I Kissed a Girl: Do Women Feel Pressured to Engage in Public Same-Sex Sexual Behaviour?

by

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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"Girl-on-girl" behaviour is portrayed as sexy, liberating, and edgy in contemporary popular culture, mass media, and public settings such as bars and parties. This study looked at the relation of women's participation in public same-sex sexual behaviour (PSSSB), age, and sexual orientation (heterosexual versus some degree of same-sex orientation) with the following dependent variables: perceptions of PSSSB pressure, reasons for and feelings after engaging in PSSSB, sexual depression, sexual assertiveness, sexual self-efficacy, sexual locus of control, sexual monitoring, and use of PSSSB to explore sexual orientation. Of the 451 women (ages 19-40) who completed the online questionnaire, 54% reported having engaged in PSSSB. Most participants agreed that young women feel pressured to engage in PSSSB and listed media, popular culture, male friends, and peers as sources of this pressure. Exclusively heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB (n=100) reported significantly higher perceived social pressure, more subsequent negative feelings, higher sexual depression, greater external sexual locus of control, lower sexual assertiveness than all other participants, and lower scores on sexual self-efficacy than PSSSB women with same-sex orientations. Emerging adult, but not older heterosexual PSSSB women, had significantly higher sexual compliance scores. Heterosexual and same-sex orientation PSSSB women had the highest rates of sexual monitoring, and although their reasons for engaging in PSSSB were different, a majority of both listed alcohol and exploration as factors that contributed to their public girl-on-girl behaviour. Heterosexual women who had not engaged in PSSSB indicated the lowest rates of sexual exploration. Reasons for these differences are discussed.

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personal information. Any woman reporting that she has felt pressure to engage in an unwanted behaviour, regardless of the statistical relevance, is important as an individual. I will always keep in mind the individuals behind the statistics.

Dedication

In loving memory of my mother, Faith Brown; my father, Joseph Brown; and my sister, Trudy Kilburn.

Thank you for sharing your love for learning and your dedication to education. You sat on my shoulder every day as I wrote this document, telling me to get it done. And now, I can hear you saying "Finally!"

Chapter One: Introduction

In 2003, pop stars, Madonna and Britney Spears, kissed at the 20th MTV Music Awards and ignited a continuing controversy regarding female public same-sex sexual behaviour (PSSSB) (Moss, 2003; Sauvalle, 2013). Since that time, same-sex kisses and other overtly sexualized behaviours between women have become increasingly visible in popular culture (Diamond, 2005; Fahs, 2009; Thompson, 2006; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). In 2008, singer Katy Perry declared "I kissed a girls and I liked it" in the lyrics to her ubiquitous hit song, *I Kissed a Girl*. However, when singer Miley Cyrus unexpectedly kissed Katy during Miley's Bangerz tour in February 2014, Katy turned away in disgust, renewing the social media debate over public "girl-on-girl" sexual behaviour (Malec, 2014a; Malec, 2014b). Controversy also ensued after the January 2014 release of Shakira and Rihanna's video for *Can't Remember to Forget You*, which features the two scantily dressed women fondling each other while writhing around on a striped mattress. Shakira and Rihanna were publicly criticized by social conservatives for being too raunchy, and by members of both bisexual and lesbian communities for presenting a demeaning and disingenuous display of same-sex sexuality (Qvist, 2014; The Lingerie Lesbian, 2014). At the time of this writing, the video had been viewed 357, 851,167 times on YouTube (YouTube, 2014).

In dance clubs, bars, and other public venues, it has become increasingly more common to see women kissing, fondling, "twerking", and grinding against each other in public displays of seemingly same-sex sexuality that mimic those of the aforementioned celebrities (Fahs, 2009; Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). This public sexual behaviour between women has proliferated along with the explosion of new and ever-available forms of media. Television talk show hosts ask their famous female teenage guests, "Would you make out with a girl?" and

their giggling guests are pressed to answer positively (Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Women's magazines reveal advertisements with women draped over each other, their ostensibly bisexual bravado selling shirts, shoes, and services, while social media debates the effects and after-effects. Is this proliferation simply sex-positive propaganda or is it the product of pressure?

Although media portrayals of public female same-sex sexual behaviour may be a growing phenomenon, same-sex attraction is not new. For example, in 1994, Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels indicated that 6.7% of American women aged 19 to 29 reported same-sex attractions or rated the idea of same-sex sexual activity as appealing. With societal shifts in the acceptance of same-sex sexuality, today's women may be feeling freer to embrace many forms of sexuality, and it is well documented that adolescents and emerging adults often engage in sexual exploration as part of the development of sexual identity (Diamond, 2003a; Glover, Galliher, & Lamere, 2009; Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter, & Braun, 2006; Rust, 2000; Tolman, Striepe, & Harmon, 2003). However, researchers have speculated that female PSSSB does not exclusively occur among women expressing or exploring same-sex identities, it also occurs among women seeking attention from heterosexual men (Fahs, 2009; Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Warn, 2003; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). Fahs (2009) argued that women engage in "performative bisexuality" in an effort to conform to social norms, particularly in the presence of men, with men's approval, and for men's sexual arousal.

If the preponderance of female bisexual images in the media and overtly bisexual behaviour in public places is simply a result of the growing affirmation and celebration of a sexuality that was once prohibited in Western society, then there should not be the sense of having been pressured, or the social-media feeding frenzy that encourages abundant self-recriminations. However, behaviours that appear sexually liberated may become questionable

when solicited by a ring of encouraging males. Are today's women living out genuine sexual self-expression or are they feeling pressured to use same-sex erotic behaviour to attract and arouse the opposite sex? Additionally, what are the consequences of this self-expression if there is indeed an element of pressure or if the expression is not entirely volitional?

To date, there have been few studies investigating the reason for the increase in women's PSSSB, its context, and the motivation behind it (Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). Largely absent from the literature is an examination of the relationships between PSSSB, age, sexual orientation identity, and dimensions of women's sexual self-concept. Are women feeling pressure to engage in PSSSB and if so, from where is the pressure coming? Are media trends influential in females' decisions to engage in a variety of sexual behaviours, and PSSSB in particular? Is pornography's move into mainstream media providing females with confusing messages about performative bisexual behaviour? Does alcohol provide the "liquid courage" for some women to engage in public same-sex acts in which they would not typically engage? Is public girl-on-girl behaviour a new way for women to attract attention?

Overall, the goals of the present exploratory study are fourfold. The primary goal is to explore women's perceptions of pressure and the sources they perceive to be influential in PSSSB. The second goal is to compare and contrast the PSSSB experiences of women at different developmental stages. The third goal is to investigate the relationship between PSSSB and sexual orientation exploration and commitment, and the fourth goal is to examine the association between PSSSB and aspects of the sexual self-concept.

As a nascent research area, quantitative studies concerning female PSSSB are scant. As such, potential reasons for the increase in this behaviour must be extrapolated from existing research concerning female sexuality. Therefore, the first section of the literature review

examines relevant theories of female sexuality development and the sexual self-concept. The second section examines the historical progression of societal views regarding homosexuality, bisexuality, and the measurement of sexual orientation and sexual identity, since shifting attitudes in Western society may shed some light on women's increasingly visible same-sex sexual behaviour. Research concerning the mass media and alcohol consumption may also provide insight into women's decision to engage in PSSSB. Therefore, the final sections of the literature review focus on studies of the influence of mass media, as well as the influence of alcohol on sexual behaviour.

In an age of facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and endless "selfies" sent on a wireless whim to friends and strangers alike, women's sexual behaviour is in the public eye. How is this public "eye" affecting the private "I" that is a woman's sexual self-concept? PSSSB has reached the point of public awareness wherein it is the subject of cartoons (Bell-Lundy, 2014), advertisements, and popular music. Katy Perry famously sang, "I kissed a girl …" Now, the time has come to ask, "Why?"

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Theories of Female Sexuality Development

In order to understand the public expression of female same-sex sexual behaviour, it is helpful to review the definitions, history, and theories of the development of female sexuality. Human sexuality is defined as the way people experience and express themselves as sexual beings, and it encompasses sexual sensation, intimacy, orientation, and identity (Hillman & Spigarelli, 2009). The expression of sexuality is influenced by psychological, social, political, cultural, familial, spiritual, and religious factors and it evolves and develops over time (Bristow, 1997; Hillman & Spigarelli, 2009; Schlesinger, 1977; Wagstaff, Abranmson, & Pinkerton, 2000). Current research has focussed on the pursuit of a broader understanding of the development of female sexuality to determine at what point, and in what ways, females may be particularly susceptible to any of these influences.

Historically, the science of psychology has studied sexuality based predominantly on fluctuating notions of deviance (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000; Worthington & Mohr, 2002; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Yet even as ideas about abnormal sexuality change, there is still a propensity to focus on the development of sexuality and sexual identity in minority groups (e.g., gays, lesbians, and bisexuals). Until recently, overarching theories of the development of the full spectrum of human sexuality have been rare (Worthington, Navarro, Savoy, & Hampton, 2008; Worthington et al., 2002) and there has been very little focus on the particular development of female sexuality (Morgan & Thompson, 2011).

One of the first theories to provide a universal explanation of sexuality was written by Freud (1905/1962). Although heavily criticized, Freud's theory has been exceedingly influential in the medical field, in the social sciences and in society in general, and therefore deserves

elaboration (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000). In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (Freud, 1905/1962), Freud built an argument for the existence of sexuality from infancy. Freud began with the notion that from birth, all humans are bisexual and have the "sexual instinct" to satisfy a biological need for sexual stimulation. He also suggested that females are more prone to adult bisexuality because they have two sexual zones: the vagina, which is feminine and the clitoris, which he considered masculine (Freud, 1931/1977). Freud theorized that females must successfully transfer their infantile and masculine erotogenic zone, the clitoris, to the vaginal orifice for the purpose of sexual activity (Freud, 1931/1977). This task is accomplished, supposedly, through a wave of repression where females put aside their childish masculinity.

Despite a lack of empirical support, Freud's ideas about female sexuality have established themselves in modern society with terms such as "penis envy" and "hysteria." Freud's interpretations about women's sexuality are still held by some psychiatrists and they have been highly influential in the realm of female sexuality research (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000). Nonetheless, Freud's conceptualization of sexuality as an innate drive that must be controlled during infancy and early childhood has been rejected by most current theorists (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000).

Current theory generally subscribes to the belief that human sexuality develops in an ongoing process from infancy through adulthood (De Lamater & Friedrich, 2002; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009; Hillman & Spigarelli, 2009). The fact that infants and young children are curious about their sexual organs and can become aroused by genital stimulation is well established in the literature (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009; Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953). However, with the biological changes of puberty and the subsequent increase in sexual interest, adolescence is fundamentally important

for sexuality development (De Lamater & Friedrich, 2002; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009; Impett, Schooler, & Tolman, 2006). Adding to the complexity, the hormonal influences vary between and among adolescent males and females.

For example, 78 post menarcheal girls and 102 boys whose ages ranged from 13 to 16 (M_{age} = 14) completed questions related to sexual behaviour (Udry, 1988). Following the questionnaires, blood samples were taken and analyzed for hormone levels. Udry (1988) found almost half the variance in adolescent boys' sexual activity was explained by the effects of testosterone; whereas hormonal effects on adolescent females were broad and more subtle. For adolescent girls, sexual activity was related to sociological variables (i.e., encouragement of a best, same-sex friend) and when sexual intercourse was measured exclusively, hormonal effects disappeared (Udry, 1988). This finding is particularly relevant for young adult females who may be engaging in PSSSB with their female friends.

For females, an emphasis on biological sexual maturation may come at the expense of further investigation into the social, societal, and media-related factors influencing female sexuality development. Some of these factors come into play as adolescents are exposed to expanding contexts, which transmit socially and culturally constructed norms for their sexual behaviour (e.g., L'Engle, Brown, & Kenneavy; 2006; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008; Warner, Giordano, Manning & Longmore, 2011). Their interest in romantic and/or sexual relationships increases (Collins, 2003), and they begin to cultivate a more sophisticated understanding about themselves and their identity (Harter, 1999).

Sexual Identity Development

Identity formation as it relates to sexuality was discussed by Erikson (1968), who, focusing largely on heterosexuality, believed that identity is developed during adolescence (ages

12-18) in the context of mastering the capacities for trust, intimacy among peers, and autonomy from parents. Further, Erikson viewed young adulthood (ages 19-40) as a developmental stage focusing on the task of forming intimate relationships (Erikson, 1959; Levinson, 1986).

Narrowing Erikson's conceptualization of young adulthood, Arnett (2000) proposed the term "emerging adulthood" to describe the age period from the late teens through the mid to late 20s (roughly ages 18-25). He identified changes in industrialized societies at the turn of the millennium as creating distinctive developmental characteristics in the life course (Arnett, 2007). These changes have resulted in emerging adults spending more of their time in postsecondary education and training (Arnett, 2007), and living at home with their parents for longer periods (Arnett, 2000). In addition, sexual attitudes have changed and emerging adults are cohabitating with romantic partners more frequently and having children at later ages (Arnett, 2007). Arnett (2007) argued that emerging adulthood is a time of trying out different experiences and gradually moving toward enduring choices in love and work, rather than a time for settling into long-term adult roles.

Extending Erikson's work on identity formation, James Marcia (1980) conceptualized identity development as adolescents' ability to explore and commit to a variety of life domains. Marcia (1980) postulated four identity statuses that characterize adolescent progress through the identity stage wherein sexual identity may be achieved: diffusion (low exploration, low commitment), foreclosure (low exploration, high commitment), moratorium (high exploration, low commitment), and achievement (past exploration producing high commitment). Marcia (1980) believed that when identity has been achieved, individuals are more aware of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and of their own strengths and weaknesses in making their

way in the world. However, when individuals have not achieved identity, they are more confused about their own distinctiveness and rely on external sources to evaluate themselves.

In recent years, Marcia's statuses have been empirically applied to heterosexual identity development in adolescence and adulthood (Eliason, 1995; Worthington et al., 2002). For example, Eliason (1995) conducted qualitative analysis of essays written by 26 self-identified, emerging adult heterosexual students enrolled in a college course titled, *Theorizing Sexual Identities.* Based on the essays describing how their sexual identities had been formed, Eliason categorized the largest proportion of the students as "identity foreclosed." Eliason (1995) noted that the men who had achieved their sexual identity and committed to heterosexuality generally commented that they did so on the basis of rejecting a gay identity (e.g., "I knew I was heterosexual mainly because being gay was never an option"; "Growing up, whenever boys wanted to tease or hurt another boy, they would refer to him as faggot or queer boy. No way did I want to be labeled this way"); whereas the female students appeared to be more open to same-sex or bisexual sexuality at some point in the future even though they had identified themselves as presently heterosexual (e.g., "I don't think mine [sexual identity] will ever stay constant. I really like the notion of fluidity"). Only three female students were actively questioning their identity and were categorized as being in "identity moratorium." Although the sample was small, Eliason's findings add to the body of literature focusing on female sexual identity development and what may influence its construction. Of particular note is the idea of female sexual fluidity and a general willingness to alter their sexual identity, which implies that female sexual identity may be subject to change, and therefore influence, throughout the lifespan.

Worthington et al. (2002) adapted the work of Marcia (1980), Eliason (1995), and several sexual minority identity-development models (see Worthington et al. for a review, 2002) to

construct their model of heterosexual identity development. They hypothesized that progression through the process of sexual identity development is influenced by biological, psychological, and social factors (Worthington et al., 2002). In addition, the model distinguished two parallel, reciprocal processes: (a) recognition and acceptance of, and identification with one's own sexual needs, values, sexual orientation and preferences for activities, partner characteristics, and modes of sexual expression; and (b) recognition of oneself as a member of a group of individuals with similar sexual identities, and attitudes toward sexual minorities (Worthington et al., 2002). The authors proposed that these two reciprocal processes occur within five identity development statuses: unexplored commitment, active exploration, diffusion, deepening and commitment, and synthesis. Although the model was created to describe developmental phenomena, Worthington et al. (2002) also noted that it is flexible, and there are opportunities to re-enter statuses throughout the lifespan. It is of interest that the authors described sexual orientation identity to be just one component of sexual identity.

Moving from theory to utility, Worthington et al. (2008) constructed an instrument to measure the processes of sexual identity development that extended their model of heterosexual identity development to include all sexual orientation identities, thereby allowing differential developmental trajectories. In developing the Measure of Sexual Identity Exploration and Commitment scale (MoSIEC), the five statuses suggested by Worthington et al. in 2002, were modified after conducting factor analysis of the questionnaire responses of 690 participants (Worthington et al., 2008). The resulting factors of the four-factor solution yielded four interrelated, but independent dimensions: exploration (cognitive and/or purposeful goal-directed exploration), sexual orientation identity uncertainty (delay in commitment during exploration), commitment (e.g., clear identification of sexual needs, values, sexual orientation and/or

preferences; exploration unnecessary) and synthesis/integration (conscious, congruent, volitional, and enlightened sexual self-concept) (Worthington, et al, 2002; Worthington et al., 2008). Exploration and sexual orientation identity uncertainty reflect two dimensions of Marcia's exploration construct, while commitment and synthesis/integration reflect two commitment-related dimensions (Dillon, Worthington, & Moradi, 2011).

In addition to supporting Marcia's (1980) and Worthington et al.'s (2002) models, the authors suggested that the MoSIE was a valid model of sexual identity exploration and commitment for use with individuals across the continuum of sexual orientations (Dillon et al., 2011; Worthington et al., 2008). Recently, the MoSIE was used in combination with a variety of measures to study sexual orientation questioning among heterosexual women (Morgan & Thompson, 2011). The authors found that heterosexual women who were assessing same-sex attraction or evaluating same-sex behaviours coincided with the exploration component of the MoSIE (Morgan & Thompson, 2011).

Dillon et al. (2011), Eliason (1995), Worthington et al. (2002), and Worthington et al. (2008) provided evidence for the psychological processes involved in sexuality development, particularly those involving group membership, exploration, and commitment. These processes may have implications for women's PSSSB. First, group identification may now be occurring, not only within a cohort, but also with celebrities in the media, such that media presentations of PSSSB may be influencing sexual identity as well as expression. Second, PSSSB may be a likely behavioural choice if the individual is experiencing the exploration component of sexual identity development. Why it is that women make the decision to engage in PSSSB, and how they navigate through the sexual identity process, may be further clarified through an

examination of the content of individuals' sexuality; the sexual self-concept (Archer & Grey, 2009).

Sexual Self-Concept

Sexual self-concept refers to the perceptions individuals have of themselves as sexual beings (Aubrey, 2007; Garcia, 1999; Hensel, Fortenberry, O'Sullivan, & Orr, 2011; O'Sullivan, Myer-Bahlburg, & McKeague, 2006; Snell, 1998; Rostosky, Dekhytyar, Cupp, & Anderman, 2008; Vickberg & Deaux, 2005). The term is used interchangeably with "sexual-self perceptions" (Buzwell & Rosenthal, 1996) and "sexual-schemas" (Anderson & Cyranowski, 1994). Aspects of individuals' sexual self-concepts are multidimensional, based on past experiences, and are influential in processing sexually relevant social information and providing guidance for sexual behaviour (Anderson & Cyranowski, 1994; O'Sullivan et al., 2006; Snell, 1998; Vickberg & Deaux, 2005). Therefore, PSSSB may result not only from a woman's perception of herself as a sexual entity, but also from how she is processing current social information.

One type of sexual self-concept research has involved the building of psychometrically valid measures of sexual self-concept, which has resulted in a number of instruments (e.g., O'Sullivan et al., 2006; Snell, 1998; Vickberg & Deaux, 2005). Although the definition of sexual self-concept is consistent across these measures, there is no clear consensus about which factors actually constitute the sexual self-concept.

The Multidimensional Sexual Self-Concept Questionnaire (MSSCQ; Snell, 1998) was designed as a global and comprehensive self-report assessment instrument of multiple aspects and components of the sexual self-concept. The development of the MSSCQ (Snell, 1998) was the culmination of over ten years of research on the psychological tendencies associated with

human sexuality and the combination of other sexuality scales (Fisher & Snell, 1995; Snell, 1995; Snell, Fisher, & Miller, 1991; Snell, Fisher, & Miller, 1991; Snell, Fisher, & Schuh, 1992; Snell, Fisher, & Walters, 1993; Snell & Papini, 1989). The MSSCQ measures 20 aspects of the sexual self-concept: (1) sexual-anxiety; (2) sexual self-efficacy; (3) sexual self-consciousness; (4) motivation to avoid risky sex; (5) chance/luck sexual control; (6) sexual-preoccupation; (7) sexual self-assertiveness; (8) sexual-optimism; (9) sexual problem self-blame; (10) sexual self-monitoring; (11) sexual-motivation; (12) sexual problem self-management; (13) sexual self-esteem; (14) sexual-satisfaction; (15) powerful-other sexual control; (16) sexual self-schema; (17) sexual fear/apprehension; (18) sexual problem self-prevention; (19) sexual-depression; and (20) personal-sexual-control (Snell, 2001). The MSSCQ is believed to be a valid and reliable measure and has been used extensively in sexuality research (e.g., Archer & Grey, 2009; Davison & McCabe, 2005; Hucker, Mussap, McCabe, & Marita, 2010; Lacelle et al, 2012; Newton & McCabe, 2008; Rew, Grady,Whittaker, & Bowman, 2008; Steinke, Mosack, & Hill, 2013; Steinke, Mosack, Hertzog, & Wright, 2013; Tomassilli, Parsons, & Golub, 2013).

In an effort to focus exclusively on a measure of sexual self-concept for women, Vickberg and Deaux (2005) created the Women's Sexual Self-Concept Scale (WSSCS). The 39-item scale is comprised of three factors: (a) agentic sexuality (e.g., having an interest and active role in sexuality; (b) negative associations (e.g., sexual coercion, negative emotions, and concern about impressions); and (c) reserved approach (e.g., responsibility, carefulness, and faithfulness).

O'Sullivan et al. (2006) also looked exclusively at the sexual self-concept of females, developing the Sexual Self-Concept Inventory (SSCI) to assess the sexual self-concepts of ethnically diverse urban adolescent females. The SSCI (O'Sullivan et al, 2006) includes three dimensions of sexual self-concept: (a) sexual arousability (i.e., feelings of interest in and

anticipation of sexual experiences); (b) sexual agency (i.e., experience and expression of sexual feelings and behaviours); and (c) negative sexual affect (i.e., feelings of sexual repression and denial). While these three measurement tools (i.e., the MSSCQ, the WSSCS, and the SSCI) are useful in attempting to define and compare sexual self-concept as it develops over the lifespan as well as between different individuals, they do not go as far in relating sexual self-concept to the manifestation of sexually related behaviours. In other words, simply measuring the dimensions of someone's sexual self-concept does not necessarily allow a direct inference to be made about that person's sexual expression and behaviours.

As a result, a second type of research on sexual self-concept focused on the relationship between various aspects of sexual self-concept (e.g., sexual self-monitoring, satisfaction, assertiveness, etc.) and/or their association with other aspects of sexuality (Breakwell & Millward, 1997; Cohen & Fromme, 2002; Impet et al., 2006; Rostosky et al., 2008; Schooler, Ward, Merriwether, & Caruthers 2005; Snell et al., 1991; Snell, et al., 1992). For example, Snell et al. (1991) found that undergraduate females with greater sexual self-monitoring (i.e., being concerned about the impressions other people may have about one's sexuality) reported less sexual satisfaction compared to undergraduate males. In the same study male and female undergraduate students with greater sexual assertiveness (i.e., the tendency to act and behave in an independent, self-reliant fashion concerning one's own sexuality), had higher scores on the measures of sexual esteem (i.e., the tendency to positively evaluate one's capacity to sexually relate to another individual) and lower scores on the measure of sexual depression (i.e., the experience of feelings of sadness, and unhappiness regarding one's sex life) (Snell et al, 1991). A subsequent study of undergraduate students (Snell et al., 1992) indicated significant positive correlations between their levels of sexual depression and clinical depression.

Breakwell and Millward (1997) found significant correlations between sexual assertiveness and risky behaviour in adolescent females (M_{age} = 17.4 years) in the UK. Young women with higher sexual assertiveness scores were significantly more likely to use condoms, but were also more likely to engage in other types of risky behaviour which included increased numbers of sexual partners, and higher frequencies of alcohol and cigarette use (Breakwell & Millward, 1997). An additional association with sexual assertiveness was found in a study of female university undergraduate students (M_{age} = 19.7 years) (Schooler et al., 2005). Sexual assertiveness had a strong negative correlation with body shame. That is, women who had greater concerns about their bodies during non-sexual and/or sexually intimate situations had lower levels of sexual assertiveness (Schooler et al, 2005).

The individual aspects of sexual self-concept do show some relational relevance to behaviour manifestations. The decision to engage in PSSSB in any given instance may therefore be related to aspects of sexual self-concept such as body shame, sexual self-monitoring, sexual assertiveness, and their influences on the tendency to perform risky behaviours, possibly leading a woman to either act on, or ignore, her own sexual needs in a given circumstance.

One aspect of sexual self-concept, of particular importance when considering females' perception of their ability to act on their own sexual needs and desires, is sexual self-efficacy. Based on Bandura's concept (1977) of self-efficacy, "the conviction that one can successfully execute the behaviour required to produce the outcome" (p. 193), sexual self-efficacy has generally been regarded as "the belief that one has the ability to deal effectively with the sexual aspects of oneself" (Snell, 1998, p. 521).

Impett et al. (2006) found that inauthenticity in relationships (e.g., the inability to voice sexual desires and engage in wanted sexual behaviour) and body objectification (e.g., concerns

about how the body looks rather than feels) were associated with low sexual self-efficacy. Late adolescent and emerging adult females' who internalized messages that they should "be seen" and "not heard" had a diminished ability to act on their own desires in sexual relationships, such as refusing unwanted sex (Impett et al, 2006). PSSSB may be a reflection of a "be seen" but not necessarily "heard" social message whose consequences may be the diminished ability of a woman to be true to her own authentic wishes and desires, with potentially risky, negative consequences (e.g., the inability to refuse unwanted sexual advances). Further, low sexual self-efficacy was found to be a leading predictor of non-condom use (a risky behaviour) among undergraduate populations (Bandura, 1990; Cohen & Fromme, 2002) and it was related to adolescent and emerging adult females' ability to act upon their own sexual needs in a relationship, to stop unwanted sexual behaviour, or to insist on the use of protection (Bandura, 2006; Impet et al., 2006; Rostosky et al., 2008; Schooler et al., 2005).

PSSSB may be thought of as a risky behaviour for a number of reasons. It may be viewed as immoral in the context of the particular public location. It may attract unexpected levels of unwanted attention from potentially threatening individuals. There may be photos or videos taken over which the woman has no control and which may be used in the future in a negative or undesirable context (e.g., Girls Gone Wild videos, Internet or Facebook postings, Instagram and phone sharing). Finally, PSSSB and its consequences to the individual in terms of revising the sexual self-concept may impact a woman far beyond the behaviour itself.

Homosexuality and the Luscious Lesbian

When discussing the possible reasons for the recent upswing in female PSSSB in the media over the last ten years, the presumption appears to be that the females involved in this type of behaviour are heterosexual, but of course this is not necessarily the case (Rupp & Taylor,

2010). One factor that may be influencing the current explosion of females' public displays of same-sex sexuality could be the relatively recent shift in societal attitudes about homosexuality and bisexuality.

How females view themselves is undoubtedly impacted by societal expectations about what is and is not acceptable sexual behaviour and these expectations can and do change, sometimes drastically. Historically and cross-culturally, although varying by region, attitudes surrounding same-sex sexual behaviour have generally focused on males and have ranged from encouraging during Ancient Greek times, to tolerating in the early medieval period, to severely disapproving, prohibiting and punishing by the 12th through to the 19th centuries (see Bullough, 1979 for a review).

Although there has been very little written about female same-sex sexual behaviour historically, females are not entirely absent from the literature. For example, in Ancient Greece, the celebrated poet, Sappho, who was born on the island of Lesbos in the Aegean Sea, wrote passionately about her love for women (Hanley, Schlesinger, & Steinberg, 1977). "Sappho is renowned for her exceptional creativity, recognized since ancient times, but even more for her daring act of celebrating the female erotic at a time when only the male erotic was recognized and proclaimed" (Lester, 2002, p. 170b).

In 1886, Krafft-Ebing, a German psychiatrist, published *Psychopathis Sexualis* which informed the medical community of various sexual practices and described homosexuality as "a mental illness due to tainted inheritance" (Spurlock, 2002, p. 39). As a result of Krafft-Ebing's book, medical and public condemnation of homosexuality shifted its focus from arguments that it was an abomination against God and nature, to speculation that it was a psychiatric disorder requiring treatment (Greenberg & Bystryn, 1982; Hanley et al., 1977).

By World War I, Krafft-Ebing's focus on simple heredity was replaced by the work of British physician Havelock Ellis who believed that both environment and congenital predispositions were responsible for homosexuality (Spurlock, 2002). As such, for the first part of the twentieth century, the study of sexual orientation and mental health focused on the "treatment" of homosexuality (Bullough, 1976; Ellis & Mitchell, 2000; Spurlock, 2002). Consensual homosexual behaviour was no longer punishable by death, but the male homosexual was determined to be mentally ill (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000). Lesbianism was labeled a "disease of inversion", and perhaps most famously, Freud described lesbians as suffering from neurotic and incestuous attachments to their fathers (Hanley et al., 1977). Indeed, lesbians were thought to be deeply disturbed, unhappy women who needed to be cured.

The publication of *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Female* (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin & Gebhard, 1953) estimated women's overt sexual contact with other women at 13%, with about a half to a third of these females primarily or exclusively lesbian. The research of psychologist Evelyn Hooker (1957) attacked the premise that homosexuality was a mental illness by showing that there were no significant differences in the psychological adjustment of homosexual versus heterosexual males. With this growing body of research indicating that homosexuality was not the sign of a personality disturbance, in 1973 the American Psychiatric Association voted to remove homosexuality from its official list of mental illnesses (Marcus, 2005). The governing body of the American Psychological Association (APA) followed suit and voted to oppose discrimination against homosexuals in 1975 (Hanley, et al., 1977).

During the past 40 years, there has been an ongoing liberalization of public attitudes, and an abolishment of all laws against homosexuality, in Western societies. For example, the bill repealing Canada's sodomy laws received royal assent on June 27, 1969 (Makarenko, 2007). A

further demonstration of the acceptance and validation of homosexuality has been the legalization of same-sex marriage (e.g., Canada in 2005) (Makarenko, 2007). By May of 2014, 16 countries had legalized same-sex marriage (Masci, Sciupac, & Lipka, 2014).

As homosexuality continues to gain a wider acceptance, a number of researchers (Bullough, 1976; Bullough, 1979; Kinsey et al., 1953; Wilton, 2004) have observed that female homosexuality has been traditionally met with less condemnation than male homosexuality past and present. Both Kinsey et al. (1953) and Bullough (1979) provided several reasons for the difference in the social and legal attitudes toward sexual activities between females and females and the sexual activities occurring between males and other males.

The researchers (Kinsey et al, 1953; Bullough; 1979) commented that historically women were socially less important than men, so their private activities were ignored. Women's transgressions, sexual or otherwise, were looked upon as too unimportant for publication and lesbian activities were viewed with a sense of astonishment or incredulity that women could achieve any sexual fulfillment without a man (Bullough, 1979). Even in mainstream politics dealing with homosexual issues, lesbians have generally been invisible (Butler, 1996).

Religious outrage regarding "the wastage of semen in all male (sexual) activities that are non-coital" (Kinsey et al., 1953, p. 486) was also provided as a plausible explanation for the decreased hostility towards same-sex behaviour between women. Lesbians were viewed as less sinful because they simply had nothing to waste and could not be impregnated by another woman. Kinsey et al. (1953) noted that society frowned upon men who were effeminate, but accepted females who displayed masculine characteristics. Girls were permitted to be *tomboys*, but boys were not permitted to be *sissies* (Kimmel, 2000).

Relevant to our understanding of the current explosion in PSSSB in women, Kinsey et al. (1953) remarked that many heterosexual males are erotically aroused when they consider two females engaging in sexual behaviour. They further explained that men might encourage sexual contact between females, while the opposite does not occur. As demonstrated in our current mass media representations and pornography in particular, females are portrayed as having sex with other women for male titillation (Jackson & Gilbertson, 2009; Thompson, 2006; Webber, 2013). Whitney (2002) commented, "other than heterosexual male fantasies of two women together, which more often than not do not take lesbianism seriously, lesbianism is not acknowledged as legitimate" (p. 117). For example, Jackson and Gilbertson (2009) found that their male and female adolescent participants regarded the lesbians they had viewed in TV programs to be "hot", "heteroflexible", and "experimental" rather than possessing genuine same-sex desire. In addition, the teens acknowledged that the "hot lesbians" were used to produce titillation and to lure male viewers into watching the television programs (Jackson & Gilbertson, 2009).

The "luscious lesbians" appearing in films and magazines performing for men, do not represent the majority of women who have same-sex orientations nor does their "on-screen" sexual behaviour match their off-screen behaviour (Ciasullo, 2001; Webber, 2013). For example, one finding of Webber's 2013 qualitative study of" non-exclusively heterosexual" women who had worked in the adult sex and film industries, was that these women engaged in sex acts as part of their work that did not reflect their personal sex lives or preferences. In fact, the participants' on-screen same-sex sexual behaviour was altered to make it additionally arousing for their male audience (e.g., an emphasis on penetration). An important consideration in Webber's study was that her participants self-identified as non-exclusively heterosexual, which would likely be indicative of a bisexual orientation rather than a lesbian orientation. If

public same-sex erotic behaviour is not solely the realm of lesbians freed by societal acceptance, is it reasonable to suppose that bisexual women might be responsible for the increase in PSSSB?

Bisexuality or Transitional Sexuality?

Although Kinsey reported high rates of homosexual behaviour among American men (Kinsey et al., 1948) and women (Kinsey et al., 1952), Kinsey et al.'s finding that an even higher percentage of people exhibited bisexual behaviour rather than exclusively homosexual behaviour, is often overlooked (Zinik, 1985). Since Kinsey et al.'s studies (Kinsey et al. 1948; Kinsey et al. 1952), large-scale sexuality surveys, such as the work of Laumann et al. (1994), have provided additional evidence that a substantial proportion of individuals have both same-sex and opposite-sex experiences throughout their lifespans. Further, such individuals outnumber those who engaged in exclusively same-sex behaviour.

Several researchers (e.g., MacDonald; 1983; Savin-Williams, 2005) have criticized social scientists for equating bisexuality with homosexuality. This tendency may indicate the underlying belief that sexual orientation is truly dichotomous, bisexuality is a myth, and bisexuals are actually homosexuals who are in denial (McDonald, 1983; Savin-Williams, 2005). Yescavage and Alexander (2009) noted that many people dismiss bisexuality as merely an experimental phase that leads to a gay or straight identity. After all, as previously mentioned, it is well documented that adolescents and emerging adults often engage in exploratory sexual behaviour (Diamond, 2003a; Glover et al., 2009; Rosario et al., Rust, 2000; Tolman et al., 2003). So is female PSSSB a homosexual expression, a bisexual exploration, or a heterosexual performance?

Researchers have posited that bisexuals may be confused about their identity, avoiding commitment to any one person, or attempting to be liberal-minded and trendy (Berkey,

Perelman-Hall , & Kurdek, 1990; Hill, 2009; Macdonald, 1983; Rust, 2000; Savin-Williams, 2005). Others have proposed bisexuals are simply promiscuous, having an "attraction to and sexual involvement with anyone, if not everyone" (Hansen & Evans, 1985. p. 3). Still, others have restated a version of the closeted homosexual theory, suggesting that because of negative attitudes towards homosexuality, individuals may adopt a bisexual identity as a way to avoid social stigma (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000).

This reasoning seems improbable, since bisexuals have encountered criticism from homosexuals for their perceived lack of social and political commitment to sexual minority communities (Hill, 2009; Morrow, 1989). In addition, Rust (1993) found that a majority of the 346 self-identified lesbians in her study believed that bisexual women were less personally committed to women. In addition, 79% of the lesbian participants believed that a bisexual identity is more likely to be a phase and 83% believed it was a way of denying one's lesbianism (Rust, 1993).

There are a growing number of researchers who support the notion that bisexuality is not merely a closeted version of homosexuality, nor a way-station on the road from heterosexuality to homosexuality, rather they recognize bisexuality as a separate and distinct orientation (Dancey, 1998; Daniluk, 1998; Ellis & Mitchell, 2000; Fox, 2000; Hansen & Evans, 1985; MacDonald, 1983; Russell & Seif, 2002; Savin-Williams, 2005; Weinrich & Klein, 2002; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009; Zinik, 1985). Reflecting this perceptual shift, the number of published articles about bisexuality increased in the latter part of the twentieth century (Berkey, Perelman-Hall, & Kurdek, 1990). In 1998, The American Institute of Bisexuality was founded by Dr. Fritz Klein, and in 2000, the first peer-reviewed academic journal focusing exclusively on bisexuality, the *Journal of Bisexuality*, began publication.

Decidedly, perceptions about bisexuality have been changing, yet there is still some tendency to devalue bisexuality or discount it as a distinct sexual orientation, as demonstrated in a recent qualitative study conducted by Alarie and Gaudet (2013). The authors found that Canadian francophone undergrad students (18-23 years) "invisibilized" bisexuality by ignoring it or depicting it as a temporary, transitional sexuality. Relevant to an understanding of the motivations behind PSSSB, the participants described women who engaged in public bisexuality as promiscuous, hypersexual, and sexually unfaithful, and they believed their behaviour was simply a way to attract men (Alarie & Gaudet, 2013).

Lannutti and Denes (2012) also found that undergraduate students believed that women who kissed women were more promiscuous than women who kissed men. Further, the participants perceived women who kissed women as more likely to be heterosexual, rather than bisexual or lesbian. Interestingly, of the 67 women participants in the study, 45% (30) had kissed other women yet self-identified as heterosexual (Lannutti & Denes, 2012). Additional studies corroborated the notion that women's bisexual behaviour neither translated into the adoption of a bisexual identity (Fahs, 2009; Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Yost & McCarthy, 2012), nor equated with political views supporting lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, or queer communities (LGBTQ; Fahs, 2009).

Although bisexuality may be stigmatized by some individuals, it has gained increasing support as a legitimate area of research. As researchers gain knowledge and insight about bisexuality, its status as an orientation may even be expanding to include several distinct sub-types (Weinrich & Klein, 2003; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). However, currently, there is no agreement about how many subtypes should be included, which is not surprising given that there is still disagreement about the definition of sexual orientation itself.

Sexual Orientation

If sexual orientation is germane to a discussion about the reasons behind an increase in the frequency and salience of PSSSB, perhaps a closer look at exactly what sexual orientation encompasses is in order. Sexual orientation is one of the most controversial aspects of human sexuality and there continues to be debate amongst researchers about its definition (Aspinall & Mitton, 2008; Ellis & Mitchell, 2000; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). In addition, numerous authors have described the complexities associated with measuring sexual orientation and its confusion with sexual identity (Devor, 1993; Dillon, Worthington, & Moradi, 2011; Ellis & Mitchell, 2000; Janus & Janus, 1993; Laumann et al., 1994; Savin-Williams, 2005; Sell, 1997; Starks, Gilbert, Fischer, Weston, & Dilalla, 2009; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). Sexual orientation is generally considered to be a sexual attraction to males, females, or both that is resistant to conscious control (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994; Savin-Williams, 2005; Savin Williams & Ream, 2007; Shively & De Cecco, 1977; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). Recently, the American Psychological Association (APA, 2008) offered the following definition of sexual orientation:

> Sexual orientation refers to an enduring pattern of emotional, romantic, and/or sexual attractions to men, women, or both sexes. Sexual orientation also refers to a person's sense of identity based on those attractions, related behaviours, and membership in a community of others who share those attractions. (APA, 2008, "What is sexual orientation?" para.1)

Heterosexual, homosexual, and bisexual are the terms most commonly used by researchers to describe sexual orientations, with gay/lesbian used interchangeably for homosexual (APA, 2008; Heath & Euvard, 2008; Klein, Sepekoff, & Wolf, 1985; MacDonald, 1983; Sell, 1997).

"Sexual identity" is the socially recognized label (e.g., bi, straight, heteroflexible, queer, metrosexual, lesbian, gay) chosen by individuals to describe themselves, and it can take on new meanings and change throughout the life-span (Heath & Goggin, 2009; Laumann et al., 1994; Savin-Williams, 2005; Savin-Williams & Ream, 2007; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). Sexual identity may or may not match an individual's sexual orientation. For example, a woman may recognize that she is attracted to both men and women, but identify as heterosexual. Alternatively, a woman may be exclusively attracted to women, yet identify as bisexual.

The confusion of sexual identity with sexual behaviour has also been problematic in sexuality research. "Often researchers and lay public appear to treat self-assigned sexual identity as both an assessment of an individual's attractions and behaviour and as synonymous with sexual orientation" (Starks et al., 2009, p.15). Sell (1997) noted that researchers are often confused about what they are studying when they assess sexual orientation. Conceptual definitions are rarely included and operational methods used to measure sexual orientation do not always correspond with the most common definitions (Sell, 1997; Shively, Jones, & De Cecco, 1984). So how is sexual orientation measured at all if it is to be discussed scientifically as a relevant factor in PSSSB?

Sexual orientation measurement. Although there are several methods used to obtain information about sexual orientation (e.g., psychophysiological methods) a discussion of each measure is beyond the scope of this paper. As such, only the most commonly used in sexuality research, are discussed (Sell, 1997; Wiederman, 2002).

Kinsey (Kinsey et al., 1948) believed that people simply cannot be divided into either heterosexual or homosexual categories; "Not all things are black nor all things white (p. 639)." He emphasized continuity between exclusive heterosexuality and exclusive homosexuality and

devised a rating scale to capture this notion. The Kinsey Scale (Kinsey et al., 1948) placed individuals on a continuum based on their sexual behaviour and sexual attractions, which Kinsey et al. referred to as their "psychic response". Participants were questioned about their sexual histories and attractions by trained interviewers and the oral answers were then coded from 0 – 6 by the same interviewers:

0. Exclusively heterosexual with no homosexual
1. Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual
2. Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual
3. Equally heterosexual and homosexual
4. Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual
5. Predominantly homosexual, but incidentally heterosexual
6. Exclusively homosexual (Kinsey et al. 1948, pp. 639-641)

Individuals at the extreme ends of the scale were clearly distinguishable; however, there remains much confusion about what behaviours or attractions constituted individuals who were rated 1 to 5. Individuals' sexual behaviours may deviate markedly from their sexual attractions, yet the Kinsey Scale places individuals who are significantly different, based on different aspects of sexuality, into the same categories (Ellis & Mitchell, 2000; Laumann et al., 1994; Weinrich et al., 1993). For example, an adolescent who, without consent, was fondled by a team-mate in the shower would receive the same rating as an adult who finds herself, on occasion, attracted to other women. Under the Kinsey scale, individuals, with vastly different histories, can be given similar ratings. In addition, it seems unconscionable to group consensual sex with a forced sexual experience that is out of an individual's control.

