements they agree or disagree with (Mckenzie & Macleod, 2012). The Q-set comprised a set of 25 statements about porn literacy education derived from a careful review of scholarly literature and media communications (e.g. news reports; see Appendix for the list of items). It was completed online using sorting software (HtmlQ, 2019) and piloted prior to data collection which took place in February-July 2019.

All participants sorted the 25 statements along the dimension of relative dis/agreement, ensuring that every statement was allocated a place on the scale (−4 to +4) in the Q-set (see Appendix). Each participant's sorting pattern reflected their distinct perspective on the topic. Sorting patterns were then compared to determine similarities and divergences. The data for analysis comprised each participant's sorting pattern from their Q-sort and their explanatory comments from the end of the Q-sort or at follow-up interview (Stainton Rogers & Stainton Rogers, 1990; Watts & Stenner, 2012). Follow-up interviews were conducted by the first author between August and November 2019. Those who completed the Q-sort were invited to take part in an individual, in-person interview. The interviews were semi-structured and most took place on school premises during school hours. After giving informed consent, participants were reminded of the working definition of Internet pornography used in the present study: "sexually explicit material displaying genitalia with the aim of sexual arousal or fantasy" (Short et al., 2012, p. 21). Interviews took approximately 40 to 90 minutes and gave participants an opportunity to elaborate on their perspective and explain why they completed the Q-sort in a particular way (Stainton Rogers & Stainton Rogers, 1990; Watts & Stenner, 2012).

Data Analysis

Q-methodology reformulates Spearman's factor analysis method to enable the "holistic identification and rich description of a finite range of distinct viewpoints" (Stenner et al., 2017, p. 213). Completed Q-sorts were extracted from the HtmlQ sorting software and imported to a Q-method analysis programme. The programme identifies similar placements of statements using factor analysis with varimax rotation to derive factor analytic patterns (Zabala, 2014; Zabala et al., 2018). Factor solutions for each Q-sort were adopted on the basis that they provide clear factors. Q-sorts that load significantly on the same factor represent a shared understanding or perspective (Watts & Stenner, 2012; see Table 2). Thereafter, the data are considered in terms of each participant's entire pattern of response, rather than looking for individual differences item by item across participants.

Interviews "cross validate" and enhance the insights from the Q-sort in a "mutually informative" manner (Kitzinger & Rogers, 1985, p. 171). Thus, rather than analysing interviews in accordance with a structured theoretical qualitative method (e.g. narrative analysis), the factor analysis guides how the interview data are drawn on to assist with factor interpretation. We familiarised ourselves with the interview data through repetitive reading and took direction from the distinguishing and consensus statements (which indicate if each statement is of consensus or distinguishing for one or more of the factors) retrieved from the factor analysis. This allowed us to identify and unpack themes that related to underlying ideologies and cultural values which informed the discourses. This combination provides a holistic picture of each discourse and how they may relate to one another (Kitzinger, 1999).

Table 2 Factor arrays and Z-scores

	Z-scores		Factor arrays	
Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	1.26	0.70	3	2
2	−1.39	−1.79	−2	−3
3	−0.85	−0.74	−1	−2
4	1.54	0.06	4	0
5	−1.40	−1.67	−3	−3
6	−1.08	1.78	−2	3
7	0.70	0.08	1	0
8	0.88	0.70	1	2
9	0.65	0.23	1	0
10	−1.62	−1.04	−4	−2
11	−0.31	0.48	−1	1
12	−0.12	0.17	0	0
13	−0.93	−0.23	−2	−1
14	0.98	0.49	2	1
15	−0.58	−0.66	−1	−2
16	1.05	0.37	2	1
17	0.79	−0.34	1	−1
18	−0.18	0.64	0	2
19	1.45	0.03	3	0
20	0.98	0.27	2	1
21	−0.39	−0.47	−1	−1
22	0.16	−1.91	0	−4
23	0.25	−0.65	0	−1
24	−0.24	1.89	0	4
25	−1.60	1.61	−3	3

Results

The Q-methodology approach indicated two distinct overarching discourses across youth, caregivers and educators (see Tables 1 and 2). The first factor had an eigenvalue of 14.38 and explained 47.94% of the variance, while the second factor had an eigenvalue of 4.13 and explained a smaller amount of variance (13.78%). Each of these factors represents a distinct discourse in relation to porn literacy education, which we named (i) the pragmatic response discourse and (ii) the harm mitigation discourse, respectively.

