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Lesbian Pornography — A New View of Women's Sexuality.

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# Contents

Chapter 1. Contextualising Pornography

Introduction ................................................................. 1

History of the Pornography Debate .......................... 4

Pornography—What Is It? ......................................... 10

Erotica Vs Pornography ........................................... 13

Value And Society .................................................. 15

Is Pornography Only For Men ................................. 18

Chapter 2. The Major Critics in the Pornography Debate

The Pornography Debates ......................................... 19

Chapter 3. Contemporary Theorisations about Pornography

The Value of Pornography ........................................ 29

Women's Sexuality .................................................. 33

Essentialism and Construction of Sex ....................... 36

Men are Victims of Pornography Too? ....................... 40

Theoretical Standpoints and the Analysis of Sex and Gender 43

Who is the Subject? .................................................. 46

Identity Politics ....................................................... 49

Film Theory and Representation ............................. 53

Sexuality and Pornography ...................................... 56

Chapter 4 Lesbianism and The Sexuality Debates

The Lesbian Response ............................................. 59

Lesbian Sexuality ..................................................... 61

Political Lesbianism ................................................. 64

The Invisibility of the Lesbian ................................. 65
Chapter 5. Lesbians and Pornography .......................................................... 68
  Lesbians Talk pornography ........................................................................ 68
  Lesbian Sexual Images ............................................................................ 77
  Women and Control .................................................................................. 79
  Women as Visual ....................................................................................... 82
  Women as Passive ..................................................................................... 85
  Women Using Sex Toys ............................................................................ 86
  Women as Strong ....................................................................................... 88
  Women Wanting /Desire .......................................................................... 89
  Women Wanting Multiple Partners ......................................................... 91
  Lesbian Sadomasochism ......................................................................... 92

Chapter 6 Sexuality, Sex and Sex Education ............................................. 98
  Sexuality and Education .......................................................................... 98
  Current Discourses in Sex Education ....................................................... 103
  Women and Sexuality ............................................................................. 111
  Implications of Lesbian Pornography ..................................................... 113
  Fine Missing Discourse of Desire ............................................................ 117
  Sexuality not Reproduction Education ................................................... 121
  How is Pornography Relevant? - Implications ...................................... 122
  What Does the Future Hold? ................................................................. 123
  References .............................................................................................. 126
Chapter 1:
Contextualising Pornography

Introduction

All things are sexist! Pornography is sexist, books are sexist, magazines are sexist. For many historical reasons, there is this fear of sex—in women. (Juno & Acker, 1991, pp. 177)

For Kathy Acker sexism exists in all aspects of women's life. This stems for Acker and others from a fear of sex and sexuality, especially women's sexual expression. Acker claims that it was a brave and positive move when women started to produce their own pornographic material. Acker provides a position about pornography that is one of the various 'voices' that are part of the debate around pornography. The issue of sexually explicit material and access to such images continues to be discussed politically, legally and theoretically. I intend to discuss the major issues surrounding the pornography debate, while comparing this with actual video material. I will show that pornography can provide positive illustrations of women's sexual expression, and that this imagery is valuable to a developing sexual consciousness for women. I also feel that such positive images have an important contribution to the way we frame and teach sexuality education to young adults. It is possible to use these images as an example of sexual
expression for young women which provides empowerment and context for exploration about female desire and sexuality.

Within New Zealand there has been a resurgence of the debate about the appropriateness of censorship in relation to pornographic material, especially in reference to material located on the Internet. One of the underlying facets of the debate is how male sexuality and patriarchy relate to pornography. Feminists involved in the debate have tried to theorise the way in which pornography impacts on the construction of women and their sexuality, and on sexual expression in general. Within the last decade there has been an expansion in erotica and sexually explicit visual material directed at women. More recently there has been an increase of lesbian produced and/or targeted pornography. This latter fact throws into question many of the previous assumptions and criticisms of pornography and sexually explicit material. Can sexually explicit material be produced in a way that represents positive sexuality for women? Could such material be utilised to impact positively on young women's lives. Does the occurrence of women targeted pornography invalidate previous criticisms in relation to sex and sexual difference between men and women. In addition does occurrence of lesbian and female targeted pornography also subvert the previous conceptions of pornography.

On addressing these questions I will argue that lesbian pornography can be viewed as a site for exploration of lesbian sexuality and that this in turn has implications for the construction and expression of women's sexuality. A lesbian perspective offers a unique look at sexuality that is conceivably 'least' affected by patriarchy and by current socially defined sexual practice
and expression. I believe this perspective offers a more accurate view of women's wants, desires and needs in sexual encounters. Using this analysis I intend to address the issue of sex education and how we can acknowledge and represent women's sexual experience. The implication is that if women define for themselves a 'sexual reality', then they will no longer be subject to the patriarchal constructions that bind them and help maintain the status quo. Only when women are empowered can they begin to impact on the subjugation of their lived experience. To argue this I must address certain factors involved with the debate of women, gender and sexuality. These issues include the history of the pornography debate, feminist analysis of gender and sexuality, political factors within feminism, lesbian history and critiques, identity politics and representation theory.

This will lead to an analysis of currently available pornography. I will attempt to show that these images have not been previously encountered in mainstream pornography. I will refer to that material that is targeted to a lesbian audience as 'lesbian pornography'. In my final discussion I will look at the way that this can be viewed as aspects of women's sexuality and what this means for sexuality and sex education.

Feminist theory has attempted to address gender inequities within patriarchy. This has been presented as an analysis of gender relations that include the way that men and women relate, the underlying social influences, and the nature of the difference between men and women sexually. Inclusive within the discussions on sexuality has been the analysis and discussion about sexually explicit material.
The debate surrounding pornography has hinged on the fact that historically pornography was created by men for men, and thus was based on male conceptions about desirable sexual encounters for men. What can this mean in the light of female produced erotica and lesbian pornography? At the very least, this female/lesbian type of material questions the current societal assumptions of roles, visibility, diversity of sexual practice, intimacy and desirable sexual encounters for women. Previous arguments have stated that male produced pornography uses lesbian scenes within heterosexual pornography and that lesbian pornography is just a mirror of the established genus. I shall argue that this is not the case, and that lesbian pornography provides women with a 'safe site' in which to establish female sexuality in a way not previously explored or available to women. This site should be viewed as a positive action for women and indeed a significant advance for theory and practice of sexuality in women's lives.

History of the Pornography Debate

Pornography or sexually explicit material has been restricted legally for various reasons throughout history. One of the more prominent attempts at classifying what material could be considered explicit was in the early nineteen hundreds. The United States post office's Washington censors had to distinguish between what was considered obscene from the merely sexual in books and magazines, by using definitional case law that was vague and uncertain. This type of legal definition was used to ban or censor mail that was both explicit and specific and as such nudist and the likes of an illustrated edition of Aristophanes Lysistrata were seized. It was not until a
landmark case of law in April 1954 occurred, that the Supreme Court openly addressed itself to the problem of obscenity. (de Grasia, 1991)

However what we now come to associate with the pornography debate involves many factions. Some of the main commentators are feminist groups, liberals, religious groups and various agencies such as police, judiciary, and social services. The most prominent groups are 'feminists against pornography' on one side and civil libertarians and 'feminists against censorship' on the other. Recently there has also been an upsurge in those who support pornography. Pornography as a feminist issue is important for a variety of reasons, and there was a certain historical context under which it came to be considered as such.

The current arguments used in the debate about pornography arose out of the second wave of feminism. This second wave asserted the belief that societal values are based on patriarchy, and that this belief structure devalues women and all things associated with female characteristics and experience. Patriarchy, thus treats women as inferior to men. This, feminism held, was unfair and women should be regarded as equal and valuable in our society.

K. Lentz (1993) states that the pornography issue served to popularise feminism; it created a visible talking point that men and women could converse on and usually had an opinion about. This helped to make feminist issues more accessible to the general population without being steeped in academic jargon and theories. While this was important in
gaining recognition amongst the public for the feminist cause, it simultaneously fragmented feminist thought.

The pornography debates did polarise their feminist participants into two general groups: roughly speaking these can be designated as "women against pornography" and 'feminists against censorship' (a group which advocates an attention to both pleasure and danger). These two groups generated two particular discursive strategies over a long period of time which have now come to inform the issue of women and guns. (Lentz, 1993, pp. 389)

Lentz also notes that many of the anti-pornography groups grew directly from the anti-rape movement, these feminist groups formulated the link between pornography and harm to women. This upsurge in feminist interest in pornography...

...came at a time when the unity of the women's movement was in question. Interpretation of the pornography industry's growth as a direct backlash against the claims of feminism helped to mobilise a newly unified voice within the women's movement. (Ross, 1993, pp. 234)

All this debate started in the late 70's and coincided with new attitudes about sex, gender and sexuality. At this point, feminism was distinguishing between the biological and social aspects of gender. Feminists have had success over the past 15 years in setting the agenda for discourse about sex and gender
(Cameron, 1990) This provided a unique way to view gender within our society. This feminist analysis used a theoretical starting point which claims that women are subordinate to men within society, and that this subordination is wrong. This view of gender as a social construct, is quite distinct from the kinds of definitions and distinctions that come from conservatives and liberals. (Cameron, 1990). Here the term 'gender' had been used by feminists to "emphasise the social shaping of femininity and masculinity." (Jackson & Scott, 1996, pp. 2). This challenged the notion the men and women are different due to natural or biological differences that transfer into behaviours. Thus feminist groups instigated a divide that distinguished between gender and sexuality, and questioned biological explanations of sexual activity, and by default the phenomena of pornography.

The central ideas of these two sides will be discussed further in subsequent chapters, however the anti-pornography debate took the main direction that pornography was about the degradation of women and further contributed to oppression and subjugation of women. Pornography was seen by some as being part of a wider conspiracy to maintain control over women. Radical feminists linked this together with their particular analysis of sex, gender and sexual behaviours. Hunt (1990) discusses the fact that ...

in recent years this wing of the movement has decisively abandoned broader, more complex analyses of oppression and exploitation for the arguments that the specifically sexual victimisation of women constitutes the basis upon which the entire system of male supremacy (and by extension all other oppression is constructed. (Hunt, 1990, pp 37)
This type of analysis lead to the rise of prominent and radical feminist voices such as Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin. These two feminists largely influenced the 1992 Canadian Obscenity law, with their primary argument being that pornography ‘violates women’s civil rights’. (Findlay, 1993, pp 140). For many the real success of the obscenity law was the fact that feminist concerns were being heard and could influence public policy and law.

While the pornography debate continues today, some of the main commentators are changing. Historically it was feminists and family values groups pitted against free speech spokespersons. In the nineties we are seeing actual pro-pornography activists for example Sally Tisdale, Susie Bright, ex-pornography workers like Annie sprinkle and Candida Royalle. As well as those currently working in the porn and sex industries.

The debates previously consisted of the anti-pornography theme of ‘pornography subjugating women’ vs non-censorship. Now there is wider issues such as sexual expression and the construction of sexuality, representation of different cultural and identity groups, and pornography as an artistic fantasy expression. The rise in ‘lesbian pornography’ is part of this sexual exploration and for some is an attempt to eroticise the political, by redefining women as a sexual subject. Therefore a deliberate attempt has been made to explore and express alternative and positive sexual images, and even challenging images that attempt to break down the preconceived notions of appropriate sexual expression.
The pornography industry itself has also responded to the discussions, and claims to protect and secure its right to produce material that people want. This is probably due to the fact that the pornography industry is a booming business. The amount of money invested and spent on pornography is ever increasing, in fact in 1994 in the San Ferando Valley where the majority of porn producers are based, a staggering 3000 movies worth $US 2.5 billion were churned out. (Pearson, 1995) There is also a variety of groups including academic and commercial groups who now are involved in the debate, with particular interest in freedom of expression and the Internet. This has arisen because of publicity surrounding the accessibility of pornography and sexually explicit images and text that exist on the Internet.

It has to be asked why, if pornography is all that radical feminists state it is, it is so popular, and why have various research results have found that over 40% of purchasers and consumers are women. The probable radical feminist response would be that the above phenomena is an example of patriarchy at work and that women are merely experiencing false consciousness, by taking part in their own construction of subjugation by being led to believe that viewing pornography is what they want. I do not accept this viewpoint and think that pornography is a positive but complex phenomena that needs exploration. Still however the overwhelming focus of the pornography debates remains how pornography portrays women, and if this is harmful to both women and society.

Historically pornography was discussed in respect to obscene material and harm. Thus many of the standards were set in legal contexts, and in relation to societal attitudes and beliefs. These standards were subject to change over
time as attitudes shifted, generating a considerable change in the way we view, discuss and represent sex. Therefore many of the discussions on pornography are focused on the legal aspects of obscenity and protection of people. Prior legislation already existed that dealt with such issues as child involvement in sexual act/s, exploitation of children, the age of consent for sexual involvement, and legal consent required for publication of material. Thus debates about pornography tend to centre on issues of discrimination, harm and censorship, and citizenship matters.

Steven Grey (1988) notes that much publicity has focused on the radical feminist and conservative stance and their apparent common ground. The first is that pornography is socially dysfunctional, and as such not worthy of protection, especially protection from the American 'first amendment' policy where much of the debate centres. Secondly that pornography is not considered communication of any sort and is more often "categorised as a sex aid, or sex discrimination but dismisses the notion that pornographic expression transmits ideas" (Grey, 1988, pp 1564).

**Pornography—What Is It?**

With the discussion of pornography basic definitional issues arise. Here I shall outline some of the contentious issues surrounding the use of the term 'pornography'.
A very basic definition will usually state that pornography is the public display or representation (written, oral or visual) of sexually explicit material. However, this type of definition does not seem to be consistent with many of the commentators. Many of those that write about pornography fail to define what they deem as inclusive within this category. This may be deliberate, as drawing the boundaries between many of the sexually explicit material is difficult and for some, relies on individual evaluations. As an example, many of the radical feminists believe that all material that represents sexual intercourse is pornographic, because heterosexual copulation is the eroticisation of dominance and subordination, (and homosexuality merely mimics the power relations of heterosexuality). This type of definition is usually termed 'programmatic' meaning that the definition is related to a particular ideology and associated with the intention to change accepted usage and therefore behaviour, and thinking. (Scheffler, 1960) Thus when radical feminists adopt this definition, they are trying to instigate a change in the common usage of the word. However as mentioned many of the writers do not stipulate their own definition when writing in this area, which can pose problems for those reading this material. In addition it means that the reader must be aware that they may not share the same understanding of the phenomena as the writer. This type of problem of definitions is evident especially in the discussion about the pornography and erotica distinction, where for some writers, such as the radical feminists there can be no non-violent sexual representation.

In addition many writers and researchers treat pornography as a relatively new phenomenon, in spite of the fact that sexually explicit material has existed for a considerable amount of time. This I feel is due largely to the rise
of sexually explicit material available on film and home rental video. It is important to keep in mind that pornography can consist of pictures, literature caricatures cartoons, stories, limericks music, or video/movie and audiovisual material.

Many researchers also claim that videos and movies have created an increase in pornography. However it is possible that the video market has merely provided a medium that lends itself to traceability, as we can measure and document the number of movies made, the number rented and brought and the type and amount of pornography produced as determined by market demand. It is probable that before the video era, books, magazines and pictures would have been retained, circulated among others and required actual purchasing by the consumer. Thus a realistic estimate of use would have been very difficult to ascertain.

Increased participation by feminists within the pornography debate has meant more sophisticated analysis and discussion. Previously pornography may only have been seen as depictions of sexual acts or naked people. Now however there are various discussions that talk of concepts such as misogyny, patriarchal power relations and violence, and how these are deemed as inherent in pornography, and sexual interactions. With this inquiry by feminists, the definitions of pornography have also become more sophisticated. Gloria Steinem's definition, for example is an oppositional definition where she defines pornography in opposition to erotica, claiming that pornography is masculine and erotica feminine.
Erotica Vs Pornography

Within common usage the term 'erotica' usually refers to less explicit sexual material, this distinction however is not agreed with by all. Ross (1993) discusses the rise of the distinction between pornography and erotica. Gloria Steinem first advanced this distinction in 1978, and it since has become an influential benchmark in the resulting feminist debate. Adoption of this distinction largely has transformed theoretical practices around pornography. 'Erotica' as a defining label was proposed by Steinem and others' as a women's alternative to masculine pornography. Erotica has been defined as material that represents traditionally 'feminine' qualities like tenderness, softness, wholeness, sentiment, sensuality and passion. 'Erotica is about sexuality, but pornography is about power and sex-as-weapon,' wrote Steinem. (Ross, 1993, pp.232)

While many people have and continue to use the term 'erotica' to distinguish various levels of sexually explicit material from pornography eg. Sally Tisdale, there are a growing number of researchers and commentators who dismiss this distinction. They claim either that the category is useless or they use both pornography and erotica interchangeably.

Anti-censorship feminists who are sceptical of Steinem's distinction point out that this new definition of erotica as a more acceptable sexual representation, rested upon a utopian orthodoxy of 'good sex'. Ross (1993) cites Ellen Wills and Ann Snitow, as critics of this notion, saying that it represents female sexuality as 'goody-goody ladylike activity' and lacking any
'wayward desire'. Thus limiting and prescriptive, yet again, of women's sexuality. Gayle Rubin, perhaps with the best descriptors, "criticised the erotic chauvinism of the 'erotica' model — calling it the missionary position of the women's movement" — because of its exclusion of a whole range of sexual variations. (Ross, 1993, pp 232)

Cynthia Toolin (1983), identifies issues in relation to the feminist class of erotica, which to many is just a facet of pornography. She feels, as do other writers, that many definitions attempt to place erotica in a higher class of sexual explicitness than male pornography. This attempt to create a boundary between erotica and pornography, seems merely to be an attempt at separation of positive and negative sexual stimuli.

This concern with definition has been fostered by the belief that there is a presumed causal relationship between viewing sexually explicit materials and the commitment of violence against women. The importance of definition is asserted when feminists want to eliminate, or at least control, violence against women through the censorship of pornography. (Toolin, 1983, pp 167)

The theme that pornography is inherently violent and encourages the subjugation of women has been widely theorised. In order to make a case for banning pornography most censorship lobbyists must have a definition of pornography that is negative. Toolin cites two authors who define pornography in these ways,
Brownmiller (1975) said pornography is ugly smut or the deliberate devaluation of the role of women through obscene, distorted depictions...Yeaman's (1980) referred to it as any use of the media which equates sex with violence. (Toolin, 1983, pp. 167)

Toolin explains that many definitions only tell us that pornography has something to do with sex and that it is negative. Toolin claims that there is no definitive link shown between pornography and violence, and that many feminists who do believe that there is a link, would not claim this link is an overt one. Thus some feminists want censorship to eliminate one of the presumed causes of violence against women. "Yeaman's (1980) points out that feminists are not opposed to the portrayal of sex in the media, but are opposed to the actual violence against women which that portrayal encourages." (Toolin, 1983, pp. 168). However Toolin and Feminists for Free Expression have stated that there is no direct evidence for the link of violence and pornography. (Britton, Maguire & Nathanson, 1997).