Critics of the Kinsey Scale (Laumann et al., 1994; Savin-Williams & Ream, 2007; Sell, 1997) have suggested that researchers should measure sexual attraction and sexual behaviour separately. In order to address this concern, Laumann et al. (1994) developed separate measures for desire, behaviour, and identity for a study, which included a representative sample of 3,432 American adults. They found that the three constructs were interrelated, but their analysis also demonstrated a high degree of variability in the way that differing elements of homosexuality were distributed in the population. A considerable number of people, who did not consider themselves to be either homosexual or bisexual, had adult homosexual experiences or expressed some degree of homosexual desire (Laumann et al., 1994).

The Kinsey rating has also been criticized for failing to measure the multivariable aspects of sexual orientation and their changes over time (Klein et al, 1985). In response to the need "to measure a person's sexual orientation as a dynamic multi-variable process" (Klein et al., 1985, p. 38), Klein constructed the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid (KSOG). The KSOG required individuals to rate their attraction, behaviour, fantasy, social and emotional preference, and lifestyle on a seven-point Likert-type linear scale ranging from "other sex only" to "same sex only". Self-identification and heterosexual/homosexual lifestyle were rated on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from "heterosexual only" to "gay only". In addition, for each area of sexual orientation, three ratings were chosen for respondents' past, present (defined as the preceding year), and ideal choice (Klein et al., 1985). The "ideal" category was purported to measure where an individual would like to see him or herself optimally in each of the measured categories in the future. The 21 ratings were presented in a seven by three grid.

Klein et al. (1985) assessed the reliability and validity of the KSOG based on the responses of 384 readers (213 male; 171 female) of Penthouse's *Forum Magazine*. Klein formed

three sub-groups based on participants' self-identified sexual orientations (bisexual, homosexual and heterosexual). Item-to-item correlations were computed for the profile items and the correspondence was relatively high, excluding the present and past social preference ratings.

The authors suggested that "a person's social preference was somewhat different from the other aspects of his or her sexual orientation" (Klein et al., 1985, p.43). The best predictor of a respondent's mean score for the entire grid was his or her self-identification. Further, sexual orientation was not static for the respondents. Interestingly, while Klein's grid indicated diversity within and between participants' sexual orientation profile items, all seven dimensions on the scale were reduced to only three sexual orientations (heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual). It is not clear if participants did not choose the other dimensions on the scale (i.e., hetero mostly, hetero somewhat, gay somewhat, gay mostly) or if those dimensions were simply included with the bisexual subgroup. In subsequent studies, Weinrich and Klein (2003) and Worthington and Reynolds (2009) highlighted within-group differences among bisexual men and women and posited several distinct intermediate categories of bisexuality.

Measuring sexual orientation is particularly pertinent in uncovering the motivation behind PSSSB. Individuals may or may not express their sexual orientation in their behaviours (APA, 2008). Females with some same-sex orientation may be engaging in PSSSB based on genuine attraction or desire for their same-sex partners, while heterosexual females may be engaging with their female partners for reasons other than attraction. Combining Klein's findings that the best predictor of a respondent's mean score for the grid was his or her self-identification and that the self-identities were not static (Klein et al., 1985), an alternative to measuring sexual orientation in the present study may best be accomplished by simply asking individuals to self-identify their sexual orientation over several developmental periods.

Dillon et al. (2011) defined sexual orientation identity as "an individual's conscious acknowledgement and internalization of sexual orientation" (p. 650). Laumann et al. (1994) touched on this notion by asking people to self-identify their sexual orientation (i.e., Do you think of yourself as heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, or something else? p. 293); however, the labels homosexual, heterosexual and bisexual simply do not capture the variation that constitute a person's sexual orientation (Aspinall & Mitton, 2008). Therefore, asking participants to self-identify their orientation on a scale offering variation between heterosexuality and homosexuality, and at different developmental periods, may provide insight into female sexuality development. Additionally, measuring PSSSB at different developmental periods may clarify the relationship between this public behaviour and sexual orientation identity development.

Difficulties measuring sexual orientation and sexual behaviour. Sexuality researchers are plagued by many of the same issues faced by all social scientists (e.g., reliability and validity of measurement); however, research on human sexuality entails special consideration (Wiederman & Whitley, 2002). Researchers must be especially cautious about social desirability response bias, where respondents distort their answers to present themselves in a positive light (Wiederman & Whitley, 2002). A variety of procedures and techniques have been used to gather such sensitive information.

Kinsey et al. (Kinsey et al., 1948; Kinsey et al., 1953) used face-to-face interviews to determine the sexual orientation of both males and females; however, the interview procedure had its benefits as well as its drawbacks. On one hand, interviewers were present to clarify meaning and they were also able to ask participants to elaborate on their answers. On the other hand, the participants may not have been comfortable or willing to admit personal, potentially embarrassing, information about their sexual behaviours. An additional difficulty in the current

use of this technique is the potentially prohibitive cost of hiring and training interviewers in sufficient numbers.

In order to avoid the pitfalls and problems inherent in the direct-interview technique used by Kinsey et al. (Kinsey et al., 1948; Kinsey et al., 1953), most sexuality researchers rely on self-report, which is now the most common measurement of sexual orientation (Gonsiorek et al., 1995; Wiederman, 2002). Self-report comes with challenges. Questionnaires rely on reading ability; therefore, questions must be closely matched to respondents' literacy levels. Further, there may be variations in how each respondent interprets a point on a scale, or specific words used in questionnaires and they will only account for what a person is willing to state about themselves. Some phrases may not have the same meaning to all respondents as they do to researchers (Wiederman, 2002). For example, respondents might be confused about the meaning of phrases such as "having sex" or "intimate physical contact".

An additional problem with sexual orientation research involves the conditions and procedures used to obtain information. Respondents may be uncomfortable when researchers or other participants are present during questionnaire completion. Research has demonstrated that people are more likely to provide more accurate assessments of sensitive information when completing computer generated interviews or questionnaires compared to face-to-face interviews or pencil-and-paper surveys (Gorbach et al., 2013; Gribble, Miller, Rogers, & Turner, 1999; Supple, Aquilino, & Wright, 1999; Torangeau & Yan, 2007; Turner et al., 1998). Computer generated interviews and questionnaires, which respondents can complete in private locations, may create a more anonymous environment for respondents and increase their perceived level of privacy and anonymity (Supple et al., 1999; Torangeau & Yan, 2007).

Media Influences on Female Sexuality

There are many sources (e.g., parents, peers, society) that provide females with distinct messages about how they should look, act, and behave as sexual beings. Unquestionably, the attitudes of friends and parents play an important role in the ways adolescents and young women perceive themselves as sexual beings. Ward (2003) noted "parents are generally acknowledged as the initial sexuality-educators of their children, teaching them about love, affection, and body modesty" (p. 348). Peers also play an important role in providing information about sex and sharing attitudes about sexual behaviour, especially for adolescent females (Ward, 2003). For example, having friends who had engaged in intercourse without a condom and who perceived fewer negative consequences concerning sex, predicted risky sex in both male and female adolescents, but to a higher degree in females (Henry, Schoeny, Deptula, & Slavick, 2007). Ward acknowledged that parents and peers are not the only sources of information on sexuality available to adolescents and hypothesized that these sources may no longer be considered as the most influential (Ward, 2003). Worthy of concern in a society where even a police officer suggested to female students that they can avoid rape by not "dressing like sluts" (CBC, 2011), today's young women develop their sexuality under a barrage of confusing images, expectations, and messages from the media whose impact begs examination.

Media may be defined as including any traditional forms of mass communication such as radio, television (TV), movies, music videos, DVDs, commercials, films, magazines, books and newspapers, but it has also grown to include the Internet and many forms of digitized communication such as digital text, e-books, websites, web-linked videos, live web-cams, digital images, and computer games (Brown & Strasburger, 2007). TV and other media have become leading sources of sexuality information and have the potential for educating about healthy,

egalitarian sexual relationships (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009). Unfortunately, with increasingly explicit depictions, distorted and stereotypical portrayals, as well as the prevalent objectification of woman, the media may neither be an accurate, nor a healthy source of information for people in general and young girls in particular (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009; Ward, 2002). Even when portrayals of healthy sexual relationships and responsible sexual decision-making are present, they may be obscured by more frequent and tantalizing displays of irresponsible and consequence-free sexual behaviour (Ward, 2002). However, it is presently unclear how the media affects a female's sexual identity, that is, the ideas she adopts and publicly presents to others regarding her sexuality (Dillon et al., 2011; Heath & Goggin, 2009; Laumann et al., 1994; Savin-Williams, 2005; Savin-Williams & Ream, 2007; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009).

Sut Jhally (2007) feared that young women internalize media portrayals of sexual objectification, as well as the stereotypic, pornographic depictions of women and come to accept them as natural. In his 2007 documentary *Dream Worlds 3,* Jhally examined the stories contemporary music videos tell about girls and women. Hundreds of images depicted women gyrating in cages, pushed, slapped and spanked by men, doused with alcohol, and tied up on beds. Women were provocatively dressed and engaged in sex with other women while males watch. They were portrayed as prostitutes, nightclub performers, exotic pole dancers, nurses, and airline attendants whose job was to fulfill the sexual needs of men (Jhally, 2007).

Jhally further discussed the processes involved in the media objectification of women, noting that a technique used frequently in videos and films is to have the cameras focus on one

area of women's bodies, "presenting them as a series of disconnected, fragmented body parts" (Jhally, 2007). Jhally asserted that this narrow range of representation shows only one way to think about female sexuality. It ignores the complexity of real women and reduces them to nothing but body parts. Body-objectification may cause women to dissociate from their own interests and act only on the desires of others (Tolman, 2002). Jally (2007) offered the *Girl's Gone Wild* series of videos, where women in nightclubs and other venues are encouraged to flash their breast or "make-out" with other women, as an example of real girls and young women who have temporarily adopted the objectifying, pornographic images of music videos and in doing so, view their own sexuality through the male gaze. If we accept the possibility of media affecting female sexuality, it may be helpful to determine by what mechanisms media may be exerting an influence on females' sexual identity, attitudes, and behaviour.

Theoretical mechanisms underlying media influences on sexuality. A framework often used to understand how media can act as an agent in sexuality development is social cognitive theory (SCT) (Bandura, 2009). According to SCT, human behaviour can be fashioned, either deliberately or inadvertently, by observing the behaviour of others and the consequences that result for them (Bandura, 2009). When a viewer observes a person engaging in an enjoyable sexual behaviour and perceives that person as rewarded in some way, the viewer will be vicariously reinforced to adopt or try that behaviour (Bandura, 2009). The opposite has also been demonstrated.

For example, in their classic study, Bandura and his colleagues found that children were less likely to imitate violent role models shown on film when the models were punished for their actions (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963). Bandura noted that the influence of models in activating, inhibiting, or supporting the behaviour of others has been documented in numerous

studies (see Bandura for a review, 2009). Therefore PSSSB may well be imitated after witnessing that this behaviour seems to be rewarded, such as by receiving attention.

Further, a great deal of information about human values and behaviour is gained from role models portrayed symbolically through the media. Viewers are more likely to learn and imitate the behaviour of role models they perceive to be attractive and powerful. This makes prestigious models (e.g., famous singers, actresses, and reality television stars) potent sources for vicarious learning, especially when their behaviours are glamorized and rewarded (Bandura, 2009). PSSSB, as displayed by such prestigious models, regardless of the personal motivations for doing so on the part of these high-profile individuals (e.g., self-promotion, brand development, notoriety, additional media attention), is highly likely to be imitated.

In addition, the effect of the media may be socially mediated even more directly. Bandura (2009) noted "people who have had no exposure to the media are influenced by adopters who have had the exposure and then, themselves, become the transmitter of the new ways" (p.113). An indication that these "new ways" are being transmitted by women who had been influenced by sexualized media was supported by Braun, Tricklebank, and Clarke (2013). Braun et al. (2013) found that increasing numbers of Western women were completely removing their pubic hair, whereas denuded female pubic regions were formally the provenance of the pornography industry.

Cultivation theory offers another explanation for how the media impacts sexuality (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994). Gerbner et al. (1994) tracked the central themes of TV's dramatic content since 1967, and explored the consequences of growing up exposed to TV. The authors posited that cultivation is part of a continual, dynamic, ongoing process of interaction between TV and its viewers (Gerbner et al., 1994). They contended that TV's

consistent, yet limited imagery, cultivates a specific portrait of social-reality which links the viewer to a synthetic world. Compared to individuals who watch less TV, but are similar in terms of their demographic characteristics, heavy viewers of mainstream TV are more likely to adopt the portrayals seen in the TV world.

Critics of cultivation theory note that it assumes uniform media content and gives little attention to viewer choices and interpretations (Ward, 2003). However, it may also be argued that stereotypic sexuality and objectification of women is a central theme in mainstream TV (Kunkel, Farrar, Eyal, Biely, Donnerstein, & Rideout, 2007). Constant exposure to this type of portrayal may encourage women to objectify themselves in public same-sex sexual displays.

A particularly compelling explanation of media influences on adolescent and emerging adult women's sexuality is the "super-peer" theory. This theory proposes that sexual media functions as a type of peer for individuals, particularly during the teen years (Brown, Halpern, & L'Engle, 2005; Brown, L'Engle, Pardun, Guo, & Kenneavy, 2006; L'Engle et al., 2006; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008). Several researchers posit that media's portrayal of "normative behaviour" can be effective and persuasive sources of information and as powerful an influence as traditional peer groups (Brown, Halpern & L'Engle, 2005; Brown, L'Engle, Pardun, Guo & Kenneavy, 2006; L'Engle et al., 2006; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008; Ward & Friedman, 2006). The media super-peer is likely to be evaluated positively, considered reliable, and imitated similarly to the adolescent and emerging adults' actual peer group.

While SCT, cultivation theory, and the super-peer argument offer causal explanations and provide frameworks for the study of media use and sexual socialization, factors such as complexity of messages, gender of the viewer, and perceived realism undoubtedly contribute to this process. In addition, viewers' developmental levels will directly affect their ability to

process, understand, and evaluate sexual-behaviour messages (Ward, 2003). For example, Piaget (1972/2008) asserted that children's reasoning is concrete and they may be unable to deduce consequences requiring hypothetical reasoning. Young children may miss sexual innuendo or may not recognize the potential risks of sexual behaviour, and they may misconstrue fantasy for reality, making them additionally vulnerable to media portrayals. During adolescence, hypothetical and abstract reasoning is believed to develop, making adolescents more capable of identifying fact from fiction. Even so, there is much variability between adolescents' abilities to process the media content to which they may be exposed (Piaget, 1972/2008).

So what exactly are adolescents and emerging adults being exposed to in today's media smorgasbord and how is it affecting them? Jackson, Brown, and Pardun (2008) noted, "contemporary media offer adolescents an increasingly varied array of media choices; yet television still accounts for the majority of adolescents' media use" (, p. 350), so it bears closer examination.

The effects of TV's sexual content on sexual behaviour and sexual self-concept. Since the publication of Jackson et al.'s study in 2008, TV viewing has declined; however, Nielsen's 2013 ratings indicated that American 12 to 17 year-olds still watched an average of 20 hours and 41 minutes of traditional TV per week, while 18 to 24 year-olds watched 22 hours and 30 minutes of traditional TV per week (Marketing Charts Staff, March, 2014). According to statistics compiled by the Television Bureau of Canada (TVB, 2014) from January 2013 to January 2014 the average Canadian teens (12-17 years) watched 19.8 hours of TV per week and emerging adults (18-24) watched 20.7 hours of TV per week. As such, it is important to investigate TV portrayals of sexuality and their correlations with the sexual behaviour of viewers.

The following studies reflect TV programming that occurred when the majority of the present studies' participants were experiencing adolescence and emerging adulthood. Many of the studies have included both males and females and therefore an examination of exclusively-female sexuality development must be extrapolated from the broader research.

Collins et al. (2004) hypothesized that adolescents exposed to greater amounts of sexual content on TV would progress more quickly to higher levels of non-coital sexual activity and would initiate intercourse sooner. To test this hypothesis, the researchers conducted a national telephone survey in the spring of 2001 and then re-interviewed the same group one year later. The survey measured how often 23 selected television shows were viewed. The selected shows were coded for sexual content, sexual knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour with the opposite sex, as well as a set of demographic and psychosocial variables known to predict television viewing habits or sexual behaviour (Collins, et al. 2004).

Of the 1762 participants whose ages ranged from 12 to 17 years of age, 17% had engaged in intercourse at baseline and 29% at the follow-up assessments. As predicted, the viewing frequency of TV high in sexual content at baseline was strongly related to the initiation of intercourse and advancement of non-coital sexual activity the following year (Collins et al., 2004). The likelihood of intercourse initiation was almost double for adolescents in the high-exposure group compared to the low-exposure group across all ages. Even when 12 other predictors of sexual behaviour (e.g., having older friends, less parental monitoring, less religiosity, poor mental health) were taken into account, exposure to TV sexual content remained a significant correlate of intercourse initiation among those students who were virgins at baseline (Collins et al., 2004).

The work of Collins et al. (2004) was extended to a third wave by Chandra et al. (2008) where the same teen participants completed the telephone survey again in the spring of 2004. However, Chandra et al. (2008) focused exclusively on the relationship between TV viewing and pregnancy rates over the three-year period. Their analysis included only participants who had engaged in sexual intercourse and for whom they had complete information on pregnancy history at Wave 3 (Chandra et al., 2008). Results of multivariate logistic regression analysis found a statistically significant association between exposure to TV sexual content and pregnancy (Chandra et al., 2008).

Aubrey (2007) examined TV exposure and its relationship with female emerging adults' sexual self-concept. The female undergraduate students' exposure to genres known to be high in sexual content (e.g., soap operas, music videos, primetime sitcoms, and primetime dramas) and total hours of TV viewing per day, were measured at the outset of the study and then again, one year later. In addition, five measures of sexual self-concept: sexual esteem, sexual assertiveness, sexual interest, sexual anxiety, and body consciousness during physical intimacy were obtained at the start of the study and at the one-year mark for each participant. The five sexual self-concept variables were combined to form the latent variable, sexual self-concept. Separate path analyses were conducted for sexual self-concept and each type of TV exposure (Aubrey, 2007). Aubrey's disturbing results indicated that increased exposure to soap operas, prime-time dramas, and frequent television viewing per day negatively predicted females' sexual self-concept (Aubrey, 2007). The author concluded that "television viewing was damaging to the sexual self-concept" (p. 171).

Media, sexual content, and the super-peer. Although TV viewing has been considered exclusively thus far, teens and emerging adults are also exposed to an avalanche of sexual

content in other media forms. In a large-scale study of the impact of media on adolescents' sexual health, TV, music, magazines, and movies were analyzed for sexual content (L'Engley, Pardun, & Brown, 2004). Numerous additional researchers have made use of this rich data pool as well (Brown, Halpern & L'Engle, 2005; Brown, L'Engle, Pardun, Guo & Kenneavy, 2006; L'Engle et al., 2006; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008).

This large-scale study of media and sexual health (L'Engley et al., 2004) took place in the fall of 2001, wherein 3261 students in grades 7 and 8 from three public school districts in the southeastern United States completed a media survey which included questions about the frequency of use of TV, movies, music, magazines, and the Internet. In the summer of 2002, 1047 of the students in the original sample (M_{age} = 13.6 years; evenly divided by gender) were interviewed in their homes using Audio-Computer Assisted Self Interview (ACASI) and were interviewed again two years later (N = 1,017; M_{age} = 15.6 years) (L'Engle & Jackson, 2008). The ACASI allowed respondents to listen to questions through a set of headphones, and/or read them on a computer screen, whereupon they were to enter their responses directly into the computer. The researchers suggested that this method allowed for more privacy because respondents were not required to give their answers to the interviewer. In addition, the choice to use ACASI was based on previous research indicating increased reporting of sensitive or potentially embarrassing behaviours, and easier completion for persons with lower literacy levels (Wright, Aquilino, & Supple, 1998).

The ACASI survey contained numerous health and sexuality questions which focused on adolescents': intentions to engage in sexual intercourse (e.g., "How likely is it that you will have sex in the next year?"); sexual behaviour (e.g., kissing, touching genitals, sexual intercourse); use of the media as a sexual information source (e.g., TV, movies, music videos, magazines);

frequency of using sexually explicit media, which also included the Internet; and perceptions of receiving permissive sexual norms from media, Internet not included (e.g., "The messages I get from TV are that it's OK for people my age to have sex").

Analyses of data obtained from the media and adolescents' sexual-health data-pool (L'Engle et al. 2004) resulted in a number of published studies, each positing sexual media functions as a type of "super-peer" during adolescence (Brown, Halpern & L'Engle, 2005; Brown, L'Engle, Pardun, Guo & Kenneavy, 2006; L'Engle et al., 2006; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008). For example, Brown et al. (2005) analysed female middle school students' sexual maturation and media consumption after they took their initial ACASI survey (N= 471; M_{age} = 13.7 years). Regression analyses indicated a consistent significant relationship between earlier pubertal timing and greater interest and exposure to sexual media content (Brown et al., 2005). The earlier maturing girls were also more likely to interpret the messages they saw in the media as approving of teens having sexual intercourse. Based on the results of their study, Brown et al. (2005) suggested that because early maturing girls are more interested in sex and sexuality than their later maturing peers, they turn to the media for norms and information. The media therefore serves as a "super-peer" for earlier maturing girls, providing them with messages that portray sexual behaviour as normative and risk free.

Unfortunately, Brown et al. (2005) did not analyze other sources of sexual information that the girls may have obtained or experiences they may have had. Early maturing girls often have older friends and receive more attention from older boys, who may provide them with sexual ideas that the young girls are not as developmentally capable of cognitively assessing (Piaget, 1972/2008; Westling, Andrews, Hampson, & Peterson, 2008). In this instance the older friends or boys may have functioned as Bandura's (2009) posited adopters, who may have

already had the sexualized media exposure themselves, and who may then have transmitted it to the younger girls. Nevertheless, the possibility of the hyper-abundance of media messages, functioning as a super-peer to delineate and define norms, is clearly tenable. Furthermore, if this is the case, how do the effects of the super-peer translate into actual behaviour for youth?

Brown et al. (2006) assessed whether or not early adolescent exposure to sexual content in mass media was associated with sexual intercourse in middle adolescent girls and boys. The authors utilized the sexual medium diet (SMD) data obtained from the sample of 1017 students who completed ACASI at baseline and follow-up two years later. Among white adolescents, there was a clear, linear trend showing that by 16 years of age, 55% of those with higher SMD scores reported having sexual intercourse, compared to only 6% of teens with the lowest SMD scores (Brown et al., 2006). The trend among black adolescents indicated that 70% with the highest SMD ratings and 66% with middle SMD ratings reported having sexual intercourse, compared to only 28% of those with the lowest SMD ratings. Brown et al. (2006) also noted that some teens may have viewed the media content and characters therein as sexual "super-peers" that encouraged the teens to be as sexually active as the characters themselves appeared to be (Brown et al., 2006; Ward & Friedman, 2006).

L'Engle et al. (2006) also explored adolescents' exposure to sexual content in mass media and its association with overall sexual behaviour. The authors utilized data obtained from the sample of 1011 students who completed ACASI at baseline and follow-up two years later (M_{age} = 13.7 years). Included in their initial multiple linear regression analysis were family, religion, school, peers, SMD, and perceived sexual permission (e.g., The messages I get from TV are that it's OK for people my age to have sex). They also focussed on participation in light sexual activity (e.g., having a crush, dating, kissing), participation in heavy sexual activity (e.g.,

touching genitals, oral sex, sexual intercourse), and intentions to have sexual intercourse (e.g., How likely is it that you will have sex in the next year?). Results indicated that both SMD and perceived sexual permission from the media showed strong relationships with adolescents' intentions to have sexual intercourse in the near future, light sexual activity, and heavy sexual activity. The authors' noted that their findings also supported Brown et al.'s speculation (2006) that the media acts as a sexual super-peer (L'Engle et al., 2006). Sexual content in the media is frequently encountered, easily accessible, and typically delivered by attractive models, making it an important source of sexual socialization for teenagers. In addition, L'Engle et al. (2006) observed that the majority of sexual content in the media depicts risk-free behaviour without negative consequences, which may be compelling to teens.

Two subsequent (Brown & L'Engle, 2009; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008) and final studies based on L'Engle et al.'s original 2004 data-pool provided additional support for mass media's role as a sexual super-peer. At follow up, adolescents who (a) used more sexually-explicit media, (b) perceived media as presenting permissive sexual norms, or (c) saw media as a source for sexual information, had significantly higher rates of reported intercourse (L'Engle & Jackson, 2008). Teen girls who reported exposure to sexually-explicit media at base-line had less progressive gender-role attitudes, and increased rates of oral sex and sexual intercourse two years later (Brown & L'Engle, 2009).

Recent research that did not utilize L'Engle et al.'s 2004 data was conducted by Ybarra, Strasburger, and Mitchell (2014) who found only partial support for media acting as a super-peer. Focusing on adolescent and emerging adults' sexual media exposure, sexual behaviour, and sexual-violence victimization, Ybarra et al. (2014) analyzed data from the 4th and 5th wave of an American online-study, "Growing up with Media" which followed 1058 youth ages 14 to

21. The authors found that more frequent exposure to sexual media was related to having had sexual intercourse, victimization resulting from coercive-sex, and attempted/completed rape, but was not related to so-called "risky sex" (sexual intercourse without a condom) (Ybarra et al., 2014). When each media type (i.e., movies/TV, music, games, Internet) was analyzed separately, the authors also found a positive relationship between the number of sexual partners and sexual material in music; interestingly however, exposure to sexual content on the Internet did not predict any of the sexual behaviour or victimization outcomes (Ybarra et al, 2014).

Unfortunately, Ybarra et al. (2014) did not analyze the type of sexual content presented in each media category nor were the respondents asked to report their frequency of use for the various media types. Rather, the respondents simply reported how much of the media types they were viewing contained sexual behaviour (i.e., almost none/none of them, some of them, many of them, and almost all/all of them) wherein the sexual behaviour was defined as kissing, fondling, or having sex. A second concern with the study is that potential confounds such as exposure to violent and non-violent pornography, although measured as part of the survey, were not included in the analysis. So, although Ybarra et al. (2014) reported significant findings, the findings are correlational and do not contain information regarding the actual frequency of viewing sexual media.

Despite the results linking sexual media-content with females' sexual self-concept, sexual attitudes, and sexual behaviour (Aubery, 2007; Brown et al., 2005; Brown et al., 2006; Chandra et al., 2008; Collins et al., 2004; Ybarra et al., 2014), Steinberg and Monahan (2010) cautioned authors to avoid making strong assertions about correlation studies that imply causal relationships and any analysis therein. For example, Steinberg and Monahan (2010) reanalyzed data from Brown et al.'s 2006 study, including multiple imputation (MI) for missing data and the

calculation of propensity scores. The authors (Steinberg & Monahan, 2010) found that once they "matched individuals on their propensity to be exposed to sexual media, there were no longer any significant effects of exposure on age of first intercourse" (p. 570) and they argued that factors such as parental permissiveness, parent-adolescent conflict, and having sexually active friends are well-established risk factors for early sexual debut, whereas the influence of sexual media has not yet been sufficiently established. The findings, they suggested, linking sexual activity and media, may simply indicate that viewers with liberal sexual attitudes, and/or greater sexual interest, are drawn to programming that confirms their beliefs and behaviours; however, this seems unlikely given that many of the studies focussed on adolescents and emerging-adults who have yet to fully develop their attitudes and interests.

Causation in complex human behaviours is always difficult to determine. In an effort to capture the dynamics involved in TV exposure and sexual attitudes, and to establish a causal relationship between the two, Ward (2002) employed both correlational and experimental methods in her study of emerging adults. Ward (2002) hypothesized that undergraduate students exposed to TV clips depicting sexual stereotypes would offer stronger endorsements of these ideas than emerging adults exposed to nonsexual content. Ward randomly assigned 259 undergraduate students ages 18 to 22 (M_{age} = 20.3 years) to watch video clips on one of three sexual-stereotype themes (i.e., dating as a game/recreational sport, women as sexual objects, or men as sex-driven) or video clips that were neutral/nonsexual. After watching the videos, the participants answered questions about their TV viewing habits, attitudes about sexual roles and relationships, and assumptions about their peers' sexual experiences.

Ward (2002) found significant positive correlations between television exposure, and endorsement of the three sexual stereotypes, for both females and males. However, significant

differences between females and males emerged in the experimental analysis. Female participants in the experimental groups provided significantly stronger endorsement of the stereotypes than did females in the control group and the effects of the experimental exposure was similar for women, regardless of their typical viewing habits. In contrast, there were no significant differences in their endorsement of the stereotypes between men in the experimental and control groups, nor among men with low versus high amounts of prime-time viewing.

In a subsequent study, Ward and Friedman (2006) hypothesized that adolescents exposed to TV clips depicting sexual stereotypes would offer stronger endorsements of these ideas than adolescents exposed to nonsexual content. The researchers recruited 244 participants aged 14 to18 (M_{age} = 16.3 years) from English and language arts classes, randomly selected from grades 9-12, in a suburban high school in Long Island, New York. In a similar procedure to Ward's 2002 study, the participating classes were shown TV clips containing one of four themes: (a) Sex as Recreation; (b) Women as Sex Objects; (c) Men as Sex Driven; or (d) Neutral Non-Sexual material. After viewing the TV clips, participants answered questions about the clips and completed a survey which measured their levels of identification with TV characters, attitudes about the roles and appropriate behaviours of women and men, and motivations for watching TV (e.g., companionship, entertainment, information). In addition, students reported their frequencies of exposure to media and their levels of experience with dating and sexual relationships (Ward & Friedman, 2006).

Regression analysis indicated that frequent viewing of music videos and talk shows, and strong identification with same-sex characters were each significantly associated with greater levels of dating/sexual experience (Ward & Friedman, 2006). Viewing motives were the most consistent correlate of students' sexual belief-systems. That is, in general the adolescents who

reported watching TV for companionship agreed that sex was recreational, men were sexually driven, and women were sexual objects. The authors suggested that those adolescents who turned to TV as a companion relied on it for social norms and accepted its dominant messages, thereby offering additional support for the notion of TV as a super-peer. The significant findings for the experimental part of the study indicated that adolescents who viewed clips depicting women as sex objects, offered greater support for this belief and they expressed more stereotypical, gender role attitudes than did students in the control condition.

So there is some evidence that adolescence and emerging adult females endorsed the notion of women as sex objects after viewing TV depicting sexual stereotypes (Ward, 2002, Ward et al., 2006); however, both Ward (2002) and Ward et al. (2006) speculated that effects of exposure to sexual stereotypes in their experimental conditions would likely be short-lived. To test the enduring influence of TV on emerging adults' sexual attitudes and moral judgments, Eyal and Kinkel (2008) randomly assigned 110 first-year college students (M_{age} = 18.08 years) to one of two treatment groups. Both groups were given pre-test surveys before watching two episodes of a primetime TV drama that portrayed emerging adults engaging in sexual intercourse. One group watched versions that had positive consequences, while the other group watched versions with negative consequences. Immediately after viewing the TV shows, students completed the same survey again and once more two weeks later.

Students who viewed negative consequences had significantly more negative attitudes about premarital sex in their pre-test to post-test survey results, as well as more negative judgements pertaining to TV characters who engaged in this behaviour compared to students who viewed positive consequences (Eyal & Kunkel, 2008). These attitudes were demonstrated both in the survey immediately following viewing of the material, as well as in the survey taken

two weeks later, indicating that effects were persistent. There were no significant results for students who watched positive consequences (Eyal & Kunkel, 2008).

Eyal and Kunkel (2008) described their findings as providing support for social cognitive theory (SCT). Students who viewed negative reinforcement of an observed behaviour demonstrated more negative dispositions toward that behaviour. The authors suggested because negative consequences for premarital sex are seldom shown on TV, they were more salient and gained students' attention. Further, Eyal and Kunkel proposed students who viewed negative consequences would be less inclined to imitate the behaviour; however, this notion requires further investigation.

Results of the positive-consequences-group were not consistent with SCT; but Eyal and Kunkel provided several explanations for this finding. First, students' overall positive attitudes toward premarital sex at pre-test minimized the chance of observing a reinforcement effect (Eyal & Kunkel, 2008). Second, since the majority of portrayals of sexual activity on TV demonstrate a positive sexual outcome, it was difficult for the researchers to assess whether any exposure-effects were diluted by patterns already established by students' everyday viewing. Ward (2002) and Ward et al. (2006) supported the notion that TV programs most frequently watched by college students and adolescents contain stereotypic views that, with repeated exposure, become stronger and thus more accepted as accurate. PSSSB, therefore, if repeatedly demonstrated on TV by powerful super-peers, may become an accepted and desirable behaviour with no apparent negative outcomes.

Media and sexuality: Challenges and confounds. Comparing the findings of research concerned with the relationship between media and sexuality is challenging. For example, the analysis in the Brown et al. (2005) study regarding sexual maturation, media consumption, and

the super-peer explanation of media's influence on early-maturing girls, did not include other sources of sexual information the girls may have obtained, experiences they may have had, or environments in which they were raised (e.g., attachment to parents).

Another methodological problem is that many researchers fail to provide accurate definitions for sexual behaviour. For example, when researchers use the term "sex*",* they generally mean penile-vaginal intercourse (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009). However this assumption excludes numerous sexual behaviours that the studies' participants may have labelled with the phrase "having sex".

An additional issue is the inability of many studies to produce findings that reflect the plethora of media types available to viewers, let alone content currently being shown on TV or on similar programming sources such as NetFlix. What is popular on TV one year, changes in subsequent years and by the time articles are published, the results may be quite outdated (Wright, 2009). Similarly, the sexual content of TV is likely different in 2014 than it has been in previous years. For example, Kunkel et al. (2008) reported an increase in the depiction of sexual behaviours on TV; however, the findings were based on a comparison between the 1997/1998 and 2001/2002 TV seasons. So, while the information appears to be relatively current with a 2008 publication date, the comparison actually took place over ten years ago (Kunkel et al., 2008).

Further, rapidly dated studies may not be representative of today's media trends and consumption. Although TV remains a popular form of mass media, over the past ten years, time spent watching TV has been steadily replaced by time spent on the Internet (TVB, 2013). For example, in 2013 emerging adult, Canadian females spent 22.5 hours a week watching TV, but they spent 33.4 hours on the Internet (TVB, 2013). Of course, it is important to note that time

spent on the Internet could certainly involve viewing TV programs online (e.g., iTunes, Netflicks, YouTube) or TVsignal streaming.

Graphic sexual material is increasingly more available to youth than it has been in previous years, and is available on many different devices, making it difficult to measure the actual amount of exposure to sexual imagery (Turner, 2010). Nonetheless, the sexual behaviour of the super-peer in the moderated, mainstream media has a measurable influence on real-world attitudes and behaviours. If in addition to the increase in Internet use, there has also been an increase in the availability and access to sexually explicit websites, pop-ups, and videos (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009), the effects of viewing the Internet's increasingly accessible pornographic and uncensored sexual behaviours necessitates a more thorough examination to determine what, if any relationship, these effects may have on the increasing prevalence of PSSSB.

Pornography and the Cost of Idealized Sexual Imagery

Although pornography is offered in almost every form of media available, the anonymity of the Internet has offered a historically unprecedented availability of pornographic images, films, webcams, and websites (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009). In addition, pornography has extended its influence to mainstream media and advertising of all types.

Braun-Courville and Rojas (2009) investigated youth exposure to sexually explicit web sites (SEW), engagement in high-risk sexual activity, and attitudes toward sexuality. Their participants, 433 adolescents and emerging adults 12 to 22 years of age, were recruited from the waiting room of a New York City hospital. The participants completed self-administered surveys that contained 49 items and took approximately 10 minutes to complete. Over half of the participants had visited a SEW (males 85.7%; females 50.1%). The participants who had

visited SEWs had more permissive attitudes and a greater acceptance of casual sex. They were also significantly more likely to engage in high-risk sexual behaviours such as having multiple partners, using drugs during sexual activities, and engaging in anal sex, as compared with those who had never visited such websites (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009).

Braun-Courville and Rojas's findings were not consistent with Ybarra et al.'s 2014 findings that exposure to sexual content on the Internet did not predict sexual behaviour; however, this inconsistency can most likely be attributed to differences in the content to which participants were exposed. For example, Ybarra et al. (2014) defined sexual content as kissing, fondling or having sex; whereas Braun-Courville and Rojas (2009) asked participants to endorse their exposure to X-rated or pornographic web sites that either: described people having sex, showed clear pictures of nudity or people having sex, or showed a movie or audio that described people having sex. As described in their limitations, Ybarra et al. (2014) acknowledged that youth who watched people having sex are probably influenced differently than youth who simply viewed kissing.

Although it is intuitively reasonable to assume that individuals' behaviour may be influenced by graphic sexual material, Braun-Courville and Rojas (2009) did not link their results to any explicit causation and their findings cannot be generalized to a larger population. However, the results provide insight into a growing body of literature related to the availability and the emergence of pornography into mainstream media. The pornography industry has become pervasive in North American society, and has created potentially serious ramifications for the sexuality of young women (Jeffreys, 2005). Sheila Jeffreys, professor of Political Science at the University of Melbourne, traced the highly profitable rise of pornography in magazines, fashion and beauty-advertising, movies, cable TV, as well as the Internet toward the

end of the twentieth century. She believed the "pornographization of culture" inextricably intertwines the image of what is beautiful for young women and girls with the sex industry (Jeffreys, 2005). It seems reasonable to suggest that at least one line of evidence supporting a relationship between pornography and social constructions of what is beautiful for women and girls—and what is attractive to males—is the increase in sexually-cosmetic breast, buttocks, and genital plastic surgery. Further, if women are willing to risk surgery to meet a pornography-based, media-presented ideal, it seems reasonable to suspect that other behaviour, such as PSSSB, might also be affected.

Pornography, idealized beauty, and plastic surgery. Schick, Rima, and Calabrese (2011) analysed 647 *Playboy Magazine* centerfolds published between 1953 and 2007 to determine if the presentation of the ideal, sexual female has changed over the past 50 years. Independent sample t-tests showed an increase in the visibility of the models' montes pubis and labia majora over time. Among the centerfolds in which the model's mons pubis were visible, pubic hair became less visible (i.e., shaved, waxed, or otherwise modified) from its natural presentation as years progressed.

In addition, Schick et al. found a noticeable tendency to minimize the appearance of the labia minora or portray them as absent altogether within the subset of centerfolds with visible labia majora. Since labia majora visibility was only prevalent in recent issues of *Playboy Magazine*, a second content analysis focused on all photographs between 2007 and 2008 in which models' montes pubis were visible (Schick et al., 2011). A total of 185 pictures were analyzed and of the photographs in which the labia majora were visible (n=73), 82.2% depicted the labia minora as completely absent (Schick et al., 2011). None of the centerfolds portrayed prominent labia minora.

Additionally, as the years went by, the models were characterized by smaller hips, and a lower body-mass index; however, breast size increased. The results pertaining to pubic hair visibility and labia minora size, shape, and colour, suggested similarly unnatural genital-appearance ideals (Schick et al., 2011).

Schick et al. (2011) also noted a striking parallel between the Barbie Doll child's toy and *Playboy Magazine* models. Barbie features a prominent bosom, yet she lacks any semblance of genitalia; recent images in Playboy emphasize large breasts, but present female genitalia in a hairless, and notably prepubescent form. The overall body ideal is shifting farther away from a natural female form to one in which women exhibit ectomorphic body types and sizeable breasts simultaneously. This "ideal" look may create anxiety in women regarding their own genitalia, which is difficult to alter without cosmetic surgery. The authors stressed that "media images may not only contribute to concerns about genital appearance, but may also affect women's sexual health via the body modification they encourage" (Schick et al., 2011, p. 79).

Certainly, Schick et al.'s (2011) conjecture supports the Braun et al. (2013) finding of sexualized media influencing Western women to remove their pubic hair. Schick et al.'s (2011) conjecture is also consistent with, and one possible correlate of, the prevalence of sexual-cosmetic plastic surgery. In 2013, 290,224 American women received breast augmentation, which continued to be the top cosmetic surgical procedure for women and has held the title since 2006 (American Society of Plastic Surgeons, 2013).

Another surgical procedure that women are choosing to undergo in order to transform their bodies into something more in line with what current mass media presents as acceptable, is labiaplasty (e.g., reduction of the labia minora). Information about labiaplasty hit mainstream readers in 1998 when articles about the procedure were published in *Cosmopolitan* and *Salon*

magazines (Havranek, 1998; Kamps, 1998). Since that time, labiaplasty has increased in popularity in economically affluent nations (Liao, Michala, & Creighton, 2009). For example, the number of procedures covered by the National Health Service in the UK increased five-fold from 2001-2010 and this increase did not include privately funded procedures (Crouch, Deans, Michala, Liao & Creighton, 2011). In 2013, labiaplasty was the second-fastest growing cosmetic surgery in the United States, behind buttock augmentation (enhancement of the contour of the buttocks) and was performed 5,070 times, indicating an increase of 44% during a one year period (The American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery, 2013).

Women and adolescents' concern about the aesthetic aspects of their genetalia appear to be the reason for surgery since there is no relationship between the size of the labia minora and sexual pleasure or physical discomfort (Bramwell, Morland & Garden, 2007; Michala, Koliantzaki & Anbaklis, 2011). Moran and Lee (2013) found evidence that women's perceptions of what are considered to be normal and desirable female genitalia may be influenced by exposure to modified images. They explored the extent to which exposure to images of either modified or unmodified vulvas impacted women's perceptions of genetalia (Moran & Lee, 2013).

In phase one of the experiment, Moran and Lee (2013) showed 97 Australian women aged 18 to30 (the age at which women are most likely to undergo labiaplasty) photographs of either surgically modified vulvas, unmodified vulvas, or simply a blank screen. In phase two, all women viewed randomly ordered photographs of ten unmodified vulvas and ten modified vulvas (all taken from the original sets), and rated each for normality and the extent to which it represented society's ideal. The results indicated that those women who viewed modified vulvas rated the modified vulvas as more normal than the unmodified vulvas compared to the control

group. All groups rated the modified vulvas as more ideal than the unmodified vulvas (Moran & Lee, 2013).

The findings of Moran and Lee's 2013 experiment suggest that women's "exposure to images of modified vulvas may change women's perceptions of what is normal and desirable" (Moran & Lee, 2013, p. 764). Unfortunately, while representations of female nudity are common in the media, detailed accurate representations of female genitals are rare (Llyod, Crouch, Minto, Liao, & Crieghton, 2005). Media, such as Playboy Magazine, reinforce the notion that labia minora should be invisible (Bramwell et al., 2010; Crouch et al., 2011; Schick et al., 2011) and "widely available pornography containing selective or digitally altered images, together with limited exposure to other women's genitals gives a false impression of what is normal" (Moran & Lee, 2013, p. 762). Lloyd et al. (2005) examined the normal ranges of genital measurements in 58 women and found greater diversity than previously documented in labial and clitoral size. Their findings make it clear that the "normal" female genital appearance has little in common with the mass media's depiction of women's vulvas.

