

# School-Based Education to Address Pornography's Influence on Young People: A Proposed Practice Framework

Maree Crabbe & Michael Flood

**To cite this article:** Maree Crabbe & Michael Flood (2021): School-Based Education to Address Pornography's Influence on Young People: A Proposed Practice Framework, *American Journal of Sexuality Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2020.1856744>

## ABSTRACT

There is growing community and policy interest in educational efforts among children and young people to address pornography. Education on pornography increasingly is seen as a necessary strategy in the context of young people's widespread exposure to pornography and the potential shifts in young people's sexual and gendered lives and relations which this entails. What, then, does promising practice in education to address pornography's influence look like? This article offers a framework for school-based pornography education. It begins with the rationale for conducting pornography education in schools in particular. The article then offers a detailed account of a proposed practice framework for school-based pornography education, emphasizing such principles as a whole-school approach, a robust conceptual approach, grounding in sexuality education, and participatory teaching and learning. It concludes by assessing an existing school curriculum resource, *In The Picture*, against this framework.

## KEYWORDS

Pornography; pornography education; sexuality; childhood; adolescence

## Introduction

Pornography is increasingly widely identified as an influence on children's and young people's sexual lives. In the context of high levels of pornography exposure among young people, there is growing community and policy interest in how best to minimize the potential harms this represents. One strategy which has increasing momentum is the school-based provision of curricula on pornography, what might be termed "pornography education" – or, as we discuss, perhaps more accurately, "education to address pornography's influence." What does this education look like, and what should it look like? In this article, we offer a proposed practice framework for school-based pornography education.

## Background

Pornography is widely recognized as an important part of young people's sexual socialization and media landscapes. The terms "children" and "young people" are used in diverse ways in the scholarship, but most refer to individuals in the 12–20 age range. "Pornography" is used here to refer to "sexually explicit media that are primarily intended to sexually arouse" and which typically include portrayals of "nudity and/or various sexual acts" (Malamuth, 2001). However, it is worth noting that pornography has been inconsistently defined, with some studies of pornography use failing to provide participants with a

definition, complicating the ways in which data may be analysed and comparisons made (Horvath et al., 2013; Marshall & Miller, 2019). Despite these limitations, some themes emerge consistently. Pornography exposure is widespread among children and young people (Martellozzo et al., 2016; Mattebo et al., 2013; Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018). Males are far more likely than females to use pornography, to do so regularly, and to see pornography as benign or exciting (Horvath et al., 2013; Lim et al., 2017; Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018; Sevcikova et al., 2013). For example, in a nationally representative U.S. study, among 16- to 17-year-olds 38% of males reported viewing pornography intentionally in the past year, compared with only 8% of females (Wolak et al., 2007). Another U.S. study found that, among 14-year-old youth, 66% of males and 39% of females have seen pornography in the last 12 months (Brown & L'Engle, 2009). A survey of Canadian 15- to 19-year-olds found that 45% of males have viewed pornography more than 50 times compared with 3% of females (O'Sullivan & Ronis, 2013). In a survey of 14- to 17-year-olds from five European countries, country-based rates for regular use of pornography ranged from 39% to 59% for young men, compared with 3–8% for young women (Stanley et al., 2018). An Australian study with a wider participant age range of 15- to 29-year-olds reported that 95% of males and 48% of females had viewed pornography at least monthly in the last 12 months (Lim et al., 2017).

There has been very little research examining the particular content which children and young people view. There is evidence that they view pornography offline and online (Brown & L'Engle, 2009; Horvath et al., 2013), with the internet – which allows free, easy and anonymous access (Cooper, 1998) – now the most common viewing medium (Hald et al., 2013). Young people's exposure occurs both intentionally and accidentally, in a variety of settings and for a range of purposes, including out of curiosity, for sexual arousal and masturbation, to learn about sex, to address boredom, for entertainment, and to keep up with peers (Arrington-Sanders et al., 2015; Chen et al., 2013; Horvath et al., 2013; Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018; Peter & Valkenburg, 2016). Pornography contains a range of genres, and the pornography young people view may be diverse, but for many it is likely to include mass-marketed or “mainstream” pornography. Mainstream pornography has been found by a range of studies to include significant levels of violent, sexually hostile, sexist, and racist content (Bridges et al., 2010; Carrotte et al., 2020; Fritz et al., 2020; Fritz & Paul, 2017; Gorman et al., 2010; Klaassen & Peter, 2015; Miller-Young, 2010; Shor & Golriz, 2019; Shor & Seida, 2019). In contrast, studies that do not classify aggressive acts as violent if the target of the aggression does not appear to be “motivated to avoid such treatment” (McKee, 2005) find low levels of violence, although this approach has been criticized for rendering aggression toward women invisible (Bridges et al., 2010). Aggression in pornography is overwhelmingly directed toward women, and typically by men (Bridges et al., 2010; Fritz et al., 2020; Fritz & Paul, 2017; Klaassen & Peter, 2015). For example, a recent study found that women were the targets in 97% of acts of aggression and men were the perpetrators in 76% (Fritz et al., 2020). While there is debate about how degradation and humiliation in pornography should be defined and understood (Bridges et al., 2010; Ciclitira, 2004; Cowan & Dunn, 1994; Whisnant, 2016), many scholars have argued that such themes are commonly found in pornography, for example, through depictions of domination, objectification, or acts such as ejaculation on a woman's face or a woman performing oral sex on a man who has just engaged in anal sex with her or someone else (Bridges et al., 2010; Dines, 2010; Dines et al., 1998; Gorman et al., 2010; Shor, 2019; Whisnant, 2016). Certainly, there is evidence that some viewers (Antevska & Gavey, 2015; Sun et al., 2017; Whisnant, 2010), as well as some pornography industry participants (Tyler, 2010), interpret such acts to be degrading.

Themes of gendered aggression and inequalities have been found to be amplified in content with young female performers – that is, performers who are close in age to young viewers – which young people may seek (Shor, 2019; Vannier et al., 2014). Pornography depicting teenage female performers is more likely than content with adult female performers to have a title that suggests the presence of aggression against them and to show forceful and aggressive penetration (Shor, 2019), and less likely to depict female agency (Vannier et al., 2014). Teenage female performers are also more likely to express a pleased response in videos where visible aggression is present than when there is no visible aggression (Shor, 2019). Mainstream pornography rarely depicts relational intimacy, safe sex (Lim et al., 2016; Vannier et al., 2014), or the negotiation of consent, as young male pornography users' own accounts demonstrate (Antevska & Gavey, 2015). In a study of 14- to 17-year-old New Zealanders, 72% of those who had seen pornography in the last six months reported seeing things that made them feel uncomfortable (Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018). Among those who view pornography at least monthly, 91% had seen a man controlling or dominating another person and 61% reported seeing this often (Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018). What young people see in pornography is important because sexual media influences children and young people's attitudes, behaviours, and sexual scripts, as a large body of literature shows (Coyne et al., 2019; Peter & Valkenburg, 2016; Wright, 2014).

Pornography consumption has a series of identifiable effects, among both young people and adults. Pornography consumption is predictive of more sexualized, sexually objectifying, and stereotypic gender views of women, as both longitudinal studies (Brown & L'Engle, 2009; Leonhardt & Willoughby, 2018; Peter & Valkenburg, 2010, 2011; Wright & Bae, 2015; Wright & Funk, 2014) and experimental studies (Hald, Malamuth, et al., 2013; Wright et al., 2015) show. Findings are not homogenous, with some studies finding influences of pornography on the attitudes of boys but not girls (Doornwaard et al., 2015) or adults but not young people (Peter & Valkenburg, 2011; Wright & Bae, 2015). Pornography also has significant relationships with young people's sexual practices and relations. A recent meta-analysis finds that exposure to mainstream (non-explicit) sexual media has a small but significant effect on sexual attitudes and behaviours (Coyne et al., 2019), as did an earlier meta-analysis (Ward, 2016), and a wide variety of correlational studies find associations between pornography use and various dimensions of sexual practice (for review, see Hald et al., 2014). Longitudinal studies are far rarer and show mixed findings. A U.S. study found that adolescents' exposure to pornography exposure predicted sexual behaviour two years later (Brown & L'Engle, 2009), and a Dutch study found that earlier pornography consumption predicted sexual risk behaviour among adult men but not adult women or adolescents (Peter & Valkenburg, 2011), but a second Dutch study found no consistent effects of adolescents' pornography use on their sexual behaviour (Doornwaard et al., 2015).

Pornography use also is associated with sexual violence. Correlational studies find associations between pornography use and both violence-supportive attitudes (Malamuth et al., 2000, 2012) and violence perpetration (Wright et al., 2015). Two meta-analyses, 15 years apart, find consistent evidence that pornography consumption is associated with actual acts of sexual aggression (Malamuth et al., 2000; Wright et al., 2015). The more recent of these found that the association between pornography use and sexual violence did not differ between adolescents and adults (Wright, Tokunaga, et al., 2015). Six correlational studies among children and young people find that exposure to pornography is associated with the perpetration of teen dating violence (Rostad et al., 2019), sexual solicitation perpetration (Chang et al., 2016), sexual harassment (Kennair & Bendixen, 2012), sexual violence (Bonino et al., 2006; Stanley et al., 2018), and dating violence victimization (Rothman &

Adhia, 2016). Turning to longitudinal studies among adolescents and young adults, four studies find that pornography exposure increases the likelihood of later perpetration of sexual violence (Brown & L'Engle, 2009; D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014; Ybarra et al., 2011; Ybarra & Thompson, 2018). For example, in a U.S. study comprising six waves of data over 2006–2012 among youth aged 10–21, current exposure to violent pornography was associated with a four-fold increased odds or higher of a first perpetration of four types of sexual violence (Ybarra & Thompson, 2018).

Young people themselves report that pornography shapes their and others' sexual attitudes and behaviours. In a Swedish study among young men aged 16–24, over half (53%) agreed that pornography had had an impact on their sexual behaviour, and three quarters (78%) believed that pornography influenced others' sexual behaviour (Tydén & Rogala, 2004). In a representative New Zealand survey of young people aged 14–17, nine in ten (89%) agreed that pornography can influence the way people think or act (Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018). Among those who had seen pornography in the past six months, most (54%) said they use it as a way to learn about sex, one in five (22%) have tried something they have seen in porn, and of those currently in a relationship 59% had tried something they had seen in pornography. In a representative U.K. survey of children and young people aged 11–16, a substantial minority (from 21% of 11- to 12-year-olds to 42% of 15- to 16-year-olds) agreed that pornography “has given me ideas about types of sex to try out” and one-fifth agreed that seeing pornography “led me to believe that men [or, women] should act in certain ways during sex” (Martellozzo et al., 2016, pp. 41–44). In a Swedish study among high-school students, high proportions of males and females (49% and 37%) agreed that they got inspiration and new ideas from pornography (Häggström-Nordin et al., 2009). In another, about one-third reported that they had tried sexual practices they had seen in pornography, although only 5–10% agreed that pornography affected their own sexual behaviour (Mattebo et al., 2012). Qualitative studies also document young people's reports of pornography's influences, including pornography as an important source of sexual norms and expectations (Häggström-Nordin et al., 2006), a source of both pressure and inspiration (Mattebo et al., 2012), and a source of education for example about the mechanics of sex (Litsou et al., 2020). Three qualitative studies document young people's perceptions of pornography as an important contributor to girls' and young women's experiences of unpleasant, painful, or coerced sexual acts (Walker et al., 2015), including painful, risky, and coercive experiences of anal intercourse (Marston & Lewis, 2014; Rothman et al., 2015).