The pragmatic response discourse constructs porn literacy education as essential; a pragmatic response to young people's current realities in which contact with Internet pornography is unavoidable. The heavy weighting on this discourse (47.94% of overall variance) might indicate that those supportive of porn literacy education were more interested in taking part in the study. The pragmatic response discourse was drawn on by participants of varying ages, ethnic groups and from all three end user groups, as 24 significant sorts loaded on this factor, from five educators (2 men, 3 women), three caregivers/educators (2 male, 1 female), five caregivers (1 male, 4 female) and 11 young people (7 female, 4 male) (see Table 1).

The harm mitigation discourse represents a more conservative view, in favour of censoring Internet pornography and teaching about potential harms. The data indicate that this view was held by a smaller group of participants but also includes both adult and youth views. Four significant sorts loaded on this factor, from one female caregiver aged between 46 and 55 years and three male youths (two 16-year-olds and one 18-year-old). Participants were affiliated with both co-ed and single sex schools (see Table 1).

Membership of a stakeholder group (youth, caregiver, educator) does not appear to explain the particular discourse used, as these three seemingly diverse stakeholder groups were not siloed into cohorts (Cousins, 2017). Thus, the use of a particular discourse was not shaped by age, group membership or other socio-demographic variables. We discuss each of these discourses in more detail below.

Pragmatic Response Discourse

The pragmatic response discourse was characterised by a need for open dialogue, as argued by one young woman: "These issues need to be talked about rather than hidden away from us as students" (Q-sort 27, female youth). Porn literacy education was constructed as a pragmatic response to a new social and cultural reality, something that cannot be ignored or censored. As stated by a father: "There's not much point in trying to avoid talking about Internet pornography as statistics and anecdotes from teenagers show that many are exposed from an early age no matter how censored we try to be" (Q-sort 20, male caregiver). Censorship was therefore construed as futile (#25: −3[2]), as well as conservative, judgmental and 'sex negative'. Focusing on censorship rather than education was described as "sweeping it under the rug" and thereby "furthering taboo" (Q-sort 23, female youth). As one youth participant maintained: "If it is blocked, then it will make pornography a topic that is discussed even less and make people feel bad for watching it" (Q-sort 26, female youth). Censorship was therefore constructed as potentially detrimental.

Rather, it was stated that youth should receive "critical literacy skills" (Q-sort 18, female youth) in a "non-judgemental" manner (Q-sort 15, male youth), and education about broader issues related to Internet pornography, such as racism and consent (#19: +3). For example, one mother highlighted how porn literacy should include discussions relating to: "The whole straight, straight, [*sic*] gay you know blonde woman black woman. There's a whole lot of misconceptions about sexualising women of colour, men of colour even as well, you know. Disabilities, how there's no diversity…" (Interview 3, female parent). Thus, critical engagement with Internet pornography as an academic topic and teaching about how to 'make sense of it' (#4: +4) was considered more practical than focusing on the potential negative effects and avoiding access to Internet pornography (#6: −2).

According to this discourse, delivering porn literacy education is "essential" (Q-sort 3, male caregiver/educator) and "vital" (Q-sort 11, male youth) (#1: +3). Opposition to this view was construed as conservative moral panic (#2: −2). Porn literacy was described as necessary, as one participant explained: "It is important for young people to be educated by a professional and not just figure it out alone as they may have unanswered questions or be unsure of what is wrong and right in terms of what porn portrays and the real world" (Q-sort 29, female youth). Thus, Internet pornography was constructed as something that youth are not necessarily equipped to make sense of alone (#5: +3/#1: +3) without "professional" guidance.