Potentially even more disturbing, is the viewing of a woman's own body as a flawed commodity and an inadequate instrument in need of surgical alteration. Such self-objectification has negative implications for a woman's view of her own body and can lead to feelings of depression, self-loathing, and hopelessness (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls APA, 2007; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). Further, the physical complications of "idealized sexuality" may be higher than the price of a surgical procedure. Many women who have undergone breast augmentation or labiaplasty experience pain, infection, and loss of tissue sensation, thus reducing sexual pleasure (Canadian Women's Health Network, 2003; Committee on Gynecological Practice, 2007; Jeffreys, 2005; Koot, Peeters, Granath,

Grobbee, & Nyren, 2003; Lloyd et al., 2005; Niechajev, Jurell, & Lohjelm, 2007; Sarwer, Brown, & Evans, 2007). If an increasing number of women are willing to risk their health to imitate changing media representations of female pulchritude, it becomes less surprising, but no less alarming, that women may also be changing their public sexual behaviours. That said, how these distorted media images may influence PSSSB remains to be investigated.

Pornography's influence on music videos. Beyond the effects of *Playboy Magazine* and its ilk, pornography's not so subtle movement into mainstream media was further revealed in an analysis of female sexual behaviours in music videos (Turner, 2010). Turner (2010) examined the content of 120 music videos taken from popular TV channels during a five-week period from December 2004 to January 2005. Sexual behaviour content ranging from kisses to group sex occurred in 58% of all the music videos, with Rap and R & B displaying sexual content most frequently (82.9%).

In a second content-analysis, Turner (2010) rated a sample of 20 videos from a late-night program on Black Entertainment Television (BET) called BET Un:Cut. The videos included popular artists such as 50 Cent and Nelly. Although Un:Cut was cancelled in 2006, Turner noted that all of the videos contained in the sample could be easily located on YouTube as of 2008 and were available at any time, to anyone with a computer and the Internet.

Turner found that sexual content occurred in 95% of the Un:Cut videos. A comparison of the videos in analysis 1 and 2, found that the Un:Cut videos displayed significantly more background characters (97.3%) in sexy, provocative clothing compared to the mainstream music videos (52.3%) from the five major channels. A striking difference between the Un:Cut videos and major-channel music videos was the number of female same-sex sexual acts. Such acts appeared in 11 of the 20 Un:Cut videos, compared to only 1 in 120 music videos from the five

major video channels. Turner (2010) described all same-sex sexual acts in the Un:Cut videos as "two or more females enacting same-sex sexual behaviours often for the entertainment and titillation of male onlookers present in the video" (Turner, 2010, p. 185). However, he did not speculate as to what was potentially responsible for the increase in the presentation of female same-sex sexual behaviour in music videos.

There could well be a self-sustaining loop at play here, wherein the "pornographization" of media leads to an increase in the presentation of female PSSSB, which leads to emulation by susceptible individuals, such as emerging adult women, whose behaviours are in turn mirrored and magnified by the monitoring media.

Sexualized Media and Mental Health

Frequently, the primary motivation for researchers to investigate media influences on the development of female sexuality has been to intervene and prevent an array of negative outcomes associated with risky sexual behaviour; however, this focus on behaviour alone ignores potentially adverse effects on female mental health associated with risky sexual behaviour (Ward, 2003). Numbers of sexual partners, body modifications, bisexual behaviours, and decreases in condom use have all been linked to exposure to sexual content in the media (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009; Brown et al., 2006; Chandra et al., 2008; Collins et al., 2004; Green, 2005). If in fact, PSSSB can be added to the list of risky sexual behaviours, it may be important to note that related mental health issues may be co-existing with, encouraging, permitting, or resulting as a consequence of this behaviour.

Current studies indicate that girls exposed to sexualizing and objectifying media and behaviours are more likely to experience body dissatisfaction, depression, and lower self-esteem (American Psychological Association, Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls, 2007). Two

studies directly exploring the relationship between sexually objectifying music videos, and attitudes and/or psychological well being of females, have produced telling results (Johnson, Adams, & Ashburn, 1995; Kalof, 1999).

Johnson et al. (1995) found African-American, teen females reported greater acceptance of teen-dating violence after viewing music videos featuring rappers who were surrounded by obsequious, scantily-clad female dancers. Kalof (1999) found that female undergraduate students who were exposed to a video depicting traditional images of gender and sexuality (i.e., with submissive females) had a greater acceptance of interpersonal violence (i.e., as noted on their agreement with statements such as, "Being roughed-up is sexually stimulating to many women") than men exposed to the same video or participants who watched a control video.

A study conducted by Grabe and Hyde (2009) focused on early adolescent females' exposure to music TV, which they argued is the most egregious of objectifying media. The study included 195 female adolescents (M_{age} = 13.2 years) who had just completed Grade 7. Participants completed questionnaires on laptop computers during an in-home visit. Measures on the questionnaires included; music TV use (MTV and BET), self-surveillance (i.e., body monitoring), body esteem, dieting status, depressive symptoms, anxiety, and math confidence. Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used to analyze the data (Grabe & Hyde, 2009)

Results revealed that music TV viewing significantly predicted self-surveillance (Grabe & Hyde, 2009). In addition, self-surveillance significantly mediated the relationship between music TV viewing and body esteem, dieting, depression, anxiety, and math confidence. A significant indirect relationship between music TV viewing and depression was explained through the link between depression and self-objectification. The authors suggested that by watching media with hyper-sexualized and objectified female bodies, girls began to view

themselves as objects whose values were based on appearance (Grabe & Hyde, 2009). However, the results of the research do not demonstrate causality. Further, the authors may have misconstrued the programming on MTV and BET as only including music videos. These channels offer a variety of programs that the girls could have been watching other than music videos. Nonetheless, Grabe and Hyde's (2009) exploration of psychological consequences related to sexually-objectifying media is a much-needed step toward expanding and deepening an area of study that has traditionally focused on purely behavioural outcomes. PSSSB is a feature in many music videos (Turner, 2010) and may present as one example of a constellation of behaviours and mental health issues.

Kistler, Rodgers, Power, Austin, and Hill (2010) considered music media exclusively in a study involving 214 Grade 8 students from Washington state middle schools. Students completed surveys measuring music-media consumption in videos, auditory-music, and music magazines that featured music celebrities. Three of Harter's (1988, cited in Kistler et al., 2010) self-concept subscales were included to measure physical appearance, romantic appeal, and global self-worth. In addition, the survey measured involvement with music media characters such as liking the characters, wishful identification (e.g., wanting to look or be like their favourite music celebrities), and parasocial interaction (e.g., personal connection with music media personalities) (Kistler et al., 2010).

Results of the SEM revealed that music-media consumption significantly and positively predicted involvement with music media characters, which in turn, negatively predicted physical appearance self-worth and global self-worth (Kistler et al., 2010). While the model operated similarly for adolescent males and females, the females consumed more music media, had higher parasocial interaction with music characters, and had a lower sense of physical attractiveness

(Kistler et al., 2010). Although the authors stressed the need for more longitudinal research to illuminate the directionality of music media consumption and involvement, they asserted that adolescent girls, in particular, might use music media as a yard-stick for social comparison against which they assess themselves, yet to which they can never hope to measure-up (Kistler et al., 2010). Once again, the notion of music videos functioning as a super-peer, which young women behaviourally aspire to emulate, suggests this media has a direct, inciting, and possibly pressuring role to play in PSSSB that begs exploration.

Female Same-Sex Sexual Behaviour, Fluidity, Coercion, and the Media

Having considered the media influences on female sexuality, the perception of media and its stars as being a type of super-peer, the increase in the availability and effects of pornography, as well as the psychological effects of female objectification, how does this all come together to produce PSSSB in women? Further, is there a coercive element that the media is complicit in delivering or is the fluid nature of female sexuality responding to an ever-changing world?

In their 2011 study of family growth, Chandra, Mosher, Copen, and Sionean, reported that private female same-sex sexual behaviour was increasing in frequency. Private behaviour, however, does not necessarily translate to public behaviour (nor vice versa), but the tipping point certainly for PSSSB appears to have occurred in the early 1990s with an explosion in the popularity of lesbian/bisexual behaviour in females that has been termed "Lesbian Chic" (Hammond, 1997).

"Lesbian Chic" and the increase in female same-sex sexual behaviour. **"**Lesbian chic" became the rage in 1993 when the cover of *Vanity Fair* depicted the female singer k.d. lang and a scantily clad model, Cindy Crawford, enacting a steamy barber-shop scene (Ciasullo, 2001; Driver, 2007; Gluckman & Reed, 1997; Hammond, 1997). Until that time, lesbians were

not particularly visible in the media, but this commercially-successful issue of *Vanity Fair* created an opportunity for several other magazines to capitalize on the trend (Hammond, 1997). *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Vogue* featured articles about lesbian celebrities, gay-girl popularity, and bisexual experimentation (Ciasullo, 2001).

Newspapers, magazines, and television talk shows gossiped about high profile female celebrities who switched from male to female partners. As evidence that this "sexual identity flip" had reached the mainstream, *Glamour* magazine featured an article in January 2000 about young adults who started out as either gay or straight and then changed (Kamen, 2000, p. 162). In 2003, Madonna and Britney Spears shocked viewers with their "bisexual" kiss at the *MTV Music Awards* (Warn, 2003). Since that time, female same-sex sexual behaviour has become the rage in popular culture, on the Internet, and in recreational settings (Thompson, 2006). However, public displays of female same-sex sexual behaviour reached a new height in 2008, when Katy Perry's song "I Kissed a Girl" topped the Billboard music chart for seven consecutive-weeks, selling over 4,000,000 digital copies in the US alone (Wikipedia, 2011). The song was performed at the 51st Grammy Awards, was nominated for Favorite Song at the 2009 Kids' Choice Awards and was recognized as the 10th best-selling single in the 21st century. The song's accompanying video, a YouTube favorite, features women striking provocative poses, engaging in a pillow fight, and caressing themselves.

Not surprisingly, the visibility of female same-sex sexual behaviour in popular culture has been mirrored by statistics provided in news media reports. For example, on March 4, 2011, the Calgary Herald (Reuters, 2011) provided a selection of results from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's 2006-2008 *National Survey of Family Growth* (NSFG) (Chandra, et al., 2011). Included in the article was the description of a growing number of

women who said they had engaged in some form of sex with another woman and a decreasing number of men reporting same-sex sexual encounters over the same time period (Reuters, 2011). The article described changes from 2002 to 2006; however, it was not clear if the increase in female same-sex sexuality had been occurring steadily over the past two decades or simply during the past five years.

In order to investigate the trend in female same-sex sexual behaviour, several large-scale American studies have contributed to the limited body of research in this area. One of the most comprehensive American studies of sexuality in the 1990s, was the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) which used probability sampling (N = 3, 432) of adults ages 18 to 59 (Laumann et al., 1994). Participants completed face-to-face interviews and self-administered pencil-paper questionnaires during the data-collection phase from February, 1992 to September, 1992. One section of the questionnaire asked participants to indicate their sexual experiences with individuals of the same-sex (i.e., "Have you ever performed oral sex on another woman/man?" "Has a woman/man ever performed oral sex on you?" "Have you ever done anything else sexual with another woman/man?") (Laumann et al., 1994, p. 294). The researchers found that 4.3% of the women and 9.1% of the men reported having at least one sexual encounter since puberty with a person of their own sex. In addition, Laumann et al. (1994) indicated that their results were slightly higher, but in line with large-scale surveys conducted in the U.S., Britain, and France during the same time period.

Several years later, a surprisingly different picture of sexual behaviour emerged. The 2002 NSFG (Mosher, Chandra, & Jones, 2005) and 2006-2008 NSFG (Chandra et al., 2011) used national probability sampling involving more than 12,000 American respondents ages 15 to 44 (Chandra et al., 2011; Mosher et al., 2005). Demographic data were collected in face-to-face

interviews, but all sexual-behaviour data were collected using ACASI. Results of the 2002 NSFG (Mosher et al. 2005) indicated that female same-sex sexual behaviour was more than double that of the women in Laumann et al.'s 1992 study. In addition, the females had surpassed their male counterparts in same-sex sexual behaviour (11.2% and 6.0% respectively) (Mosher et al. 2005). In the 2006-2008 NSFG (Chandra et al., 2011) women reported that their sexual experiences with women had increased yet again to 12.5%, while men's same-sex sexual behaviour dropped to 5.2%.

What could explain such different numbers in such a short time-span? The increase in reported same-sex sexual behaviour of females could simply be a product of the methods used to obtain information. For example, Laumann et al. (1994) relied on paper-pencil questionnaires, while technological advances allowed Mosher et al. (2005) and Chandra et al. (2011) to utilize the ACASI. Perhaps females felt more comfortable typing private information into a computer than writing their answers on paper. However, the ACASI technology theory does not explain why men's reports of same-sex behaviour decreased during the same time frame, which casts doubt on the reporting method as the sole explanation for the increase in female same-sex sexual behaviours.

One final issue is the 1.3% increase in female same-sex behaviour from the 2002 NSFG (Mosher et al., 2005) to the 2006-2008 NSFG (Chandra et al., 2011). Both surveys asked females about their same-sex sexual experiences (i.e., "Have you ever had any sexual experience of any kind with another female?"). However, Chandra et al., (2011) were concerned that "the single question was too vague to be interpretable and could not be compared with the male data on same-sex sexual experience" (p. 7), which included two questions about oral sex. Therefore, two questions focusing on oral sex were added to the women's 2006-2008 survey (i.e., "Have

you ever performed oral sex on another female?"; "Has another female ever performed oral sex on you?") (Chandra et al., 2011). Unfortunately, without these questions, respondents in the 2002 survey may have mistakenly believed that "any sexual experience of any kind" referred exclusively to oral sex (as performer or recipient), and therefore did not report other forms of same-sex behaviour (e.g., fondling, kissing).

Disparate procedures, data collection methods, survey questions, and reporting methods, make it difficult to compare sexual behaviour research; however, another recent study also suggested that female same-sex sexual behaviour is on the rise. The National Survey of Sexual Health and Behaviour (NSSHB) (Herbenick, Reece, Schick, Saners, & Dodge, 2010) required respondents to answer questions about oral sex with opposite and same-sex partners. Knowledge Networks collected all data for the 5,865 respondents, ages14 to 94, via the Internet, which Herbenick et al. (2010) claimed to be a nationally-representative sample of the U.S. population.

Herbenick et al. (2010) found the lifetime rates for giving oral sex to another woman were highest for females in the 20 to 24 and 30 to39 year old categories (14.0% and 14.2%, respectively) and dropped steadily to 2.1% for females over the age of 70. Women in the 20 to 24 and 30 to 39 year categories also had the highest rates for receiving oral sex from a woman (16.8% and 16.5%, respectively), and these rates dropped after age 40 and dropped even more precipitously from the age of 60 onward.

A potential reason for the age discrepancy in women's same-sex oral sex behaviour may be shifts in societal expectations, or media presentations during key developmental periods. For example, research has demonstrated that adolescents are susceptible to conformity, especially to "role models" of high status (Prinstein, 2007). During early adolescence, the strength of peer influence intensifies and there is an increase in conformity, while during ages 14 to 18,

adolescents begin to develop an increased ability to resist peer pressure (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007). Interestingly, women who were between the ages of 13 to 22 during "Lesbian chic" in 1993, and those who were between the ages of 13 to 17 during the Madonna/Britney kiss in 2003, had the highest percentages of giving or receiving same-sex oral sex during their lifetimes. The same patterns were not noted for males.

The NSSHB (Herbenick et al., 2010) did not provide overall percentages of same-sex oral behaviour or age groupings consistent with previous studies. However, both the NSSHB (Herbenick et al., 2010) and 2006-2008 NSFG (Chandra et al., 2011) provided a 20 to 24 year-old category. The 2006-2008 NSFG (Chandra et al., 2011) indicated that 11.2% of women ages 20 to 24 reported any oral sex (giving or receiving), which was several percentage points lower than females who gave (14.0%) or received (16.8%) same-sex oral sex in 2010 (Herbenick et al., 2010). This finding may have demonstrated a further increase in the number of women who engaged in same-sex oral sex from 2006-2008 to 2010, at least for women aged 20 to 24 years.

An additional and important consideration is that 75% of female same-sex sexual experience was accounted for by oral sex in the 2006-2008 NSFG (Chandra et al., 2011). The NSSHB (Herbenick et al., 2010) failed to include a measure for "any sexual experience" with a female, restricting women's same-sex behaviour to oral sex. Including this measure would have presumably indicated an even sharper increase in female same-sex sexual behaviour over that two to four year period.

While rates of female private same-sex sexual behaviour appear to be increasing, the reasons for this increase and the reason for the increase in the female PSSSBs are difficult to unpack. Baumeister (2000, 2004) suggested one reason might be that female sexuality is flexible

or “fluid”, and thus more easily shaped by the pressure of cultural, social, and environmental factors of which media exposure to sexualized imagery is a significant component.

It may therefore be that “lesbian chic” media portrayals of female heteroflexibility have permitted women to genuinely explore their sexual identities or to explore what Baumeister (2000, 2004) referred to as their flexible or fluid sexualities. That said, it must also be noted that media portrayals of same-sex sexual behaviour may hinder women who are genuinely exploring a sexual minority identity (Diamond, 2005, Thompson, 2006). On one hand, the same-sex sexual behaviour in the media can be viewed as a celebration of sexual diversity, but on the other hand, it trivializes same-sex sexuality by presenting it simply as being “in vogue”. Diamond (2005) believes that contemporary-media packages female heteroflexibility in a way that attracts and arouses young male viewers and obscures the dominant cultural-norm of compulsory female heterosexuality; that is, all females are ready, willing, and available regardless of their sexual identities or preferences.

Female PSSSB and “flexible” sexuality. Has female “flexible” sexuality and the desire for same-sex sexual behaviour always been present and something that women desired, yet were unable to fulfill because of cultural restrictions, or has the academic discourse surrounding female sexual-fluidity moved into mainstream media? Are women who are engaging in PSSSB expressing genuine attractions or responding to pressure to conform and perform according to a new norm of sexual flexibility irrespective of sexual identity? One demonstration of the pervasiveness of female sexual “flexibility” or “fluidity” in the mass media can be taken from Fox Network’s popular series *Glee*.

Two of *Glee’s* female teen characters, Brittany and Santana, have had sex with numerous male characters, but they are also involved in a sexual relationship with each other. To further

complicate matters, Brittany's boyfriend Artie, is not aware of the girls' sexual intimacy. During season 2, episode 15 of *Glee* (Murphy, Brennan, & Falchuk, 2011), watched by 11.96 million American households (Seat42, 2011), Santana admitted to Brittany that she was in love with her and no longer wanted to be with guys. Confused, Brittany replied that she loved Santana, but also loved her boyfriend, Artie. Santana's response was "Whoever thought that being fluid meant you could be so stuck?"

Glee's message was clear; female sexuality is complicated and teenage girls' sexuality is flexible. This portrayal is consistent with the results of a growing body of research supporting the notion of greater flexibility for women's sexuality (Chivers, Seto, & Blanchard, 2007; Glover, Galliher, & Lamere, 2009). For example, in a 10-year longitudinal study, which focused on sexual orientation, Diamond (2008) found considerable fluidity in the female participants' attractions, behaviours, and identities based on interpersonal and situational factors. Diamond's research (1998, 2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2008) has been widely cited as support for the notion of women's fluid sexuality (see Baumeister, 2000, 2003; Chivers, Seto, & Blanchard, 2007; Drummond, Bradley, Peterson-Badali, & Zucker, 2008). However, a serious limitation of Diamond's 2008 study, particularly relevant when considering heterosexual women who engage in PSSSB, was that "it did not include a group of self-labelled heterosexual women at baseline; thus, comparative evidence on the stability or fluidity of a majority sexual orientation was unavailable" (Drummond et al., 2008, p.43).

Although sexual orientation fluidity has been demonstrated in a non-heterosexual population, its existence may be less pronounced in a heterosexual population. For example, Savin-Williams and Ream (2007) found considerable evidence for stable heterosexual orientations over six years in adolescent females and women ages 15 to 26. The authors' data,

taken from the National Longitudinal survey of Adolescent Health, indicated that only 3.1% of the participants who reported exclusive heterosexual attractions at Wave I, reported bisexual or lesbian attractions at Wave 3. However, in contrast, Morgan and Thompson (2011) found that 67% of the 228 college women in their study who self-identified as exclusively heterosexual (ages 18–23; M_{age} = 19.2), indicated they had thought about or questioned their sexual orientation in the past or had considered future changes to their sexual identity. Given that many heterosexual women's sexual orientation appears to remain relatively stable, the sexual flexibility or "erotic plasticity" that Baumeister (2000) described may have more to do with cultural endorsement of the ways that women should behave sexually. Additionally, there seems to be a cultural expectation that women engaging in PSSSB are heteroflexible and therefore potentially available to interested males, dismissing the validity of a lesbian sexual identity.

Female PSSSB: Coercion, empowerment, or manipulation? In light of the recent media trend, the behaviours to which young women are exposed may create a societal influence toward same-sex sexual behaviour, as well as giving rise to confusion about their own developing sexual identities and the ways that they are expected to behave both privately and publicly (Fahs, 2009). Interestingly, in his 2000 paper, Baumeister further noted that "erotic plasticity" serves the adaptive purpose of allowing women to please their more-powerful male partners. This is likely to also render women more vulnerable to external influences and to do things that are not in their best interests (Baumeister, 2000). Baumeister (2000) also stated, "It may be easier to talk a woman into doing something sexual that she does not really want to do or something that is not good for her, as compared with talking a man into doing something that is comparably contrary to his wishes and needs" (p. 348).

At closer inspection, Baumeister's reasoning that females' greater sexual fluidity causes them to be more susceptible to external, and more specifically, male influences, appears to have more in common with an imbalance of power rather than sexual fluidity. For example, in a sample of minority female and male college students (47.5% Asian American, 28.4% Hispanic, and 24.1% African American) Benuto and Meana (2008) found a main effect for acculturation on the expression of sexuality. As the minority individuals adapted to the dominant culture, the more highly acculturated group reported a greater variety of sexual experiences than the less acculturated group. There was no gender-by-acculturation interaction on the participants' sexual experiences (Benuto & Meana, 2008). Women did not appear to be more susceptible to the influences of the dominant culture than the men in this study which argues against female sexual fluidity.

If minority individuals are changing their sexual behaviour in response to differing degrees of acceptance, interaction, and integration with the dominant, majority culture, then it is not a huge leap to suspect that women's engagement in PSSSB could possibly be a result of adaptations to cultural expectations as well. For example, Hyde and Durik (2000) noted that groups with less power (women) pay more attention and adapt their behaviour to those groups with more power (men). A cultural focus on female subservience to male sexual-power and wishes might better explain female PSSSB than female sexual fluidity.

According to Lisa Diamond (2005), "Observing sex between otherwise heterosexual women has long been a staple of male fantasy, but only recently has this fantasy graduated from the shelves of pornographic video stores to mainstream movies and television shows" (p. 105). PSSSB has become trendy in popular media and peer culture, and it seldom involves women who are questioning or exploring their sexual identity (Diamond, 2005).

While writing *Female Chauvinist Pigs: Women and the Rise of Raunch Culture* (2005), Ariel Levy interviewed magazine editors, TV producers, and young readers and viewers. In addition, she followed the crew of *Girls Gone Wild (GGW)* for several days while they were filming during Spring break in South Beach Florida. *GGW*, still in production at that time, is a series of plot-less videos/DVDs of young women exposing their breasts, buttocks, and genitals for the camera. The *GGW* crews often set up at "party locations" (e.g., college and sports' celebrations, spring break locations, clubs, Mardi Gras) and coercively offered hats, T-shirts, or alcohol to those young women who would "flash" on camera, or perform girl-on-girl sex acts. On the first night of her observation, Levy watched as the male *GGW* crew filmed three inebriated girls making-out for the camera. When Levy (2005) contacted one of the girls two weeks later, the girl, an anthropology graduate student, was upset with what she had done and stated:

> "I'm not at all bisexual ... not that I have anything against that. But when you think about it, I'd never do that really. It's more for show. A polite way of putting it is it's like a reflex," she said. "My friend I was with felt really bad, the one who told the first girl to kiss me, the one who started it. Because in the beginning, I felt so dirty about the whole thing. I hate Miami". (Levy, 2005, p. 11)

It is disturbing that the girls complied with the male *GGW* camera crew. Equally disturbing is that the anthropology student directed her disdain at Miami, rather than the coercive camera crew who had preyed on intoxicated, young women and captured their self-affirmed "dirty" indiscretions permanently on DVD for consumers to devour.

In keeping with the coercion argument, Yost and McCarthy (2012) interviewed 27 heterosexual college women and qualitatively analyzed their responses. Interestingly, these

women described contextual situations where they felt pressure from men's requests, dares, and shouts to engage in same-sex kisses.

In contrast to being coerced by males to perform PSSSB, Warn (2003) speculated that PSSSB occurs among women seeking attention from heterosexual men. Corroborating Warn's (2003) speculation, in Levy's (2005) interviews with high school students at Head-Royce school in Oakland CA, girls described using their sexuality as a tool to attract the attention of males. One student, Anne, explained, "Definitely girls hook up with other girls because they know the guys will like it... If they think a guy's going to like it, they'll do it" (Levy, 2005, p. 150). Anne's male friend agreed, "There's this whole stereotype, and it's probably largely true, that boys kind of like two girls kissing each other. So I think she's just doing it to appeal to the guys ... always trying to find this new way to appeal to the guys" (Levy, 2005, pp. 149-150).

Current examples of behaviour that females use to appeal to males are dance trends such as "twerking" and "grinding," popularized by hip hop and rap music. Ronen (2010) explored the gendered dynamics of sexualized dancing at college parties. She found that the women frequently engaged in "grinding", which she described as erotic dancing, often between two or more women. This sexy girl-on-girl dancing involved suggestive gestures and open body language which appeared to be designed to attract male onlookers, rather than as an expression of sexual interest towards each other. Of interest was that the men never danced together (Ronen, 2010).

Levy (2005) offered the view that raunchy sexual-expression and sexual-liberation are not synonymous. Levy frequently observed young women whose breasts were spilling out of their precariously placed tube-tops, midriffs adorned with navel-piercing, and thong-underwear prominently displayed atop their low cut jeans, rubbing provocatively against each other, while

proclaiming their "sexual empowerment". Oddly, this repackaging of stereotyped female sexuality is precisely what feminists 30 years ago called dis-empowering, and endeavoured to banish (Levy, 2005). Is this "what it takes" to be noticed in a girls-gone-wild society? In other words, are women's PSSSBs a form of sexual experimentation or an expression of same-sex attraction, or simply an undress rehearsal for the main and male-involving event to come later?

Alcohol and Its Influence on Sexual Behaviour

In addition to the presence of males, the presence of alcohol also contributes to the likelihood of women engaging in PSSSB (Hamilton, 2009; Morgan & Thompson, 2011; Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). Recent studies have found that heterosexual women who engaged in PSSSB did so in fleeting or conditional situations occurring within a liberal, social context, in the presence of men, and under the influence of alcohol (Hamilton, 2009; Morgan & Thompson, 2011; Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). For example, Hamilton (2007) found that the heterosexual women living in a university residence initiated PSSSB where alcohol was provided and where there was an audience of men. This phenomenon, called "barsexuality" describes heterosexual women, generally intoxicated, who engage in PSSSB for the specific goal of attracting male attention (McMahon, 2014; Messado, 2013; Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Further, researchers found that men often used alcohol to coerce women into engaging in sexual behaviour (Struckman-Johnson, Stuckman-Johnson, & Anderson, 2003), particularly in sexualized social arenas such as college fraternities (Hamilton, 2007).

In their 2012 study, Yost and McCarthy (2012) found that over 50% of the 77 heterosexual college women listed male attention and 43% identified alcohol intoxication as their motivation to engage in PSSSB at parties. It seems, therefore, more likely that women are being

pressured to "perform" PSSSB when drunk, than empowered to express their sexual explorations and heteroflexibility in public.

It is well documented that alcohol can impair motor coordination, cognition, perception, and judgment, and affect social and sexual behaviour (Burian, Liguori & Robinson, 2002; Fromme, Katz & D'Amico, 1997; George et al., 2014; Parks, Hsieh, Collins, & Levonyan-Radloff, 2011; Maisto, Carey, Carey, & Gordon, 2002; Naranjo & Bremner, 1993; Patton, Keaney, & Brady, 2008; Steel & Josephs, 1990). Further, Davis, George, and Norris (2004) found that alcohol lowered inhibition and increased sexual behaviour that would not typically occur when sober. Alcohol consumption may also contribute toward an increase in sexual arousal in females (Schacht et al., 2010) and an increase in the frequency of engaging in sexual intercourse for females in either committed relationships or with multiple, or casual partners (Graves & Leigh, 1995; Parks et al., 2011). For example, Parks et al. (2011) found, in a sample of young female bar-going drinkers between the ages of 18 and 30 that sexual intercourse with casual partners (i.e., men whom they had just met or acquaintances) increased following alcohol consumption.

Studies conducted on "risky sex" most often focus on alcohol consumption, sexual intercourse as the measure of sexual behaviour, and condom use (George et al., 2014; George et al., 2009; Hendershot & George, 2007; Patton et al., 2008; Schacht et al., 2010; Rehm, Shield, Joharchi, & Shuper, 2012; Weinhardt & Carey, 2000). The goal of such research is often to discover ways of improving sexual health (i.e., decreasing transmission of sexually transmitted infections and lowering the rates of unwanted pregnancies). Unfortunately, there are few studies revealing the relationship between alcohol intoxication and PSSSB, nor have there been studies indicating whether or not PSSSB may be considered a "risky behaviour" or a contributor to risky

sexual behaviours. However, studies involving alcohol and sexual risk-taking do provide information for behaviour that may not be typically enacted while sober.

Although alcohol use alone may not consistently predict risky sexual-behaviour, such as failure to insist on condom-use (Cooper, 2002; Cooper, 2006; Weinhardt & Carey, 2000), its effects become even more complicated when it is used in conjunction with other drugs, and/or when specific personality characteristics (e.g., sensation seeking, poor impulse-control, weak coping skills, lack of assertiveness), or life situations (e.g., sexual victimization history) are considered (Cooper, 2006; Cooper 2010; George et al, 2014; Parks, Collins & Derrick, 2012; Schach et al., 2010). The effects of alcohol consumption in combination with marijuana use and sexual-assertiveness characteristics were explored in a recent study involving women who drank in bars (Parks, et al., 2012).

Parks et al. (2012) found that women who were low on sexual-assertiveness refusal (i.e., refusing to have sex with their partners when they didn't want to, even when their partners insisted) were more likely to engage in sexual intercourse without a condom on days in which they had used alcohol and marijuana compared to females who were high in refusal assertiveness under similar substance-use conditions. The authors suggested that the use of alcohol and marijuana together interacts with existing individual vulnerabilities to further increase a woman's risk for engaging in risky sexual behaviour (Parks et al., 2012). Since female PSSSB seem to be taking place in locations where alcohol is served and where marijuana may be present, it is reasonable to postulate that some women's sexual assertiveness, and therefore capacity to refuse behaviours that they might not typically engage in while sober, such as and including PSSSB, could be negatively affected.

In addition, sexual experiences occurring under the influence of alcohol could be negative, or produce anxiety, depression, and regret (Davis, George, & Norris, 2004). Levy's (2005) interview with the woman in Miami, who expressed regret over her PSSSB recorded on video by the GGW camera crew, is just such an example. Another example is found in the results of the UK Family Planning Association's (FPA, 2009) survey of males and females between the ages of 18 and 30 and a recent American study (Orchowski & Mastroleo, 2012). Of the 1,000 respondents in the FPA study (2009), 38% said they had taken part in sexual activity with someone and then regretted it later and 70% of these said alcohol was a factor in what happened. Further, over a quarter of all respondents (28%) had sex with someone they normally wouldn't find attractive, with 73% of them giving alcohol as a factor (FPA, 2009). Orchowski and Mastroleo (2012) found that college women were more likely to report alcohol-related regretted-sex compared to college men. Clearly, engaging in sexual activity while under the influence of alcohol may seem like a good idea at the time, but regret may creep in the next day. By extrapolation, PSSSB may have consequences that go far beyond the bar and in a society where every phone is a camera and every picture can be posted, tweeted, and sent to friends and strangers at the push of a button; those consequences may be long-lived.

Theories related to alcohol consumption and sexual behaviour. Several theories offer viable explanations for the complex relationship between alcohol and sexual behaviour. In a review of studies examining the association between drinking and risky sex, Cooper (2002) found that college students reported drinking more than usual to make it easier to have sex. In a later review, Cooper (2006) suggested, "the intention or desire to have sex may precede and cause drinking, rather than the reverse" (p. 20). In addition, alcohol provided the college

students with an excuse, to themselves and others, for behaviour that might later be thought of as inappropriate (Cooper, 2002).

Individual's perceptions and beliefs about alcohol's effects, and the likelihood of experiencing certain outcomes as a result of consuming alcohol, may be additionally important in determining why sexual behaviour may increase under the influence. Alcohol expectancy theory emphasizes individuals' beliefs about the effects of alcohol and attributions about the cause of the resulting behaviour (Hull & Bond, 1986). Even individuals' beliefs that they had consumed alcohol, regardless of the actual drink-content (i.e., whether or no alcohol was actually consumed), may be sufficient to lead to "disinhibited" behaviour as a function of the expectation of the effects of having ostensibly consumed alcohol (Hull & Bond, 1986).

Indeed, Hull and Bond's (1986) meta-analysis of nine studies found evidence in support of expectancy theory involving the effects of alcohol and expectancy on sexual arousal. Using a balanced-placebo design, they found that actual alcohol consumption had a nonsignificant effect on sexual arousal; however, "the expectation of drinking alcohol had a sizeable, statistically significant effect of increasing sexual arousal" (Hull & Bond, 1986, p. 353). When individuals believed that alcohol would increase sexual arousal, whether they had actually consumed alcohol or simply believed they had consumed alcohol (i.e., they had consumed a placebo), their sexual arousal increased. Expectations, possibly formed from a women's exposure to PSSSB in the media, may increase the likelihood of her engaging in disinhibited, sexual behaviour when alcohol use is involved or anticipated.

Bandura (2001) suggested that people regulate their behaviour by outcome expectations and adopt courses of action that are likely to produce positive outcomes. When individuals believe that alcohol provides positive results such as increased courage, reduced anxiety, or

enhanced sexual arousal, they are likely to indulge in drinking in social situations and actually experience greater courage, reduced anxiety, or increased sexual arousal. For some individuals, alcohol consumption provides an excuse to engage in a desired behaviour that would be considered inappropriate when sober (Cooper, 2002; Hull & Bond, 1986). This finding is particularly important for young women who may engage in same-sex sexual behaviour only under the influence of alcohol and in the public eye.

Further support for the role of alcohol's expectancy effect comes from the work of Stoner, George, Peters, and Norris (2007) who found that alcohol provided adults recruited from a university campus with a "liquid courage" that attenuated the fear associated with engagement in risky and sexual behaviour with outcomes that were not always as positive as individuals had anticipated. In addition, Orchowski and Mastroleo (2012) found a significant relationship between college students' belief that alcohol use would result in "liquid courage" and alcohol-related regretted-sex. Students who believed that alcohol would provide them with more courage, regretted having had sex more often than those who did not report a pre-consumption expectation.

Another important consideration in alcohol expectancy is the context in which alcohol consumption occurs. In a recent study, Ham, Zamboanga, Bridges, Casner and Bacon (2013) examined 334 college student drinkers' expectancy beliefs about the likelihood of experiencing certain effects as a result of consuming alcohol (e.g., ''I would feel sexy'') and the context of the drinking. The students reported significantly higher rates of sexual-enhancement, alcohol-outcome, expectancies in convivial contexts (e.g., at a party or a bar) compared to personal-intimate (e.g., with a romantic partner or on a date) and negative coping (e.g., to deal with problems) situations (Ham et al., 2013). The authors speculated that college students viewed

convivial settings as places to meet potential, sexual partners and expected alcohol to serve as a ‘‘social lubricant’’ to make them feel relaxed in social interactions (Ham et al., 2013, p. 629). Again, it is possible that in the case of PSSSB, women are expecting to behave in a hyper-sexualized manner in certain public situations involving alcohol and that the “social lubricant” gives them permission to do so.

Studies of sex-related alcohol expectancies often involve participant responses to hypothetical situations after imbibing (e.g., Ham et al., 2013). However, Zawacki (2011) created a situation where female undergrad participants had interactions with men (actually confederates) whom they perceived to be potential dating-partners. The participants completed a questionnaire regarding sex-related alcohol expectancies (e.g., “After a few drinks of alcohol I enjoy sex more than usual”), then were randomly assigned to alcohol, no alcohol, or placebo conditions in a comfortable setting with an attractive, potential dating-partner (male confederate).

While drinking, the participants engaged in conversation with the confederates and at the end of the conversation, participants completed a questionnaire assessing their appraisal of sexual-relationship-interest in the confederate, sexual risk, and intention to engage in unprotected sex. Results indicated that both sex-related alcohol-expectancies and alcohol consumption significantly increased women’s appraisals of sexual-relationship interest in the confederate (Zawacki, 2011). Alcohol-expectancies and consumption also resulted in a lower appraisal of sexual risk, as well as an increase in the intention to engage in unprotected sex (Zawacki, 2011). PSSSB may be related to alcohol-expectancies even as the expectancies and consumption serve to lower women’s appraisals of any potential negative consequences.

Alcohol expectancy theory certainly adds one plausible explanation for the differences in individuals' behaviour after drinking alcohol; however, expectancy alone does not consistently predict behaviour. Stappenbeck et al. (2013) found unique patterns of alcohol use and expectancies in sexual-risk-taking in a sample of women who were considered to be non-problem drinkers. The women who drank more frequently, and had average or high social/physical pleasure alcohol-expectancies, reported a higher likelihood of having unprotected sex in the future, and more positive beliefs about casual sex, than the women who drank less frequently and had negative or high cognitive/physical impairment alcohol-expectancies (Stappenbeck et al., 2013). The authors suggested that the relationship between alcohol use and risky sex cannot be explained by a single mechanism, but instead reflects multiple, underlying processes. Doubtless, the relationship between alcohol use and PSSSB is similarly complex.

In addition to the complex effects of alcohol-expectancies on sexual behaviour, alcohol itself can affect sexual behaviour by impairing cognitive processing and blocking a form of response conflict. The Alcohol Myopia Model proposed by Steele and Josephs (1990) posits that in sober individuals, strong, salient provoking cues (e.g., the desire to have sex) are inhibited by other cues and meanings (e.g., possible negative consequences such as embarrassment). Alcohol myopia reduces access to inhibiting cues and individuals respond almost exclusively to the more salient cues; thereby limiting individuals' abilities to regulate reactive impulses and consider the future consequences of their actions (Steele & Josephs, 1990). As such, intoxicated individuals act in ways that they would not when sober. The party environments exploited by the GGW camera crews were likely ideal for generating strong salient cues to engage in PSSSB while inhibiting cues were lost in a sea of alcohol.

An equally important implication of the Alcohol Myopia Model is that alcohol intoxication is most influential in situations involving a high degree of conflict between strong, salient, provoking cues and strong inhibitory cues. However, under low-conflict conditions, where salient, provoking cues are weak, or inhibitory cues are weak, or both sets of cues are weak, intoxicated and sober individuals would be expected to behave in similar ways (Steele & Josephs, 1990). The findings of several studies provided consistent support for an alcohol-myopia account where intoxicated participants were more attentive to impelling cues like sexual desire and sexual arousal relative to inhibitory cues like sexual risk (Davis, George & Norris 2004; Davis, Hendershot, George, Norris & Heiman, 2007; George et al., 2014; Murphy, Monahan & Miller, 1998). Two of these studies involved female social drinkers and therefore warrant further discussion.

The first study investigated how alcohol consumption affected 62 female, social-drinkers (M_{age} = 22.6 years) responses to unwanted, sexual-advances in hypothetical, dating situations (Davis et al., 2004). Participants were placed into one of two conditions: experimental (consuming alcohol) or control (no alcohol consumed). The participants were then asked to read a vignette which placed them in either a high conflict (casual relationship) or low conflict (committed relationship) vignette in which their partner was making increasingly-aggressive, sexual advances. The findings indicated that intoxicated women were significantly more likely than sober women to consent to intimate, sexual activity in a high-conflict situation, but not in the low-conflict situation. In addition, women who had consumed alcohol rated themselves as more likely to respond passively (e.g., become paralyzed and do nothing) to the aggressive sexual advances than women who were sober. Taken together, the results indicated that alcohol not only influenced women's decisions to engage in high-risk, sexual situations, but also affected

the way in which they responded (Davis et al., 2004). Since PSSSB seems to be reported in situations where alcohol is present, it may be a function of the effect of alcohol in high-risk and high conflict environments that is a factor inciting the behaviour.

The results of Murphy et al.'s 1998 study offered support for alcohol myopia and alcohol expectancy theories. Eighty-two female participants (ages 21-30) who were recruited through a university newspaper were randomly placed into one of four experimental conditions (a) received alcohol; (b) expected alcohol, but received a placebo; (c) did not expect alcohol, but received alcohol; and (d) expected no alcohol and received no alcohol. After consuming 2 drinks and with a 20 minutes absorption period, the participants viewed four video-taped segments from a fictional, video-dating service in which male targets varied in attractiveness and level of sexual risk. Participants rated the attractiveness and type of relationship they would consider having with the video target, then rated how sexually-risky the targets were after watching the videos a second time. Murphy et al. (1998) found that alcohol consumption enhanced perceived relationship potential only in the high-inhibitory, conflict condition (i.e., attractive, but sexually-risky male). Further, women who expected to receive alcohol, but did not, rated the attractive, but risky target as being significantly less risky and as having somewhat enhanced relationship potential compared to participants who did not expect nor receive alcohol, or did not expect, but received alcohol. Murphy et al. (1998) concluded that both alcohol myopia and alcohol expectancy suppressed the impact of inhibitory cues in situations involving high, but not low inhibitory conflict.

In summary, the relationship between alcohol and sexual behaviour is complex. Psychological and physiological mechanisms appear to influence individuals' sexual behaviour in several ways after they have been drinking alcohol. Individuals may believe that alcohol will

enhance sexual opportunities, they may be unable to pay attention to inhibiting cues that would prevent sexual behaviours in a sober state, or they may be influenced by a combination of the two. Contexts, situational factors, personality characteristics, and individuals' past experiences, may each contribute uniquely to an individual's behaviour when under the influence of alcohol. Finally, alcohol may act as a "social lubricant" (Ham et al., 2013) to help "break the ice" with new partners (Laumann et al., 1994, p. 416) and it may provide individuals with both "liquid courage" (Orchowski & Mastroleo, 2012) and an excuse to themselves and others for behaviour that might later be seen as atypical (Cooper, 2002). As such, alcohol may certainly be a contributing factor in some women's decisions to engage in PSSSB, especially when consumed in convivial settings.

Research Questions and Hypothesis Testing

Something appears to be changing the public sexual behaviour of females in Western society. In light of recent media and societal trends, the behaviours many young women are exposed to may be influencing their decision to engage in public same-sex sexual behaviour (PSSSB). For women who self-identify as having some same-sex orientation, PSSSB may be an empowering, validating experience. On the other hand, despite its surface appearance of sexual liberation and sexual fluidity, for heterosexual females, PSSSB may simply be a repackaging of sexual subjugation (Levy, 2005).

Few studies have quantitatively investigated the reasons why ever-increasing numbers of women are engaging in PSSSB. Questions about whether women of different sexual orientations perceive pressure, regret, or empowerment for engaging in PSSSB are largely unanswered. As such, the present study endeavours to address these areas.