Value And Society

There has also been arguments that pornography can only be banned if it does not offer any benefit to society, thus if there is no socially redeeming value. To ascertain whether pornography can be considered of benefit or have value within society, many researchers discuss whether it can be
considered art. This leads to a discussion of the properties of art, and commonly we agree that most art contributes something to society, or has a 'socially redeeming value'. As a standard argument some writers raise the issue of historical sexually explicit material such as *Kama Sutra*, which is not usually considered to be a form of pornography. However when examined, it has many features that are consistent with pornography, such as explicit images of sexual acts, it contains written and visual representation of genitals and the entire book is about sexual behaviours and acts. The intention of the *Kama Sutra* is to improve and instruct people in how to intensify sexual behaviours, and pleasure.

Pornography has been classified by some writers as art in an attempt to validate its existence. Andrew Ross (1993) addresses this point when he suggests that it makes little sense to treat pornography as if it were a realist text, for this tends to discount the work of fantasy that is more directly brought into play during the viewing and use of pornography. (Ross, 1993, pp. 240).

Pornography is art, according to Hart (1985), but he claims it is merely bad erotic art. He argues that all areas of the human experience should be available for artistic representation. Jean Mainil (1992) reminds us that "pornography is not a given entity in the world, but the construct of particular discourses" and that "pornography is not a special case of sexuality: it is a form of representation" (Mainil, 1992, pp 348) However many theorists feel that pornographic art is an oxymoron because of the implicit consensus that pornography that has an artistic value can no longer
function as pornography. Thus many consider artistic pornography to be located within the class of erotica.

Other discussions on pornography as containing socially redeeming value include Scott MacDonald who identifies what he loosely terms the educational aspects of pornography. The value he describes includes the ability to see and examine women’s bodies, observe the mechanics of sexual activity and the opportunity to see naked male bodies.

The fact remains that in our culture men and women frequently feel alienated from their own bodies and from each other. Pornography is a function of this alienation, and I can’t imagine it disappearing until we have come to see ourselves and each other differently. (MacDonald, 1983, pp 16)

Thus pornography can be seen as educational and to have some redeeming features. This argument is not widely acknowledged but I think can be viable especially within the discussions about sex, and sexuality education. Depending on the definition adopted by some people it is possible that some of the visual material already used is considered pornographic.
Is Pornography Only For Men

If sexuality is shaped, constructed by the social, it is also shaped differently for women and men, structured in terms of power, and sustained through policies, legislation and practices which serve to oppress women. (Stern, 1982, pp 41)

It is generally held that men and women express and experience sexuality and sexual activity differently from each other. Many feminists, also believe that pornography is inherently sexist and created with the male gaze or audience in mind. One of the issues I shall explore is that a radical feminist perspective rules out any legitimate form of women-produced pornography, that represents their sexuality. Also would women want a pornographic tradition of their own? Much discussion on this is hampered by the definitional problems mentioned but also by what Ross discusses as our perception of pornography. He feels that we do not yet have a critical language for dealing with pornography. (Ross, 1993) Jean Mainil (1992) says that pornography is almost in hiding because of this lack of distinction between the discourse on pornography and pornography as a social practice. Therefore many discussions choose to avoid the word pornography and use substitutes such as erotica, eroticism and indecency. This merely manages to make debate and definitions more opaque. In an attempt to answer some of the issues raised I shall examine the feminist involvement in the pornography debates and the particular analysis, criticisms and points they raise.
Chapter 2:  
The Major Critics in the Pornography Debate

The Pornography Debates

One of the main issues within the pornography debate is whether pornography should be publicly available. This first became an issue for feminists during the early seventies, when feminists were theorising about gender, and attempting to raise the profile of such inequities. While the issues of pornography and rape gained much attention, feminist groups also were discussing other factors that affected women, such as the status of gender and sexuality as social constructs and not merely biological functions. From this generic group rose the anti-pornography groups with their central claim being that 'pornography is the theory, rape is the practice'. They believed that there was a direct causal link between exposure to certain kinds of material and committing, or being predisposed to commit, certain kinds of acts. (Cameron, 1992) The Anti-pornography groups see that pornography can influence people and especially men, and promote certain behaviours. Pornography itself is held to be sexist and patriarchal, and therefore harmful to women. They feel that these images provide men with a ready rationale for rape and other forms of sexist aggression, and that women are presented merely as sexual objects for the enjoyment of men. (Hommel, 1978-1979)
The most prominent anti-pornography feminists are Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon. Both these theorists can be termed radical feminists, with their central belief being that patriarchy and therefore male domination of women originates in the institution of heterosexuality. This all occurs through systematic social construction of persons in any given society, using the construction of gender to ensure male domination. Thus for radical feminists, male domination of woman "is the fundamental form of oppression, one that is so intricately woven into virtually all facets of our lives" (Tuana & Tong, 1995, pp 131) that it completely pervades our sense of what it is to be a women or man. Therefore human sexuality has also been constructed to adhere to this, with women's sexuality being constructed so that it exists for men.

Catherine MacKinnon believes that the power of men over women originates in the pervasiveness of male sexual violence against women, according to MacKinnon, sexuality has been constructed in such a way as not only to ensure male domination and female submission but also to eroticise it. By this she means that men are constructed to find subordination and weakness erotically stimulating, and as such seek partners that exhibit these traits. Thus the social shaping of "femininity" normalises male domination and "woman's femininity is constructed to entail her passivity and dependence, and thus she require protection (domination)." (Tuana & Tong, 1995, pp133). In turn women are constructed to find domination and more powerful people erotically stimulating and thus seek those partners who seem to have these traits, therefore the sexual arousal and reproduction of heterosexuality is maintained. "That which is called sexuality is the dynamic of control by which male dominance—in forms that range from intimate to institutional, from a look to a rape—"
eroticises as man and woman, as identity and pleasure" (Tuana & Tong, 1995, pp132.) The domination of woman by man including its expression in forms of violence against women, is inscribed onto the very practices of heterosexuality. For MacKinnon, sexuality so constructed is the basis of other forms of male domination—political, economic, and religious. Radical feminists have been particularly concerned with the issue of pornography for they see it as one of the principal sites of the social construction of sexuality. In pornography, women are depicted as sexual objects and men are rendered as consumers who, says MacKinnon, "desperately want women to desperately want possession and cruelty and dehumanization." (MacKinnon, 1995, pp132) Pornography, along with other practices such as prostitution, sexual harassment, rape, and woman battering, serves to ensure woman's sexual and social subordination.

Thus MacKinnon and Dworkin view pornography as linked with domination. Lentz (1993) discusses that for Andrea Dworkin, pornography reveals that male pleasure is inextricably tied to victimising, hurting, exploiting; that sexual fun and sexual passion in the privacy of the male imagination are inseparable from the brutality of male history. MacKinnon states to be sexually objectified means having a social meaning imposed on your being that defines you as to be sexually used, according to your desired uses, and then using you that way doing this sex in the male system... if sex is a social construct of sexism, men have sex with their image of a woman. Pornography creates an accessible sexual object, the possession and consumption of which is male sexuality, to be possessed and consumed as which is female sexuality. (Lentz, 1993, pp 390)
With this view of sexuality and gender relations MacKinnon and Dworkin became involved in the campaign to censor those materials considered to be pornographic. Their combined efforts led to them being consulted for the Canadian obscenity ordinance. MacKinnon, according to Steven Grey, sought to define pornography as discrimination against women, and that there was no significant legal difference between sex act and its representation on paper or video. Thus she advocated that pornography cannot be protected under the American first amendment, as she claims that pornography harms women. This harm occurs in three categories, the first is those women who work within the pornography industry. The second, that all other women in society are harmed. The third that pornography constructs reality and therefore creates gender irregularities and reinforces negative attitudes towards women. This type of analysis precludes any ability to argue that pornography may have artistic or literary worth. As a consequence of this type of analysis then any...

conventional artistic expression that portrays women in a derogatory light must therefore be considered even more dangerous than pornography, because art carries the additional message of social legitimacy (Grey, 1988, pp1605)

This leaves us in the unusual situation of the 'Last Tango in Paris' being more dangerous than 'Debbie does Dallas'. Grey criticises MacKinnor's belief that she considers pornography to be a sexual reality, that there is no difference between sex and its representation. It is hard to convince yourself that watching an image of sexual intercourse is the same as being involved in it,
similarly that watching an image of violent sex or rape is the same as committing rape. (Grey, 1988)

The MacKinnon and Dworkin analysis of gender and sexuality has been extremely influential, both within feminist theory and general societal discussions. In particular the critique they present of pornography has been appropriated by various groups and organisations, as well as much of the language and rhetoric making its way into vernacular. An example of this I witnessed while working as a teaching assistant for a paper on philosophy and sexuality, when we first started to address the issue of pornography and asked students for definitions and descriptions of that material that could be considered pornographic, students offered words such as 'oppression', 'objectification', 'violence', 'rape', 'inherent sexism', 'power', subjugation'. When students were asked to elaborate on what these words meant and how they related to images of naked bodies, many were unable to articulate their reasoning. It appeared to me that the students had learned to associate this language with discussions on pornography, thereby integrating the programmatic definition provided by MacKinnon and Dworkin, into their own conceptions of the phenomena 'pornography'. This influence of the radical feminist analysis also has extended to official levels of government within New Zealand. In 1987, the Minister of Justice, Geoffrey Palmer, appointed a committee to inquire "into pornography and the law relating to it and to make recommendations".(Bynum, 1991, pp 1132.) This commission that was set up, adopted as a definition of pornography that which was developed by MacKinnon and Dworkin. They discuss this use of such a definition as in keeping with common meaning.
Throughout the report we use the term "pornography" in its now common and most useful meaning, derived from feminist writings. Pornography refers, therefore to sexually explicit material which is demeaning or degrading to women (and sometimes to children or men). It eroticises the sexual subordination of women, perpetuating myths about women's sexuality and objectifying women for the pleasure of men. Thus defined, pornography can be seen as having a role in perpetuating sexism in our society; in fact, it can be seen as a form of sex discrimination against women since it dehumanises them, presenting them as creatures whose role is to gratify men. (New Zealand. Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Pornography, 1989, pp28)

By adopting such a definition this committee is careful to state that the above definition be use as a basis for classification law, but feels that the definition best describes the material and is consistent with current New Zealand usage of the term pornography. By utilising such a definition the New Zealand Ministerial committee is also allowing itself to be subject to the same criticisms that are levelled at MacKinnon and Dworkin. In addition they contradict the philosophical basis of the radical feminist definition by providing further definitions that they utilise within the report. These terms include definitions of 'sexually explicit materials', and 'erotica'. (New Zealand. Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Pornography, 1989) Neither of these phases have any meaning within the MacKinnon Dworkin analysis of sexuality and pornography, as their is no positive or even neutral expression that depicts sexuality. All instances of sexual representation must for MacKinnon and Dworkin be negative and inherently violent. This aspect of the radical feminist argument is fundamental to MacKinnon's theory of human existence, and one of the most misunderstood or ignored features of her theory. Most commentators tend to, as indeed the New Zealand
Ministerial Committee have, ignore this fundamental feature and adopt the MacKinnon definition so as to justify censorship on material they find offensive or difficult to contain. They fail to engage with the notion that MacKinnon sees gender as a social construction and that pornography is merely a tool utilised by patriarchy to maintain male control.

Additional criticisms have also been levelled at MacKinnon and Dworkin, Steven Grey addressed above the problem of representation and portrayal of sexual behaviours and acts that occurs in the radical feminist analysis. There is also a criticism of MacKinnon's own positioning in that MacKinnon appears to be advocating that women need protecting. In her theory, she presents the impact of pornography on female lives in such a way as to treat women as if they have no capacity to understand the social forces or defend themselves against these. This criticism is also taken up by Hunt, who notes that radical feminism does not stand up well to this type of critical scrutiny, as it presents women as helpless victims who need to be saved. An irony in the sense that radical feminists are creating a dictatorial regime much the same as the patriarchy they are attempting to destroy. Hunt(1990) was examining the link between early social purity movements and today's radical feminism.

This presumption of total powerlessness gives rise to the final, and most disturbing parallel between revolutionary feminism and social purity activism, their shared willingness to resort to coercion, not only against the victimizer, but against his or her victim. This victim, it is said, is so caught up in her victimization she cannot know what she is doing, and must be saved, if necessary against what she thinks is her will. (Hunt, 1990, pp 41)
Thus radical feminists and in this case MacKinnon feel that they can infringe on women's freedom over what images of their bodies are publicly accessible as well as freedom of expression and freedom of press. This issue is subverted by some of the contemporary writers who claim the right to enjoy public exposure and pornography. (Bright, 1992; Tisdale, 1992)

This leaves us feeling that MacKinnon and Dworkin have a rather patronising view of both pornography and women, there is an assumption that women do not have the capacity to understand the effects of pornography or the presence of mind to make an informed choice. This attitude continues, says Susan Keller (1993) who feels that in the entire anti-pornography argument many of those who have analysed pornography, like Sunstein and MacKinnon, have an "assumption that those who enjoy pornography are not going to be sufficiently sophisticated about it to see a distinction between depictions and reality,"(p2215) thus presenting an elitist divide between intellectual and non intellectual pursuits. (Keller, 1993). This elitism of sexually explicit material is discussed within the erotica and pornography definition and is addressed by writers such as Pagilia. MacKinnon and her colleagues are effectively saying that 'viewing leads to doing' in that there is a causal effect between watching pornography and at the very least treating women as through they are inferior, something they seem to indicate is more prevalent amongst those who do not possess this capacity to differentiate between reality and fantasy.

Much discussion academically has focused on the United States Attorney Generals' commission on pornography, this commission and its findings had a large impact throughout the western world, with the resulting New
Zealand inquiry into pornography basing a lot of its ideas and processes on that previous committee. (New Zealand. Ministerial Committee of Inquiry into Pornography, 1989) Carole Vance outlines the report and procedure stating that the commission "cleverly used anti-pornography feminist terms and concepts to their own advantage in selective ways" (Vance, 1992a, pp. 35.) Vance claims that the panel appropriated anti-pornography feminist language to modernise a conservative agenda and also used issues of male violence successfully to argue that the only reliable protection for women was to return to the family and patriarchy. The commission was biased in both those represented and used as witnesses and the way the commission was run. Seven of the eleven commissioners had publicly opposed pornography on previous occasions, and of the witnesses used 77% supported elimination and tighter control on pornography, yet positive responses to pornography where largely absent. (Vance, 1992b)

Vance uses as examples the fact that the commission was attempting to inform the public about what pornography was, and the fact that the viewing was heavily orchestrated, by viewing disproportionate amounts of atypical material.

The Meese commission was skilled in its ability to use photographic images to establish the so-called truth and to provide an almost invisible interpretive frame that compelled agreement with its agenda (Vance, 1992b, pp. 45)

Under the guise of feminist language, conservatives effectively were trying to restrict and control women's desires and sexuality. According to Vance's
analysis, the commission was attempting to control and subvert female sexual pleasure.

Feminist language, disembodied from feminist principles and programs, was used to advance the idea that men, women and society could be protected only through the suppression of female desire (Vance, 1992b, pp 48)

By using this type of strategy, even the possibility that pornography can be a positive site for exploration is denied or distanced from women. A Final criticism is that the ordinance was almost advocating a return to patriarchy and familial constraints. While they may not openly advocate this there is certainly appropriation of the radical feminist language as discussed above and argument by conservatives who have almost hijacked the language now in common use to create a discourse of traditional values.
Chapter 3:

Contemporary Theorisations about Pornography.

While the pornography debate is not settled there has certainly been changes within the predominate discourses. These additional theorising have added to the complex landscape surrounding pornography. I have strongly been influenced by these issues, and feel that they challenge and contextualise some of the difficulties and assumptions that the previous radical-liberal-conservative debate raised. These new looks can present pornography as a multi-faceted complex human phenomena, and although do not settle the arguments at least allow for the recognition that pornography has multiple values.

The Value of Pornography

Alternative sexual practices that were part of the video material I viewed, certainly had more variety of sexual responses and many of the scenes did not adhere to Stienem's prescription of women's sexual expression.
There appears to be an ingrained assumption about the value of specific sexual images. Camille Paglia acknowledges this and rather stoically states "That's my theory. I'm saying that people go to strip clubs to see beauty, and it's fucking elitist for people who go to museums to look at paintings and statues of beautiful bodies to denigrate strip clubs" (Wells, 1994, pp 58.) It appears that the visual presentation of sexual material is part of the problem with pornography, Carol Vance says that this appears to be a factor with conservatives, explaining that their current emphasis on censoring sexually explicit images is based on a belief that visual images have a special power to influence behaviour and also they argue that pornography has become increasingly visual and influential (Vance, 1992a).

Mainstream pornography though does seem to lack an adequate representation of women's sexuality. This conclusion was also discussed by Candida Royalle, an ex pornography star, who felt that pornography was sexist. She attempted to redress the balance by producing a pornography aimed at women. Having worked within the pornography industry she feels that many people take for granted the notion that women get into pornography because they are victims or prostitutes and while she acknowledges that some of the women are, many are not. She feels that organisations such as 'women against pornography' are not representative of feminist thought, and indeed are negative as they are prescribing to women that to explore their own fantasies and sexuality is to keep women out of power. Royalle does not believe that pornography causes violence. However she does concede that the films have been very exploitive of women and sexuality in general. She feels that this need not be necessary and wanted to show that pornography can be non-sexist and also life enriching (Royalle, 1993). Another motivating factor is the realisation in
the pornography business that a large part (figures of 40% and upwards) of the rentals market is women, and a lot of film makers are changing their films to reflect this. Royalle herself is responding to this trend by aiming at women.

The key to my films is sensuality, every part of our body is an erogenous zone; so I've taken the emphasis off the hard-core... I don't like to use the terms foreplay and after play because those terms imply that the only real goal of sex is penetration. What does that mean for women's sexuality?... I wanted to focus on sensuality, tenderness, and mutual respect—a holistic approach, instead of a collection of body parts. (Royalle, 1993, pp. 31)

Royalle herself interchanges the words erotica and pornography quite readily, she is quite aware of how challenging and unusual her position is. Hence when discussing adult film she states that she believes that it is possible to have explicit adult films that are not sexist or exploitative, by being inclusive of women's variability of sexual practice. Royalle criticises groups such as Women Against Pornography who assume that anything explicit is automatically exploitation. She goes on to state that she wishes ...

more women were encouraged to make erotic films form a variety of points of view. But as long as pornography was strictly male entertainment, it was tolerated. Now that it is being taken into the bedroom, where women—the wives, Madonna's, and sisters—can see it, it's very threatening to the right. That is where I could pose a threat, by making pornography more palatable to women.” (Royalle, 1993, pp. 29)
Many theorists are familiar with Royalle’s work. Susan Keller discusses Candida Royalle, billed as pornography for couples or feminist erotica—

Candida Royalle’s films differ in many obvious ways from standard "male" pornography. With one exception, each individual film sustains a relationship, however short, between only two characters, rather than the frequent exchange of partners often found in other pornography. Royalle’s films all involve encounters between one woman and one man, with the exception of a lesbian encounter in one of the Femme shots (Keller, 1992, pp.1300).