In terms of how and when this education might be delivered, participants constructed early intervention as ideal, with 16 years old considered "too late" (#21: −1), and 13 regarded as a more realistic and beneficial age, if not younger (#20: +2). In addition, ongoing porn literacy education was deemed necessary rather than a single session (#14: +2). In this regard, one caregiver-educator participant constructed repetition as important because "kids today do

[2] #25 refers to statement number 25 (i.e., "Our efforts should be focused on censorship (blocking and restricting access to internet pornography), rather than porn literacy education"), and −3 refers to the position of this statement on the Q-set distribution for this discourse, in the direction of strong agreement.

not remember anything if they are told just once. I can tell them the same thing every day for a week and they still don't learn it" (Q-sort 8, male caregiver/educator). Finally, porn literacy education was deemed to be best taught in schools as part of the broader sexual health agenda (#16: +2/12: 0/#10: −4), rather than an after-school programme that may prove logistically difficult to manage (#13: −2/#15: −1). School-based education as opposed to online resources (#3: −1) was construed as more equitable, given that children come from varying backgrounds where there may not be interest in engaging with these conversations (#7, #8, #9 & #17: +1). As one teacher maintained, "Some students will not get any information from home so schools should be providing it" (Q-sort 19, female educator). Concern with access further reinforced the construction of porn literacy education as essential for all young people.

However, there was also the suggestion that a preference for school may be related to the view of parent-child conversations as challenging or "uncomfortable", as one young person explained:

> So [school is] definitely a better place to have the conversation rather than, like, one-on-one with a parent or guardian. You don't want to have that conversation with your mum or dad just, like, in your bedroom at some point … That would just make you feel uncomfortable (Interview 20, male youth).

In this vein, education as part of the school curriculum—whether delivered by teachers or unknown external providers—was considered preferable to "uncomfortable" conversations between youth and caregivers. Nonetheless, young people expressed that school-based porn literacy education could potentially be "awkward" (Interview 24, male youth) and students may not be inclined to take it seriously as a result.

Thus, although schools were constructed as more appropriate sites for porn literacy education, the topic was further deemed to require "professionals" (Q-sort 7, male educator) to deliver it. Porn literacy was regarded as too sensitive for parents or possibly too much for teachers to take on (#11: −1/#18: 0). One young man commented: "Although it would be good if parents had education and educated their children, professionals would be better as it would be less awkward and students could learn properly" (Q-sort 25, male youth). Here, "professionals" are positioned as superior sex educators to parents, although there is an implication that caregivers *could* be good educators if they were equipped.

Participants assigned more responsibility to teachers or external providers as "experts" (interview 12, female caregiver) than to caregivers (#9: +1/#11: −1/#18: 0). As one mother explained, "As a parent I would think that, yes, I'd be grateful for the input of experts" (Interview 12, female caregiver), and another teacher maintained: "This would be better occurring at school where teenagers are getting consistent messages from trained professionals rather than biased learnings from parents" (Q-sort 7, male educator). Thus, youth are positioned as needing guidance and being unable to critically consume Internet pornography themselves. Parents are positioned as not expert enough and too biased. Unknown 'experts' are then talked about as being needed, which does not recognise the expertise of youth, or that teachers or parents are experts about their children. Nevertheless, parental involvement was construed as valuable (e.g. attending information sessions). As one young man stated, "I think it would help for the student to have support from the school and from the parent at the same time" (Interview 10, male youth).

In terms of content, showing images or videos of sexual interactions as part of porn literacy education was constructed as a complex issue (#22, #23, #24: 0). The ranking of statements pertaining to this idea at zero is not necessarily indicative of indifference but may reflect a tentative or curious acquiescence, with some support for the idea. However, as a young woman stated, "It's a bit taboo to show in school" (Interview 23, female youth). The legality of doing so was raised as an issue since Internet pornography is age restricted. Young people also construed being shown images or videos in school as potentially uncomfortable for them. However, rather than constructing this as out of the question, interview discussions often focused on how these resources could be implemented effectively.