The overarching research question (i.e., Question 1) for my dissertation asks: *Have women experienced pressure to engage in PSSSB?* To further investigate Question 1, I asked seven secondary research questions, from which I derived and tested corresponding hypotheses.

Question 1: Have heterosexual and SSO women experienced pressure to engage in PSSSB?

Previous qualitative research has indicated that some heterosexual women felt pressure to engage in PSSSB (Yost & McCarthy, 2012). However, researchers have not investigated the pressure that women with some degree of SSO may have experienced.

Hypothesis 1: Heterosexual and SSO women who have engaged in PSSSB will be significantly more likely to report that there is pressure for women to engage in PSSSB compared to heterosexual and SSO women who have not engaged in PSSSB.

Question 2: **Do heterosexual and SSO women believe that today's young women are under pressure to engage in PSSSB?**

There has been little research investigating women's overall perception of the pressure they believe other women encounter for engaging in PSSSB. Given the documented prevalence and possible influence of PSSSB in media, it seems intuitive that at least some women are likely to feel pressured to engage in PSSSB. Accordingly, women who have engaged in PSSSB may believe that any pressure they may have felt is pervasive for all women.

Hypothesis 2: *Heterosexual and SSO women who have engaged in PSSSB will report a significantly higher level of personal perceived pressure to engage in PSSSB than will heterosexual and SSO women who report having only observed PSSSB.*

Question 3: If women agree there is pressure to engage in PSSSB, what sources do they believe provide this pressure?

With increasing depictions of female same-sex sexual behaviour on TV, in films, on the Internet, and in magazines and music videos, mass media may be a source of pressure for women to engage in PSSSB. However, it is unclear what sources women will identify as providing pressure to engage in PSSSB.

Question 4: At which developmental period were women more likely to engage in PSSSB?

There has been a recent proliferation of female PSSSB in popular culture and media aimed at young women (Alarie & Gaudet, 2013; Fahs, 2009; Rupp & Taylor, 2010), and there has been an increase in the private same-sex behaviour of women age 20 to 24 (Chandra et al., 2011). In addition, research indicates that emerging adulthood is a developmental period where individuals often explore new experiences (Arnett, 2008).

Hypothesis 3: *Heterosexual and SSO women will report having engaged in PSSSB most frequently during emerging adulthood.*

Question 5: Why do women engage in PSSSB?

Previous research found that women who engage in PSSSB may be exploring their sexuality (Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Additionally, while heterosexual women may be simply using PSSSB as a way to get male attention, bisexual and lesbian women may engage in PSSSB as an expression of genuine same-sex attractions (Morgan & Thompson, 2011; Rupp & Taylor, 2010; Yost & McCarthy, 2012). These same studies also indicated that PSSSB most frequently occurred in locations where alcohol was generally available.

Hypothesis 4a: *Heterosexual and SSO women will attribute PSSSB to exploration and alcohol consumption.*

Hypothesis 4b: Excluding sexual exploration and alcohol consumption, heterosexual and SSO women will provide different reasons for engaging in PSSSB.

From my review of the literature, it appears there are few studies exploring (a) the feelings women have the day after engaging in PSSSB, (b) the relationship between PSSSB and women's exploration of and commitment to their sexual orientation identity, and (c) the relationship between aspects of the sexual self-concept and PSSSB and (d) the potential differences in age and sexual orientation identity between women who have participated in PSSSB compared to those who have only observed PSSSB. As a way to begin to address this gap in the literature, I asked the following three exploratory questions:

Question 6: What feelings do heterosexual and SSO emerging adult and adult women have about PSSSB the day after engaging in it?

Question 7: What is the relationship between PSSSB and women's exploration of and commitment to their sexual orientation identities?

Question 8: What is the relationship between PSSSB and each of seven dimensions of heterosexual and SSO women's sexual self-concepts (i.e., sexual self-efficacy, sexual-assertiveness, sexual-monitoring, sexual-esteem, power-other sexual control, sexual depression, and sexual compliance)?

Chapter 3: Method

Procedure

An online questionnaire on public same-sex sexual behavior (PSSSB) was administered to a targeted sample of women aged 19 to 40, who had either engaged in or observed PSSSB. I chose university students for this study because of Laumann et al.'s 1994 finding that women with post-secondary education consistently reported higher rates of same-sex sexuality than women who had not attended college or university. In addition, women who had reached the age of majority in B.C. (19 years of age or older) were targeted because it was anticipated that much of the PSSSB occurs in bars, clubs, or settings where alcohol was served.

The chosen age range of 19 to 40 captures two developmental periods: emerging adulthood and young adulthood. Erikson (1959), whose work was seminal in the field of psychosocial development, characterized young adulthood (ages 19 to 40 years) as a developmental stage which focused on the task of forming intimate relationships (Erikson, 1959; Levinson, 1986). However, in recent years, Arnett (2000) proposed the term emerging adulthood to describe the period from ages 18 to 25. Arnett (2007) argued that changes in industrialized societies at the turn of the millennium created distinctive developmental characteristics in the life course of this age group. Emerging adults are taking longer to explore new experiences and settle into long-term adult roles compared to people of the same age in previous decades. As a result, these emerging adults are moving more gradually than their predecessors, toward enduring choices in love and work. Because PSSSB is a relatively recent cultural development in North American, I thought it important to compare the behaviour, experiences, perceptions, and beliefs of emerging B.C.-age-of-majority adult women (19-25) with those of adult women (26-40).

Participant Recruitment

Prior to beginning data collection, ethical approval was obtained from the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Board (protocol #12-476). Participants were recruited to complete the online survey via four methods: (a) a posting on the University of Victoria's Education Student Association (EDSA) website, (b) email invitations sent to educational psychology graduate students by the department of Educational Psychology and Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria, (c) email invitations sent to education undergraduate students by Faculty of Education at the University of Victoria and, (d) email invitations forwarded by students who had received the invitation or read the posting (snowball sampling). The survey was available on FluidSurveys™ from June 27, 2013 to August 9, 2013. Participants reported hearing about the survey from the following sources: 234 from a friend, 135 from UVic students via email, 31 from a UVic student website, 11 from the EDSA website, and 40 from other sources.

Sample Description

A total of 464 females participated in this study. Six participants were removed listwise from the data pool because they had not engaged in or seen PSSSB and 7 participants were removed listwise for nonsensical responses. Therefore, a total of 451 females ages 19 to 40 (M_{age} = 25.44 years, SD = 4.20, age range: 19-40 years) were included in the analysis. Of these, 243 had engaged in PSSSB (M_{age} = 25.72, SD = 4.08, age range: 19-40 years) while 208 had only observed PSSSB (M_{age} = 25.13, SD = 4.33, age range: 19-40 years). Two hundred and seventeen participants self-identified as having had an exclusively heterosexual orientation identity throughout their lifetimes (M_{age} = 25.12, SD = 3.97, age range: 19-40 years), while 234 self-identified as having had some same-sex orientation (SSO) identity at some point in their

lifetimes (M_{age} = 25.74, *SD* = 4.39, age range: 19-40 years). Although I recognize that there may be subgroups of bisexuals and that bisexual women do not have the same orientation-identity as lesbians (Worthington & Reynolds, 2009), for the purposes of this study, women who reported having some same-sex orientation identity (i.e., rated themselves as being "heterosexual mostly" to "lesbian exclusively") were presumed to have attraction to women at some time in their lives.

Eight participant groups were configured based on PSSSB (engaged or only observed), sexual orientation (heterosexual or SSO), and age group (emerging adults, ages 19-25 and adults, ages 26-40). Thus, the four participant groups who had engaged in PSSSB included: heterosexual emerging adults (*n* = 59, M_{age} = 22.58 , *SD* = 1.58, age range: 19-25 years); heterosexual adults (*n* = 41, M_{age} = 28.49, *SD* = 2.38, age range: 26-36 years); SSO emerging adults (*n* = 68, M_{age} = 22.82, *SD* = 1.80, age range: 19-25 years); and SSO adults (*n* = 75, M_{age} = 29.29, *SD* = 3.70, age range: 26-40 years). The four participant groups who had only observed PSSSB were: heterosexual emerging adults (*n* = 67, M_{age} = 22.39, *SD* = 1.83, age range: 19-25 years); heterosexual adults (*n* = 50, M_{age} = 29.04, *SD* = 3.79, age range: 26-40 years); SSO emerging adults (*n* = 55, M_{age} = 22.36, *SD* = 2.21, age range: 19-25 years); and SSO adults (*n* = 36, M_{age} = 29, *SD* = 3.66, age range: 26-38 years).

Of the 243 participants who had engaged in PSSSB, 59.7% said their PSSSB had occurred at bars or clubs, 54.7% at parties, 5.8% at music festivals, concerts, or raves, 4.1% at dances, and 2.5% at weddings. In addition, 34 participants included unique locations or general situations (e.g., lgbtq villages, booze cruises, a coffee shop, or at a movie, anywhere where alcohol was present) where their PSSSB had taken place. (See Appendix A for a complete list of participant PSSSB locations).

Participants identified themselves as members of the following religious groups: 62 Protestant, 52 Catholic, 6 Muslim, 6 Buddhist, 3 Jewish, 1 Hindu, and 1 Sikh. Additionally, 52 participants selected "other" and 268 indicated "no religion." The breakdown for the highest level of education achieved was as follows: 7 had some high school, 34 were high school graduates, 36 were community college students, 142 were university undergraduate students, 43 were university graduate students, 22 were post-degree students, 29 had college certificates, 105 had bachelor's degrees, and 33 had graduate degrees.

The majority of participants were residing on Vancouver Island (n = 262), while 86 were living in Mainland BC. Of the remainder, 32 were from Alberta, 25 Ontario, 3 Manitoba, and 1 in each of Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and the Yukon. Twenty-five reported living in the USA, while 14 reported living in "other" locations.

Questions targeting urban and rural settings revealed that a total of 323 participants had lived in urban settings from adolescence through to the present, while 85 had lived in rural settings during adolescence, but were currently living in urban settings. Twenty eight participants had lived in rural settings from adolescence through to the present. Fifteen were raised in urban settings, but were currently living in rural settings.

Occupation, income, and socioeconomic status were not collected as part of this study.

Survey Development

There is considerable variability in how researchers and lay persons define sexual behaviour (Byers, Henderson, & Hobson, 2009; Gowen, Feldman, Diez, & Yisrael, 2004; Hans, Gillen & Akande, 2010; Randall & Byers, 2003; Rosenthal & Smith, 1997). When researchers use the term *sex*, they generally mean penile-vaginal intercourse (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2009; Hans, Gillen & Akande, 2010); however, this assumption excludes numerous forms of

sexual expression. Therefore, my first step in questionnaire development was to create a definition of public sexual behaviour that distinguished it from merely affectionate behaviour and/or ambiguous physical behaviour, but included more than simple sexual intercourse.

I used a Q-sort to develop a comprehensive list of behaviours that most people would agree are sexual. The Q-methodology consisted of three stages: (a) development of the Q-set, (b) sorting statements in the Q-set, and (c) analysis and interpretation (Brown, 1993; Flitcroft, James & Freeston, 2007; Valenta & Wigger, 1997). In the first stage, I identified and created a list of sexual behaviours based on the sexuality literature (Byers, Henderson, & Hobson, 2009; Feldman, Turner & Araujo, 1999; Gowen, Feldman, Diez, & Yisrael, 2004; Hans, Gillen & Akande, 2010; O'Sullivan, Cheng, Harris, Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Rosenthal & Smith, 1997; Wells & Twenge, 2005). The resulting Q-set included descriptions of 108 physical interactions (e.g., open-mouth Kiss, rubbing against a person's breast, touching a person's genitals). (See Appendix B for a full set of physical interactions).

For the second stage, I recruited a focus group to sort the physical interactions into three categories: sexual, ambiguous, and non-sexual. Five graduate students (3 self-reported heterosexual females, 1 self-reported heterosexual male, and 1 self-reported lesbian), one tenured professor (self-reported heterosexual female), two undergraduate students (1 self-reported heterosexual female, and 1 self-reported bi-sexual female), and one grade twelve student (self-reported heterosexual male) with parental permission, sorted the physical interactions.

In phase three, I analyzed the sorted interactions and identified the set of behaviours that were rated exclusively and unanimously as "sexual". This set formed the operational definition of sexual behaviours for my study: "Sexual behaviour refers to any voluntary activity with another person that involves any of the following: open mouth kissing (with or without the

tongue), contact (rubbing or rubbing against, massaging, kissing, sucking, licking, or touching) with another person's breasts, buttocks, or genitals". Participants were given this definition when asked about their sexual behaviour.

I adopted the American Psychological Association (APA) definition of sexual orientation: "Sexual orientation refers to an enduring pattern of emotional, romantic, and/or sexual attractions to men, women, or both sexes" (APA, 2008, "What is sexual orientation?" para.1). I included this definition on the survey immediately before questions related to sexual orientation.

The questions contained in the present study were part of a larger survey on female sexuality. Only items pertaining to the present research questions were included in the analysis. The final survey included 8 demographic checklist questions; 4 checklist items (i.e., one item for each developmental stage involving private sexual behaviour, PSSSB, sexual orientation identity, PSSSB pressure sources, and feelings after engaging in PSSSB); 4 open-ended questions (i.e., those involving PSSSB location, sources of pressure for PSSSB, reasons for engaging in PSSSB, and feelings the day after engaging in PSSSB); and 3 rating-scale measures (i.e., reasons for engaging in PSSSB, sexual self-concept, and sexual orientation exploration/commitment). The questionnaire can be viewed in Appendix C.

The online survey contained an informed consent page, followed by the questionnaire. Counselling resources were listed on the consent page and again at the end of the survey. There were no incentives offered to participants.

Data Collection

I built and administered the questionnaire using FluidSurveys^{TM} online survey engine. Research has indicated that online surveys create a higher sense of anonymity, especially when

surveying sensitive information (Supple et al., 1999; Torangeau & Yan, 2007). I made the participants' responses completely anonymous by disabling tracking of respondents' IP addresses. I set the exit survey button so participants could clear all of their entered responses and exit the survey if they chose. In addition, participants could save their survey responses and complete them at a later time. In order to avoid missing data, participants were required to complete the questions on each page before they could move to subsequent pages.

FluidSurveys™ keeps its data within Canada and is subject to Canadian privacy laws. Once downloaded by the researcher, FluidSurveys™ deletes the data from their files.

Measures

Demographics. Participant characteristics were assessed with eight questions: age; birth month; level of education; religion; current residence; environment in which they spent their adolescence (urban or rural); environment in which they are currently residing (urban or rural); and how they heard about the questionnaire. (See Appendix C: Part 1 and Part 7).

Sexual orientation. The Klein Sexual Orientation Grid is an extension of Kinsey et al.'s 1948 Heterosexual-Homosexual Scale (Klein et al, 1985). Klein's Grid includes seven measures of sexual orientation and ratings of an individual's past, present, and ideal choices using a seven-point Likert-type linear scale. Klein's scale was used to measure self-identified sexual orientation; however, since only women were included in this study, the items were modified to reflect a female perspective (i.e., 1= Heterosexual only, 2 = Heterosexual mostly, 3 = Heterosexual somewhat more than lesbian, 4 = Heterosexual/lesbian equally, 5 = Lesbian mostly, 6 = Lesbian somewhat more than heterosexual, and 7 = Lesbian only). Sexual orientation was measured retrospectively for the past 6 months and four developmental periods (early adolescence, ages 13-15; late adolescence, ages 16-18; emerging adulthood, ages 19-25;

and when applicable, adulthood, ages 26-40). I anticipated that heterosexual women would have different reasons for engaging in PSSSB compared to women who had some degree of same-sex sexual orientation identity. Therefore, the participants were divided into two groups: those who expressed exclusive heterosexual orientation during each developmental period and in the past 6 months (heterosexual), and those who expressed some level of same-sex orientation during any of the developmental periods or in the past 6 months (some same-sex orientation; SSO). (See Appendix C: Part 1).

Private sexual behaviour. Participants were asked with whom (males only; males mostly; males somewhat more than females; males and females equally; females somewhat more than males; females mostly; females only; and not sexually active) they had engaged in sexual behaviour in private settings. Private sexual behaviour was rated for the past 6 months and retrospectively for four developmental periods (early adolescence, ages 13-15; late adolescence, ages 16-18; emerging adulthood, ages 19-25; and when applicable, adulthood, ages 26-40). (See Appendix C: Part 1).

Public same-sex sexual behaviour: Age, frequency, and location of PSSSB.

Frequency of engaging in PSSSB (0 times, 1 time, 2-3 times, 4-5 times, more than 5 times) was rated for the past 6 months and retrospectively for four developmental periods (early adolescence, ages 13-15; late adolescence, ages 16 to 18; emerging adulthood, ages 19 to 25; and when applicable, adulthood, ages 26-40). In addition, participants were asked to list the locations where they had engaged in PSSSB. (See Appendix C: Part 3).

Reasons for engaging in PSSSB. I was interested in assessing women's motivation to engage in PSSSB. After discussions with several educational psychology instructors and a group of undergraduate education students, I generated 15 potential reasons for engaging in PSSSB:

Male Attention, Female Attention, General Attention, Sexual Exploration, Sexual Attraction, Sexual Pleasure, Sexual Adventure, Substance Use, Victimization, Male Demand, Male Pleasure, Societal Demands, Female Demand, Friend Demand, and Contextual Demand. I generated two statements for each reason, providing a total of 30 statements. Participants rated the statements on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (4). In addition, participants were asked to type in their reasons for engaging in PSSSB. (See Appendix C: Part 3).

Feelings after engaging in PSSSB. I generated a list of 23 adjectives to measure how participants felt the day after engaging in PSSSB. I selected the adjectives based on discussions with undergraduate females who had engaged in PSSSB. The list included ten positive adjectives (empowered, adventurous, liberated, liberal-minded, sexually fulfilled, open minded, high, excited, happy, and euphoric), 12 negative adjectives (depressed, used, awkward, regretful, embarrassed, ashamed, afraid, confused, angry, resentful, victimized, and coerced) and one neutral adjective (indifferent). The survey asked participants to select all adjectives that applied to how they felt the day after participating in PSSSB. In addition, they were asked to type in any other feelings they may have had. (See Appendix C: Part 3).

Pressure to engage in PSSSB. I created one statement to assess the perceived pressure participants felt to engage in PSSSB (i.e., I have felt pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other females), and one statement to assess participants' perception of the pressure they believed other young women may feel to engage in PSSSB (i.e., I believe that today's young women are under pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other young women). The statements were rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (4).

For those participants who agreed that young women are under pressure to engage in PSSSB, I created one question to identify from where they believed the pressure was coming (i.e., If you agree that today's young women and/or you have felt pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other women, where do you believe the pressure is coming from?). I asked the participants to select from a list of 9 potential sources (e.g., the mass media, social demands, male dating partners, etc.), which I generated from conversations with undergraduate students. In addition, I asked the participants to type sources they believed created pressure for females to engage in PSSSB that were not included on the list (See Appendix C: Part 4).

Sexual identity exploration and commitment. The Measure of Sexual Identity Exploration and Commitment (MoSIEC; Worthington, Navarro, Savoy, & Hampton, 2008) is a 22-item self-report instrument designed to measure the processes of sexual identity development among individuals of any sexual orientation. Its concepts of sexual identity development are based on Marcia's (1966) model of identity development. The MoSIEC has four subscales, which measure (a) Commitment, (b) Exploration, (c) Sexual Orientation Uncertainty, and (d) Synthesis. Items are rated on a 6-point rating scale anchored by 1, very uncharacteristic of me, and 6, very characteristic of me, with number labels for the intermediate points on the scales. Worthington et al. (2008) reported adequate internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and construct validity of the subscales. Additionally, none of the subscales was significantly related to gender.

A modified form of the MoSIEC was utilized in the present study. Three items from each of the four MoSIEC subscales with the highest factor-loadings from Worthington et al.'s 2008 confirmatory factor analysis and also based on current behaviours (e.g., *I am actively experimenting with sexual activities that are new to me)* were selected. I created an additional

three-item measure, titled *Orientation Exploration,* for this study, and included it among the MoSIEC items. Although the MoSIEC includes an Exploration subscale, it is unclear if the items tap exploration of sexual orientation (e.g., sexual behaviour with the same sex or opposite sex) or simply general exploration of sexual activities (e.g., new positions, sexual toys/devices). Because the present study is specifically attempting to identify orientation exploration, I constructed three orientation specific items to match the MoSIEC exploration items. For example, the MoSIEC exploration item *I am actively trying new ways to express myself sexually* was matched with *I am actively trying new ways to express my sexual orientation.* (See Appendix C: Part 6).

Sexual self-concept. The *Multidimensional Sexual Self-Concept Questionnaire* (MSSCQ; Snell, 1998) is a 100-item self-report instrument designed to measure 20 psychological aspects of human sexuality. The MSSCQ is based on Snell and colleagues' large body of research on sexuality (Fisher & Snell, 1995, Snell & Papini, 1989; Snell, Fisher, & Schuh, 1992; Snell, Fishcer, & Miller, 1991; Snell, Fisher, & Walters, 1993). Scores on the MSSCQ can be treated as individual difference measures of 20 sexuality-related constructs (Snell, 1995). The present study used six MSSCQ subscales: (a) Sexual Self-Efficacy, defined as the belief that one has the ability to deal effectively with the sexual aspects of oneself (e.g., *I have the ability to take care of any sexual needs and desires that I may have*), (b) Sexual-Assertiveness, defined as the tendency to be assertive about the sexual aspects of one's life (e.g., *I'm very assertive about the sexual aspects of my life*), (c) Sexual-Monitoring, defined as the tendency to be aware of the public impression which one's sexuality makes on others (e.g., *I am quick to notice other people's reactions to the sexual aspects of my own life*), (d) Sexual-Esteem, defined as a generalized tendency to positively evaluate one's own capacity to engage in healthy

sexual behaviors and to experience one's sexuality in a satisfying and enjoyable way (e.g., *I derive a sense of self-pride from the way I handle my own sexual needs and desires*), (e) Power-Other Sexual Control, defined as the belief that the sexual aspects of one's life are controlled by others who are more powerful and influential than oneself (e.g., *My sexual behaviors are determined largely by other more powerful and influential people*), and (f) Sexual-Depression, defined as the experience of feelings of sadness, unhappiness, and depression regarding one's sex life (e.g., *I am depressed about the sexual aspects of my life*). Each subscale was composed of five items rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0, Not at All Characteristic of Me to 4, Very Characteristic of Me. Snell (1998) reported the Cronbach alpha coefficients for each of these six items to have more than adequate internal consistency (.85, .84, .84, .88, .85, and .85, respectively). In the present study, the Likert-type scale labels were changed to Strongly Disagree (0) to Strongly Agree (4).

I created an additional 5-item sexual self-concept scale to include with the MSSCQ subscales. The new subscale, Sexual Compliance, is defined as an individual's tendency to engage in undesirable sexual acts (e.g., *When a partner asks me to engage in a sexual act that I am not comfortable with, I won't do it*). I created the subscale in recognition that some people may comply with their partners' requests for numerous reasons other than believing their partners are more powerful than them (e.g., fear of rejection, manipulation, difficulty saying no, people pleaser, amenable to suggestions, or concern with cultural norms). Items of the Sexual Compliance were reverse-coded so that lower scores on all items indicated a more positive sexual self-concept. (See Appendix C: Part 5).

Data Reduction and Analysis

I exported data from the completed surveys on Fluid Surveys to my password protected computer and analyzed the data using IBM SPSS 22. As a first step, I screened the data for nonsensical responses. Although online surveys may create a higher sense of anonymity (Supple et al., 1999; Torangeau & Yan, 2007); Meade and Craig (2011) and Schmidt (1997) assert that the anonymity of internet-based surveys makes them vulnerable to nonsensical or malicious responses or multiple submissions by the same person. In order to reduce these potential threats to validity, I used the *psychometric synonyms* approach suggested by Meade and Craig (2011) by examining the differences in paired-items that were highly similar in content, which in the present study were matched-statements for *reasons for participating in PSSSB*. I calculated Spearman correlations for the item-pairs (e.g., "I wanted to attract male attention" and "I wanted to get a guy or guys to notice me"), which can be viewed in Appendix D. Then I calculated difference scores for each participant's rating of the items that had correlations r>+.60. I used listwise deletion to remove seven participants whose difference scores were greater than three standard deviations above the mean. Further, I searched the demographic data (e.g., age, birth month, level of education, current residence, religion, and how they heard about the study) to identify multiple entries by the same person; none were found.

Preliminary analysis. Rather than using a priori factorial structure, I began with exploratory factor analysis (EFA) of items on the MoSIEC and MSSCQ with the items I had constructed for each measure. When applicable, I modified the labels to suit the extracted factors and used Cronbach's alpha to examine the internal consistency for each of the factors.

Data analysis. I used the factors derived from EFA of the MoSIEC and MSSCQ to define the dependent variables in subsequent analyses. To assess whether PSSSB, sexual

orientation, and age each have an effect on the dependent variables and if the effects of PSSSB on the dependent variables depend on whether the female was heterosexual or SSO and/or was an emerging adult (19-25) or older (26-40), I conducted a series of three-way 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) on each of nine dependant variables.

Leech, Barett, and Morgan (2011) suggested that when Levene's test for equality of variance reveals the homogeneity of variance assumptions have been violated, it is important to select appropriate post hoc tests. Therefore as suggested by Leech et al. (2001), I used Games-Howell for post hoc analysis when Levene's test was significant, and Tukey's more conventional test when Levene's was nonsignificant.

For data that were ranked or did not meet normalcy requirements for parametric analysis, I used the Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA, a nonparametric equivalent, followed by pair-wise Mann-Whitney U tests to identify which groups were significantly different from the others (Field, 2005).

Analyses were evaluated at $p < .05$, however, when multiple pairwise tests are performed on a single set of data, the chance of obtaining false-positive results are increased (Field, 2005). Since a simple Bonferroni adjustment can be too conservative; I applied the Holm's sequential Bonferroni (Holm, 1979) to multiple pairwise analyses to reduce the chances of type I errors.

Chapter 4: Results

Preliminary Analyses

EFA of sexual identity exploration and commitment items. EFA was performed on data from the MoSIEC (Worthington et al., 2008) and items developed specifically for this study. The data met the assumptions of normality and sufficient sample size recommended for EFA. Histograms of the 12 MoSIEC items and the 3 developed items showed the items to be normally distributed. The reliability of factor analysis is also dependent on sample size. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) recommend a minimum of 10 participants per variable, and "as a general rule of thumb, it is comforting to have at least 300 cases for factor analysis" (p. 613). The current sample of 451 participants and 15 variables met this requirement.

Examination of the correlation matrix, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin indictor of sampling adequacy, Bartlett's test of sphericity, the anti-image correlation matrix, and the communalities were used as indicators of the factorability of this study's correlation matrix. The 15 variables correlated .3 or higher with at least one other item, and none correlated too highly ($r < .9$) suggesting reasonable factorability (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). (See Appendix E for correlation table).

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .84, above the commonly recommended value of .6, and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (χ^2 (105) = 3602.67, $p < .000$). The diagonals of the anti-image correlation matrix were also all over .5. Finally, the communalities were all above .3, further confirming that each item shared some common variance with other items. Based upon these preliminary checks and the exploratory nature of the analysis a principal-component extraction analysis was appropriate.

The principal components analysis provided a check on Worthington et al.'s, original four factor structure (Worthington et al., 2008), evaluated the coherence of the current study's three additional orientation exploration items, suggested the removal of 3 items, and provided weighted factor scores for use in subsequent analyses. Principal components analysis was used because the primary purpose was to identify and compute composite scores for the factors underlying four modified subscales of Worthington et al.'s MoSIEC with an additional three-item Orientation Exploration subscale. It was assumed that the factors would be correlated (oblique), so solutions for two, three, four, and five factors were each examined using oblimin rotations of the factor loading matrix. Initial eigen values indicated that the first three factors explained 30.40%, 24.57%, 11.32% of the variance respectively. The three factor solution, which explained 72.48% of the variance, was preferred because of: (a) its previous theoretical support; (b) the 'leveling off' of eigen values on the scree plot after three factors; (c) a larger number of primary loadings than the other solutions; and (d) fewer cross-loadings compared to the other solutions.

A total of three items (4, 9, and 14), all from the Orientation Exploration measure, were eliminated because they did not contribute to a simple factor structure. Item 4 (*I am open to experiment with my sexual orientation in the future*) had a primary loading of .623 on Sexual Orientation Uncertainty and cross-loading of-.35 on Exploration. Item 9 (*I am actively experimenting with my sexual orientation*) had a primary loading of .58 on Sexual Orientation Uncertainty and cross-loading of -.38 on Exploration. Finally, item 14 (*I am actively experimenting with my sexual orientation*) had a factor loading of .46 on Sexual Orientation Uncertainty and -.45 on Exploration. Given the primary loadings on Exploration Sexual Orientation Uncertainty ranged from .86 to .90, and the primary loadings on Exploration ranged

from .77 to .85, it appears that the items for Orientation Exploration and the items for Worthington et al.'s Exploration Subscale did not appear to be measuring the same type of exploration.

For the final stage, a principal components factor analysis of the remaining 12 items, using oblimin rotations, was conducted with three factors explaining 70.79% of the variance. All items in this analysis had primary loadings over .5. The pattern matrix contains information about the unique contribution of a variable to a factor (Field, 2005) and is presented in Table 28. The Pattern Matrix shows that all variables loaded significantly and uniquely onto one of the three factors accounting for 37.68%, 19.05%, and 14.05% of the variance, respectively.

Table 1

Pattern Matrix of Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis for MoSIEC

	Factors		
Items	1 Synthesis/ Commitment	2 Sexual Exploration	3 Orientation Uncertainty
13. I have a firm sense of what my sexual needs are.	**.867**	-.005	-.005
3. I know what my preferences are for expressing myself sexually.	**.849**	.056	-.011
8. I have a clear sense of the types of sexual activities I prefer.	**.826**	-.025	-.077
10. The ways I express myself sexually are consistent with all of the other aspects of my sexuality.	**.804**	-.090	-.055
15. The sexual activities I prefer are compatible with all of the other aspects of my sexuality.	**.751**	-.107	-.111
5. My understanding of my sexual needs coincides with my overall sense of sexual self.	**.743**	.185	.189
12. I am actively experimenting with sexual activities that are new to me.	-.072	**.848**	-.074
7. I am actively trying new ways to express myself sexually.	-.007	**.847**	.010
2. I am open to experiment with new types of sexual activities in the future.	.078	**.768**	.006
11. My sexual orientation is not clear to me.	-.016	.008	**.900**
6. I sometimes feel uncertain about my sexual orientation.	.019	.016	**.898**
1. My sexual orientation is clear to me.	-.061	-.095	**.857**

Note. Factor loadings > .50 are in boldface. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Worthington et al.'s (2008) items for the Commitment factor and Synthesis factor (3, 8, 12, and 5, 10, 15, respectively) converged onto the same factor and were therefore renamed Commitment/Synthesis. Exploration (items 2, 7, and 12) and Sexual Orientation Uncertainty (items 1, 6, and 11) factors were consistent with Worthington et al.'s factor labels and thus retained.

Item 1 on the on the Sexual Orientation Uncertainty Scale ("My sexual orientation is clear to me") was negatively loaded and thus was reversed scored to fit conceptually with the remaining items on its respective subscale. Internal consistency for each of the factors was examined using Cronbach's alpha. The alphas were good for Commitment/Synthesis (6 items), $\alpha = .89$, moderate for Exploration (3 items), $\alpha = .76$, and good for Sexual Orientation Uncertainty (3 items), $\alpha = .85$. No substantial increases in alpha for any of the scales could have been achieved by eliminating items.

EFA of sexual self-concept items. EFA was performed on the MSSCQ (Snell, 1998) items and five items developed for this study. The data met the assumptions of normality and sufficient sample size recommended for EFA. Histograms of the 30 MSSCQ items and the five new items showed the items to be normally distributed. The current sample of 451 participants and 35 variables met the requirement for factor analysis (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Examination of the correlation matrix, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin indictor of sampling adequacy, Bartlett's test of sphericity, the anti-image correlation matrix, and the communalities were used as indicators of the factorability of this study's correlation matrix. The 35 variables correlated .3 or higher with at least one other item, and none correlated too highly ($r < .9$) suggesting reasonable factorability (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). (See Appendix F for sexual self-concept item correlations). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was

.96, above the commonly recommended value of .6. Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant (χ^2 (595) = 13471.39, $p < .000$). The diagonals of the anti-image correlation matrix were all over .5. Based upon these preliminary checks and the exploratory nature of the analysis a principal-component extraction analysis was appropriate.

The principal components analysis provided a check on the Snell's original six factor structure (Snell, 1998), evaluated the coherence of the current study's five additional sexual compliance items, suggested the removal of 6 items, and provided weighted factor scores for use in subsequent analyses. It was expected that the factors would be correlated (oblique), so all solutions were examined using an oblimin rotation of the factor loading matrix. Initial eigenvalues indicated that the first five factors explained 48.39%, 9.42%, 5.01%, 3.65% and 3.2% of the variance respectively. The sixth factor had an eigenvalue just under one (.98%) and explained 2.79% of the variance. A six factor solution, that explained 72.48% of the total variance, best represented the data because: (a) it is consistent with theory and prior research ; (b) the eigen values on the scree plot leveled off after six factors and; (c) it exhibited strong primary loadings and the fewest cross loadings.

The pattern of item loadings in the six-factor solution was scrutinized to identify common themes and verify Snell's factor labels. Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) suggested that values as low as .32 (10% of the overlapping variance) can be included; however, they are considered weak. Consequently, Steven's recommendation (1992, cited in Field, 2004) to only interpret factor loading with an absolute value greater than .4 (16% of the overlapping variance) was adopted.

All five Sexual Esteem items (7, 14, 21, 28, and 35) were eliminated because they had no primary factor loadings above .4, and they had cross-loadings above .3. Item 13 ("I engage in

sexual behaviour that I am not comfortable with because it would be too embarrassing to not go along with it") was also removed because although it had a factor loading of -.4 on External Locus of Control, it also had a cross-loading of .3 on Sexual Compliance.

A final six factor principal components analysis of the remaining 29 items, using an oblimin rotation, explained 73.63% of the variance. All items in this analysis had primary loadings over .5. Table 17 presents the pattern matrix for this final solution. The structure matrix differs in that shared variance is not ignored and indicates that several variables load highly onto more than one factor; whereas, the pattern matrix contains information about the unique contribution of a variable to a factor (Field, 2005). The Pattern Matrix shows that all variables loaded significantly and uniquely onto one of the six factors accounting for 45.72%, 10.56%, 5.84%, 4.35%, 3.81%, and 3.33% of the variance, respectively.

Table 2

Pattern Matrix of Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis for MSSCQ

	Factors					
Items	1 Sexual Depression	2 Sexual Monitoring	3 Sexual Compliance	4 Sexual Assertive	5 Sexual Self-Efficacy	6 External Locus
19	**.901**	.017	.032	-.054	-.001	.010
12	**.883**	.023	.060	-.071	-.065	.089
5	**.847**	.049	.006	.113	-.142	-.016
26	**.829**	-.021	-.003	.007	.017	-.068
33	**.801**	-.015	-.046	-.036	.068	-.106
3	.059	**.823**	-.144	.116	.071	.077
17	.100	**.812**	-.074	-.149	.092	-.012
31	-.084	**.786**	.049	.101	-.151	-.091
20	-.013	.057	**-.845**	-.006	-.094	-.029
34	.054	.051	**-.831**	-.057	-.066	.026
6	-.056	.050	**-.800**	-.064	-.024	-.065
27	.069	.046	**-.573**	-.188	.088	-.153
16	-.013	-.009	.083	**.822**	-.014	.050
9	-.022	-.006	.025	**.716**	.100	.035
23	-.120	.082	.141	**.670**	.141	.016
30	-.156	.066	.168	**.628**	.134	.001
2	-.094	.172	-.020	**.518**	.261	.060
1	-.018	-.011	.020	-.117	**.899**	-.020
22	-.133	-.036	.048	.094	**.744**	.002
15	-.051	.039	-.005	.150	**.726**	.057
29	-.014	.006	-.003	.154	**.718**	.141
8	-.088	-.004	.081	.213	**.648**	-.016
18	.110	-.056	-.170	.049	-.075	**-.725**
10	.004	.204	.229	-.219	-.043	**-.688**
11	-.001	-.059	-.176	-.025	-.175	**-.684**
32	.189	-.071	-.255	.055	-.014	**-.664**
24	.087	.193	.094	-.203	.068	**-.634**
4	.113	-.005	-.269	.118	-.091	**-.604**
25	.190	-.053	-.260	.034	-.077	**-.548**

Note. Factor loadings > .50 are in boldface. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

The factor labels proposed by Snell (1998) for Sexual Depression (items 5, 12,19, 26, and 33), and Sexual Monitoring, which contained only three of the original variables focusing on individuals' awareness of people's reactions to their sexual behaviour (items 3, 17, 31) suited the extracted factors and were retained. The third factor, which was not included in Snell's MSSCQ, was labelled Sexual Compliance, and contained four variables (items 6, 20,27 and 34) measuring individuals' willingness to engage in uncomfortable sexual behaviour. Snell's labels for Sexual Assertiveness (items 2, 9, 16, 23, 30) and Sexual Self-Efficacy (items 1, 8, 15, 22, 29) suited the extracted factors and were retained. Two Sexual Monitoring variables (items 10 and 24) which measure individuals' concern with how others are evaluating their sexual behaviour converged with Snell's five Power-Other Sexual Control variables (4, 11, 18, 25, and 32) which measure external sexual control. It seems logical that individuals who believe external forces control their sexual lives would also be concerned with others' evaluations of their sexual behaviour. As such, the sixth factor (items 4, 10, 11, 18, 24, 25, and 32) was relabeled External Locus of Control.

Two items on the on the Sexual Assertiveness Scale ("I'm not very direct about voicing my sexual needs and preferences" and "I am somewhat passive about expressing my own sexual desires") and one item from the Sexual Compliance scale ("Sometimes I engage in sexual behaviour that I am not thrilled about in order to please my partner") were negatively loaded and thus were reversed scored to fit conceptually with the remaining items on their respective subscales.

Internal consistency for each of the factors was examined using Cronbach's alpha. The alphas for each factor were: excellent for Sexual Depression (5 items), $\alpha = .92$; moderate for Sexual Monitoring (3 items), $\alpha = .77$; good for Sexual Compliance (4 items) $\alpha = .86$; good for

Sexual Assertiveness (5 items) α= .89; excellent for Sexual Self-Efficacy (5 items), α= .91; and excellent for External Locus of Control (7 items), α= .91. No substantial increases in alpha for any of the scales could have been achieved by eliminating more items.

Analysis

Question 1: Have heterosexual and SSO women experienced pressure to engage in PSSSB?

In order to address this question and its accompanying hypothesis eight groups were configured by participation (PSSSB; only observed), sexual orientation (heterosexual; SSO), and age (emerging adult; adult). Therefore, all participants were included (N = 451) in the following analyses.

***Hypothesis 1*: Heterosexual and SSO women who have engaged in PSSSB will report a significantly higher level of personal perceived pressure to engage in PSSSB than will heterosexual and SSO women who had only observed PSSSB.** To assess if participants had felt pressure to engage in PSSSB, ratings for the statement "I have felt pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other females*"* were totalled for the eight groups. Frequency, percent, median, and mode for statement 1 are presented in Table 15. A Kruskal-Wallis 1-way ANOVA was performed and indicated significant differences in the distribution of ratings across the eight groups ($p < .000$). Mann-Whitney U tests were used to identify (pair-wise) which groups were significantly different from the others ($p < .001$). There were no significant differences between heterosexual emerging and adult women who had engaged in PSSSB ($p = .034$); however, there were significant differences between the heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB and all other participants ($p < .001$). The most frequent rating for all heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB was *strongly agree*. Further, although there were no statistically significant differences between the emerging adult and SSO adult PSSSB engagers and all observers, the

most frequent rating for SSO emerging adult engagers was *agree*, while the most frequent rating for SSO adult engagers and all women who had only observed PSSSB was *disagree*. Therefore hypothesis 1 was partially supported. Only heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB indicated statistically significant and higher rates of feeling pressure to engage in PSSSB than all other women.

Table 3

Participants Rating Frequencies, Medians, and Modes for Statement 1

	Statement 1 Rating										
	Strongly Disagree		*Disagree*		*Agree*		*Strongly Agree*				
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**	**Median**	**Mode**
PSSSB											
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	1	1.7	7	11.9	20	33.9	31	52.5	59	4	4
Heterosexual Adults	4	9.8	13	31.7	8	19.5	16	39.0	41	3	4
SSO Emerging Adults	13	19.1	19	27.9	29	42.6	7	10.3	68	3	3
SSO Adults	24	32	26	34.7	17	22.7	8	10.7	75	2	2
Observed Only											
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	22	32.8	27	40.3	17	25.4	1	1.5	67	2	2
Heterosexual Adults	10	20	18	36	15	30	7	14	50	2	2
SSO Emerging Adults	11	20	26	47.3	11	20	7	12.7	55	2	2
SSO Adults	7	19.4	19	52.8	7	19.4	3	8.3	36	2	2

Question 2: Do heterosexual and SSO women believe that today's young women are under pressure to engage in PSSSB?

***Hypothesis 2*: Heterosexual and SSO women who have engaged in PSSSB will be significantly more likely to report that there is pressure for women to engage in PSSSB compared to heterosexual and SSO women who have not engaged in PSSSB.** To compare women's perceptions of pressure they believe other women are experiencing to engage in PSSSB, ratings of the statement "I believe that today's young women are under pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other young women*"* were totalled for the eight participant groups. Table 14 shows the frequency, percent, median, and mode of all groups for statement 1. A Kruskal-Wallis 1-way ANOVA, suited to the ordinal data, indicated that the distributions of ratings for statement 2 were significantly different across the eight groups ($p <$ .000). Mann-Whitney U tests were used to identify pair-wise which groups were significantly different from the others ($p < .001$). There were no significant differences between heterosexual emerging and adult women who had engaged in PSSSB ($p = .057$); however, there were significant differences between the heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB and all other women ($p < .001$). A majority (> 50%) of all heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB rated the statement as *strongly agree* that today's young women are under pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other young women; in contrast, the most frequent rating by all other groups was *agree*. Pair-wise Mann-Whitney U tests did not indicate significant differences in the ratings of these groups ($p < .001$). Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported. A majority of all women, rather than only those who had engaged in PSSSB believed to some extent (agree to strongly agree) that today's women are under pressure to engage in PSSSB.

Table 4

Participant Ratings, Median, and Mode for Statement 2

	Statement 2 Rating										
	Strongly Disagree		*Disagree*		*Agree*		*Strongly Agree*				
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**	**Median**	**Mode**
PSSSB											
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	-	-	2	3.4	19	32.2	38	64.4	59	4	4
Heterosexual Adults	-	-	1	2.4	15	36.6	25	61	41	4	4
SSO Emerging Adults	1	1.5	14	20.6	5	51.5	18	26.5	68	3	3
SSO Adults	4	5.3	11	14.7	39	52	21	28	75	3	3
Observed Only											
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	3	4.5	19	28.4	40	59.7	5	7.5	67	3	3
Heterosexual Adults	2	4	12	24	23	46	13	26	50	3	3
SSO Emerging Adults	1	1.8	19	34.5	26	47.3	9	16.4	55	3	3
SSO Adults	1	2.8	13	36.1	20	55.6	2	5.6	36	3	3

Question 3: If women agree there is pressure to engage in PSSSB, what sources do they believe provide this pressure?