Keller also cites other authors who have identified feminine characteristics in Royalle’s work, such as Laura Fraser who claims some of the differences are the extended foreplay, sexy talk and increased emphasis on oral sex performed on women, although oral sex is performed by women on men in approximately equal amounts. Linda Williams finds that Royalle’s movies represent the "ultimate expression" of a growing tendency among traditional hard-core films to attempt to locate female pleasure. And while Keller applauds Royalle’s attempts to create a pornography aimed at women she states that the "portrayal of women as having equal desires for sexuality does not necessarily result in portraying sex that is equal" (Keller, 1992, pp.1303). This point is agreed with by Cherry Smyth (1990) who says that previous explorations on pornography have been devalued because pornography holds a culturally inferior position and also that heterosexual pornography in general has failed to portray women’s pleasure "Having represented it as a male construct with satisfaction only possible through penetrative sex." (Smyth, 1990, pp.153.)
While there are attempts to create a sexually explicit product for women, can it really be called pornographic. We have seen how the mere definition of pornography is problematic, and many writers opt for a neutral definition to explain what they are discussing. The case of lesbian pornography gives us more to consider, especially in light of what is considered female erotica and pornography. What does this mean especially to our understanding of women's sexuality? Some of the researchers discussed what women's sexuality was supposed to consist of such as Laura Frazer (cited by Keller, 1992) who noted Royalle's movies had more oral sex, extended foreplay etc. Is this what women's sexuality is, what is more 'female' about this, and what do women define as sexuality for women. I think that there is a much wider scope than is currently considered to consist of women's sexuality. Royalle herself falls into the habit of restricting what can be called female sexuality, thus the use of lesbian pornography as a site for exploration can be useful. I discuss how to represent women in various positive ways in conjunction with images within the video material used that represents instances of this. However all this hinges on the way in which sexuality for women has been defined within mainstream society. Many commentators especially feminists criticise pornographic material for not accurately representing women's sexuality and sexual response. Implicit in this type of criticism is the idea that women's sexuality can be identified and discussed.

**Women's Sexuality**

Women's sexual expression is generally considered to be different than men's. Much of social discussion talks of women's sexuality as being
opposed to men's. Male sexuality is presented as the yardstick or measure of
the norm and female is represented as different from male. Thus the
analysis that MacKinnon offers that female gender and sexuality is defined
by patriarchy as referenced to male sexual requirements does seem to hold
some credence.

Women are generally considered to be emotional about sexual encounters,
thus a good sexual encounter will involve a level of intimacy with the
partner. Sexual encounters should involve an expression of emotional
feelings. Women are supposed to like slow, gentle, nurturing, quiet, loving,
tactile, holistic, sexual experiences. In a sexual encounter there is supposed
to be seduction, a lot of foreplay, a lot of clitoral stimulation, sexual
intercourse and a lot of afterplay and affectionate touching. In trying to
discuss these aspects of sexuality for women I found it difficult to find
information about the actual wants of women. There are a few exceptions,
such as the popular books by Nancy Friday, which are a collection of sexual
fantasies by women. In addition to Friday work their is also an increasing
erotic literature amongst lesbian writers, such as 'Herotica' by Susie (Bright,
1988) "Women on Women 2" by Naomi Holoch and Joan Nestle (Holoch &
Nestle, 1993) both these books are fantasy and short stories that frequently
address sexual activities and encounters. Other works such as Margaret
Reynolds collection 'Erotica' which consists of excerpts from women's
writing (Reynolds, 1990) were also found. However these works tend to be
the exception and rarely discuss the actual desires or sexual behaviours of
women, they are mainly accounts of single sexual acts, and frequently they
are framed as fantasy and as such cannot be assumed to represent actual
sexual desires and wants. Thus the majority of information about sexual
activity is biased around biological and physiological responses of both men
and women. Very little discussed the emotional wants and feelings associated with arousal and sexual activity. Most notably missing was the discussion about desire, that I shall address more fully in the section on sexuality education. Sheila Kitzinger presents discussions on sex and sexuality in a way that is refreshing and informative, she notes that "sex is more than orgasm" (Kitzinger, 1983, pp. 14). She goes on to say that many discussions on sex talk compare sex with food, and recommends gourmet feasts of sex. This type of analogy is misinformed according to Kitzinger, firstly because obviously we do not need sex to survive, but we must definitely eat. Secondly if sex is like food then we would get bored with the 'fine cuisine' all the time, Kitzinger acknowledges that people have varying needs and desires, not just among individuals but within ourselves. She talks of the variability of sexual experiences that we all want and that "we can bring the same selectivity to sex that we take for granted with food." (pp. 15)

Sheila Kitzinger also claims that women need to find out about what type of sexual beings they are. This can be achieved as they begin to take control over our bodies and lives. She states that "we need to look at the way in which male attitudes to sexuality are imposed on us and we are permitted to see the world only through males eyes." (p 15). To do this there needs to be talk about sex, and understanding of its meaning both within society and in everyday lives. "Throughout history women’s sexuality has either been demeaned as trivial or seen as dangerous, even life-threatening to men" p 17). The Christian church taught that there were two types of women: mothers and prostitutes and this type of thinking can still be evident in some analyses of women today. Historically women were the sexual police and moral gatekeepers of society, in the nineteenth century it was assumed
that women didn't have spontaneous sexual feelings, or if they did they were fallen women. Men on the other hand had strong sexual desires that they needed to control, and to be careful of the 'Fallen women' that would try to tempt them.

However it should be remembered that Victorian women spent much of their lives in a state of child bearing, lactation or ill-health following miscarriage, thus many would avoid sex to avoid bad health. Not until sexuality could be separated from child bearing could most women begin to think about sex as a possible source of pleasure. (Kitzinger, 1983) The association historically and religiously was that sexuality was linked with copulation, so the ability to locate pleasure and desire in women was missing.

**Essentialism and Construction of Sex**

Defining sexuality and sexual behaviour has been difficult due to the associated link with copulation and reproduction. The theorising about sexuality has derived from two primary schools of thought, firstly that it is a reproductive and thus an essential phenomenon and secondly that sexuality is socially constructed.

If we accept the essentialist argument then sex and sexuality are innate and we can assume that they are naturally occurring behaviours that are
biologically imprinted. This means that we can equate sex, sexual behaviour and activity with basic human urges and consider these urges to be natural and therefore good. This theory also links sexuality with reproduction of the species and thus sexual behaviours should consistent with reproductive actions. This type of analysis is sometimes referred to as a biological determinism, and can be closely associated with an understanding of gender. Here sex and gender can be considered part of nature and both are associated with the acquisition of appropriate gender roles and sexual behaviours.

Sex is conceptualised as an overpowering force in the individual that shapes not only the personal but the social life as well. It is seen as a driving, instinctual force, whose characteristics are built into the biology of the human animal, which shapes human institutions and whose will must force its way out, either in the form of direct sexual expression or, if blocked, in the form of perversion or neuroses. (Weeks, 1989, pp 2)

This type of epistemology leads the way for a variety of discussions on sex, sexuality and gender. Biological determinism has been adopted by conservative and religious groups to explain behaviours in sexual activity, such as males natural aggression and female passivity. But essentialist notions have also been adopted by feminists such as the French feminist tradition of celebrating women’s difference. In addition to this the sexual revolution had as its fundamental claim to free sexuality form inhibiting societal constraints. (Weeks, 1989)
If sex and sexuality are socially constructed then these behaviours occur because we are part of society and have been and continue to be created and moulded by society. This is the stance that MacKinnon takes with patriarchy as the socialising agent. The impact of this stance is that sex and sexuality and sexual behaviours are not naturally occurring phenomenon, they are created and designed and should thus, theoretically be able to be recreated or modified. Many feminists have adopted positions that encompass a socially constructed notion of sex, sexuality and gender, because there is the possibility of redressing and reconstructing these categories. Christine Delphy a French feminist who does not subscribe to the essentialist position writes ...

One does not revolt against what is natural, therefore inevitable, or inevitable, therefore natural. As soon as there is revolt there is concurrently and inevitably the notion of a process that can be resisted. That which can be resisted is not inevitable; that which is not inevitable could be otherwise: it is arbitrary therefore social. The logical and necessary implication of women's revolt, as of any revolt, is that the situation can be changed: if not, why revolt? The belief in the possibility of change implies belief in the social origin of the situation. (Delphy, 1985, pp 197)

Therefore social constructionist points of view can be used to challenge essentialism as well as employed as an important political strategy. Jackson and Scott identify three main strands of analysis utilised by those who see sexuality as socially constructed, with each of these focusing on a different aspect. The first analyses sexuality in relation to patriarchal structure; the second concentrates on "the construction of our sexual desires at the level of individual subjectivity, in other words on how we come to be sexual in particular ways; and the third seeks to demonstrate the variability and
malleability of human sexual desires.” (Jackson & Scott, 1996, pp.7). However treating sexuality as a socially constructed phenomena does present some problems. The most apparent is that there is usually, as Delphy states a desire to change or revolt against the current situation. But this means that there is a problem with talking of inequities and differences between man and women’s sexual expression because there is no autonomous being that we can claim is being offended against or not being treated fairly, its just the way we were socialised. Thus the situation can only be located within the relativism of the constructions and there can not be one true goal.

In light of the pornography debate, the issue of the aetiology of sexual desire and sexuality as well as the acquisition of gender roles is important. Lynne Segal states that pornography has been placed at the centre of the search for an understanding of the pains and pleasures of heterosexual desire (Segal, 1992, pp.65) The majority of theorists do not believe that pornography mirrors actual sexual practice, many do feel that representations of sexuality have some bearing on at least some people’s views on sexual activity.

Pornography is generally considered to be about male sexuality. It is not necessarily the truth but certainly can be linked to desires and wants. Michael Kimmel claims that pornography is ”...about women as men want them to be and about our own sexual selves as we would like them to be...” (Kimmel, 1991, pp.21). Lynne Segal points to male critics now discussing pornography and claiming that pornography teaches men to disconnect their emotions from sexual expression (Segal, 1992, pp.67). A notion that Harry Brod agrees with, when he says that pornography has a negative
impact on men's own sexuality. (Brod, 1992) This occurs because pornography has an influential role in the social construction of sexuality, and that it is false to think that women are the principle victims of pornography. He feels that we need to focus on what is considered to be normal males sexuality, because this has been a neglected aspect of mainstream male sexuality and pornography.

Men are Victims of Pornography Too?

Segal when referring to Brod who uses a socialist-feminist analysis, blames pornography specifically for alienating men from their bodies, creating rising rates of male impotence, narrowing the range of male sexual experience and creating male self depreciation and loss of fuller sexual satisfaction. Pornography turns men's bodies into machines, and in turn creates performance driven male sexuality, and this Brod thinks is where the link between pornography and violence can be maintained. (Brod, 1991; Segal, 1992) Thus Brod's analysis indicates that patriarchy at least in part disadvantages the group it privileges (Brod, 1991; Brod, 1992) For Brod, using feminist methods of raising consciousness is a possible way to address the issue of the prices of male power as a part of the strategy through which one could at least potentially mobilise men against pornography's destructive effects on both women and men. Brod is against pornography because of the way it represents sexuality. He gives an analysis of pornography as the dealing with objectification of the body and the loss of subjectivity, the predominant image of women in pornography presents women as always
sexually ready, willing and eager. The necessary corollary to pornography's myth of female perpetual readiness.

He uses a feminist and Marxist theory to look at what is conceived of as normal male sexuality and presents an analysis of the neglected aspect of mainstream male sexuality and pornography. He argues that the aspect of the relation between male sexuality and pornography presupposes such a connection with the more accepted mainstream. (Brod, 1992). Brod's standpoint is not a sexual liberalist perspective and he considers that personal experience is an important aspect of pornography research.

Pornography produces and reproduces uniform standards of female beauty. Male desires and tastes must be channelled into a single mode, with allowance for minor variations which obscure the fundamentally monolithic nature of the mould (Brod, 1992, pp.154.)

This results in men thinking they want is to be 'laid' by a Playboy bunny, whereas what most men want is physical affection, this puts a strain on male sexuality. Brod's conclusion is the idea that feminist anti-pornography movement is not against sex, but against sexual abuse. He feels that women are not the consumers of pornography but the consumed.

Michael Kimmel argues that pornography is seen as both an important part of socialisation into stereotyped sex-role attributes, beliefs and actions. (that is manliness, toughness, ambition, aggressiveness.) Segal agrees with
Kimmel when he points to the interaction between the social construction of gender and the social construction of sexuality. (Segal, 1992) Scott Macdonald talks of his experience of pornography and refers to motifs, and states that

Even though there's always a skeletal narrative, this is so obviously a function of the need to create a context for the motifs, that one doesn't need to create a context for the motifs, that one doesn't need to pay particular attention to it—except in so far as it raises the adrenalin by slightly withholding the awaited imagery (MacDonald, 1983, pp. 12).

These motifs are relatively limited, and the women conventionally attractive and the men are frequently average-looking, their only requirement is a large erection. But Macdonald also refers to the men as victims or reluctant participants especially when he comments that "pornography arcade visits are always minor traumas." (MacDonald, 1983, pp. 11). He describes the desire to be part of the sexually arousing experience which is in direct contrast to the way he believes women and sexual interaction should occur. Andreas Bjørnerud talks also of pornography and discusses the potential harmfulness of sadomasochistic content. But also discusses the point that pornography is essentially male fantasy. The problem with fantasy is that it is both conscious and unconscious and problem of men's pleasure in pornography is in the unstable domain of fantasy. (Bjørnerud, 1991) While Segal acknowledges the analysis and contribution of male discussions on pornography she makes the point that it seems likely that men are least sure of their power over women, and most fearful of women's self-sufficiency and autonomy, precisely in their sexual encounters with them and that "nothing could be more at odds with
the feminist anti-pornography movements' understanding of the dynamics of male sexuality" (Segal, 1992, pp. 77)

Theoretical Standpoints and the Analysis of Sex and Gender.

While we can see that male sexuality can be misled by pornography what does this mean for sexuality in general. Certain topical analysis about the distinction between sexuality and gender must be addressed. There has been much discussion about this and many theorists have their own standpoint. But sex, sexuality, and sexual difference cannot be simply mapped onto categories of gender. Rubin argued that feminism, a theory and a politics of gender oppression, does not necessarily involve the best way of thinking about sexuality. (cited in (Ross, 1993, pp. 226). In light of this the industry of pornography has come to quite openly address the question of the representation of female pleasure and desire. (Ross, 1993, pp. 224) Kimmel argues that pornography can be seen as an important part of socialisation into stereotyped sex-role attributes, beliefs and actions, (that is manliness, toughness, ambition, aggressiveness.) This Segal addresses stating that Kimmel is right to point to the interaction between the social construction of gender and the social construction of sexuality (Segal, 1992, pp. 74.)

If sexuality is shaped, constructed by the social, it is also shaped differently for women and men, structured in terms of power, and sustained through policies, legislation and practices which serve to oppress women. (Stern, 1982, pp 41)
Therefore the relationship of pornography to sexuality, when viewed this way is very important. We must address this and in turn the legitimacy of what constitutes sexual expression.

One basic question in current feminist debate concerns the relation of pleasure and power. Anti-pornography feminists like Kappeler and Sheila Jeffreys' argue that "pornography is problematic...because as a discourse, it eroticizes relations of domination and subordination, it makes inequality sexy." (Cameron, 1992, pp. 794) For Lynne Segal "we can not begin to address the appeal of and revulsion towards pornography without first grappling with the longings and discontents of both men and women around desire" (Segal, 1992, pp. 69)

There is some discussion on the fetishistic nature of pornographic material as an attempt to explain the nature of psychic experience. Segal cites Sandra lee Bartkys' example of an "unfortunate situation" of the feminist who has masochistic heterosexual fantasies (suggesting that such a woman is 'entitled' to her shame over the gulf between her erotic fantasies and her feminist aspirations). Segal goes on to disagree saying in contrast

"...that such a woman is 'entitled' neither to shame nor to guilt, but rather to the lowering of ignorance about the nature of fantasy, and hence to the lowering of personal anxiety about the source of sexual excitement..." (Segal, 1992, pp. 71)
The nature of sexuality and eroticism can be discussed historically and especially in relation to ancient theorisation. This usually leads us back to classic definitions of eros, being love of a sexual erotic nature. The Greeks linked eros with an analogy of hunger and thirst. eg "Let me have what I ask of you so that I can get rid of my eros" (Halperin, 1985,pp.166). Thus the 'natural appetite' indicates a biological basis for sexuality and sexual desire and as such, needs to be rationally gratified.

Sexual desire if we follow out this logic, would be something on the order of Kinsey's notion of an unmediated impulse to sexual gratification irrespective of the object by means of which such gratification is procured, an impulse teeming from 'capacity of an individual to respond erotically to any sort of stimulus" (Halperin, 1985,pp.173).

This type of analysis locates desire and sexual arousal within the individual, leading to an idea that, bodies are not attracted to bodies. "Bodies may have needs which they drive us to gratify, but they are not the source of our attraction to individual objects" (Halperin, 1985,pp.182) We desire the body in so far as it is a medium. This type of discussion about the location of desire, allows room for an intimate knowledge of each persons own sexual desire and as such the possibility that it should be expressed. However, peoples own authority on their own sexual response also allows that a collective sexuality and sexual expression may be difficult to ascertain. The link between sexual expression and sexuality becomes increasingly more complex. While we can see that theorisations about sexuality can be traced back to ancient times, this type of theory is usually only consistent with male sexual expression, leaving the stereotypical ideas that men are the
sexual predator and females must resist. Their is no discussion around female desire and release from the 'unmediated impulse' as Kinsey calls it within this historical account, and consequently lesbian sexual expression, also does not exist. How then does a female connect or understand the impact of pornography and sexual imagery on their lives.

Who is the Subject?

Thus how pornography interacts with female subjectivity, and this links with issues of control and desire in sexual activity has become increasingly important for especially feminist groups. If we criticise both society and pornography for objectifying women then we need to analyse both how this occurs and what can change the situation. It is a general consensus that pornography has traditionally been created for and by men for men's pleasure and consumption. 'Women', then will always be presented as other and the object of the film or movie. This is according to Nicola Lacy part of the theoretical focus placed on the supposed liberal division of the world into public and private spheres. The feminist critique, when it attacks public and private spheres must question the proper role of the state, and society that allows the division of human beings into these categories. This use of dualistic basis is also apparent in the notions of subjectivity and objectivity inherent in discussions of pornography. Due to this dualistic conception, gender neutrality is unrealisable, the only possible immediate goal is to attack gender hierarchy to expose the contingency of the current cultural hierarchy. (Lacy, 1993).
Sue-Ellen Case mentions that theorists such as de Lauretis and others have identified that most work on the subject position only reveals the way in which the subject is trapped within ideology and provides no programs for change. (Case, 1988-1989). The resulting flexibility of sexual identities has produced a destabilising threat to patriarchal definitions of sexuality as fixed and confinable within heterosexual monogamy. (Stacey, 1991).