Given that exposure to Internet pornography was deemed inevitable, viewing it with adult guidance was considered preferable to encountering it alone. This construction is evident in the following statement, for instance: "I think that they're going to see it anyway, so they might as well see it in a chaperoned fashion, or a curated fashion, where somebody is explaining something" (Interview 12, female parent). Here, "explaining" is deemed the rationale for viewing Internet pornography in class, resonating with the construction of youth as ill-equipped to make sense of Internet pornography alone. The proposition here is that young people will not understand content, so that implicitly an authorised adult's guidance—from an 'expert' or otherwise—needs to be provided. There was also the suggestion that viewing Internet pornography without adult guidance could be detrimental. As one participant put it: "I think that as long as it is followed by a pre-discussion and a post-discussion it is OK… You have no idea what is going on in their life and so how are you safeguarding that child so that when they come out there's support around them" (Interview 19, female caregiver/educator). Thus, in line with the support for porn literacy education, adult intervention was constructed as crucial to "safeguarding" young people.

In summary, the first discourse—a pragmatic response—represented agreement with the central premise of porn literacy education that youth should be supported in building critical analytic skills to make sense of Internet pornography. This discourse endorsed young people's critical engagement with Internet pornography, but preferably with expert guidance. Professionals were construed as less biased and uncomfortable than parents, and the most appropriate people to implement porn literacy education. Notably, this discourse supported a pragmatic stance regarding the use of sexual or pornographic imagery for educational purposes.

Harm Mitigation Discourse

The second discourse, the harm mitigation discourse, was distinguished by a more conservative approach to addressing young people's engagement with Internet pornography. It encompassed broad and varied interpretations of what porn literacy education means. Both "porn literacy skills" and a focus on "Internet pornography's negative effects" were rendered important (#1: +2/#6: +3). Nevertheless, as in the previous discourse, Internet pornography *was* constructed as requiring adult attention and intervention. Internet pornography was deemed an important topic for sexuality education. As in the previous discourse, education was constructed as needing to be integrated and ongoing (#13: −1/#14: +1/#16: +1) from an early age (13 rather than 16 years) (#21: −1/#20: +1) and delivered by adults (#2: −3/#5: −3/#3: −2). Even those who positioned themselves as anti-pornography for religious reasons constructed education about Internet pornography as necessary. Again, this could reflect that those who agreed to take part believed that intervention is required, but using a different approach than outlined in the first discourse.

This discourse was characterised by different understandings to the previous discourse as to what should be taught, who should teach it and why such education is needed. While schools were described as a place that could offer support, caregivers were positioned as ultimately responsible for delivering porn literacy education (#11: +1/#18: +2/#8: +2), rather than the school, government (#10: −2/#11: +1/#12: 0/#15: −2/#18: +2), teachers or external providers (#7: 0/#9: 0/#17: −1). Caregivers would therefore decide on the content delivered and potentially keep discussions in line with their values and belief system. For some, the family unit was depicted as preferable to school-based delivery, if the familial relationship is open and valued.

In terms of the content of porn literacy education, this discourse was explicitly focused on the negative effects of Internet pornography viewing. Unlike the previous discourse, broader issues like racism, sex work, sense-making about Internet pornography were not considered to be as pertinent (#4: 0/#6: +3/#19: 0). The following explanation from a young person illustrates how the need for focusing on harm was constructed:

> Pornography has numerous harmful effects and ignoring these is invalidating of both those who are addicted and the trauma the actors endure. Pornography is known to wreck relationships, cause addiction, low mental health and it causes physical harm to the actors. For one to say porn is ok is to say that violence, addiction and ill mental health is also ok (Q-sort 22, male youth).