Users of pornography themselves report both positive and negative effects to pornography use. Many of the pornography consumers in a self-selected sample reported positive effects (McKee, 2007), as do most of those in later studies among adults in Australia (Rissel et al., 2017), young adults in Denmark (Hald & Malamuth, 2008), university students in Indonesia, albeit with mixed findings (Wijaya Mulya & Hald, 2014), men but not women in Norway and Sweden (Kvalem et al., 2014), self-identified heterosexual men from various countries (Miller et al., 2018), and non-exclusively heterosexual men (Hald et al., 2013, 2015; McCormack & Wignall, 2017). What about among children and young people? In a New Zealand survey of 14- to 17-year-olds, half (49%) thought pornography's influence was both positive and negative, 3% thought it was only positive, and 37% thought it was only negative (Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018). In another large-scale study in the UK, young people offered both positive and critical appraisals of pornography (Martellozzo et al., 2016). Similarly, the qualitative studies above include young people's reports of both positive influences (education, sexual inspiration, and pleasure) and negative influences (sexual

pressure and sexual coercion). While users' own accounts of the significance of pornography use are important, they do not settle the question of pornography's effects. Positive reports may reflect rationalization, biased optimism, and response and attention bias (Hald, Smolenski, et al., 2013; Wijaya Mulya & Hald, 2014), while negative reports may reflect religious guilt or shame (Grubbs et al., 2015).

Having argued that pornography can shape users' sexual attitudes and behaviours, we reject deterministic accounts of pornography in which it is seen to have effects that are inevitable, all-powerful, and homogenous. Pornography's impacts are mediated by at least four types of factors: the characteristics of the viewer, their own engagement with the material, the content, and the character and context of exposure (Flood, 2010; Hald et al., 2014). In other words, the significance of pornography use is shaped by what consumers bring to this, how they negotiate its meanings, the media in question, and the organization and contexts of use.

The evidence of pornography's influence on young people's (and adults') sexual lives and relations demands a response. Responses to pornography's prevalence and impact on children and young people include two main strategies: regulation and education. Broadly speaking, regulatory approaches seek to limit – or prevent – children and young people's exposure and access to pornography, often through technological or legislative means, whereas educational approaches seek to equip young people with competencies they require in order to minimize the harms associated with engagement with pornography. This article focuses on educational responses. Education is an effective strategy for reducing harm and increasing wellbeing in related areas such as sexuality education (Ecker & Kirby, 2009), violence prevention (Crooks et al., 2019) and media literacy (Pinkleton et al., 2013; Vahedi et al., 2018). Pornography education has potential to replicate this success (Allen et al., 1996), and as noted below, a small body of scholarship points to the value of educational interventions addressing sexual media in general or pornography in particular.

At times, attention to pornography's harms has been guided by morally conservative agendas intended to shut down sexual speech, police sexual diversity, and “protect” children from sex and sexuality. More widely, community attention to children's sexualisation, pornography exposure, and related issues has at times been based on simplistic, alarmist claims (Egan, 2013; Renold et al., 2016; Tsaliki, 2015). However, rejecting such agendas, as we do, does not require that we deny the harms associated with pornography, but that we continue to assert sexuality-affirming, social justice-oriented agendas in addressing those harms. The article returns briefly to these issues in outlining its framework for pornography education.

## **What is “pornography education”?**

Educational strategies regarding young people's exposure and access to pornography have been variously referred to as “pornography education,” “pornography literacy” (Dawson et al., 2019; Klein, 2016; Rothman et al., 2018), or “critical porn analysis” (Walker, 2016). In some contexts, education about pornography is simply included, without a specific title, as an element of broader sexuality education initiatives (Cahill et al., 2016).

The type of pornography education we advocate is perhaps more accurately referred to as “education to address pornography's influence,” as this term encompasses education aimed

at skill development and critical literacy. It also allows for the inclusion of education in which pornography itself is not mentioned, but forms part of sequential curricula designed to address pornography's influence, for example, through the development of critical media literacy and respectful relating skills. The term "education to address pornography's influence" is also somewhat more protective from the assumption that it involves exposing young people to pornography. Although some have argued that young people in schools should be shown pornography and taught to critique it (Capon, 2015), this is neither feasible in the current social and political environment nor desirable (Allen, 2007). We define pornography education as "education that seeks to support young people to critically evaluate and respond to pornography's influence to minimize its harms and equip them for relationships and sexuality that are safe, respectful, mutually pleasurable, and consenting." While such education also can take place among older populations, our focus is efforts among children and youth.

### **Why school-based pornography education?**

Pornography education usefully may be implemented in a variety of contexts, including in school curricula, parental socialization, community settings, mainstream and social media, and social marketing campaigns. Evidence from the related violence prevention and health promotion fields suggests that the use of multiple, reinforcing strategies across a range of settings will support the effectiveness of pornography education initiatives (Casey & Lindhorst, 2009; DeGue et al., 2012). However, schools are particularly important sites for education to address pornography's influence, for the following reasons.

#### **Pornography education aligns with existing school priorities**

Schools are identified as particularly effective sites for health promotion (Buijs et al., 2014; Stewart-Brown, 2006) and violence prevention education (Kearney et al., 2016; VicHealth, 2007). Such initiatives align with school priorities and create beneficial outcomes for individual students, school communities, and wider society (Buijs et al., 2014; Kearney et al., 2016). Notwithstanding potentially significant local and regional variations related to cultural and political differences (Kramer, 2019; Wiley et al., 2020), many schools around the world are already engaged to some extent in related and complementary work – for example, through education in areas such as sexuality, online safety, critical media literacy, and violence prevention (Benavides-Torres et al., 2018; Finkelhor et al., 2014; Flood et al., 2009; Hobbs, 2004; Jeong et al., 2012; Rangelov, 2010). Pornography education may be integrated within, and build upon, this existing work, which often also uses frameworks and approaches that are relevant for pornography education.

#### **School-based pornography education can reach broad audiences**

Schools are uniquely placed to engage whole populations of young people in pornography education. Parents and caregivers are widely recognized as primary providers of children's sexuality education (Ecker & Kirby, 2009), and effective agents for mediating the impact of media (Rasmussen et al., 2015). However, parents often provide insufficient knowledge and guidance about sexuality (Ecker & Kirby, 2009; Ollis et al., 2012), many do not feel well equipped to discuss sexuality with their children (Malacane & Beckmeyer, 2016), and they may lack awareness of pornography's prevalence, nature, and impact (Rasmussen et al., 2015). Thus, while parents may contribute to their children's pornography education, failing the introduction of significant education and support for parents, it is likely that many will not.

In contrast, school-based pornography education can reach a broad audience of young people, who spend a significant portion of their time in school settings, making them “a mass and captive audience” (Ellis, 2008, p. 125). Schools can also support the delivery of pornography education at home, through the development of partnerships and sharing of resources with parents and caregivers.

### **Schools are well placed to provide high-quality pornography education**

Pornography may be a particularly sensitive and confronting topic in the context of education for young people. Schools can provide pornography education as part of an age-appropriate, comprehensive and sequential curriculum that is anchored within approved curriculum standards (WHO Regional Office for Europe and BZgA, 2010), with the input of highly skilled professionals and access to quality resources.

### **Schools are a setting for pornography’s impacts**

Increasingly, schools are required to respond to incidents related to students’ use of explicit sexual imagery – including inappropriate sexualized behaviours by students, and incidents in which pornography has been accessed or shared at school, or students’ sexual images have been circulated – that can affect student wellbeing and school engagement, and have legal consequences (Powell, 2010; Willard, 2011). Schools can themselves be sites for young people’s exposure to pornography (Horvath et al., 2013) via the presence of internet-enabled devices. Schools thus also have responsibilities to limit young people’s exposure, provide appropriate pornography education to students and parents, and support parents to manage this technology at home. In addition, schools have a duty of care to take reasonable steps to protect students from foreseeable harms, including within online learning environments (Department of Education and Training, 2018). Those foreseeable harms now include those associated with pornography’s influence.

### **Growing support for school-based pornography education**

The need for school-based education to address pornography’s influence has growing support from policy, academic, educational, and mainstream media contexts, and from young people themselves. For example, in the U.S., the most recent National Sex Education Standards include several references to core content and skills related to the impact of young people’s increased access to sexually explicit media (Future of Sex Education Initiative, 2020). Relationships and Sex Education guidance in the U.K. affirms the need for students to understand pornography’s potential impacts (U.K. Department for Education, 2019). In Australia, pornography education has received endorsement in recent national prevention frameworks (Our Watch, Australia’s National Research Organisation for Women’s Safety (ANROWS), & VicHealth, 2015), national plans of action (Commonwealth of Australia, 2016b), and government inquiry recommendations (State of Victoria, 2014–2016). The need for school-based education to address pornography’s influence was supported by submissions to a 2016 Australian Senate inquiry into harms to children through access to internet pornography (Commonwealth of Australia, 2016a). In Australia, pornography education is delivered in a growing number of schools, and it is an integral component of government-endorsed respectful relationships education curricula (Cahill et al., 2016). There are also calls for school-based pornography education from researchers from various countries, including Australia (Johnson, 2012; Lim et al., 2016; McKibbin, 2016; Mullholland, 2013), Canada (Goldstein, 2020), the Czech Republic (Sevcikova et al., 2013), Lithuania (Ruskus & Sujeta, 2014), New Zealand (Allen, 2007; Office of Film and Literature

Classification, 2018), Sweden (Mattebo et al., 2013), the U.K. (Baker, 2016; Haste, 2013; Horvath et al., 2013; Martellozzo et al., 2016), and the U.S. (Rothman & Adhia, 2016; Smith, 2013), and from international agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO Regional Office for Europe and BZgA, 2010).

Support for pornography education also is evident from service providers in the U.S. (Gowen & Owens, 2018) and the U.K. (Brook et al., 2009), from school staff and parents in the U.K. (Baker, 2016; National Association of Head Teachers, 2013) and Australia (Davis et al., 2019; Johnson, 2012), and from young people themselves, as reported in research from Australia (Johnson et al., 2016; Mullholland, 2013), Lithuania (Ruskus & Sujeta, 2014), New Zealand (Office of Film and Literature Classification, 2018), the U.K. (Baker, 2016; Haste, 2013; Martellozzo et al., 2016) and the U.S. (Rothman et al., 2018). Finally, there are calls in news media for school-based pornography education (Jones, 2018; Murray, 2016).

This is not to suggest that there is universal support for pornography education; efforts to implement school-based pornography education are likely to encounter many challenges. Some of these challenges – such as socio-political conservatism, teacher discomfort, and concerns about parental resistance – will be familiar to many of those involved in efforts to implement comprehensive sexuality education (Buston et al., 2001; Kramer, 2019; Ollis, 2019). Other challenges will pertain more specifically to pornography education, such as how to engage young people in critical discussion about a medium that they are not legally permitted to view (Albury, 2014). This article makes a contribution to theorizing a response to some of these challenges and proposing a framework that might help to mitigate some risks. There would be value in a more detailed study focused on the challenges associated with the implementation of school-based pornography education.

