

IMPACT of MALE **PORNOGRAPHY**

**Consumption on the
Perpetration of
SEXUAL VIOLENCE**

**ANALYSIS FROM FEMINIST
THEORY AND PSYCHOLOGY
FOR TRAINING AND
AWARENESS RAISING**

Inés Abalo Rodríguez y Mónica Alario Gavilán



LOBBY EUROPEO DE
MUJERES EN ESPAÑA
LEM ESPAÑA

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Analysis from Feminist Theory and Psychology for Training and Awareness-Raising

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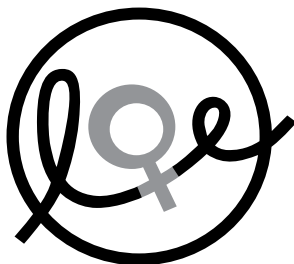
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About the European Women's Lobby in Spain (LEM Spain)

The European Women's Lobby in Spain is a non-profit platform of women's associations, founded in July 2016. Its aim is to promote the empowerment of women in all their diversity, to advance gender equality, to fight against all forms of discrimination and violence against women and to guarantee their full access to all their rights, not only legal but also real in society: in employment, in the economy, in the choice of their sexuality and in the free choice of motherhood, through active participation in society and in the development and implementation of public policies.

Consequently, the objective of LEM Spain is to coordinate women's NGOs in Spain in order to promote and develop their equal rights and opportunities within the framework of a united and democratic Europe, influencing national and community policies and monitoring the implementation and application of community and national legislation that eliminates any discrimination based on sex. In this sense, its aims and objectives are in line with those of the European Women's Lobby (EWL, based in Brussels), of whose Executive Committee it was a member until 2023. LEM Spain has developed numerous works, including: legal analysis and direct participation in the European Commission Directive on Violence Against Women, as a partner in the project *Raising Awareness of*

Gender-based Cyber Violence and Advocating for a Safer Online Environment for Women and Girls (CERV-2022-DAPHNE-10101096462-BeSAFE); and currently, in the study of the impact of artificial intelligence on women and the legal analysis of recent European regulations and proposals for their transposition into Spanish legislation.

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FOREWORD

In a room of an ordinary apartment, a fifteen-year-old teenager, hidden from his mother's eyes, locks himself in to watch pornography. It is the year 2023 and the most viewed video in Spain contains scenes of explicit verbal, physical and sexual violence. This situation is practically normal for him: he started consuming pornography when he was eleven years old, and while at first the violent scenes confused him and caused him to reject them, today, four years later, it is precisely these scenes that generate the most sexual arousal for him.

At the same time, on the news, we hear that sexual assaults have skyrocketed. Many of them are carried out in groups or in packs by young boys, some even under the age of criminal responsibility. In many cases, these assaults are videotaped and then distributed on the Internet.

Against this backdrop, it is more than plausible, indeed imperative, to look for some kind of causal relationship: if millions of children, adolescents, and men begin consuming pornography between the ages of nine and eleven, where more than eighty-nine percent of the pornography available online contains physical and verbal aggression, and even recreates crimes such as rape, sexual abuse of minors and incest, it is legitimate to ask how the consumption of pornography affects men's exercise of violence.

The relationship between the consumption of pornography and the perpetration of sexual violence is often debated today. This discussion is usually articulated around the possible influence that such consumption may have on the exercise of sexual violence or, on the other hand, around its harmless character: it is commonplace to describe pornography as a fantasy, a kind of parallel world where everything is allowed without consequences. But the consequences are experienced in the flesh by women.

According to the European Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA), one in 20 women over the age of 15 in the EU has been raped, one in 10 women has experienced sexual violence by a partner or ex-partner, and around 3.7 million women have

experienced sexual violence in the year prior to the survey. In addition, more recent data from the Spanish Ministry of the Interior show us that between 2015 and 2021, the number of known cases of sexual violence per year in the country has practically doubled. It should be noted that other research sources point out that the complexity and heterogeneity of sexual violence means that data from official sources in many cases underestimate the reality and exclude a large number of cases from the official figures, so the problem could be much greater. In addition to this worrying situation, there is an apparent increase in cases of sexual violence, including among minors, which has been little studied and for which there is little scientific data on its trigger. It is therefore of great interest to take a technical approach to this issue, which will allow us to respond to this debate from an analytical, scientific and feminist point of view, taking into account women's human rights.

To this end, the European Women's Lobby in Spain - LEM Spain, with the grant received from the Government Delegation Against Gender Violence, within the Secretary of State for Equality and the Eradication of Violence against Women of the Ministry of Equality, has decided to carry out in-depth work, introducing more innovative visions and approaches to the problem, relying on two qualified professionals with extensive experience in the field.

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To do this, the work we present here has drawn on the knowledge and tools of feminist studies (sociological, philosophical, political) and the psychology of learning. This theoretical framework (technically called Behavior Analysis) allows us to analyze the contexts with which an individual interacts and the learning that these interactions make possible. Despite the enormous potential of this analysis and its immense relevance given the social problems of pornography and sexual violence at ever younger ages today, it has never been applied to the context of pornography: behavior analysis has never been used to examine exactly how learning takes place during pornography consumption and the possible generalization of this learning to other contexts of sexual interaction. This analysis is generally valid in any relationship, but it is particularly important in its application to minors and adolescents, given the close relationship that can exist between sexual learning at an early age and pornography, which is now distributed on line very easy and free or almost free access and is one of the most common forms of sexual learning for minors today.

The aim of this report is therefore to analyze the consumption of pornography and its relationship with the implementation of a series of learning processes, to explain them in detail, and to analyze the possible generalization of these learning processes to other contexts of sexual interaction. to other contexts of sexual interaction.

We believe that this project can be of great social relevance and become a great tool for dissemination and prevention for society in general. In addition, we hope that these recommendations and the content of the research in general will become a support material for families, teachers and social agents involved in the prevention of sexual violence and sexual education, and will serve as a support and basis for future research and studies on the subject.

Madrid, February 5th, 2024

European Women's Lobby in Spain – LEM Spain

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PART ONE

1 - Introduction

Sexual violence continues to be one of the most widespread and usually invisible forms of violence. The most recent data from the Ministry of the Interior between 2015 and 2021, the number of reported incidents of sexual violence in Spain has almost doubled, from 9,869 in 2015 to 9,869 in 2021.

The cases of sexual assault, according to the Balance of Criminality in Spain, in the variation of crimes between 2019-2022, have increased by 53.2%. Recently, the Public Prosecutor's Office has spoken about the frightening increase in crimes of sexual violence perpetrated by underage boys against girls, linking it to the consumption of pornography. These cases are usually gang rapes (carried out in groups or in packs) which are often filmed and distributed by the rapists themselves, at a very young age when they are unable to plead.

The question, then, is whether (and how) the consumption of pornography influences the exercise of sexual violence or whether, on the contrary, such use is completely harmless. In order to shed some light on such a relevant question, this report will resort to psychology, understood as behavioral analysis. Therefore, we will draw on two major fields of knowledge: firstly, feminist studies (sociological, philosophical, political) and, secondly, psychology.

The subject of this report has been widely discussed from a feminist perspective, with clear and essential conclusions that allow us to understand the links between pornography and sexual violence, as well as the role they play at a structural level in the current patriarchal system.

Approaching this discussion from the perspective of psychology makes it possible to incorporate a new and necessary dimension from which to approach this analysis. Thus, the concepts used are understood as behaviors: pornography is understood as the consumption of pornography, and sexual violence is

translated into the exercise of sexual violence. The subject is thus placed at the center of the analysis, which allows the discussion to be reformulated around the individual and the variables that configure the context with which he interacts. Thus, psychology makes it possible to frame the discussion in the following way: to what extent does the behavior "consumption of pornography", performed by a man, influence or increase the probability that the behavior "exercise of sexual violence" will take place?

The present report therefore stands out for its marked interdisciplinary, which is characterized not only by a high level of complexity, but also by being absolutely pioneering in the field. It is complex because while feminist studies (philosophical, sociological, political) conceptualize with generalizable terms in order to politicize them, psychology pays particular attention to the variables of each individual. This pioneering effort to complement both visions allow us to bring a completely new scientific and feminist perspective to an issue of extreme interest and social impact. Furthermore, beyond the contributions related to the field of pornography and sexual violence, this report is one of the first materializations of a real dialogue between disciplines that, despite their marked methodological and epistemological differences, are closely related. The ultimate aim of the project, therefore, is to contribute to the initiation of a communication between these fields that can nourish each other, with the hope that it will continue and expand in the future.

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Since this research is based on a concern for sexual violence, and since this is patriarchal violence, the focus of the research will be on pornography consumed frequently by heterosexual men, and the main subject of the research will be these men, since they are the perpetrators of this violence. The use of pornography by women is therefore outside the scope of this report. It should be noted, however, that there are numerous variables (differences in the socialization of men and women, differences in the roles of men and women in pornographic material, differences in the use of pornography, etc.) that make it impossible to equate the learning that pornography makes possible for men and women.

This first part provides brief definitions of the two main objects of study, sexual violence and pornography, and defines the structure of this report.

2 - Definition of Sexual Violence

The World Health Organization defines Sexual Violence as:

Any sexual act, attempted sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or actions to commercialize or otherwise exploit a person's sexuality through coercion by another person, regardless of that person's relationship to the victim, in any setting, including the home and workplace.

Coercion may include

- *the use of varying degrees of violence*
- *psychological intimidation*
- *blackmail*
- *Threats (e.g., of physical harm or of not getting a job or qualification...)*
- *Sexual violence can also occur when a person is unable to give consent, such as when they are intoxicated, under the influence of narcotics, asleep, or mentally incapacitated.*

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Sexual violence is therefore any behavior with sexual connotations that is either unwanted or not consented to by the woman to whom it is directed. In light of this definition, it is essential to delve deeper into various aspects, such as the fact that inequality between men and women operates as a subtle but pervasive and constant coercion, or the fact that in the patriarchies of consent, inequality is reproduced through the construction of men's and women's desires in differentiated ways. Because of its centrality to this report, the concept of sexual violence will be further elaborated below.

3 - Definition of Pornography

Although pornography is socially conceptualized as "sexually explicit material," this report follows a definition of pornography that views women as human beings and therefore conceptualizes all violence against women as violence. Thus, in the second part of the report ("Part Two: Feminist Theory"), pornography is defined as material consumed by men to achieve arousal (sexual and based on a sense of power) and to masturbate while visualizing it. *"Pornography does not show explicit sex: pornography explicitly shows what sexually arouses men"* (Alario, 2022)

The third part of the report ("Part Three: Psychology and Learning") focuses on "pornography consumption," understood as "visualizing of pornographic material during masturbatory behavior." This conceptualization emphasizes the learning context in which such material is typically viewed. As reported in the literature, pornography is usually viewed for the purpose of providing audiovisual stimulation that increases the sexual arousal response and accompanies the tactile stimulation present during masturbation (Ballester and Orte, 2019; Torrado et al., 2021).

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As will be mentioned in a later section, the three most recent studies carried out in Spain on pornography use show that the behavior of "masturbating while visualizing¹ pornography" is mostly performed by men.

1 - It is important to clarify that the word "visualize" is used in this report in a different and broader sense than the dictionary definition. While pornography in the 1970s was in the form of static images, pictures that were only displayed, today the most consumed pornography is in video format, i.e. audiovisual. The information and auditory stimulus that pornography provides today is just as relevant as the information and visual stimulus. In the absence of a verb that captures the simultaneous reception of visual and auditory information, this report will use the word "visualize" to refer to the reception of information from both senses: sight and hearing.

4 - Report Structure

This report consists of four parts.

The first part provides brief definitions of the two main objects of study: **pornography and sexual violence**. This part has been divided into 4 sections: section **1** is an **introduction**, section **2** defines "**sexual violence**", section **3** defines "**pornography**" and section **4**, the current section, presents the **structure of the report**.

The second part is entitled "Feminist Theory". This part is made from different disciplines of this great branch of knowledge. It is divided into three parts: "Sexual violence", "Pornography" and "What has been said from feminism about the causality between pornography and sexual violence".

Section 5, "Sexual Violence", provides some recent data on this type of violence (5.1) and develops the different criteria currently used to distinguish between sex and sexual violence (5.2).

Section 6, "Pornography", offers some recent data on the consumption of pornography, obtained from the most recent and innovative studies carried out in Spain (6.1); it analyzes what happens on the side of the screen where the women who appear in pornography are filmed (6.2); the content of pornography is analyzed on the basis of the most comprehensive research on the subject (6.3); the concept of the pornification of culture is developed and some of the consequences of this process that are relevant to the topic under study are considered (6.4); and finally, some brief reflections on the visualization of pornography by women are offered (6.5).

Section 7, "Causality Between Pornography and Sexual Violence from a Feminist Perspective," develops some ideas related to this issue that were put forward by the great feminist theorists of the 1970s and 1980s (6.5).

The third part, "Psychology and Learning", is based on psychology, understood as behavior analysis. In this way, the consumption of pornography will be analyzed as a learning context that makes it possible and increases the probability² for men to acquire a series of behaviors that are part of the continuum that goes from inequality to violence. the continuum that goes from inequality to violence. This third part is further subdivided into five points: "Pornography as a learning context", "Pornography consumption does not occur in a vacuum:

analysis of dispositional variables", "Learning made possible by pornography consumption", "Generalization to the interpersonal context" and "Differences with learning made possible by other contexts".

Section 8, "Pornography as a Learning Context", explains why and how the consumption of pornography constitutes a learning context in which it is highly unlikely that the male will extract no learning at all.

Section 9, "Pornography Consumption Does Not Occur in a Vacuum: Analysis of Dispositional Variables", discusses why pornography consumption is a particularly potent learning context and explains what social, cultural, and contextual variables influences this.

Section 10, "Learning that Makes Pornography Consumption Possible and Probable," examines the types of learning that pornography consumption makes possible and likely, which can be summarized as: learning to associate masturbatory behavior with visualization of pornography material (10.1), learning to eroticize certain practices and their content (10.2), learning what behaviors are appropriate in the interpersonal "sexual" context (10.3).

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Section 11, "Generalization to the Interpersonal Context", discusses how the learning acquired during pornography consumption can be generalized to the interpersonal context and what variables are likely to make such generalization likely to be successful.

Section 12, "Differences from Learning that other Contexts Make Possible", explains the differences between learning through pornography consumption and learning through other audiovisual contexts (watching a series, a movie, playing a video game, etc.) and the limitations of this comparison, which attempts to defend that pornography consumption has no effect on the behavior of men who consume it.

2 - In this report, the terms "make it possible" and "increases the probability" are used specifically.

"Increases the probability X" means to make X probable, i.e. to make the frequency higher of occurrence of X.

To "make possible X" means two things: first, to increase the frequency of occurrence of X, but in a lesser sense than to "increases the probability". Second, "make possible" means to make something possible, that is, to be a sufficient condition, to open the door to the existence of something. In this second sense, "to make possible" is a notion that, in a temporal sense, necessarily precedes "to make probable, or increases the probability": for something to be probable, it is indispensable that it be possible.

The fourth part presents **the conclusions (section 13)**. These conclusions have been drawn by combining the two fields of knowledge presented.

**PART TWO:
FEMINIST THEORY**

5 - Sexual Violence

This section focuses on developing the concept of sexual violence in detail. In this way, its definition will be addressed in a developed manner (both the legal and the one installed in the collective imaginary as well as the one developed from feminist theory). The most recent data on the subject will also be collected. Fundamentally, it will be affirmed that there are different types of sexual violence, approached from the continuum theory. The aim is to make visible the wide range of situations that constitute sexual violence, and that sexual violence is not limited to those types of violence that are legally considered or reflected in the law or in the social imaginary.