In order to assess what sources the participants believed created pressure for young women to engage in PSSSB, the women were asked to select from several potential sources provided in a list. The frequency and percentage of endorsement of each source was totalled for the eight participant groups (see Table 16). The most frequently cited source of pressure for a majority (>50%) of all participant groups was mass media, followed by popular culture, male

friends, peers, and social media. Further, over half of the heterosexual women listed male dating partners as providing pressure to engage in PSSSB.

Table 5

Frequency and Percent (in Parenthesis) for Sources of Pressure to Engage in PSSSB

	Participant Groups								Total
	PSSSB				Observed Only				
	Heterosexual		SSO		Heterosexual		SSO		
Pressure Source	Age 18-25 *n* = 59	Age 26-40 *n* = 41	Age 18-25 *n* = 66	Age 26-40 *n* = 65	Age 18-25 *n* = 64	Age 26-40 *n* = 46	Age 18-25 *n* = 50	Age 26-40 *n* = 26	N= 417
Mass Media	53 (89.8)	38 (92.7)	56 (84.8)	55 (84.6)	54 (84.4)	42 (91.3)	44 (88)	23 (88.5)	365 (87.5)
Popular Culture	47 (79.7)	33 (80.5)	54 (81.8)	53 (81.5)	50 (78.1)	42 (91.3)	43 (86)	22 (84.6)	344 (82.5)
Male Friends	38 (64.4)	27 (65.9)	47 (71.2)	42 (64.6)	50 (78.1)	35 (76.1)	36 (72)	14 (53.8)	289 (69.3)
Peers	35 (59.3)	26 (63.4)	45 (68.2)	48 (73.8	44 (68.8)	30 (65.2)	32 (64)	17 (65.4)	277 (66.4)
Social Media	48 (81.4)	29 (70.7)	35 (53)	42 (64.6)	35 (54.7)	29 (63)	30 (60)	17 (65.4)	265 (63.5)
Social Demands	42 (79.7)	26 (63.4)	41 (62.1)	35 (53.8)	33 (51.6)	29 (63)	31 (62)	12 (46.2)	249 (59.7)
Male Dating Partners	36 (61)	25 (61)	38 (57.6)	37 (56.9)	25 (39)	20 (43.5)	22 (44)	11 (42.3)	214 (51.3)
Female Friends	24 (40.7)	18 (43.9)	18 (27.)	17 (26.2)	14 (21.9)	9 (19.6)	14 (28)	7 (26.9)	121 (29)
Female Dating Partners	5 (8.5)	4 (9.8)	10 (15.2)	7 (10.8)	7 (10.9)	7 (15.2)	11 (22)	-	55 (13.2)
Other	18 (30.5)	12 (29.3)	9 (13.6)	7 (10.8)	4 (6.3)	6 (13)	3 (6)	3 (11.5)	67 (16.1)

Women's comments about sources of pressure. Participants were also asked to type in additional sources they believe pressured women to engage in PSSSB. The 58 comments were sorted into conceptual categories. The most frequent comment (16) named "pornography" as a source of pressure (e.g., "Pornography—this is a male-dominated world"; "Porn";

"Pornography"); followed by "men in general or potential dating partners" (14) (e.g., "Males in general - women are objectified"; "Comments from males I don't know i.e. someone shouting at a party for a girl to make out with another girl"; "Guys seem to really like it. There's pressure there"; "From a guy that I wanted to be my boyfriend"). Nine participants provided unique sources not otherwise mentioned (e.g., social media: phone apps such as "snap chat" and texting "sexting" photos; bar scene). While eight participants provided general statements about the source of pressure (e.g., "I believe that overall, young women experience pressure from every angle"; "All of it. There's so much pressure, especially in the bar scene"; "It's everywhere you look"), six participants clarified sources taken from the list provided to them (e.g., "Shades of Grey, doing what your boyfriend asks"; "Definitely male dating partners who are turned on by it, but I haven't seen many lesbians engaged in this public behaviour unless it was at a pride parade or gay bar. I think it depends on if your boyfriend is into it"; "Media seems to encourage women to experiment sexually, and individuals may find personal enjoyment in the physical connections"). Finally, five participants commented on the structure of society (i.e., "Patriarchal society. Straight women feel they have to do it for men's enjoyment. this sucks!"; "Society in general is overly sexualized from such a young age, early-mid elementary school, and I don't think parents are acknowledging it or doing anything to educate their daughters or sons, enough about how to respect their own or other people's bodies"). (See Appendix G for a complete list of sources of pressure).

Question 4: At which developmental period were women more likely to engage in PSSSB?

***Hypothesis 3*: Heterosexual and SSO women will report having engaged in PSSSB most frequently during emerging adulthood.** Only participants who had engaged in PSSSB (*N* = 243) were included in the following set of analyses. To compare the engagement age and

frequency of PSSSB for heterosexual or SSO emerging adult and adult women, I created four participant groups based on sexual orientation and age at the time of data collection: heterosexual orientation emerging adults *(n* = 59, mean age = 22.58); heterosexual orientation adults (*n* = 41, mean age = 28.49); some same-sex orientation (SSO) emerging adults (*n* = 68, mean age = 22.82); and SSO adults (*n* = 75, mean age = 29.29). Participants' recalled frequency of PSSSB (0 times, 1 time, 2-3 times, 4-5 times or <5 times) was totaled for each of the four participant groups at each developmental period (i.e., early adolescence, ages 13-15; late adolescence, 16-18; emerging adulthood 19-25; and young adulthood, ages 26-31), and for the last 6 months. A total frequency score of 1 or more indicated that participants had engaged in PSSSB at least one time during the developmental period or at least one time in the last 6 months. (See Table 6 for percentage of women in each age group who reported engaging in PSSSB on one or more occasions, and Table 7 for frequencies and percentage of women engaging in PSSSB on one or more occasion during the past 6 months).

The data did not meet normalcy requirements for parametric analysis, so non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVAS were performed to test for significant differences among the four groups at each developmental period. The Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA was followed up with pair-wise Mann-Whitney U tests to identify which groups were significantly different from the others.

The Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA indicated significant group differences in recalled PSSSB during both early ($p < .001$) and late adolescence ($p < .001$). Specifically, SSO emerging adults recalled statistically significant higher rates of PSSSB during early adolescence than all other groups (heterosexual emerging adults and adults, $p < .001$; $p = .002$, respectively; SSO adults, $p < .001$). In contrast with participants' memories of PSSSB engagement during early

and late adolescence, emerging adulthood was the developmental period during which PSSSB occurred most frequently for all groups (see Table 6); the Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA indicated there were no significant differences in frequency of PSSSB engagement during emerging adulthood among the groups ($p = .184$).

Because there were only two groups (heterosexual and SSO adults) to compare frequency of engagement in PSSSB during adulthood, just a Mann-Whitney U test was performed. The heterosexual adult participants had significantly lower rates of engaging in PSSSB than their corresponding SSO participants ($p < .001$) during adulthood.

Next, frequency of PSSSB during the last 6 months was analyzed for all four groups. A Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA indicated significant differences among groups in frequency of PSSSB during the last 6 months ($p = .029$). Adult heterosexual participants engaged in PSSSB less frequently than all other groups ($p < .001$). Emerging adult heterosexual participants demonstrated the highest percentage (37.3%) of participation in PSSSB during the last 6 months, followed by emerging adult SSO (36.8%), then adult SSO women (36%). Taken together, the findings support Hypothesis 3; namely that PSSSB would occur most frequently during emerging adulthood for all women.

Table 6

Frequency and Percent (in parenthesis) of Women Engaging in PSSSB on One or More Occasions (i.e., Frequency ≥1) at each Developmental Stage

	Heterosexual Women				SSO Women			
	Age 19-25		Age 26-40		Age 19-25		Age 26-40	
Developmental Stage	*n=59*		*n=41*		*n=68*		*n=75*	
Early Adolescence	5	(8.5)	3	(7.3)	23	(33.8)	9	(12)
Late Adolescence	34	(57.5)	15	(36.6)	53	(77.9)	43	(57.3)
Emerging Adulthood	54	(91.5)	36	(87.8)	62	(91.2)	67	(89.3)
Adulthood	--	--	12	(29.3)	--	--	4	(62.7)

Table 7

Frequency and Percent (in parenthesis) of Women Engaging in PSSSB during the Last 6 Months

	Heterosexual Women				SSO Women			
	Age 19-25		Age 26-40		Age 19-25		Age 26-40	
Frequency	*n=59*		*n=41*		*n=68*		*n=75*	
0 times	37	(62.7)	35	(85.4)	43	(63.2)	48	(64)
1 time	5	(8.5)	4	(9.8)	8	(11.8)	7	(9.3)
2-3 times	13	(22)	2	(4.9)	6	(8.8)	6	(8)
4-5 times	1	(1.7)	0	(0)	3	(4.4)	3	(4)
>5 times	3	(5.1)	0	(0)	8	(11.8)	11	(14.7)
Total ≥ 1	22	(37.3)	6	(14.7)	25	(36.8)	27	(36)

Research Question 5: Why do women engage in PSSSB?

Hypothesis 4a: ***Heterosexual and SSO women will attribute PSSSB to sexual exploration and alcohol consumption.***

Hypothesis 4b: ***Excluding sexual exploration and alcohol consumption, heterosexual and SSO women will provide different reasons for engaging in PSSSB.*** To determine participants' reasons for engaging in PSSSB, their ratings (strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree) of the 30 reason statements were totaled for heterosexual and SSO emerging adults and adults (four groups). Preliminary analysis of the heterosexual emerging and adult groups using Mann-Whitney U indicated no significant differences in distributions of reasons provided for engaging in PSSSB ($p < .01$). Therefore, the two age groups were combined to form a single group, the *total heterosexual women* (N = 100, M_{age} = 25, range 19-36). Similarly, no significant differences in the distribution of reasons provided by SSO emerging and adult women were found (Mann-Whitney U, $p < .01$). Consequently, SSO participants were combined to form a single group, *total SSO women* (N = 143, M_{age} = 26.22, range 19-40). Tables 8 and 9 show descriptive statistics for each of the 30 statements for heterosexual and SSO women, respectively.

Table 8

Frequency of Ratings, Percent, Median, and Mode of Reasons for Heterosexual Women (N = 100)

	Strongly disagree 1		Disagree 2		Agree 3		Strongly Agree 4		*Mdn*	*Mode*
Statements	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Male Attention										
1.I wanted to attract male attention.	5	5	9	9	18	18	68	68	4	4
16. I wanted to get a guy or guys to notice me.	10	10	10	10	22	22	58	58	4	4
Female Attention										
2. I wanted to attract female attention.	47	47	41	41	12	12	0	0	2	1
17. I wanted to get a girl or girls to notice me.	52	52	46	46	2	2	0	0	1	1
General Attention										
3. I did it to get people in the room to notice me.	18	18	16	16	55	55	11	11	3	3
18. I like to be the center of attention.	16	16	32	32	46	46	6	6	3	3
Sexual Exploration										
4. I was curious about making out with a female	21	21	28	28	42	42	9	9	3	3
19. I was exploring my sexuality.	13	13	36	36	48	48	3	3	3	3
Sexual Attraction										
5. I was attracted to her.	24	24	47	47	26	26	3	3	2	2
20. I thought she was hot.	20	20	52	52	28	28	0	0	2	2
Sexual Pleasure										
6. I enjoy any sexual contact.	23	23	46	46	30	30	1	1	2	2
21. I just really like sex of all forms.	24	24	63	63	11	11	2	2	2	2
Sexual Adventure										
7. It's great trying out new sexual activities.	13	13	22	22	60	60	5	5	3	3
22. I enjoy being sexually adventurous.	9	9	21	21	66	66	4	4	3	3
Substance Use										
8. I'd been drinking alcohol and/or taking drugs....	2	2	3	3	19	19	76	76	4	4
23. My behaviour was influenced by alcohol and/or drugs.	4	4	4	4	18	18	74	74	4	4
Victimization										
9. I was coerced into it.	21	21	35	35	37	37	7	7	2	3
24. I was pushed into it.	24	24	37	37	36	36	3	3	2	2
Male Request										
10. A male(s) dared me to do it.	24	24	21	21	40	40	15	15	3	3
25. A male(s) asked me to do it.	24	24	20	20	35	35	21	21	3	3
Male Pleasure										
11. I did it because I know that men like to see women...	12	12	11	11	32	32	45	45	3	4
26. I did it because I know that it turns men on.	13	13	8	8	36	36	43	43	3	4
Societal demands										
12. It was the trendy thing to do at the time.	13	13	16	16	52	52	19	19	3	3
27. I was doing something that I'd seen and thought	10	10	17	17	66	66	7	7	3	3
Female Request										
13. A female(s) dared me to do it.	54	54	33	33	10	10	3	3	1	1
28. A female(s) asked me to do it.	40	40	39	39	18	18	3	3	2	1
Friend Request										
14. All of the female friends were doing it and I thought....	23	23	32	32	37	37	8	8	2	3
29. I did it to fit in with my female friends.	23	23	41	41	30	30	6	6	2	2
Contextual Demand										
15. I was offered something (drinks, a t-shirt, beads, ...	35	35	25	25	29	29	11	11	2	1
30. I did it to get something (drinks, a prize, etc.).	36	36	23	23	30	30	11	11	2	1

Table 9

Frequency of Ratings, Percent, Median and Mode of Reasons for SSO Women (N = 143)

	Strongly Disagree 1		Disagree 2		Agree 3		Strongly Agree 4			
Statements	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	Mdn	Mode
Male Attention										
1.I wanted to attract male attention.	49	34.3	30	21	43	30.1	21	14.7	2	1
16. I wanted to get a guy or guys to notice me.	54	37.8	30	21	40	28	19	13.3	2	1
Female Attention										
2.I wanted to attract female attention.	34	23.8	63	44.1	41	28.7	5	3.5	2	2
17. I wanted to get a girl or girls to notice me.	43	30.1	52	36.4	43	30.1	5	3.5	2	2
General Attention										
3. I did it to get people in the room to notice me.	53	37.1	48	33.6	34	23.8	8	5.6	2	1
18. I like to be the center of attention.	46	32.2	45	31.5	46	32.2	6	4.2	2	1
Sexual Exploration										
4. I was curious about making out with a female	16	11.2	11	7.7	72	50.3	44	30.8	3	3
19. I was exploring my sexuality.	8	5.6	9	6.3	82	57.3	44	30.8	3	3
Sexual Attraction										
5. I was attracted to her.	2	1.4	17	11.9	66	46.2	58	40.6	3	3
20. I thought she was hot.	5	3.5	12	8.4	73	51	53	37.1	3	3
Sexual Pleasure										
6.I enjoy any sexual contact.	13	9.1	33	23.1	65	45.5	32	22.4	3	3
21. I just really like sex of all forms.	13	9.1	45	31.5	60	42	25	17.5	3	3
Sexual Adventure										
7. It's great trying out new sexual activities.	8	5.6	26	18.2	78	54.5	31	21.7	3	3
22. I enjoy being sexually adventurous.	8	5.6	23	16.1	80	55.9	32	22.4	3	3
Substance Use										
8. I'd been drinking alcohol and/or taking drugs...	15	10.5	17	11.9	67	46.9	44	30.8	3	3
23. My behaviour was influenced by alcohol ...	19	13.3	17	11.9	67	46.9	40	28.0	3	3
Victimization										
9. I was coerced into it.	89	62.2	40	28	12	8.4	2	1.4	1	1
24. I was pushed into it.	84	58.7	45	31.5	14	9.8	0	0	1	1
Male Request										
10. A male(s) dared me to do it.	90	62.9	24	16.8	25	17.5	4	2.8	1	1
25. A male(s) asked me to do it.	80	55.9	34	23.8	25	17.5	4	28	1	1
Male Pleasure										
11. I did it because I know that men like to...	63	44.1	28	19.6	42	29.4	10	7.0	2	1
26. I did it because I know that it turns men on.	65	45.5	27	18.9	43	30.1	8	5.6	2	1
Societal demands										
12. It was the trendy thing to do at the time.	75	52.4	29	20.3	29	20.3	10	7.0	1	1
27. I was doing something that I'd seen	51	35.7	23	16.1	65	45.5	4	2.8	2	3
Female Request										
13. A female(s) dared me to do it.	82	57.3	45	31.5	14	9.8	2	1.4	1	1
28. A female(s) asked me to do it.	54	37.8	47	32.9	41	28.7	1	0.7	2	1
Friend Request										
14. All of the female friends were doing it....	79	55.2	45	31.5	19	13.3	0	0	1	1
29. I did it to fit in with my female friends.	83	58	46	32.2	14	9.8	0	0	1	1
Contextual Demands										
15. I was offered something (drinks, etc...)	99	69.2	32	22.4	9	6.3	3	2.1	1	1
30. I did it to get something (drinks, etc...)	99	69.2	28	19.6	13	9.1	3	2.1	1	1

To discover if the distributions of Reason ratings between heterosexual and SSO women were significantly different, non-parametric tests were employed to analyze the ordinal data. Mann-Whitney U tests were performed on each of the 15 paired-statements. The distributions of reasons were significantly different for heterosexual compared to SSO women ($p < .001$) with two exceptions. There were no significant differences for the distributions of the *female request* statements (*A female(s) dared me to do it, p* = .561; *A female(s) asked me to do it, p* = .393).

The majority (>50%) of all participants agreed that their behaviour had been influenced by substance use and they had engaged in PSSSB for adventure and sexual exploration. In addition, a majority (>50%) of all participants disagreed that victimization, female request, friend request, and contextual demand explained why they had engaged in PSSSB.

A majority (>50%) of heterosexual women agreed that they had engaged in PSSSB for male attention, general attention, male request, male pleasure, and societal demands. However, they disagreed that they had engaged in PSSSB in order to attract female attention, for sexual pleasure or because they were sexually attracted to their PSSSB partner(s). Conversely, a majority (>50%) of SSO participants agreed that sexual attraction and sexual pleasure were reasons for engaging in PSSSB and they disagreed that they had engaged in PSSSB for any type of attention (male, female, or general) for male request, male pleasure, or societal demands.

These results provided partial support for Hypothesis 4a; although there was a statistically significant difference in the distribution of responses between heterosexual and SSO women ($p < .001$); a majority of all women agreed to some extent that they had engaged in PSSSB for sexual exploration, and substance use, but also sexual adventure. The results also partially supported hypothesis 4b; heterosexual and SSO women provided different reasons, which were statistically significant ($p < .001$), for engaging in PSSSB. The majority of

heterosexual women agreed to some extent that they had engaged in PSSSB for male attention, general attention, male request, male pleasure, and societal demands. This was not the case for a majority of the SSO women who endorsed sexual attraction and sexual pleasure.

Participant comments on their reasons for engaging in PSSSB. A total of 83 participants included additional comments about why they had engaged in PSSSB. These comments were clustered into conceptual categories. Only the most common categories are presented in this section. Of the 43 comments written by heterosexual women, 12 clarified that they had engaged in PSSSB to attract specific male attention (e.g., "I was trying to attract a particular guy"; "To get lucky with a guy"), while 6 simply elaborated upon seeking Male Attention (e.g., "I didn't want everyone to notice me, just the men!"). Eight of the heterosexual participants clarified that engaging in PSSSB was specifically for their boyfriends (e.g., "My boyfriends liked it when I got with another girl in front them"; "Very specific setting - my boyfriend was into it"; "My partner begs me to do it. He loves to see me make-out with women").

Of the 40 comments included by SSO women, 17 described public displays of affection towards their partners (e.g., "I'm Queer, I was dating her"; "This is a normal as I am in a lesbian relationship and displaying affection and sexual behaviour with a female is a part of my sexual identity"). Four of the comments involved expressions of sexuality (e.g., "I was expressing my personal freedom and rebellion towards heteronormativity"). Appendix H contains a full list of participant comments regarding their reasons for engaging in PSSSB.

Question 6: What feelings do young and emerging adult heterosexual or SSO women have about PSSSB the day after engaging in it?

To assess women's feelings about their PSSSB the day after engaging in it, I rank ordered the adjectives participants selected based on their age (emerging adult, adult) and sexual orientation (heterosexual, SSO) (see Table 11). The top five adjectives chosen by each group are reported in the following section.

The mostly commonly selected adjective chosen by heterosexual emerging adult women was *embarrassed* (61%) followed by *adventurous* (59.3%), *awkward* (49.2%), *regretful* (39%), and *coerced* (32.3%). The majority of heterosexual adult women listed *adventurous* first (58.5%), followed by *embarrassed* (48.8%), *open-minded* (46.3%), *awkward* (34.1%) and *regretful* (31.7%). A majority of both SSO emerging adult and adult women listed *adventurous* (72.1% and 65.3%, respectively), then *open-minded* (67.6% and 53.3% respectively) to describe their feelings after engaging in PSSSB. The SSO emerging adult women then chose *indifferent* (44.1), *excited* (42.6%), and *empowered* (38.2%); whereas the SSO adult women selected *happy* (50.7%), *excited* (49.3%), and *empowered* (34.7%).

Table 10

Frequency, Percent (in parenthesis) and Rank Order of Adjectives Used to Describe Feelings after Engaging in PSSSB

	Heterosexual Orientation						Some Same-Sex Sexual Orientation					
	Age 19-25			Age 26-40			Age 19-25			Age 26-40		
Adjectives	*f*	%	Rank	*f*	%	Rank	*f*	%	Rank	*f*	%	Rank
Embarrassed	36	(61)	1	20	(48.8)	2	15	(22.1)	10	12	(16)	11
Adventurous	35	(59.3)	2	24	(58.5)	1	49	(72.1)	1	49	(65.3)	1
Awkward	29	(49.2)	3	14	(34.1)	4	15	(22.1)	10	19	(25.3)	8
Regretful	23	(39)	4	13	(31.7)	5	4	(5.9)	12	5	(6.7)	13
Coerced	19	(32.2)	5	5	(12.2)	11	2	(2.9)	14	4	(5.3)	14
Indifferent	17	(28.8)	6	9	(22)	7	30	(44.1)	3	16	(21.3)	9
Used	17	(28.8)	6	8	(19.5)	8	7	(10.3)	11	5	(6.7)	13
Ashamed	16	(27.1)	7	7	(17.1)	9	4	(5.9)	12	4	(5.3)	14
Open- minded	14	(23.7)	8	19	(46.3)	3	46	(67.6)	2	40	(53.3)	2
Depressed	12	(20.3)	9	3	(7.3)	13	2	(2.9)	13	1	(1.3)	17
Resentful	12	(20.3)	9	6	(14.6)	10	3	(4.4)	13	4	(5.3)	14
Empowered	11	(18.6)	10	9	(22)	7	26	(38.2)	5	26	(34.7)	5
Liberal minded	8	(13.6)	11	12	(29.3)	6	17	(25)	9	14	(18.7)	10
Victimized	8	(13.6)	11	2	(4.9)	14	2	(2.9)	14	3	(4)	15
Confused	7	(11.9)	12	4	(9.8)	12	17	(25)	9	19	(25.3)	8
Happy	7	(11.9)	12	4	(9.8)	12	25	(36.8)	6	38	(50.7)	3
Excited	6	(10.2)	13	6	(14.6)	10	29	(42.6)	4	37	(49.3)	4
Liberated	2	(3.4)	14	5	(12.2)	11	24	(35.3)	7	22	(29.3)	6
High	2	(3.4)	14	1	(2.4)	15	4	(5.9)	11	7	(9.3)	12
Sexually fulfilled	2	(3.4)	14	3	(7.3)	13	20	(29.4)	8	21	(28)	7
Euphoric	1	(1.7)	15	0	(0)	16	7	(10.3)	11	11	(14.7)	11
Angry	1	(1.7)	15	1	(2.4)	15	0	(0)	15	3	(4)	15
Afraid	1	(1.7)	15	0	(0)	16	1	(1.5)	14	3	(4)	15
None of above	1	(1.7)	15	0	(0)	16	0	(0)	15	2	(2.7)	16

To discover positive and negative trends in participants' feelings after engaging in PSSSB, the adjectives were divided into two groups: positive adjectives **(**i.e., adventurous, open minded, empowered, liberal minded, happy, excited, liberated, high, sexually fulfilled, and euphoric) and negative adjectives (i.e., embarrassed, awkward, regretful, coerced, ashamed, used, depressed, resentful, victimized, confused, angry, and afraid). (See Table 12). The word Indifferent was omitted. The numbers of positive and negative adjectives were calculated for heterosexual emerging adult and adult women and SSO emerging adult and adult women (4 groups). The Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA indicated significant group differences in the distribution of positive ($p < .001$) and negative ($p < .001$) adjectives. Mann-Whitney U tests revealed no significant differences between the heterosexual women on positive and negative comments ($p = .087$, $p = .043$, respectively), and no significant differences between SSO women on positive and negative comments ($p = .638$, $p = .824$, respectively). Therefore heterosexual emerging adult and adult women were combined and SSO emerging adult and adult women were combined for the final Mann-Whitney U test which revealed significant differences for positive ($p < .001$) and negative ($p < .001$) comments. Heterosexual women had significantly fewer positive adjectives and significantly more negative adjectives to explain their feelings after engaging in PSSSB compared to the SSO women.

Table 11

Frequency and Percent (in parenthesis) of Positive and Negative Adjectives used by Emerging Adult and Adult Heterosexual and SSO Participants after Engaging in PSSSB

	Heterosexual Women				SSO Women			
Adjectives	Age 19-25		Age 26-40		Age 19-25		Age 26-40	
	F	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Positive	88	(14.9)	83	(20.2)	247	(36.3)	265	(35.3)
Negative	181	(25.6)	83	(16.9)	72	(8.8)	82	(9.1)

Women's Comments about how they felt after engaging in PSSSB. Fifty-nine participants commented on how they felt the day after engaging in PSSSB (see Appendix I for a complete list of comments). Of the 21 comments written by heterosexual emerging adults, 16 were negative (e.g., "Upset I was so easily talked into it when I was drunk. Only happened a few times. It wasn't for me"; "I never feel good about it, but it's what it takes to get certain men to notice me"; "Sexy at the time, but slutty the next day"; "Often confused - guys asked us to do it, but called us sluts or nymphos afterwards"). In addition, the heterosexual emerging adults included 3 neutral comments (e.g., "Every time is different"; "I mostly try not to think about it") and 2 positive comments (i.e., "Influential"; "I'm always with my boyfriend the next day and usually we've had a great night, so I feel sexy"). Seven of the 16 comments written by heterosexual adults were negative (e.g., "Stupid", "A push-over"; "Foolish", "Horrible experience. I felt completely taken advantage of when I was drunk"; "Angry with myself for being so easily manipulated"). Four of the heterosexual adult women shared that their feelings were situation dependent (e.g., "It depended on the attention I got from men"; "Sometimes I regretted my behaviour, other times it made me feel open-minded"); while five comments were positively worded (e.g., "Like I'm a good actress"; "Adrenaline rush over how daring it was").

The SSO emerging adult women included 7 comments about how they felt the day after engaging in PSSSB. Three of the comments were negative (e.g., "Devastated - several times, the women that I was dancing with were using me to turn on men. I thought they were interested in me"; "Silly"; "Nervous about the other girl's reaction afterward"); while 3 of the comments were positive (e.g., "Fun"; "Funny"). Of the 15 comments included by SSO adults, 7 comments were positive (e.g., "Excited"; "Free"; "I felt recognized") and 6 comments were negative (e.g., "Taken advantage of because most of the girls were straight and I was seriously attracted to them"; "Sometimes I felt like I'd been talked into something that I shouldn't have done").

Question 7: What is the relationship between PSSSB and women's exploration of and commitment to their sexual orientation?

The three factors derived from the MoSIEC factor analysis were used to define the dependent variables in three separate ANOVAs. ANOVAs were calculated for: exploration, orientation uncertainty, and commitment/synthesis. The assumptions of independent observations, homogeneity of variances, and normal distribution of the dependent variable for each group were checked for each 3-way ANOVA. Participants' scores were not related systematically to any other participants' scores and the dependent variables for each group were normally distributed. Levene's test was significant for and orientation uncertainty and commitment/synthesis indicating that the variances were significantly different. The violations were considered when selecting the post hoc tests.

To assess whether PSSSB, orientation, age and their interactions influence the dependent variables a three-way 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted for each dependent variable. The Holm's sequential Bonferroni (Holm, 1979) was applied to each of the three ANOVAs to reduce the likelihood of

type I errors. Summary Tables for descriptives and tests of between-subject effects are presented for each ANOVA as well as charts for significant interactions.

Sexual Orientation Exploration. To assess whether PSSSB, sexual orientation, age and their interactions are related to sexual exploration, a three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated (see Table 31 for descriptives and Table 32 for ANOVA results). There were significant interactions of PSSSB with sexual orientation, $F(1,443) = 6.64$, $p = .010$, *effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .012 and PSSSB with age as predictors of exploration, $F(1,443) = 5.52$, $p = .019$, *effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .015 (see Figures 7 and 8). For each interaction a one-way ANOVA was computed to see how the means across the four groups differed. The analysis for PSSB with sexual orientation revealed a significant overall one-way effect ($F(3,447) = 5.52$, $p < .019$, *effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .145. Tukey post hoc tests indicated that heterosexual women who only observed PSSSB had significantly lower scores on exploration than all other groups ($p < .001$).

The analysis for PSSB with age revealed a significant overall one-way effect ($F(3,447) = 14.27$, $p < .000$,, *effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .087. Tukey post hoc tests indicated that emerging adults who engaged in PSSSB, had significantly higher scores on exploration than emerging adults and adults who only observed PSSSB ($p < .000$; $p < .000$, *respectively).* Further, adults who engaged in PSSSB had significantly higher scores on exploration than emerging adults and adults who only observed PSSSB ($p < .001$; $p < .029$, *respectively).* In general, the women in both age groups who had engaged in PSSSB had higher exploration than the women in both age groups who had only observed PSSSB.

Table 12

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Sexual Exploration as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	12.20	4.02	67	8.66	3.03	126	10.32	3.94
	SSO	68	12.65	3.22	55	11.24	3.12	123	12.02	3.24
	Total	127	12.44	3.61	122	9.82	3.32	249	11.16	3.70
26-40	Heterosexual	41	10.56	3.63	50	9.00	3.04	91	9.70	3.39
	SSO	75	12.09	3.45	36	11.78	3.60	111	11.99	3.48
	Total	116	11.55	3.57	86	10.16	3.54	202	10.96	3.62
All	Heterosexual	100	11.53	3.93	117	8.80	3.02	217	10.06	3.72
	SSO	143	12.36	3.34	91	11.45	3.31	234	12.00	3.35
	Total	243	12.02	3.61	208	9.96	3.41	451	11.07	3.66

Table 13

Two-Way Analysis of Variance for Sexual Exploration as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	310.80	27.14	.000*	.058
SO	1	357.90	31.26	.000*	.066
Age	1	11.45	1.00	.318	.002
PSSSB x SO	1	76.09	6.65	.010*	.015
PSSSB x Age	1	63.17	5.52	.019*	.012
SO x Age	1	11.02	.96	.327	.002
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	5.28	.46	.498	.001
Error	443	11.45			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 1. Interaction of PSSSB and Sexual Orientation on Exploration

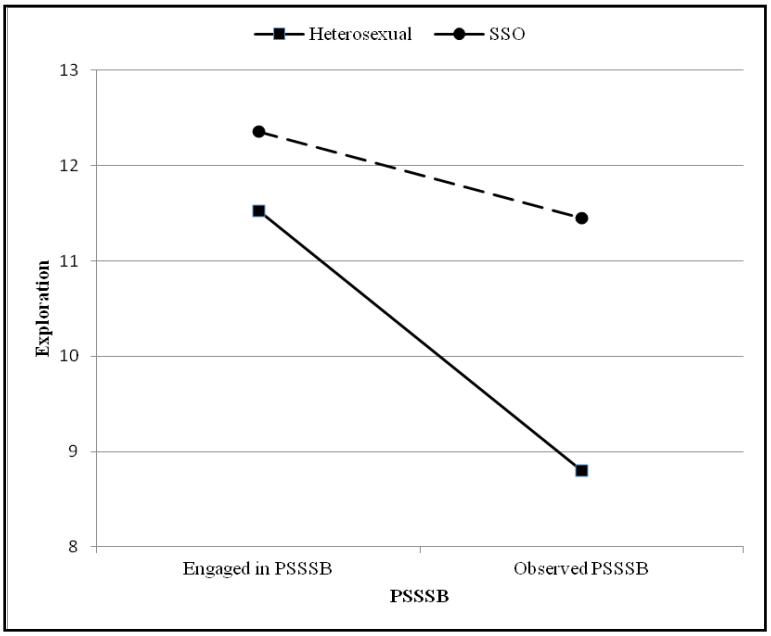
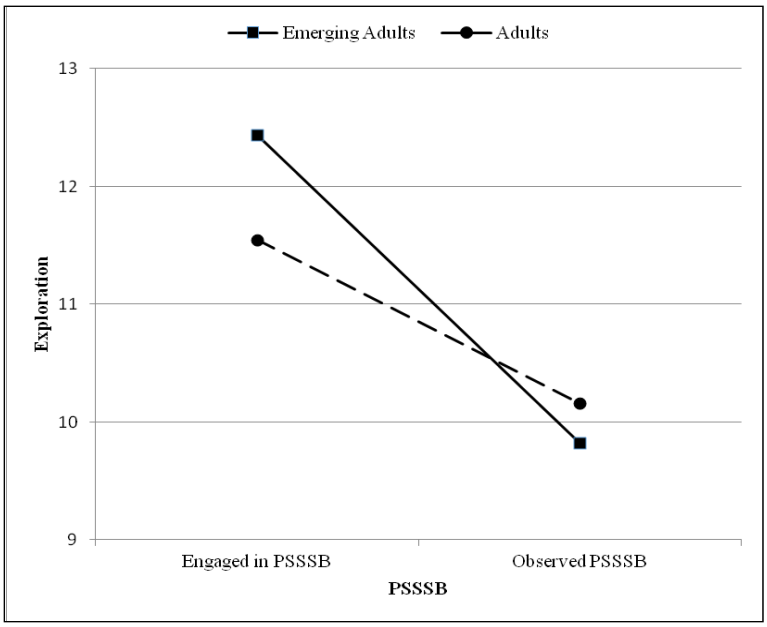


Figure 2. Interaction of PSSSB and Age on Exploration



Sexual Orientation Uncertainty. To assess whether PSSSB, sexual orientation, age and their interactions are related to orientation uncertainty, a three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated. (See Table 33 for descriptives and Table 34 for ANOVA results). There was a significant 3-way interaction for PSSSB and sexual orientation on orientation uncertainty, *F(1,443) =5.27, p< .022 ,effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .012 (see Figure 10). To address how these eight means were significantly different from one another, a one-way ANOVA was computed. To conduct this ANOVA, eight groups were created based on sexual orientation, age, and PSSSB participation. The one-way ANOVA revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(7, 443) = 18.74, *p < .000, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .23. The Games-Howell post hoc test, selected because equal variances was not assumed, revealed that all heterosexual women who had engaged in or observed PSSSB had significantly lower scores on orientation uncertainty that all SSO women who had engaged in or observed PSSSB (*p < .033).* In general, the heterosexual women expressed more certainty about their sexual orientation than SSO women. There were no significant differences in the orientation uncertainty scores of heterosexual women who had engaged or heterosexual women who had observed PSSSB. In addition, all heterosexual women, rather than only heterosexual PSSSB engagers, had lower scores on orientation uncertainty scores than SSO women.

Table 14

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Orientation Uncertainty as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	3.76	1.58	67	3.91	1.76	126	3.84	1.68
	SSO	68	6.29	3.41	55	7.87	3.88	123	7.00	3.70
	Total	127	5.12	2.99	122	5.70	3.51	249	5.40	3.26
26-40	Heterosexual	41	3.44	.98	50	4.10	1.89	91	3.80	1.57
	SSO	75	6.28	3.55	36	5.92	2.88	111	6.16	3.34
	Total	116	5.28	3.21	86	4.86	2.51	202	5.10	2.93
All	Heterosexual	100	3.63	1.37	117	3.99	1.81	217	3.82	1.63
	SSO	143	6.29	3.47	91	7.10	3.63	234	6.60	3.55
	Total	243	5.19	3.09	208	5.35	3.16	451	5.27	3.12

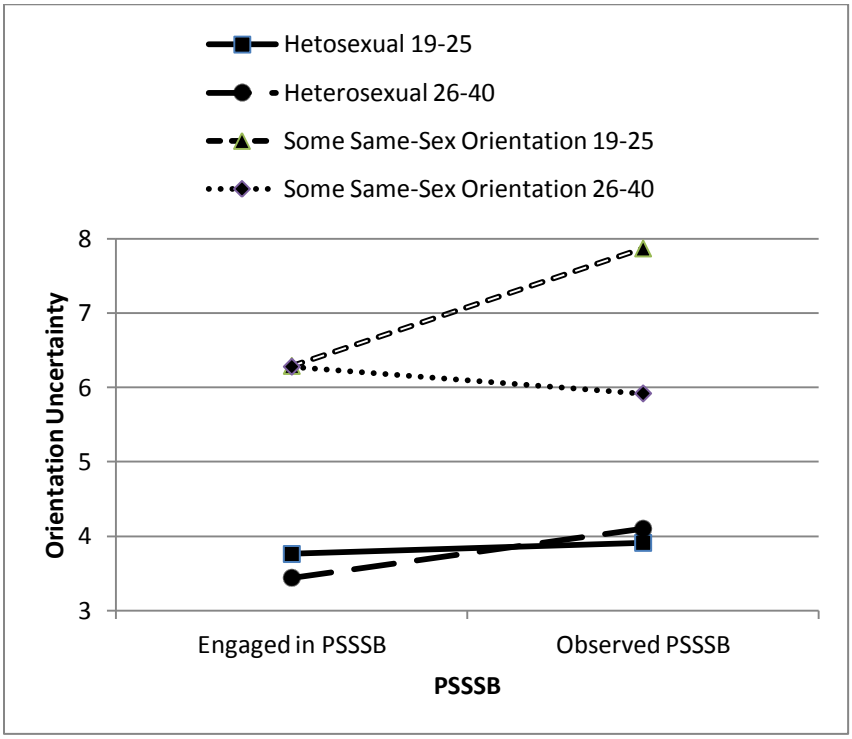
Table 15

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Orientation Uncertainty as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	27.26	3.58	.059	.008
SO	1	827.56	108.63	.000*	.197
Age	1	29.47	3.87	.050*	.009
PSSSB x SO	1	1.10	0.14	.704	.000
PSSSB x Age	1	13.58	1.78	.18	.004
SO x Age	1	22.43	2.95	.087	.007
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	40.12	5.27	.022*	.012
Error	443	7.62			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 3. Interaction of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age on Orientation Uncertainty



Sexual Orientation Commitment/Synthesis. To assess how PSSSB, sexual orientation, age and their interactions are related to commitment/synthesis, a three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. (See Table 35 for descriptives and 36 for ANOVA results). There was a significant 3-way interaction for PSSSB and sexual orientation on commitment/synthesis, *F(1,443) =4.23, p< .040 ,effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .009 (see Figure 10). To address how these eight means were significantly different from one another, a one-way ANOVA was computed. To conduct this ANOVA, eight groups were created based on sexual orientation, age, and PSSSB participation. The one-way ANOVA revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(7, 443) = 7.279, *p < .000, effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .10. The Games-Howell post hoc test, selected because equal variances was not assumed, revealed that heterosexual emerging adults who engaged in PSSSB had significantly lower scores on

commitment/synthesis compared to heterosexual adults, SSO emerging adults, and SSO adults who had engaged in PSSSB (*p < .005; p < .030; p < .001, respectively)*, and heterosexual adults who had only observed PSSSB *(p < .000)*. In addition, SSO emerging adults who had only observed PSSSB, had significantly lower scores on commitment/synthesis compared to both heterosexual adults, SSO emerging adults and SSO adults who had engaged in PSSSB (*p < .008; p < .041; p < .001, respectively)* and heterosexual adults (*p < .000)* who had only observed it.

Table 16

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Commitment/Synthesis as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	24.61	7.77	67	27.87	5.29	126	26.34	6.75
	SSO	68	28.47	4.93	55	25.09	6.56	123	26.96	5.93
	Total	127	26.68	6.67	122	26.61	6.03	249	26.65	6.35
26-40	Heterosexual	41	29.76	5.67	50	29.98	4.09	91	29.88	4.84
	SSO	75	29.72	5.03	36	27.92	6.56	111	29.14	5.61
	Total	116	29.73	5.24	86	29.12	5.33	202	29.47	5.28
All	Heterosexual	100	26.72	7.41	117	28.77	4.91	217	27.82	6.26
	SSO	143	29.13	5.00	91	26.21	6.67	234	27.99	5.87
	Total	243	28.14	6.21	208	27.65	5.87	451	27.91	6.05

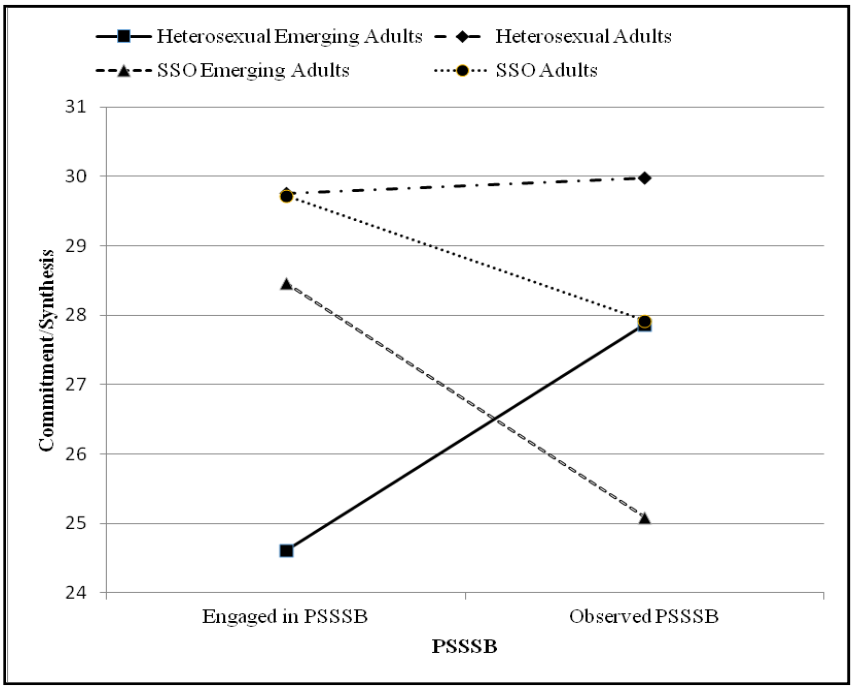
Table 17

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Commitment/Synthesis as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	19.32	.58	.477	.001
SO	1	6.84	.21	.651	.000
Age	1	855.11	25.62	.000*	.055
PSSSB x SO	1	499.37	14.96	.000*	.033
PSSSB x Age	1	14.09	.42	.516	.001
SO x Age	1	67.51	2.02	.156	.005
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	141.31	4.23	.040*	.009
Error	443	33.38			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 4. Interaction of PSSSB and Sexual Orientation on Commitment/Synthesis



Question 8: What is the relationship between PSSSB engagement status of heterosexual and SSO women and each of the seven dimensions of women's sexual self-concept?