Here, a psychological discourse of "addiction" and "trauma" is drawn on. An implicit appeal is made to evidence of harmful consequences—not only to the viewer but also the performers—which are constructed as "known". A moral argument is mobilised, as condoning pornography is construed as tantamount to accepting its "known" "harmful effects".

In addition to an explicit focus on harm, advocacy of censorship was a key aspect of this discourse, including education about how to self-censor Internet pornography viewing (#6: +3/#25: +3). The idea of utilising sexual images or videos as part of porn literacy education as educational resources was strongly rejected (#24: +4/#22: −4/#23: −1): "There is no such thing as healthy pornography. Because imagery and videos are part of the problem and images could serve to reinforce an opposite message to what is being discussed" (Q-sort 5, female caregiver). Accordingly, Internet pornography was rendered inherently problematic. Cause-effect rhetoric was invoked to maintain that the implicit unhealthy effects of pornography would override the educator's "message". From this harms-based perspective, viewing sexual images or videos (even with adult guidance) was constructed as leading to potential harm:

> I know for myself and for other guys we try and like limit the amount of sexual content we see… because stuff like that is an addiction. The last thing personally I would want to do is provide material that while it might not fuel most people's arousal, it could fuel this one person's addiction (Interview 13, male youth).

In this instance, Internet pornography was constructed as "triggering" and addictive, so that showing such material was rendered dangerous. Instead, participants argued that alternative modes of visualisation (e.g. drawings, cartoons, scientific illustrations) could be used that were more appropriate.

The construction of pornography as inherently harmful, and thus dangerous, does not allow for the pragmatic response of viewing Internet pornography with adult guidance endorsed by the previous discourse. Rather, censorship—in conjunction with self-regulation and

self-control—was constructed as a valuable outcome to be instilled by any intervention. One participant explained that: "One of the best things I've found with young people with porn is accountability. If you've got someone who's going to text you 'Hey how's the week going? You watch porn? You masturbate? You done anything like that?', you're a lot less likely to do it than if it was just like "freedom!" (Interview 13, male youth). In this way, both watching Internet pornography and masturbation were constructed as undesirable activities to abstain from and be held "accountable" for.

Thus, the harm mitigation discourse was focused on protection and self-regulation. Intervention was construed as most appropriately involving (i) restricting access to pornography, (ii) educating young people about its inherent dangers, and (iii) encouraging them to avoid it. Caregivers were positioned as the most trusted adults responsible for this task. This view was underwritten by moral arguments that appeal to the privacy and sanctity of the family and the need for caregivers to safeguard the values and beliefs of their families, a task that cannot be trusted to outsiders. This discourse constructed youth sexuality as risky, making youth vulnerable to potential violence, victimisation and thwarted sexual morals (Bay-Cheng, 2003). It therefore supports the view that youth should be shielded from explicit or pornographic material, even for educational purposes, with a strong opposition to educational visual displays of 'healthy pornography' or 'healthy consensual sex'.

Discussion

We explored perspectives about porn literacy education delivery to young people in New Zealand, uniquely drawing from the three end user groups of youth, caregivers and educators. We identified two discourses which represent two distinct ways that porn literacy education was constructed by stakeholders. Many stakeholders, including young people, constructed porn literacy education as a valuable endeavour for supporting youth to make sense of Internet pornography. This common construction was evidenced by parallels between the "opinion domain" drawn on to formulate the Q-set and the interviews with participants (Watts & Stenner, 2012, p. 58). Overall, participants supported the introduction of the topic of Internet pornography in sexuality education. A concern with how young people may be affected by pornography was common to both discourses, though decidedly more pronounced in the harm mitigation discourse.

The impact of pornography on young people is a complex issue that requires further study, and additional research is required to explicitly understand the potential influence of pornography on the sexual socialisation of younger people (Wright, 2014). Fear-based news reporting overwhelmingly portrays Internet pornography as dangerous, addictive and the cause of a range of negative effects (Albury, 2013). Young people are considered especially vulnerable due to the common construction of childhood as a time of innocence and sexual dormancy, which historically renders youth asexual until they are deemed mature enough to be sexual (Spišák, 2016). According to this construction, childhood innocence must be protected, and youth kept from sexual corruption and "prematurely" engaging in sexual activities such as viewing pornography. In this way, adult surveillance and intervention are justified (Buckingham & Bragg, 2003; Egan, 2013).