If there is a compelling rationale for schools to deliver pornography education, and widespread recognition of the need for it, what, then, should it look like? What are the characteristics of promising practice in school-based pornography education?

## **A proposed practice framework for school-based pornography education**

School-based pornography education is a relatively new field. Nevertheless, it is supported by a small body of literature on the effectiveness of educational interventions among young people focused on sexual portrayals in media (Pinkleton et al., 2008, 2012, 2013; Scull et al., 2018), and a far smaller body of work assessing interventions focused on pornography in particular (Rothman et al., 2018; Rothman et al., 2020; Vandenbosch & van Oosten, 2017). Based on existing evidence about effective practice in sexuality education, violence prevention, and media literacy education, we have developed a proposed practice framework for school-based pornography education, summarized in Table 1. The framework is a preliminary effort to theorize school-based pornography education, intended to guide existing efforts, support the development and implementation of new initiatives, and contribute to an emerging body of scholarship regarding education among young people about pornography.

**Table 1. Elements of a proposed practice framework for school-based pornography education.**

1. A whole-school approach
  2. A robust conceptual approach
  3. A tailored approach
  4. Based in sexuality education
  5. Builds student competencies
  6. Age-appropriate and sequential delivery
  7. Participatory teaching and learning approaches
  8. A safe, inclusive, supportive learning environment
  9. Sensitivity to inequalities of gender, sexuality and race/ethnicity
  10. Skilled, well-equipped staff
  11. Active engagement of parents as partners
  12. Development of community partnerships
  13. Support across the school organization, culture and environment
  14. Regular evaluation and review
- 

## **1. A whole-school approach**

A whole-school approach to implementation of a sexuality education, violence prevention, or health promotion initiative is identified as a key element in its success (Kearney et al., 2016; World Health Organisation, 2016). A whole-school approach recognizes that classroom teaching and learning alone is limited in its effectiveness, and that learning success is greatly enhanced by a coordinated approach across four domains: curriculum, teaching and learning; formal school policies and practices; school culture, ethos, and environment; and the relationships between school, home and the community (Flood et al., 2009). A whole-school approach is an over-arching principle that informs our framework for promising practice in school-based pornography education. Specific elements of a whole-school approach are discussed in more detail below.

## **2. A robust conceptual approach**

Pornography education requires a detailed and well-informed understanding of the content area and a theory of how pornography education can create change (Breuer et al., 2015; Nation et al., 2003). Articulating a robust conceptual approach enables schools to develop a shared, considered and coherent understanding of the issues and the principles that inform the school's approach to pornography education, including curriculum delivery (Carmody et al., 2009).

A wide spectrum of conceptual approaches for school-based pornography education is possible including, for example, those based on conservative religious beliefs at one end of the spectrum, and those based on an assumption that pornography is a liberating source of sexuality education at the other. Our conceptual approach for pornography education requires:

- *An evidence-based understanding of pornography's prevalence, nature and impact on young people.* Data on exposure to pornography is one of the foundations for a sound conceptual approach, along with reliable information on the effects of

pornography on young people. It should be acknowledged that this will change over time, as new technologies and their contexts emerge and evolve.

- *A critical understanding of gender, power and violence.* Sexuality education ideally addresses gender and power, given the intersections of traditional gender norms, power relations, violence, and negative sexual and reproductive health outcomes and the evidence that initiatives addressing gender and power are more effective (Haberland, 2015). This is particularly important in pornography education. A critical understanding of the relationships between gender, power and violence is an essential foundation of pornography education due to the associations between pornography use and violence and the prevalence of gendered inequality and aggression in pornography (Bridges et al., 2010).
- *A positive approach to sexuality.* Pornography education seeks to support students to develop a respectful, safe and satisfying sexuality into adulthood. A positive approach to sexuality, including issues of desire, arousal, masturbation, consent and sexual pleasure, is critical (Allen, 2011). This includes the affirmation of young people's sexual agency, rejection of fear and/or shame-based approaches, the destigmatisation of masturbation, and care to avoid alienating individuals who are active consumers of pornography.
- *An understanding of and responsiveness to diversity.* To ensure that it is relevant, appropriate and inclusive, a school's pornography education approach should be informed by an understanding of the various diversities – including those associated with gender, culture, and sexual orientation – amongst those it affects (Pound et al., 2016).
- *A human rights orientation.* Increasingly, human rights are recognized as an important and effective framework in sexuality education in regard to rights associated with consent, access to information and services, and promoting others' rights (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2010). In the context of pornography education, a human rights framework also supports students to critically reflect on the potential impacts of representations in pornography of inequality and discrimination, sexualized violence, cruelty and degradation.
- *A harm minimization approach.* Evidence from other areas of health education suggests that interventions that seek to minimize harm by providing information – rather than focusing solely on preventing a specific behaviour associated with that harm – are more effective in reducing negative outcomes (Midford et al., 2002; Oakley et al., 1995). In the context of pornography education, a harm minimization approach involves recognizing that young people's exposure to pornography has become a social norm that is associated with a range of risks, and developing strategies that seek both to limit the extent of young people's exposure and to minimize harms if and when exposure occurs, in contrast to an abstinence-only approach in which the only goal is that young people forego pornography use.
- *A strengths-based approach.* This embodies the premise that students and their communities have a capacity to learn, develop and contribute to their own and others' wellbeing in the context of pornography's impacts (McCashen, 2010).

A conceptual approach for pornography education should be consistent with, and sit alongside, the theoretical underpinnings of a school's broader sexuality education, such as the theoretical framework and characteristics of effective comprehensive sex education outlined in U.S. National Sex Education Standards (Future of Sex Education Initiative, 2020).

### **3. A tailored approach**

Pornography education should be tailored to ensure it is appropriate, relevant and inclusive – while maintaining the integrity of a robust conceptual framework (Nation et al., 2003). Schools may tailor curricula, policies, and parent and community partnerships regarding pornography education in response to communities' cultural and/or religious profile, student achievement or ability levels, and teacher knowledge, skills, and dispositions in relation to the subject matter. There is an obvious tension between tailoring and program fidelity. Tailoring has the risks that teachers or schools may omit content with which they are uncomfortable or that clashes with their beliefs, or make other changes or additions that alter the effectiveness of the program (Chandra-Mouli et al., 2015; UNESCO, 2018). Such changes may undermine program effectiveness, or even create harmful outcomes. On the other hand, as with sexuality education and violence prevention, it is critical that there is capacity for curriculum to be adapted to ensure it is relevant and useful for local communities and contexts (Nation et al., 2003; Pound et al., 2016). To manage this dilemma, any adjustments to curriculum should be made through a considered process by multiple parties – not by individual teachers – and, importantly, be informed by a robust conceptual framework that underpins a whole-school approach, as discussed above.

### **4. Based in sexuality education**

Sexuality education is the most relevant curriculum context for pornography education. The learning goals of pornography education align closely with a number of those of sexuality education, particularly those associated with analysing influencing factors, understanding the characteristics of respectful relationships, and promoting wellbeing. Further, many of the key problematic messages often conveyed through pornography – about, for example, gender, bodies, consent and sexual safety – relate directly to areas explored in school-based sexuality education.

The student education component of a whole-school approach to pornography education should be integrated within broader relationships and sexuality education curricula, where the issues can be addressed in a manner that is relevant, sensitive, supported and contextually appropriate.

Although in practice its delivery is inconsistent in quality and quantity, sexuality education is widely recognized as a vital curriculum area and an important aspect of schools' focus on social and wellbeing outcomes (Ecker & Kirby, 2009). The need to integrate curriculum addressing pornography's influence is consistent with sexuality education's history of being responsive to emerging social issues impacting on sexual and relationship health and wellbeing (Johnson et al., 2016). Pornography education can also be supported and extended by education in other curriculum areas, such as English language, humanities and social sciences, technology and the arts (Crabbe, 2014).

### **5. Builds student competencies**

In a world in which pornography is easily accessed, created and shared, students require knowledge and skills to respond to its influence. Although some such competencies are consistent with those already often taught in sexuality education, others must be included. The competencies that pornography education seeks to build fit within three broad areas typically included in a range of countries' health curriculum standards (ACARA, 2014; Future of Sex Education Initiative, 2020; N.Z. Ministry of Education, 2015; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015):

1. *Analyzing social, cultural and societal influences that shape identity and affect wellbeing*

This group of competencies relates to building students' capacities to critically evaluate pornography as one of many factors (including other media, peers, family, and culture) that can impact on their understandings, attitudes and behaviours, and those of others. For example, students may explore how pornography may influence individuals' body image and self-esteem, and perceptions of, and expectations for, relationships and sexuality (Future of Sex Education Initiative, 2020). It also includes competencies regarding understanding laws related to sexually explicit media.

2. *Understanding the characteristics of healthy and unhealthy relating*

An important component of education to address pornography's influence involves understanding the characteristics of healthy relationships and critically analysing the ways that disrespectful interactions commonly portrayed in pornography (Bridges et al., 2010; Shor, 2019; Gorman et al., 2010) might impact on, and potentially undermine, these ideals of relating. For example, students may be encouraged to explore the ways that pornography's influence may perpetuate "inequality between partners, lack of communication and consent, [and] strict gender stereotypes" (Future of Sex Education Initiative, 2020, p. 34).

3. *Communicating and interacting for wellbeing*

Teaching should include an explicit focus on developing skills – in interpersonal communication, decision-making, advocacy and self- management – associated with pornography's influence. For example:

- Developing skills to deal with challenging, difficult or unsafe situations, including refusal skills, communicating choices and opinions, and initiating contingency plans, for example, when pressured to view or mimic pornography.
- Demonstrating and advocating appropriate bystander behaviour in online and offline contexts, including, for example, when a peer is pressuring a partner to engage in practices seen in pornography.
- Identifying, locating and knowing how to access reliable information and services, for example, for young people who have experienced sexual harm or trauma, compulsive or disturbing pornography use, or have sexually harmed others.

## **6. Age-appropriate and sequential delivery**

A curriculum strategy to address the influence of pornography is more likely to be effective if age-appropriate and sequential (Ecker & Kirby, 2009; Nation et al., 2003). It can emphasize three different learning strategies – foundational, integrated and specific – as it moves from younger to older cohorts of children, although all three types of strategy are appropriate for use with older cohorts. "Foundational learning" involves the development of general, related competencies through curricula that does not mention pornography but addresses topics such as sexuality, gender, power, aggression, media influences, online safety, and respectful relating, as well as skills in critical analysis and communication. Elements of foundational learning can commence with young children, for example, through the development of critical media literacy using children's television pro- grams or advertising (Jeong et al., 2012). This then prepares students for the next stage, in which pornography is discussed overtly.

Among older children, an “integrated learning” approach can then facilitate pornography education as part of a broader learning activity. For example, an activity on sexual consent may include a scenario in which pornography is used to pressure a partner to engage in sex, or a discussion on the formation of identity may include a discussion of pornography as one of many media genres and other factors that influence gender norms. By contextualizing education about pornography within other topics, an integrated learning approach provides opportunities for both teachers and students to move more gently into the discussion of this sensitive issue, and to understand pornography’s influence in relation to other, associated issues.