5.1. Data.

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The latest data from the Ministry of the Interior show that between 2015 and 2021, the number of cases of sexual violence known annually in Spain has practically doubled, from the 9,869 registered in 2015 to the 17,016 recorded in 2021 (Report on Crimes Against Sexual Freedom and Indemnity: 4). It is noteworthy that, according to another report funded by the Ministry of the Interior, developed by a research team from the University of Barcelona and published in 2020, the heterogeneity and the distorted conceptualization of sexual violence make the data from official sources underestimate the reality and leave out a large number of cases from the official figures, so that the problem is much larger (Andrés et. al., 2020).

5.2. . Criteria to Define Sexual Violence.

Depending on the field of reference, there are different criteria for defining the difference between sex and sexual violence or, in other words, for deciding which of these two categories a given situation belongs to. For the purposes of this report, it is useful to refer to three: (a) the socially accepted ideology, (b) the legal concept, and (c) the feminist conceptualization.

a) The socially accepted ideology

The socially accepted ideology still bases the criterion for distinguishing when an interaction is sex and when it is sexual violence on the active resistance of women. Thus, the absence of active resistance is

considered equivalent to consent (which is a false equivalence), and this misunderstood consent, in turn, is considered sufficient to affirm that a certain practice is sex and not rape, regardless of the women's desire or lack thereof. It is a commonplace of the culture that in cases where women have not shown clear active resistance or have not shown suffering, screaming, or crying, it is because they have consented; and, therefore, it has been sex and not sexual violence.

Although certain situations of great media relevance have allowed us as a society to integrate the avant-garde thinking of feminism in relation to sexual violence, as in the case of the individual and collective rapes of San Fermín³ or, more recently, the case of Luis Rubiales⁴ (in which it was clearly pointed out how the power relationship eliminates the possibility of valid consent), there is still a long way to go until both the socially accepted and the legal definition are equal to the one proposed by feminism.

On the other hand, there is a very specific image of sexual violence: sexual violence is considered to be that which is perpetrated by a stranger, usually at night, usually in unfrequented public spaces; when the statistics themselves make it clear that it is perpetrated by a man in her close circle (boyfriend, husband, friend, relative, acquaintance, etc.). This idea has clear political functions: on the one hand, to make it difficult for women to identify all sexual violence that does not fit this pattern; on the other hand, to prevent men from considering themselves or one of them as sexual aggressors (Alario, 2021). It is

3- La Manada refers to a case of gang rape in which five men attacked an eighteen-year-old girl in the early hours of July 7, 2016, during the San Fermín festivities in the city of Pamplona, Spain. The case was widely covered in the media and on social networks, and mobilized a large part of the Spanish population, who expressed their disagreement with the judicial verdicts, which initially considered the crime to be a sexual assault. The case has been reviewed by the Supreme Court and the defendants has been found guilty of rape and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

4 - Luis Rubiales is the former president of the Spanish Football Federation. In 2023, during the Women's World Cup final, Rubiales kissed midfielder Jenni Hermoso on the mouth against her will. Because of this, Hermoso resigned from the Spanish national team, and the rest of the players also resigned in support of her, expressing their firm and unequivocal condemnation of conduct that violates the dignity of women. As a result, FIFA first suspended and then disqualified him for three years, and The Public Prosecutor's Office filed a lawsuit against Rubiales in Madrid. The case was widely reported in the national and international press, and the aggression marred the victory of the women's national team as world champions.

already a commonplace within feminism to be surprised by the fact that all women in their life's journey have some situation that fits in the continuum of sexual violence, but no one knows of any man who has ever admitted to having practiced it.

b) The legal concept

Article 178 of the Criminal Code criminalizes sexual violence as follows:

1. Whoever commits an act that violates the sexual freedom of another person without the latter's consent shall be punished by imprisonment of one to four years, as if he were responsible for sexual violence. Consent shall be deemed to have been given only if it has been freely expressed by acts which, in the circumstances of the case, clearly express the will of the person concerned..

2. Acts of a sexual nature carried out with the use of force, intimidation or abuse of a situation of superiority or vulnerability of the victim, as well as those carried out on persons deprived of their senses or whose mental condition is abused, and those carried out when the will of the victim is annulled for any reason.

3. If the aggression is committed with the use of force or intimidation, or on a victim whose will is annulled for any reason, the perpetrator shall be punished with one to five years' imprisonment.

4. In the absence of the use of force or intimidation or of the victim's will being overridden for any reason, or in the absence of the circumstances referred to in Article 180, the court may, taking into account the minor nature of the act and the personal circumstances of the offender, impose the penalty of imprisonment for the lower half of the term of imprisonment or a fine of eighteen to twenty-four months, stating its reasons in the judgment.

c) The feminist conceptualization.

Over the past decades, various feminist theorists have provided different, usually complementary, definitions of sexual violence. Among them, it is worth mentioning Brownmiller's (1981) conceptualization, categorized under the term "violence, not sex," which emphasized that rape has more to do with the terrain of violence than with the terrain of sex. This conceptualization made it possible to directly oppose the majority view, which called sexual violence sex, in a social context in which women's testimonies had no credibility. However, it was a conceptualization that

needed to be clarified to the extent that women's experiences of sexual violence were not usually marked by extreme physical violence: rape was more often an everyday experience in which men did not need to resort to high-intensity physical violence to subdue women.

The conceptualization was further developed when MacKinnon (1987, 1995) looked at the way in which rape is experienced by most men as, in effect, sex. This conceptualization made it possible to deepen the problematization of the construction of male sexual desire and heterosexuality, and to explain how sexual violence can go unnoticed in most cases. MacKinnon argued that in the societies in which we live, no sharp distinction can be made between "intercourse" and "rape," since sexuality is a patriarchal construct and therefore not exempt from inequalities of power and its exercise.

There is currently a clear critique within feminism of the concept of consent (which, as we have seen, is central to the current legal definition of sexual violence). There are various ideas that lead to the critique of this concept, but the most relevant ones have already been expressed by authors such as MacKinnon (1987, 1995) and Jeffreys (1996), who stated that consent is the name given to the role that patriarchy assigns to women in the realm of "sexuality". Men desire and act, women consent. This paradigm of consent would maintain men as appropriate, active subjects, with their own desires, and women as passive bodies, desired objects, not only without desire but also without capacity or right to set boundaries.

Today, feminist theory and the feminist movement claim the relevance of women's desire. Valid consent will be that which is born from a prior desire to engage in a specific moment, with a specific person, in specific practices. It is essential to remember that in patriarchies of consent, women are taught to desire precisely what maintains their subordination, or in other words, to eroticize practices based on power inequality. The goal of feminism is therefore to arrive at a truly egalitarian society in which women, truly free from the constraints that today construct their desire, can develop their own sexuality, have their own desire, and set limits that are respected without any risk.

In line with what has been said so far, feminism is clearly critical of the legal concept of sexual violence. Although the legal definition in Art. 178.1 states that an act that violates a person's sexual freedom is not sexual aggression if there is consent, feminism holds that there can be no valid consent to an act that violates sexual freedom itself. In Art.

178.2, which defines sexual aggression as any act of a sexual nature in which there is a situation of superiority or vulnerability of the victim, it is important to emphasize the ambiguity created by the lack of specificity. Situations related to prostitution, for example, are clearly crossed both male superiority and female vulnerability, and this definition has not been linked to a conceptualization of prostitution as sexual violence (at the legal level) or to abolitionist measures; or living in a patriarchal society already marks a based situation in which there is, by definition, an inequality of power between men and women, an inequality that cross heterosexuality, and this inequality of power is not taken into account in this definition.

The Continuum Theory

Among feminist conceptualizations of sexual violence, continuum theory is particularly relevant to this report. Kelly (1988) argued that all women's sexual experiences with men in a patriarchy fall along what she called "the continuum of sexual violence.

[...] a continuum that includes, at one end, experiences that are socially understood as sexual violence and, at the other end, experiences that are socially understood as sex, even if they are crossed by power inequalities and are therefore not exempt from subtle levels of violence. This would be precisely the continuum between inequality and violence in which sexuality is trapped in patriarchal contexts; a continuum in which even the farthest points from the most extreme sexual violence already entail certain levels of power inequality" (Alario, 2021).

In Boyle's words:

The continuum allows us to make connections between actions and experiences that are commonplace, every day, and widely accepted (e.g., displaying pornographic images in public spaces) and others that are immediately and indisputably recognized as criminal (e.g., child abuse) to develop a picture of how our culture normalizes the sexual aggression of men and the sexual objectification of women and girls" (2014: 229-230).

Along the same theoretical idea of the continuum, Anitha and Gill (2009: 165) develop that consent and coercion are also two ends of a continuum constructed according to socio-cultural expectations.

Today, the idea of the continuum has been taken up by various theorists and allows us to understand that there are different types, levels and intensities of sexual violence. An unwanted sexual comment on the street that comes from the exercise of power, a boyfriend who pressures his girlfriend into practices she does not want, a girl whose face is made into a pornographic image by artificial intelligence, a girl who is touched by her older classmates in the school bathroom, A woman being paid by a man to perform fellatio, four strangers harassing a woman in an alley, a friend touching her friend's body while she is asleep after a night out, a man taking a friend out for a few drinks and using a drug to break her will, a woman being engaged in certain sexual practices and realizing afterward that she has been emotionally coerced... all these situations, so different from each other, have much in common, because they all belong to the continuum of sexual violence, insofar as they are situations crossed by the inequality of power between men and women, and in which there is no free desire on the part of women to find themselves in such situations. Indeed, according to Kelly, analyzing sexual violence along this continuum makes it possible to identify the "basic commonality that underlies many different events" (1988: 76). This commonality has to do with masculinity, with the inequality of power between men and women characteristic of patriarchal societies, with the pornification of culture, and so on.

One idea that will be fundamental in analyzing the learning that pornography makes possible is precisely that there is a continuum between inequality and violence. The sexual violence suffered by women in patriarchal contexts has a very clear origin and cause: the inequality of power between men and women in these contexts. Thus, power inequality is not only the sine qua non or essential ingredient that allows sexual violence against women to exist, but is itself a form of ("subtle") violence. The dehumanization or objectification of women, a mechanism that maintains their subordination is usually used as a concept belonging to the realm of inequality, is not only the first step that allows for more extreme violence against women, it is also a type of violence in itself.

6 - Pornography

Living in a patriarchal society is a sine qua non (indispensable) variable for i), the existence of pornography; ii), its social permission to exist; and iii), that its existence is positively noted. First, because pornography is a product of patriarchy that would not have been produced or maintained in an egalitarian society (Alario, 2021). Second, because only a society that uncritically integrates the idea that men are superior to women can allow a material that makes an apology for the superiority of male power and the violence it perpetrates against women. Third, because only in a society that values a model of masculinity that is consistent with the exercise of such power and violence could it be possible to consider the consumption of material as something positive.

6.1. Pornography Consumption Data.

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There are three recent studies that have been conducted in Spain on the consumption of pornography. The first, conducted in the Balearic Islands by Ballester and Orte (2019), with a survey of 2,457 young people between the ages of 16 and 29, concluded that there are two main differences in pornography consumption between men and women: the first is that the tendency for men is to increase the frequency of viewing pornography over time, while for women the tendency is to reduce it. The second is that the motivation for pornography consumption, in most cases, for men it is masturbation (62.4%) while women is to learn about "sex". Young women watch pornography mainly out of curiosity (Ballester, Socías and Varela, 2022).

In the second of these studies, carried out in the Canary Islands by Torrado and collaborators (2021), with 2,432 people residing in the Canary Islands between the ages of 16 and 29, confirms that 70% of men consumed or almost always the same or more and more pornography, while 48.9% of women watched less and less pornography. The results of the previous study were confirmed with regard to the differences in use between men and women: among men, 67.5% use to masturbate, and among women, 70.6% use to satisfy their curiosity and 27.5% use to learn about "sex" (Toro, 2001).

The first of these studies (Ballester and Orte, 2019) shows that the minimum age of exposure to pornography is eight. By the age of thirteen, 25% of adolescents have already used pornography, a figure that rises to 50% by the age of fifteen and to more than 75% in the case of boys by the age of sixteen. The average age at which males start pornography consumption is fourteen, while for females it is sixteen. Among

boys, 75.8% started using pornography before the age of sixteen, 22% between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, and 1.2% between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. Among females, 35.5% started pornography consumption before the age of sixteen, 48.2% between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, and 15.2% between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one.

The second of these studies (Torrado et al., 2021) shows that 72.5% of men compared to 29.3% of women have consumed pornography in the last 10 years, while 53% of women and 21% of men have not used pornography in the last 10 years. Regarding the age at which pornography use began, the average is 13 years old, with a lower average for males than females (12.7 vs. 14.08). Respondents were also asked about the age at which they remembered seeing their first pornographic images. In this case, the average age drops to 12 years, with relatively small differences between women and men (12.54 average age for women; 11.75 for men).

The third study, carried out in the Balearic Islands with 3,284 respondents aged between 13 and 18 years (Duran i Febrer et. al. 2002), shows that 79% of those questioned began to consume pornography regularly between the ages of 12 and 14, 14.3% when they were younger than 12 and 6.7% after the age of 14. Regarding the age at which they first viewed pornography, 52.9% said they were under the age of 12, 30.5% were between the ages of 12 and 14, and 1.8% were over the age of 14.

6.2. What Happens on the Other Side of the Screen?

Pornography can be analyzed from a number of different perspectives. While Section 6.3 analyzes what happens on the side of the screen where the pornography consumer is, it is also relevant to ask what happens on the side of the screen where the real women in the pornographic videos are.

6.2.1. Pornography as Sexual Exploitation Industry.

Pornography is part of the sexual exploitation of women industry, one of the three most profitable industries in the world. The pornography industry is a multi-billion dollar, money-driven industry. Every second, \$3,075.64 is spent on pornography (Montefiore, 2010). The economic benefits of the pornography industry (excluding those generated by films of sexual violence against minors) exceed the revenues of Microsoft, Google, Amazon, eBay, Yahoo, Apple, and Netflix combined (Gabriel, 2017: 2).

According to Google, there are more than one billion pages of pornographic content on the web, up from 26 million pages a decade ago. "This means that the size of the web has multiplied by 40,000

in just a decade" (Gabriel, 2017: 7). 12% of websites on the Internet, about 25 million, are pornographic. 25% of search engine queries are related to pornography, or about 68 million queries per day. 35% (Cobo 2019: S22).

6.2.2. Pornography is Not Fiction.

Already feminists in the 1980s made it clear that "the first victims of pornography are the women who appear in it" (Dworkin and MacKinnon, 1989: 42). "Real women are tied up, pressured, hung, fucked, gang-raped, whipped, beaten, and begged for more. In photographs and films, real women are used as porneia and real women are described as porneia" (Dworkin, 1989: 201-202). The power, cruelty, sadism, and subordination of women in pornography are real; the violence is real, and the degradation inherent in pornography is real (Dworkin, 1989: 201). Pornographic films and images are evidence of real political crimes (Dworkin, 1989: xxxvii). Nothing we see in pornography is fiction: it is all real, happening to real women. The practices depicted in pornography have consequences for the health of the women on whom they are performed, both physically and mentally.

I am saying something that no one should have to say, which is simply that you do not do to a human being what is done to women in pornography. And why are these things done to women in pornography? The reasons men give are: entertainment, fun, expression, sex, sexual pleasure, and that women want it. (Dworkin, 1983: 232).

6.2.3. Pornography Can Be a Film of Sexual Violence Even if it "Doesn't Look Like It".

Anti-pornography feminists in the 1980s also reflected on how pornography can be a film of sexual violence even when it doesn't look like it:

*One should not assume that violence only occurs when violent pornography is made. For example, although many people would classify the film *Deep Throat* as nonviolent pornography because it does not depict rape or other violence, we know from Linda (Lovelace) Marchiano's two books (*Ordeal*, 1980 and *Out of Bondage*, 1986) and from her public testimony (e.g., *Public Hearings*, 1983) that this film is in fact a documentary of her rape from beginning to end. (Russell, 1993: 114)*

On the other hand, pornography that depicts violent practices is violent whether there is "consent" or not. The Istanbul Convention itself states that there can be no valid consent in situations of hierarchy: "Consent must be given voluntarily as the result of the person's free will assessed in the context of the surrounding circumstances."