Based on this shared construction of youth sexuality and the associated concern about young people's welfare, both discourses support adult intervention at an early age (as indicated by consensus statements 2, 3, 5 and 14). Nevertheless, there were significant differences regarding *how* to intervene. The positions supported by the two discourses were differentiated by (i) whose responsibility it is to educate young people about Internet pornography (indicated by significantly distinguishable statements 5, 7, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19 and 25), (ii) whether the key message should be about negative effects or critical engagement and (iii) the role of censorship (indicated by significantly distinguishable statements 22, 23 and 24).

In line with previous literature, this study indicates how some stakeholders view porn literacy education as a way to fundamentally address the shame associated with viewing Internet pornography and to encourage young people's critical thinking regarding pornography as a social construct and socialising agent (Goldstein, 2019). For others, porn literacy education is seen as a harm-reduction technique which aims to teach youth about the potential dangers of pornography (Rothman et al., 2018). These diverging views correspond with emerging scholarly approaches to porn literacy education based on underlying understandings of youth, particularly youth a/sexuality (Albury, 2018; Byron et al., 2020; Goldstein, 2021).

Implications

In response to the interplay between Internet pornography and young people's sexual socialisation, it has been suggested that developing sound, evidence-based educational policy would be a valuable next step (Albury, 2014; Smith, 2013). To that end, stakeholder engagement is critical to developing and implementing policy on porn literacy education (Baker, 2016; Ollis, 2016a, b). Currently, there is insufficient research on end user perspectives to support evidence-based policy and practice for the development of such curricula (Albury, 2014; Dawson, 2020), which we sought to address. Our research demonstrates that perspectives of porn literacy education are not associated with membership of a

stakeholder group (youth, caregivers or educators). Rather, participants from across the three stakeholder groups drew on each of the two discourses. This implies that both youth and adults consider Internet pornography's role in young people's sexual socialisation needs to be addressed. Focusing on this commonality as a starting point may be a useful first step in accommodating diverging views about porn literacy education.

In line with the common construction of the need to address Internet pornography, our findings also show that stakeholders, including young people, emphasise a need for adult-led, top-down guidance. This approach is premised on the construction of young people as naïve and emotionally unequipped to navigate Internet pornography independently. In the absence of sufficient research on youths' needs regarding porn literacy education, along with widespread societal 'moral panic' related to the effects of Internet pornography on young people, there is a risk that sexuality education policy and curricula may be developed in response to concerns motivated by this dominant harms-based narrative. Indeed, emerging solutions to technological changes are often based on dominant cultural and popular narratives and are frequently built on regulation and restriction (Moore & Reynolds, 2017).

This dominant taken-for-granted assumption about youth as uncritical and naïve viewers of Internet pornography needs to be challenged in order to move away from a deficit view of youth sexuality towards a more empowering view. An empowering view potentially allows for more purposeful and productive conversations about sex and sexuality than risk and harm-focused responses, which youth frequently experience as patronising and irrelevant (Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015, 2017). For example, sexuality education that takes a dialogic approach rather than an adult-centred one engages young people as sexual subjects in interactive and non-linear discussion, generating curiosity about and engagement with complex topics like Internet pornography. Such an approach, with its more complex and empowering view of youth sexuality, has been found to be more productive than a harms-focused, adult-centred approach to sexuality education (Allen, 2005; Goldstein, 2021; Jearey-Graham & Macleod, 2015, 2017).