Only six factors were derived from the MSSCQ factor analysis, therefore, these six factors were used to define the dependent variables in six separate ANOVAs. The ANOVAs were calculated for: sexual depression, sexual self-efficacy, sexual monitoring, sexual assertiveness and external locus of control and the added factor, sexual compliance.

Assumptions of independent observations, homogeneity of variances, and normal distribution of the dependent variable were checked for each 3-way ANOVA. Participants' scores were not related systematically to any other participants' scores and the dependent variables for each group were normally distributed. The error variance was equal across all groups for sexual assertiveness and sexual monitoring. However, Levene's test was significant for sexual depression, sexual self-efficacy, external locus of control and sexual compliance, indicating that the variances were significantly different. Leech, Barett, and Morgan (2011) note that "SPSS uses the regression approach to calculate ANOVA, so this problem is less important" (p. 153). However, the violations were considered when selecting the post hoc tests.

To assess whether PSSSB, sexual orientation, and age each have an effect on the dependent variables and if the effects of PSSSB on the dependent variables depend on whether the female was heterosexual or had some same-sex orientation and/or was an emerging adult (19-25) or older (26-40) a series of three-way 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on each dependant variable. Summary Tables for descriptives and tests of between-subject effects are presented for each ANOVA as well as charts for significant interactions.

Sexual Depression. To assess whether PSSSB, sexual orientation, age and their interactions are related to sexual depression, a three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. Table 18 shows the number of participants, and the sexual depression mean, and standard deviations for each cell. Table 19 summarizes the ANOVA main effects and interactions. There was a significant 2-way interaction of PSSSB with sexual orientation for depression, *F(1,443) = 18.828, p< .001 ,effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .041, (see Figure 1). The 3-way ANOVA does not provide information regarding which means are significantly different from one another; it simply indicates that a significant interaction between the IVs exist. To explore patterns and differences among these four means, a one-way ANOVA was computed. To conduct this ANOVA, four groups were compared: heterosexual who had engaged in PSSSB, SSO who had engaged in PSSSB, heterosexuals who had only observed PSSSB, and SSO who had only observed PSSB. The one-way ANOVA revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(3,447) = 10.79, *p < .000, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .068. The Games-Howell post hoc test, selected because equal variances was not assumed, revealed that heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly higher sexual depression scores than SO women who had engaged in PSSSB (*p < .001*) and heterosexual women who had only observed PSSSB (*p < .001*).

Table 18

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Sexual Depression as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

		Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
Age	Sexual Orientation	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	14.37	6.63	67	10.22	4.17	126	12.17	5.82
	SSO	68	9.40	4.40	55	11.36	5.08	123	10.28	4.80
	Total	127	11.71	6.07	122	10.74	4.62	249	11.23	5.41
26-40	Heterosexual	41	10.85	4.99	50	9.42	4.67	91	10.07	4.85
	SSO	75	9.55	4.18	36	10.22	4.88	111	9.77	4.41
	Total	116	10.01	4.51	86	9.76	4.75	202	9.90	4.60
Total	Heterosexual	100	12.93	6.24	117	9.88	4.39	217	11.29	5.52
Ages	SSO	143	9.48	4.27	91	10.91	5.01	234	10.03	4.62
	Total	243	10.90	5.44	208	10.33	4.69	451	10.64	5.11

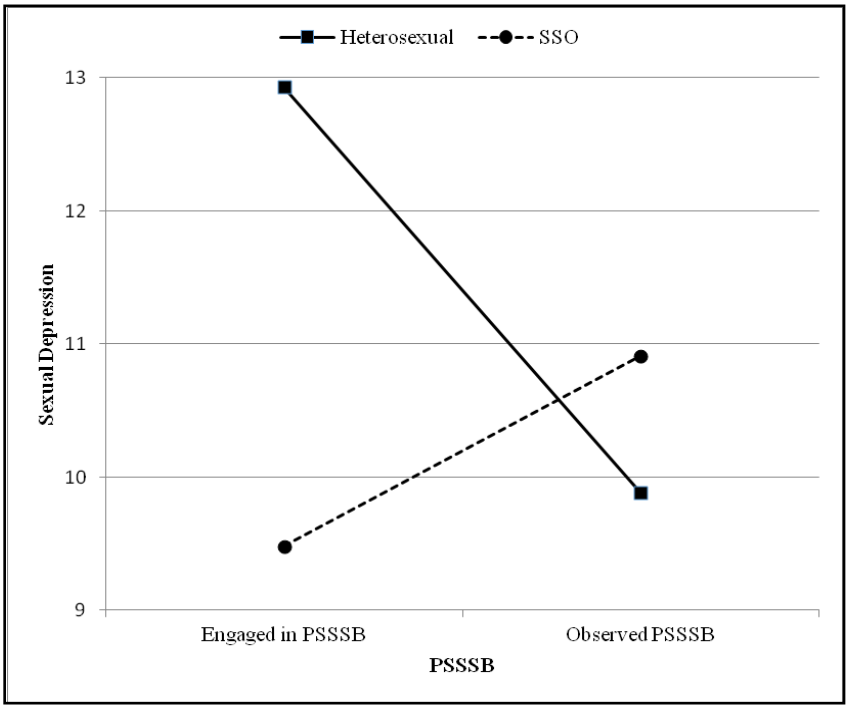
Table 19

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Sexual Depression as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	57.54	2.40	.122	.005
Sexual Orientation	1	125.40	5.24	.022*	.012
Age	1	187.99	7.86	.005*	.017
PSSSB x SO	1	450.19	18.83	.000*	.041
PSSSB x Age	1	13.50	.57	.453	.001
SO x Age	1	73.85	3.09	.080	.007
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	106.82	4.47	.035	.010
Error	443	23.91			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 5. Interaction of PSSSB and Sexual Orientation on Sexual Depression



Sexual Monitoring. To assess whether PSSSB, sexual orientation, age and their interactions are related to sexual monitoring, a three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on participants' ratings of sexual monitoring (see Table 20 for descriptives and Table 21 for ANOVA results). There was a significant main effect for PSSSB, *F(1,443) = 10.07, p= .002, effect size* ($\eta\rho^2$) = .02 (see Figure 6). Overall, females who engaged in PSSSB (M = 10.65, SD = 2.37) had significantly higher scores on sexual monitoring than females who only observed PSSSB (M = 9.79, SD = 2.51).

Table 20

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Sexual Monitoring as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	11.05	2.19	67	9.46	2.57	126	10.21	2.52
	SSO	68	10.53	2.17	55	10.13	2.42	123	10.35	2.28
	Total	127	10.77	2.18	122	9.76	2.52	249	10.28	2.40
26-40	Heterosexual	41	10.15	2.72	50	9.26	2.38	91	9.66	2.56
	SSO	75	10.71	2.47	36	10.61	2.49	111	10.68	2.47
	Total	116	10.51	2.56	86	9.83	2.51	202	10.22	2.55
All	Heterosexual	100	10.68	2.45	117	9.38	2.48	217	9.98	2.55
	SSO	143	10.62	2.32	91	10.32	2.45	234	10.50	2.37
	Total	243	10.65	2.37	208	9.79	2.51	451	10.25	2.47

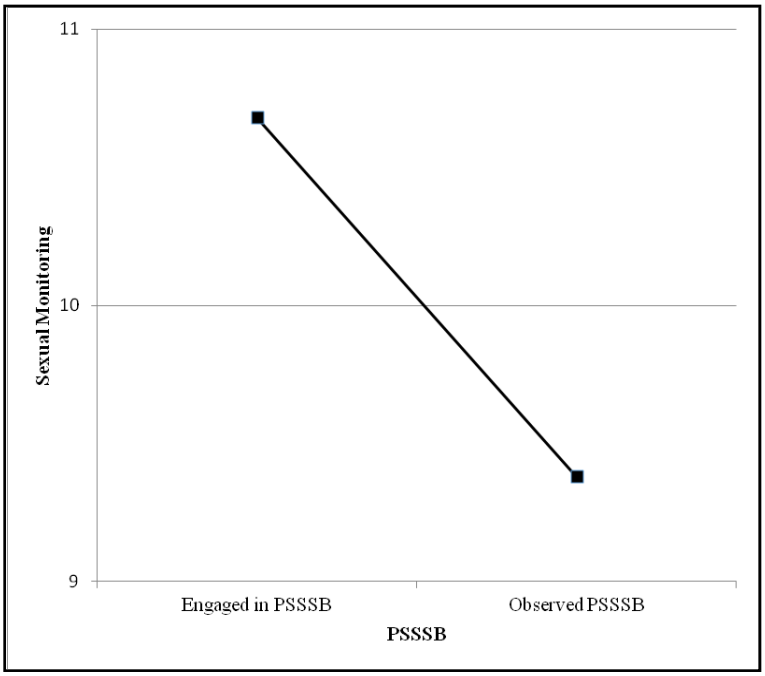
Table 21

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Sexual Monitoring as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	58.79	10.07	.002*	.022
SO	1	28.09	4.81	.029	.011
Age	1	1.32	.23	.634	.001
PSSSB x SO	1	26.01	4.46	.035	.010
PSSSB x Age	1	6.77	1.16	.280	.003
SO x Age	1	20.81	3.57	.060	.008
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	1.04	.18	.670	.000
Error	443	5.84			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 6. Main Effect of PSSSB on Sexual Monitoring



Sexual Compliance. To assess whether PSSSB, sexual orientation, age and their interactions are related to sexual compliance, a three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. Table 22 shows the number of participants, means, and standard deviations of sexual compliance for each cell. There was a significant three-way interaction between PSSSB, sexual orientation and age on sexual compliance, *F(1,443) = 11.82, p = .001, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .026 (see Table 23). To address how these eight means were significantly different from one another, a one-way ANOVA was computed. To conduct this ANOVA, eight groups were created based on sexual orientation, age, and PSSSB participation. The one-way ANOVA revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(7,443) = 14.19, *p < .000, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .18. The Games-Howell post hoc test, selected because equal variances was not assumed, revealed that emerging adult

heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly higher scores on sexual compliance than all other groups ($p < .000$) .

Table 22

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Sexual Compliance as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	12.98	4.85	67	7.63	2.84	126	10.13	4.73
	SSO	68	8.51	3.23	55	8.33	3.16	123	8.43	3.19
	Total	127	10.59	4.63	122	7.94	2.99	249	9.26	4.12
26-40	Heterosexual	41	8.85	4.01	50	7.96	3.49	91	8.36	3.74
	SSO	75	8.17	3.43	36	7.72	3.02	111	8.03	3.29
	Total	116	8.41	3.65	86	7.86	3.29	202	8.18	3.50
ALL	Heterosexual	100	11.29	4.95	117	7.77	3.13	217	9.39	4.42
	SSO	143	8.34	3.33	91	8.09	3.10	234	8.24	3.24
	Total	243	9.55	4.32	208	7.91	3.11	451	8.79	3.89

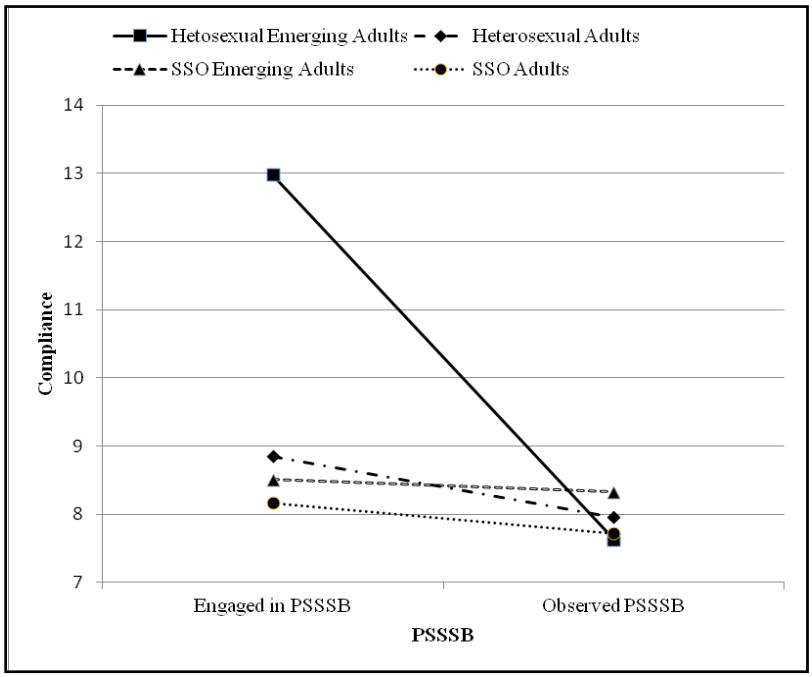
Table 23

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Sexual Compliance as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	315.79	25.11	.000*	.054
SO	1	146.14	11.62	.001*	.026
Age	1	149.69	11.90	.001*	.026
PSSSB x SO	1	209.54	16.66	.000*	.036
PSSSB x Age	1	117.33	9.33	.002*	.021
SO x Age	1	54.05	4.29	.039	.010
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	148.65	11.82	.001*	.026
Error	443	12.58			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 7. Three-Way Interaction of PSSSB, Age, and Sexual Orientation on Sexual Compliance



Sexual Assertiveness. A three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on participants' ratings of sexual assertiveness (see Table 24 for descriptives and Table 25 for ANOVA results). There was a significant interaction for PSSSB and sexual orientation on sexual assertiveness, *F(1,443) = 18.25, p< .001,effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .04 (see Figure 5). A one-way ANOVA was computed to see if the means across the four groups, based on PSSSB and sexual orientation, differed. The analysis revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(3,447) = 16.99, *p < .001, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .10. The Tukey post hoc test revealed that heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly lower scores on sexual assertiveness than all other groups (*p* < .001).

Table 24

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Sexual Assertiveness as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	12.75	5.01	67	15.63	4.25	126	14.28	4.82
	SSO	68	18.13	4.25	55	16.24	5.03	123	17.28	4.69
	Total	127	15.63	5.33	122	15.90	4.61	249	15.76	4.98
26-40	Heterosexual	41	16.22	5.69	50	18.04	4.75	91	17.22	5.24
	SSO	75	19.11	4.33	36	17.92	4.77	111	18.72	4.49
	Total	116	18.09	5.02	86	17.99	4.73	202	18.04	4.89
All	Heterosexual	100	14.17	5.54	117	16.66	4.61	217	15.51	5.19
	SSO	143	18.64	4.30	91	16.90	4.97	234	17.97	4.64
	Total	243	16.80	5.32	208	16.76	4.76	451	16.78	5.06

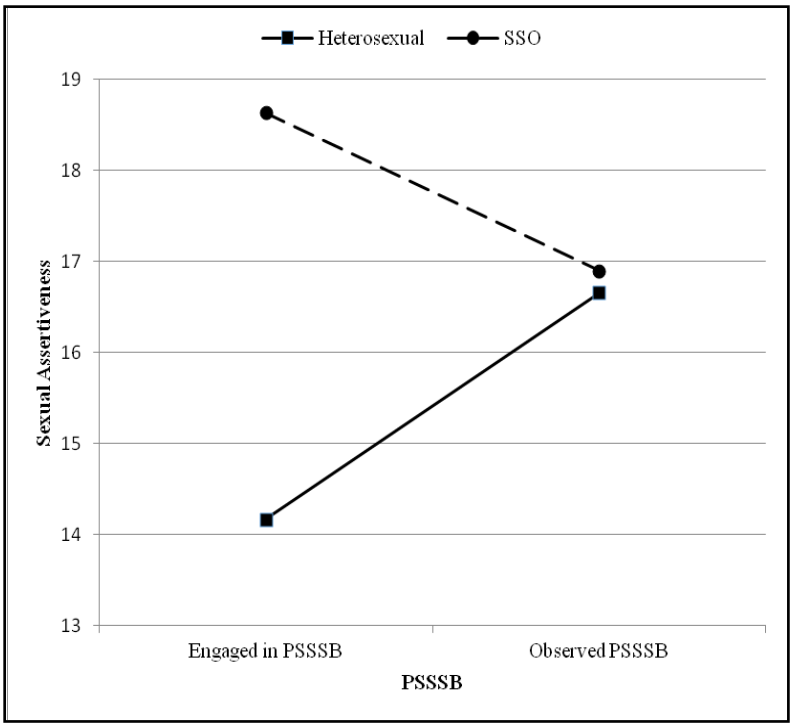
Table 25

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Sexual Assertiveness as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	17.37	.79	.376	.002
SO	1	510.68	23.09	.000*	.050
Age	1	485.53	21.95	.000*	.047
PSSSB x SO	1	403.60	18.25	.000*	.040
PSSSB x Age	1	.84	.04	.846	.000
SO x Age	1	69.53	3.14	.077	.040
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	20.77	.94	.333	.002
Error	443	22.12			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 8. Interaction of PSSSB and Sexual Orientation on Sexual Assertiveness



Sexual Self-Efficacy. A three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated on participants' ratings of sexual self-efficacy (see Table 26 for descriptives and Table 27 for ANOVA results). There was a significant interaction for PSSSB and sexual orientation on sexual self-efficacy, *F(1,443) = 10.761, p< .001 ,effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .024 (see Figure 3). A one-way ANOVA was computed to see if the means across the four groups, based on PSSSB participation and sexual orientation, differed. The analysis revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(3,447) = 11.73, *p < .000, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .073. The Games-Howell post hoc test revealed that heterosexual females who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly lower scores on sexual self-efficacy than SO females who had engaged in PSSSB (p < .001).

Table 26

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for Sexual Self-Efficacy as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	17.81	4.49	67	19.82	2.81	126	18.88	3.82
	SSO	68	21.12	2.84	55	20.15	3.79	123	20.68	3.32
	Total	127	19.58	4.04	122	19.97	3.28	249	19.77	3.68
26-40	Heterosexual	41	20.02	3.23	50	20.78	3.31	91	20.44	3.28
	SSO	75	21.55	2.64	36	21.00	3.95	111	21.37	3.12
	Total	116	21.01	2.94	86	20.87	3.57	202	20.95	3.22
All	Heterosexual	100	18.72	4.15	117	20.23	3.06	217	19.53	3.67
	SSO	143	21.34	2.73	91	20.48	3.86	234	21.01	3.24
	Total	243	20.26	3.62	208	20.34	3.42	451	20.30	3.53

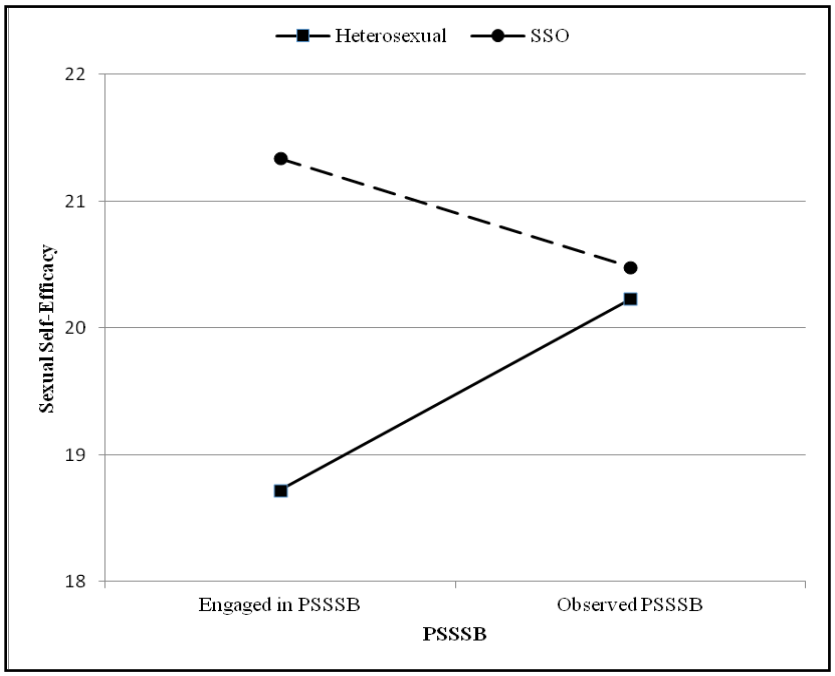
Table 27

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for Sexual Self-Efficacy as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	10.30	.91	.341	.002
SO	1	191.98	16.93	.000*	.037
Age	1	131.99	11.64	.001*	.026
PSSSB x SO	1	122.01	10.76	.001*	.024
PSSSB x Age	1	4.54	.40	.527	.001
SO x Age	1	23.68	2.09	.149	.005
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	18.72	1.65	.199	.004
Error	443	11.34			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 9. Interaction of PSSSB with Sexual Orientation on Sexual Self-Efficacy



External Locus of Control. A three-way, 2 (PSSSB versus no PSSSB) x 2 (sexual orientation) x 2 (age) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was calculated on participants' ratings of external locus of control (see Table 28 for descriptives and Table 29 for ANOVA results). There was a significant interaction for PSSSB and sexual orientation on external locus of control, *F(1,443) = 27.972, p< .000 ,effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .06 (see Figure 4). A one-way ANOVA was computed to see how the means across the four groups differed, based on PSSSB participation and sexual orientation. The analysis revealed a significant overall one-way effect (F(3,447) = 20.29, *p < .001, effect size (*$\eta\rho^2$) = .12. The Games-Howell post hoc test revealed that heterosexual females who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly higher scores on external locus of control than all other females (*p < .001*).

Table 28

Means, Standard Deviations, and n for External Locus of Control as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation, and Age

Age	Sexual Orientation	Engaged in PSSSB			Observed PSSSB			Total		
		n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
19-25	Heterosexual	59	20.31	8.73	67	12.90	4.07	126	16.37	7.61
	SSO	68	13.50	5.18	55	14.04	4.64	123	13.74	4.93
	Total	127	16.66	7.81	122	13.41	4.35	249	15.07	6.55
26-40	Heterosexual	41	15.56	7.28	50	12.64	5.17	91	13.96	6.34
	SSO	75	12.80	5.26	36	13.86	5.49	111	13.14	5.33
	Total	116	13.78	6.16	86	13.15	5.31	202	13.51	5.81
All	Heterosexual	100	18.36	8.46	117	12.79	4.55	217	15.35	7.19
	Same-Sex	143	13.13	5.21	91	13.97	4.97	234	13.46	5.12
	Total	243	15.28	7.20	208	13.30	4.76	451	14.37	6.27

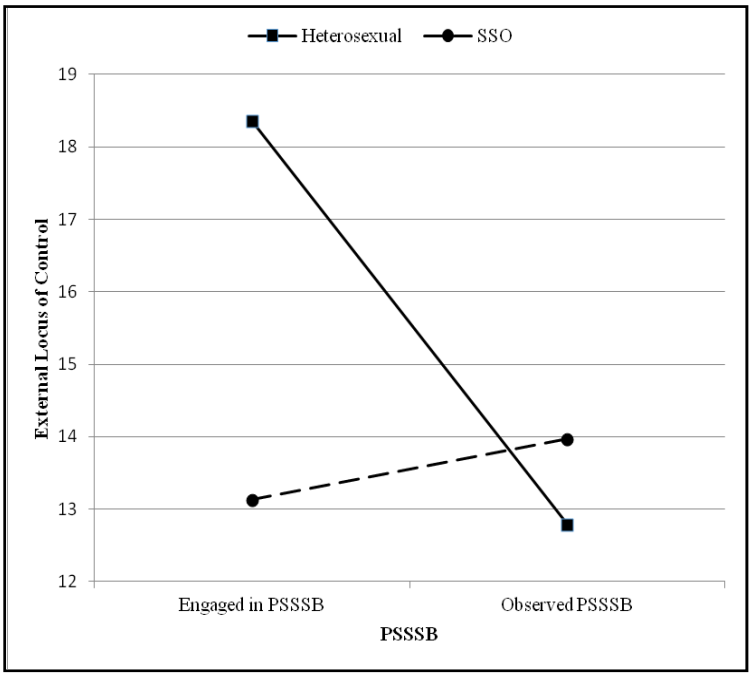
Table 29

Three-Way Analysis of Variance for External Locus of Control as a Function of PSSSB, Sexual Orientation (SO), and Age

Variable and source	*df*	MS	F	*p*	$\eta\rho^2$
PSSSB	1	507.55	14.99	.000	.033
SO	1	345.39	10.20	.002	.023
Age	1	229.69	6.79	.009	.015
PSSSB x SO	1	946.85	27.97	.000*	.060
PSSSB x Age	1	167.26	4.94	.027	.011
SO x Age	1	113.20	3.34	.068	.007
PSSSB x SO x Age	1	104.56	3.09	.080	.007
Error	443	33.85			

*significance after applying Holm's sequential Bonferroni

Figure 10. Interaction of PSSSB with Sexual Orientation on External Locus of Control



CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The data from this study suggest that among emerging adults, participation in public displays of same-sex sexual behaviour is quite common, especially in bars and other places serving alcohol. Over half of the 451 women had engaged in PSSSB during emerging adulthood. Also, over half of the participants self-reported some degree of same-sex orientation during adolescence and/or adulthood. Additionally, while many participants in what is popularly called "girl on girl" behaviour have some degree of same-sex sexual orientation (SSO), a sizable number of participants described themselves as exclusively heterosexual.

The self-reported psychological and sexual health of heterosexual women participating in this public same-sex sexual behaviour was poorer than both non-participating heterosexual women and women who have had or currently have some degree of SSO. This finding was important in understanding that women's experience with PSSSB may be related to a number of variables: (a) whether they had participated in PSSSB (engaged or only observed); (b) their ages (emerging adult, 19-25 years; adult, 26-40 years); and (c) their self-identified sexual orientations (heterosexual orientation or SSO).

The following discussion begins with descriptions of the participating groups, then the participants' perceptions of pressure, their reasons for engaging in public same-sex sexual behaviour (PSSSB), their feelings after engaging in PSSSB, their sexual orientation exploration as it relates to PSSSB, and finally, the relationship between PSSSB and dimensions of the participants' sexual self-concepts.

Summary of the Findings

Pressure to Engage in PSSSB

The primary goal in the present study was to discover if women had felt pressure to

engage in PSSSB. Indeed, a majority and statistically significant number of heterosexual women who had engaged in same-sex sexual behaviour felt pressured to do so publicly, thus partially supporting my hypothesis that all women in the study who had engaged in PSSSB would acknowledge they felt pressure to do so. Interestingly, although a majority of the emerging adult SSO women indicated some level of pressure, this finding was not statistically significant compared to SSO adult women who had engaged in and all women who had only observed PSSSB. It must be noted; however, that while not statistically significant, there were many women who experienced pressure to engage in PSSSB in all age and orientation groups.

Of interest in the present study is that an overwhelming number (71%) of the participants agreed that today's young women are experiencing pressure to engage in PSSSB. Further, a majority of participants believed that the pressure comes primarily from the mass media, followed closely by popular culture, male friends, peers, social media, and social demands. Bandura's social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1986) has particular relevance when considering the pressure that women may feel to engage in PSSSB, namely that individuals learn vicariously from modeled behaviour.

Bandura suggested that people tend to imitate models who are similar to themselves, making peer groups especially powerful models. In addition, researchers have found that emerging adults are more susceptible to peer influence than adults (Gardner & Steinberg, 2005). Bandura also suggested that attractive, prestigious, dramatic models are more readily imitated than models who lack these qualities (Bandura, 1986); while other researchers posited that models in the media may act as *super-peers* and therefore are even more likely to be emulated (Brown, et al., 2005; Brown, et al., 2006; L'Engle et al., 2006; L'Engle & Jackson, 2008; Ward, 2002; Ward et al., 2006).

The past 10 years of pop music and pop culture have provided a host of popular, prestigious female stars who have declared themselves to be heterosexual or bisexual and have displayed same-sex sexual behaviour publically through various media. Although an iconic moment in 2003, the Britney spears and Madonna kiss appears rather innocuous in comparison to the pervasive mainstream same-sex sexual behaviour of today's pop culture. In 2008, after the two women were featured in numerous YouTube videos "making out", actress Lindsay Lohan publically acknowledged her relationship with popular DJ Samantha Ronson (Warn, 2008). Singer Lady Gaga claimed that her song *Poker Face* was about fantasizing sex with a girl while having sex with her boyfriend (Szymanski, 2009). Another emerging adult pop star, Rihanna seductively caressed a female dancer in her 2010 music video "Te Amo". Katy Perry rose to fame in 2009 by defiantly shouting 'I kissed a girl and I liked it!' While Miley Cyrus is frequently captured kissing and groping female fans, back-up dancers, and even Katy Perry (Malec, 2014).

If media portrayals and popular culture increasingly depict "girl-on-girl" behaviour, why do some women feel more pressure to imitate this trend than others? Bandura (1986) recognized that just because something has been observed and learned, does not mean that it will result in a change in behaviour. He emphasised that both external experiences and internal thoughts and cognitions are important in whether or not individuals act on what they have observed. As such, sexual behaviour depends on context, biological and psychological mechanisms, as well as interpersonal qualities (Bandura, 1990; Bandura, 2004). An individual's stage of development may certainly play a part in the reason that she chooses to engage or not engage in PSSSB.

Developmental Period when PSSSB most Frequently Occurred

Emerging adulthood is the developmental stage where most of the participants had

recalled engaging in PSSSB. Further, SSO emerging adult women had significantly more recollections of engaging in PSSSB during early adolescence than all other participants. Recent societal changes in the ways that same-sex orientation is viewed may partially explain this difference. During the past 15 years, there have been marked legal changes for same-sex couples in Canadian society. In 1999, most legal benefits commonly associated with marriage had been extended to co-habiting same-sex couples and in 2005 same-sex marriage was legalized with the enactment of the Civil Marriage Act. The SSO emerging adult women in the current study were children or early adolescents when these changes took place and they may have felt more supported to freely and publicly act on their sexuality during their adolescent years. In contrast, many of the adult women were experiencing early and late adolescence before these legal changes took place. As a result, they may have suppressed their PSSSB because it was not as socially acceptable.

Concurrent media trends, which popularized female PSSSB (e.g., Madonna and Britney Spears' kiss; Katy Perry's "I Kissed a Girl", Scarlett Johansson and Sandra Bullock's MTV Movie Award's kiss), may account for the between-group similarities in the recollections of PSSSB having taken place during late adolescence for participants who were emerging adults at the time of this study, and recollections for PSSSB frequency for all participants during their emerging adulthoods. However, the similar frequencies may also be explained as being part of the developmental processes of sexual exploration common to the stages of adolescence and emerging adulthood, regardless of sexual orientation.

Arnett (2007) described emerging adulthood as an extension of adolescence where individuals try different experiences and gradually move toward enduring choices. Arnett's (2007) description was supported by the present study's finding that there was a significant

decrease in adult heterosexual women's participation in PSSSB at ages 26-40 and during the last six months compared to SSO women during the same times. These adult women may have gained clarity about their heterosexual, non-exclusively heterosexual, bisexual, or lesbian sexuality. SSO women continued to engage in PSSSB because of their genuine attractions and affection for women, while the heterosexual women re-focused their attraction onto men.

Women's Reasons for Engaging in PSSSB

As hypothesized, heterosexual women and SSO women gave different reasons for why they had engaged in PSSSB. A majority of the heterosexual participants strongly agreed that they had engaged in PSSSB for male attention or general attention; yet disagreed that the behaviour was to attract female attention or that they were attracted to the partners with whom they had engaged in PSSSB. A majority of the heterosexual participants also denied that they derived any sexual pleasure from the behaviour. Further, the heterosexual women agreed that male request, male pleasure, and societal demands were reasons that they had engaged in PSSSB. For example, one participant stated that her reason was "to guarantee that my female friend and I would consolidate a sexual relation with a male partner, both times." Still, other participants explained that they had done it for their boyfriends (e.g., "My boyfriends liked it when I got with another girl in front of them"; "It was for my boyfriends or to get a boyfriend"). These results were consistent with previous studies that found male attention to be the main reason why heterosexual women engaged in PSSSB (Hamilton, 2007; Yost & McCarthy, 2012).

In contrast, most SSO women disagreed that they had engaged in PSSSB for male, female, or general attention, male request, male pleasure, or even societal demands. In general, their reasons for engaging in PSSSB focused on sexual attraction and sexual pleasure, and more specifically they reported having genuine feelings for their PSSSB partners. In fact, many of

these women recounted their affection for their PSSSB partners (i.e., “I was attracted to the women that I made out with”; “I had a crush on her for a long time”; “Because I love and appreciate women”; “It was feelings of intimacy, love, signs of affectionate”; “I’m in a committed relationship with the person”; “This is normal as I am in a lesbian relationship and displaying affection and sexual behaviour with a female is a part of my sexual identity”; “Strong feelings of love between two women”; and “One of said females was my girlfriend, so I did it because I genuinely loved her and believed in showing my affection towards her regardless of who was around”).

Although there were several statistically significant differences in the responses of women based on self- orientation identity, substance use was mentioned by a majority of all participants and the locations where PSSSB most commonly occurred were those where alcohol was available (i.e., bars/ clubs and parties). Overall, the women agreed that substances played a part in their reasons for engaging in PSSSB (e.g., “When I am drunk”; “Wherever I was intoxicated”; “When drinking alcohol”; and “Anywhere alcohol was present”).

It is well-documented that alcohol can affect judgment and may contribute to an increased likelihood of engaging in behaviours that would not typically occur while sober (Burian et al., 2002; Fromme, et al., 1997; George et al., 2013; Parks et al., 2011; Maisto et al., 2002; Naranjo & Bremner, 1993; Patton et al., 2008; Steel & Josephs, 1990). Alcohol may simply have provided some women with the “liquid courage” to express reciprocated feelings of affection and genuine sexual attraction in a public setting (as appears to be the case for the SSO respondents) or it provided an excuse to engage in PSSSB where other motivations for the behaviour were underlying (e.g., in order to please male-onlookers in response to pressure, to imitate the sexual behavior of “super-peers” in the media, or to explore sexual behaviour

alternatives). On the other hand, some of the women may have expected that alcohol plus PSSSB would provide them with positive outcomes (e.g., anticipatory thoughts such as, "I'm going to get drunk and hook-up with a guy tonight").

Alternatively, the Alcohol Myopia Model (Steele & Josephs, 1990) offers an additional reason for women who would not typically engage in same-sex sexual behaviour publicly, nor privately, while sober. Since alcohol narrows the range of perceived cues and limits the ability to process and extract meaning from these cues, these women may have become more susceptible to momentary and contextual pressures. Highly salient cues (e.g., approval of males or attraction to females) may have continued to be processed, whereas more distal, complex ones (e.g., fear of embarrassment or fear of rejection) were no longer cognitively relevant.

Finally, the majority of all women in the present study also indicated that sexual exploration and sexual adventure contributed to their decisions to engage in PSSSB. Over half of the participants agreed with the statements "It's great trying out new sexual activities" and "I was curious about making out with a female". Given that the most common age for participating in PSSSB was emerging adulthood, this exploration could be a hallmark of the developmental stage. Nevertheless, differences between heterosexual and SSO participants were also present in this arena.

Several of the SSO women described the public forum as a safe place to explore (e.g., "It offered me a chance to explore my desire to be with females in an acceptable way"; "It was acceptable in public and I was trying things out"). However, if the heterosexual women were participating in public sexual exploration, it was not congruent with what they were doing privately. Only 16% of the heterosexual women compared to 69.2% of the SSO women who had

engaged in PSSSB had engaged in same-sex sexual privately behaviour during emerging adulthood ($p < .001$). (The results of this analysis are reported in Appendix J).

Perhaps heterosexual women did not have the opportunity to sexually explore with other women in private settings or perhaps the public setting also provided them with a safe place to explore (Thompson, 2006). However, a more plausible explanation for heterosexual women's participation in PSSSB appears to be less about exploring their own curiosity or desire to be with women and more about their desire to gain male approval. For example, one participant noted that the underlying reason for exploring in public was to attract male attention (i.e., "I was showing some guys how sexually open I was in hopes of attracting them"). In general, the reasons provided by the heterosexual women for participating in PSSSB focused on attracting or pleasing male on-lookers, rather than their attraction to the women with whom they had engaged in public displays of sexual behaviour.

For some women, what appeared to be a good idea at the time, did not feel so great the next day. This was found to be particularly true for heterosexual women. That PSSSB may result in considerable regret or negative feelings in the days that follow, especially for heterosexual participants, is relevant in terms of understanding a behaviour that is widely thought of as "fun" or "harmless" in the media, popular culture, and often amongst the women themselves (Yost & McCarthy, 2012).

Women's Feelings after Engaging in PSSSB.

Consistent with the reason provided by women for engaging in PSSSB, a majority of them did report feeling "adventurous" the day after. However, this was the only descriptive common to all participants. A majority of the emerging adult heterosexual women expressed embarrassment and over a third felt awkward, regretful, and coerced the next day. Almost one

half of the adult heterosexual women reported feeling embarrassed and almost one third described feeling awkward and regretful. A different picture emerged for the SSO women who overall, expressed positive emotions (open-minded, excited, and empowered) after engaging in PSSSB.

Why would such differences emerge? Reflecting back on the reasons that women provided for engaging in PSSSB, many of the heterosexual women were performing for a third party or parties (i.e., male onlookers), whereas, the SSO women had engaged for reasons of attraction toward their PSSSB partners. Several of the heterosexual participants even expressed concern that the women with whom they had engaged in PSSSB were actually attracted to them (e.g., "A couple of times I've been grossed out or embarrassed when I've found out the girl is bi and likes me"; "Sometimes I'm worried that the girl is into me"; and "I'm concerned that some of the girls I made out with were actually into me"). Clearly, for some, there is personal cost to their public performances.

Although SSO women were generally positive about their PSSSB experiences, still there were several who expressed feeling "used" (e.g., "I felt taken advantage of because most of the girls were straight and I was seriously attracted to them."; "Devastated - several times, the women that I was dancing with were using me to turn on men."; "I thought they were interested in me."; "Hurt if she was a tease and not really into me."; and "Objectified by men."). Decidedly, being used and/or objectified is a devastating experience.

It is not entirely surprising that some women objectify themselves and other women to attract attention and specifically to attract the attention of males. A return to the media offers a viable reason for women's self-objectification. Women are surrounded by images on TV, on the Internet, in advertisements, and in music videos of how they should appear and act. At the time

of this writing, pop star Miley Cyrus had 691,810,748 YouTube hits on her video "Wrecking Ball", where she is pictured naked and swinging on a wrecking ball and seductively licking a sledge hammer (YouTube, 2013). Another current example is Selena Gomez's number one hit single, "Come and Get It", which offers the message that women should be readily available at men's request. When feminist pop sensation Lorde commented in a *Rolling Stone* interview that she was sick of the way women are portrayed in songs like "Come and Get It", she was criticised in both mass and social media for being open about her views (Montegomery, 2013). Gomez responded to Lorde's comment in the November issue of *Flaunt Magazine,* "It's not feminism if you're tearing down another artist" (Gray, 2013). Gomez's message conveys the idea that it is fine for women to voice their opinions, as long as they do not criticize the popular notion that being a woman means waiting-for, obsessing-over, performing for, and then submitting to men's desires.

Sexual Identity Exploration, Commitment, and PSSSB

Sexual identity exploration. A secondary goal of this study was to see if women who engaged in PSSSB had higher levels of sexual identity exploration compared to those who did not engage in PSSSB. Previous research indicated that there was a greater degree of sexual exploration for SSO women compared to heterosexual women (Thompson & Morgan, 2008; Worthington et al., 2008; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009); however, in the present study, there were no significant differences between the exploration scores of heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB and SSO women who had either engaged or observed PSSSB. Heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB, along with both participant and observer SSO women, had significantly higher exploration scores than heterosexual women who had only observed PSSSB. A potential explanation for the high exploration scores of heterosexual women who engaged in

PSSSB may be that heterosexual women have a different process of sexual-identity questioning than women who identify as having a SSO. Morgan and Thompson (2011) found that self-identified heterosexual women who were questioning their sexual orientation had significantly higher rates of engagement in same-sex sexual behaviour than self-identified heterosexual non-questioning women. Perhaps the heterosexual women in the present study who engaged in PSSSB had been questioning or considering future changes to their sexual identity. For them, PSSSB may have been a part of their sexual exploration process. However, another possibility is that the heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB were simply more sexually adventurous and willing to try a variety of sexual experiences.

Dillon et al. (2011) noted that exploration is contextual and characterized by different modes of sexual expression and sexual behaviours. Confirming Dillon et al.'s speculation, the questionnaire items that I created to focus exclusively on sexual orientation exploration (e.g., *I am actively experimenting with my sexual orientation*) did not have primary loadings on the MoSIEC's Exploration Subscale (Worthington et al., 2008). This EFA finding indicated that the MoSIEC exploration items were a broad measure of individuals' willingness to try a variety of sexual experiences, rather than an indication of exploration specific to sexual orientation. Conversely, if the heterosexual women had been pressured into PSSSB, they may have resolved the cognitive dissonance caused by having engaged in an unwanted behaviour by thinking of themselves as more adventurous or exploratory under the circumstances.

Although consistent with previous research (Thompson & Morgan, 2008; Worthington et al, 2008; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009) the higher sexual exploration scores for SSO women who had not engaged in PSSSB, compared to their heterosexual counterparts does seem somewhat counterintuitive. An assumption on my part, albeit inaccurate, was that women with

higher exploration scores would also be more likely to engage in PSSSB, particularly in a setting that encouraged it. However, societal perceptions of PSSSB serving as merely a way to attract male attention (Lannutti & Denes, 2012) might be the exact reason that some SSO individuals avoided it. As one SSO participant explained:

> "I have hesitated to actively and openly identify as bi for a number of reasons. Present among them is concern that women who are bisexual are perceived to be "doing it for attention", and that if I were to wear my orientation more openly, I would attract that attention (which would be unwelcome). In fact, I would say that the social pressure to be sexual with women has actually inhibited my activities in that area."

For some women, and in particular for those SSO women who did not participate in PSSSB, sexual exploration may have occurred outside of the public realm.

Sexual orientation uncertainty. Dillon et al. (2011) noted that sexual orientation uncertainty reflects an additional dimension of exploration and therefore, it is positively related to the exploration component of the MoSIEC. Intuitively and as noted by Dillon et al. (2011), women who are exploring their sexual orientation identity will also have higher scores on sexual orientation uncertainty. Since the exploration scores of heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB were significantly higher than those of heterosexual women who had only observed the behaviour, it would make sense that the heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB would also have higher scores on sexual orientation uncertainty compared to heterosexual women who had only observed PSSSB. That is, the heterosexual women experimented with PSSSB as part of their questioning process. However, this was not the case. Consistent with Worthington et al. (2008) and Worthington and Reynolds' 2009 findings, the SSO women in the present study had higher scores on orientation identity uncertainty than all heterosexual participants.

In light of the present findings, it is probable that the heterosexual women who engaged in PSSSB were not questioning or exploring their sexual identity, and as self-reported by these women and previously mentioned, they were simply more sexually adventurous, exploring a variety of sexual behaviours, imitating media super-peers, intoxicated, and/or responding to a sense of pressure, and therefore using PSSSB for other reasons (e.g., to attract male attention).