6.2.4. Pornography as Part of the Prostitution System.

Recently, a line of research has begun to show that the social division between pornography and prostitution is not so clear. Pornography and prostitution are not strictly separable for several reasons. First, because in both cases we find women agreeing to practices they do not want in exchange for money (the money itself is evidence of coercion). Second, both exist because men, as demanders and consumers, perpetuate them; and this refers directly to the construction of male sexuality in patriarchal contexts and to the learning that leads them to eroticize the sense of power and the absence of reciprocity. Third, because some of the recent webcam sites, companies such as OnlyFans, or the new forms of recruitment of young women into prostitution through "sugar daddy" platforms, are a situation halfway between the two realities. Fourthly, because the women themselves who are in prostitution testify that, at a time when there are fewer male whoremongers, it is common for them to be "derived" to the pornography networks and end up being involved in the creation of pornography.

6.2.5. Pornography Feeds on Filmed Sexual Violence.

Traffickinghub was a campaign that collected information from various lawsuits against Pornhub, one of the two major pornography sites (both globally and nationally). Some examples of cases that have been filed include a fifteen-year-old girl who went missing for a year and was found after her mother found 58 videos of her being raped on Pornhub; or, in February 2020, that of another fourteen-year-old girl who was kidnapped and raped for 12 hours and the videos of her rape were subsequently uploaded and consumed on Pornhub. She asked Pornhub to remove these videos for months, but Pornhub did not respond until she took legal action. "In 2019, the Internet Watch Foundation confirmed 118 videos of underage rape that included high levels of sadism. A Sunday Times investigation found dozens of videos of sexual assault of boys and girls as young as three years old, some of which had been on Pornhub for three years and had 350,000 views" (Alario, 2021: 328).

Because of these realities, by the end of 2020, Pornhub removed more than 2/3 of its content because it was not "verified"; in other words, because Pornhub did not know the true origin of such content.

6.2.6. When "real rape" Videos are The Most Sought After.

That pornography feeds on sexual violence against women is an undeniable fact. According to Alario (2021: 287-289):

Sexual violence is transformed into pornography. The rapists themselves are responsible for this: in an act of fraternity, they turn

the sexual violence they commit against women into pornography so that other men can enjoy it; and, in fact, other men look for this sexual violence turned into pornography on websites.

Thus, within the category "rape", the term "real rape" is one of the most searched terms. When it is known that a rape has been filmed or photographed, the search for these videos and/or photos becomes a trend on pornographic sites. On Xvideos, Pornhub and Xhamster, three of the most visited websites in Spain, the video of the gang rape in the La Manada case was one of the most searched videos in Spain in the months following the verdict of the Provincial Court and the High Court of Justice of Navarre. On Pornhub, "Manada San Fermín" was trending: it was the most searched term in the weeks following the publication of the sentence. On the same site, "Manada" was the eighth most performed search. On Xvideos, "La manada" was the most searched for and "Manada" was the second most searched for. "Rape", "San Fermín", "Abused", "La manada rape" and "Prenda" were also trending. This data was taken on 03/05/2018, one week after the verdict was published. On Xhamster, 300 people searched for the term "La manada" from Spain every day; a number that, according to its "vice president and spokesperson," was increasing (López and Espartero, 2018). This increase occurred, taking into account the time difference between Spain and Xhamster's headquarters, from the day 26/04/2018: the day the sentence was published. The men entered the porn sites to look for a video of a real rape. [...] Many men want to watch rape videos; enough men that on sites like Pornhub, which received 1,067 hits per second in 2018, the search for a rape video became a trend.

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Pornography, therefore, does not simply show "sex", it shows:

what males experience as sexually arousing, which includes sexual violence, since men, for whom it is made, go to pornography sites to watch rape videos. Because sexual violence is sexually arousing according to this construction of male sexuality, and because pornography responds to this construction, rape videos are found on the pornographic sites; but all this gear is hidden under the idea that everything that sexually excites men is "sex", and that, therefore, pornography simply shows "sex". (Alario, 2021: 289)

6.2.7. Pornography is Filmed Sexual Violence⁵.

This section includes some of the few testimonies that have had the opportunity to transcend, provided by some women who have ended up involved in the creation of pornography.

"They broke my face. Many of the girls were crying because they were really in pain. I couldn't breathe. They were beating me and choking me. I was so upset and they wouldn't stop. They kept filming. I asked them to turn off the camera and they kept filming" (Editor, 2020).

"The abuse that goes on in the industry is unbelievable. The way these young girls are treated is really disgusting and it feels like brainwashing. I left because of the trauma I experienced, even though I was only there for a short time. I dated a lot of people in the industry, from hired girls to gonzo girls. They all have the same problem. They're all on drugs. It's an empty lifestyle trying to fill a void. I became horribly addicted to heroin and crack. I overdosed at least 3 times, had tricks pull knives on me, have been beaten half to death." (Redacción, 2020)

"I was forced into porn by a pimp from Ft. Lauderdale. He sent me on a plane to New Jersey to film "facial abuse". The manager of Facial Abuse raped me after the scene and gave me money not to report it. I still do not have ownership of the video. My manager spent about \$100 a day to keep me drugged." (Newsroom, 2020)

"I was forced to get bodily fluids on my face or anywhere the producer wanted, and if I didn't agree, I didn't get paid. Sometimes there would be a scene where the producer would change what was supposed to be normal to something more intense, and if you didn't like it, they would say, "If you don't like it, too bad, you do it or we don't pay you." (Redacción, 2020)

"The semen got in my eyes and up my nose. I was choking, I was about to vomit several times, but Luci gestured for me to continue (...). I wanted to stop... the gesture of my hand was clear".

"When it was over, we girls all felt very bad, with vomiting, diarrhea, stomach pains... It was disgusting. (Serna, 2020)

5 - It is necessary to warn the reader of the roughness of this Section.

Corina Taylor said: "When I arrived to the set I expected to do a vaginal girl boy scene. But during the scene with a male porn star, he forced himself anally into me and would not stop. I yelled at him to stop and screamed 'No' over and over but he would not stop. The pain became too much and I was in shock and my body went limp." (El Desconcierto, 2019)

Alexia Milano said: "My first movie I was treated very rough by 3 guys. They pounded on me, gagged me with their penises, and tossed me around like I was a ball! I was sore, hurting and could barely walk. My insides burned and hurt so badly. I could barely pee and to try to have a bowel movement was out of the question. I was hurting so bad from the physical abuse from these 3 male porn stars."

Girls who dare to speak out are insulted on social networks. Because they agreed to do pornography, many do not consider it legitimate for them to present themselves as rape victims. They say: 'It's like a boxer complaining about being punched'. (ASFP, 2020)

34 Pornography is a problem not only because it contributes to the reproduction of sexual violence; it is a problem because it is actually sexual violence, torture and degradation of real women on film. Although it is common to find those who claim that this is a minority, it is relevant to note that an industry that allows this to happen, even in a minority of cases, is a criminal industry whose existence endangers all women simply because they are women; and that a society that, with this information available, does not immediately develop strategies to abolish this criminal industry is a society that does not consider women as human beings.

6.3. Data on the Content of Pornography.

The most recent study on the content of pornography was conducted by Alario (2020). Some of the most relevant conclusions of this research, as reported in Sexual Politics of Pornography (Alario, 2021: 357-359), are that pornography, as a socializing element that contributes to the construction of male sexual desire, teaches men:

- 1 - *A model of sexuality centered on male pleasure, in which women's real sexual pleasure has completely disappeared, replaced by the idea that women receive pleasure by giving pleasure to men.*
- 2 - *To eroticize the infliction of physical pain on women during sexual practices, regardless of what they express. When women express that it causes them*

pain and that they don't want it, pornography teaches men to eroticize the very fact that they continue to perform these practices anyway, placing the pleasure they get above the limits of the women and the pain they cause them.

- 3 -*To trivialize sexual violence against women by presenting it as something funny.*
- 4 -*To eroticize sexual practices (which are sexual violence) that women do not want, through some kind of pressure, coercion or blackmail; to obtain a forced consent. It conveys to them that even if a woman says she does not want to engage in sexual practices, "deep down she wants it" and is "playing hard to get," rationalizing, justifying, and legitimizing such male behaviors; and it conveys to men that practices performed without a woman's desire and after obtaining such coerced consent are sex, not sexual violence.*
- 5 -*To eroticize by "taking advantage" of women's drunkenness to engage in sexual practices (which are sexual violence) that women do not want and/or do not consent to, overstepping the boundaries they have expressed, and conveying to them that this is sex, not sexual violence.*
- 6 -*The eroticization of sexual practices (which are sexual violence) with women who are asleep or unconscious, in order to convey to them that these practices are sex and not sexual violence.*
- 7 -*To eroticize the practice of sexual violence against women, their active resistance and their suffering.*
- 8 -*To eroticize sexual practices (which are sexual violence) in a group with women who do not want them and/or do not consent to them, teaching them that "deep down they really want it" and that these practices are sex, not sexual violence. It teaches men to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood with this practice.*
- 9 -*To eroticize the practice of group sexual violence against women with the awareness that it is sexual violence and to strengthen the bonds of fraternity with this practice.*
- 10 -*Eroticizing sexual practices (which are sexual violence) against minors, teaching them that they are those who want it and that these practices are sex and not sexual violence.*
- 11 -*To eroticize the exercise of sexual violence against preadolescents and girls, with the awareness that this is sexual violence; to eroticize the production*

of pain during the exercise of sexual violence; to eroticize the fact that, when they are very young, they don't even understand what is happening.

12- To eroticize women's lack of desire and consent.

13 - To associate sexual arousal with a sense of superior power gained by dominating women and exercising various levels of violence against them: from their objectification and dehumanization to the most extreme sexual violence.

14 - To associate sexual arousal with a sense of superior power gained by dominating women and exercising various levels of violence against them: from their objectification and dehumanization to the most extreme sexual violence.

15 - To reinforce their sense of superiority by watching videos of women being murdered.

Pornography, as a sexual-political discourse, according to the Sexual Politics of Pornography (Alario, 2021: 359-351), proposes:

1 - That sex is based on power inequality, male dominance and female submission.

2 - That women's sexual pleasure disappears completely from sex.

3 - That in men's sexuality, purely physical sexual pleasure is linked to the pleasure of the feeling of superiority of power over women (and girls); that in sex, male sexual pleasure has priority; that men have the right to do anything that produces this pleasure.

4 - That women's lack of desire and consent is sexually exciting to men.

5 - That a woman's "no" either does not mean "no" or, if it does mean "no," is sexually arousing not to respect it. In either case, the woman's "no" is not to be respected, but is there to be transgressed, allowing men to feel the superiority of power to which their sexual arousal is tied.

6 - That men have the right to sexual access to women's bodies if they wish, regardless of women's lack of desire and/or consent; that women have no right to restrict men's access to their bodies; that women have no right to a life free of violence.

7 - That men have the right to perpetrate various forms of sexual violence against women, individually or in groups, and that if they do not resist, these forms of sexual violence are simply sex.

- 8 - *That men have the right to perpetrate various forms of sexual violence against women, individually or in groups. And that women's active resistance and suffering are sexually arousing for them.*
- 9 - *That men have the right to commit various forms of sexual violence against adolescents and girls, individually or in groups, if they so desire; that minors do not have the right to a life free from sexual violence.*
- 10- *That men have the right to obtain sexual pleasure by engaging in practices that cause pain and suffering to women and girls.*
- 11- *That sexuality is based on the subject-object scheme, in which the desire and pleasure of the male are the only relevant ones, and women and girls are reduced to bodies, to dehumanized objects to which the male has the right to access in order to fulfill his desires, obtaining at the same time physical pleasure and the sexual pleasure of power.*
- 12 - *That sexuality is crossed by the inequality of power between men and women; that this inequality is expressed through the male exercise of various types and levels of violence against women: from the elimination of their pleasure, their objectification and dehumanization, their submission obtained through coercion, male domination and violence; to the denial of their human right to sexual autonomy in the exercise of sexual violence against women, their torture and murder.*
- 13 - *That patriarchy and masculinity are reinforced by the affirmation of the supposed superiority of men over women. Pornography is a political-sexual discourse because its central theme is the supposed superiority of men, which is expressed through the exercise of power and various levels of violence against women, usually (but not necessarily) through practices that give men sexual pleasure, eroticizing male domination and violence against women and passing them off as part of what sex is.*

With regard to these results, six specific pieces of information should be in the foreground and will be the subject of further reference:

- (I)) *The pornographic video with the highest number of views (as of 03/05/2019, it had more than 225 and a half million views, more than twice as many views as the next most consumed video) shows a gang rape of a woman by four men, in which she cries, screams, and tries to escape all the time. (Alario, 2020b: 239-248).*
- (II) *Most of the most viewed videos, with the exception of the previous one, usually present a very specific narrative scheme: the women first express*

that they do not want to engage in sexual practices, the men force them to comply, and they finally agree, showing themselves with a passive attitude at first, but expressing pleasure as the video progresses. Although these situations are sexual violence (practices that begin without desire on the part of the women and with coerced consent are sexual violence), pornography, by conveying that the women "wanted it" when they initially said they did not, invisibilizes sexual violence as violence and passes it off as simply "sex" (Alario, 2020b: 221-238).

- (III) *Among the most consumed types of pornography, it is also worth mentioning those in which women are in situations of extreme intoxication, unconscious or asleep, that is, situations in which they neither have desire nor are able to give valid consent, so that the practices that take place in these situations are always sexual violence (Alario, 2020b: 230-236).*
- (IV) *The most common practices depicted in pornography usually involve causing some kind of displeasure, physical discomfort, or pain to women. Certain practices performed by men on women, such as pulling hair; slapping the buttocks, vulva, breasts, and face; spitting in the face, mouth, or other parts of the body; grabbing the neck forcibly and for long periods of time; penetrating the mouth of women until they gag, cry, and regurgitate; swearing; or verbal humiliation, have become "add-ons" to all the other practices that appear as normal in the most commonly viewed pornography. (Alario, 2020b: 193-212).*
- (V) *The basic scheme of pornography is the following: the male is the subject, The woman is the object that the man uses to satisfy these desires. The basic rule of pornography, which is observed without exception, is that the man's desires are always satisfied through his access to a woman's body. In this sense, the study concludes that in pornography, men's desires are transformed into rights that are always satisfied through the use of women's bodies (Alario, 2021).*
- (VI) *Women, on the other hand, are objectified, dehumanized, reduced to their bodies, and it is irrelevant whether they desire such access or not, what their situation is, how old they are, etc. Moreover, in pornography (both the most consumed and the rest) it is very common to find women who set limits: they say that they don't want to, that they don't like it, that it hurts, that they want to stop, that they don't feel like it... But these limits are never respected in pornography. It is no coincidence that women's limits, which are always present in pornography, are never respected; in fact, they have a very clear function: they are there specifically so that they will not be respected by men, allowing the male viewers of the video to gain*

a greater sense of power than they would if women wanted to engage in these practices. As studies of masculinity show, it is this sense of power that is associated with male arousal in patriarchies (Alario, 2021).

Pornography, through this scheme, places the satisfaction of all male desires above the human right of women and girls to be free from violence (Alario, 2020b: 170-173).

Men learn that in the realm of sexuality, they have the right to satisfy all their desires through their access to the bodies of all women they wish to access. Women learn that their role in the realm of "sexuality" is to be those bodies that men can access to fulfill their own desires, and that it is in their own "best interest" to allow such access, and even to learn to "desire" and "enjoy" it, because their attempts to set and maintain boundaries will not only not be respected, but will cause them to suffer much higher levels of various types of violence (Alario, 2021).