Effective approaches to sexuality education and health promotion thus require a shift from a "focus on 'what porn does to young people' [to] … what young people do with porn – and why" (Albury, 2018, p. 107). Indeed, recent research indicates that youth are more readily able to reflect on and reflexively navigate Internet pornography than is typically assumed in public discussion (Goldstein, 2019; Healy-Cullen et al., 2021a; Löfgren-Mårtenson & Månsson, 2010). More context-sensitive research on young people's digital media practices and sense-making is needed to highlight the specificities of youth engagement with Internet pornography (Goldstein, 2019; Spišák, 2016).

Given the nuanced and ideologically charged perspectives that our study has highlighted, it is quite possible that there will be some parties who do not agree with educational interventions that are developed, even if they are evidence-based. It is important that policy acknowledges that a 'one-size-fits-all' approach may be unsuitable as it would not account for different perspectives. A more accommodating approach, for example, might allow for parents to 'opt out' youth in their care who are under 16 from certain sexuality education sessions on religious grounds, or a young person older than 16 years could make this decision themselves (Sex Education Forum, 2021).

Finally, policy makers should consider how to account for the varied perspectives that we identified when devising optimal intervention strategies. Future research regarding educational policy related to Internet pornography could consider alternative approaches that may align and unite educators, caregivers and youth, rather than further polarise end user groups. In considering different perspectives about who should deliver porn literacy education (e.g. public service departments, or family), and what kind of response may be most desirable (e.g. pragmatic or harm mitigation), a suite of resources grounded in sexual ethics and sexual citizenship could prove useful if made available for end users (Lamb & Randazzo, 2016; Macleod & Vincent, 2014). Such an approach could reduce tensions between opposing views, as it shifts focus away from the individual responsibility of the educator or caregiver to "teach" in a didactic way about Internet pornography, to a dialogical approach that considers Internet pornography as an object of enquiry within a socio-historical and ethical context. By drawing on an ethically orientated pedagogical approach to pornography, it is possible to discuss Internet pornography as a pleasure technology while concurrently reflecting on how it can recreate unhelpful portrayals across racial, sexual and socio-economic lines (Goldstein, 2019). Such an approach may be a less polarising position to take for the future of policy development, because it shifts focus away from the 'harmful effects/no harmful effects' debate. Rather, discussions turn to sexually ethical practices that encourage care of the self but also care of others (Goldstein, 2019; Macleod & Vincent, 2014).

Limitations

There were some limitations to this research. Notably, the implications of definitional uncertainty regarding porn literacy were apparent in, for example, the second discourse, where participants valued both porn literacy education delivery *and* teaching about negative effects/avoidance. On reflection, this may have been exacerbated by the use of double barrelled items in the Q-sort (see Appendix). This contradictory position is also reflective of developments in

the academic field of porn literacy education (Byron et al., 2020). Albury (2014, 2018) notes that, on account of varying ideologies, some teaching may stem from an inoculation framework, while other approaches centring around ethical erotics are beginning to transpire. Thus, it may have been the case that participants held different understandings as to what is meant by 'porn literacy' and what it means to be 'porn literate' (Healy-Cullen et al., 2021b). Definitional clarity is important to consider when evaluating these results and communicating about the topic in future research.