Susan Gubar, however, reminds us that we have not yet come to grips with "the authorial motivations, historical contexts, and aesthetic conventions of genres composed by and for men" (Gubar, 1987). Our failure to understand pornography has led to our failure to interpret the relationship between the systems of pornography and the other culturally legitimate genres that depict women as the other. Do we then find pornography offensive because of this one sided representation and the male focus inherent in pornography. For Lynda Hart this mind set says that in the pornographic imagination, a movement from looking at pictures of women's bodies to encountering "real" women in a peep-show format might be regarded as a progression from the image to a quasi-realistic encounter. But as Suzanne Kappeler argues,

the movement from represented woman towards real women...is, on the contrary, a monument to the impossibility of any encounter between man and women...The people who go there to "meet" women go there to observe them, to see them, but not to encounter them. In this format, the subject function of looking is reserved for men who find sexual stimulation in looking without being seen. (Hart, 1988, pp.76).
Is it then that we should try to examine the male gaze? Ruby Rich noted the irony of such an attempt in a review of "Not a love story", a documentary about pornography and the sex industry. Rich comments that "at no point does the camera offer a shot from the point of view of the women up on the stage....we remain voyeurs, and they remain objects—whether of our pity, lust, respect, or shock makes little difference." (Rich, 1983, pp.59).

Pornography is male based she quotes from Alain Robbe-Grillet who has claimed, "pornography is the eroticism of others," namely females. Pornography as primarily the eroticism of the "female as other which has produced a series of sometimes brilliant, sometimes banal, but always unsettling representations that have evolved as pertinaciously as has patriarchal culture itself." (Gubar, 1987, pp.741). If females are not represented as subjects in pornography then will a reorientation of this make any difference.

Williams demonstrates the complexities of pornographic cinema by ignoring the familiar questions proposed by others. Cameron states

Our sexualities are socially and discursively constructed out of a complex set of possibilities and experiences; among these, however, are the representations of sex our culture provides—the texts we read, the movies we see, and so forth. (Cameron, 1990, pp.787).

There is a recognition that pornography has changed and even evolved overtime in light of production and consumption, something must be motivating this change. (Cameron, 1990). Given our recognition that
sexuality is culturally constructed, moreover, we could move from a psychoanalytic to a historical framework by establishing the socially shaped anxieties that attend masculinity in a given period. (Gubar, 1987).

Andrew Ross suggests there may be distinctions between representation and the way in which the material is viewed by the consumer that prevents us from accurately assessing the meaning of representation. (Ross, 1993). "The portrayal of women as having equal desires for sexuality does not necessarily result in portraying sex that is equal" (Keller, 1992, pp.1303). Keller feels that it is necessary to develop a mode of analysis in which we can look at one media artefact and find it to be both degrading and liberatory, if in fact that is our conclusion. This type of tool will allow us to view representations especially of women as other and identify or discuss the multiplicity of subjects.

Identity Politics

Identity politics has been prominent within many feminist discourses over the last fifteen years. Many of the discussions surrounding sexuality were complicated by the increasing growth of Identity politics within the lesbian feminist movements.

Identity politics creates a hierarchy of oppression and gives space to women from minority groups within the larger grouping to have their say. It had developed as a way of dealing with the inherent racism, classism
and ableism of women within a movement that was dominated by white, middle-class women. (Healey, 1996, pp.99).

This type of standpoint theory comes up constantly within any feminist discussion, the notion that being a lesbian gives you certain credence to speak authoritatively from a perspective is interesting. If we acknowledge that there are different groups with particular perspective's we must be careful not to be drawn into an infinite regress of the most oppressed or disadvantaged person is the most authoritative in their understanding of issues. We can reach point where no-one else has any right to speak or offer opinions, rendering all discussion about issues null, and society in general just becomes a group of individuals with individual perspective's. This may discourage discussion there is no common perspective or reference point from which to begin.

Numerous examples of identity politics turn up in the literature about pornography and particularly minority pornography. Candida Royalle states,

People also ask me why I don't do lesbian movie. But since I'm not a lesbian I don't feel I'm the right person to do it. Debi Sundahl and the women at blush Productions are making fabulous lesbian movies, which is great, as they come from the heart. (Royalle, 1993, pp.28).
But we can allow that at least in many respects lesbians do have a unique standpoint view of society. Charlotte Bunch states that lesbians defy conformist ideas, the lesbian defines herself in terms of women and rejects male definitions of how she should feel and act, look and live. ([Bunch, 1984]. This notion is confirmed by Janice Raymond who states that many lesbian feminists believe that heterosexism is the paradigmatic model for the oppression of women in a patriarchal society. Raymond also believes that this is part of a wider problem that we live in a hetero-relational society where all of women's personal, social political, professional, and economic relations are defined by the ideology that women is for man. (Raymond, 1984).

Thus Lesbians must be somewhat the least influenced by male exercise of power, simply for the reason that they are not sexually attracted to men and therefore have less to lose if they challenge male power.

Much of Identity politics can also intersect with the concept as mentioned by Raymond of Heterosexism. Jung & Smith (1993) define 'heterosexism' as a "reasoned system of bias regarding sexual orientation. It denotes prejudice in favour of heterosexual people " (p13). This prejudice is against bisexual and homosexual people, heterosexism does not necessarily have to be conscious active discrimination. In fact heterosexism is usually subtle and subconscious, It is an overriding world view that heterosexuality is the norm therefore is unspoken but everything else must be "other", denoted as different.

Most common representations of heterosexism involved the assumptions of heterosexuality unless something different is clearly stated. Thus for a
heterosexual to describe themself as such seems unusual, because it is already assumed, but if a person who is homosexual includes this information, it further categorises and identifies the person as something other than is assumed. Pat Romans discusses this issue in an article about Lesbian Mothers. The first sentence of her article reads, "But you can't be a Lesbian and a Mother — can you?" (Raymond, 1984, pp 98). The notion that these two identities can exist in one person is considered conflictual within our current society. Because of heterosexist attitudes, anything not considered the norm is other, which usually means deviant and anything deviant is deemed compulsive. Therefore a highly common conception of a lesbian is a women with a high sex drive (compulsive) who seeks the sexual company of women (other). The notion of a mother is an idealised mythology that women wish to attain, a mother is kind nurturing selfless and consumed by raising children thus the two categories seem opposed.

By discussing 'heterosexism' the lesbian community is locating the problem in heterosexism, rather that in homosexuality—thus they are challenging heterosexuals to defend their point of view.

Heterosexism is a hegemonic practice and should be viewed in the same way as racism, sexism, ageism it is the overarching mindset that deny, or deviates any differences, from the perceived norm. Thus it must contain believes values connotation of prescribed ways of being and viewing other individuals — it is highly stereotypical.
Film Theory and Representation

Stern discusses the use of media within these theoretical discussions. According to Stern that "while the overall critique of patriarchal ideology was developed, this was manifested primarily through work on the media." (Stern, 1982, pp. 43). The use of alternative viewings such as relation between sex and violence within pornographic representations has been construed in a variety of ways. "Where pornography is posed as an issue of violence, not sex, it is claimed that the representations are in themselves violent and assaulting and thus oppressive to women." (Stern, 1982, pp 50). There is also a distinction between pornography, everyday life and a causal relationship, which addresses the issue of pornography being a fantasy or fiction.

The 'intention to arouse' which seems to characterise pornography films has proved problematic for feminism, since the pornography industry this means a promotion of the male consumer's erection and masturbation (Stern, 1982, pp 58).

Nead notes that moral regulation in 1970's took form of regulation of "representations" of sexuality as opposed to regulation of sexual behaviour. (Nead, 1990).

Willmen suggested that "pornography is a particularly condensed version of fiction and is also over determined by sexual fantasy, by the figuring out of body space, the spacing out of bodies." (Stern, 1982, pp. 59).
Many of the critiques of pornography argue that pornography is a representation of male phantasy, of the collective male Unconscious, and as such reveals a conjunction of sex and death expressed in a desire to destroy the feminine principle. When women admit to being turned on by pornography images, or having fantasies which may involve violence or submission, the confession is often qualified by an acknowledgment of conditioning —patriarchy writes the scripts and we are all assigned roles." (Stern, 1982, pp. 60).

Hart notes that pornography is not a sexual practice, as Suzanne Kappeler argues, it is a form of representation. Nor is representation a neutral act of showing, it is a reproductive recovery of the past. Generally literary representations condone violence against women as they hide behind the realistic imperative allowing the argument that they are simply "showing" or exposing the features of contemporary society when they are in fact ratifying them. (Hart, 1988). By characterising pornography as a mere mirror of violent patriarchal desires, current debates have drawn attention away from the manipulative and ironic powers of the pornographic discourse. (Mainil, 1992) Thus questions of representation and of pleasure cannot be separated because power actually produces forms of pleasure and sexuality (Mainil, 1992, p. 349). Therefore as Kuhn states pornography is not simply a set of representations defined by content or function, but is a set of institutions comprising also technologies (of mechanical reproduction of images, in particular) and relations of production. (Kuhn, 1984). Cameron states that Williams analyses pornography in its own terms, as a system of representation, as a genre. (Cameron, 1990).
Creet claims that the phallus exists as the symbol of desire because it represents both the presence of the penis for men and the absence of it for women. It therefore becomes a symbol of exchange ([Creet, 1991]). Pornography is a description, therefore Gubar states that we should use it to explore not only the politics of representation but the politics of theories of representation. (Gubar, 1987, pp. 714).

All these competing theories have served to make the viewing, consumption and discussion of pornography extremely difficult. But what does this do to lesbian pornography? There must be some difference in the representation to even recognise it as pornography. The lesbian community is in no way cohesive in their opinion. During 1985 and 1986 when MacKinnon and Dworkin were active in pornography discussions lesbians themselves became drawn in. Initial attempts at erotica brought criticism that this was just another name for pornography and that erotica was just better produced pornography for a different market, therefore any sexual activity must be pornographic and subjugating. A book called 'Serious Pleasure' was published in 1989, it was a collection of erotic stories that were explicit and physically founded. This book had two responses, "for some lesbian feminists the new erotic language of serious pleasure, with all its cunts and clits and fucks and fuckings, was just the same old oppressive erotic language of the heteropatriarchy" (Healey, 1996, pp. 142). But others argued that previous objections such as pornography being exploitive, could incite rape and violence that were levelled at male produced pornography were no longer viable, when the pornography was directed at women for women, and made by women, how could you claim these factors to be true.
Throughout all this discussion we must remember as Ross points out that the erotic body is not trans-historical, and the grammar of its response to pornography, while informed by a 'deep structure' of primal and infantile fantasies held, more or less, in common, is inflected by a personal psycho-sexual history of social experiences which ensures that its articulated sexuality is as unique as a thumbprint, while never so fixed in its contours as to be a reliable guarantee of identity. (Ross, 1993).

**Sexuality and Pornography**

The public debate surrounding pornography has been misleading according to some commentators, June Callwood feels that there is strong reason to doubt that pornography is as prevalent and horrific as the public has been led to believe [ cited in (Downs, 1989) ]. Many common sense discussions of censorship feature statements about pornographic texts causing violence and abuse, much of this can be traced back to the Meese report. In this report examples of material not readily available and illegal in other aspects of the law were presented as evidence for the need for censorship. This misrepresented the actual content of the majority of mainstream pornographic material accessible for general public. (Champagne, 1991). Some feminist groups appear to be using and exploiting the sex, pornography, and violence link. One of the purposes of this as Kim Lentz points out is that the pornography debates have had a profound impact upon cultural understandings of feminist and female 'rage'. In addition, it was in the context of these debates that a shift occurred in constructions of women more generally, many feminists challenged the over determinedly
victimised subject of the ant-pornography faction, and instead began to theorise a subject for whom victimhood, danger and pleasure exist in profoundly complex ways. (Lentz, 1993). This tends to be at odds with the pervasive ideology which insists upon 'woman's" special relationship to amoral purity. (Kitzinger, 1983) As such women's personality and agency, as well as sexuality and sexual expression continue to be theorised and explored.

While the primary discussions surrounding pornography have used and framed there view within the violence and sex link, many of those who oppose censorship calls, in general do not advocate or dismiss the possible impact such material may have. Candida Royalle, a female pornography producer, admitted that it is fair to say that violence and pornography can be damaging in some respects, and

if a film shows a woman forced into sex against her will in a genuinely frightening context, and then she's shown to turn around and like it, that is very destructive. Whereas if it is obvious that it is a woman's fantasy and if it's consensual— consensual being the key word here— it's totally different. (Royalle, 1993, pp. 28-29).

There is a move currently amongst women, feminists and lesbians to appropriate pornography and feel more comfortable with sexual imagery. This is something that Royalle and other pro-porn feminists applaud. Some feminists are now of the opinion that women have traditionally been able
to modify generic and cultural models of sexuality and now are starting to use pornography to their own ends. (Mainil, 1992).

All these theoretical discussions have added depth and complexity to the pornography debate. These new ways of analysing gender and sexuality have extended the argument surrounding sexual imagery far beyond the bounds of the MacKinnon and Dworkin analysis. We can also now acknowledge that it is possible to experience conflictual reactions and be influenced differentially via sexual imagery and pornography, thus the debate is no longer as simplistic and as such solutions or recommendations must reflect this also.
Chapter 4:
Lesbianism and The Sexuality Debates

The Lesbian Response

As Lesbians had aligned themselves with feminist groups, they were part of the response to those issues raised by feminists. Thus lesbians who were part of the rape and pornography movements, started to question some of the assumptions being made. Healey (1996) talks of the analysis of sex and sexual activity being theorised within feminist groups. The attack on patriarchy and gender, in many ways, made lesbians, especially as a political group, non-sexual. This de-sexualising of lesbianism was a result of various factors, one being the lesbian identity posited by Adrienne Rich, and another being the notion that to criticise patriarchy and male powers that are criticised as the sexual aggressors, it was necessary to distance themselves from that which they criticised. Yet many lesbians were engaging in some type of sexual activity, thus the current theorising of sex and sexuality was eroding the 'lesbian identity'. Much of the debate was also linked with a definition of sexuality that was representative of women, in general as well as lesbians.

A 'lesbian identity' had been lost in the debates, and was further confused by Adrienne Rich (1996), who advanced the notion that there may not be a simple divide between heterosexuality and lesbianism, and that women can
be placed along a lesbian continuum. This article had a double-edged effect it firstly legitimated lesbians as having an important role within feminist discourse, but it also desexualised their relations. It managed to do this by denying a specific sexual/love identity that was lesbian as well as framing it within a feminist context.

Several attempts to redress this were made. Certain commentators have tried to theorise a lesbian identity. Valerie Jenness (1992) is one such theorist, she identifies three critical characteristics that are required before the self categorisation can take place when considering the social category lesbian. Firstly understandings of the social category lesbian are relatively vague and derive from sources fairly removed from direct experience. Second, with rare exception, the connotations associated with the term lesbian are at best neutral and usually negative. Third and finally, the imagery associated with what it means to be a lesbian is perceived as incongruent with individual lived experience, and thus prohibits self-categorisation. (Jenness, 1992). This categorisation must take place within a social structure and Faderman points to the central contradiction of lesbian identification: the dilemma involved in naming oneself in terms of a concept which emerged from a deeply oppressive set of institutions. Therefore central to both lesbian oppression and lesbian resistance/survival is the construction of lesbianism and the lesbian. This is not just a matter of how lesbianism should or could be defined, but a struggle over who (ie which social forces and social groups) will control that process of definition, of naming and of explanation.(cited in (Griffin, 1994)

The establishment of a lesbian identity is important for political and psychological reasons, especially since public discourses have historically
maintained a virtual silence on female homosexual desire. This means that literary texts have had an extraordinarily strong influence on perceptions of lesbianism. (Dunn, 1994). Such an identity allows both a political identity to be established, which is important if any sort of collective group cohesion is to occur which can challenge existing power structures. A possible tool for this has been advanced by Julia Creet. She claims that it is interesting look at the differences between gay rights and lesbian—especially in representations of sexuality and sexual practices. Creet advocates that lesbians should learn and appropriate gay practices for creating visibility. (Creet, 1991).

**Lesbian Sexuality**

There also within this creation of a lesbian identity has been an attempt to establish what lesbian sexuality 'is'. Lesbian sex scenes have long been used in mainstream heterosexual pornography and many consider these images to be misrepresentative of lesbian sexuality. Not so much as a consequence of this, but more as an attempt to establish a sexual identity, lesbian pornography is being produced. To create this sort of material there is a lot to debate in the lesbian community as to what is sexuality and what can be considered lesbian desire. A few prominent lesbian pornography magazines have been produced as well as videos. Jill Dolan says that in there attempt to create a forum, lesbians can now offer liberative fantasies and representations of a kind of sexuality based on lesbian desire, adding that the "male forms" of pornographic representation acquire new meanings when they are used to communicate the desire for readers of a different gender and sexual orientation. (Ellsworth, 1986). But it is acknowledged that a
definition of lesbian desire is difficult to establish. Richardson says that talk about lesbian sexuality is limited, there is not an articulate language associated with lesbian sexual activity. One of the reasons Richardson identifies as a basis for this lack of language is the knowledge that sex between women has been viewed as a 'turn on' for men, thus lesbian sexual language would seem to mimic and buy into this titillation. She cites the pornography industry as evidence of this fascination that in turn alienates lesbians. (Richardson, 1992).

Creating a sexual language to signify sexual activities within lesbian relations is an important task, as most currently available conceptions of sex revolve around heterosexual penetrative intercourse. This, states Richardson, has the implication that lesbians don't have sex they have foreplay. This type of message about what counts as real sex will influence lesbians, because it is acknowledged that lesbians are still socialised women and as such cannot fully escape the formation of desires, personalities and viewpoints that are created by patriarchy. This point is imbedded in a wider issue of language in general, which is either silent about women's bodies and sexuality or, where it does exist, ridicules and insults them."(Richardson, 1992, pp.190). Evidence for this lack of language is most conspicuous within the sex education programs that exist in schools. I discuss the use of language in relation to women's sexuality in the Sexuality and Education chapter.