6.4. The Pornification of Culture and the False Equivalence Between Pornography and Sex.

Today, and for several decades, we have been witnessing a process that various theorists have called the "pornification of culture" (Paul, 2006). This process has various manifestations in contemporary society, among which are the following:

- Some elements that were previously considered to belong to the specifically pornographic imaginary are integrated into the dominant culture and are no longer identified as pornographic (Tyler and Queck, 2016). This includes, of course, the distribution of roles of power that pornography presents (man as a subject whose desire is a right and woman as an object that man uses to satisfy any of his desires), which are normalized in spheres outside of pornography (Alario, 2021).
- As certain aspects of pornography (including those related to power inequality and violence) move into popular culture and are no longer considered pornographic, the line between what is and is not pornography also shifts. This, in turn, means that pornography becomes more and more extreme manifestations of violence in their contents (Alario, 2021).
- "Pornography" and "sex" become synonymous. Pornography replaces or "hijacks" sex, and what pornography shows is considered to be simply "explicit sex" (Alario, 2021); going further, it is socially assumed that pornography not only shows sex, but that it shows "the best sex".

According to Favaro (2016), one of the ultimate goals of this phenomenon, typical of the sexual exploitation industry, is to spread the idea that pornography is not only inevitable, but also desirable.

Thus, one of the most serious problems caused by the process of pornification of culture is that pornography becomes synonymous not only with "sex", but with "good sex". It is important to keep this in mind, among other things, because any critique of pornography based on the defense of women's legitimate human rights will be labeled as "anti-sex," even though it is not really a critique of anything related to sex, but a critique of violence. The fact that pornography replaces sex in these societies means that the inequality it shows, the exercise of power it normalizes, the exercise of violence it eroticizes, etc., are simply conceptualized as "what sex is".

6.5. Women's Visualization of Pornography.

40 Since this report is based on a concern about sexual violence, and since it is men who are the perpetrators of this violence against women, the analysis of the consequences of pornography consumption will focus on men; in the same way, the following sections will focus on the learning that is made possible during male pornography consumption and on the ways in which it increases the probability of leading to the exercise of sexual violence. In this section, we will only mention some of the variables that allow us to understand the differences that exist between men's and women's viewing and/or consumption of pornography.

First of all, the aforementioned research highlights differences in the motivations and goals with which men and women go to pornography: while men report using pornography to "masturbate", women report doing so to "satisfy curiosity" and "learn about 'sex'". In addition, pornographic material assigns radically different roles to men and women, which makes it difficult for their identification during viewing to be equivalent, especially if we take into account the different gender socialization that both men and women receive.

Women's socialization is based on this "being for others", on this construction of subjectivity that is dependent on the gaze of others and, fundamentally, on the male gaze. Women learn to achieve well-being by bringing well-being to others. When women seek out pornography, they do so in order to know what to do to please men in "sexual relations". Pornography finds in these foundations an ideal place to build women's learning based on their own objectification and subordination in order to please the subject around which pornography revolves: the man. Pornography teaches women to eroticize their own subordination; that

is, it not only teaches them that their role in "sex" is to be accessible bodies, but it also teaches them to achieve arousal through practices that keep them in a place of inferiority that patriarchy assigns to them.

It is important to understand that women live surrounded by all the ideas discussed here. The misconceptions about sexual violence, even if they are socially accepted, have a great impact on the way they understand the situations they experience. The idea that the rapist is a stranger, or that the man who has a close relationship with you will not be the one to use violence against you, means that the majority of violence, sexual but not only, that does not fit into this scheme, which, as we know, is not conceptualized by women as such.

Another relevant issue is the impact on women of living in a pornified society, where pornography has come to replace "what sex is". Pornography will have great consequences here because, since it is considered socially synonymous with sex, what pornography shows is socially conceptualized as "sex". Thus, women live in a context where it is very difficult for them to refer to the violence they experience as "violence" because this violence is conceptualized as sex. Situations such as a man insisting after a "no," a boyfriend or friend gaining access to her body while she is sleeping, a man repeating what she has previously said she does not want, are the general tone of pornography, and which are sexual violence, take place in a climate of social normalization that understands them as sex, and not as the violence they are.

Although this issue is of enormous importance in the societies in which we live, it is not the direct subject this Report seeks to explore. It is worth noting that would be interesting to develop it in subsequent studies.

7 - Causality Between Pornography and Sexual Violence from a Feminist Perspective

While the purpose of this report is to analyze pornography as a learning context and how its consumption increases the probability of the acquisition of learning of inequality and the exercise of violence in relation to the sexual context, it is interesting to review beforehand what has been said from the feminist perspective about the causal relationship between pornography and sexual violence.

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First of all, it is important to pause and reflect on how the pornification of culture influences this relationship. The fact that pornography has entered the commonplaces of culture and the collective imaginary and is no longer considered and socially conceptualized as pornography, means that certain features, narratives, patterns, structures, or roles that were previously identified as pornographic cease to be pornographic. Thus, pornography escapes from the delimited place it previously occupied in order to spread, to proliferate, and to lose the name or label of "pornography". For this reason, analyzing the causal relationships between pornography and sexual violence becomes more complicated because pornography is no longer something that can be isolated and easily delimited as it has spread and become integrated into popular culture.

There are great difficulties in making visible the relationship between pornography and violence: as pornography constructs, integrates, and normalizes reality, its harm permeates society, it has become invisible, integrated, and normalized. (Alario: 2020a). There is no pornography-free reality with which to compare the reality of this society in order to identify the violence that pornography causes in it. (MacKinnon, 1995: 370-371).

Secondly, and closely related to the above, it is important to know that pornography cannot be separated from the social place it occupies or the political functions it has in the society in which it is analyzed. Pornography has a very specific and relevant role within the current patriarchal structure, and it is in this context that it must be analyzed.

Third, we must think about how we use the concept of causality. Radical anti-pornography feminists were already working on these concepts in the 1980s.

Russell argues that it is necessary to distinguish between the concept of causality and the concept of multiple causes. The concept of cause refers to an event or set of events (cause) that precedes and results in the occurrence of another event (effect); the effect necessarily follows the cause, i.e., whenever the cause occurs, the effect follows; moreover, the effect does not occur unless the cause occurs (Russell, 1993a: 126). In this sense, it cannot be said that pornography is the cause of rape (Russell, 1993a: 128).

The concept of multiple causes refers to the existence of multiple causes that can produce an effect, such that any one of the causes may be a sufficient but not a necessary condition, or a necessary but not a sufficient condition, for the effect to occur (Alario, 2020). In this sense, "pornography may be a sufficient (but not necessary) cause of men's desire to rape" (Russell, 1993a:128). According to Russell, "just as smoking is not the sole cause of lung cancer, pornography is not the sole cause of rape [...]. There are many factors that play a causal role in this crime" (1993b: x; 1993a: 150). Now, there is "overwhelming evidence that pornography is a significant factor" (Russell, 1993b: x; 1993a: 150). It is this evidence that anti-pornography feminists will point to. MacKinnon expands on this idea:

The dominant view is that pornography must cause harm just as cars accidents cause harm, or its effects are not cognizable as harm. The trouble with this individuated, atomistic, linear, exclusive, narrowly, tortlike – in a word, positivistic- conception of injury, it that the way pornography targets and defines women for abuse and discrimination it does not work like this. It does hurt individuals, just not individuals in one-at-a-time sense, but as member of the group women. Individual harm is causes one women and not another essentially as one number rather than another is caused in roulette, but on a group basis, the harm is absolutely selective and systematic. Its causality is essentially collective and totalistic and contextual.

Barry (1980: 307) agrees with this idea, affirming that while abuse or rape are specific acts against individual women (more quantifiable than the harm of pornography, but smaller in scale), pornography, as a representation of sexual objectification and violence against women, affects all women as a group. Barry criticized feminists' demand for scientific proof of a causal relationship between pornography and violence, asserting that while such proof cannot be given, the connection between pornography and sexual violence is obvious and undeniable.

Fourth, it is relevant to note that the objectification of women, which is by definition a fundamental and intrinsic characteristic of pornography, is the first

step in a continuum that makes possible other kinds of violence against women. It is a commonplace of our political history that every genocide, extermination, or mass torture of a group of people has had a previous step on the part of the executors of such violence: the dehumanization of that group of people. In order to legitimize the destruction of a group of people, the first step is to dehumanize them. Dehumanizing certain groups of people is the first step in justifying the constant attacks on their human rights.

Even the most banal pornography objectifies women's bodies. An essential component of most rapes and other forms of violence against women is the "objectification" of women. This means that women are seen not as human beings but as things. Men are trained to see women in this way, pornography grows out of and feeds this, and rape is one of its consequences. (Russell and Lederer, 1980: 24).

Fifth, it is imperative to note that pornography not only "causes" sexual violence, but is in fact sexual violence, as we have seen in section 6.2.7.

Finally, in addition to being a cause of violence and being violence itself, pornography is used by men to perpetrate violence against women. Feminists in the 1980s had already noted a very specific use that men made of pornography: using it as a method of normalization and pressure so that the women with whom they had relationships would agree to engage in the practices depicted in it (Dworkin and MacKinnon, 1989; Morgan, 1980; Russell, 1980; Russell, 1993a; Russell, 1993b; Senn and Radtke, 1986). That is, men present the practices they want to perform in pornography so that it function as coercion and women agree to perform them.

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As reported by Alario (2020a), Russell (1980: 228) emphasizes how the idea of performing certain acts comes from visualizing pornography; how pornography legitimizes those acts (including those that are aggressive toward women) in men's minds; and how men, finally, use it to get women to do what they want. Men, MacKinnon argues, insist that women do what they have seen in pornography, which ultimately constitutes "the systematic imposition of pornographic sexuality on women" (1995: 359). "Hundreds of women have testified publicly about how they have been victimized by pornography" (Russell, 1993b: 149), about how men have used pornography to pressure them into engaging in the practices depicted in it when they did not want to. "Women have been known to suffer brutal coercion to submit to pornographic depictions" (MacKinnon, 1995: 378). Men use pornography to reduce the reluctance of potential victims to perform unwanted "sexual" acts (Russell, 1993a: 144).

PART THREE:
PSYCHOLOGY AND LEARNING

The third part of this report has the fundamental objective of analyzing the influence that the consumption of pornography is making possible the exercise of sexual violence. To this end, we will resort to the analytical tools offered by psychology, which allow us to conceptualize the consumption of pornography as a learning context in which the probability acquiring a series of behaviors increases.

Psychology, understood from the analysis of behavior, is the science that allows the explanation of human behavior (Domjan, 2007; Pellón et al., 2014; Pérez et al., 2010; Skinner, 1977). From this branch of knowledge, behavior is understood as a relational property: as the interaction that exists between the individual and his or her context (Freixa 2003). Therefore, in order to understand and explain behavior, it is necessary to take into account the variables that configure the individual's context. One of the main characteristics of behavior is that it is constantly malleable and modifiable by new environmental contingencies. For this reason, understanding behavior necessarily implies understanding the learning processes that have the potential to modify it (Froxán-Parga 2020; Pellón et al., 2014). Thus, psychology allows us to analyze and explain the learning processes that are made possible in the presence of certain contextual variables and how these influence the individual's behavior.

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Approaching discussions that feminist theory has been analyzing for decades from a psychological perspective has broadened the horizon by allowing us to add a new dimension to the discussion from which to approach the analysis. Thus, psychology allows us to translate some of the concepts used in these discussions into specific behaviors, as well as to analyze the learning processes that mediate between them in order to explain them. In this way, the concept of *pornography* and the concept of *sexual violence* are translated by psychology into the consumption of pornography and exercise of sexual violence, both of which are understood as behaviors. This "translation" makes it easier to place the individual who engages in these behaviors at the center of the analysis.

Thus, the individual appears as an operative subject, as a variable that mediates and relates these concepts (Pérez-Álvarez, 2011; 2018, 2021). The analysis of the relationship between pornography and sexual violence, raised by feminists since the 1970s, is therefore understood as an analysis of the extent to which an individual's "pornography consumption" behavior influences the same individual's "exercise of sexual violence" behavior.

Before proceeding with this analysis, it is necessary to detail the sense of cause that is handled by psychology. Psychology studies functional relationships between behavioral events: what is essential is the temporal contingency relationship established between these events and not the physical distance between them (Pérez et al., 2010; Fuentes, 2019; Núñez de Prado Gordillo et al., 2020; Skinner,

1981). Contrary to what happens in sub-agential sciences such as physiology or chemistry, the connections are not established by physical contiguity, but by time, so that the physical distance between events becomes secondary. In this sense, as Núñez de Prado Gordillo and collaborators point out, psychology "starts from a causal model identical to that of evolutionary theory" (Núñez de Prado-Gordillo et al., 2020: 68). In other words, just as the cause of giraffe neck length lies in the fact that, over time, interactions between the organism and the environment have selected for this particular characteristic (e.g. for example, those giraffe who could reach the higher parts of the trees did not starve, and, in turn, produced offspring with longer necks), the cause of an individual's behavior lies in that, over time, through the interactions between that individual and its environment (i.e., through the learning processes that have been made possible in these interactions), this particular behavior has been selected.

In this way, psychology makes it possible to establish causal relationships between events, although the sense of "causal relationship" that it deals with is different from the mechanical-physical sense used in other fields of knowledge. It is this sense of causality that is used in psychology, and therefore will be used in this report. The terminology used to reflect this will be "causal influence," which can be understood as "interaction with certain contexts increases the probability that certain behaviors will take place".

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To illustrate this idea, we can use an example that is unrelated to the topic at hand: betting shops. These constitute a context with which the individual interacts that increases the probability of certain risky behaviors for that individual (e.g., spending large amounts on gambling, manipulation, sudden mood swings, attempting to access lines of credit), with a clear impact on their mental health and the potential for developing gambling problems and pathological gambling (Bregazzi, 2018; McCaughey, 2016; Philander, 2019; Shaffer & Korn, 2002; Wong et al., 2023; Zaranek & Lichtenberg, 2008). It is therefore understood that there is a causal influence between interaction with betting shops and these behaviors, as such interaction increases the probability of these behaviors taking place. This influence has been recognized at the societal level, to the point that governmental measures have been taken, such as the prohibition of gambling house advertising, in an attempt to mitigate its effects.

Having clarified this point, it is important to dwell on two ideas related to the use of probabilistic terms (e.g., possible, likely, potential) rather than generalizations (e.g., all) in this report.

First, as noted above, pornography consumption is understood in this report as a context with which the male frequently interacts and from which it is highly improbable that he will not acquires any kind of learning at all. Moreover, due

to the characteristics of pornographic material, the devices through which it is visualized, and various social and cultural variables present in the context in which such behavior occurs (see the development of these variables in Section 9), it is highly improbable that the male who consumes pornography will not acquire any kind of behavior that is part of the continuum from inequality to violence in the context of "sexual" interaction. Nevertheless, the terminology chosen to be used in this context is probabilistic. This probabilistic sense is the same as the one that would lead one not to want to affirm absolutely and sharply that "all crows are black", since, strictly speaking, it is possible (although it is very unlikely) to find an albino crow.

The second reason behind the use of this terminology lies in the variability that exists between individuals: it is important to remark that there are individual differences in relation to specific types of behaviors of inequality and violence in sexual interaction, that a particular male may acquire as a result of pornography consumption. Thus, not all individuals will realize each and every one of the learnings that will be analyzed here, although, as mentioned, it is highly improbable that a male will not engage in any of them, not at all.

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However, neither the acknowledgement of these individual differences nor the use of this terminology is tantamount to saying that the consumption of pornography can be considered a harmless context or that it has no consequences for some individuals. The use of pornography provides a context in which a number of learnings can take place, even if not all individuals who interact with that context will actually realize each and every one of those learnings. It would be relevant to consider whether the fact that this learning is made possible by this material does not make this material problematic.