Finally, among the oldest cohorts of students, a curriculum strategy to address the influence of pornography can employ a “specific learning” approach, whereby pornography and its influence are the focus of discussion. Specific learning should still occur within a broader related curriculum but includes activities that specifically address pornography. For example, students may discuss unhealthy messages about gender and sex commonly portrayed through pornography, and contrast these with other, healthier messages about gender and sex. This requires that students have already engaged in general, foundational learning about sexuality and relationships, including a critical analysis of gender and power, from which they can be encouraged to develop a critical analysis of pornography more specifically. None of these approaches should ever involve exposing young people to pornography. Schools can develop an age-appropriate, sequential pornography education strategy that is tailored to their community and context by including these three learning approaches.

## **7. Participatory teaching and learning approaches**

Participatory, learner-centred teaching methods are the most effective for teaching about sexuality and relationships (DeGue et al., 2014; International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2010; Thomas & Aggleton, 2016). These methods model respectful, inclusive relating while encouraging critical thinking and personalized learning (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2010). Such methods not only facilitate participation; they also powerfully communicate and demonstrate some of the key desired learning outcomes of pornography education, by supporting students’ capacity for and commitment to respect, empathy and equality (Flood et al., 2009; International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2010).

## **8. A safe, inclusive, supportive learning environment**

To participate confidently in activities that involve sharing ideas, values and attitudes, students need to “feel involved, listened to, comfortable, and safe from ridicule” (International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group, 2010, p. 4). This is accentuated when activities address a topic as sensitive as pornography. Students’ knowledge, comfort, and engagement with pornography education is likely to be influenced by their gender, age, cultural background, religion, sexual orientation, maturity level, exposure to pornography, and experiences of violence. Pornography education should be sensitive to the likelihood that some students may have limited or no exposure to pornography while others will be regular consumers. Similarly, it should be sensitive to the fact that some young people report using pornography in ways they find positive or educational, as some same-sex-attracted young people for example have emphasized (Hillier et al., 2001). At the same time, such reports may not be informed by a critical analysis of pornography’s representations of

inequalities (Antevska & Gavey, 2015), in both heterosexual and same-sex genres (Kendall, 2004).

## **9. Sensitivity to inequalities of gender, sexuality and race/ethnicity**

In conducting pornography education there is particular need for sensitivity with regard to gender, sexuality, and race/ethnicity, given for example that pornography often reinforces sexualized racial stereotypes (Miller-Young, 2010; Zhou & Paul, 2016) and stereotypical representations of same-sex sexuality (Kendall, 2004). Pornography education should support students to critique these constructions of race and sexuality, while affirming racial and sexual diversity.

Pornography education also should be sensitive to the highly gendered nature of issues it addresses. Common gendered differences relating to rates of pornography access and exposure, attitudes toward pornography's depictions of gender, power, aggression, sex and pleasure, and experiences of sexual pressure, coercion and assault, all have important implications for the safe and effective delivery of pornography education. In particular, care should be taken to ensure that gender inequality and discrimination are challenged, not reinforced, when discussing pornography's representations of these themes.

These gender issues also have implications for teaching and learning strategies. Single-sex groups have various advantages for pornography education, as they do for violence prevention and sexuality education (Allen, 2011; Baker, 2016; Carmody et al., 2009; Thomas & Aggleton, 2016; Vladutiu et al., 2011). For example, a single-sex learning environment may assist males and females to feel more comfortable expressing views – including males potentially being less inclined to be defensive, or to hide sexist or violence-supportive attitudes – thus creating more opportunity for critical reflection (Flood et al., 2009). Further, as discussed, although both young men and young women see pornography, young men are more likely to be active and regular users, and to have a positive view of pornography (Flood, 2010; Horvath et al., 2013). Single-sex groups enable educators to tailor their approach in response to these likely differences. Single-sex groups may reflect students' preferences (Strange et al., 2003), diminish gendered dynamics of disruption and discomfort (Pound et al., 2016), allow respect for some participants' cultural sensitivities, and offer a level of protection to young women who have experienced gendered violence and may find a discussion of sexual aggression re-traumatizing (Flood et al., 2009). On the other hand, mixed-sex groups can address young men's and women's shared areas of concern (Allen, 2011), may foster cross-gender dialogue and understanding (Clinton-Sherrod et al., 2009), and are more inclusive for young people whose gender identity is non-binary (Devís-Devís et al., 2018; Green, 2010). Weighing up the benefits of each, schools may consider using both in sequenced ways.

## **10. Skilled, well-equipped staff**

The capabilities of those who deliver pornography education are a critical factor in its effectiveness (Carmody et al., 2009; Ecker & Kirby, 2009; Flood et al., 2009; Ollis et al., 2013). In addition to the general competencies required of educators in sexuality education and/or violence prevention, pornography educators should have a sound understanding of gender, power, violence and pornography.

While pornography education can be taught by teachers, school well-being staff, external providers, or peer educators (Ecker & Kirby, 2009; Flood et al., 2009), the principles of a

whole-school approach suggest that school-based pornography education should be delivered primarily by teachers (Flood et al., 2009). This supports the sustainable integration of pornography education into a comprehensive curriculum, reduces the risk of ad hoc and personnel-dependent delivery, provides continuity for students, and maximizes impact on broader school culture (Edwards & Banyard, 2018; Lundgren & Amin, 2015).

In a whole-school approach to pornography education, a range of other staff will also hold particular responsibilities for which they require training, resources and support to fulfill their roles well. These staff include the leadership team, staff responsible for relevant curriculum planning and for the development of parent partnerships, wellbeing staff, and health professionals such as school-based nurses, social workers and psychologists. Indeed, a whole-school approach to pornography education affects all staff. All staff share responsibility for contributing to a school culture and environment that support and reinforce the key messages of pornography education, and the principles that underpin it (Flood et al., 2009). Similarly, all staff may be required to respond to pornography-related incidents. A whole-school approach to pornography education thus should include a plan for staff professional learning, resourcing and ongoing support.

## **11. Active engagement of parents as partners**

School-based pornography education is likely to be most effective when parents and schools work together (Ecker & Kirby, 2009). By equipping parents with appropriate knowledge, skills and resources (through events, parenting resources, homework activities, and so on), schools can build a partnership with parents and support them to develop the knowledge, confidence and capacity to address pornography's influence with their children. School-parent partnership strategies should recognize parental and family diversities (Ollis et al., 2012). Based on their experiences with other sensitive or controversial aspects of sexuality education, school leaders and teachers may hold concerns about the potential for parental resistance to pornography education (Eisenberg et al., 2013; Hermann-Wilmarth & Ryan, 2019). Whether parental resistance eventuates – and if so, to what extent and in what forms – may be influenced by a range of socio-political and cultural factors (Heller & Johnson, 2013; Steadman et al., 2014). Schools can employ the kinds of strategies used to manage parental resistance on other issues to prevent and respond to resistance in this context. For example, schools may engage in carefully framed, proactive communication with parents prior to delivery of relevant curriculum to students, with key messages such as:

- Exposure to pornography among young people is widespread (quantified with country-specific data, where available)
- many young people are exposed to pornography unintentionally (this point is particularly relevant for parents who may object on the grounds that “my child wouldn't watch porn” (Davis et al., 2019; Zurcher, 2017))
- pornography commonly conveys a range of problematic messages – about, for example, men, women, consent, aggression, pleasure, and sexual safety
- pornography can impact on young people's sexual understandings, expectations and behaviours – whether or not they consume it themselves (including via the influence of partners or peers)
- young people need support to safely navigate pornography's potential influence
- education to address pornography's influence does not include exposing young people to pornography

- young people benefit when parents and schools work together to equip young people for safe, respectful relationships and sexuality.

In situations of active parental resistance, schools may consider “reframing resistance as dialogue” (Hermann-Wilmarth & Ryan, 2019), where objections by parents are treated as genuine enquiries about curriculum and its delivery, and an opportunity to invite parents into dialogue rather than responded to with defensiveness.

## **12. Development of community partnerships**

A school’s ability to deliver an effective pornography education program is likely to be enhanced by partnerships with relevant community-based services, that can provide expert support and resources, build the capacity of schools and teachers to address students’ needs, and facilitate referral of students to specialist services where needed (Kearney et al., 2016).

## **13. Support across the school organization, culture and environment**

A whole-school approach to pornography education includes formal support through leadership, policy, and practices. It should also include strategies to ensure that the key messages and underlying principles of the school’s pornography education initiative are supported and reinforced in a school’s culture, ethos, and environment.

Support and commitment from school leaders is essential for the development of any whole-school approach (Ecker & Kirby, 2009; Flood et al., 2009). School leaders are well placed to create necessary climates and resources and provide support to teachers. Similarly, formal policy provides clear institutional support for pornography education (Ecker & Kirby, 2009). Finally, informal support is vital too. When a school’s culture, ethos and environment support the key messages and underlying principles of pornography education, it is likely that the effectiveness of a school’s formal policy and classroom teaching will be enhanced.

## **14. Regular evaluation and review**

Regular evaluation and review of pornography education supports schools to ensure that their approach is effective, relevant, appropriate and responsive to emerging needs (DeGue et al., 2014; Nation et al., 2003) and technologies. Evaluation ideally includes assessment of students’ and teachers’ experiences of pornography education and parents’ perceptions, and where possible, quasi-experimental or experimental measures of impact.

## **Pornography education in practice**

Very few existing pornography education resources meet the standards of the proposed practice framework outlined above. We searched for curricula or programs addressing pornography, in English, designed for use with young people, and with curriculum materials available. We found examples from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S. We have not included interventions in which external educators deliver pornography education in schools or other settings – such as Fight the New Drug (U.S.), or WA Child Safety Services (Australia) – if they do not also have relevant curricula available.

## Existing pornography education resources

There are two broad groups of pornography education resources. The first are those that focus on pornography, with prominent examples including *We Need to Talk About Pornography* (Rogers, 2017), *Planet Porn* (Hancock, 2010), *Fantasy vs Reality* (Dean & Hugh, 2010), and *Pleasure vs Profit* (Thompson, 2011) from the U.K., *The Truth About Pornography* (Rothman et al., 2020) from the U.S., and *The Problem with Porn* (Doyle, 2009), *The Impression That You Get* (Burton & Roberts, 2012), and *In The Picture* (Crabbe, 2014) from Australia. Each of these resources includes multiple activities designed to support critical analysis of pornography and its influence. Several other smaller resources addressing pornography, sometimes in the form of single lesson plans or short videos, are also available from a range of organizations and individual educators, including The Reward Foundation (U.K.), ECPublishing (U.K.), Cre8tive Resources (U.K.), kbcreativelab (Canada), and The Book People Curriculum Company (Canada).

The second group of resources include materials addressing pornography within broader curricula, such as relationships and sexuality or media literacy curricula, although most of these include only very limited content about pornography. For example, the Canadian digital literacy resource *Use, Understand and Create* (Johnson, 2019), includes one session about pornography. Several sexual health and violence prevention curricula in Australia also include some limited content on pornography (SHine SA, 2011; Walsh et al., 2015). Notable exceptions of resources which include substantial curriculum components addressing pornography within broader curricula are *Resilience, Rights and Respectful Relationships* (Cahill et al., 2016) and *IQ programs* (Youth Wellbeing Project, 2020) from Australia and *Social and Ethical Issues in Sexuality Education* (Tasker, 2000) from New Zealand.