There has been an attempt at a language about sex and sexuality within lesbian communities, with sex-manuals and erotic fiction. Some examples of these types of works I discussed in Chapter three in the women's sexuality section, such as the Susie Bright book and Naomi Holoch and Joan Nestle
book called 'Women on Women 2' (Holoch & Nestle, 1993). In addition Diane Mariechild and Marcelina Martin produced a book called Lesbian Sacred Sexuality which endeavoured to create an opportunity for lesbians to "reflect on our intimate, sexual and sensual experiences as sacred" (pp.xiv), this book provides photographs and text that discuss what sexual experiences they deem as sacred. (Mariechild & Martin, 1995) Another example of the increase in sexual discussion is called 'Making out' which is supposed to be a book on lesbian sex and sexuality, this book is presented as an A-Z guide on acts, gear imagination and body, providing definitions and suggestions. (Schramm-Evans & Jaugey-Paget, 1995). In addition to the literature there is the increase of lesbian produced pornography. One of the more important aspects of this is as Heather Findlay says is that: "What the sex police don't understand is that you look at lesbian pornography because it validates your sexual identity....Dyke pornography affirms—and acts as a catalyst for—our desires.' (Findlay, 1993, pp.43). This point is also reiterated by David Pendleton who says that "pornography plays a different role within gay male culture from the role straight porn plays in straight men's lives. Gay porn is currently the main source of representations of male homosexuality (in terms of sheer numbers)." (pp.155) and has a role in the way that gay men come to acknowledge their own desires and talk to one another about those desires. (Pendleton, 1992). This type of use of porn is consistent with some to the reasons for the growth in lesbian pornography. The use and creation of lesbian pornography is still a contested issue. For Richardson there is a central question as to whether lesbian pornography is liberating or constricting for lesbians.— much lesbian pornography is mimicking heterosexual pornography and not in an empowering way. (Richardson, 1992, pp.198). I will show in the analysis of video material how lesbian pornography can be empowering and distinct from male produced pornography.
Political Lesbianism

Due to the article by Adrienne Rich it became possible for women to identify as lesbian on a political level. This is often refereed to as political Lesbianism. Ettmore (1980) when discussing the historical notion of political lesbianism, claims that it rose from the radical feminist camp and initially implied that women became lesbians in order to make a political statement that they rejected the oppression which they believed was inherent in sexual relationships with men. This led to the "real lesbian" almost disappearing as a sexual being, being associated with a political standpoint. The view contends that lesbianism has a particular historical position that is unique especially in respect to political consciousness, it became a useful political and social tool. From this standpoint lesbians can try to expose the roots of power in society. For Ettmore lesbianism, has the potential at a conscious level, to disrupt the social organisation of power. this lead to lesbianism as no longer being a personal or individual 'thing'. Rather, one could say 'Lesbianism is a struggle against all forms of oppression in society'. It is no longer located in an individual woman, but viewed in relationship to the position of all women in society." (Ettmore, 1980). Thus the term political lesbianism can be use to analyse a particular viewpoint on society and power, gender and sexuality.

Much of the political activism of lesbians can be traced to issues of identity about women and lesbians in our society. For Charlotte Bunch (1984) lesbians are in revolt, precisely because they defy conformist ideas. She defines herself in terms of women and rejects the male definitions of how she should feel, act, look, and live. "To be a Lesbian is to love oneself, woman, in a culture that denigrates and despises women." (pp.144). This
could be because lesbians are often described as the most invisible minority. Heterosexual males (and therefore society) do not by and large recognise lesbianism as a true sexual choice. This is most likely why lesbian scenes occur within heterosexual pornography, because it is seen as titillation and is non-threatening to the male status as the primary sexual prize. "This dismissive attitude is even reflected in legislative realms whereby lesbian behaviour is not even considered penalising!" (Carr, 1991, pp. 54). What is meant by lack of visibility for lesbians.

The Invisibility of the Lesbian

There are extensive discussions in the academic literature about the lack of identity for lesbians within society. The invisible lesbian' is discussed frequently. As mentioned previously there is even a lack of legislative consideration, and thus legal definition of the identity of Lesbians. Why is this considered a problem. It means that there is little or no lesbian identity, and very little history to start from that is readily identifiable within society. This is somewhat different from the experience of gay men. Jeffrey Weeks (1989) talks about the fact that while the gay liberation movement exploded in the late sixties, using the women's movements analysis and political style. But also had a long history of homosexual self-definition within the terms of a morally and legally oppressive society. There has been a flurry of writing lately that is attempting to write lesbian history, literature and photography, reminiscent of the explosion of Women's history that occurred. This is almost a conscious 'construction' of lesbianism and the lesbian existence.
Thus the only identity of lesbianism was that existed within feminism, was a political standpoint that had more to do with academic positioning than the lived existence of a lesbian lifestyle. Thus the sexual lesbian was still missing.

As a result of this there have been discussions on the "invisible lesbian' within theoretical circles. These discussions are usually linked with discussions on heterosexism, that claims that homosexuals are deemed normal (heterosexuals) until they represent themself as gay and 'come out', at which point they position themself as 'other' in society. Another attempt to redress visibility issues, has come in the increase in books about homosexuality and for lesbians. Ettmore in her book, set out with two aims, the first was to make homosexuality relevant to society by showing its crucial social factors rather than any peripheral personal aspects. The second aim is to offset the existing male bias by emphasising the effects of homosexuality on women. (Ettmore, 1980).

Julia Creet offers ways of making lesbians more visible, she states that it is interesting to look at the differences between gay rights and lesbian—especially in representations of sexuality and sexual practices. Creel advocates that lesbians should learn and appropriate gay practices for creating visibility. (Creel, 1991). A point that others echo when it comes to sexuality.

Carla Trujillo discusses the notion that previously it had been stated that gay men eroticise differences while lesbians generally politicised them, she however believes that "lesbians not only politicize our differences, but
eroticize them as well. We just don't talk about it" (Trujillo, 1992, pp.24). This type of catch phrase is an extension of the late sixties slogan 'the personal is political' that was adopted by feminists who realised that many of their individual problems and anxieties "were shared by others and concluded that they were more that merely personal, they derived from our social situation and were characteristic of our oppression as women" (Jackson & Scott, 1996, pp.5). It is connected with the need to identify how political beliefs are extended to personal choices and existence, here the importance is that to create a visibility for lesbians especially a sexualised being within a context (read society) that does not acknowledge their rights, thus as Carla Trujillo state their needs to be discussion about these facts.

While pornography has raised the profile of feminism over the last thirty years, and brought issues of women's oppression in patriarchy into general social discussion, attempts to ban or censor it will in my opinion not bring any benefit to women. I shall now look at some of the more prominent issues that surround pornography. These issues are situated around how pornography relates to sexuality, sexual behaviours, and lesbianism.
Chapter 5: Lesbians and Pornography

Lesbians Talk pornography

Porn can be both progressive and reactionary, oppressive and liberating and it is naive simply to welcome or denounce its representations. (Smyth, 1990, pp. 152).

According to writers such as Tamara Packard, Melissa Schraibman, Cherry Smyth and Terralee Bensinger, a lesbian perspective does offer new ways of viewing pornography and gender. Packard and Schraibman outline MacKinnon, who identifies sexuality as the most powerful force in our society, and believe that sexuality not only drives our desires but creates the definition of gender and the way that we as a society interrelate these two. Male power is exercised in society through the manipulation and control of sexuality. Thus sexuality is the primary social sphere of male power. (MacKinnon, 1996). Gender embodies sexuality, and the position of male sexual dominance and female sexual submission construct the genders. For MacKinnon gender and sexuality are the same thing. (Packard & Schraibman, 1994). Therefore in their pursuit to control women's sexuality, males' created pornography, the goal of which is, to define what a woman is. Because of the control that pornography has over women, MacKinnon
identifies pornography as a political practice which institutionalises male supremacy. "Pornography constructs what a woman is in terms of its view of what men want sexually." (MacKinnon, 1996, pp. 144).

For MacKinnon then, women are defined as women by men and there is no difference between women's sexuality and the female gender. Pornography creates this definition because the power of pornography is nearly total. It controls the definition of the gender "woman" to such an extent that female sexuality cannot exist as anything other than the embodiment of men's projected needs (Packard & Schraibman, 1994). Packard and Schraibman accept

that pornography has the power to define sexuality and portray what is Truth or truths, and argues that therefore women should not relinquish this power to the full and exclusive control of men. (Packard & Schraibman, 1994, pp. 302).

They advocate that lesbians, bisexual women and straight women take the traditionally male tool of pornography and invest it with their own meanings. The possibility that men may use pornography made and intended for women's consumption should not prevent women and feminists from creating representations of our sexuality. For these two theorists many of the anti-pornography feminists while claiming to address sexuality, only address male sexuality. Emphasising the supposed harm that results from the graphic depiction of that sexuality. The issue of female sexuality seems to be avoided which in turn denies women the power and
right to present alternate views of sexuality. Women can and should use pornography to reclaim and liberate women's sexuality from male definitions and directly oppose any attempts at silencing women's voice.

Packard and Schraibman also attack the anti-pornography lobby and especially MacKinnon's theories as being extremely heterosexist. This idea was covered earlier in this thesis, where there is a bias to frame all discussions with heterosexuality considered the norm and therefore placing all alternatives as 'other' or in comparison with this norm. MacKinnon fails to acknowledge lesbianism and her theory does not allow for lesbian existence, the only way lesbians can fit is if one woman is 'socially male' by this she means that power relations are still part of the sexual encounter and inequities exist that frame one as 'male' and the other as 'female'. According to MacKinnon lesbians so violate the sexuality implicit in female gender stereotypes as not to be considered women at all. (MacKinnon, 1996). This view is, according to Packard and Schraibman, presumptive and they question how MacKinnon seems "unable to consider the possibility that behaviours that look like conformity can be revolutionary when in a lesbian context, because women participating in such activities violate gender stereotypes" (Packard & Schraibman, 1994, pp.308). Because of the heterosexist framework that MacKinnon uses she ignores lesbians, whose sexuality exits at the margins of dominant culture. And for many theorists this positioning at these margins can allow feminists to claim and use self-determination and sexuality to free themselves from heterosexist, exploitive, oppressive constructs. (Packard & Schraibman, 1994).

Lesbians have more conceptual space in which to create and define our sexuality outside of dominant, male-
defined sexuality. The absence of men in the picture (literally and conceptually) makes this so. Lesbians also have a particular need to explore our sexuality because dominant society defines us only in sexual terms, if at all. (Packard & Schraibman, 1994, pp. 303)

As lesbians defy the dominant cultures' definition of female sexuality, this exposes the conceptual space that women can use to liberate themselves from patriarchal definition of women's sexuality. These theorists acknowledge that the mere absence of men in close sexual relations does not mean that there is also an absence of patriarchal ideas about women in lesbian sexuality and that lesbians live in the domain culture and are influenced by misogynist ideas. However they exist at the margins of dominant culture without intimate male influence, lesbians have a unique perspective and therefore have more conceptual room to challenge and explore sexuality and gender constructions.

Lesbians are less likely to have internalised dominant culture's definition of women's sexuality because lesbians break sexual rules by defying the heterosexual norm. In addition, because lesbians do not have intimate sexual relationships with men, those misogynist ideas are not imposed and enforced as personally as they may be for straight women. Straight women may justify their internalization of male images of female sexuality based on their love for a man. (Packard & Schraibman, 1994, pp. 309-310).
Thus Packard and Schraibman advocate a redefining and exploitation of lesbian sexuality that will in turn impact on women in general. They claim that it is easier for women to find their own definitions in a space where rules do not exist or are not accepted than it is to break existing, entrenched and constantly enforced rules of male-female sexual behaviour. Once lesbians have formulated new realities of sexuality, other women will find it easier to create their own non-patriarchal realities by borrowing lesbians' tools or by simply knowing that such creation is possible. Lesbian pornography is one location in which women can formulate and show sexualities that are not male-defined.

Because pornography is such a powerful tool, as claimed by MacKinnon also, in shaping sexuality, gender and identity, lesbians can use it to reclaim and redefine lesbian sexuality both within the lesbian community and dominant culture. Historically the concept of lesbian sexuality had been sanitised, de-sexualised and de-eroticised, and the call to recuperate the 'lesbian sexual position, has been made. (Besinger, 1992). "Within our community, we can empower, educate, and foster communication about sexuality among ourselves through lesbian pornography." (Packard & Schraibman, 1994, pp.303).

Lesbian sexuality has been repressed, rendered invisible and impotent by society. By watching porn we can on some level recognize ourselves, defend our right to express our sexuality and assert our desire. (Smyth, 1990, pp.154).
Many of these theorists claim that pornography has already begun to form this function by opening up the lesbian community to more open and honest discussion of sex, which should impact on the concept of women's sexuality also. (Besinger, 1992; Healey, 1996; Packard & Schraibman, 1994; Smyth, 1990).

Packard and Schraibman present compelling arguments about how lesbian pornography can challenge our conceptions of gender and stereotypical sexual behaviours, but they don't discuss why so important and what is specifically different about Lesbian pornography. I have attempted to identify issues and behaviours that I see as being significant as a representation of both lesbian and women's sexuality within pornography that could be considered directed at lesbians. While many writers have addressed the issue of pornography being unrealistic, and still a vast amount of people discussing the fact that lesbian porn can be seen as a new genre, there has been little examination of the material.

There appeared to be little reference in the academic literature to actual video material. Coupled with this was the repetitive arguments that surround pornography, that did not seem to correspond to video material I had seen. As John Champagne, Donald Downs, Susie Bright and others have mentioned the prevalence of overt violent and coercive material is mythical. Most censorship laws that cover basic broadcasting and importing would not allow this type of material to be viewed. In fact discussions on actual movies and representation of sexual behaviours was difficult to find. While viewing the material, I started by looking at general mainstream heterosexual pornography and made some basic observations. It was also noted that the more recent the material the more sophisticated the
production, editing, filming and film technique is occurring within pornography. Previous criticism such as pornography is boring, no plot, little context and lack of story, lack of intimacy, have I feel, to some extent been addressed. There appears to be a conscious effort to create a more sophisticated product, as an example, 'Hidden Obsession' in which the movie unfolds as a writer is commissioned to write fantasy's about sexual encounters. This allows the "scenes" or sexual acts to remain disjointed and gives a context of fantasy to the movie (thus we don't expect the sexual acts to be realistic and can ignore inconsistencies) This movie was a high production cost mainstream heterosexual movie that did include lesbian action. When I felt that I understood the general mainstream products available, I started looking for video material that I considered would represent lesbian sexuality or at least be marketed to appeal to the lesbian viewer. By this I mean no male sexual involvement in the material.

I have chosen four videos primarily to focus my analysis on. All were produced by men, but claim to be intended for lesbian audiences. I felt that these videos reflected sexuality that was encompassing of women's and lesbian sexual expression. The first video was called Lesbian Lovers, it had fourteen scenes that were different sexual encounters for the women involved. Some of these scenes included two to three women involved, in some of the scenes sex tools (eg. dildos, vibrators, props) were used. None of the scenes used sex tools exclusively, throughout the entire skit. The final scene was the only one that identified someone as heterosexual, their was a general ambience that all the women were experienced at women to women sex and many seemed to be framed within a relationship context. The second video was an American production produced by the production company called Rosebud Girls with the title being Kittens and Vamps. This movie had four scenes. The first was three women in a prison cell. The
second was four women at an aerobics class. The third scene was set in a police station, with one woman as a police officer and two others as prisoners just released from jail, one of the women here rung her boyfriend to get him to pick her up but he had found someone else and wasn't interested. The final scene was a relationship setting of two women in a living room. The third Video was Thrill Seekers. It contained four scenes and these all took place in a locker room of a sports area. The first scene included included three girls all dressed in cheerleader outfits. The second scene was four women who had just come into the locker room after a game of baseball. The third scene was also after a baseball game but included three women. The fourth scene did not seem to have any sporting staging but consisted of three women in the locker room. This movie presented the least interesting scenes for the purposes of this thesis, but I included it because it was produced by the same company as Kittens and Vamps and was directed by Buck Haley also. This video included two of the same actresses as Kittens and Vamps and some similarities, such as the final scene included a lot of jewellery and body piercing. It was similar in content to Kittens and Vamps but of less quality I felt. Much of the acting was forced and staged. I suspect that it was trying to capture the essence of Kittens and Vamps but the actresses were less convincing. Where the Girls Sweat, was the title of the fourth video used for analysis. This video was set around an all women's gym. One woman saw an add for the gym and wanted to join, she apparently did not know the gym was for lesbian women and joined. Throughout this video there were blatant derogatory comments made about men and heterosexual women, also the other gym members would make specific and obviously sexually explicit remarks to the new member and amongst themselves in reference to this member.
From a general impression about the production I noticed that the actresses were not "Typical" porn actresses, by which I mean that it did not appear as though any of the women had had breast implants or surgical enhancement, this assessment was made due to my own experience of viewing pornographic material. Throughout the course of my thesis I endeavoured to view a wide range of pornographic material so that I could feel confident in my assessment both of the currently available material and any new trends or developments. There were actresses from varying racial groups and there also appeared to be a deliberate intention to make one actress appear Asian in origin. There physical appearance was varying with different stature's and body types included, and body adornment was noted. This adornment took the shape of tattoos, and body piercing (tongue and navel) It was also noted that there was a lot of jewellery being worn also. I felt that the appearances of the actresses was at least a deliberate attempt to represent difference among the women and possibly to signify that they were different from other "porn women".

These films were an example of how lesbian sexual imagery is created in the video industry, and relatively accessible to the majority of the population in New Zealand. Other productions that are made by lesbian women for lesbians are produced in America are not readily available and require importing for access. Therefore I decided to concentrate on that material that was available to the general public, that is considered to express lesbian sexuality and embody sexual expression that is consistent with women only encounters. Identifying how I derived at these examples of video material I found was difficult to articulate. I realised that I feel there is something additional in these films that has been difficult to articulate. Firstly none of these movies include any sexual encounter with men, as such there is not
the standard scene in heterosexual pornography of women having sex until a man comes along, or performing for his pleasure. There tends to be a passion and desire for the women involved in the encounters, very rarely are the scenes framed in 'do this for me' sense, the women generally want to touch the other person and ask can 'I touch you', this to me signals a desire for the other person rather that gratification for ones own arousal. There is also not the focus on traditional pornography shots, ie. there seems to be less fully explicit genital shots.

Lesbian Sexual Images

Although as previously discussed that lesbianism is somewhat invisible within our society, pornography does seem to be an exception. It is a site where we can see images meant to represent lesbian sexual activity. It appears that "lesbianism has a certain appeal in sex shops and in pornographic literature. Any form of disgust manages not only to keep well hidden but to be transformed into a source of titillation for the male fantasy." (Ettmore, 1980,pp.7) This use of lesbian imagery within heterosexually targeted pornography is relatively widely spread, in fact this is a prevalence of what ruby rich calls fake lesbianism, seems to be a staple of the pornographic industry.(Rich, 1983)

This has not gone unnoticed by the lesbian community, and Lisa LaBia states that many lesbians claim that many of the girl/girl actions discredited by lesbian viewers as being fake, boring and ignorant of gay values. Due to
this many seasoned sceptics wonder if the commercial pornography industry can create videos that accurately reflect lesbian sexuality. (LaBia, 1990) She also talks about what she sees as being important components of lesbian sexual representations and notes that one standard is important when watching pornography, that is whether there is passion etc. Whether the women are terrific actresses or they’re honestly horny doesn’t matter, as long as the viewer believes in the image. (LaBia, 1990). I think this comment is the same for lesbian, gay and heterosexual sexual imagery, but probably difficult to ‘capture’. While a film that genuinely represents sexuality is a winner according to LaBia, who is a writer for the lesbian erotic magazine "On Our backs".