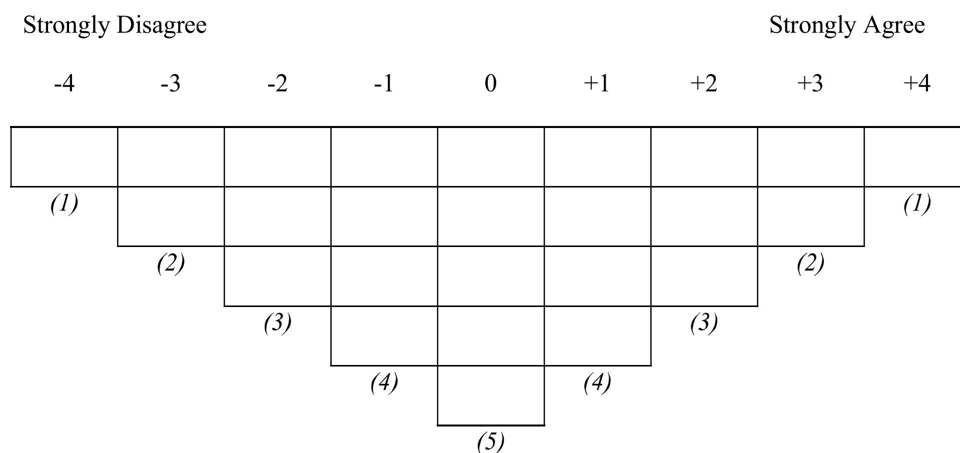
Conclusion

Porn literacy education is one pedagogical strategy currently being considered in New Zealand and internationally in response to youth engagement with Internet pornography. Thus, impending decisions regarding policy have global implications for sexuality education (Albury, 2014; Office of Film & Literature Classification, 2018). An important step in further exploration of this topic is understanding how the discourses outlined in this study may hinder or enable forward-thinking conversations regarding porn literacy education. Exploring how these discourses work to influence policy related to educational initiatives would be valuable in future research. In particular, there is scope for using a critical lens when considering how these discourses position youth as uncritical consumers of Internet pornography and passive 'receivers' of didactic teachings on porn literacy education (Chronaki, 2013, 2019; Goldstein, 2019). To this end, it is crucial that the youth voice is foregrounded alongside other stakeholders in future research that considers the potential for porn literacy as pedagogy.

Appendix

Q Set Distribution and Items

1. Porn literacy education is needed, and young people should be taught porn literacy skills.
2. There is no need for porn literacy education; this suggestion is just a reaction to a societal moral panic.
3. Young people do not need porn literacy education; they just need good online resources/platforms with information about internet pornography.
4. Since Internet pornography is here to stay, young people should be taught how to make sense of it, and the messages it delivers.
5. Porn literacy education is a waste of time; it is just something that young people figure out themselves as they get older.
6. Young people should just be taught about Internet pornography's negative effects, and how to avoid Internet pornography online.
7. School teachers should receive training on how to deliver porn literacy education to young people in schools.
8. Both parents/guardians and school teachers should to be trained to deliver porn literacy education to young people.
9. External providers should be brought in to schools to deliver porn literacy training to young people.
10. Schools should not be teaching anything to young people about Internet pornography
11. Parents/guardians should be provided with training to help them understand and talk about porn literacy with young people in their care, rather than leaving it to educators.
12. Porn literacy education should be separate to sexuality education, and should be delivered as a stand-alone programme by schools.
13. Porn literacy should be a once off session delivered by an external body, at some stage during secondary school.
14. Porn literacy education should be taught on an ongoing basis throughout the secondary school years.



15. Porn literacy education should be run as an after school programme delivered over a number of weeks, at some stage during secondary school.
16. Porn literacy education should be integrated as part of the sexuality education curriculum in secondary schools.
17. Ultimately, it should be the responsibility of the ministry of education to ensure young people receive porn literacy education as part of their sexuality education.
18. Ultimately, it should be the responsibility of parents/guardians to ensure young people receive porn literacy education as part of their sexuality education.
19. Porn literacy should be used as a platform for talking about bigger issues like consent, racism and sex work.
20. Porn literacy should be taught from the age of 13.
21. Porn literacy should be taught from the age of 16.
22. Showing 'healthy pornography' videos in classrooms could be a useful educational tool.
23. Showing photos of healthy consensual sex could be a useful educational tool.
24. I do not think imagery or videos need to be shown as part of porn literacy education or sexuality education, but I do think we need to talk about the imagery and videos.
25. Our efforts should be focused on censorship (blocking and restricting access to Internet pornography), rather than porn literacy education.

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Data Availability Please contact the lead author to request access to the data.

Declarations

Ethics Declarations This research was approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee on 27th September 2018 (SOB 18/51). Informed consent was obtained from all individual participants included in the study, and the procedures used in this study adhere to the tenets of the Declaration of Helsinki.

Competing Interests The authors declare no competing interests.

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