Existing pornography education resources with an exclusive or primary focus on pornography use a range of frameworks and approaches. While many are informed by a combination of conceptual frameworks, some primarily use a sexual health framework (Hancock, 2010), or have been designed to support pornography education in religious school settings (Doyle, 2009), while others emphasize critical media literacy (Burton & Roberts, 2012) or gender-based violence prevention (Thompson, 2011).

Some resources have been developed for use in schools (Burton & Roberts, 2012; Crabbe, 2014; Dean & Hugh, 2010; Doyle, 2009), while others appear to have been developed for community settings (Hancock, 2010; Thompson, 2011). Some have been designed to support teachers to integrate pornography education into a broader curriculum, and include references to the connections with relevant curriculum standards (Crabbe, 2014; Dean & Hugh, 2010; Rogers, 2017).

These resources largely use participatory learning methods to build students' capacity to critique pornography's messages. Some also seek to develop practical communication and interactional skills in relation to pornography's influence (Cahill et al., 2016; Crabbe, 2014; Walker, 2014). In some resources, sensitivity to gendered realities and a critique of pornography's representations of gender, power and violence is clearly evident (Cahill et al., 2016; Crabbe, 2014; Tasker, 2000; Thompson, 2011), whereas in others it is largely absent (Bengry-Howell, 2012, p. 372). Some resources also include materials to support program evaluation, such as questionnaires for participants (Crabbe, 2014; Dean & Hugh, 2010; Rogers, 2017; Rothman et al., 2020).

To our knowledge, there are only two resources that specifically support a whole-school approach to pornography education: *In The Picture* (Crabbe, 2014) and *We Need to Talk About Pornography* (Rogers, 2017). Both include substantial manuals, of 480 and 257 pages respectively, with detailed information about the wide range of porn-related issues they each address, guidance on how to use the resources, and materials such as parent resources to support a more comprehensive approach to delivery that complements classroom activities. Here we discuss *In The Picture* as a case study, with reference to the standards outlined in the proposed practice framework above.

## ***In The Picture* – resourcing schools to address pornography’s influence**

*In The Picture* includes a framework, guidelines, and a toolkit of resources to support schools to develop a whole-school approach to addressing pornography’s influence that is tailored to their unique community and context. *In The Picture* includes resources for developing policy, equipping staff, parent and community partnerships, creating a supportive school context, educating students, and evaluation. It does not provide a specified program, per se, with set lesson plans to be delivered in a predetermined order. Rather, it provides a suite of resources that may be drawn upon to develop a tailored approach, with supporting planning tools, including suggested curriculum pathways. Most of its ten curriculum activities use an integrated or specific learning approach to pornography education. They seek to build the competencies discussed under point 5, above, using participatory pedagogies, and each includes detailed teachers’ notes to support delivery. Many of the activities include suggestions for how they may be adapted for different ages or contexts. For example, both the activities “Porn World vs Real World” and “Media World vs Real World” include a series of statements for students to sort into categories such as “Porn World” (or “Media World”), “Real World,” “Both,” or “Neither.” Teachers’ notes explain that the aim of the activity is to support critical thinking and discussion; not to have students sort the statements “correctly” (as many cards cannot be easily placed in a single category). Three levels of statements are provided ranging from less to more explicit, which may be printed on different coloured cards to support ease of facilitation. Depending on their context, schools may elect to use only some or all of the levels, or to begin with the level 1 statements and add the next levels if and when that is deemed appropriate.

Along with a conceptual framework consistent with that outlined above, *In The Picture* articulates a program logic, a theory of how pornography education can affect change. It also proposes a number of “educational hooks” for engaging young people in a critique of pornography, given the normalisation of its consumption amongst young men, for example, by appealing to young men’s desire to be “good lovers” (Crabbe, 2014).

*In The Picture* was developed as part of a broader, multifaceted Australian project addressing pornography’s impact on young people, *It’s Time We Talked* (formerly, Reality & Risk: Pornography, young people and sexuality). *It’s Time We Talked* includes the development of education resources for use with young people, parents, teachers and other professionals, and engagement in public discourse, through media interviews, articles in popular media, and the production of two broadcast documentary films (Corlett & Crabbe, 2013; Crabbe & Corlett, 2016). The project also contributed to the inclusion of curriculum content addressing pornography in government resources for both violence prevention education (Cahill et al., 2016) and sexuality education (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, 2013).

*In The Picture* has been implemented in approximately 200 schools in Australia and New Zealand. Its implementation is supported by professional learning for school staff and community sector professionals who work in partnership with schools. Evaluation of *In The Picture*'s implementation in schools will be reported in future publications.

While *In The Picture* supports schools to address pornography's influence, issues such as these cannot be addressed in isolation. Context is critical. The success of programs such as *In The Picture* hinges in part on the extent to which they are integrated into broader relationships and sexuality education curricula, delivered in a whole-school context – and, ideally, a broader community and societal context – in which the key messages are supported and reinforced.

## Conclusion

Education-based efforts to limit the negative influence of pornography among children and youth are likely to intensify in the near future, given the momentum represented by community debate, scholarly research, and policy recommendations. Pornography education is a necessary inclusion in school curricula. However, drawing on evidence from related fields, it is more likely to be effective if it is implemented using a whole-school approach, tailored to the community and context, taught in a participatory way and by skilled staff, and sensitive to inequalities of gender, sexuality and race/ethnicity. While many of the features of promising practice in pornography education mirror those for standards in sexuality education, some are specific to the demands of addressing pornography or require particular characteristics to do so well. The field of pornography education is young, although developing rapidly. It has a great deal to learn from the fields of sexuality education, violence prevention, media literacy, and health promotion, and through evaluation of existing and future pornography education efforts.

## Disclosure statement

I, Maree Crabbe, disclose that I developed and have financial interest in the school curriculum resource, *In The Picture*, which is used as a case example in this paper.

## ORCID

Maree Crabbe <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3586-4346>

Michael Flood <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0495-0770>

## References

ACARA. (2014). *The Australian curriculum: Health and physical education*. Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA).

Albury, K. (2014). Porn and sex education, porn as sex education. *Porn Studies*, 1(1–2), 172–181. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23268743.2013.863654>

Allen, L. (2007). "Looking at the real thing": Young men, pornography, and sexuality education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(1), 69–83.

Allen, L. (2011). *Young people and sexuality education: Rethinking key debates*. Springer.

- Allen, M., D'Alessio, D., Emmers, T., & Gebhardt, L. (1996). The role of educational briefings in mitigating effects of experimental exposure to violent sexually explicit material: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Sex Research*, 33(2), 135–141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499609551825>
- Antevska, A., & Gavey, N. (2015). “Out of sight and out of mind”: Detachment and men’s consumption of male sexual dominance and female submission in pornography. *Men and Masculinities*, 18(5), 605–629. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X15574339>
- Arrington-Sanders, R., Harper, G. W., Morgan, A., Ogunbajo, A., Trent, M., & Fortenberry, J. D. (2015). The role of sexually explicit material in the sexual development of same-sex-attracted Black adolescent males. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 44(3), 597–608. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-014-0416-x>
- Baker, K. (2016). Online pornography – Should schools be teaching young people about the risks? An exploration of the views of young people and teaching professionals. *Sex Education*, 16(2), 213–228. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2015.1090968>
- Benavides-Torres, R. A., Onofre-Rodríguez, D. J., & Márquez-Vega, M. A. (2018). *Sex education: Global perspectives, effective programs and socio-cultural challenges*. Nova Science Publishers, Incorporated.
- Bengry-Howell, A. (2012). Planet porn: A resource pack for working with teens around porn: A review. *Sex Education*, 12(3), 370–372. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2012.668420>
- Bonino, S., Ciairano, S., Rabaglietti, E., & Cattelino, E. (2006). Use of pornography and self-reported engagement in sexual violence among adolescents. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 3(3), 265–288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405620600562359>
- Breuer, E., Lee, L., De Silva, M., & Lund, C. (2015). Using theory of change to design and evaluate public health interventions: A systematic review. *Implementation Science*, 11(1), 63. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13012-016-0422-6>
- Bridges, A. J., Wosnitzer, R., Scharrer, E., Sun, C., & Liberman, R. (2010). Aggression and sexual behavior in best-selling pornography videos: A content analysis update. *Violence against Women*, 16(10), 1065–1085. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801210382866>
- Brook, Centre for HIV and Sexual Health, FPA, & The National Youth Agency. (2009). *Young people and pornography a briefing for workers*. <http://www.sexualhealthsheffield.nhs.uk/resource/young-people-and-pornography-a-briefing-for-workers/>
- Brown, J. D., & L’Engle, K. L. (2009). X-rated: Sexual attitudes and behaviors associated with US early adolescents’ exposure to sexually explicit media. *Communication Research*, 36(1), 129–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650208326465>
- Buijs, G., Dadaczynski, K., Schulz, A., & Vilac̃a, T. (Eds.). (2014). *Equity, education and health: Learning from practice. Case studies of practice presented during the 4th European conference on Health Promoting Schools, Odense, Denmark 7–9 October, 2013*. CBO.
- Burton, L., & Roberts, J. (2012). *The impression that you get*. Lodden Mallee Cybersafety Project and ATOM.
- Buston, K., Wight, D., & Scott, S. (2001). Difficulty and diversity: The context and practice of sex education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22(3), 353–368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690125134>

Cahill, H., Meakin, C., Smith, K., Beadle, S., Farrelly, A., Higham, A., & Crofts, J. (2016). *Resilience, rights and respectful relationships: Teaching for social and emotional learning and respectful relationships*. State of Victoria (Department of Education and Training).

Capon, F. (2015, 3 March). Show pornography in schools, urges Danish Sexology Professor. *Newsweek*. <http://europe.newsweek.com/show-pornography-schools-urges-danish-sexology-professor-311090?rm=eu>

Carmody, M., Evans, S. P., Krogh, C., Flood, M., Heenan, M., & Ovenden, G. (2009). *Framing best practice: National standards for the primary prevention of sexual assault through education*. University of Western Sydney.

Carrotte, E. R., Davis, A. C., & Lim, M. S. (2020). Sexual behaviours and violence in pornography: Systematic review and narrative synthesis of video content analyses. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 22(5), e16702. <https://doi.org/10.2196/16702>

Casey, E. A., & Lindhorst, T. P. (2009). Toward a multi-level, ecological approach to the primary prevention of sexual assault: Prevention in peer and community contexts. *Trauma Violence Abuse*, 10(2), 91–114. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838009334129>

Chandra-Mouli, V., Lane, C., & Wong, S. (2015). What does not work in adolescent sexual and reproductive health: A review of evidence on interventions commonly accepted as best practices. *Global Health, Science and Practice*, 3(3), 333–340. <https://doi.org/10.9745/GHSP-D-15-00126>

Chang, F.-C., Chiu, C.-H., Miao, N.-F., Chen, P.-H., Lee, C.-M., & Chiang, J.-T. (2016). Predictors of unwanted exposure to online pornography and online sexual solicitation of youth. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 21(6), 1107–1118. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359105314546775>

Chen, A.-S., Leung, M., Chen, C.-H., & Yang, S. C. (2013). Exposure to internet pornography among Taiwanese adolescents. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 41(1), 157–164.