Heather Findlay, a colleague of LaBia’s, admits that she poaches from heterosexual pornography, she claims though, that as a lesbian she reads differently from the likes of Playboy and therefore is not replicating misogyny. (Findlay, 1993). However she does not discuss how this occurs or even if its identifiable, implying it is embedded in her position as a lesbian. This notion of using different ways of interpreting sexualities is a common discussion point amongst feminists. An example of such is from Ellsworth who notes that many reviewers noted that the lesbianism was down played in the movie "Personal Best", and that a space for legitimating lesbianism was not created, this was further muted by the heterosexual relationship of one of the main characters and a male character. But there also tended to be a conflict amongst the lesbian and straight reviewers

Lesbian feminists enjoyed watching heterosexual reviewers, identify lesbian performance as being bawdiness, fierce combativeness and loyalty, these behaviours are antiquated, stereotyped and cliched.
thus the dominant media failed to colonise a real lesbian space. Ellsworth (1986, pp. 54).

These comments made by the authors above as to what was desirable in a lesbian pornographic movie influenced me in my choice of video and the viewing I made of these. In the analysis phase I have identified certain themes that occurred in the material and which I believe is of value to an expression of female sexuality.

**Women and Control**

Within the pornography debates and feminism in general there has been an attitude of "lets take back control" or lets show them what it feels/looks like. Kathy Acker expresses this sentiment in an interview she states,

*It was a big step when women said, "We'll start making pornography; we'll take over those areas." It's fantastic that women are doing this! and men just can't deal with it—that's what all this recent censorship is about: the men are freaking out!* (Juno & Acker, 1991, pp. 177).

The aggression and use of assertive action is seen by many writers an interesting and integral part of the feminist campaign in pornography. This
attitude has also been taken up by Gay and Lesbian groups with Outing campaigns and aggressive tactics. The idea that women can be violent and aggressive has come under much discussion but role reversal never simply replicates the terms of an equation. The depiction of women committing acts of violence against men does not simply use "male" tactics of aggression for other ends:" (Halberstam, 1993, p 191). For Judith Halberstam the use of female violence in fact transforms the symbolic function of the feminine within popular narratives and this in turn challenges the hegemonic insistence upon the linking of might and right under the sign of masculinity. She comments on the film 'Thelma and Louise' that presented women with guns confronting a rapist, and how empowering the representation of women fighting violence with violence was. A similar analysis is offered about the Queer backlash she says that

the violence of queer nation (bash back) is the moment when what Foucault calls the "reverse discourse" becomes something else, something more than simply "homosexuality beginning to talk on its own behalf". The reverse discourse gathers steam, acquires density until it is in excess of the category it purports to articulate. The excess is the disruption of identity and the violence of power and the power of representation, it is dis-integrational; the excess is QUEER. (Halberstam, 1993, pp.193).

Kirsten Lentz talks of the interesting phenomenon of "female characters as the subjects of violence as they seek justice or revenge, all position the white woman as (respectively) an outlaw....In so doing, these films create an opportunity to read sexual 'difference' as women take up this new relationship to violence." (Lentz, 1993, pp.374). This pleasure clearly
participates in the liberal narrative of 'gender role' transgression, and provides an alternative view of pornography that allows questions of agency, subjectivity and authorial perspective's. Though some of the new films of female violence appeal to a (popularised) feminist discourse to provide a 'justification' for female violence, that justification is often problematized by a pervasive ideology which insists upon woman's special relationship to amoral purity. The use of women and aggressive perhaps violent action can I believe be found in "Where the girls sweat". There is throughout the movie a lot of hitting, slapping and swearing. This is framed in many cases as a demand for attention and sexual gratification, as well as when the women are loosing control. The issue of violence and aggression is related also to control. In general I did not see anything overtly violent, the aggressive acts (ie. slapping) were not severe. But these images did somewhat unnerve me, and made me feel uncomfortable. I was unsure whether this type of representation could be seen as positive, but then the image of aggressive and sexual demanding women was also difficult to view. This type of image of women placed as aggressor is not a standard image of women in society and media in general thus the rarity made the image poignant and provocative. The only other similar image I can recall is the character within the mainstream thriller 'Basic Instinct'. In that movie though the framing of the sexually aggressive female was neutered by her relationship with a man who eventually 'tamed' her. In that context her violence was negated almost. This type of subversion did not occur within 'where the girls sweat'. No real harm was done and much of the imagery was staged, their was also a sadomasochistic scene which I discuss later, but this seemed peripheral from the actual aggressive stance taken by the actresses. This type of action only occurred in this movie, I did not see similar images in any of the others, and wondered if the image when put together with the context of a women/lesbian gym tried to signal strong,
aggressive women who couldn't logically then have non-aggressive sex. Also the derogatory comments about men and heterosexuality seemed consistent with the assertive women. These images were unsettling but also challenging, such attitudes towards taking pleasure from women I had seen many times in heterosexual pornographic material, but it seemed to stand out in this movie mainly because I was unused to seeing women in that role. I found this image to be provocative and therefore useful because it challenged stereotypical beliefs about how women should act, by presenting women as the sexual aggressor, and with no men present which tends to nullify the effect, I found this to be a useful image of women as strong in control and sexually assertive.

Women as Visual

This can be considered a two pronged argument. Firstly we have to assume that women are starting to explore their sense of visual sexual enjoyment because of the fact that increasingly women are purchasing, hiring, and watching pornography. According to one co-proprietor of an Adult entertainment store, women comprise of around 35% of his clientele, whereas 10 to 15 years ago they would only be 1% (Holdom, 1995). In addition to this there has been an increasingly vocal group of women who I will term pro-porn who talk of their enjoyment of pornography. One such writer is Sallie Tisdale, she admitted that she enjoys pornography and wrote an essay for the Harper's magazine, which led readers through the secret world of sex shops X-rated video, cinemas etc. Much criticism was levelled at her for this admission both from conservatives and anti-porn feminists,
as well as pornography lovers who though she was a prude, mainly because of her housewife status. She finds that people tend to be fixated on her enjoyment of hard core porn. "People sometimes have this idea that all I do is watch dirty movies or I'm somehow addicted to pornography ... All I did was say I'm sometimes aroused by looking at pornography and it's not that radical a thing." (Holdom, 1995, pp. 51). She claims that a lot of women are, but we feel compelled to deny it.

Another aspect of the visual expression of sexuality is the increase quite dramatically in lesbian pornography/erotica, especially that which is produced and targeted specifically at lesbians and women. In a purely commercial sense this type of material would not be produced if there was no market and request for it. Although many writers claim diverse and sometimes conflictual reasons for viewing this material, it should be acknowledged that sexual arousal is a big component of it.

As for the images themselves some instances of what I would identify as representing women's visual/erotic desires were viewed in the videos. The most notable and interesting scene was in 'Where the Girls Sweat' (Stagliano, 1994). The scene starts with one woman dancing erotically for another woman, this leads to sexual intimacy, then the scene shifts to the signified heterosexual girl who is masturbating while watching the two women. Another twist occurs in the scene where the girl masturbating is in turn caught by the other women at the gym, who hassle the 'masturbator' who was caught. The plot is further reinforced when the viewer realises that they too are watching, and the scene makes a distinct point about viewing sexuality and why shame should be part of sexual arousal.
Another instance of visuality was in the 'Lesbian Lovers' movie. One scene showed a woman watching through a telescope into another house, where two women were having sex. The image that was presented implied that the voyeur was quite some distance (like apartment blocks), from the couple. Therefore the possibility of getting caught out was very unlikely. She made comment of "oh my god, they're doing it" and then continued to watch. The idea of observing from a safe distance was interesting. The similarity to the actual purchaser of the video seems possible, in that it is ok and even possible to derive pleasure from viewing sexual encounters and images, especially if you feel 'safe'. (Cherry Pepper Video,)

But the positioning of visibility as previously discussed can be problematic, especially when looking at Lesbian material. The issue of a heterosexist viewpoint can influence the interpretation. Many writers are now trying to acknowledge this and Linda Williams herself refers to the discrepancy between her own heterosexist negative reading of the movie Personal Best (1986) and the more positive reactions of lesbian viewers cited in (Ellsworth, 1986; Strayer, 1984; Williams, 1990).

In an attempt to create understandings and visibility lesbian commentators have created ways of viewing and analysis to give a lesbian view on things. This type of viewing is evident in film and representation theory such as Ellsworth (1986) describes when discussing Personal Best, "lesbian feminist reviews of the film adopted interpretative strategies which rejected or altered the meaning carried by conventional codes of narrative representation" (pp.54).
Women as Passive

Allowing women to be passive within a sexual context is also an interesting point. If women are passive then the producer must be careful to not present this as powerlessness, this it possible to do according to some writers. There is a certain amount of assertion of oneself as a sexually strong being to allow yourself to be pleasured and allowing yourself to be selfish in a sexual context. An example of this was in the fourth scene of the (Rosebud Girls, 1992) Kittens and Vamps movie, this scene was very much a seduction scene with the new lover, taking control and pleasuring the other women, there was a lot of touching and stroking and reassuring. This scene represented to me the notion of learning to trust someone else with both your sexual pleasure and to trust someone emotionally to be responsible for your well being. There is an element of control to let someone else be responsible for you. This was a useful illustration of the positives of being passive.

Sometimes the use of multiple people pleasuring one person is an especially potent image. Though there could be the criticism that receiver is merely a sexual object used by those 'doing it to her', I think that especially within the context of lesbian relations this is subverted. This type of situation can be viewed as women 'giving' pleasure and women 'receiving' pleasure, rather than the presence of a penis which can tend to denote 'taking' of pleasure. An example of such a scene would be in "Where the girls sweat" with the final orgy scene, where many women were sexually pleasuring one women. The scene represented the active participants were aiming for the passive women to reach orgasm and the encounter did not stop until this happened.
This contextualised the scene as the passive partner setting the goal of the encounter which was to pleasure her. There were various encounters similar to this in all of the video material that I viewed.

**Women Using Sex Toys**

Many discussions surrounding pornography also talk about the use of sex props and their presence especially within lesbian pornography. While many people find it difficult to understand the use of a dildo within women to women sexual encounters, claiming that the use of phallic and penis shaped dildos seems to undermine the legitimacy of female only sexual encounters. The notion that using such a symbol of male power and sexual penetration is consistent with MacKinnon's analysis that lesbians are social males, or take on the power structures of heterosexual sexuality, was discussed previously (MacKinnon, 1996). However I suggest that the dildo can be viewed in a multiplicity of ways. Within pure social relations it could be viewed as the appropriation of the Phallus or male power, thus signifying that women can take control and exhibit power. As a Sexual tool it can be argued that the dildo is representing the Penis, but this penis exists for the sole purpose of pleasing the women. The women is taking pleasure from the Penis, a subversion of many analyses of heterosexual copulation. Thirdly the times when a dildo/s is used, they are not used exclusively for the entire sexual encounter, suggesting at the very least that a 'penis' is not necessary for a successful or enjoyable sexual experience. The dildo is brought out and put away within the encounter, being used as deemed appropriate, or in fun or as wanted. And equally removed or discarded.
when desired. These ideas are consistent with both Susie Bright and Collen Lamos. Susie Bright make the point that people don’t just use dildo’s because "they’ve been brainwashed by the patriarchy—it feels good!(Juno, 1991b,pp. 215). Both Bright and Lamos refer to the fact that in addition use of sex tools and dildos further subverts traditional visual signifiers of gender identity and stereotypical assumptions about sexual orientation. This Lamos calls a redeployment of power that lesbians and women can utilise.

The most notorious instance of this redeployment of power, the dildo flaunts its phallicism and in so doing throws into doubt received distinctions between male and female as well as between hetero- and homosexuality.(Lamos, 1994,pp.91)

Thus the use of sexual toys and especially dildos can be utilised by lesbians and women to represent power and control both over societal expectations about what behaviour is considered appropriate, sexually, and to assert their control and power within sexual encounters.

Interestingly enough many people find a general confusion with the use of dildo’s in seemingly lesbian encounters, firstly assuming that the penis is the sexual focal point and definer of male sexuality. Secondly the confusion also suggests that for many people the notion of lesbians or two women engaging in mutually satisfying sexual encounters is considered very possible. It appears that people do not assume, as historically may have been the case, that heterosexual copulation must take place before naming a behaviour ‘sex’. 
Women as Strong

Images of women as strong, in control and dominant are also apparent within the movies viewed. But not in an equal way with heterosexual pornography. Women within the lesbian encounters, quite frequently swap roles, one will appear to have the power and then the other will take on a different power role, or there are instances of blatant exhibitions of power and relinquishment also. For example in Kittens and vamps the initial scene was with one women moving over to another and saying I have wanted to do this all day, she precedes to kiss and touch this women. The apparently passive women then after she has climaxed then turns around and starts to arouse her previously dominant partner, who willingly becomes passive. This was a turn taking scene where neither participant was confined by the role they had assumed, and readily moved through these roles with apparent ease. This in itself undermines the way we conceptualise active and passive roles within sexual encounters. June Reich says previously women have only been able to take on an active position by taking on the male perspective. This tended to rely on biological signals, however these do not exist within the lesbian context, but according to Reich was embodied in the Butch/Fem roles. To me then this role swapping seems unsettling.(Reich, 1992) None of the actresses here is represented as strictly butch or fem and as such the fluidity which they can move through these roles challenges ideas about appropriateness of sexual roles.

Use of strength can also be represented by the physical stature of the actresses, one such instance of this was the movie Kittens and Vamps, while viewing this movie, I was somewhat alarmed at one actress who appeared
to be very young, in fact she looked to be about 14-16 years of age. But as the laws in America are quite stringent with age of actresses it was agreed that she would have to be at least 18 years old. Also it appears that the makeup, hair and clothing were all designed to accentuate her apparent youthfulness. Her behaviour in the film was in no way passive, in fact she could be considered the more eager of the participants. The final script is centred around a women talking by phone to her ex-girlfriend while the young looking actress watches. A discussion takes place about how the younger looking actress is jealous, whereby the older women reassures her that she is no longer attached to her previous girlfriend, and is indeed attracted to her (younger actress). Then the younger actress initiates the sexual activity. Thus the older and strong looking women appears to be at the whim of the younger actress. Apparently seduced by the example of adoration, vulnerability and youth. While not explicitly attended to within the movie context, there seemed to be a conscious effort to represent the women in a purposeful way. (Rosebud Girls, 1992). By that I mean that each actress was cast in her role for a particular purpose, which was to represent a young strong active sexual partner, with an older, sophisticated passive partner. From this scene I took that the physical stature of a women does not designate a particular role, and that women can be active, strong, and aggressive within sexual encounters.

Women Wanting/Desire

Although it seems obvious that women engaged in pornography should be represented as wanting sexual involvement, but as anyone who has ever watched pornography will tell you, women supposedly engaging in sex quite
frequently look bored, uninterested and not the least bit involved in the 'action'. What struck me immediately in the 'lesbian lovers' movie by Cherry Peppers was the amount of eye contact between the actresses. There was a definite effort to represent passion and involvement/connection between the actresses that I felt was quite genuine. This type of action was not as obvious in the other movies, but still, there seemed to be enough attempt to represent common conceptions of passion to the point where, if an actress looked directly at the camera or seemed to be overacting it was immediately noted as out of place. Thus not within the context of the film.

Other issues related to desire was the women wanting sex, the desire for another being. Many of those encounters within the Cherry Peppers were women who sometimes were represented as long time or live in lovers, and there seemed, again whether this was well acted or not, they wanted the other person.

Within this type of theme I would state that many of the women represented within the videos were represented as being interested and wanting sexual encounters, many of the participants are active and appear to be very interested in pleasing and being pleased. A very strong image of this was in the 'Lesbian lovers' movie where there were two women on a bed, and got out a dildo, the general context was in fun and pleasure signalled with a lot of smiling, and talking. One women shows the other how where to place the dildo so as to maximise her pleasure. There is a feeling that both women are positive about their sexuality and concerned for the others pleasure also. This type of representation of women as strong and sexually active/positive is consistent with Sally Tisdale and Susie Bright
call for women to enjoy and explore their sexuality. It is also consistent with a celebratory sexuality that Packard and Schriabrum call for. (Packard & Schraibman, 1994).

Women Wanting Multiple Partners

The most important aspect of this observation is the apparent desire for multiple sexual partners, although the women swap and are not necessarily with one person all the time, they are taking pleasure in the sexual encounters. Whether this can be considered bad or good I think it has certain implications for the notion that women are usually monogamous or desire relationships and are not interested in multiple partners. Yet I must also point out that there is an attempt to represent some type of relationship with the women, as opposed to anonymous sex or sexual encounters with complete strangers that does occur in heterosexual films. There is not usually the introduction of new unknown partners. But there is pleasures to be gained from different partners. Also there is no excuses or attempt to account for the wish for multiple partners, as in some movies the women will almost apologise for her wanting to engage in sexual activity or looses control and that it her reasoning, eg. I don't usually do this, or the sex virus. There was a final orgy scene in the 'Where the Girls Sweat' movie, with a lot of partner swapping and group sex, however all these people were members of the 'gym' where the movie was set and their was no new people involved, who we did not know as characters in the film. Much of the discussion was around pleasuring and enjoying the sexual activity and comments were made as to each actors particular positive traits. (Stagliano,
This is significant because it does as I said show that women can desire multiple partners and especially in this context they are not punished or deemed abnormal for doing so. This is something that Annie sprinkle thinks should be a healthy natural desire, to experience other bodies.\cite{Juno, 1991a}.

**Lesbian Sadomasochism**

The final theme I wish to discuss is that of sadomasochistic images. This has been the most visible lesbian sexual image to exist, but previously was referred to commonly as deviant sexual behaviour and especially Sadomasochism. This is important because MacKinnon and Dworkin have among their objections that pornography promotes deviance, violence and coercion.

Sadomasochism invokes a lot of negative connotations, and this is true to in New Zealand. An example of such media concentration is the Peter Plumbly Walker murder case, the concentration by media and public was that peter died while engaged in sadomasochistic sex. At least one television documentary was made that concentrated on the sadomasochistic sex trade in Auckland. But very little time was given to actual discussion about sadomasochism occurred. As commonly occurs in sadomasochism, the male, Peter Plumbly Walker was in the role of the masochists, that is he received the pain, he was not the one inflicting it. This is quite a common occurrence in sadomasochism sex, it is usually the man who take the
submissive role, while a woman plays the Sadist or dominant.[with] "many slaves engaging in gender agency reversal rather than 'Identity'" (McClintock, 1993, pp. 97). The act of sadomasochism is more of a role-play scenario than an actual torture. Usually the submissive has the power, and the act is more of a sexual stage play, with a lot of emphasis on costume, staging and mimicking. Much of the pain inflicted is superficial with emphasis on loud sounding whips and clanging chains. Ironically McClintock notes that "the scandal of s/m however is that it borrows directly from the juridical model." (McClintock, 1993, pp. 107).