Sexual orientation commitment/synthesis. Because sexual identity orientation commitment and synthesis converged onto one factor, these results were more challenging to interpret. Although there were no significant differences between heterosexual emerging adults who engaged in PSSSB and SSO emerging adults who had only observed it, both had lower scores on commitment/synthesis compared to all of the other women in the present study. That is to say, heterosexual women who had participated in PSSSB and SSO women who had not participated in PSSSB appeared to be less committed to their sexual identity.

When interpreting the results of the SSO women, it is important to consider Dillon et al.'s suggestion (2011) that for bisexual and lesbian women, moving to commitment always involves active exploration. Given that all SSO women had high exploration and orientation uncertainty scores, it seems odd that only the SSO emerging adult PSSSB observers had lower scores on commitment/synthesis. Perhaps the SSO emerging adults who only observed PSSSB had fewer opportunities to explore their sexuality privately and publicly. In contrast, the adult SSO observers had more time and perhaps more opportunity to explore their sexuality outside of the public realm and were therefore able to integrate their experiences and beliefs into a more cohesive, sexual orientation identity. Consistent with some of their written comments, the SSO adult women simply chose not to display their sexuality publicly.

It is also possible that the SSO women who had engaged in PSSSB had committed to their more fluid, sexual orientation, yet were unsure about how it might fluctuate in the future thereby resulting in higher orientation uncertainty scores. For these women, public displays of same-sex sexuality indicated a current commitment to their same-sex attractions, which they continued to explore and recognized might change over time. As one SSO participant stated, "I fall in love with people for who they are, not because they are male or female. I'm not afraid to express my affection for them publicly. Right now I'm single and I don't know who I'll be attracted to in the future."

Regarding the heterosexual women, Dillon et al. (2011) posited that the movement to commitment of a heterosexual identity may or may not involve active exploration. Heterosexual women may be more likely to transition into a commitment status based on compulsory heterosexuality, which is the institutionalized, sexual-orientation identity prescribed by society. The heterosexual emerging adults who had engaged in PSSSB may have been actively processing their experiences, whereas the heterosexual adults who had engaged in PSSSB, generally during their emerging adult years, had additional time to process and synthesize their experiences and commit to their heterosexuality.

In contrast, the lower exploration scores of heterosexual women who had only observed PSSSB may be an indication that they moved into commitment/synthesis based on notions of compulsory heterosexuality, rather than through exploration. On the other hand, perhaps the heterosexual observers had strong feelings for the opposite sex, and they did not need to explore same-sex sexuality. Alternatively, the MoSIEC's (Worthington et al., 2008) exploration items (e.g., I am actively trying new ways to express myself sexually) may reflect individuals' level of sexual adventure or curiosity about trying new sexual behaviours, rather than their sexual

orientation exploration. If so, the heterosexual observers may simply not have been as curious or as sexually adventurous as the other participants. However, these interpretations are speculative and require further investigation.

Dillon et al. (2011) concluded that although individuals can move into synthesis from compulsory heterosexuality, they will be less likely to demonstrate all of the qualities of synthesis (e.g., affirmative and flexible thinking regarding sexual diversity) unless they have actively explored their sexuality. The authors also distinguish between naive behavioural experimentation and active exploration, which they describe as (a) cognitive or behavioural, (b) purposeful and often goal directed, and (c) characterized by questioning or abandoning compulsory heterosexuality (Dillon et al., 2011). I believe this distinction is particularly important when considering female PSSSB. Many heterosexual women who engage in public same-sex erotic acts have the goal of attracting men, and not because they are purposefully questioning their heterosexual orientation, although a naive exploration may be the indirect result. Decidedly, there is an important distinction to be made between exploring one's sexuality by participating in wanted or desired behaviours and engaging in those behaviours because of a sense of pressure to do so, which 86% of the present study's emerging adult women who engaged in PSSSB felt.

PSSSB and the Sexual Self-Concept

The sexual self-concept, one part of individuals' overall sexuality, is an active, multidimensional structure that develops over time through subjective interpretations of sexual experiences and external feedback (Deutsch et al., 2013). Aspects of the sexual self-concept are believed to be influential in processing sexually relevant social information and providing guidance for sexual behaviour (Anderson & Cyranowski, 1994; Deutsch et al., 2013; O'Sullivan

et al., 2006; Snell, 1998; Vickberg & Deaux, 2005). In the present study, heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB were more likely to describe themselves as being unhappy about their sex lives. They had significantly higher scores on sexual depression than both SSO women who had engaged in PSSSB and heterosexual women who had only observed PSSSB.

The heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB were also more likely to endorse the belief that their sexual behaviours were controlled by other, more powerful and influential people, as indicated by their significantly higher scores for external locus of control. Further, both heterosexual and SSO women who engaged in PSSSB had significantly higher scores on sexual monitoring, an indication that they were more aware of other people's reactions to their sexual behaviours. Sexual monitoring could certainly have made heterosexual women more vulnerable to perceived pressure in PSSSB situations. Perhaps this increase in the perception that they were being observed by others, whom they thought had more power and believed were encouraging PSSSB, primed the heterosexual women to engage in behaviour in which they typically would not have participated.

In addition to higher ratings for sexual depression and external locus of control, the heterosexual women who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly lower scores on sexual self-efficacy and sexual assertiveness, which imply that they felt less able to take care of their sexual needs and desires and less assertive when dealing with these sexual aspects. These findings are supported by previous research, which found that women with higher scores on sexual assertiveness had significantly lower scores on sexual depression (Snell et al., 1991). In addition, Impett et al. (2006) found that low sexual self-efficacy in emerging adult females was related to body objectification, which was indicative of the heterosexual women in the present study who were using PSSSB to attract men, rather than for their own subjective pleasure.

Further, Yost and McCarthy (2012) found that 64% of the women in their study described their same-sex kisses as objectifying experiences.

Finally, only the heterosexual emerging adults who had engaged in PSSSB had significantly higher scores on sexual compliance, indicating that they were more likely to engage in sexual acts they found to be undesirable. Coupled with their lower sexual self-efficacy, this finding is consistent with previous research explicating a relationship between emerging adult women's low sexual self-efficacy and their inability to act upon their own sexual needs in a relationship, to stop unwanted sexual behaviour, and to refuse unwanted sex (Bandura, 2004; Impet et al., 2006; Rostosky et al., 2008; Schooler et al., 2005).

It is not clear in the present study, why the emerging adult women (ages 18-25) had comparatively higher levels of sexual compliance than the adult women (ages 26-40) who had engaged in PSSSB. In addition, it is unknown what the adult women's level of compliance was during their own emerging adult years, the developmental period when the women in this study most typically engaged in PSSSB. It is certainly possible that as women mature and gain sexual experience that they became less sexually compliant, but this difference between the age groups could also be reflective of context (e.g., the older women are going out less frequently to bars and parties where PSSSB would be encouraged) or media exposure (e.g., emerging adults may be exposed to more PSSSB through various media but this exposure may decline with age and other responsibilities such as career, stable relationships, and family). Hensell et al. (2011) suggested that sexual self-concept evolves across development in an iterative manner which both influences and responds to experience. It may be that the adult women reflected upon their sexual experiences and over time gained clarity about their own needs and what they were willing to accept in sexual relationships, thereby becoming less compliant.

A return to mass media provides a current depiction of how emerging adult women are portrayed in sexual relationships. The "Fifty Shades" trilogy has sold over 100 million copies and set the record as the fastest-selling paperback of all time (Flood, 2014). Its first installment, "Fifty Shades of Grey", published in 2011 by E. L. James, traces the relationship between Anastasia (Ana), a 21 year-old virgin college student and Christian, a wealthy, controlling, attractive 27 year-old business man whose sexual practices involve bondage/discipline, dominance/submission, and sadomasochism. As the story progresses, Ana engages in her first sexual experience with Christian and she becomes increasingly sexually submissive to him as he ups the sadomasochistic ante. Christian, also experiences many firsts, such as the love of a "good girl". In the end, after Christian has beaten her with a belt, Ana momentarily decides that the relationship must end because she cannot endure his severe punishment. Of course their relationship continues in the subsequent novels.

The "Fifty Shades of Grey" message is overt; women must submit to pain, degradation, and objectification in their relationships with men, and if women try hard enough, they will successfully secure and convert men into caring, loving partners. Generally, this is not the way things happen, but no matter how fantastical the storyline, for some women, this notion may be reflected in their decision to engage in PSSSB. One heterosexual participant stated, "It's a way to get guys to see that we're hot. You've got to do what you've got to do" while others commented, "I never feel good about it, but it's what it takes to get certain men to notice me"; "It depends on how the guys responded"; "I was angry with myself for being so easily manipulated"; and "It depends, at the time I felt empowered, but if I was shot down by a guy, I was embarrassed." In these cases, once again, PSSSB can be viewed as a form of objectification,

as self-reported in their feelings of embarrassment, awkwardness, regret, and coercion the next day.

However, it is not entirely clear if these PSSSB experiences affect women's sexual self-concepts, how the women will view themselves, or the sexual behaviours they will adopt as they progress through adulthood. Since the results of the present study are correlational, directionality and causality cannot be determined. It is possible that heterosexual women engaged in PSSSB because of less-positive aspects of their sexual self-concept. It is also possible, that heterosexual women's public same-sex sexual experiences cause them to become more sexually compliant, less sexually self-efficacious, more depressed about their sex lives, or more apt to believe that others are in control of their sexuality. Clearly, and in the interests of the heterosexual women who appear to be experiencing some potentially damaging, negative reactions in which they are feeling pressured, embarrassed, and regretful, further investigation is warranted.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the results are intriguing, several limitations of this research must be acknowledged. As noted previously, the correlational nature of analyses precludes causal inferences about PSSSB's effects on young women's sexual self-concept or sexual orientation identity. In addition, the women in the present study voluntarily completed the questionnaire and were not a representative sample of emerging and adult women in Canada. Of the participants, 91% were attending college or university or had already obtained post-secondary degrees, 92% self-reported living in Canada and over half had engaged in PSSSB.

Women with post-secondary education were specifically targeted because of their higher rates of same-sex sexuality (Laumann et al., 1994) and because post secondary campuses tend to

offer more progressive attitudes, greater freedom, and less restrictions than traditional settings. On the other hand, without a comparative sample of women who had not attended college or university, I cannot ascertain if the greater overall societal acceptance of same-sex sexuality in Western societies, and in Canadian society in particular, has impacted women's involvement in PSSSB regardless of education level.

Over half of the women in the current study reported engaging in PSSSB, and 36.2% in private same-sex sexual behaviour during emerging adulthood, which were much higher rates than those reported in U.S. national surveys (Herbenick et al., 2010). The broader definition used to describe sexual behaviour likely explains the higher rates which were consistent with other studies indicating that nearly half of their female university/college student participants reported kissing other women (Lannutti & Denes, 2012; Morgan & Thompson, 2011).

Further, only women between the ages of 19 and 40 were included in this exploratory study. Having confirmed that PSSSB also occurs during adolescence, I believe it is important to gain additional qualitative information about adolescent females' experiences of PSSSB. Future studies could more fully explicate the contextual, developmental, situational, and personal sources of variability as they relate to PSSSB by including a broader age range, and a larger, more representative sample of women. This procedure would also enable more broadly generalizable conclusions about young and adult women's experiences with PSSSB. In addition, the present study did not compare women's PSSSB experiences with other forms of public sexual behaviours (e.g., opposite-sex sexual behaviour, wet-t-shirt contests, etc.). Therefore, it would be beneficial for future researchers to explore women's experiences with a variety of public sexual behaviour in which they may have felt pressure to engage.

The male voice was not included in the present study because of previous findings, which emphasized that PSSSB seldom occurred between men (Fahs, 2009; Levy, 2005; Rupp & Taylor, 2010). Nonetheless, future research would benefit from young and adult men's perceptions of pressure to encourage women to engage in PSSSB.

Concerns regarding the potential for researcher-bias were also addressed in the present study. As a female adult in a university setting, subject to similar social and media presentations of PSSSB as the study's participants, a number of checks and balances were necessary throughout the study to reduce the possible interference of my own bias. This process included having the research questions and hypotheses thoroughly vetted by my graduate supervisor and both male and female colleagues, allowing space for comments and potential concerns by the study's participants, so their voices could be heard, and a thorough statistical evaluation of the results.

And finally, a number of well-documented errors of self-reporting such as: question format, interpretation of meaning, inability to correct or alter answers, perceptions of privacy, and retrospective questioning, must be addressed (Garry, Sharman, Feldman, Marlatt, & Loftus, 2002; Schwarz, 1999). For example, Garry et al, (2002) found that heterosexual college students over-reported the sexual behaviours they had documented in a diary when they were asked to recall them one year later.

Although concerns about reporting cannot be entirely eliminated (Schwartz, 1999), attempts were made to minimize them in the present study. Anonymity was guaranteed and participants were able to complete the on-line survey in a private location of their choosing. Measures were taken to provide clear definitions of key terms (e.g., sexual orientation and sexual behaviour) and these definitions were provided to the participants throughout the survey. In

addition, both open and closed format questions were used which allowed participants to clarify their answers or elaborate information important to them, a process that resulted in a deeper understanding of their responses. Further, participants were able to return to previous questions and modify them if they chose. Notwithstanding these limitations, the current study contributes to our understanding of the role pressure may play in enjoining women to engage in public same-sex expressions of sexual behaviour.

Implications and Conclusion

The increase in female public same-sex erotic behaviour in the mass media and social settings may certainly benefit some women (i.e., those who are actively exploring and experimenting sexually), by encouraging a permissive climate of female same-sex expression. However, Fahs (2009) noted that the preponderance of PSSSB in the mass media is a pseudo-acceptance of same-sex sexuality because the depictions are generally of heterosexual women projecting a sexual orientation they do not possess. Additionally, the heterosexual women's performative bisexuality is intended to attract and arouse only male viewers. Such girl-on-girl displays support the notion that no matter what women do, they really only want to be with men, thereby undermining the legitimacy of same-sex orientations.

These portrayals may be additionally confusing for young women who are grappling with their sexuality because their same-sex attractions are not taken seriously. Public girl-on-girl behaviour may also be confusing and misleading for heterosexual women who believe that it is a requirement to attract men. The heterosexual women in the present study who engaged in PSSSB acknowledged that they felt strong pressure to engage in behaviour that was not genuine or authentic to their own sexuality, which perhaps contributed to some of the negative feelings they had after engaging in it.

The results of the present study suggest that those women who experience personal pressure may be more likely to engage in PSSSB. The self-identified heterosexual women who engaged in PSSSB had less healthy sexual self-concepts, and they may be additionally vulnerable to the pressure they experience from the mass media, popular culture, social media, and even their male friends. These heterosexual women did not appear to be exploring for the purpose of clarifying their sexual orientation identity, rather they engaged in public sexual acts with other women for male attention, male pleasure, societal demands, and because men urged them to do it.

Feminist theorists argue that in patriarchal societies, women shape their own sexual desires and behaviour to fulfill men's fantasies and sexual pleasure (Fahs, 2009). In doing so, women's own desires and wishes are diminished. Women become only the objects of men's desire, with their own sexuality scarcely even a consideration. Further, Ronen (2010) describes that when heterosexual women provocatively grind into each other to attract men, their access to sexual agency and pleasure is limited, while men's pleasure is privileged, thereby reaffirming gender inequality. In a society striving for egalitarianism, this is not an ideal role for women and it may have negative implications for their sexual self-concepts and in other areas of their lives.

It is of vital importance to assist all women in developing the skills necessary to advocate for themselves in any situation where they find themselves sexualized or objectified (APA, 2007). The results of the present study elucidate the need for future research that will allow educators to enhance sex-education curriculum with the specific goal of assisting young women and young men in developing critical thinking skills and supporting them in building positive sexual self-concepts. Future research must therefore attempt to identify the most effective strategies for sexuality programs that will assist individuals in making positive choices when

they are faced with challenging sexual situations. Additionally, these programs must encourage both men and women to become more active interpreters, rather than passive consumers of the messages received from the media, popular culture, and social settings (APA, 2007). Another and perhaps more urgent goal, is to further encourage women to make healthy decisions and develop strategies to deal with perceived pressure in sexualized situations. Ideally, this process will allow women to act in ways that are authentic to their own sexuality, so that they can experience sexual life as a source of happiness.

Final Words

Nine years ago I had an enlightening conversation with my friend's 15 year-old daughter Jessica. After discussing typical teenage likes and dislikes about music and school, she moved enthusiastically to the topic of her new boyfriend. She gushed about how cute, cool, and popular he was, and then, she dropped a bomb. She told me that her boyfriend asked her to "make out" with her female friend in front of him. "What?" I responded in disbelief. After all, young men didn't ask young women to make out with their female friends when I was a teen. "I hope you told him to go jump in a lake!" She blushed and averted her eyes. "Wait, you didn't do it, did you Jess?" I asked, hoping she would say, no.

I wasn't sure how to respond to her answer. "Cindy, I didn't want to do it and I felt stupid, but you don't get it. All the girls are doing it, and it was the only way that he would go out with me."

Thus, to gain some understanding of a sexual behaviour that Jess appeared to be pressured into doing and to offer her a more informed response, I began my research journey. Although I certainly don't have all of the answers and my journey is far from over, today I might be able to respond to Jess with more clarity.

Jess, all young women are not making out with other young women in public, but there are lots who are. Some are doing it because they are exploring their sexuality or have genuine feelings for their female partners. For them, it is an expression of their same-sex attraction. Other young women are doing it because they want young men to like them. Some of these young women don't feel great about themselves the next day.

I believe you have to do what you feel is right for you. If you allow yourself to be objectified for someone else's benefit, you may not feel very positive about yourself afterward. The negative effects of a decision that you make in the heat of the moment could follow you for many years to come. If you are uncomfortable and feeling pressure to do something that someone else wants you to do, don't do it. If you are unsure in any situation, you can say, "No" today. If you truly believe that you have real, authentic feelings for another young woman, you can change your mind, and say, "Yes" tomorrow.

And Jess, don't trust that everything you see in the media is as it appears to be…even Katy Perry kissed girls, but didn't always like it. It's your choice. Don't let anyone take that away from you.

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Appendix A

Locations Where Women Reported Their PSSSB had Occurred

In order to determine where PSSSB most typically took place, participants' self-reported locations were compiled for the heterosexual and SSO emerging adults and adults (four groups). In general, participants provided at least one location where they had engaged in PSSSB; however, several participants provided more than one place. The locations were divided into 8 categories based on the participant answers: bars/clubs; parties; general locations (e.g., "beaches", "Booze Cruise", "In lgbtq villages" "When I'm out with our friends & trying to get a rise out of the guys"; "Anywhere there was dancing and male onlookers"; "Anywhere where alcohol was present"; and "Wherever there was alcohol or X"); music festivals, concerts, and raves; dances; and weddings. Table 1 provides a summary of locations for each participant group. Bars/clubs and parties were the places where PSSSB most commonly occurred for all participants.

Table 1

Frequency and Percent (in parenthesis) of Locations where Participants Engaged in PSSSB

	Heterosexual Women				SSO Women					
	Age 19-25		Age 26-40		Age 19-25		Age 26-40		Combined Total	
Locations	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%	*f*	%
Bar or Clubs	40	(67.8)	30	(73.2)	34	(50)	41	(54.7)	145	(59.67)
Parties	36	(61)	17	(41.5)	48	(70.6)	32	(42.7)	133	(54.73)
Music Festivals, Concerts, Raves	6	(10.2)	2	(4.9)	0	(0)	6	(8)	14	(5.76)
Dances	9	(15.3)	0	(0)	0	(0)	1	(1.3)	10	(4.11)
Weddings	4	(6.8)	2	(4.9)	0	(0)	0	(0)	6	(2.46)

Heterosexual Emerging Adults (Age 19-25)

Clubs/Bars = 40	night clubs, bars, bars and clubs, clubs, bar on the dance floor, clubbing, Dancing in the club, at a club, clubs, clubs, nightclubs, clubs, Club, Club, bars, bars, club, club, clubs when I was around 18 to 20, around 19 - 20 when I was first going to the bars, bars, bars, at the bars, The bar, When drinking at nightclubs, clubbing, bar, At the bar, nightclubs, when legal age at bars, nightclubs, clubs, Club, Bar, the bar, Bar/restaurant where alcohol was involved, anywhere there was dancing (bars), in a club in front of friends and boys, Bars, I get going when I've been drinking and dancing at bars.
Parties = 36	Party, Party, parties, parties, parties, party, kink parties, parties, Parties, parties, parties before drinking age, At a party, At parties, parties, parties, rez parties, at a party, parties, Party (inebriated), party, D/s party, parties, parties (when not legal age), At parties, parties, Party setting, Parties, Party, Parties, anywhere there was dancing parties, At a party, At parties - normally under the influence of alcohol, At parties in front of people, private house party in a safe place, parties
Dances = 9	dances, dances, dances anywhere, dances, dances, school and college dances, dances, dances, dances
Music Festivals, Concerts, and Raves = 6	music festivals, concerts (mostly outdoor), concert, concerts, Raves, rave
Weddings = 4	Weddings, weddings, weddings, weddings
Other Locations = 6	where ever there was alcohol or X, Events in which I was drinking after a couple drinks anywhere there was dancing beaches booze cruises

Heterosexual Adults (Age 26-40)

Clubs/Bars = 30	At the bar kissing another girl to get attention from guys, Bar / Night Club (Dance Floor), bars in my early twenties, At a night club, Nightclub, Dance floor at a club, At the bar dancing / rubbing against each other, At a bar or nightclub when guys were around to watch, At the bar, Club, at a club whilst traveling abroad, At a bar or club, Club, the bar scene, Infront of men at a bar, clubs, at the bar, swingers club, With friends at bars, bars when I was drinking age, bars, night clubs, at a night club/bar, clubs - anywhere with a dancefloor, clubs, bar, straight bars when I was in my early 20s, At a club, At bars or clubs when drinking with friends at university, bar
Parties = 17	Parties, At a party, parties in my early twenties, at a party, with a group of friends when guys were around to watch, parties, At a party surrounded by a group of people, House Party, House parties as a teenager, Home party, house parties, parties when I was younger, It was at a house party and I was 18 and the most drunk I've ever been. It happened once and I was mad about it afterward., parties, Parties, at parties at university, A party

Other Locations = 6	Truth or dare in highschool Anywhere there was dancing and male onlookers When my female friend and I were at places where we were getting male attention already. Small groupsIn front of men, in a hot tub It only happened once when GGW was in town.
Weddings = 2	weddings, weddings
Music Festivals, Concerts and Raves = 2	Shambhala Music Festival, outdoor concerts

SSO Emerging Adults (Age 19-25)

Parties = 48	Party, parties, At a party/ gathering with friends, friend;s house in front of a small group, At a party, parties, party, party, Parties, Party when I was youget, at parties, House parties, parties, parties, house party, At parties, Parties, parties, Parties in general (dance parties, house parties, , etc.), parties at home, Parties, At a party with friends, House Parties in high school, Dance floor at house party, Party, At a party, At a party during university, Parties, At parties when drinking, parties when I was drunk, Home party, Kink Parties, Parties, party, Party, Parties when younger, party at friends homes, paries, Party, party, parties, parties, in front of large groups of males at parties where drinking was involved, A house party, house party, Parties, House parties, Party
Clubs/Bars = 34	Bar, Bar, bar, At a club, Club, the gay bar, bars on dance floor, Bars, bars, Club, clubs, clubs and bars, Bars/nightclubs, In the club, Dance floor in a bar, at a bar, bars when I was old enough to drink legally, Bars, Bar or club, At a club, Dancing at a bar, Bars and clubs when older, clubs & bars, bars, Gay bar/club, the bar, bar, At a bar, club, Bars, Clubs, At a bar, Bar, the bar or club
Other Locations = 10	When I am drunk, Wherever I was intoxicated i.e. College years everywhere When drinking alcohol Anywhere where alcohol was present Anywhere, unless traveling in more conservative places (Morocco) In front of boys In a safe, comfortable environment, surrounded by people I trust. Basically anywhere I am with my partner common public place such as a park, field, sidewalk, etc.

SSO Adults (Age 26-40)

Clubs/Bars = 41	At a bar, Nightclubs, clubbing, club/bar, club dancefloors only ever when alcohol/extacy was involved and males were present..., bar, In a location (club) where I felt comfortable with those around me, at night clubs, nightclub, Dance club / bar, bar, at the bar, Nightclub, when at the bar, gay bar, bars, At the bar, night club, At the bar, at night clubs and bars, bar, dancing at a club, clubs and bars, at a bar/club, Bar or Nightclub, clubbing,

	club, Nightclub, at a bar, bar, Bar, at a club, bars, bar, bars and pubs, Dance club, Bar, Drinking with my femaile friends at the bar, In a bar, at a bar, in private as an exploratory thing, but I would say 80% of the time at a party or bar where alcohol and/or drugs were available/being used by either myself or the people at the party. It was extremely rare that I would engage in these sexual acts unless men were there to observe/cheer on/acknowledge etc
Parties = 32	Party, house parties, party, Parties only ever when alcohol/extacy was involved and males were present..., at a party, (parties at home, not for others' viewing, just didnt care if it was public), In a location (house-party) where I felt comfortable with those around me, Partying, Dance Party, House party, party, parties-my house among others, parties, parties, house parties, at a party, Party at friend's house, Party, at a party, Parties, Parties, play parties, House party, parties, parties, Private, safe party settings (a friend's, own residence), House party, party, at a party, at a party, at a party, in private as an exploratory thing, but I would say 80% of the time at a party or bar where alcohol and/or drugs were available/being used by either myself or the people at the party. It was extremely rare that I would engage in these sexual acts unless men were there to observe/cheer on/acknowledge etc
Other Locations = 17	-When I'm out with our friends & trying to get a rise out of the guys -in public -Anywhere -Everywhere -Social settings In the company of friends, but in the same context that I would engage in such activities with a male partner - whenever I felt a close connection to my partner - when drinking alcohol In a location (cafe) where I felt comfortable with those around me, In lgbtq villages -on a date (perhaps a coffee shop, or at a movie) -street, wherever the hets do it. -walking down the street (holding hands or a kiss hello), restaurant, friends house, etc. average relationship displays of affection basically. - If you are asking where I have been most likely to engage in sexual behaviour with another female in public, then, I'd say, in socially acceptable places in socially acceptable ways. In other words, holding hands in a park, a kiss goodbye on a driveway, an arm around a shoulder in a movie theatre, etc.
Music Festivals, Concerts and Raves = 6	music festival, festivals, festivals, rave, a rave, music concert
Dances = 1	dances

Appendix B

Q-Sort Items with Totalled Ratings for Behaviour

Instruction: Below are a list of behaviours that are directed toward another person(s). Please rate each item with the following letters: S = sexual behaviour, A = ambiguous behaviour, and N = non-sexual behaviours.

	Behaviour	**Sexual**	**Ambiguous**	**Non-Sexual**
1.	Quick kiss on the mouth		5	2
2.	Open-mouth Kiss	10		
3.	Kiss with tongue	10		
4.	Slow kiss on mouth	9	1	IO
5.	Air Kiss	1	7	2
6.	Nuzzling neck	1	6	3
7.	Licking face	1	5	4
8.	Licking neck	5	4	1
9.	Licking stomach	6	1	3
10.	Licking crotch	5	2	3
11.	Licking ear	2	8	
12.	Flashing breasts	4	3	3
13.	Flashing buttocks	3	4	3
14.	Flashing genitals	5	5	
15.	Flashing crotch	5	5	
16.	Kissing neck	1	9	
17.	Kissing back	1	6	3
18.	Kissing breast(s)	10		
19.	Kissing buttocks	10		
20.	Kissing head		10	
21.	Kissing hand		5	5
22.	Kissing arm		10	
23.	Kissing face		10	
24.	Kissing leg		10	
25.	Kissing back	1	6	3
26.	Kissing foot	1	6	3
27.	Kissing genitals	10		
28.	Kissing crotch	9	1	
29.	Caressing breast(s)	8	2	
30.	Caressing buttocks	7	3	
31.	Caressing head	1	9	
32.	Caressing hand	1	9	
33.	Caressing hair	1	9	
34.	Caressing face	1	9	

35.	Caressing leg	1	9	
36.	Caressing neck	1	9	
37.	Caressing arm	1	9	
38.	Caressing crotch	8	2	
39.	Caressing genitals	9	1	
40.	Stroking neck	8	2	
41.	Stroking breast(s)	8	2	
42.	Stroking buttocks	8	2	
43.	Stroking head		10	
44.	Stroking hand		10	
45.	Stroking hair		10	
46.	Stroking face		10	
47.	Stroking leg		10	
48.	Stroking back		10	
49.	Stroking crotch	9	1	
50.	Rubbing back		6	4
51.	Rubbing breast(s)	10		
52.	Rubbing buttocks	10		
53.	Massaging leg		5	5
54.	Massaging back		5	5
55.	Massaging arm		5	5
56.	Massaging foot		4	6
57.	Massaging crotch	9	1	
58.	Massaging genitals	10		
59.	Massaging face		4	6
60.	Dancing together		3	7
61.	Rubbing bodies together	4	4	2
62.	Mimicking sexual positions	6	4	
63.	Arms around each other		3	7
64.	Holding each other	1	6	3
65.	Holding hands	1	3	6
66.	Grinding into each other	3	7	
67.	Looking into each other's eyes	1	2	7
68.	Hugging		10	
69.	Taking shirt off		10	
70.	Showing breast	3	7	
71.	Playing with each other's hair	1	3	6
72.	Sitting on each other's laps	1	2	7
73.	Constantly touching	3	4	3
74.	Playing footsies	2	4	4
75.	Tickling		2	8
76.	Whispering in ear		4	6
77.	Rubbing head		3	7
78.	Rubbing hand		3	7

79.	Rubbing crotch	7	3	
80.	Rubbing leg	1	2	7
81.	Rubbing back	1	2	7
82.	Rubbing arm	1	2	7
83.	Rubbing breasts	10		
84.	Rubbing foot		1	9
85.	Rubbing neck		1	9
86.	Rubbing genitals	10		
87.	Rubbing against a person's breast	10		
88.	Rubbing against a person's buttocks	10		
89.	Rubbing against a person's genitals	10		
90.	Rubbing against a person's back	2	8	
91.	Touching a person's breast	10		
92.	Touching a person's buttocks	10		
93.	Touching a person's genitals	10		
94.	Touching a person's face		2	8
95.	Laying on top of each other	1	8	1
96.	Sliding hand down front of pants	6	3	1
97.	Sliding hand down back of pants	3	3	4
98.	Sliding hand under front of shirt	3	5	2
99.	Sliding hand under back of shirt	2	2	6
100.	Sliding hand up skirt	2	5	3
101.	Sliding hand down skirt	4	5	1
102.	Heavy petting	8	1	1
103.	Sucking a person's ear	7	3	
104.	Sucking a person's fingers	2	4	4
105.	Sucking a person's neck	5	5	
106.	Sucking a person's breast	10		
107.	Sucking a person's buttocks	10		
108.	Sucking a person's genitals	10		

Final definition of sexual behaviour: open mouth kissing (with or without the tongue), contact (rubbing or rubbing against, massaging, kissing, sucking, licking, or touching) with another person's breasts, buttocks, or genitals.

Appendix C

Female Sexuality Survey

Hi, before you begin the survey, I need your consent.

My name is Lucinda Brown and I am inviting you to participate in a study that I am conducting entitled "I Kissed a Girl: **Do Young Women Feel Pressured to Display Same-Sex Sexual Behaviour?"**

I am a graduate student in the department of Education Psychology and Leadership Studies at the University of Victoria. I may be contacted for further questions by email llbrown@uvic.ca or phone 250-721-7857.

As a graduate student, I am required to conduct research as part of the requirements for my PhD in Educational Psychology. This research is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Joan Martin. You may contact my supervisor at jmmartin@uvic.ca or 250-721-7792.

Background, Purpose, and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to explore young women's perceptions of pressure, their experiences, observations, and motivations regarding public sexual behavior of women with women.

During the past 15 years, sexualized behaviour between females has become increasingly visible in public and in the media. In 1997, television advertisements for the videos, "Girls Gone Wild", showed young women engaged in same-sex public sexual behaviour. Madonna and Britney Spears' famous televised kiss, and Katy Perry's song "I Kissed a Girl" are part of a media phenomena that has seen sexual behaviour between women become more and more mainstream. Few studies have examined women's public sexual experiences with other women, nor has research asked if and under what circumstances women feel pressure to perform public same-sex acts. This study intends to shed light on a growing phenomenon that may impact young women's sexual behaviour.

Importance of this Research

This research project will provide women with an opportunity to share their observations and experiences of their own and other women's public sexual behaviour. It provides young women with a voluntary and anonymous voice on a growing trend that may have consequences for females' behaviour and sexual self-concept.

Participant Selection

This research focuses on female university students. Past research has indicated that female university students report more diverse experiences with same-sex sexuality (Laumann et al., 1994).

What is Involved?

If you voluntarily consent to participate in this research, you will complete an anonymous on-line survey. You may complete this survey on a computer and setting of your choice. We expect this on-line survey to take 35 to 50 minutes to complete. The survey will be conducted using the secure online services of Fluid Survey, a Canadian-based server.

Inconvenience and Risks

This survey requests sensitive personal information such as your sexual identity and history of sexual experiences. For some persons, the questions in this survey may bring up uncomfortable memories. These may include memories of times when you felt pressured, coerced, or taken advantage of, or memories of past behaviours that you now find embarrassing. If these memories are impacting your current mental health, I would encourage you to contact one of the following resources:

Victoria Resources

University of Victoria Counselling Services Free, confidential counselling for currently enrolled degree program UVic students. In addition, the UVic Counselling Services has developed an online list of counsellors and psychologists in the community who will see students on a sliding fee scale.	250-721-8341
University of Victoria Health Services	250-721-8492
Vancouver Island Crisis Line (open 24 hrs)	1-888-494-3888
Women's Sexual Assault Centre Crisis Line	250-383-3232
Mental Health Support Line	310-6789
Women's Sexual Assault Centre	250-383-5545 ext 119
Victoria Women's Transition House Crisis Line (open 24 hours)	(250) 385-6611
Suicide Crisis Line	1-800-784-2433
Pacific Centre Family Services Association – Affordable Counselling Program	250-478-8357
Citizens' Counselling Centre of Greater Victoria	250-384-9934

Note: This list will be given again at the end of the survey in a printable format.

Benefits

There are several potential benefits of your participation in this research:

- Your anonymous experiences and perspective will contribute to a much-needed body of information about women's sexual health. Your information will contribute valuable insights to women, educators, clinicians, and policy makers. This kind of information can assist in improving programs, services, and support systems for women who are facing sexual issues.

- An opportunity to reflect on your experiences, and perhaps gain a new perspective from the process.

Voluntary Participation and Researcher's Relationship with Participants

Your participation in this research must be completely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw at any time without explanation or consequence. If, while answering the survey, you decide to withdraw from the study, the online data collection server will permanently delete any data provided up to that point.

If you are currently a student in one of my classes, I do not want my position as instructor to influence your decision to participate. Remember, even though I am your instructor, participation is completely voluntary. All the data is anonymous, so I will never know who has participated. Consequently, choosing, or not choosing, to participate will not influence your grade or my personal regard for you. In fact, I would prefer that you not tell me your participation decision.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

In order to make the questionnaire completely confidential and anonymous, identifying information such as your name or home address will not be asked. In addition, Fluid Survey has been set so that your computer location and IP addresses cannot be tracked. When you have completed your survey, your responses will be uploaded by the researcher and kept on a password protected computer. Once uploaded, the data are deleted from Fluid Survey.

Dissemination of Results

It is anticipated that the results of this study will be shared with others in the following ways: in my thesis and dissertation (which will be available to the public on the internet through the UVic library system); presentations at scholarly meetings, conferences, or to the public; and in published articles.

Disposal of Data

All data collected in this study will be kept in its anonymous and aggregated form on the researcher's password protected computer for as long as it is useful for research purposes.

Contacts

If you have questions about the study, you may contact me, Lucinda Brown, by email (llbrown@uvic.ca) or phone (250-721-7857) or you may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Joan Martin at jmmartin@uvic.ca or 250-721-7792. In addition, you may verify the ethical approval of this study, or raise any concerns you might have, by contacting the Human Research Ethics Office at the University of Victoria (250-472-4545 or ethics@uvic.ca).

By completing and submitting the survey, YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participating in the study and that you have had the opportunity to have your questions answered by the researcher.

If you have read and consent to the information provided in this letter, please click on the box to continue to the survey □

If you do not want to participate in this study, click here to exit the survey □

If you have read this page and consent to the information in this letter, you're ready to roll!

Please check the box below.

☐ Yes, I agree.

☐ No, I do not agree

The Female Sexuality Survey

Part 1: Your History

Please select your month of birth. ____________

Please select your current age. ___________

Please note, in this survey: Females, young women, and girls are used interchangeably. Males, men, and guys are used interchangeably.

Please read the definitions before answering the questions that follow them.

Sexual behaviour is defined as: voluntary activities such as open mouth kissing, and contact (rubbing or rubbing against, massaging, kissing, sucking, licking or touching) with another person's breasts, buttocks, or genitals.

1. Private Sexual Behaviour – With whom have you engaged in sexual behaviour in private settings (e.g., alone in a bedroom, car, living room, hotel room, etc.)?

When you were 13 – 15 years old	**When you were 16 to 18 years old**	*(automatically excludes participants under 19 yrs)* **When you were 19 to 25 years old**	*(automatically excludes participants under 26 yrs)* **When you were 26-40 years old**	**During the past 6 months**
☐ Not sexually active	☐ Not sexually active	☐ Not sexually active	☐ Not sexually active	☐ Not sexually active
☐ Males only	☐ Males only	☐ Males only	☐ Males only	☐ Males only
☐ Males mostly	☐ Males mostly	☐ Males mostly	☐ Males mostly	☐ Males mostly
☐ Males somewhat more	☐ Males somewhat more	☐ Males somewhat more	☐ Males somewhat more	☐ Males somewhat more
☐ Males and females equally	☐ Males and females equally	☐ Males and females equally	☐ Males and females equally	☐ Males and females equally
☐ Females somewhat more	☐ Females somewhat more	☐ Females somewhat more	☐ Females somewhat more	☐ Females somewhat more
☐ Females mostly	☐ Females mostly	☐ Females mostly	☐ Females mostly	☐ Females mostly
☐ Females only	☐ Females only	☐ Females only	☐ Females only	☐ Females only

Sexual Orientation Identity: Sexual orientation is defined as an enduring emotional, romantic, sexual or affectional attraction to other persons that ranges from exclusive heterosexuality to exclusive homosexuality and includes various forms of bisexuality.

2. How do you describe your sexual orientation? Please click on the options that apply to you.				
When you were 13 – 15 years old	**When you were 16 to 18 years old**	*(automatically excludes participants under 19 yrs)* **When you were 19 to 25 years old**	*(automatically excludes participants under 26 yrs)* **When you were 26-40 years old**	**During the past 6 months**
☐ heterosexual only ☐ heterosexual mostly ☐ heterosexual somewhat more than lesbian ☐ hetero/lesbian equally ☐ lesbian somewhat more ☐ lesbian mostly ☐ lesbian only	☐ heterosexual only ☐ heterosexual mostly ☐ heterosexual somewhat more than lesbian ☐ hetero/lesbian equally ☐ lesbian somewhat more ☐ lesbian mostly ☐ lesbian only	☐ heterosexual only ☐ heterosexual mostly ☐ heterosexual somewhat more than lesbian ☐ hetero/lesbian equally ☐ lesbian somewhat more ☐ lesbian mostly ☐ lesbian only	☐ heterosexual only ☐ heterosexual mostly ☐ heterosexual somewhat more than lesbian ☐ hetero/lesbian equally ☐ lesbian somewhat more ☐ lesbian mostly ☐ lesbian only	☐ heterosexual only ☐ heterosexual mostly ☐ heterosexual somewhat more than lesbian ☐ hetero/lesbian equally ☐ lesbian somewhat more ☐ lesbian mostly ☐ lesbian only

Part 2:

The next section is about females engaging in <u>public</u> sexual behaviour with other females. Public means sexual behaviour that took place at a bar, dance, party, etc. or in a video that was made with your consent to show others, for example on the internet. Sexual behaviour refers to open mouth kissing with or without the tongue, rubbing or rubbing against, massaging, kissing, sucking, licking or touching another woman's breasts, buttock, or genitals.

Please check one of the following:

☐ I have engaged in "sexual behaviour" with other females in public places or have made a video(s) that was shared with others on the internet. ***(if checked computer takes them to part 3, followed by parts 4, 5, 6 and 7*)**.

☐ I have seen women engaged in "sexual behaviour" with other females in public places, on the internet, in movies and/or on TV, but I have NOT engaged in "sexual behaviour" with other females in public places. *(if checked computer takes them to part 4, followed by parts 5, 6, and 7).*

☐ I have not seen females engaging in "sexual behaviour" with other females in public places, on the internet, in movies and/or on TV. *(if checked computer takes them to end of survey*)**.**

Part 3:

This section focuses on your sexual behaviour with another female(s) in a public place, in front of other people, or in a video that was made with your consent that you intended to show other people.

1. **Approximately how often and at what ages did you engage in public sexual behaviour with another female(s)?**

13-15 years old	16-18 years old	19-25 years old	26-40 years old *(automatically excludes participants under 19 yrs)*	During the past 6 months
☐ 0 times	☐ 0 times	☐ 0 times	☐ 0 times	☐ 0 times
☐ 1 time	☐ 1 time	☐ 1 time	☐ 1 time	☐ 1 time
☐ 2-3 times	☐ 2-3 times	☐ 2-3 times	☐ 2-3 times	☐ 2-3 times
☐ 4-5 times	☐ 4-5 times	☐ 4-5 times	☐ 4-5 times	☐ 4-5 times
☐ more than 5 times	☐ more than 5 times	☐ more than 5 times	☐ more than 5 times	☐ more than 5 times

2. **Where were you most likely to engage in sexual behaviour with another female(s)? Please type your answer on the space below.**

_____

3. The following is a list of reasons why females may engage in sexual behaviour with other females in public places (parties, bars, dances) or for public viewing (e.g., internet, video).
Please rate how well each statement applies to you using the following scale:

☐ Strongly Disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly Agree

1.	I wanted to attract male attention.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
2.	I wanted to attract female attention.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
3	I did it to get people in the room to notice me.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
4.	I was curious about making out with a female.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
5.	I was attracted to her.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
6.	I enjoy any sexual contact.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
7.	It's great trying out new sexual activities.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
8.	I'd been drinking alcohol and/or taking drugs and my inhibition was low.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
9.	I was coerced into it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
10.	A male(s) dared me to do it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
11.	I did it because I know that men like to see women making out.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
12.	It was the trendy thing to do at the time.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
13.	A female(s) dared me to do it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
14.	All of the female friends were doing it and I thought I'd try it out.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
15.	I was offered something (drinks, a t-shirt, beads, money, etc.) to do it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree

Again, please rate how each statement applies to your experience with public sexual behaviour with another female(s).