Ciclitira, K. (2004). Pornography, women and feminism: Between pleasure and politics. *Sexualities*, 7(3), 281–301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460704040143>

Clinton-Sherrod, A. M., Morgan-Lopez, A. A., Gibbs, D., Hawkins, S. R., Hart, L., Ball, B., Irvin, N., & Littler, N. (2009). Factors contributing to the effectiveness of four school-based sexual violence interventions. *Health Promotion Practice*, 10(1 Suppl), 19S–28S. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839908319593>

Commonwealth of Australia. (2016a). *Harm being done to Australian children through access to pornography on the internet*. Senate Printing Unit.

Commonwealth of Australia. (2016b). *Third action plan 2016–2019 of the national plan to reduce violence against women and their children 2010–2022*. Commonwealth of Australia.

Cooper, A. (1998). Sexuality and the internet: Surfing into the new millennium. *CyberPsychology & Behavior*, 1(2), 187–193.

Corlett, D., & Crabbe, M. (Writers). (2013). *Love and sex in an age of pornography* [Video]. In M. Crabbe, D. Corlett, & M. Goldman (Producer). Rendered Visible Pty Ltd.

Cowan, G., & Dunn, K. F. (1994). What themes in pornography lead to perceptions of the degradation of women? *Journal of Sex Research*, 31(1), 11–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499409551726>

Coyne, S. M., Ward, L. M., Kroff, S. L., Davis, E. J., Holmgren, H. G., Jensen, A. C., Erickson, S. E., & Essig, L. W. (2019). Contributions of mainstream sexual media exposure to sexual attitudes,

perceived peer norms, and sexual behaviour: A meta-analysis. *The Journal of Adolescent Health*, 64(4), 430–436. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2018.11.016>

Crabbe, M. (2014). *In The Picture: Supporting young people in an era of explicit sexual imagery*. Brophy Family and Youth Services.

Crabbe, M., & Corlett, D. (Writers). (2016). *The Porn Factor* [Video]. In D. Corlett & M. Crabbe (Producer). Rendered Visible Pty Ltd.

Crooks, C. V., Jaffe, P., Dunlop, C., Kerry, A., & Exner-Cortens, D. (2019). Preventing gender-based violence among adolescents and young adults: Lessons from 25 years of program development and evaluation. *Violence Against Women*, 25(1), 29–55. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218815778>

D'Abreu, L. C. F., & Krahé, B. (2014). Predicting sexual aggression in male college students in Brazil. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 15(2), 152.

Davis, A., Wright, C., Curtis, M., Hellard, M., Lim, M., & Temple-Smith, M. (2019). 'Not my child': Parenting, pornography, and views on education. *Journal of Family Studies*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2019.1657929>

Dawson, K., Nic Gabhainn, S., & MacNeela, P. (2019). Toward a model of porn literacy: Core concepts, rationales, and approaches. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 52(1), 1–15.

Dean, L. G. & Hugh, (2010). *Fantasy vs reality: A sex and relationship education resource for key stages 3 and 4*. Brighton and Hove Healthy Schools Team.

DeGue, S., Holt, M. K., Massetti, G. M., Matjasko, J. L., Tharp, A. T., & Valle, L. A. (2012). Looking ahead toward community-level strategies to prevent sexual violence. *Journal of Women's Health*, 21(1), 1–3. <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2011.3263>

DeGue, S., Valle, L. A., Holt, M. K., Massetti, G. M., Matjasko, J. L., & Tharp, A. T. (2014). A systematic review of primary prevention strategies for sexual violence perpetration. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 19(4), 346–362. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2014.05.004>

Department of Education and Early Childhood Development. (2013). *Catching on later – Sexuality education for Victorian secondary schools*. Department of Education and Early Childhood Development.

Department of Education and Training. (2018). *Schools and cybersafety*. <https://www.education.vic.gov.au/about/programs/bullystoppers/Pages/princyber.aspx>

Devís-Devís, J., Pereira-García, S., López-Cañada, E., Pérez-Samaniego, V., & Fuentes- Miguel, J. (2018). Looking back into trans persons' experiences in heteronormative secondary physical education contexts. *Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy*, 23(1), 103–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17408989.2017.1341477>

Dines, G. (2010). *Pornland: How porn has hijacked our sexuality*. Beacon Press.

Dines, G., Jensen, R., & Russo, A. (1998). *Pornography: The production and consumption of inequality*. Psychology Press.

Doornwaard, S. M., Bickham, D. S., Rich, M., ter Bogt, T. F., & van den Eijnden, R. J. (2015). Adolescents' use of sexually explicit internet material and their sexual attitudes and behaviour: Parallel development and directional effects. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(10), 1476–1488. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0000040>

Doyle, J. (2009). *The problem with porn*. Tuggeranong Choicez Media.

Ecker, N., & Kirby, D. (2009). *International guidelines on sexuality education: An evidence informed approach to effective sex, relationships and HIV/STI education*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

Edwards, K. M., & Banyard, V. L. (2018). Preventing sexual violence among adolescents and young adults. In D. A. Wolfe & J. R. Temple (Eds.), *Adolescent dating violence* (pp. 415–435). Elsevier.

Egan, R. D. (2013). *Becoming sexual: A critical appraisal of the sexualization of girls*. John Wiley & Sons.

Eisenberg, M. E., Madsen, N., Oliphant, J. A., & Sieving, R. E. (2013). Barriers to providing the sexuality education that teachers believe students need. *The Journal of School Health*, 83(5), 335–342. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josh.12036>

Ellis, J. (2008). Literature review: Better outcomes for children and young people affected by domestic abuse: Directions for good practice. In C. Humphreys, C. Houghton, & J. Ellis (Eds.), *Primary prevention of domestic abuse through education*. Scottish Government.

Finkelhor, D., Vanderminden, J., Turner, H., Shattuck, A., & Hamby, S. (2014). Youth exposure to violence prevention programs in a national sample. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 38(4), 677–686.

Flood, M. (2010). Young men using porn. In K. Boyle (Ed.), *Everyday pornography* (pp. 164–178). Routledge.

Flood, M., Fergus, L., & Heenan, M. (2009). *Respectful relationships education: Violence prevention and respectful relationships education in Victorian secondary schools*. State of Victoria.

Fritz, N., Malic, V., Paul, B., & Zhou, Y. (2020). A descriptive analysis of the types, targets, and relative frequency of aggression in mainstream pornography. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 49(8), 1–13.

Fritz, N., & Paul, B. (2017). From orgasms to spanking: A content analysis of the agentic and objectifying sexual scripts in feminist, for women, and mainstream pornography. *Sex Roles*, 77(9–10), 639–652. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0759-6>

Future of Sex Education Initiative. (2020). *National sex education standards: Core content and skills, K-12 (2nd ed.)*. Future of Sex Education Initiative.

Goldstein, A. (2020). Beyond porn literacy: Drawing on young people's pornography narratives to expand sex education pedagogies. *Sex Education*, 20(1), 59–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2019.1621826>

Gorman, S., Monk-Turner, E., & Fish, J. N. (2010). Free adult internet web sites: How prevalent are degrading acts? *Gender Issues*, 27(3–4), 131–145. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12147-010-9095-7>

Gowen, L. K., & Owens, E. (2018). *A guide to teaching about online sexually explicit media: The basics*. [https://www.oregonednet.org/sites/default/files/attachments/sem\\_teachers\\_guide\\_2018\\_v2\\_post\\_to\\_oen\\_12-7-18.pdf](https://www.oregonednet.org/sites/default/files/attachments/sem_teachers_guide_2018_v2_post_to_oen_12-7-18.pdf)

Green, E. R. (2010). Shifting paradigms: Moving beyond “Trans 101” in sexuality education. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 5(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546121003748798>

Grubbs, J. B., Exline, J. J., Pargament, K. I., Hook, J. N., & Carlisle, R. D. (2015). Transgression as addiction: Religiosity and moral disapproval as predictors of perceived addiction to pornography. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 44(1), 125–136. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-013-0257-z>

Haberland, N. A. (2015). The case for addressing gender and power in sexuality and HIV education: A comprehensive review of evaluation studies. *International Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*, 41(1), 31–42. <https://doi.org/10.1363/4103115>

Häggström-Nordin, E., Sandberg, J., Hanson, U., & Tydén, T. (2006). 'It's everywhere!' Young Swedish people's thoughts and reflections about pornography. *Scandinavian Journal of Caring Sciences*, 20(4), 386–393.

Häggström-Nordin, E., Tydén, T., Hanson, U., & Larsson, M. (2009). Experiences of and attitudes towards pornography among a group of Swedish high school students. *The European Journal of Contraception & Reproductive Health Care*, 14(4), 277–284.

Hald, G., & Malamuth, N. (2008). Self-perceived effects of pornography consumption. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 37(4), 614–625. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-007-9212-1>

Hald, G. M., Malamuth, N. N., & Lange, T. (2013). Pornography and sexist attitudes among heterosexuals. *Journal of Communication*, 63(4), 638–660. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12037>

Hald, G. M., Seaman, C., & Linz, D. (2014). Sexuality and pornography. In D. Tolman, L. Diamond, J. Bauermeister, W. George, J. Pfaus, & M. Ward (Eds.), *APA handbook of sexuality and psychology: Vol. 2. Contextual approaches* (pp. 3–35). American Psychological Association.

Hald, G. M., Smolenski, D., & Rosser, B. S. (2013). Perceived effects of sexually explicit media among men who have sex with men and psychometric properties of the Pornography Consumption Effects Scale (PCEs). *The Journal of Sexual Medicine*, 10(3), 757–767. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1743-6109.2012.02988.x>

Hald, G. M., Træen, B., Noor, S. W., Iantaffi, A., Galos, D., & Rosser, B. S. (2015). Does sexually explicit media (SEM) affect me? Assessing first-person effects of SEM consumption among Norwegian men who have sex with men. *Psychology & Sexuality*, 6(1), 59–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19419899.2014.984516>

Hancock, J. (2010). *Planet porn: A resource pack for working with teens around porn*. Bish Training.

Haste, P. (2013). Sex education and masculinity: The 'problem' of boys. *Gender and Education*, 25(4), 515–527. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2013.789830>

Heller, J. R., & Johnson, H. L. (2013). Parental opinion concerning school sexuality education in a culturally diverse population in the USA. *Sex Education*, 13(5), 548–559. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2013.775063>

Hermann-Wilmarth, J. M., & Ryan, C. L. (2019). Navigating parental resistance: Learning from responses of LGBTQ-inclusive elementary school teachers. *Theory into Practice*, 58(1), 89–98. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2018.1536914>

Hillier, L., Horsley, P., & Kurdas, C. (2001). *'It's just easier': The internet as a safety-net for same sex attracted young people*. Australian Research Centre in Sex Health and Society Melbourne.

Hobbs, R. (2004). A review of school-based initiatives in media literacy education. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 48(1), 42–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764204267250>

Horvath, M. A., Alys, L., Massey, K., Pina, A., Scally, M., Adler, J. R. (2013). *"Basically...porn is everywhere": A rapid evidence assessment on the effects that access and exposure to pornography have on children and young people*. Office of the Children's Commissioner, UK.

International Sexuality and HIV Curriculum Working Group. (2010). *It's all one curriculum: Guidelines and activities for a unified approach to sexuality, gender, HIV and human rights education*. The Population Council.