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to point out that, as a consequence of the above, the analysis presented is focused exclusively on one side of the screen: that of the individual consumer of pornography. The political and social consequences of this analysis are therefore limited to this side of the screen. It is beyond the scope of this report to conceptualize the sexual violence that exists in the contexts in which such pornography is filmed (see 6.2 for a brief compilation of data collected on situations of trafficking and exploitation involving women in pornographic material).

The purpose of this section of the report is therefore to analyze the consumption of pornography as a learning context that increases the probability of acquiring a set of behaviors that, in turn, increase the probability of unequal "sexual" interaction and the exercise of sexual violence. In other words, pornography consumption exerts a causal influence on unequal "sexual" interaction and the perpetration of sexual violence. The purpose of this section is to explain how.

8 - Pornography As a Learning Context

Psychology understands the person in continuous interaction with his or her context: throughout life, the person is constantly interacting with contexts of many different kinds (e.g., a family dinner, a meeting at work, reading a novel, attending a singing class). These interactions are called behaviors and encompass everything the person thinks, feels, or does. In other words, in the context of a dinner conversation with a family member, both thinking of a possible response to formulate, feeling a particular emotion, and responding verbally to what that person says, are forms of interaction.

Psychology explains how the way we interact with the context (i.e., the way we behave) is malleable and subject to constant change. Thus, reading a novel can influence the conversation a person has at a family dinner, or attending a singing class can influence a thought during a work meeting. These changes in behavior are possible thanks to the learning processes that each interaction with the context makes possible: interacting with the context makes it possible for a series of learning processes to take place, which in turn will modify the behavior that takes place in the future in other contexts. In this way, we can understand that the behaviors of any individual are malleable and modifiable depending on the types of contexts with which he or she interacts, the consequences that these behaviors have, and the learning that is extracted from them.

It is important to note that the technical use of the term "learning" differs in some ways from the way it is usually used in everyday contexts. In psychology, the term "learning principles" refers to a set of processes (contingency-responsive learning, operant learning, etc.) that, like other scientific principles or laws, take place whether the person wants them to or not (Skinner, 1971, 1977; Ulrich et al., 1979; Froxán-Parga, 2020). Contrary to the use of the term in everyday contexts (e.g. "I want to learn to drive" or "I am learning Spanish"), from a technical point of view, the term learning does not presuppose the will of the individual to learn, but refers to the processes that are made possible in the interaction between the individual and the context and that explain the changes in behavior that occur. That is, from a technical point of view, learning processes take place regardless of whether the individual wants to do them or not, whether he/she is aware that he/she is doing them or not, and so on.

Psychology therefore understands the person in a continuous interaction with the surrounding context, which constantly influences his or her behavior through learning processes. There is therefore a close interdependence between learning

processes and behavior: all learning influences behavior, and most behaviors are a consequence of learning processes (Núñez de Prado Gordillo et al., 2020). Similarly, behavior and its context are understood as interdependent: behavior is not an essential property, since it is not possessed by the subject, but rather a relational property, since behavior and the effect it has on its environment form a whole (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023; Freixa, 2003). Psychology, as a branch of knowledge, therefore allows us to explain human behavior by alluding to learning processes, and thus to understand how a person has learned to behave as he or she does.

From this perspective, the consumption of pornography is therefore one more context in which the individual interacts and consequently, learns (whether he wants to or not, whether he is aware that he is doing so or not). As in many other scenarios, the consumption of pornography brings the individual into contact with a set of specific variables with which to interact. These interactions make possible for the person, regardless of his volition, to acquire a set of lessons that will influence his future behavior. As mentioned above, interacting with this context increases the probability of acquiring a set of lessons, regardless of the fact that not all individuals will acquire each and every one of the lessons that this context makes possible. It is important, however, not to confuse this recognition with the claim that pornography consumption actually makes these learnings possible. In fact, it is highly improbable that males who consume pornography will not acquire any learning at all, that is a part of the continuum from inequality to violence against women as a consequence.

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In the following sections, the behavior of "pornography consumption," understood as "masturbatory behavior accompanied by the visualization of pornographic material," will be addressed as a learning context (see Section 8). In this way, we will analyze what specific learning is made possible in this context. To this end, we will first analyze the dispositional variables that influence pornography consumption and make it a particularly potent learning context (Section 9). Next, we will explain the learning that pornography consumption makes possible (section 10). We will then analyze the variables that make it possible for this learning to generalize to the interpersonal context (Section 11). Finally (section 12), a last section will highlight the differences that exist between these learning processes and those made possible in other contexts that also involve the visualization of audiovisual material (e.g., watching a movie, watching a series, playing a video game, etc.).

9 - Pornography Consumption Does Not Occur in a Vacuum: An Analysis of Dispositional Variables

To understand the influence of pornography consumption on behavior, it is necessary to understand that pornography consumption does not occur in a vacuum. The individual who engages in masturbatory behavior while viewing pornography interacts with other contexts characterized by a number of specific variables (e.g., lack of sources of sexual education, gender socialization, patriarchy, rape culture, cultural pornification, etc.) that influence the types of learning that are made possible during their consumption. For this reason, in order to understand the peculiarities of pornography consumption as a learning context, it is necessary to dedicate a few lines to the analysis of the dispositional variables present during its consumption. The dispositional variables are conditions of the individual and the environment that favor or hinder the establishment of a certain functional relationship (Froxán-Parga, 2020); that is, they are variables that increase or decrease the probability that a series of learning processes will take place. In this way, the analysis of dispositional variables allows us to relate the interaction of this behavior (pornography consumption) with its social, historical, political and cultural context, as well as with the biological characteristics of an individual and with his or her learning history (Abalo-Rodríguez, 2005). Thus, it is possible to understand why pornography consumption is not only a learning context, but a particularly potent learning context.

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The work published by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023) analyzes in detail some of these dispositional variables that could predispose, make probable, and broadly influence pornography consumption behavior (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023). The following is an overview of these variables, bearing in mind that an exhaustive analysis of all the dispositional variables present in pornography consumption is beyond the scope of this report. Therefore, the most relevant ones are highlighted below.

(1) Social Consequences of Pornography.

As a first dispositional variable, it is worth noting the type of social consequences that reporting pornography consumption among the male peer group generally entails, because it has the potential to increase its consumption. This is noteworthy because male gender socialization is strongly related to "sexuality," so

pornography consumption is particularly valued in these contexts. In other words, its consumption is linked to peer group approval: an individual's masculinity is more highly valued the more it is linked to the exercise of power in the realm of "sexuality," and a lack of reporting of such exercise of power is understood as a "lack of masculinity."

As has been explored by various theorists, "sexuality" in masculinity has become a site of enormous relevance and importance because it is the main area in which men, in formally egalitarian patriarchal societies, gain and reproduce a sense of power over women. Thus, masculinity, or in other words, the idea that men are superior to women, will simultaneously make possible and enhance the understanding of women as bodies that are objects of consumption, and that there is a positive evaluation of men based not only on how many women's bodies they have consumed, but also on how much they have dehumanized them and how much power they have exercised over them in the process. This is not only related to sporadic "sexual" encounters, but also to the consumption of prostitution and pornography, insofar as it is a virtual way of reinforcing the supposed right of access (Alario, 2001).

Consequently, the consumption of pornography has a series of social consequences that reinforce the characteristics of this context as a learning context. In this way, reporting the use of pornography in a peer group generally has consequences of praise and acceptance (Paul, 2006). Such consequences are dispensed both proximally, by the members of the group with whom one interacts, as well as more distantly, because it is a practice embedded in the culture (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023; Cooper and Klein, 2017). In parallel, not reporting pornography consumption is often punished in the male peer group, especially during adolescence. It is also probable that the maintenance of pornography consumption is influenced by the fact that it is not punished, regardless of the content consumed, and that they continue to associate its consumption with something appropriate and desirable. It is hypothesized that at present there are few contexts (e.g., religious contexts) where contingencies that reduce or prevent its consumption can be dispensed, and that they are particularly related to the negative connotation attributed to sex in these contexts and to the relationship of equivalence established at the social level between pornography and sex.

(2) Lack of Formal and Informal Sexual Education.

According to research conducted by the Reina Sofia Center of Fad Juventud, 50% of Spanish adolescents report having received no sex education, either at school or from their families (Gómez, Kuric and Sanmartín, 2023). In Spain, few resources are allocated to sex education in educational centers, and teachers receive little

training in this regard (Lamerias et al., 2016). When such regulated sex education is provided, the model of sex education followed reduces sexuality to sexual intercourse and the risks associated with this practice (Lamerias et al., 2016). In family contexts, sex education is also not guaranteed and is surrounded by taboos (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

These shortcomings in the existing sex education prevent a contrast with the "sexual" information received during the consumption of pornography, making pornography the main school of "sexuality" for adolescents. From a psychological point of view, as Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023) note, the lack of information and alternative references in sexual and affective practices can have the following consequences (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 11):

- a - It limits the variety of stimuli that could play the role of arousal and attraction and hinders the acquisition of alternative sexual behaviors.*
- b - It supposes the deprivation of certain relevant information (to understand our sexuality) and this state of deprivation increases the desire, precisely, to know and to know, therefore it increases the probabilities of emitting more behaviors of approach to the accessible sources of information (pornography).*
- c - The lack of sexual information that contrasts with the pornography visualized may make it difficult to recognize that most of the practices that are usually shown in pornography are violent and therefore people may have less discomfort in reproducing them.*

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(3) Adolescence.

Recent studies show that pornography use currently tends to be more prevalent during adolescence, particularly between the ages of 12 and 17 (Alonso et al., 2022; Ballester et al., 2014; Yen et al., 2007). However, some studies suggest that the onset of consumption may occur as early as 8 years of age (Ballester et al., 2019). Adolescence therefore appears to be a dispositional variable to be analyzed, as it may influence the type of learning that is made possible during pornography consumption.

This possible influence is exerted primarily through a biological aspect. Adolescence is a specific period of maturation in which the expression of sexuality bursts out abruptly due to complex hormonal interactions. This is reflected in spontaneous responses of lubrication and swelling, "visualization or interaction with people and other stimuli acquire the capacity to provoke an arousal response; erotic fantasies and dreams appear, and the need to masturbate or seek a partner

is reported" (Cabello, 2010). (Cabello, 2010; in Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023). As is mentioned by Abalo-Rodríguez and al. (2023), all these aspects act as motivating variables for pornography consumption: pornography consumption becomes more probable as the attractiveness and salience of the visual stimulus increases.

Likewise, adolescence acts as a dispositional variable because of the social component associated with it. During this vital stage, certain social consequences, such as acceptance and integration into a peer group, acquire a high value (Arnett, 2008; Orcasita and Uribe, 2010; Pérez and Santiago, 2002). In this context, sexual intercourse stands out for the high social value attributed to it, especially among heterosexual boys (Cabello, 2010). Consequently, it is hypothesized that adolescence may function as a motivating variable for pornography consumption, since it allows access to high-value social consequences by providing the consumer with information that is read as "sexual" by the individuals who consume it.

(4) The Pornification of Culture.

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The "pornification of culture" is a term used by various feminist theorists to describe a process present in our contemporary society, the characteristics of which have been detailed previously (see section 6.4). In this section, we hypothesize its influence as a dispositional variable in the consumption of pornography, since it facilitates access to pornographic material, normalizes its use, influences its content to be understood as "sex", makes its consumption desirable and appetizing, causes various specifically pornographic elements to become part of popular culture and cease to be understood as pornographic (i.e., cease to be linguistically labeled as such), etc.

In the words of Abalo-Rodríguez et al. (2023), "the expansion and influence of pornography at these levels means that people are exposed to pornified content in a completely normalized way, and therefore this type of content inevitably influences the construction of their sexuality" (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 14), becoming part of individuals' lives in a normalized way.

(5) Coherence Between Content and Social Values.

Another dispositional variable that needs to be highlighted is the coherence that exists between the content of pornographic material and the values that characterize contemporary society, since the scientific literature reports that coherence is one of the variables that facilitates the following of behavioral rules (Harte et al., 2020).

The content that characterizes the most consumed pornography reproduces a masculine role of domination and possession and a feminine role of submission and complacency (Bourdieu, 2000; Cobo, 2019). At the same time, inequality between men and women and male domination permeate most contexts in today's patriarchal society. In fact, as Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023) point out, numerous contexts of everyday life (fictions, jokes, sayings, etc.) present an androcentric sexual pattern in different morphologies (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

The degree of similarity (coherence) that exists between what has been learned in other social contexts and the context of pornography consumption implies that the visualization of inequality and abuse of power present in the pornographic material does not "clash" with the individual's learning history. Consequently, it increases the probability of learning that it is an appropriate behavioral guideline to follow.

Following the example offered by Abalo-Rodríguez et al., this notion can be illustrated by looking at a common scheme within the most consumed pornographic material: a man insists on a woman having "sex"; she clearly resists and shows disagreement with the idea, but in the end they have "sex". From this visualization we can derive the behavioral rule: "If you insist on a girl, you will end up having "sex". This type of rule has a high degree of coherence and similarity with what can be extracted in other social, affective or cultural material contexts (television series, romance novels, proverbs such as "who follows gets it", etc.) (Alario, 2021: 256-257). This high degree of coherence thus functions as a dispositional variable, as it increases the probability of acquiring and following behavioral rules when consuming pornography (see section 10.3).

(6) Linguistic Labeling of Pornography as "Sex".

Another dispositional variable that needs to be analyzed because of its influence on the context that shapes pornography consumption is the linguistic labeling that is commonly applied to the content present in pornographic material. In general, pornography is understood as audiovisual material that explicitly shows "sex", despite the high presence of sexual violence that the most consumed pornography presents (see section 6.3; Alario 2020). Such linguistic labeling thus increases the likelihood that its consumers will understand its content as "sexual" practices, and not as practices in which violence is exercised or suffered. This feature is essential because it makes it difficult to recognize sexual violence as such, leading the viewer, performer, or victim to label the behavior as just another form of "sex." Consequently, it increases the likelihood that people will be less

reluctant to reproduce these behaviors in interpersonal contexts because they will be understood as "sex" rather than as forms of violence.

(7) Characteristics of the "New Pornography".

Finally, it is worth mentioning as a dispositional variable several factors that characterize current pornography and influence its consumption, making it more probable. Ballester and Orte (2019) used the term "new pornography" to distinguish it from conventional pornography. The latter was based on "printed images or films distributed through illegal channels or by magazine distributors, with sales in sex shops or in stores selling various products (press, video, in particular)." (Ballester and Orte, 2019: 253). These characteristics made their access difficult and, therefore, limited their impact. On the other hand, the characteristics that identify "new pornography" increase the probability of its consumption and maintenance. They can be summarized as follows:

- 1 - Image quality. Based on filming with constant improvements.
- 2 -Accessibility. The production and distribution of pornographic and is accessible from any computer, mobile phone or tablet.
- 3 - Affordability. Access to the content is free.
- 4 -Anonymity. The content can be accessed anonymously and without registration.
- 5 -Unlimited. There is a wide variety of "sexual" practices that can be consumed with pornographic material, including illegal practices.

Thus, easy access to a wide range of pornographic content, with high audiovisual quality, available at any time and place, without economic or other costs, increases the probabilities of access and maintenance of viewing behavior. As reported by Abalo-Rodríguez et al. (2023), the lower the effort required to engage in a behavior, the higher the response rate, according to evidence on motivation and learning (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023; Pérez et al., 2010). This feature is particularly important in the context of pornography consumption.

Likewise, the layout of the websites that provide pornographic material can also function as a dispositional variable for its consumption. In other words, as emphasized by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), the way in which information and access to videos are organized can have an impact:

- 1 - The selection of one or another type of content by consumers and, consequently, making possible one or another type of learning.