Sadomasochistic behaviour is of course only one type of behaviour that can be considered deviant by society. Gay men and lesbian woman have always been considered not the norm and therefore their pornography is also considered by society to be unacceptable. Much homosexual pornography has been produced by and for gay men, there has been a considerable history of this in this community, lesbian pornography though has not been around long and still is hard to locate. There is however much more lesbian pornography being produced and many claim that previously it was not available due to a lack of demand.

Emma Healey, a freelance writer in Britain talks specifically about sadomasochism (SM) and the impact it had on what she terms the 'Lesbian Sex Wars'. She states that sadomasochism received allot of attention in the feminist movement in general and created divisions within the lesbian feminist groups. Much of the discussion about sexual desires never eventuated because sadomasochism began to dominate all discussion.
Healey (1996) discusses the early 1980's a group formed called the "Lesbians Against Sado-Masochism (LASM). These people maintained that S/M was a manifestation of men's Power over women and further declared sadomasochism was inherently fascist (and racist). This type of analysis framed s/m as eroticising power imbalance in a way that many feminist could only find unacceptable. Shelia Jeffrey's was vehemently opposed to S/M and wrote that

"SM is not a sexual practice which drops from the skies but a response to and echoing of the increasing hold of fascist values and practice in the world outside the gay ghetto." (Jeffreys, 1993, pp.187).

Jeffrey's book attempted to show that to ignore this link between sadomasochism and fascism could be dangerous, and even if the use of racist, Nazi imagery was not apparent she felt that the eroticisation of power was like glorifying oppression which could only serve to strengthen values which maintain this oppression. The supporters of sadomasochism fought back and also fought what they saw as "Lesbian feminism's" colonisation of the Lesbian Identity. Which they felt further muffled and disrupted any discussion of sexuality. (Healey, 1996).

During this period many prominent feminist started to voice their opinions of sadomasochism. Pat Califia asserts that
The key word in SM is fantasy. The roles, dialogue, fetish costumes, and sexual activity are part of a drama or ritual. The participants are enhancing their sexual pleasure, not damaging or imprisoning one another. (Califia, 1996, pp.232).

Therefore for Califia sadomasochism plays out or re-enacts certain power differentials and oppressions it does not replicate them. A point that is further explored in the discussion of representation.

In heterosexual sadomasochistic play we most commonly find that the male is passive which essentially plays social power backwards. This was the types of defence that many lesbians used, that explorations of power through sadomasochism can be liberating, and the use of explicit power in sexual relations was more honest than ignoring power in others sexual encounters. McClintock says sadomasochism is a theoretical experience and a parody of situations not previously eroticised. She emphasises that the staging and role playing is the most important aspect of sadomasochism and not the violence. Also sadomasochism is a contradiction itself because the victim/submissive directs all behaviour and controls the situation. (Califia, 1996; McClintock, 1993; Royalle, 1993).

But the feminist debates continued and such was the feelings for and against sadomasochistic sexual practice that opposing collections of articles were published analysing the activity. One such book was called "Against Sadomasochism" (Linden, Pagano, Diana E. H & Star, 1982). While the
debate continued it influenced a new era of discussion about sexuality. The result of these debates was a building of pro-sex lesbians, and an environment where lesbians began to talk of sexual practice, erotica, films pornography and sexual permissiveness began. (Healey, 1996).

As far as the images I encountered their appeared to be some sadomasochistic elements. Firstly in the movie "Where the Girls Sweat" their was a fantasy/ dream sequence that encompassed three women all dressed in letters with chains and general conventional sadomasochistic clothing. There was also the use of dildos, and straps and whips. Here the women were 'made' to perform acts, (though it was shown that they were actually enjoying it). The interesting feature of this for me was the fact that the scene of sadomasochism was presented as a dream scenario, thus taking Califia's notion of sadomasochism as fantasy to double fantasy. This allowed an even safer experience of sadomasochism, as it was the 'new girls' dream sequence. It indicated that both there should be nothing to fear from wanting to take control and by allowing yourself to be passive, and that pleasure can be found in both these facets of sexual expression.

In addition to these direct mimics of sadomasochism, were more subtle signals. In particular I noticed that in addition to the actresses representing a variety of women and races, their was also a lot of jewellery and tattoos on the actresses. Most noticeable was the "Kittens and Vamps" movie that in the first scene, one of the actresses had a lot of body piercing (nose, tongue, nipple) and tattoos, she had in addition a lot of jewellery such as earings, necklaces and bracelets, she also had a short haircut and initially was the active sexual partner in this scene. This use of visual cues, I felt was a deliberate signal to suggest a butch, sadomasochistic women. But this did
not transform into her always being the 'top' or sadist partner, each person
took turns as the active and passive members of the encounter, and their
was no emphasis any one actress.

These aspects of what I see as sadomasochistic elements within the video
material were interesting in respect to constructions of deviance, and
appropriateness of gender roles. These scenes did not represent the sexual
preference of the women, but were presented as an experimentation of
different roles that are equally valid within sexual episodes. Thus their was
no labelling of deviance, it was an exploration of roles. Also by using
sadomasochistic elements with a women only group, the actual threat of
real violence seems diluted, thus there was more freedom to experience
these roles and the associated power cues. In addition by appealing to
sadomasochistic framing but not adhering to the rigid roles, this scene
explored how women can take pleasure in the context of power and eroticise
dominant and subordinate positions in sexual acts.
Chapter 6:

Sexuality, Sex and Sex Education

Sexuality and Education

For Debra Haffner the Executive director of the sex information and education council of the US, that sexuality education should encompasses sexual knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviours.

Classrooms address anatomy, physiology, and biochemistry of the sexual response system, gender roles, identity, and personality, and thoughts, feelings, behaviours, and relationships. Students discuss and debate ethical and moral concerns, and group and cultural variations. At its best, sexuality education is about social change—about helping to create a world where all people have the information and the rights to make responsible sexual choices—without regard to age, gender socioeconomic status, or sexual orientation” (Haffner, 1992, pp.vii).

Haffner though sees this only as an ideal and readily accepts that this does not occur within the educational setting of America, she claims that at best the majority of high school students receiving so called sexuality education are more often receiving little more than information about biology,
reproduction and virology. She goes on to say that sexuality education classes often focus on disaster prevention—"in the early primary grades, they begin with sexual abuse. HIV/AIDS is then introduced, and in high schools, date rape is added. The powerful message is that sexuality is dangerous." (pp.vii). Thus most programs seem designed to promote abstinence, and young people are told to control their sexuality rather than affirm it. The SIECUS (Sexuality information and education council of the United states) works to provide significant amounts of information in the area of sexuality and sex education. I accessed this via the Internet and found resources designed to be directly useful for school and parents in their provision of information and programs about sex and sexuality. (SIECUS, 1997a). They set out their position statements that represent the organisations fundamental beliefs. "They believe that human sexuality encompasses the sexual knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values, and behaviours of individuals." (SIECUS, 1997b). This has various dimensions such as anatomy, physiology, and biochemistry of the sexual response system; identity, orientation, roles, and personality; and thoughts, feelings, and relationships. As far as sex education goes they believe that all people have the right to sexuality education that addresses the dimensions mentioned above. Then they specifically address the school based sexuality education role, stating

Comprehensive school-based sexuality education that is appropriate to students' age, developmental level, and cultural background should be an important part of the education program at every grade. A comprehensive sexuality program will respect the diversity of values and beliefs represented in the community and will complement and augment the sexuality education children receive from their families, religious and community groups, and health care professionals. Because child development involves sexuality, all pre kindergarten through twelfth-grade teachers should
receive at least one course in human sexuality. (SIECUS, 1997b).

This organisation stresses the importance of knowledge and information about sex, and sexuality education for young adults, and seem to be very committed to the provision of this. Their web site offers extensive information about appropriate information and the projects they run. In addition they provide 'fact sheets' that cover topics such as 'adolescence and abstinence', 'guidelines for comprehensive sexuality education', sexual orientation and identity'. This resource is very useful and appears to be neutral in its discussion of sexuality. However when you read further the guidelines for comprehensive sexuality education still endeavour to influence the onset of sexual involvement of adolescents. They state under the heading of responsibility that their aim is:

To help young people exercise responsibility regarding sexual relationships, including addressing abstinence, how to resist pressures to become prematurely involved in sexual intercourse, and encouraging the use of contraception and other sexual health measures. Sexuality education should be a central component of programs designed to reduce the prevalence of sexually-related medical problems; these include teenage pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases including HIV infection, and sexual abuse. (SIECUS, 1997c).

While this organisation is definitely an extremely good resource, they still emphasise quite strongly the medical disaster model that has been criticised
by commentators. (Diorio, 1985; Fine, 1988). In addition they state in their discussion about international programs that sexual ignorance and disempowerment are common amongst young people with this leading to unacceptable high 'rates of unplanned pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases'. This in conjunction with the rise in reported HIV cases, means this organisation wished to stress 'safe and responsible sexual behaviour'. There is an inherent heterosexist bias within this type of information as well as prescriptive assumptions about what sexual behaviour should and does consists of.

James Sears discusses the dilemmas and possibilities in his article, he emphasises the point that we should never forget that "sexuality education is first and foremost an *instrument* of sexual and social control" (Sears, 1992, pp.7), and that the effectiveness of such programs is judged on sexual behaviour and observable consequences such as pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and abortions. Historically all attempts at sexuality programs have been aimed at reducing sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy. "In short, the dispensing of sexual knowledge as a prophylactic for the unwelcomed consequences of freewheeling sexual behaviour is the cornerstone of modern sexuality education." (Sears, 1992, pp.17).

Generally sex education is based on and around the above notions, personally my sexuality education was really an Anatomy lesson about women's bodies, a discussion on menstruation. This in turn led to a discussion about sexual intercourse and the implications of unprotected sex, for both pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. The females and Males were separated for these discussions which were led by a
representative from the Local family Planning Clinic. This took place during my fourth form Year at which point I was Fourteen years old. Due to the age of all the girls the speaker was not able to identify or show any contraceptives, this was due to the fact that the age of consent for sexual activity is sixteen in New Zealand, thus we could not be shown contraception although we were able to view and talk about it if we requested. For that purpose the instructor had a box that contained various contraception's and encouraged us to come after class and view these or ask questions. Much of the framing of the discussion was based around what some of the above critics have claimed. There was an atmosphere of sex as danger, and of us as female to try to avert and avoid that danger. There was, as I recall little discussion about sexual desires, feelings of arousal or even ownership and comfort about our sexuality. As Sapon-Shevin & Goodman (1992) discuss in their autobiographical accounts of sexuality education, there was little opportunity to have open discussion with males and talk of the emotional, physical intersection that existed with in the exploration of sex and sexuality issues that were occurring at that time. There appears from what I have read to be a significant disparity about the issues that should be discussed within the sex education curriculum and the actual programs being taught. Within the readings that I have encountered there is a general willingness and call to challenge existing conceptions of gender identity, social construction issues within discourses of sex and sexuality and emotional responses to issues of sex and inclusive discussions on diversity of sexual orientations and able bodiedness. However, all the commentators claim also that very little of this type of curricula is available or being taught, at least within American schools. This is possibly due to conflicting and complex social atmosphere that surrounds sexuality, as a response to this, much of the sexuality education is designed and presented to avoid community conflict. (Sears, 1992). It must negotiate a place for itself between
contradictory ideologies that exist within the general social context. Dennis Carlson identifies these four ideologies that he believes have influenced the way we think about human sexuality, and in turn what we teach about it, I will expand on these in the next section. But these types of discourses have permeated the way that we as a society try to teach and explain sexuality to our young.

**Current Discourses in Sex Education**

Sears also mentions that sexuality education can take place in many other sites in school. There appears to also be a hidden curriculum of sexuality, this can be an extremely potent force. One such example of this that Sears gives is the overemphasis on rational decision making and the "failure to explore the eroticism associated with sexuality and the language of intimate sexual communication." (Sears, 1992, pp.13). There is a general lack of acknowledgment about the reality of sexual relations, many educators seem to think that young people are capable to stop and think rationally while engaging in sexual behaviours. Bruess & Greenberg, (1988) in their book designed to be primarily a source for sexuality educators with information and task work, present a section on the physiological aspects of sexual intercourse, here they discuss the similarities and differences of sexual responses between men and women, they make the comment. "the next time you are sexually stimulated (whether physically or through thoughts or fantasies), stop a moment and attempt to identify any of the responses described here." (pp.103). While perhaps not a completely unreasonable statement, it is definitely improbable that people would divert there
attention to complete this task, and highly contestable that they could, if as many sex educators do, believe that sexuality and the desire to copulate is some innate biological drive or instinct.

Bruess and Greenberg (1988) define sexuality as consisting of many things but still ascribe to the notion of biological grounding and sexual being

Although human reproductive functioning does not begin until puberty, human sexual-erotic functioning begins immediately after birth and lasts a lifetime. It is important to realize that biological functioning, as it relates to sexuality, is a part of the natural functioning of human beings. (pp.6).

This mindset is so inclusive within the mentality of sex education that the authors actually go on and while discussing an exercise on age and sexuality point out that they believe that human sexuality is so broad, it is impossible for anyone to be an asexual being at any point unless he or she ceases to exist. "The idea of an absence of sexuality is similar to the idea that a person has an absence of personality."(pp.8). As an example of the integral part sexuality plays in our lives Bruess and Greenberg discuss the fact that infant males will have erections just after birth and female infants experience vaginal lubrication early to, also that these factors occur regularly in sleep patterns also. This is given as evidence that sexuality is natural. Yet, an alternative suggestion is that we are trying to conceptualise biological/physiological functioning with some emotional psychological phenomenon that may or may not be related.
Much of this discussion and our understanding of human sexuality is grounded in as mentioned previously, in four ideas identified by Denis Carlson. These appear to have occurred sequentially throughout history to our present day, but remnants of each appear to be part of our current conceptions about sex and sexuality. The first being a traditionalist ideology of sexual sin and sickness that was dominant within the first decades of the 20th century. The second was a Progressive ideology of sexual 'adjustment and secular state management of sexual problems. The third was a radical Freudian ideology of non repressive sexuality and post capitalist society. The final is a libertarian ideology of sexual diversity and individual sexual rights. (Carlson, 1992). The traditionalist perspective was an essentialist theory, that generally held that repression and sublimation of sexuality as necessary to "civilization" itself. It was consistent with the Judeo-Christian doctrine of self-disciplined renunciation of bodily pleasures, because body was sin. It also was consistent with the Freudian notions of the 'id', or our animal desires, that need to be contained, but not so much as to cause pent up emotions to occur. The progressive ideology was based more on a rational scientific approached than the previous religious traditional view. It emphasised the state as an agent of intervention to 'social problems', and gave us the national policy with regards to sexuality and social engineering. This was an influential ideology that installed many mass education programs in regard to especially sexually transmitted diseases. However this type of political policy was also a centralised elite big brother doctrine, that prescribed and claimed to know and disseminate information that it deemed appropriate for the public to have access to. The radical Freudian ideology that had a historical impact is nested in the political-sexuality link that was most prominent with Reich and Marcuse. Dennis Carlson feels that although this ideology is not strongly visible within current sexual discourse, it is consistent with a recapturing of pleasure of the body, and the
notion that sexuality is repressed by society. The fourth discourse he
discusses is the libertarian ideology, this type of discourse is consistent with
the freeing of sexuality from social inhibitions, and championing of
individual sexual rights. This type of ideology was part of the sexual
revolution ideas, that sexuality was a natural part of human beings that
needed to be expressed. For Carlson the most viable alternative to the
traditional progressive ideologies is an integration of radical Freudianism
and libertarianism. This would he claims allow for an ...

emphasis on individual sexual rights, including the
right to control what happens to one's body, is
important in the women's and gay an lesbian
movements; and the protection of sexual rights,
including the rights of sexual minorities, should be a
central focus in any alternative to traditionalism and
progressivism. (Carlson, 1992,pp.56).

This union of disciplines allows the libertarian ideology that focuses on
individual rights, to incorporate the radical Freudian analysis of power
relations in culture. This allows the recognition of social interests served by
existent power relations and to question the naturalness of the given social
environment. This type of theoretical junction is also an important aspect
on the issues I am trying to raise. By employing Carlsons synthesis of
theories, we can critique and question the heterosexist bias, the conception
of appropriate sexual behaviours that tend to locate penile penetration as
the goal of sexual intercourse, and the framing of women and female sexual
knowledge in the 'moral gatekeeper' state as more likely part of the wider
patriarchal power structure, that any 'natural sexual instinct'. This type of
analysis also allows us to historical view the changes in values and beliefs
about sexuality over time, further undermining the traditionalists notion of some inherent animal instinct within the human psyche.

While the actual experience of sexuality education within the classroom is far from ideal many of the contemporary theoretical discussions and resultant recommendations for the sex curriculum are encouraging. Some interesting recommendations and alternative strategies are discussed within the book Sexuality and the Curriculum.

Mariamne Whatley asks the important question "whose sexuality is it" she discusses the fear that she encounters from teachers in training for delivering sex/sexuality education. Many seem to feel that there is a danger to teach about sexuality and that effort must be made to avoid notice and stirring up controversy. She finds that instead of teaching sexuality in the best way to encourage communication, that many will direct the class in the best way to avoid conflict and controversy. One of Whatley's personal observations is that formal sex education provides only a fraction of the knowledge about sexuality that students have gained. She noted that many of the issues that concerned men were left out of sex education and adolescent films. Thus the construction of young men's education was non representative of their concerns. While educators seemed sensitive to issues of inappropriate erections, wet dreams and penis size, they ignored issues of power and control, and manipulation of women and use of conquest that appear prevalent within the immediate cultural landscape, or popular culture as Whatley describes it. These issues and others are part of students lived experience and she suggests that educators should pay more attention to what adolescents are responding to in things like music video and films.
Whatley (1992) discusses the use of popular culture, referring to Madonna as one such icon and stating that 'she has portrayed herself in her videos and in interviews as a women in control of her sexuality and suggests it would be possible to use this to initiate discussion about what it means to control ones own sexuality by approaching the topic through a critique of her image.

Mara Sapon-Shevin and Jesse Goodman in their article about acquisition of gender roles, acknowledge that

It is widely recognized that as children age into early adolescence, they become increasingly active in the formation of their sexual identities. Early adolescents' understandings of concepts such as eroticism, desire, arousal, intimacy, and responsibility are influenced by socially learned activities and symbols. (Sapon-Shevin & Goodman, 1992, pp.89).

This recognition of social construction of gender identity is somewhat in contrast with the notions previously permeating sexuality education of natural biological drive theories. These authors further discuss the notion that most disturbingly messages of learned meanings become 'sexual scripts' that in a large way form sexual identities. These scripts define for early adolescents "who does what with whom, what activities are appropriate when, and what it (sexual feelings, attitudes, behaviours) 'all means'" (Sapon-Shevin & Goodman, 1992, pp.89). These scripts closely imitate adult and societal views of gender and sexuality. But it was felt that these sexual scripts tend to reinforce the message that human sexuality is specialised by gender, whereby boys and girls tend not to be all that knowledgeable or are
concerned about each others sexuality. They advocate an acknowledgment of the ways in which gender roles and relations are moulded by both formal and informal sex education. But more pointedly they call for a recognition that these issues are located within culture and politics. "decisions about what to teach, what not to teach, and how to teach are grounded not only in pragmatic constraints but are also formed by more global ideologies and values about men, women, society, and social justice and by the allocation of power and resources" (Sapon-Shevin & Goodman, 1992,pp.104).