Jeong, S. H., Cho, H., & Hwang, Y. (2012). Media literacy interventions: A meta-analytic review. *The Journal of Communication*, 62(3), 454–472. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01643.x>

Johnson, B. (2012). *They need to know ... A report on teachers' use of the South Australian Relationships and Sexual Health Curriculum*. <https://www.shinesa.org.au/media/product/2015/04/Johnson-Report-2012.They-need-to-know...Final-sm.pdf>

Johnson, B., Harrison, L., Ollis, D., Flentje, J., Arnold, P., & Bartholomaeus, C. (2016). *'It is not all about sex': Young people's views about sexuality and relationships education*. <https://hivhealthclearinghouse.unesco.org/library/documents/it-not-all-about-sex-young-peoples-views-about-sexuality-and-relationships>.

Johnson, M. (2019). *Use, understand and create: A digital literacy framework for Canadian Schools*. MediaSmarts.

Jones, M. (2018). What teenagers are learning from online porn. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/07/magazine/teenagers-learning-online-porn-literacy-sex-education.html>

Kearney, S., Gleeson, C., & Leung, L. (2016). *Respectful relationships education in schools: The beginnings of change. Final evaluation report*. Our Watch.

Kendall, C. (2004). *Gay male pornography: An issue of sex discrimination*. UBC Press.

Kennair, L. E. O., & Bendixen, M. (2012). Sociosexuality as predictor of sexual harassment and coercion in female and male high school students. *Evolution and Human Behaviour*, 33(5), 479–490. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.evolhumbehav.2012.01.001>

Klaassen, M. J. E., & Peter, J. (2015). Gender (in)equality in internet pornography: A content analysis of popular pornographic internet videos. *Journal of Sex Research*, 52(7), 721–735. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2014.976781>

Klein, M. (2016). *Kids need porn literacy*. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/sexual-intelligence/201610/kids-need-porn-literacy>

Kramer, A. S. (2019). Framing the debate: The status of US sex education policy and the dual narratives of abstinence-only versus comprehensive sex education policy. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 14(4), 490–513. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2019.1600447>

Kvalem, I. L., Træen, B., Lewin, B., & Stulhofer, A. (2014). Self-perceived effects of internet pornography use, genital appearance satisfaction, and sexual self-esteem among young Scandinavian adults. *Cyberpsychology: Journal of Psychosocial Research on Cyberspace*, 8(4), 4. <https://doi.org/10.5817/CP2014-4-4>

Leonhardt, N. D., & Willoughby, B. J. (2018). Longitudinal links between pornography use, marital importance, and permissive sexuality during emerging adulthood. *Marriage & Family Review*, 54(1), 64–84.

Lim, M. S., Agius, P. A., Carrotte, E. R., Vella, A. M., & Hellard, M. E. (2017). Young Australians' use of pornography and associations with sexual risk behaviours. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, 41(4), 438–443. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1753-6405.12678>

Lim, M. S., Carrotte, E. R., & Hellard, M. E. (2016). The impact of pornography on gender-based violence, sexual health and well-being: What do we know? *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 70(1), 3–5. <https://doi.org/10.1136/jech-2015-205453>

Litsou, K., Byron, P., McKee, A., & Ingham, R. (2020). Learning from pornography: Results of a mixed methods systematic review. *Sex Education*, 1–17. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14681811.2020.1786362>

Lundgren, R., & Amin, A. (2015). Addressing intimate partner violence and sexual violence among adolescents: Emerging evidence of effectiveness. *The Journal of Adolescent Health*, 56(1 Suppl), S42–S50. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2014.08.012>

Malacane, M., & Beckmeyer, J. J. (2016). A review of parent-based barriers to parent–adolescent communication about sex and sexuality: Implications for sex and family educators. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 11(1), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2016.1146187>

Malamuth, N. (2001). Pornography. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of social and behavioural sciences* (Vol. 17, pp. 11816–11821). Elsevier.

Malamuth, N., Addison, T., & Koss, M. (2000). Pornography and sexual aggression: Are there reliable effects and can we understand them? *Annual Review of Sex Research*, 11, 26–91.

Malamuth, N., Hald, G. M., & Koss, M. (2012). Pornography, individual differences in risk and men's acceptance of violence against women in a representative sample. *Sex Roles*, 66(7–8), 427–439. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0082-6>

Marshall, E. A., & Miller, H. A. (2019). Consistently inconsistent: A systematic review of the measurement of pornography use. *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 48, 169–179. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2019.08.019>

Marston, C., & Lewis, R. (2014). Anal heterosex among young people and implications for health promotion: A qualitative study in the UK. *BMJ Open*, 4(8), e004996. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2014-004996>

Martellozzo, E., Monaghan, A., Adler, J. R., Davidson, J., Leyva, R., Horvath, M. A. (2016). “I wasn't sure it was normal to watch it...” A quantitative and qualitative examination of the impact of online pornography on the values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of children and young people. [https://www.mdx.ac.uk/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0021/223266/MDX-NSPCC-OCC-pornography-report.pdf](https://www.mdx.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0021/223266/MDX-NSPCC-OCC-pornography-report.pdf)

Mattebo, M., Larsson, M., Tydén, T., Olsson, T., & Häggström-Nordin, E. (2012). Hercules and Barbie? Reflections on the influence of pornography and its spread in the media and society in groups of adolescents in Sweden. *The European Journal of Contraception & Reproductive Health Care*, 17(1), 40–49. <https://doi.org/10.3109/13625187.2011.617853>

Mattebo, M., Tyden, T., Häggström-Nordin, E., Nilsson, K. W., & Larsson, M. (2013). Pornography consumption, sexual experiences, lifestyles, and self-rated health among male adolescents in Sweden. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics: Jdbp*, 34(7), 460–468. <https://doi.org/10.1097/DBP.0b013e31829c44a2>

McCashen, W. (2010). *The strengths approach: A strengths-based resource for sharing power and creating change*. St Luke's Innovative Resources.

McCormack, M., & Wignall, L. (2017). Enjoyment, exploration and education: Understanding the consumption of pornography among young men with non-exclusive sexual orientations. *Sociology*, 51(5), 975–991. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038516629909>

McKee, A. (2005). The objectification of women in mainstream pornographic videos in Australia. *Journal of Sex Research*, 42(4), 277–290. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490509552283>

McKee, A. (2007). The positive and negative effects of pornography as attributed by consumers. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 34(1), 87–104. <http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;res=APAFT;dn=200708022>

McKibbin, G. (2016). *“I knew it was wrong but I couldn’t stop it”: Young people talk about the prevention of sexually abusive behaviour* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Melbourne. <https://minerva-access.unimelb.edu.au>

Midford, R., Munro, G., McBride, N., Snow, P., & Ladzinski, U. (2002). Principles that underpin effective school-based drug education. *Journal of Drug Education*, 32(4), 363–386. <https://doi.org/10.2190/T66J-YDBX-J256-J8T9>

Miller, D. J., Hald, G. M., & Kidd, G. (2018). Self-perceived effects of pornography consumption among heterosexual men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 19(3), 469–476. Miller-Young, M. (2010). Putting hypersexuality to work: Black women and illicit eroticism in pornography. *Sexualities*, 13(2), 219–235. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363460709359229>

Mullholland, M. (2013). *Young people and pornography: Negotiating pornification*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Murray, J. (2016). 17 October). Porn in the classroom? Here’s why it makes sense. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/oct/17/educate-teenagers-porn-attitudes-sex-parents-schools>

N.Z. Ministry of Education. (2015). *Sexuality education: A guide for principals, boards of trustees, and teachers*. N.Z. Ministry of Education.

Nation, M., Crusto, C., Wandersman, A., Kumpfer, K. L., Seybolt, D., Morrissey-Kane, E., & Davino, K. (2003). What works in prevention. Principles of effective prevention programs. *The American Psychologist*, 58(6–7), 449–456. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.58.6-7.449>

National Association of Head Teachers. (2013). *Parents want schools to manage dangers of pornography, says NaHT survey*. <http://www.naht.org.uk/welcome/news-and-media/key-topics/parents-and-pupils/parents-want-schools-to-manage-dangers-of-pornography-says-survey/#Parents-survey-data>

Oakley, A., Fullerton, D., Holland, J., Arnold, S., Dawson, M. F., Kelley, P., & McGrellis, S. (1995). Sexual health education interventions for young people: A methodological review. *BMJ (Clinical Research Ed.)*, 310(6973), 158–162. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.310.6973.158>

Office of Film and Literature Classification. (2018). *NZ and porn: Research findings of a survey on how and why young New Zealanders view online pornography*. Office of Film and Literature Classification.

Ollis, D. (2019). Media landscapes: ‘Meet the maker’ – The highs and lows of translating gender and sexuality research into practice. In T. Jones, L. Coll, L. van Leent, & Y. Taylor (Eds.), *Uplifting gender and sexuality education research* (pp. 47–69): Springer.

Ollis, D., Harrison, L., & Maharaj, C. (2013). *Sexuality education matters: Preparing pre-service teachers to teach sexuality education*. Deakin University.

Ollis, D., Harrison, L., & Richardson, A. (2012). *Building capacity in sexuality education: The Northern Bay College experience, report of the first phase of the Sexuality Education and Community Support (SECS) project*. Deakin University.

Ontario Ministry of Education. (2015). The Ontario curriculum, grades 9 to 12: Health and physical education. Ontario Ministry of Education.

O'Sullivan, L. F., & Ronis, S. T. (2013). Virtual cheating hearts: Extradynamic and poaching interactions among adolescents with links to online sexual activities. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue Canadienne Des Sciences du Comportement*, 45(3), 175–184.

Our Watch, Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS), & VicHealth. (2015). *Change the story: A shared framework for the primary prevention of violence against women and their children in Australia*. Our Watch.

Peter, J., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2010). Processes underlying the effects of adolescents' use of sexually explicit internet material: The role of perceived realism. *Communication Research*, 37(3), 375–399. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093650210362464>

Peter, J., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2011). The influence of sexually explicit internet material and peers on stereotypical beliefs about women's sexual roles: Similarities and differences between adolescents and adults. *Cyberpsychology, Behaviour, and Social Networking*, 14(9), 511–517. <https://doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2010.0189>

Peter, J., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2016). Adolescents and pornography: A review of 20 years of research. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 53(4-5), 509–531. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1143441>

Pinkleton, B. E., Austin, E. W., Chen, Y.-C Y., & Cohen, M. (2012). The role of media literacy in shaping adolescents' understanding of and responses to sexual portrayals in mass media. *Journal of Health Communication*, 17(4), 460–476. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730.2011.635770>

Pinkleton, B. E., Austin, E. W., Chen, Y.-C Y., & Cohen, M. (2013). Assessing effects of a media literacy-based intervention on US adolescents' responses to and interpretations of sexual media messages. *Journal of Children and Media*, 7(4), 463–479. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2013.781512>

Pinkleton, B. E., Austin, E. W., Cohen, M., Chen, Y.-C Y., & Fitzgerald, E. (2008). Effects of a peer-led media literacy curriculum on adolescents' knowledge and attitudes toward sexual behaviour and media portrayals of sex. *Health Communication*, 23(5), 462–472. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410230802342135>

Pound, P., Langford, R., & Campbell, R. (2016). What do young people think about their school-based sex and relationship education? A qualitative synthesis of young people's views and experiences. *BMJ Open*, 6(9), e011329. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2016-011329>

Powell, A. (2010). Configuring consent: Emerging technologies, unauthorised sexual images and sexual assault. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Criminology*, 43(1), 76–90. <https://doi.org/10.1375/acri.43.1.76>

Ranguelov, S. (2010). Summary report education on online safety in schools in Europe. *New Horizons in Education*, 58(3), 149–163.