- 2 - The salience and appetite of some content over others, increasing the probability of their consumption.
- 3 - The greater difficulty of "getting bored" (satiated) with pornography due to the novelty and limitlessness of its content.

Conclusion of the section: The dispositional variables analyzed here allow us to contextualize more precisely the situation in which the individual consumes pornography. In other words, as stated at the beginning of this section, pornography consumption does not occur in a vacuum, but rather in relation to other contextual, social, and cultural variables that directly influence pornography consumption, give it particular characteristics, and increase the probability that such consumption will occur and be maintained over time. Pornography consumption is therefore not only a learning context, but a very powerful learning context.

10 - Learning that Makes Pornography Consumption Possible and Probable

From what has been presented so far, it can be understood that the consumption of pornography constitutes a learning context: a context with which the individual interacts and which therefore has the potential to influence his future behavior through the learning processes that are made possible within it. It has also been shown to be a particularly powerful learning context because of the dispositional variables analyzed in the previous section.

The purpose of this section is to explain the learning processes that are made possible and probable by the consumption of pornography today. For the sake of clarity, these learning processes have been divided into three distinct sections. Thus, pornography consumption facilitates (1) learning to associate masturbatory behaviors with the visualization of pornographic material, (2) learning to eroticize certain practices and content, and (3) learning what behaviors are appropriate in a sexual context.

58 Again, it is important to emphasize that there are individual differences between the type of specific behaviors (on the continuum from inequality to sexual violence) that one or another male may acquire as a result of pornography consumption. It is important, however, to avoid the mistake of interpreting this statement as a denial that pornography consumption actually makes such learning possible. It is important to remember that while not all men who regularly use pornography acquire each and every one of the learning experiences discussed here, the consumption of pornography makes it possible for each and every one of these learning experiences to be acquired.

10.1. Learning to Associate Masturbatory Behavior with Visualization of Pornography Material.

As a starting point, sexual behavior can be divided into two categories based on the number of people involved in the behavior: individual sexual behavior (e.g., masturbation) and interpersonal sexual behavior (e.g., sexual behavior involving more than one person). In this report, pornography use has been defined as "visualizing pornographic material during masturbatory behavior" (Section 3). Thus, the consumption of pornography implies that the visualization of such material is paired with individual sexual behavior in such a way that the two practices end up being systematically associated with each other. In other

words, the habitual consumption of pornography results in the masturbatory behavior always ends up with the viewing of pornography.

One of the learning processes involved in this phenomenon is called operant conditioning, which explains how the consequences that immediately follow the behavior continuously modify it (Froxán-Parga, 2020; Pellón et al., 2014). For example, and to present an example similar to the one offered by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), it is likely that a person who has to meet a friend will choose to do so in Café A instead of Café B. Meeting in Café A (behavior) implies that the conversation will take place in a well-kept space, with comfortable seats, soft background music and little ambient noise, which favors staying in that place again (reinforcement). On the other hand, staying in Café B (behavior) means that the conversation is difficult due to the large amount of noise that is usually present in the establishment, sitting on uncomfortable chairs and having to pay a high price, which makes it difficult to stay in that place again (punishment). This type of learning, which analyzes how the consequences that follow the behavior modify it, is called operant conditioning.

As reported in Section 6.1, pornography consumption is currently massive and frequent, with a high percentage of males reporting regular use. For this reason, it is likely that such behavior is followed by consequences that increase the probability that such behavior will be repeated (reinforcers). Abalo-Rodríguez et al. (2023) analyze in their publication a series of consequences that they hypothesize could act as reinforcers in this context.

Thus, the authors emphasize that the context in which males develop presents a series of dispositional variables (pornified culture, male socialization, lack of sexual education, etc.; see Section 9) that give pornography a particular power. These factors, added to a series of facilitating situations (being alone at home, having a computer, curiosity, etc.), facilitate the search for pornographic material and masturbatory behavior. The immediate consequences that follow such behavior (sexual arousal, ejaculation, orgasm, obtaining information, reducing uncertainty about sexuality, etc.) increase the probability that this behavior will be repeated in similar facilitating situations (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

In addition to this, the authors continue, pornography consumption brings males into contact with variables that have been particularly important in the learning processes involved in their socialization in the patriarchal context, such as variables related to control and domination. These consequences increase the probability that pornography consumption will be repeated in the future. In their own words:

by consuming pornography, which often includes behaviors of domination and control over women, it could be hypothesized that the man comes into contact in a vicarious way (from observing his look-alike on the screen) with these behaviors and with the (usually pleasurable) sensations linked to them. Just as men may find it pleasurable to see in a movie another man succeed in his career, defeat an opponent, or score a goal in a soccer match, the consumption of pornography brings them into contact with variables that are also of great importance and that increase the probability of consuming pornography again (reinforcers) (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 20).

Finally, it should be noted that the common understanding of pornography as "explicit sex" favors the existence of two other variables that influence its consumption. In the words of the authors themselves:

First, the fact that it is audiovisual material makes it part of one of the most valued and consumed stimulations currently consumed by individuals (films, series, YouTube videos...), especially by the youngest generations (Cortés et al., 2023). Secondly, the understanding of pornography as explicit "sex" makes this content promote access to another of the most valued stimulations in a pornified and patriarchal culture. As a result, the consumption of pornography often becomes the main tool to obtain sexual satisfaction in men and one of the easiest ways to achieve this desired "sexuality", which is one of the main pillars of masculinity (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 21).

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Conclusion: The variables described in this section could explain why pornography consumption is currently produced frequently and massively by heterosexual men. Engaging in masturbatory behavior without viewing pornography has a higher behavioral cost because the audiovisual stimulation offered by pornography has a higher intensity compared to other possible sources of sexual stimulation (e.g., fantasies, erotic stories, etc.). Consequently, the viewing of pornography ends up being systematically present during individual sexual behavior (masturbation).

10.2. Learning to Eroticize Certain Practices and Content.

Human sexual behavior and arousal are constructed and learned in interaction with context. Similar to how other "tastes" are constructed and modified over

time (e.g., food preferences, taste in a particular genre of music, interest in a particular type of cinema), "sexual taste" is also constructed and modified over time. In this sense, it is not "discovered," since it is not an internal variable that one possesses that one must find, but rather it is constructed in the various sexual interactions that one experiences throughout life, both individual (masturbation, sexual fantasies, etc.) and interpersonal. This does not mean to deny the influence that biological variables may indeed exert; it only means to put on the table the influence that learning processes exert when it comes to understanding and explaining sexual behavior.

One of the learning processes involved in the construction of sexual taste and behavior is classical or Pavlovian conditioning, which explains how stimuli acquire sexual characteristics and produce sexual arousal responses (Hoffmann et al., 2004). Pavlovian conditioning allows people to acquire new responses to stimuli for which they are not naturally predisposed, thanks to the associations formed with those stimuli that are (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023; Pellón et al., 2014; Froxán-Parga, 2020). For example, eating a slice of pizza (which would be an unconditioned stimulus) "triggers" innate salivation responses (unconditioned response) that facilitate the digestion of this food. Other stimuli (neutral stimuli) that do not innately elicit these salivatory processes may eventually elicit them when systematically presented in conjunction with the slice of pizza. Thus, entering an Italian restaurant (conditioned stimulus), which would not necessarily produce this salivation, can end up provoking it (conditioned response). Thus, through Pavlovian conditioning, a stimulus acquires the ability to produce a response through association with another stimulus that has already produced it (Pérez et al., 2010).

The same learning process can be described in the context of sexual behavior. Thus, certain stimuli present in the sexual act function as unconditioned stimuli that have the potential to condition neutral stimuli associated with them (Pérez et al., 2010). As an example, the smell of the perfume used by a person with whom one interacts sexually can be appetitively conditioned. The scientific literature contains numerous experimental studies showing the influence that Pavlovian conditioning can exert on the construction of sexual arousal. In 1966, one of the classic studies in this area reported that a woman's leather boot (neutral stimulus), after sufficient pairing with images of naked women (pleasantly conditioned stimulus), ended up causing erections in heterosexual men in the absence of arousing images (Rachman, 1966). Two years later, Rachman and Hodgson described similar results, reporting erections to circles and squares in homosexual and heterosexual men as a result of prior pairing with erotic videos (Rachman and Hodgson, 1968). Similarly, classical conditioning has been consistently studied in the field of "sexual paraphilias" (Pfaus et al., 2020;

Wiederrman, 2003) and "addiction" to cybersex (Snagowski et al., 2016). In short, these studies demonstrate that Pavlovian conditioning is a learning process that has the potential to influence an individual's sexual arousal.

It is also necessary to mention the generalization processes that take place in these contexts, which make it possible to "transfer" the learning achieved with a specific stimulus to others with which it has a certain relationship of similarity (Froxán-Parga, 2020; Pérez et al., 2010). As explained by Abalo-Rodríguez and coworkers, recovering the example of leather boots from Rachman's study (1966), generalization processes allow us to understand how, in the absence of direct pairings, stimuli that bear a certain degree of physical similarity to boots (e.g., socks, feet, heels, stockings, etc.) can elicit similar sexual arousal responses (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

These general ideas about classical conditioning in relation to sexual behavior can be applied to pornography consumption. As a reminder, this behavior has been defined in the present report as "visualization of pornographic material accompanied by masturbatory behavior" (see Section 3). In the context of this behavior, the audiovisual stimuli presented in close temporal proximity are likely to be paired with other stimuli (both visual and tactile) that have already produced a sexual arousal response (e.g., sexual arousal, orgasm, ejaculation). This process is well described in the work of Abalo-Rodríguez and coworkers (2023). As they point out:

for a person, a possible conditioned stimulus might be the visualization of a scene in which a naked woman appears with her genitals being fondled (conditioned stimulus), with a consequent response of sexual activation or arousal (conditioned response). This is followed by a series of visual stimuli (e.g., penetration) and tactile stimuli (masturbation; unconditioned stimulus), each of which is accompanied by responses that increase sexual arousal until the point is reached where, in men, the ejaculatory reflex occurs (unconditioned response). If, while viewing the audiovisual material, new stimuli appeared simultaneously or successively (e.g., the pulling of the hair of the woman with whom one has "sexual" practices, the suffering face of the woman, etc.), these stimuli could become conditioned stimuli of an arousal or even orgasmic response. (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 16).

It should also be noted that the conditioning of these stimuli is not exclusively limited to those that have actually been visualized, but through the aforementioned generalization processes, it is possible for such learning to be

"transferred" to stimuli that bear a physical resemblance to those with which the pairing has taken place.

As noted in section 6.3, the content that constitutes the most consumed pornographic material today often includes various morphologies of violence against women (hair pulling, hitting, slapping or spanking, spitting, neck grabbing/suffocation, etc.; see section 6.3 for more details). Consequently, and due to the learning processes described above, the consumption of pornography makes it possible for the visualization of these practices to be ultimately conditioned in a pleasurable way, favoring sexual arousal and arousal responses. Therefore, the consumption of pornography increases the probability that the visualization of these practices will be eroticized.

10.2.1. Consumption of Pornography with Increasingly Explicit Violence.

It is important to emphasize that learning processes are, redundantly, processes. This means that they take place over a period of time and that the changes they make possible take place over time. Indeed, it is possible that the initial exposure to this violent content in pornography may elicit reactions of discomfort. As explained by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), this would be due to learning prior to pornographic consumption (at a social level, it is learned that seeing a person suffering implies that there is danger and, consequently, an activation is experienced that is linked to rejection). However, the authors explain that continuous visualization without danger signals allows a learning process called classical extinction to take place, through which these reactions of discomfort cease to appear (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023; Pérez et al., 2010).

In addition, when pornography viewing takes place in a context that is continuously accompanied by masturbatory behavior, the probability of the occurrence of a phenomenon known as counterconditioning increases, resulting in arousal responses being associated with these violent scenes (Pérez et al., 2010; Pérez et al., 2010). As the authors explain, counterconditioning would increase the probability that "violent scenes go from initially eliciting aversive responses to eliciting arousal responses (i.e., the same stimulus elicits responses opposite to those previously elicited)" (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 18).

On the other hand, it should be noted that the continued consumption of pornography makes possible a process called habituation. Habituation describes that in the face of continuous and constant stimulation, there is a decrease in the intensity of the response (Pérez et al., 2010). In other words, an individual who frequently consumes pornography is probably experiencing habituation, and therefore his arousal response will decrease over time. This situation increases the probability that the individual will seek out novel stimulation, in which more

violent or shocking images appear, in order to regain a level of arousal that becomes intense again (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

This process of seeking new stimulation is also facilitated by the presence of another learning process called satiation (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023). Satiation explains how a stimulus loses its value as a reinforcer when it is presented repeatedly (Pérez et al., 2010). No matter how much an individual likes tiramisu, it is likely that at some point he or she will ask for other desserts because after enough repetitions, the taste of the same dessert (reinforcer) no longer produces the same sensations as the first time. The same process, applied to the context of pornography consumption, would explain how the content of pornographic material, although it produces sexual arousal at a given moment (reinforcer), loses its value as a reinforcer after frequent consumption (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

Therefore, when these phenomena of habituation and saturation occur, it increases the probability that the consumer of pornography will seek out new audiovisual material that provokes more intense sexual arousal than that to which he is already "used". Consequently, it increases the probability that the content of pornography will be more violent, which in turn is associated with the arousal responses present during masturbatory behavior (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023). Studies such as Jovanovski and Tyler's (2023) reflect the escalation of violence produced in pornography consumed over time. This study shows not only the increase in frequency of consumption of increasingly violent pornographic content, but also the difficulty men who regularly consume such content have in recognizing the violence as such.

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Finally, it is worth highlighting one last aspect, and that is the distinction between the sexual context and other social and interpersonal contexts. In most interpersonal contexts, these violent behaviors are usually rejected: it is common for the social community to label such behaviors as "bad," "problematic," or even punishable by law (Ballester et al., 2022; Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapsen, 1993; Mowrer, 1954; Singer et al., 2004). However, in the "sexual" context in which pornography is considered to belong, this type of behavior is neither understood nor labeled as violence. Thus, a difference is created between the effect of viewing this type of behavior within the "sexual" sphere and outside of it. This learning process, which allows the differentiation of contexts when performing or not performing a behavior, is called discrimination (Pellón et al., 2014).

Conclusion. In conclusion, the consumption of pornography increases the probability of eroticizing the content present in the audiovisual material used during masturbation. Since the most consumed pornographic material today contains with high frequency different morphologies of violence against women, the consumption of pornography increases the probability to eroticize

the visualization of these forms of violence. Although the visualization of such violence may initially elicit rejection, learning processes such as classical extinction or counterconditioning would explain why such content ends up being eroticized after frequent and continuous pornography consumption. Habituation and saturation processes would explain, among other things, why the individual who consumes pornography tends to seek out new content with increasingly explicit violence in order to achieve a level of "sexual" arousal similar to that to which he is accustomed.

10.3. Learning What Behaviors Are Appropriate in a "Sexual" Context.

Third, pornography increases the probability of learning which behaviors are relevant in the interpersonal "sexual" context. Such learning would occur, among other things, through the construction and acquisition of behavioral or conduct rules during its consumption. As in the previous cases, the likelihood that pornography consumption will result in the learning of certain behavioral rules is increased by the influence of the dispositional variables described above, such as the absence of formal sex education or male socialization (see Section 9).

Behavioral rules allow behavior to be guided by "verbal contingencies" rather than "natural contingencies. These rules can be acquired in a variety of ways: through observation, through direct experience, through culturally and socially transmitted knowledge, etc. In this way, the rules allow the individual to individual to learn the consequences of performing certain behaviors without having directly experienced those consequences (Skinner, 1969). For example, it is not necessary for a person to suffer the consequences of being electrocuted in order to learn not to stick his fingers into a wall socket, nor is it necessary for a person to be run over in order to learn to stop at a red light.