Another attempt to explore social determinants of sexual construction of Identities comes from Christine LaCerva who relays a account of a six year olds reaction to being kissed by a boy in the playground. This all takes place in the "Barbara Taylor School in Harlem, an independent, multi racial elementary school that is developing a radically humanistic pedagogy." (LaCerva,1992,pp.124). This pedagogy is based on notions that the children are producers and changers of their environment. This practice posits that the current organisation of gender, sexuality, learning and development can be reorganised in ways that free young children to learn, develop ways of countering the current state, that is deemed to be socially, sexually and intellectually repressive. While she recognises that this claim is quite ambitious, the schools commitment is considerable. An illustration of the practice they employ called 'social therapy' which is described as a non-interpretive, organising activity based on the premise that human development is socially constructed and as such can be reconstructed, is presented. This starts with the parents, who were called to a meeting to discuss the sexuality curriculum and the issues that evolved, they raised questions about the model of 'social therapy' and as a solution decided to utilise the therapy to understand it. The example showed that by creating
and facilitating non-interpretive dialogue that group cohesion and trust was built that enabled much more open and explorative discussion. (This discussion also centred around an issue the students had raised about whether one of their teachers was Gay). This questioning of assumptions and challenging of sexist and heterosexual agenda of society, created a critical sex education that seemed to me a valuable discourse and tool for the issue of both sexuality theory and practice sex education classes.(LaCerva, 1992).

A further discourse of importance within the Sex Education Field is that of Feminist perspective's, this will also be discussed in the following section, but I intend to address the particular contribution of this perspective to the discussion of sex education. According to Mary Fonow and Deban Marty "feminist activists and scholars have long acknowledged the significance of Sexuality to our understanding of women's lives and experiences."(Fonow & Marty, 1992, pp. 157). The contributions that feminist analysis have made to our understanding of sex and the construction of sexuality are outlined by these authors, they are the political nature of sex, and how this can exist as both a source of liberation and a source of oppression. The notion of Heterosexism that runs throughout society and specifically most discussion on sexuality, the variability of sexual orientation. The influence of social and cultural variability in shaping sexual experience and meaning. The influence of Culture and Social institutions such as media religion, literature, medicine, language, art in constructing sexual identity, desire and expression. And finally "the role of the state in regulating sexual expression and behaviour" (Fonow & Marty, 1992, pp. 157). These authors discuss the topic of sexual identity and how it is taught to general education students. They based this discussion around their own teaching experience and interviews with others. Within their own class they adopt
constructionist approaches to teach this topic, this is due to the belief that it encourages more self-reflection about students own sexuality and other differences that define people.

**Women and Sexuality**

Sexuality as previously discussed has, for women been largely ignored. Coupled with this is the fact that Fonow and Marty discussed, that understandings of women’s sexuality is significant in understanding sexism, and women’s lives. Thus representations of women sexually is of interest for all those who propose to address issues of women’s oppression within society. When we endeavour to teach sexuality to students there must be a concerted effort to address social inequities that may result from that teaching, because schooling can be seen as a site for liberation as well as reproduction of societal values, the impact of what we have, and intend to in the future teach about women’s sexuality is extremely important.

Selma Greenberg and Patricia Campbell discuss the link between sexism sexuality and education, one of the important aspects they address is the notion of sex and reproduction. This theme about the inherent link between the two has also been one of the main focuses of sexuality education. While sexual activity does not always lead to reproduction these two authors believe that religious and cultural codes have tried to optimise the possibility.
Nongenital sex, masturbation, any sex between same-sex partners, and even sex during menstruation have been in varying degrees at different times considered "unnatural". Sexual activity that has no chance of leading to reproduction has been and continues to be illegal, "immoral", or somehow "just not right". (Greenberg & Campbell, 1992, pp. 20).

For varying reasons among different religious and social groups this attempt was seen as a way of reducing women's sexuality to reproduction, thus denying women as a sexual being in her own right. Historically women were conceptualised as male property and the ability to reproduce became the main source of value within society. As far back as Aristotle this concept has been found, when he discussed the fact that women's bodies were like field in which men planted seeds. But while certain aspects of reproduction can now be avoided, this does not necessitate that women became free to express themselves sexually. The shift then became the notion that a girl's upbringing was to prepare her for a 'proper' relationship, this depended on her being evaluated and chosen as a suitable sexual partner by a more socially statused male. Thus she still was the sexual object with males always framed as the sexual initiator and aggressor. (Greenberg & Campbell, 1992).

Much of this was done within a framework of how males had an almost uncontrollable sex drive and women had little or no sex drive. This notion was encapsulated within a discourse that in fact women were responsible
for male sexual restraint. While at the same time girls were encourage to act coy and approachable, they were also told not to tease or lead men on.

These conflicting roles about women's sexuality are prevalent within society and sexuality education. Women are taught about the dangers of sex, the possibilities of pregnancy, the social stigma of sexually transmitted diseases, and the functions of their own reproductive system. Young women tend to have more knowledge about these factors than anything to do with her external genitalia or the pleasures of sexual activity.

Implications of Lesbian Pornography

What could be a possible implication of lesbian erotic and pornographic material? I think that it raises important issues in regards to the way in which women's sexuality and sexual response in the past has been considered. It represents a 'positive' sexuality, which has not historically been apparent. John Rury notes that while discussions on male sexuality had generally been framed highlighting the dangers of sexuality, that male sexuality was generally considered a positive force, requiring natural expression. The same was not true of female sexuality. (Rury, 1992). Lesbian pornography as it is represented within these video material can therefore be considered as positive in two ways. The first is the general representations that I have discussed regarding women wanting, being active in and enjoying sexual encounters. Secondly the mere fact that the material is being produced is indicative of a market demand, thus women
and perhaps even men want to see active, responsive women in control of their own sexual behaviours. This is also apparent in the growing numbers of pro-porn writers, such as Sally Tisdale, Susie Bright, Judith Butler, Pat Califia, Camille Paglia, Annie Sprinkle, who advocate the viewing of pornography as a liberating experience both sexually and psychologically for women.

Lesbian pornography also provides a site to analysis and discuss women's sexuality that is separate from and defined in relation to male sexuality. It allows us to view and discuss what may actually be exciting for women through the perspective of women's bodies and experience of sex. I am hoping that as well as an interesting analysis for feminism it can also be used within sexuality education contexts. The use of lesbian perspective's has already been utilised within educational situations already as discussed previously. Mary Fonow and Debian Marty used a group of lesbian women to sit on a panel and utilise biographical stories to illustrate the analysis of heterosexism and minority concerns (Fonow & Marty, 1992). It is a small progression I think it can be useful to use lesbian pornography as a way of analysing and assumptions about approbate sexual responses of women, and developing space for explorations within women's sexuality.

Lesbian pornography can also be used as an analysis of gender in general. Here we have the sexual women engaging in behaviour deemed to be of a sexual nature but not in relation to men. Yet the images are of self determined women who interact and subvert gender stereotypes, creating a site of visible complex identities. This is useful in respect to the challenge it represents to gender and gender analysis.
Lesbian pornography can be used within a curriculum of sex and sexuality education, in the first instance by the sex educators themselves. As I have outlined in the analysis of the video material I found, there are images of positive sexuality for women to be found. Sex educators should view similar material such as this and be aware that they can challenge the pervious framing of sex for women being dangerous. While I am aware that some sex educators may be reluctant to view this type of material, I feel they should be encouraged to do so. If this is not possible, especially since my recommendation comprises certain assumptions about how sexuality, gender and sexual behaviour should be viewed, I feel we should rely on the notion that educational fields of a non-neutral area need not be undermined or defined by singular views, or individual opinions. (Diorio, 1989) adopts the argument that "the presentation of any field to students, when viewed across the totality of all presenters, should reflect the current state of understanding within that field". (pp.30) Therefore any conflicts of opinion in that field should be reflected within the resource and class material available. This type of response allows for teachers to be able to present their particular view, as no teacher can be neutral in their presentation of material, and it ensures that a variety of perspectives can exist within a field. This adaptability within a field is also important in respect to Diorio's additional claim below. Their needs to be a acknowledgment of the pleasures of sexual experience for women and these videos provide a tangible example of this. In addition sex educators need to be aware of alternative discussions about sexuality, sex and gender. This is consistent with criticisms raised by (Diorio, 1985) who feels that educators need to pursue inquiry into the nature of sex and sexuality, and to understand developments within that field, especially academic conceptualisation's. This is also where the contemporary discussions and critiques raised by feminists and especially lesbian feminist writers can be of
value. These commentators critique many of the historical explanations of gender, biological sex and sexual behaviours, by acknowledging the societal forces that create and construct these factors. This in itself is more consistent with the changing ideas about the role of women and men within society, and the impact this in turn has on sexual expression. If sex educators familiarised themselves with this theoretical background and employed these alternative viewings while watching sexually explicit material, then they can start to engage in the multiplicity and complexity of sex, and sexuality issues.

Sex educators also need to acknowledge that young people encounter a large amount sexually suggestive and explicit material in their everyday life. It would be naive to think that many thirteen year olds have never seen a sexually explicit image or video. Even if this did not occur the amount of advertising, television and reading material that discusses, uses and exploits sexual imagery is abundant in day-to-day existence. This can be both a problem and an opportunity for sex educators. A problem in respect to the fact that certainly advertising tends to exploit and reinforce stereotypical conceptions about appropriate sexual activity, what it means to be sexually desirable, what is sexually desirable and notions of sexual behaviours. Many of these images are misleading and possibly damaging to young women and men. However, if sex educators attend themselves to this material they are better able to understand the adolescence's lived experience, and provide opportunity to discuss these issues. Such as Mariamne Whatley, who discusses how educators can use pop culture icons to discuss and critique images of sexuality within society, and to examine how this impacts on one's own sexuality. (Whatley, 1992). It is possible also to incorporate Christine LaCerva ideas of social therapy into such a situation also. All these facets
will enable students to criticised and assess those images that they encounter within and throughout their lives, and thus be able to make choices that are based on carefully utilised consideration. This is surely the best way to educate our young people.

**Fine Missing Discourse of Desire**

Another important use of lesbian pornography and sexual images of women, could be to help recreate the sexualised women. Women in general have found it difficult to establish a sexual identity. Much of the discussion surrounding women's sexuality has been placed either in relation to men's or within the frame of stereotypical beliefs about women. As Shelia Kitzinger states:

> If we are to begin to gain control over our bodies and lives we need to look at the way in which male attitudes to sexuality are imposed on us and we are permitted to see the world only through male eyes (Kitzinger, 1983, pp. 15).

She goes on to state that women have become invested by men into roles of compassion and caring, and nurturing. These roles have been convenient for men as we have served as a support for society. While these roles that women have traditionally been associated with seem to be linked to
women's subordination, it is important for Kitzinger that we acknowledge that tenderness, sympathy, the capacity to nurture, are not negative traits. They are important aspects of human beings that should be considered positive and not exclusively defining of women.

What we need to do now in general women's lives and to address within sex education, is, what is desire for women. Who do we desire, how do we desire and what impact does this have. Women have not had a space to experiment with sexual expression that was free from masculinist definitions. Fine makes the point that many of our images and especially that of the adolescent are masculine figures. This fact meant that Fine and Macpherson uncovered for some females adolescence was about the adventures of males and the constraints on females... They fantasized the safe place of adolescence to be among guys who overlook their (female) gender out of respect for their (unfeminine) independence, intelligence, and integrity. (Fine & Macpherson, 1992, pp.176).

Lesbian pornography allows a women-only space to emerge to a degree where we can explore these aspects. Within previous discourse women were posited as the sexual object, the sexual police, or the moral maintainer and therefore not truly able to express herself freely sexually. With Lesbian pornography two things are happening, women are actively sexual instigators and initiators. They represent a women who wants a sexual encounter and needs sexual expression. There is no man present to talk her
into what really he desires, nor to direct and confine her sexual expression. The women involved do not tend to follow a set series of actions, and of course the goal of the scene cannot be copulative activity. This provides a space to analyse what is arousing purely for women and what may be considered a discourses of desire, lust, or active female initiation of sexual behaviour. Previously because an active female was framed by men and patriarchy to be immoral and weak or evil, many females have denied strong sexual desires and expression. There has never really been a site where women can express sexual desire without invoking stereotypical judgements. Because women have generally only been sexual in relation to men, their sexual response, arousal and performance have also been related to male conceptions of sexuality. Men have not encountered this problem due to their status as the dominant group therefore sexual expression is controlled and prescribed by men. This position of male control extends to economic as well as political control and thus this intersects with their relations to women, whose ability for expression is prescribed also. Men in general have always had sexuality framed in a positive, active, natural and essential manner. Thus women were defined in opposition to this so that their sexual behaviour was always constructed in relation to men's. Thirdly men have produced and explored a sexual realm that women have not, here I mean the creation of sexual images, literature and language that expresses variety in sexuality, this is also true of homosexual men who have used this medium also.

This lack of language and access to discourse about women's sexual experience was discussed by Michelle Fine, she states that very little research has been conducted that even looks at the nature of adolescent females sexual experience. Fine criticised sex education for the way that they ignored
female agency within sexual encounters. Most school based sex and sexuality programs were couched in discussions about dangers, pregnancy and victimisation, these factors I have mentioned previously. However the 'discourse of desire' that Fine talks about was hardly present at all in official sex education programs, with the naming of desire and pleasure for young adolescent women barely addressed. When desire was discussed, fine noted it was done so with reminders of the consequences such as emotional, physical, moral, reproductive and financial. (Fine, 1988).

For Fine a genuine discourse of desire needs to be developed. This she believes would consist of inviting "adolescents to explore what feel good and bad, desirable and undesirable, grounded in experiences, needs and limits" (Fine, 1988,pp.33). The more ironic situation that Fine identified was that the gay and lesbian group set up by students was the only safe place to explore sexuality and sex as it exists for adolescents. This group existed within the high school that like many others was filled with homophobic language. Another point that Fine makes was that most instruction about sex education was based on heterosexist notions, that was the program and instructors discussed all factors as they pertained to heterosexual relations with the threat of heterosexual copulation being the main goal of sexual behaviours. This type of agenda is consistent with most school settings. (Andrews, 1990).

Therefore to create the discourse of desire, that will allow women and especially young females ownership of their bodily pleasures and desires, Fine advocates that we need to reestablish sexual subjectivities.
In order to understand the sexual subjectivities of young women more completely, educators need to reconstruct schooling as an empowering context in which we listen to and work with the meanings and experiences of gender and sexuality revealed by the adolescents themselves. (Fine, 1988, pp.36).

While I don’t think that lesbian erotica or images are necessarily the site or template that can provide women with a sexuality of their own, it can certainly be used as a tool of sexual exploration and experimentation. It may be here that women can begin to explore what is sexual for women and as Fine points out, find the missing ‘Discourse of Desire’.

**Sexuality not Reproduction Education**

Finally I advocate that sexuality education should be just that. That educators as well as feminists discuss and demand that teaching about reproduction is not adequate information for our young women. We need to discuss what sexuality and sex may actually consist of, open discussions into sexual responses and the importance of owning and acknowledging sexual arousal. This may lead to women becoming more sexually assertive and thus inadvertently address the issues that previous sex educators seem to want to address such as unwanted pregnancy, sexual assault, date rape, and transmission of sexually transmitted diseases (STD’s).
Reproduction education only tell the student what may occur or how to stop a pregnancy, it does not provide, young women with strength and confidence to state their desires, nor strategies to cope with sexual situations. After all how can a young women practice "safe sex", if she is conflicted by desire and having to uphold the moral law.

How is Pornography Relevant? - Implications

Women in general and especially the area of sexuality education need to acknowledge variety in sexual practice, and there needs to be the recognition that this variety is valid and can be positive. People are entitled to experience their sexuality in the way that they want, and for women this means a considerable amount of exploration, talking and experiencing differing expressions of sexuality. To ban or censor pornographic images will only make this discovering of what can be considered women's sexuality even more difficult and will destroy a possible avenue for that exploration.

I agree with Linda Williams who is among those feminists who believe that pornography offers something positive to women trying to define an active sexual desire. In defining pornography as a genre in which women are at least not punished for seeking their own pleasure, Williams seems to reject the liberal position that fiction and fantasy are utterly separate from reality in favour of the idea that pornography matters because desire is constructed at least partly through representations. (Cameron, 1990). We need to understand what this desire may be and how it can be part of the
everyday experience of women's lives. Traditionally women have been
distanced from their bodies and their 'body', this was apparent in the
discussion of sexuality education that framed most discussion around a
medical and disease model. For women to experience their own sexuality
there has to be a connection made between the body, the desires generating
from the body and the interpretation of this desire.

What Does the Future Hold?

I believe that women are only now starting to explore what their sexually is.
I agree with the general point that MacKinnon and various other theorists
express that until quite recently women's sexual expression has been
prescribed and controlled by male desires and wants and constructed via
patriarchy in general. I also agree with certain theorists that there may be an
underlying essentialist component to sexual activity that leads us to be
biologically predisposed to want to engage in acts that increase our ability to
reproduce.

But like much human behaviour our intellect and emotions and social
context can influence and distort the original biological purpose. This, I
must emphasise is not necessarily a bad thing, and quite possibly could be
argued as a biological response in relation to overpopulation, increased
lifespan and decreased infant mortality rates. As an example of another
often compared urge, food, we find that we do not always eat when we are
hungry, we do not always eat food that is nutritionally superior, and in fact
we can also eat as a substitute for something else desired, or deny food to ourselves as punishment or challenge. Thus sexuality also I would argue is complex and difficult to define and capture, but never the less an integral part of our life experience as human beings.

Women now need to explore their sexuality and to do this they need to feel free to do so without inhibitions and stereotypical constraints, while doing this we can also question what it means to be a woman and how this relates to the gender, and being the sex female. We also need to remember that this will not be an easy or quick process, it is likely to be fraught with confusion, complexity and backtracking. But it is a journey I believe that will be empowering, exciting, liberating and beneficial, both to society and individuals.

There are many tools now available to us for this exploration, we can look to feminism, science, postmodernism, film theory, philosophical theories, and educational theories. These all offer alternative perspective's that will help us unravel firstly the confining definitions of women and sexuality we find ourselves bound by and secondly to begin to build a new way of viewing ourselves. One very pertinent way to do this is through using the tools and insights that lesbians have appropriated as they too built a sexualised Identity, I have addressed many of these tools with in the body of this thesis.
Women need to look past the previous definitions based on biological responses and look as Michelle Fine said to locating the missing discourse of desire. This I think is where we should start. (Fine, 1988)
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