16.	I wanted to get a guy or guys to notice me.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
17.	I wanted to get a girl or girls to notice me.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
18.	I like to be the center of attention.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
19.	I was exploring my sexuality.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
20.	I thought she was hot.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
21.	I just really like sex of all forms.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
22.	I enjoy being sexually adventurous.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
23.	My behaviour was influenced by alcohol and/or drugs.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
24.	I was pushed into it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
25.	A male(s) asked me to do it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
26.	I did it because I know that it turns men on.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
27.	I was doing something that I'd seen and thought it would be fun to try out.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
28.	A female(s) asked me to do it.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
29.	I did it to fit in with my female friends.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
30.	I did it to get something (drinks, a prize, money, etc.).	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree

4. **If there is a reason or reasons that you engaged in public sexual behaviour with a females(s) that is not on the above list, please type your reason in the space below. _____**

5. **Below is a list of words that some females may use to express the way they felt the day after they engaged in sexual behaviour with another female in a public place. Please click on the ones that apply to your experiences.**

- ☐ Empowered
- ☐ Depressed
- ☐ Used
- ☐ Sexually fulfilled
- ☐ Adventurous
- ☐ Liberated
- ☐ Liberal minded
- ☐ Open minded
- ☐ Awkward
- ☐ Regretful
- ☐ Embarrassed
- ☐ Ashamed
- ☐ High
- ☐ Afraid
- ☐ Excited
- ☐ Confused
- ☐ Angry
- ☐ Happy
- ☐ Euphoric
- ☐ Resentful
- ☐ Indifferent
- ☐ Victimized
- ☐ Coerced

Other (please describe in the space provided) _____

Part 4.

Just a reminder: Females, young women, and girls are used interchangeably in this survey.

1. Please rate the following statements.

1. I have felt pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other females.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree
2. . I believe that today's young women are under pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other young women.	☐ Strongly Disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly Agree

2. If you agree that today's young women and/or you have felt pressure to engage in public sexual behaviour with other women, where do you believe the pressure is coming from? (<u>Check off as many as you believe are applicable</u>).

☐ the mass media (TV, movies, magazines, radio, newspapers)
☐ popular culture
☐ social demands
☐ peers
☐ male friends
☐ female friends
☐ male dating partners
☐ female dating partners
☐ social media (You Tube, texting)
☐ other (please type in your answers) _____

Part 5. The items in this section refer to people's sexuality. Please read each item carefully and decide to what extent it is characteristic of you personally.

3.Please use the following scale to rate how much each statement applies to you based on a current or most recent sexual relationship(s).

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I have the ability to take care of any sexual needs and desires that I may have.	○	○	○	○	○
2. I'm very assertive about the sexual aspects of my life.	○	○	○	○	○
3. I notice how others perceive and react to the sexual aspects of my life.	○	○	○	○	○
4. My sexual behaviours are determined largely by other more powerful and influential people.	○	○	○	○	○
5. I am depressed about the sexual aspects of my life.	○	○	○	○	○
6. When a partner asks me to engage in a sexual act that I am not comfortable with, I won't do it.	○	○	○	○	○
7. I derive a sense of self-pride from the way I handle my own sexual needs and desires.	○	○	○	○	○
8. I am competent enough to make sure that my sexual needs are fulfilled.	○	○	○	○	○
9. I'm not very direct about voicing my sexual needs and preferences.	○	○	○	○	○
10. I'm concerned with how others evaluate my own sexual beliefs and behaviours.	○	○	○	○	○
11.My sexual behaviours are largely controlled by people other than myself (e.g., my partner, friends, family).	○	○	○	○	○
12. I am disappointed about the quality of my sex life.	○	○	○	○	○

Again, please use the following scale to rate how much each statement applies to you.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
13. I engage in sexual behaviour that I am not comfortable with because it would be too embarrassing to not go along with it.	○	○	○	○	○
14. I am proud of the way I deal with and handle my own sexual desires and needs.	○	○	○	○	○
15. I have the skills and ability to ensure rewarding sexual behaviours for myself.	○	○	○	○	○
16. I am somewhat passive about expressing my own sexual desires.	○	○	○	○	○
17. I am quick to notice other people's reactions to the sexual aspects of my own life.	○	○	○	○	○
18. My sexual behaviour is determined by the actions of powerful others (e.g., my partner, friends, family).	○	○	○	○	○
19. I feel discouraged about my sex life.	○	○	○	○	○
20. I refuse to engage in any sexual act that I am not comfortable with.	○	○	○	○	○
21. I am pleased with how I handle my own sexual tendencies and behaviours.	○	○	○	○	○
22. I am able to cope with and to handle my own sexual needs and wants.	○	○	○	○	○
23. I do not hesitate to ask for what I want in a sexual relationship.	○	○	○	○	○
24. I'm concerned about how the sexual aspects of my life appear to others.	○	○	○	○	○

Once again, please use the following scale to rate how much each statement applies to you.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
25. In order to be sexually active, I have to conform to other, more powerful individuals.	○	○	○	○	○
26. I feel unhappy about my sexual experiences.	○	○	○	○	○
27. Sometimes I engage in sexual behaviour that I am not thrilled about in order to please my partner.	○	○	○	○	○
28. I have positive feelings about the way I approach my own sexual needs and desires.	○	○	○	○	○
29. I have the capability to take care of my own sexual needs and desires.	○	○	○	○	○
30. When it comes to sex, I usually ask for what I want.	○	○	○	○	○
31. I'm aware of the public impression created by my own sexual behaviours and attitudes.	○	○	○	○	○
32. My sexual behaviour is mostly determined by people who have influence and control over me.	○	○	○	○	○
33. I feel sad when I think about my sexual experiences.	○	○	○	○	○
34. When I am uncomfortable with a sexual act, I do not engage in it.	○	○	○	○	○
35. I feel good about the way I express my own sexual needs and desires.	○	○	○	○	○

Part 6.

Please read the following definitions before completing the survey items:

Sexual activities - anything from fantasy to holding hands to kissing to sexual intercourse.

Modes of sexual expression - flirting, eye contact, touching, vocal quality, compliments, suggestive body movements or postures.

Sexual orientation - an enduring emotional, romantic, sexual or affectional attraction to other persons that ranges from exclusive heterosexuality to exclusive homosexuality and includes various forms of bisexuality.

Please use the following scale to respond to items 1 -15.

	1 Very uncharacteristic of me.	--2--	--3--	--4--	--5--	6 Very characteristic of me.
1. My sexual orientation is clear to me.	○	○	○	○	○	○
2. I am open to experiment with new types of sexual activities in the future.	○	○	○	○	○	○
3. I know what my preferences are for expressing myself sexually.	○	○	○	○	○	○
4. I am open to experiment with my sexual orientation in the future.	○	○	○	○	○	○
5. My understanding of my sexual needs coincides with my overall sense of sexual self.	○	○	○	○	○	○
6. I sometimes feel uncertain about my sexual orientation.	○	○	○	○	○	○
7. I am actively trying new ways to express myself sexually.	○	○	○	○	○	○

8. I have a clear sense of the types of sexual activities I prefer.	○	○	○	○	○	○
9. I am actively trying new ways to express my sexual orientation.	○	○	○	○	○	○
10. The ways I express myself sexually are consistent with all of the other aspects of my sexuality.	○	○	○	○	○	○
11. My sexual orientation is not clear to me.	○	○	○	○	○	○
12. I am actively experimenting with sexual activities that are new to me.	○	○	○	○	○	○
13. I have a firm sense of what my sexual needs are.	○	○	○	○	○	○
14. I am actively experimenting with my sexual orientation.	○	○	○	○	○	○
15. The sexual activities I prefer are compatible with all of the other aspects of my sexuality.	○	○	○	○	○	○

Part 7. You are almost done! This is the final section. Remember, we will not be able to identify you by any means including name or IP address.

What is you highest level of education?

☐ some high school	☐ **high school graduate**	☐ **college student**	☐ **university undergrad student**	☐ **university graduate student**	☐ **PDP student**
☐ **college certificate**	☐ **bachelor's degree**	☐ **graduate degree**			

What is your religion?

☐ Protestant	☐ Catholic	☐ Muslim	☐ Jewish	☐ Hindu	☐ Buddhist	☐ Sikh	☐ Other	☐ No religion

Where are you currently living?

☐ Vancouver Island	☐ Mainland BC	☐ Alberta	☐ Saskatchewan	☐ Manitoba	☐ Ontario
☐ Quebec	☐ New Brunswick	☐ Nova Scotia	☐ Newfoundland	☐ PEI	☐ Yukon
☐ NWT	☐ Nunavut	☐ U.S.A.	☐ Other		

In what type of environment did you spend most of your adolescent years?

○ Urban

○ Rural

In what type of environment are you currently living?

○ Urban

○ Rural

How did you hear about this survey?

☐ EDSA website	☐ U Vic student via email	☐ U Vic student website	☐ Friend	☐ Other

Thank you so much for participating in this research. As mentioned previously, your opinions, thoughts, and experiences are important. The time and effort you have taken in sharing them is greatly appreciated. If you have female friends and colleagues you believe would be interested in completing the survey, please share the survey website with them.

Click THE BOX to submit your survey. □

AS MENTIONED AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SURVEY, A LIST OF COUNSELLING RESOURCES IS PROVIDED IN PDF FORMAT. PLEASE CLICK ON THE LINK IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO DOWNLOAD THIS LIST.

Victoria Resources

University of Victoria Counselling Services Free, confidential counselling for currently enrolled degree program UVic students. In addition, the UVic Counselling Services has developed an online list of counsellors and psychologists in the community who will see students on a sliding fee scale.	250-721-8341
University of Victoria Health Services	250-721-8492
Vancouver Island Crisis Line (open 24 hrs)	1-888-494-3888
Women's Sexual Assault Centre Crisis Line	250-383-3232
Mental Health Support Line	310-6789
Women's Sexual Assault Centre	250-383-5545 ext 119
Victoria Women's Transition House Crisis Line (open 24 hours)	250 385-6611
Suicide Crisis Line	1-800-784-2433
Pacific Centre Family Services Association – Affordable Counselling Program	250-478-8357
Citizens' Counselling Centre of Greater Victoria	250-384-9934

Appendix D

Spearman Correlations of Paired Reason Statements for Engaging in PSSSB

In order to determine if there was consistency in participant ratings of the matched reason statements, Spearman correlations were performed (e.g., *I wanted to attract male attention* was correlated with *I wanted to get a guy or guys to notice me*). The results, presented in Table 10, indicated that the matched pairs were significantly correlated.

Table 10

Spearman Correlations of Paired Reason Statements for Engaging in PSSSB

Statements	Significance
Male Attention	.93**
Female Attention	.75**
General Attention	.73**
Sexual Exploration	.57**
Sexual Attraction	.85**
Sexual Pleasure	.78**
Sexual Adventure	.73**
Substance Use	.81**
Victimization	.82**
Male Request	.89**
Male Pleasure	.91**
Societal Demand	.55**
Female Request	.61**
Friend Request	.73**
Contextual Demand	.91**

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Appendix E

Pearson Correlation Table for Sexual Orientation Identity Items

Table E1

Pearson Correlation (2 tailed) MoSIEC items

	1	6	11	2	7	12	3	8	13	4	9	14	5	10	15
1	1	.659**	.698**	-.062	-.024	-.028	-.286**	-.301**	-.256**	.356**	.204**	.317**	-.141**	-.302**	-.308**
6	.659**	1	.725**	.055	.083	.011	-.206**	-.257**	-.223**	.438**	.268**	.367**	-.022	-.232**	-.270**
11	.698**	.725**	1	.020	.068	.034	-.241**	-.296**	-.252**	.334**	.226**	.337**	-.051	-.252**	-.280**
2	-.062	.055	.020	1	.476**	.474**	.217**	.116*	.178**	.451**	.256**	.260**	.307**	.087	.031
7	-.024	.083	.068	.476**	1	.599**	.150**	.110*	.078	.344**	.433**	.306**	.244**	.038	.033
12	-.028	.011	.034	.474**	.599**	1	.101*	.072	.093*	.239**	.332**	.341**	.126**	.045	.055
3	-.286**	-.206**	-.241**	.217**	.150**	.101*	1	.701**	.737**	.153**	.231**	.105*	.579**	.590**	.559**
8	-.301**	-.257**	-.296**	.116*	.110*	.072	.701**	1	.712**	.062	.137**	.022	.478**	.633**	.572**
13	-.256**	-.223**	-.252**	.178**	.078	.093*	.737**	.712**	1	.140**	.155**	.082	.573**	.580**	.591**
4	.356**	.438**	.334**	.451**	.344**	.239**	.153**	.062	.140**	1	.518**	.597**	.324**	.057	.017
9	.204**	.268**	.226**	.256**	.433**	.332**	.231**	.137**	.155**	.518**	1	.656**	.245**	.133**	.085
14	.317**	.367**	.337**	.260**	.306**	.341**	.105*	.022	.082	.597**	.656**	1	.143**	.002	.002
5	-.141**	-.022	-.051	.307**	.244**	.126**	.579**	.478**	.573**	.324**	.245**	.143**	1	.481**	.401**
10	-.302**	-.232**	-.252**	.087	.038	.045	.590**	.633**	.580**	.057	.133**	.002	.481**	1	.649**
15	-.308**	-.270**	-.280**	.031	.033	.055	.559**	.572**	.591**	.017	.085	.002	.401**	.649**	1

** correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).

* correlation is s significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

Appendix F

Pearson Correlation Table for Sexual Self-Concept Items

Table F1

Pearson Correlations (2 tailed) for Sexual Self-Concept Items

	1	8	15	22	29	2	9	16	23	30	3	10	17	24	31
1	1	.616**	.615**	.648**	.622**	.490**	.365**	.331**	.465**	.443**	.140**	-.242**	-.007	-.202**	-.001
8	.616**	1	.692**	.754**	.684**	.540**	.532**	.527**	.640**	.618**	.100*	-.344**	-.065	-.306**	.053
15	.615**	.692**	1	.747	.758**	.552**	.487**	.484**	.593**	.612**	.151**	-.363**	-.012	-.356**	.066
22	.648**	.754**	.747**	1	.774**	.542**	.500**	.483**	.610**	.610**	.067	-.365**	-.062	-.371**	.017
29	.622**	.684**	.758**	.774**	1	.559**	.508**	.513**	.610**	.616**	.107*	-.400**	-.048	-.393**	.013
2	.490**	.540**	.552**	.542**	.559**	1	.531**	.568**	.661**	.630**	.252**	-.307**	.031	-.319**	.092
9	.365**	.532**	.487**	.500**	.508**	.531**	1	.648**	.611**	.603**	.085	-.363**	-.111*	-.298**	.055
16	.331**	.527**	.484**	.483**	.513**	.568**	.648**	1	.691**	.647**	.098*	-.369**	-.143	-.381**	.021
23	.465**	.640**	.593**	.610**	.610**	.661**	.611**	.691**	1	.818**	.144**	-.378**	-.089	-.393**	.078
30	.443**	.618**	.612**	.610**	.616**	.630**	.603**	.647**	.818**	1	.120*	-.388**	-.108*	-.383**	.068
3	.140**	.100*	.151**	.067	.107*	.252**	.085	.098*	.144**	.120*	1	.193**	.615**	.178**	.490**
10	-.242**	-.344**	-.363**	-.365**	-.400**	-.307**	-.363**	.369**	-.378**	-.388**	.193**	1	.313**	.697**	.227**
17	-.007	-.065	-.012	-.062	-.048	.031	-.111*	-.143**	-.089	-.108*	.615**	.313**	1	.366**	.504**
24	-.202**	-.306**	-.356**	-.371**	-.393**	-.319**	-.298**	-.381**	-.393**	-.383**	.178**	.697**	.366**	1	.247**
31	-.001	.053	.066	.017	.013	.092	.055	.021	.078	.068	.490**	.227**	.504**	.247**	1
4	-.354**	-.432**	-.395**	-.445**	-.437**	-.358**	-.380**	-.376**	-.396**	-.427**	.187**	.454**	.293**	.448**	.169**
11	-.395**	-.519**	-.474**	-.528**	-.544**	-.446**	-.438**	-.443**	-.515**	-.542**	.105*	.522**	.253**	.484**	.121*
18	-.372**	-.476**	-.447**	-.475**	-.512**	-.371**	-.408**	-.442**	-.489**	-.473**	.119*	.496**	.301**	.525**	.164**
25	-.395**	-.497**	-.477**	-.497**	-.503**	-.390**	-.383**	-.447**	-.529**	-.520**	.120*	.428**	.260**	.515**	.145**
32	-.384**	-.464**	-.438**	-.494**	-.485**	-.386**	-.413**	-.425**	-.525**	-.515**	.116*	.497**	.292**	.530**	.176**
5	-.508**	-.545**	-.514**	-.604**	-.522**	-.460**	-.403**	-.384**	-.485**	-.500**	.073	.400**	.239**	.420**	.099*
12	-.457**	-.554**	-.532**	-.592**	-.532**	-.492**	-.433**	-.456**	-.549**	-.543**	.019	.386**	.193**	.380**	.049
19	-.423**	-.555**	-.545**	-.577**	-.550**	-.471**	-.445**	-.471**	-.554**	-.562**	.039	.421**	.217**	.428**	.084
26	-.423**	-.499**	-.505**	-.533**	-.538**	-.418**	-.400**	-.397**	-.494**	-.522**	.044	.441**	.169**	.466**	.085
33	-.396**	-.507**	-.504**	-.546**	-.528**	-.436**	-.426**	-.429**	-.516**	-.537**	.067	.451**	.215**	.511**	.070
6	-.271**	-.342**	-.330**	-.359**	-.352**	-.271**	-.277**	-.321**	-.353**	-.395**	.152**	.291**	.207**	.372**	.097*
13	.443**	.552**	.504**	.520**	.512**	.408**	.430**	.447**	.536**	.503**	-.126**	-.438**	-.233**	-.470**	-.108*
20	-.333**	-.389**	-.364**	-.418**	-.384**	-.285**	-.295**	-.311**	-.407**	-.419**	.152**	.288**	.203**	.361**	.126**
27	-.253**	-.383**	-.330**	-.370**	-.369**	-.296**	-.303**	-.391**	-.428**	-.427**	.118*	.354**	.213**	.395**	.146**
34	-.339**	-.452**	-.387**	-.437**	-.414**	-.298**	-.309**	-.345**	-.438**	-.446**	.125**	.286**	.245**	.355**	.075
7	.444**	.585**	.569**	.584**	.542**	.532**	.474**	.512**	.565**	.528**	.151**	-.265**	-.009	-.272**	.137**
14	.501**	.638**	.650**	.646**	.625**	.560**	.511**	.541**	.635**	.597**	.094*	-.369**	-.117*	-.401**	.033
21	.491**	.661**	.662**	.725**	.634**	.544**	.549**	.529**	.648**	.604**	.025*	-.383**	-.107*	-.444**	.035
28	.551**	.694**	.685**	.691**	.713**	.580**	.557**	.557**	.657**	.655**	.046	-.432**	-.149**	-.486**	-.023
35	.499**	.630**	.641**	.651**	.638**	.609**	.574**	.580**	.725**	.682**	.126**	-.400**	-.093*	-.445**	.028

** correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).

* correlation is s significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

Table F1 continued

Pearson Correlations (2 tailed) for Sexual Self-Concept Items

	4	11	18	25	32	5	12	19	26	33	6	13	20	27	34
1	-.354**	-.395**	-.372**	-.395**	-.384**	-.508**	-.457**	-.423**	-.423**	-.396**	-.271**	.443**	-.333**	-.253**	-.339**
8	-.432**	-.519**	-.476**	-.497**	-.464**	-.545**	-.554**	-.555**	-.499**	-.507**	-.342**	.552**	-.389**	-.383**	-.452**
15	-.395**	-.474**	-.447**	-.477**	-.438**	-.514**	-.532**	-.545**	-.505**	-.504**	-.330**	.504**	-.364**	-.330**	-.387**
22	-.445**	-.528**	-.475**	-.497**	-.494**	-.604**	-.592**	-.577**	-.533**	-.546**	-.359**	.520**	-.418**	-.370**	-.437**
29	-.437**	-.544**	-.512**	-.503**	-.485**	-.522**	-.532**	-.550**	-.538**	-.528**	-.352**	.512**	-.384**	-.369**	-.414**
2	-.358**	-.446**	-.371**	-.390**	-.386**	-.460**	-.492**	-.471**	-.418**	-.436**	-.271**	.408**	-.285**	-.296**	-.298**
9	-.380**	-.438**	-.408**	-.383**	-.413**	-.403**	-.433**	-.445**	-.400**	-.426**	-.277**	.430**	-.295**	-.303**	-.309**
16	-.376**	-.443**	-.442**	-.447**	-.425**	-.384**	-.456**	-.471**	-.397**	-.429**	-.321**	.447**	-.311**	-.391**	-.345**
23	-.396**	-.515**	-.489**	-.529**	-.525**	-.485**	-.549**	-.554**	-.494**	-.516**	-.353**	.536**	-.407**	-.428**	-.438**
30	-.427**	-.542**	-.473**	-.520**	-.515**	-.500**	-.543**	-.562**	-.522**	-.537**	-.395**	.503**	-.419**	-.427**	-.446**
3	.187**	.105*	.119*	.120*	.116*	.073	.019	.039	.044	.067	.152**	-.126**	.152**	.118*	.125**
10	.454**	.522**	.496**	.428**	.497**	.400**	.386**	.421**	.441**	.451**	.291**	-.438**	.288**	.354**	.286**
17	.293**	.253**	.301**	.260**	.292**	.239**	.193**	.217**	.169**	.215**	.207**	-.233**	.203**	.213**	.245**
24	.448**	.484**	.525**	.515**	.530**	.420**	.380**	.428**	.466**	.511**	.372**	-.470**	.361**	.395**	.355**
31	.169**	.121*	.164**	.145**	.176**	.099*	.049	.084	.085	.070	.097*	-.108*	.126**	.146**	.075
4	1	.658**	.681**	.715**	.729**	.567**	.427**	.500**	.441**	.508**	.487**	-.616**	.545**	.486**	.507**
11	.658**	1	.813	.662**	.746**	.523**	.514**	.506**	.485**	.508**	.484**	-.671**	.516**	.505**	.508**
18	.681**	.813**	1	.692**	.805**	.539**	.498**	.558**	.522**	.548**	.472**	-.656**	.503**	.510**	.522**
25	.715**	.662**	.692**	1	.782**	.548**	.504**	.555**	.547**	.566**	.494**	-.666**	.530**	.503**	.550**
32	.729**	.746**	.805**	.782**	1	.564**	.507**	.580**	.555**	.591**	.516**	-.686**	.570**	.528**	.563**
5	.567**	.523**	.539**	.548**	.564**	1	.759**	.800**	.657**	.682**	.348**	-.530**	.393**	.358**	.403**
12	.427**	.514**	.498**	.504**	.507**	.759**	1	.813**	.662**	.643**	.260**	-.502**	.339**	.368**	.366**
19	.500**	.506**	.558**	.555**	.580**	.800**	.813**	1	.683**	.699**	.309**	-.541**	.371**	.397**	.397**
26	.441**	.485**	.522**	.547**	.555**	.657**	.662**	.683**	1	.783**	.330**	-.511**	.373**	.408**	.418**
33	.508**	.508**	.548**	.566**	.591**	.682**	.643**	.699**	.783**	1	.421**	-.545**	.397**	.400**	.425**
6	.487**	.484**	.472**	.494**	.516**	.348**	.260**	.309**	.330**	.421**	1	-.583**	.724**	.489**	.676**
13	-.616**	-.671**	-.656**	-.666**	-.686**	-.530**	-.502**	-.541**	-.511**	-.545**	-.583**	1	-.634**	-.572**	-.656**
20	.545**	.516**	.503**	.530**	.570**	.393**	.339**	.371**	.373**	.397**	.724**	-.634**	1	.558**	.774**
27	.486**	.505**	.510**	.503**	.528**	.358**	.368**	.397**	.408**	.400**	.489**	-.572**	.558**	1	.602**
34	.507**	.508**	.522**	.550**	.563**	.403**	.366**	.397**	.418**	.425**	.676**	-.656**	.774**	.602**	1
7	-.360**	-.404**	-.400**	-.390**	-.413**	-.433**	-.441**	-.451**	-.394**	-.445**	-.337**	.490**	-.399**	-.287**	-.387**
14	-.478**	-.544**	-.554**	-.540**	-.541**	-.597**	-.600**	-.636**	-.533**	-.579**	-.427**	.636**	-.472**	-.427**	-.485**
21	-.541**	-.592**	-.578**	-.589**	-.607**	-.623**	-.621**	-.625**	-.578**	-.603**	-.421**	.658**	-.499**	-.453**	-.505**
28	-.568**	-.617**	-.611**	-.642**	-.606**	-.645**	-.638**	-.658**	-.623**	-.658**	-.443**	.654**	-.483**	-.470**	-.509**
35	-.446**	-.533**	-.507**	-.538**	-.534**	-.591**	-.597**	-.608**	-.579**	-.593**	-.390**	.568**	-.446**	-.406**	-.441**

** correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).

* correlation is s significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

Table F1 continued

Pearson Correlations (2 tailed) for Sexual Self-Concept Items

	7	14	21	28	35
1	.444**	.501**	.491**	.551**	.499**
8	.585**	.638**	.661**	.694**	.630**
15	.569**	.650**	.662**	.685**	.641**
22	.584**	.646**	.725**	.691**	.651**
29	.542**	.625**	.634**	.713**	.638**
2	.532**	.560**	.544**	.580**	.609**
9	.474**	.511**	.549**	.557**	.574**
16	.512**	.541**	.529**	.557**	.580**
23	.565**	.635**	.648**	.657**	.725**
30	.528**	.597**	.604**	.655**	.682**
3	.151**	.094*	.025*	.046	.126**
10	-.265**	-.369**	-.383**	-.432**	-.400**
17	-.009	-.117*	-.107*	-.149**	-.093*
24	-.272**	-.401**	-.444**	-.486**	-.445**
31	.137**	.033	.035	.023	.028
4	-.360**	-.478**	-.541**	-.568**	-.446**
11	-.404**	-.544**	-.592**	-.617**	-.533**
18	-.400**	-.554**	-.578**	-.611**	-.507**
25	-.390**	-.540**	-.589**	-.642**	-.538**
32	-.413**	-.541**	-.607**	-.606**	-.534**
5	-.433**	-.597**	-.623**	-.645**	-.591**
12	-.441**	-.600**	-.621**	-.638**	-.597**
19	-.451**	-.636**	-.625**	-.658**	-.608**
26	-.394**	-.533**	-.578**	-.623**	-.579**
33	-.445**	-.579**	-.603**	-.658**	-.593**
6	-.337**	-.427**	-.421**	-.443**	-.390**
13	.490**	.636**	.658**	.654**	.568**
20	-.399**	-.472**	-.499**	-.483**	-.446**
27	-.287**	-.427**	-.453**	-.470**	-.406**
34	-.387**	-.485**	-.505**	-.509**	-.441**
7	1	.664**	.623**	.592**	.612**
14	.664**	1	.778**	.779**	.714**
21	.623**	.778**	1	.786**	.767**
28	.592**	.779**	.786**	1	.774**
35	.612**	.714**	.767**	.774**	1

** correlation is significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).

* correlation is s significant at the .05 level (two-tailed).

Appendix G
Women's Comments About Sources of Pressure to Engage in PSSSB

Category	Comments
Pornography	Porn. Pornography. Pornography -this is a male-dominated world. Porno. Pornography. Pornography. Pornography. Porn. Porn. Porn. Pornography. Pornography. Porn. Porn. Porn, dom males. Pornography - males have ulterior motives.
Males in general	Guys trying to convince girls its sexy. Men in general. Males. Potential guy dates. Men where ever I was drinking. Guys seem to really like it. There's pressure there. Just males in the room. Comments from males i don't know i.e. someone shouting at a party for a girl to make out with another girl. Males in general women are objectified. From a guy that I wanted to be my boyfriend. Potential male dating partners. Just plain "males." Men.
Clarification of provided sources	I think it depends on if you're boyfriend is into it. Shades of Grey, doing what your boyfriend asks. Boyfriends. Boyfriends. Definitley [*sic*]male dating partners who are turned on by it, but I haven't seen many lesbians engaged in this public behaiouvr [*sic*]unless it was at a pride

	parade or gay bar. Media seems to encouarge women to experiment sexually, and individuals may find personal enjoyment in the physical connections.
Society	Patriarchy. Society in general. Patriarchal society! Straight women feel they have to do it for men's enjoyment and this sucks! Society in general is overly sexualized from such a young age (early-mid elementary school), and I don't think parents are acknowledging it or doing anything to educate their daughters (or sons) enough about how to respect their own or other people's bodies. Rape culture. Male culture.
General Comments	It's everywhere. Also about #2 above, girls may think they are empowered, but they really aren't. It's everywhere you look. All of the above. All of the above. I believe that overall, young women experience pressure from every angle. All of it. There's so much pressure, especially in the bar scene. It's coming from all areas. All of the categories are pertinent.
Other	Also social media: phone apps such as "snap chat" and texting "sexting" photos. Bar scene. Sex and the city specifically, not just pop culture. Thank God GGW isn't around anymore, but I think there are other groups doing the same thing. Bar owners, DJ's. Situation dependent - it doesn't happen all the time, but when it does, it's powerful. Form of personal exploitation that is quite common now (under the guise of being empowered). To explore their sexuality. Rebellion.

Appendix H

Written Comments Women Provided for Engaging in PSSSB

Emerging Adult Heterosexual Women

Boyfriend	• My boyfriend talked me into doing it. • For my boyfriends or to get a boyfriend. • My partner begs me to do it. He loves to see me make-out with women. It turns him on, so it turns me on. • My boyfriend was abusive and demanded that I do it with other females - often he videod [sic] it. • For my boyfriend. • Boyfriend wanted me to do it. He still does. I'm a sub. • My boyfriends liked it when I got with another girl in front them.
Attract a Man	• Good to get guys to see that I'm available. • To get lucky with a guy. • Trying to pick up a specific guy. • Trying to attract a particular guy. • # 30 I did do it to get something - a date. • Picking up men.
Curiosity	• Curiosity. • Having a long term boyfriend at the time, I was secondarily motivated by male attention. • Secretly wanted to try it, and felt the public setting (in front of males) was the most accepted place to do.
Male Attention	• Sometimes it is just to have fun - but for a male audience. • Men like to see girls doing it.
To get something	• Contests at bars. • Guys offering me drinks on booze cruises and at parties.
Male Pressure	• Mostly guys saying "come on, come on, make out with her". • Pressure by guys at the club.
Physical Contact	• Enjoy the physical contact.
Pleasure	• It was fun and comfortable as no expectations, We were comfortable with ourselves and made each other feel good.
Social Demands	• Trying to be part of the group.
Other	• I had been drinking and she just started kissing me.

Adult Heterosexual Women

Attract a Man	▪ Was trying to pick up a guy. ▪ I was showing some guys how sexually "open" I was in hopes of attracted them. ▪ To guarantee that my female friend and I would consolidate a sexual relation with a male partner, both times. ▪ It was part of the "manhunt" scene. I'm not doing it anymore! ▪ Wanted to show men how sexy and liberal-minded I was. ▪ I felt like I had to seem like a "cool" person that was "fun" and having a good time even if I was uncomfortable with it or didn't want to. I was trying to portray a certain image, that of someone sexy and outgoing and I didn't want to seem inhibited or repressed. The guys always encourage girls to dance and make out and were happy and the girls were happy to be dancing and to be showing off their moves to the guys. They needed someone to help them do that so I felt like I had to please both the girls and the guys.
Male Attention	▪ Each time is different, but I don't usually do it unless there are men around. I'm kind of an exhibitionist. ▪ Performing for the men. ▪ It's a way to get guys to see that we're hot. You've got to do what you've got to do. ▪ I didn't want everyone to notice me, just the men!
Boyfriend	▪ Very specific setting - my boyfriend was into it.
Other	▪ Because we are best friends. ▪ Pressure to be "open minded". ▪ She suddenly kissed me when we were dancing, It was a surprise / shock ▪ It was a very close girlfriend of mine, we were at a music festival and we had done MDMA. We spent the night roaming the festival, dancing, meeting people and at one point she just looked at me and said, "I just love you!" And I said, "I just love you too!" Then she said, "I could kiss you right now!" I said, "I could kiss you too!" We kissed for minute and then it was over. We were surrounded by lots of people but they weren't paying any attention to us (they were dancing hard to a DJ and hanging with their own friends) and we didn't do it infront of anyone for any reason. It happened that once and never again! We even both had boyfriends at the time. We are still good friends to this day, many years later. ▪ Some girls wanted to practice before kissing boys. ▪ Any female kissing happened in teens/ late teens during dares.

Emerging Adult SSO Women

Attraction to Women	▪ One of said females was my girlfriend, so I did it because I genuinely loved her, and believed in showing my affection towards her regardless of who was around. There was no option for "love" on this chart. ▪ Was with girlfriend/show affection.

	▪ I was attracted to the women that I made out with. ▪ It is easier to engage in sexual behaviour with females at a bar/club when people are drunk because girls don't know how it will be recieved otherwise. It doesn't label you as a lesbian either if you do it publicaly. ▪ I'm Queer, I was dating her. ▪ I enjoy the activity the gender of my partner did not play a role ▪ Love. ▪ In a relationship with her. ▪ Because I love and appreciate them.
Pleasure	▪ I wanted to feel powerful.
DE - Attract a guy	▪ Often, to make it clear that I was NOT looking for male attention while at a bar. My roommate and I would engage in sexual activity to keep men away.
Curiosity	▪ Just to try mainly. ▪ Curiosity.
Other	▪ Learning how to kiss. ▪ To prove I was not a prude and/or a "goody-two-shoes".

Adult SSO Women

Attraction to Women	▪ Feelings of intimacy, Love, signs of affectionate. ▪ I had a crush on her for a long time. ▪ In a committed relationship with the person. ▪ This is a normal as i am in a lesbian relationship and displaying affection and sexual behaviour with a female is a part of my sexual identity. ▪ Strong feelings of love between two women. ▪ I was in love. ▪ Because she was my girlfriend. ▪ Because I love(d) her. Don't see why that reason was completely left out.
Expression of Sexuality	▪ I was expressing my personal freedom and rebellion towards heteronormativity. ▪ To try and maintain a sense of normalcy about the attraction. ▪ It offered me a chance to explore my desire to be with females in an "acceptable" and "non-predatory" way. as a queer young woman, I was afraid of being outed/shamed for my sexuality if other people knew I was interested in women beyond just public kissing. getting men to notice was perhaps the prerogative for others but it was just a ruse for me -- a cover up. ▪ It was acceptable in public and I was trying things out. Drank a lot of alcohol then - wouldn't do anything publicly now.
Pleasure	▪ I got a sexual thrill from it. ▪ It was fun.
Male Pressure	▪ One time a guy asked me to make out with a girl because another girl was going to make out with her and he didn't like her. ▪ The men were hooting and hollering for us (the girls) to sleeze out with each other.
De -Attract a	▪ In later years it was a bit of rebellion to men and my cheating (now ex) husband.

guy	
To get something	▪ Different reasons for different situations - wet t-shirt contest, thought it would be fun, caught in the moment.
Curiosity	▪ I wanted to feel if kissing a girl is different than kissing a guy. ▪ Curiosity.
Other	▪ I fall in love with people for who they are, not because they are male or female. I'm not afraid to express my affection for them publicly. Right now I'm single and I don't know who I'll be attracted to in the future ▪ The above list would depend on age. The above answers are what I would answer for 13 - 18 yrs, not older. ▪ The woman just kissed me without warning. ▪ Between the ages of 21 and 25 I engaged in public sexual behaviour with women as a sex trade worker. I do not consider sexual contact with the men or women in this way as mutually consenting. My answers below are reflecting my experiences where I was not trading sex for goods or services. ▪ Why not?

Appendix I

Women's Comments about They Felt after Engaging in PSSSB

Heterosexual Emerging Adults

Negative Comments

Male Influence:

Kind of felt like it was embarrasing [sic] to resort to making out with another girl to get attention from guys
I never feel good about it, but it's what it takes to get certain men to notice me
I tried, but it didn't feel good. I felt used by my boyfriend.
Upset I was so easily talked into it when I was drunk. only happened a few times. It wasn't for me.
Abused - used by my boyfriend for him to get his rocks off
I wouldn't say that I felt coerced, but I was definitely influenced by the males in the room and felt used.
Often confused - guys asked us to do it, but called us sluts or nymphos afterwards
Sometimes it wasn't such a good idea
Sometimes the guys were slimy and tried to get me to do weird stuff with other girls. I was nervous

Concerned that the other women was into them:

A couple of times I've been grossed out or embarrassed when I've found out the girl is bi and likes me
Sometimes worried that the girl is into me
Concerned that some of the girls I made out with were actually into me.

Other negative feelings:

Slutty
Sexy at the time, but slutty the next day
Angry if the girl was after the same guy
Sad

Situation Dependent:

Every time is different
I only felt bad if it didn't work to get a guy
I mostly try not to think about it

Positive Comments

Influential
I'm always with my boyfriend the next day and usually we've had a great night, so I feel sexy.

Heterosexual Adults

Negative Comments

Foolish
Sometimes I felt very stupid
Definitely used when I realize that I am doing something for men, but I strangely, I still do it
Horrible experience. I felt completely taken advantage of when I was drunk

Ridiculous - usually I was drunk and felt stupid the next day. Angry with myself for being so easily manipulated. Stupid, a push-over
Situation Dependent It depends on how the guys responded. If I've picked up guy, I'm usually happy. It depends, at the time I felt empowered, but if I was shot down by a guy, I was embossed [sic] It depended on the attention I got from men. Sometimes I regretted my behaviour, other times it made me feel open-minded
Positive Comments Entertained Proud/daring Like I'm a good actress. Adrenaline rush over how daring it was Like I could say I had done it.

Emerging Adult SSO Women

Negative Comments Devastated - several times, the women that I was dancing with were using me to turn on men. I thought they were interested in me. Hurt if she was a tease and not really into me Objectified by men Silly
Positive Comments *Aroused* *Joking (funny)* *Fun*

SSO Adults

Negative Comments Nervous about other girl's reaction afterward Bad- for possibly taking advantage Taken advantage of because most of the girls were straight and I was seriously attracted to them. Not so happy with myself the next day, but still did it a few more times. Ashamed when my parent found out I was in a wet t-shirt contest and made out with a girl in front of people Anxious over what would happen next Sometimes I felt like I'd been talked into something that I shouldn't have done
Situation Dependent An infatuation, a crush, missing her
Positive Comments

Horny Excited Free Aroused I felt recognized Turned on
Neutral Comment Don't recall thinking about it the day after

Appendix J

Women's Private Sexual Behaviour: Analyses

To compare at which ages and with whom those participants who had engaged in PSSSB, had also engaged in private sexual behaviour, I created four participant groups based on their sexual orientation and age at the time of data collection: heterosexual orientation emerging adults *(*n = 59, mean age = 22.58); heterosexual orientation adults (n = 41, mean age = 28.49); some same-sex orientation (SSO) emerging adults (n = 68, mean age = 22.82); and SSO adults (n = 75, mean age = 29.29). The scores of whom participants had recalled engaging in private sexual behaviour (no sexual behaviour, males only; males mostly; males somewhat more than females; males and females equally; females somewhat more than males; females mostly; and females only) were totalled for the past 6 months and for four developmental periods (early adolescence, ages 13-15; late adolescence, ages 16-18; emerging adulthood, ages 19-25, and when applicable, young adulthood, ages 26-40). For the purpose of this analysis four types of private sexual behaviour were created: males only; females only, males and females ("males mostly" to "females mostly"), and no sexual partners. (See Tables 1 to 4 for frequency and percent of partners in women's private sexual behaviour at each developmental period and Table 5 during the past 6 months).

The data did not meet normalcy requirements for parametric analysis, so non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVAS were performed to test for significant differences among the four groups at each developmental period. The Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA was followed up with pair-wise Mann-Whitney U tests to identify which groups were significantly different from the others.

The Kruskal-Wallis 1-Way ANOVA indicated no significant group differences in the recalled private sexual behaviour at ages 13 to 15 (p = .635). In addition, there were no significant differences between heterosexual emerging adults and adults' recollections of private sexual behaviour across the developmental periods (ages 16-18, p = .680; ages 19-25, p = .659; and last six months, p = .629), and no significant differences between SSO emerging adults and adults recollections of private sexual behaviour across the developmental periods (ages 16-18, p = .374; ages 19-25, p = .808; last six month p = .493). However, there were significant differences between heterosexual and SSO participants' recollections of private sexual behaviour during middle and late adolescence, emerging adulthood, and during the past six months (ages 16-18, p < .001; ages 19-25, p < .001; and last six months, p < .001). In addition, there were significant differences between adult heterosexual and SSO participants' recollections of private sexual behaviour from ages 26 to 40 (p < .00). In general from middle adolescence and beyond the SSO women more frequently engaged in private sexual behaviour with females than the heterosexual women.

Table J1.

Frequency and Percent of Partners in Women's Private Sexual Behaviour at Ages 13-15

	Sexual Partners								
	No Sexual Partners		*Males only*		*Males and Females*		*Females Only*		
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	19	32	37	62.7	2	3.4	1	1.7	59
Heterosexual Adults	13	31.7	26	63.4	2	4.9	-	-	41
SSO Emerging Adults	27	39.7	22	32.4	17	25	2	2.9	68
SSO Adults	27	36	29	38.7	18	24	1	1.3	75

Table J2.

Frequency and Percent of Partners in Women's Private Sexual Behaviour at Ages 16-18

	Sexual Partners								
	No Sexual Partners		*Males only*		*Males and Females*		*Females Only*		
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	8	13.6	48	81.4	3	5.1	-	-	59
Heterosexual Adults	5	12.2	31	75.6	5	12.2	-	-	41
SSO Emerging Adults	11	16.2	27	39.7	29	42.6	1	1.5	68
SSO Adults	7	9.3	35	46.7	32	42.7	1	1.3	75

Table J3.

Frequency and Percent of Partners in Women's Private Sexual Behaviour at Ages 19-25

	Sexual Partners								
	No Sexual Partners		*Males only*		*Males and Females*		*Females Only*		
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	-	-	50	84.7	9	15.3	-	-	59
Heterosexual Adults	-	-	34	82.9	7	17.1	-	-	41
SSO Emerging Adults	-	-	23	33.8	42	61.8	3	4.4	68
SSO Adults	-	-	21	28.0	53	70.7	1	1.3	75

Table J4.

Frequency and Percent of Partners in Women's Private Sexual Behaviour During the Past Six Months

	Sexual Partners								
	No Sexual Partners		*Males only*		*Males and Females*		*Females Only*		
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**
Heterosexual Emerging Adults	4	6.8	55	93.2	-	-	-	-	59
Heterosexual Adults	3	7.3	36	87.8	2	4.9	-	-	41
SSO Emerging Adults			47	69.1	12	17.6	9	13.2	68
SSO Adults	5	6.7	47	62.7	11	14.7	12	16.0	75

Table J5.

Frequency and Percent of Partners in Women's Private Sexual Behaviour at Ages 26-40

	Sexual Partners								
	No Sexual behaviour		*Males only*		*Males and Females*		*Females Only*		
Groups	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	***f***	**%**	**Total**
Heterosexual Adults	-	-	37	90.2	4	9.8	-	-	41
SSO Adults			34	45.3	31	41.3	10	13.3	75