Behavioral rules are therefore fundamental for adapting to the world without having to experience the possible consequences of certain behaviors. Thus, behavioral rules relate a given behavior to the consequence it will have (e.g., "if I put my fingers in the socket, I can get electrocuted," "if I cross at a red light, I can get run over"). Behavioral rules are socially constructed and vary in their degree of universality: while some are common to most contexts (e.g., "if I kill a person, I may end up in jail"), others depend on the social context in which one is interacting (e.g., "if I make a joke, people will laugh" may be a behavioral rule that works in the context of a "bar with friends" but not in the context of a "funeral").

Among the learned rules of behavior, those that relate to the interpersonal sphere, that is, the rules that relates the behavior of an individual with other people and the expected consequences of them, stand out. They are acquired

throughout life, as a result of interaction with the different contexts with which one interacts. Pornography consumption therefore appears as one of those contexts with which the individual interacts, frequently and from an early age. The dispositional variables present in the context in which such consumption occurs increase the probability that pornography will become the main school of "sexuality" for adolescents. In this way, pornography is usually "the main context in which rules of behavior of a "sexual" nature are extracted, thus becoming an educator of what to expect in the "sexual" sphere and what behaviors to perform" (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023: 22).

Therefore, the consumption of pornography increases the probability of drawing behavioral rules that guide the individual in the interpersonal sexual context. Due to the type of content that constitutes the most consumed pornographic material, the type of rules likely to be acquired is not without its problems. In fact, some of those rules correspond to what has been studied in psychology under the name of "myths of sexuality" (de Béjar, 2011; Morán-Fernández, 2021). These myths involve, among other things, the construction of a sexuality that does not correspond to the functioning of the human body and that does not take into account the mutual pleasure and respect of all participants. Some examples are:

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- "If you want to have a sexual relationship, you have to have penetration". As detailed above (6.3.), pornographic material focuses almost exclusively on penetration as a sexual practice. In the scheme it presents, other sexual practices are relegated to the background, even to the point of not being understood as such (and linguistically labeled "foreplay"). Consequently, the consumption of pornography is making likely the acquisition of this rule of behavior, which is closely related to sexual myths such as "without penetration there is no sex", or "foreplay is not sex".
- "If there is penetration (oral, anal, and vaginal), women will reach orgasm and enjoy themselves". It is common for pornographic material to show women receiving sexual pleasure and/or reaching orgasm through penetrative practices (oral, anal, and/or vaginal). It is also common for the clitoris not to be associated in any way with such experiences of pleasure or orgasm in women. Thus, the consumption of pornography increases the probability of acquiring this behavioral rule, which is closely related to the sexual myth that "women's pleasure is not related to the clitoris".
- "If you want to have a sexual relationship, there can be no planning". In general, the sexual interactions depicted in pornographic material are spontaneous and unplanned. Consequently, the use of pornography is

likely to lead to the acquisition of this behavioral rule, which is closely related to the sexual myth that "sex must be spontaneous.

- "If you want to have a sexual practice, communication is not necessary." Pornographic material rarely shows the people interacting in it communicating about their sexual preferences or desires. For this reason, it is possible to learn this rule of behavior, thus learning that no verbal interaction is necessary during the sexual encounter, and that it hinders or interferes with the encounter ("breaks the magic"). This rule of behavior is closely related to the sexual myth that "sex doesn't require communication.

In addition, there are a number of other behavioral rules that can be acquired as a consequence of pornography consumption, which have been less analyzed. In the article by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), the authors summarize some of them. The examples discussed by the authors are:

- "When a woman says no, she really means yes". As reported in Section 6.3, pornographic material often shows a refusal on the part of the woman that at no point discriminates against the man's behavior of stopping the sexual interaction, but rather that the individual continues with whatever practice he is engaged in. The refusal shown in pornography can be verbal or gestural. There may even be active resistance on the part of the woman (e.g., crying, trying to escape, screaming that she does not want to, etc.). In these situations, the man with whom she is interacting either does not interpret her behavior as a real sign that she wants to stop, or assumes that she does, but does not, and continues to enjoy the practice. Faced with this visualization, increases the probability of acquiring this rule of behavior, which indicates that it is not necessary to respect a limit imposed by the woman in order to stop the interaction.
- "If you insult or humiliate a woman, you get aroused". Often, the most widely consumed pornographic material today shows situations in which women are insulted or humiliated, causing arousal in the man or men present in the material. For this reason, the likelihood of acquiring this type of behavioral rule is increased. The probability of acquiring such a rule is increased by the possible arousal that the male who consumes pornography may experience when viewing such material (arousal that would be explained by the learning processes described in Section 10.2).
- "If you don't respect a woman's boundaries, you get aroused. It is common for pornographic material to show situations in which women firmly express their refusal or desire to stop the "sexual" interaction, and the

man who appears on the screen does not respect this, continues the practice, and obtains "sexual" arousal through the exercise of power that this implies. Therefore, this type of behavioral rule is likely to be acquired. As with the previous one, the probability of acquiring this type of behavioral rule increases with the possible arousal that the male who consumes pornography may experience while viewing it (arousal explained by the learning processes described in Section 10.2).

- "If you are on a sexual level, it is okay to engage in this kind of violent behavior because it is exciting and appropriate" (Alario, 2020b: 377). As mentioned in section 6.3, it is common for the most consumed pornographic material to present different morphologies of violence against women (e.g. punching, spitting, grabbing by the neck, choking, hair pulling, whipping, slapping, etc.; see Section 6.3) as something erotic for the man or men present on the screen. In this way, the probability of acquiring this behavioral rule is increased. As in the previous case, the probability of acquiring this rule is increased by the possible arousal that the male pornography consumer may experience when viewing such material (see Section 10.2 for an understanding of the learning processes that would explain such arousal).
- "When a woman is asleep, intoxicated, or unconscious, it is appropriate and arousing to engage in "sexual" practices". It is common for pornographic material to show men accessing the bodies of unconscious or semi-conscious women. This situation makes it likely that a rule of behavior such as the one described above is acquired, thus learning that it is appropriate to access the body of a woman who is in these states, without recognizing that such behaviors constitute sexual violence (Alario, 2020b: 230-234). The common understanding of pornography (audiovisual material that shows explicit "sex" and not violence) makes the acquisition of this rule of behavior probable. Likewise, such a rule implies that the man's "sexual" pleasure is more important than the woman's safety (and, of course, her desire, pleasure, and even her conscience).
- "If you are a man, you have the right to use the body of any woman or girl to satisfy any of your desires, whether she wants to or not and regardless of her age" (Alario, 2020b: 377). Finally, it is worth noting that the most widely consumed pornographic material today systematically presents a similar scheme: men (as subjects) have the right to satisfy all their desires by accessing women's bodies, and women (objects) are there for them to satisfy, whether they want to or not, and regardless of their age. For this reason, the probability of acquiring this rule of behavior increases.

The consumption of pornography therefore increases the probability of acquiring these behavioral rules. The importance of this phenomenon is that the acquisition of these rules increases the likelihood that sexual behavior in the interpersonal context will be guided by them. This is particularly relevant because there is scientific evidence that when behavioral rules are well-consolidated, individuals are resistant to behaving in accordance with contextual cues that contradict these rules and are present at the time (Fox & Kyonka, 2017; Kissi et al., 2020; Poursharif, 2020). Thus, rule-driven behavior makes it difficult for an individual to abandon such behavior, even in the presence of clear cues in the context that invite it. Thus, when an individual waits for the traffic light to turn green in the absence of cars and with perfect visibility that allows the understanding that there is no danger, the behavior is driven by the rule and not by the particular circumstances of the situation (Matthews et al., 1977; Shimoff et al., 1981). In the case of pornography consumption, for example, it can be hypothesized that the behavioral rule "if you say no, you really mean yes" may guide the behavior of insisting on and initiating a "sexual" approach even when the woman shows signs of discomfort or verbalizes that she does not feel like it, in which case the behavior is guided by the learned rule (in addition to a number of other variables) rather than by contextual cues that contradict it.

Conclusion of this section. Pornography consumption increases the probability of acquiring a set of behavioral rules that may end up guiding men's "sexual" behavior in the interpersonal context. Because of the content present in pornographic material, the behavioral rules acquired during pornography consumption are likely to lead to unequal sexual interaction and the appearance of violent practices in the interpersonal "sexual" context.

11 - Generalization to the Interpersonal Context

The analysis carried out so far has mainly been framed in an individual context. Thus, it has been analyzed how frequent consumption of pornography increases the probability of associating masturbatory behavior with the visualization of such material, of eroticizing its content, and of acquiring a set of behavioral rules that have the potential to guide the same in the interpersonal context. It has also been analyzed how the probability of acquiring this learning is increased by a series of dispositional variables present in the current context and culture (see section 9).

The aim of this section is to analyze the possible generalization of the learning made possible by pornography consumption to the interpersonal context. In other words, this section aims to analyze what learning can be “transferred” from the individual context in which pornography consumption has been framed to the interpersonal context. This analysis is particularly relevant because it allows us to understand that pornography consumption is not limited to the heterosexual male who consumes it, but also has the potential to influence the women who make up the interpersonal context with which that male interacts. Furthermore, it should be noted that these lessons are not harmless due to the frequent occurrence of explicit violence in the most commonly consumed pornographic content and therefore require special attention.

Once again, it should be noted that there are individual differences in the type of behavior that one or another man generalizes to the interpersonal context as a consequence of pornography consumption. However, although this variability does exist, it is important to emphasize that it is highly improbable that there is no generalization of behaviors on the continuum from inequality and the exercise of power to violence against women to the interpersonal context as a consequence of pornography consumption. It is therefore difficult for the learning that is made possible by pornography consumption to remain confined to the four walls in which its consumption takes place.

Having clarified this point, and before proceeding to the analysis of the aforementioned potential generalization process, we will begin with a brief analysis of the dispositional variables that increase the probability that this

generalization process will take place⁶. Following the scheme proposed in the article published by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), it is essential to take as a starting point the context in which pornography consumption occurs today, in order to understand what type of variables influence the generalization of the learning that makes its consumption possible to the interpersonal context. The dispositional variables mentioned here must all be understood in relation to the social and cultural framework that has configured the variables examined in previous sections (see section 9). Thus, we can now address the influence of the following dispositional variables on generalization processes:

- 1 - Lack of previous knowledge.** As mentioned above, there is often a deficit in the sexual education received and in its quality. The absence of a previous learning history that competes with the learning made possible by pornography consumption increases the probability that it will be generalized to the interpersonal context.
- 2 - Construction of rules of conduct for "sexual" behavior.** As discussed in Section 10.3, the consumption of pornography makes it possible to construct and acquire a set of behavioral rules about "sexual" behavior that subsequently guide such behavior in the interpersonal context.
- 3 - Linguistic labeling of the content of pornographic material as "sex".** As mentioned in section 3, pornography is often understood as "audiovisual material that shows explicit "sex", and consequently the practices present in such material are usually understood as "sexual" practices. This is particularly relevant due to the high presence of violence in the most commonly consumed pornography (section 6.3), as such practices are likely to be labeled as "sexual" practices. This is particularly relevant due to the high presence of violence in the most commonly consumed pornography (Section 6.3), as it increases the probability that such practices will be linguistically labeled as "sexual" practices by their consumers. Such linguistic labeling, which is generally associated with positive meanings, as opposed to labels associated with negative meanings (e.g., "violent practice," "unwanted practice," "non-consensual practice," "rape," etc.), increases the likelihood of their occurrence in the interpersonal "sexual" context.

6 - These dispositional variables differ from those mentioned in Section 9, whose influence referred to various behaviors involved in pornography consumption (such as initiation of the behavior, maintenance over time, generalization to the interpersonal domain, etc.), in that their influence refers specifically to the process of generalizing the learning process involved in pornography consumption to the interpersonal domain.

4 - Low cost of behavior. Some of the behaviors observed in the most commonly consumed pornographic material are characterized by low behavioral costs (i.e., they require "little effort," are "accessible," have few "negative" consequences compared to other behaviors). For example, behaviors commonly found in pornography, such as "spitting," "hair pulling," or "slapping," have low behavioral costs that increase the probability that they will be practiced in an interpersonal context. This low cost is particularly striking when compared to other forms of violence. Following the example of Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), the behavior of "robbing a bank" involves the performance of a series of interrelated and costly behaviors, including behaviors that are very difficult to access (e.g., obtaining a weapon, obtaining the plans of the place, planning the robbery and the escape, planning the use of the money, etc.). Consequently, and in combination with the influence of several other variables, the probability that its visualization in the audiovisual material will lead to its execution is reduced.

5 - Absence of punishment. In psychology, the term "punishment" refers to consequences following a behavior that reduce the probability that the behavior will be repeated. Thus, in the interpersonal context, the absence of punishment can be considered a variable that increases the probability of generalization. This is mainly due to the behavioral repertoire of the other person (a woman) present in the interpersonal context. Although this report focuses exclusively on the heterosexual male, it is appropriate to dedicate a few brief lines to the learning that has generally taken place for the woman involved in such an interaction, especially since any behavior must be understood in relation to the context and the rest of the individuals that make it up. In this way, as Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023) point out, it is common that "the learning associated with the socialization of women in relation to sexuality, in which the satisfaction of male desire stands out and in which opposition to certain practices is punished ("nun", "puritan"), reduces the probability that they will often interrupt the "sexual" interaction, explicitly oppose it with their requests or give rise to behaviors that could function as punishment.

4 - Low cost of behavior. Some of the behaviors observed in the most commonly consumed pornographic material are characterized by low behavioral costs (i.e., they require "little effort," are "accessible," have few "negative" consequences compared to other behaviors). For example, behaviors commonly found in pornography, such as "spitting," "hair pulling," or "slapping," have low behavioral costs that increase the

probability that they will be practiced in an interpersonal context. This low cost is particularly striking when compared to other forms of violence. Following the example of Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023), the behavior of "robbing a bank" involves the performance of a series of interrelated and costly behaviors, including behaviors that are very difficult to access (e.g., obtaining a weapon, obtaining the plans of the place, planning the robbery and the escape, planning the use of the money, etc.). Consequently, and in combination with the influence of several other variables, the probability that its visualization in the audiovisual material will lead to its execution is reduced.

6 - Characteristics of the content of pornographic material. In addition to the variables mentioned so far, two characteristics of the content of the most consumed pornographic material that increase the probability of a process of generalization to the interpersonal context should be highlighted: variability and plausibility. Variability refers to the fact that the scientific evidence provided by the psychology of learning explains that the more similar a series of stimuli are, the more probable it is that they will end up producing the same response (Pellón et al., 2014). Pornographic material shows a wide variety of stimuli associated with sexual arousal, as well as the behaviors and consequences associated with them. Likewise, it shows a great variety of situations and contexts (e.g., parties, discos, family situations, sports classes, teacher-student relationships, massages, sleeping women, etc.) in which certain behaviors (e.g., initiating a "sexual" interaction) are effective. The variability that exists between these stimuli increases the likelihood that there is a similarity between the situations shown in pornography and those that occur in interpersonal contexts, which increases the probability that the latter become "facilitating situations" that indicate that certain behaviors will be effective if performed (Abalo-Rodríguez et al., 2023).

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Second, the content of pornography is characterized by the plausibility of the performance of what is observed. This is because the content of pornography is not simulated: unlike what happens in other types of audiovisual material, such as an action movie, the violent behaviors present in pornography are not faked or simulated. When a video shows a woman being beaten, slapped, or having her hair pulled, neither these actions nor their consequences (blood, bruises, redness of the skin) are faked, but actually occur during the recording of the video (Abalo-Rodríguez, 2023)⁷. This feature is relevant because, in a habitual

7 - Some behaviors that may be considered fake or simulated are those related to showing and expressing sexual arousal, especially when performed by women.

way, the visualization of a person performing a behavior serves as a model for the one visualizing it. The greater the degree of similarity between the visualized scenario and the real one, the greater the probability of this occurring (Bandura, 1982; Peralbo et al., 1990).

All of these variables increase the probability of generalization to the interpersonal context of learning acquired through pornography consumption. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the generalization of this learning is not harmless due to the frequent occurrence of explicit violence in pornographic content, and therefore deserves special attention. The article published by Abalo-Rodríguez and collaborators (2023) presents a detailed analysis of these learning processes, which will be developed below.

The authors first highlight the likely generalization of the sexual arousal evoked by the stimuli observed through the screen during pornography consumption to similar stimuli in the interpersonal context. Section 10.2 discussed the learning processes that increase the probability that certain stimuli observed in the woman in the pornographic video (e.g., a wince, a complaint, a resistance to the interaction) will eventually be eroticized and thus elicit sexual arousal responses. Generalization processes would increase the probability that similar stimuli, when observed in the woman with whom one actually interacts, could lead to sexual arousal (e.g., a wince in the woman with whom one interacts, a complaint from the woman with whom one interacts, etc.). Likewise, similar learning processes could take place with other types of situations outside the sexual context but present in the most widely consumed pornographic material (e.g., a sleeping woman, a drunk or drugged woman, an unconscious woman, a woman screaming in pain, a woman saying no or trying to defend herself, a crying woman, a girl, etc.), so that they then produce sexual arousal in the interpersonal context.

Second, the authors explain how such a sexual arousal response may come to function as a motivating variable for initiating or continuing "sexual" interaction behaviors, as the experience of such arousal increases the probability that such sexual interaction initiation and maintenance behaviors will occur. The lack of linguistic labeling of these behaviors as forms of sexual violence and/or the linguistic labeling of them as "sex" (because pornographic material is usually understood as material depicting explicit "sex," see Section 3) would facilitate these processes. In other words, the absence of linguistic labeling of such behaviors as forms of sexual violence increases the probability that the individual will engage in sexual violence without knowing that he is, in fact, engaging in sexual violence.

Third, and finally, the authors point out that the generalization processes mentioned here make it possible for women's behavior in the interpersonal "sexual" context to lose its capacity to influence men's behavior (women's behavior loses its functionality as a discriminative and delta stimulus for men's behavior, among other things). This would be because the learning that is probable during the consumption of pornography could increase the probability that certain female behaviors (e.g., gestures or expressions of pain, gestures or verbalizations in which a pause or some kind of change is requested, etc.) lose their function as indicators of "stopping or modifying the 'sexual' interaction". To the eroticization of such behaviors we can add the kind of rules of behavior that pornography consumption makes possible, the eroticization of violence, the eroticization of power relations over women, and the learning associated with female socialization. Overall, it increases the probability of generalizing a type of "sexual" interaction in which the man is the only subject whose desires are relevant, and the woman's safety (as well as her pleasure, desire, or lack thereof) is subordinated to it.

Conclusion. Generalization processes allow us to understand how and which variables increase the probability that the learning facilitated by pornography consumption is "transferred" to the interpersonal context. This is particularly relevant because of the high frequency with which pornographic material depicts explicit violence against women. In this way, such learning is not limited to the male who consumes it, but also affects the women with whom he "sexually" interacts.

12 - Differences from Learning that Other Contexts Make Possible

Before concluding this second part of the report, it is considered necessary to devote a final section to highlighting the differences that exist between the learning that is made possible through the consumption of pornography and that which is made possible through interaction with other audiovisual contexts. The main reason for this lies in the fact that in the social discussion that exists around pornography, it is common to establish a parallelism between its consumption and the visualization of or interaction with other audiovisual materials (e.g., watching a movie, watching a series, playing a video game). In this way, those who defend the consumption of pornography as harmless compare the influence that both audiovisual materials may (or may not) have on behavior. Thus, they argue that just as an individual can watch a violent scene in a movie without this implying that he will reproduce it in the future, another individual can watch a violent scene in pornography without this having an effect on his sexual behavior. The purpose of this section is therefore to explain the differences between these situations as learning contexts in order to understand the limitations of drawing such parallels.

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In order to make these limitations as clear as possible, they are organized around four implications that follow from this comparison. To draw a parallel between the consumption of pornography and the viewing of violent scenes in other forms of audiovisual material (e.g. series, films, video games): (i) implies the assumption that not reproducing a violent scene after viewing a particular audiovisual content is equivalent to not being influenced by that audiovisual content; (ii) implies reducing the consumption of pornography to the visualization of pornographic material; (iii) It implies ignoring the sexual component of the context of pornography consumption, which configures it as a specific learning context that is particularly powerful; (iv) it implies ignoring the fact that the violence present in other audiovisual contexts is recognized as such by viewers, whereas the violence present in pornographic material is usually labeled as "sex" by consumers. Each of these points will be developed in more detail below.

First (i), it is necessary to understand that the visualization of any audiovisual material in itself configures a learning context that consequently has the potential to influence the viewer's behavior. Recognizing this influence is not the same as categorically stating that a particular behavior (e.g., drug dealing) will occur as a result of viewing such behavior on screen (e.g., watching a character in a television series who produces and deals drugs). In fact, there are several

variables that make such behavior highly improbable after viewing it. Some of them are its high cost (e.g., dealing drugs involves the concatenation of a series of behaviors that are not very accessible and difficult to perform, such as having knowledge of chemistry, having a place where to produce the drug, having contacts with a network with which to trade, etc.), the consequences that such behavior may have, often explicitly shown in the series or movie to generate tension (e. e.g. being discovered, losing your relationship with your family and friends, getting into debt with drug dealers and having a limb amputated, having to move to another country or go into hiding because of persecution, being arrested, imprisoned, etc.), the high probability of such consequences occurring (e.g., the high probability that the police will find out what happened) or the low plausibility of the scenes shown (e.g., the recorded scenes are fictitious). In addition, the viewer generally recognizes the visualized scenes as "violence" or "crime," which works by reducing the probability of such behavior occurring. All of this makes it unlikely that visualizing a drug-producing and dealing character, no matter how charismatic, will influence the viewer's behavior to the point that he or she will begin to engage in such behavior.

However, the fact that reproducing a violent scene after watching a movie is highly unlikely does not mean that visualization such a series or movie makes no learning possible. There are numerous examples in everyday life that show the influence on behavior of visualizing certain audiovisual materials (e.g., when someone decides to dress up as one of his or her favorite characters for carnival, when he or she feels like taking up a new hobby such as chess after seeing a favorite character doing it, when a person begins to find attractive people who physically remind him or her of a favorite character, when he or she gets a haircut similar to that of his or her favorite character, etc.). Another example is advertising, which consists precisely of audiovisual material designed to increase the probability that the viewer will become a potential consumer by implementing certain learning processes.

Second (ii), it is necessary to understand that, although the consumption of pornography implies the visualization of pornographic material, it is incorrect to reduce the learning context it forms to the mere viewing of pornographic material. As has been reflected throughout this report, the consumption of pornography configures a learning context in which a close relationship is established between the visualization of pornographic material and masturbatory behavior. Thus, the approach to such audiovisual material is usually not mediated by an interest in the plot of the video or the interpretation of the characters appearing in it, but is usually related to the exploration or initiation of a behavior of a sexual nature, usually masturbatory. Consequently, the learning context made possible by its consumption is substantially different from that made possible by the simple

viewing of audiovisual material. It is therefore wrong to reduce the consumption of pornography to the visualization of pornography.

Third (iii), and closely related to the previous point, the context shaped by the consumption of pornography is pervaded by a distinct sexual component that configures it as a particular learning context that is especially powerful. This is evidenced by the explicitly sexual content (e.g., images of genitalia, coitus, penetration, moaning) present in pornographic material, the close relationship between its visualization and masturbatory behavior, and a number of cultural and social variables analyzed in previous sections (see section 9). As a result, pornography consumption constitutes a highly specific and powerful learning context. This characteristic limits the extent to which parallels can be drawn with other learning contexts, even if they also involve the visualization of audiovisual material.

78 Finally (iv), it should be noted that the comparison drawn between the consumption of pornography and the contexts in which other types of audiovisual material with violent content are visualized overlooks a fundamental characteristic that distinguishes them substantially: whereas the viewer recognizes the violence present in series, films or video games as such, the violence present in pornographic material is usually understood by the consumer as "sex". This difference is essential because, in the context of pornography consumption, it increases the probability that the consumer will engage in sexual violence without being aware that he is doing so (e.g., initiating a "sexual" interaction with a woman who is semi-conscious as a result of alcohol consumption). Conversely, if the viewer recognizes the violence present in a series as such (e.g., hitting a person), he is less likely to engage in that behavior.

All that has been said thus far highlights the limitations that exist in the comparison that is usually made between the context of pornography consumption and the context of watching series, movies, or interacting with video games. Despite the fact that they all involve the visualization of audiovisual material, the learning processes that are made possible in each of them have important differences that limit the type of parallelism that can be established between them.

Conclusion of the section: This section has highlighted the limitations that underlie the comparison that is often made between the consumption of pornography and other types of activities that also involve the visualization of audiovisual material (e.g., watching a movie, watching a series, playing a video game). These limitations undermine the parallels that can be drawn between these situations and highlight the fallacy of concluding from such a comparison that the consumption of pornography is harmless.

PART FOUR

13 - Conclusions

In this report, out of concern for the growth of sexual violence, we have examined how pornography contributes to the reproduction of this violence and increases the probability to be exercised. This analysis has been interdisciplinary: we have drawn on feminist studies on the one hand, and on psychology on the other. Therefore, in addition to the solid contribution that this report provides to the field of sexual violence and pornography, it is a pioneering work in terms of materializing and establishing a communication between two fields of knowledge (feminist studies and psychology, the latter understood from the perspective of behavior analysis) that have the potential to nourish each other in depth.

80 Feminist studies (political, sociological, philosophical) allow us to conceptualize correctly in order to politicize correctly. For more than five decades, feminist theory has had sexual violence and its links to pornography as one of its central themes. It is essential to know the research of the great feminist theorists of the 1980s in order to understand pornography for what it is: a political element that contributes to the reproduction of inequality between men and women and violence against them, essential to the maintenance of the patriarchal structure. Psychology, for its part, places the individual at the center, as well as the variables that configure the context with which he or she interacts and from which he or she learns. Thus, in contrast to the attempt to construct general concepts that allow us to understand reality by speaking of what is common to all subjects (living in a patriarchy, a common gender socialization, learning in a pornified culture, etc.), psychology offers an analysis of the concrete and specific circumstances of each individual.

This interdisciplinary approach is therefore highly complex, but also novel and essential. This report is a pioneering effort to complement both branches of knowledge in order to create a feminist scientific base from which to interpret, understand, and conceptualize reality.

Five main conclusions can be drawn from this report:

- 1 - The consumption of pornography is always and without exception a learning context. Consequently, it increases the probability that the man who consumes pornography extracts various lessons that can be summarized as follows: the association of its visualization with masturbatory behavior, the eroticization of certain practices, and the acquisition of

behavioral rules that will guide his behavior in situations that he considers "sexual".

- 2 -These learning processes acquired by the male who consumes pornography take place whether he wants them or not and whether he is aware of them or not. That is, learning as a psychological process takes place independently of the individual's desire, will, and consciousness.
- 3 -Various forms of (sexual, but not only) violence against women are constantly depicted in pornography. From a feminist perspective, it is affirmed that all these practices would be reported outside the field of "sexuality" or without a male erection in between, but are no longer problematized when shown in pornography and conceptualized as "sex" (Alario, 2021). In the same way, psychology describes the absence of "aversive consequences" to these violent situations and practices in pornography, in contrast to what happens in other "non-sexual" contexts, where the aforementioned "aversive consequences" appear to a greater or lesser extent.
- 4 -In the same process in which pornography comes to replace "sex", it happens that the violence against women shown in pornography is also conceptualized as part of "sex" (Alario, 2021). Pornography constantly shows different situations and practices that are in fact sexual violence against women. Now, the consumer of pornography usually does not conceptualize such situations and practices as "violence" but as "sex". This is particularly important because (1) it will lead men to believe that they can perpetrate violence in the contexts they experience as "sex"; (2) it will make it difficult or impossible for men who perpetrate this violence to understand it as violence; and (3) it implies that any feminist critique of this violence will be understood as a problem with "sex".
- 5 -It is highly improbable that there is no process of generalization to the interpersonal context of the learning that the consumption of pornography has made possible. Consequently, such learning does not exclusively affect the person who consumes pornography, but has the potential to be extrapolated to the interpersonal context; that is, to the various women with whom men who consume pornography interact. In this way, pornography collaborates with the reproduction

of behaviors ranging from inequality between men and women to the exercise of violence against women.

Therefore, it is essential to advance measures that:

- a) Conceptualize all violence as violence. In order to be able to problematize sexual violence and to propose measures to advance towards its eradication, it is essential that we, as a society, learn to call all violence "violence", that is, to recognize it as such. Pornography is one of the main mechanisms today responsible for "erasing the line that should separate sex from violence" (Alario, 2021) and for conveying that "sex can be violent, but it is still sex" (Alario, 2021).
- b) It is essential to avoid false conceptualizations of this debate that speak of "pro-sex" or "anti-sex" positions, when this is not a problem linked to sex, but rather to violence, its normalization and its eroticization by the men who exercise it. Nor is this a debate about freedom of expression, because, as feminists said in the 1980s, if men's freedom of expression in pornography creates a climate in which women cannot exist freely and safely, then it is neither a right nor a freedom of expression. This is a debate about human rights, and the extent to which women are human beings who therefore have inalienable rights.

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The proposals, of course, must be framed in the development and approval of measures that will make it possible to move towards the abolition of pornography as part of the prostitutorial system. It is imperative to insist on the extreme urgency of implementing such measures, among which the following can be highlighted:

- To devote financial and human resources to an in-depth study of the social, legal and political mechanisms that would make it possible to eradicate pornography.
- To devote all the necessary means to educating the whole of society to recognize all violence as violence and to be aware of the risks associated with the existence of pornography.
- To work for the prevention of sexual violence and the use of pornography from an early age.
- To intervene in all contexts where it is noted that not all violence is recognized as violence and that the use of pornography is not recognized as something problematic.

- To take measures to allow public opinion to conceptualize this debate correctly, associating pornography with violence and not with sex.
- That the public authorities take all measures within their competence to move towards the abolition of pornography.
- To generate legislation that allows to understand that the existence of pornography endangers all women because they are women, and to achieve its definitive abolition from the point of view of the defense of women's human rights.
- That any agenda for the promotion of equality should include information on pornography as part of the prostitutorial system and its abolition as part of the urgent and essential measures.

These measures should be framed in an Organic Law for the Abolition of the Prostitutorial System, in addition to being placed in the international dialogue to allow the creation, from international law, of ways to abolish the prostitutorial system. The violence suffered by women in pornography and prostitution, as well as the violence that results from the existence of both, knows no borders between countries. In turn, it is essential to devote all the necessary economic resources to be able to restore all the women victims and survivors of this system, whether directly or victimized by men who consume prostituted women or women in pornography.

Although from a purely scientific point of view it cannot be affirmed that all men learn each and every one of these lessons from pornography, it can be said that pornography is a learning context for all men that makes the exercise of sexual violence probable; lessons that occur regardless of their will and conscience. If this is truly a society that cares about human rights and has equality and justice as its core values, and therefore has an urgent claim to curb and eradicate the frightening increase in sexual violence suffered by women and girls, then the fact that pornography is a learning context for all men that makes the exercise of sexual violence probable is (more than) sufficient reason to propose and demand its immediate abolition.

If we want to move towards an egalitarian society guided by the value of justice, we cannot allow the existence of learning contexts that make possible the learning that pornography makes possible. Allowing the existence of material that makes such learning possible is absolutely incompatible with progress towards an egalitarian society and with the social values of equality and justice.

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