Rasmussen, E. E., Ortiz, R. R., & White, S. R. (2015). Emerging adults' responses to active mediation of pornography during adolescence. *Journal of Children and Media*, 9(2), 160–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2014.997769>

Renold, E., Ringrose, J., & Egan, R. D. (Eds.). (2016). *Children, sexuality and sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Rissel, C., Richters, J., De Visser, R. O., McKee, A., Yeung, A., & Caruana, T. (2017). A profile of pornography users in Australia: Findings from the second Australian study of health and relationships. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 54(2), 227–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1191597>

Rogers, V. (2017). *We need to talk about pornography: A resource to educate young people about the potential impact of pornography and sexualised images on relationships, body image and self-esteem*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers

Rostad, W. L., Gittins-Stone, D., Huntington, C., Rizzo, C. J., Pearlman, D., & Orchowski, L. (2019). The association between exposure to violent pornography and teen dating violence in grade 10 high school students. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 48(7), 2137–2147. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-019-1435-4>

Rothman, E. F., & Adhia, A. (2016). Adolescent pornography use and dating violence among a sample of primarily black and Hispanic, urban-residing, underage youth. *Behavioural Sciences*, 6(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.3390/bs6010001>

Rothman, E. F., Adhia, A., Christensen, T. T., Paruk, J., Alder, J., & Daley, N. (2018). A pornography literacy class for youth: Results of a feasibility and efficacy pilot study. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 13(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2018.1437100>

Rothman, E. F., Daley, N., & Alder, J. (2020). A pornography literacy program for adolescents. *American Journal of Public Health*, 110(2), 154–156. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2019.305468>

Rothman, E. F., Kaczmarek, C., Burke, N., Jansen, E., Baughman, A. (2015). “Without porn ... I wouldn't know half the things I know now”: A qualitative study of pornography use among a sample of urban, low-income, black and Hispanic youth. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 52(7), 736–746. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2014.960908>

Ruskus, J., & Sujeta, I. (2014). An educational response to the issue of online pornography for schoolboys: The case of participatory action research in Lithuania. *International Journal of Social Pedagogy*, 3(1), 39–53.

Scull, T. M., Kupersmidt, J. B., Malik, C. V., & Morgan-Lopez, A. A. (2018). Using media literacy education for adolescent sexual health promotion in middle school: Randomized control trial of media aware. *Journal of Health Communication*, 23(12), 1051–1063. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10810730.2018.1548669>

Sevcikova, A., Serek, J., Machackova, H., & Smahel, D. (2013). Extent matters: Exposure to sexual material among Czech adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, 33(8), 1048–1071.

SHine SA. (2011). *Teach it like it is 2: A relationships and sexual health education curriculum resource for teachers of middle school students (aged 11-15) (2nd ed.)*. SHine SA Inc.

Shor, E. (2019). Age, aggression, and pleasure in popular online pornographic videos. *Violence Against Women*, 25(8), 1018–1036. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218804101s13178-012-0103-4>

Shor, E., & Golriz, G. (2019). Gender, race, and aggression in mainstream pornography. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 48(3), 739–751. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-018-1304-6>

Shor, E., & Seida, K. (2019). “Harder and harder”? Is mainstream pornography becoming increasingly violent and do viewers prefer violent content? *The Journal of Sex Research*, 56(1), 16–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2018.1451476>

Smith, M. (2013). Youth viewing sexually explicit material online: Addressing the elephant on the screen. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 10(1), 62–75. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-012-0103-4>

State of Victoria. (2014–2016). *Royal commission into family violence: Summary and recommendations*. State of Victoria.

Steadman, M., Crookston, B., Page, R., & Hall, C. (2014). Parental attitudes regarding school-based sexuality education in Utah. *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 9(3), 347–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2014.944737>

Stewart-Brown, S. (2006). *What is the evidence on school health promotion in improving health or preventing disease and, specifically, what is the effectiveness of the health promoting schools approach?* [https://www.euro.who.int/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0007/74653/E88185.pdf](https://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0007/74653/E88185.pdf)

Strange, V., Oakley, A., Forrest, S., & Team, R. S. (2003). Mixed-sex or single-sex sex education: How would young people like their sex education and why? *Gender and Education*, 15(2), 201–214.

Sun, C., Ezzell, M. B., & Kendall, O. (2017). Naked aggression: The meaning and practice of ejaculation on a woman's face. *Violence Against Women*, 23(14), 1710–1729. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801216666723>

Tasker, G. (2000). *Social and ethical issues in sexuality education: A resource for health education teachers of year 12 and 13 students*. Christchurch College of Education.

Thomas, F., & Aggleton, P. (2016). School-based sex and relationships education: Current knowledge and emerging themes. In *Global perspectives and key debates in sex and relationships education: Addressing issues of gender, sexuality, plurality and power* (pp. 13–29). Springer.

Thompson, L. (2011). Pleasure vs profit: Growing up in pornified Scotland. Zero Tolerance. Tsaliki, L. (2015). Popular culture and moral panics about 'children at risk': Revisiting the sexualisation-of-young-girls debate. *Sex Education*, 15(5), 500–514. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2015.1022893>

Tydén, T., & Rogala, C. (2004). Sexual behaviour among young men in Sweden and the impact of pornography. *International Journal of STD & Aids*, 15(9), 590–593. <https://doi.org/10.1258/0956462041724299>

Tyler, M. (2010). "Now that's pornography!": Violence and domination in Adult Video News. In K. Boyle (Ed.), *Everyday pornography* (pp. 50–62). Routledge.

U.K. Department for Education. (2019). *Relationships education, relationships and sex education (RSE) and health education statutory guidance for governing bodies, proprietors, head teachers, principals, senior leadership teams, teachers*. U.K. Department for Education.

UNESCO (2018). *International technical guidance on sexuality education: An evidence-informed approach*. UNESCO Publishing.

Stanley, N., Barter, C., Wood, M., Aghtaie, N., Larkins, C., Lanau, A., & Overlien, C. (2018). Pornography, sexual coercion and abuse and sexting in young people's intimate relationships: A European Study. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 33(19), 2919–2944. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260516633204>

Vahedi, Z., Sibalis, A., & Sutherland, J. E. (2018). Are media literacy interventions effective at changing attitudes and intentions towards risky health behaviours in adolescents? A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Adolescence*, 67, 140–152. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2018.06.007>

Vandenbosch, L., & van Oosten, J. M. (2017). The relationship between online pornography and the sexual objectification of women: The attenuating role of porn literacy education. *Journal of Communication*, 67(6), 1015–1036. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcom.12341>

Vannier, S. A., Currie, A. B., & O'Sullivan, L. F. (2014). Schoolgirls and soccer moms: A content analysis of free "teen" and "MILF" online pornography. *Journal of Sex Research*, 51(3), 253–264. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2013.829795>

VicHealth. (2007). *Preventing violence before it occurs: A framework and background paper to guide the primary prevention of violence against women in Victoria*. VicHealth.

Vladutiu, C. J., Martin, S. L., & Macy, R. J. (2011). College-or university-based sexual assault prevention programs: A review of program outcomes, characteristics, and recommendations. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 12(2), 67–86. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838010390708>

Walker, L. (2014). *Relationship IQ*. Youth Wellbeing Project.

Walker, L. (2016). *Young people need critical porn analysis; 'porn literacy' is not enough*. <http://www.generationnext.com.au/2016/12/young-people-need-critical-porn-analysis-porn-literacy-not-enough/>

Walker, S., Temple-Smith, M., Higgs, P., & Sancj, L. (2015). 'It's always just there in your face': Young people's views on porn. *Sexual Health*, 12(3), 200–206. <https://doi.org/10.1071/SH14225>

Walsh, J., Mitchell, A., & Hudson, M. (2015). *The practical guide to love, sex and relationships for years 7–10*. The Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University.

Ward, L. M. (2016). Media and sexualization: State of empirical research, 1995–2015. *Journal of Sex Research*, 53(4–5), 560–577. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2016.1142496>

Whisnant, R. (2010). From Jekyll to Hyde: The grooming of male pornography consumers. In K. Boyle (Ed.), *Everyday pornography* (pp. 114–133). Routledge.

Whisnant, R. (2016). Pornography, humiliation, and consent. *Sexualization, Media, & Society*, 2(3), 2374623816662876.

WHO Regional Office for Europe and BZgA. (2010). *Standards for sexuality education in Europe: A framework for policy makers, educational and health authorities and specialists*. Federal Center for Health Education, BZgA.

Wijaya Mulya, T., & Hald, G. M. (2014). Self-perceived effects of pornography consumption in a sample of Indonesian university students. *Media Psychology*, 17(1), 78–101. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15213269.2013.850038>

Wiley, D. C., Plesons, M., Chandra-Mouli, V., & Ortega, M. (2020). Managing sex education controversy deep in the heart of Texas: A case study of the North East Independent School District (NEISD). *American Journal of Sexuality Education*, 15(1), 53–81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15546128.2019.1675562>

Willard, N. (2011). School response to cyberbullying and sexting: The legal challenges. *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal*, 2011(1), 75–125.

Wolak, J., Mitchell, K., & Finkelhor, D. (2007). Unwanted and wanted exposure to online pornography in a national sample of youth internet users. *Pediatrics*, 119(2), 247–257. <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2006-1891>

World Health Organisation. (2016). *School and youth health: What is a health promoting school?* [http://www.who.int/school\\_youth\\_health/gshi/hps/en/](http://www.who.int/school_youth_health/gshi/hps/en/)

Wright, P. J. (2014). Pornography and the sexual socialization of children: Current knowledge and a theoretical future. *Journal of Children and Media*, 8(3), 305–312. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2014.923606>

Wright, P. J., Arroyo, A., & Bae, S. (2015). An experimental analysis of young women's attitude toward the male gaze following exposure to centerfold images of varying explicitness. *Communication Reports*, 28(1), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08934215.2014.915048>

Wright, P. J., & Bae, S. (2015). A national prospective study of pornography consumption and gendered attitudes toward women. *Sexuality & Culture*, 19(3), 444–463.

Wright, P. J., & Funk, M. (2014). Pornography consumption and opposition to affirmative action for women: A prospective study. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 38(2), 208–221. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0361684313498853>

Wright, P. J., Sun, C., Steffen, N. J., & Tokunaga, R. S. (2015). Pornography, alcohol, and male sexual dominance. *Communication Monographs*, 82(2), 252–270. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03637751.2014.981558>

Wright, P. J., Tokunaga, R. S., & Kraus, A. (2015). A meta-analysis of pornography consumption and actual acts of sexual aggression in general population studies. *Journal of Communication*, 66(1), 1–23.

Ybarra, M. L., Mitchell, K. J., Hamburger, M., Diener-West, M., & Leaf, P. J. (2011). X-rated material and perpetration of sexually aggressive behaviour among children and adolescents: Is there a link? *Aggressive Behaviour*, 37(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20367>

Ybarra, M. L., & Thompson, R. E. (2018). Predicting the emergence of sexual violence in adolescence. *Prevention Science*, 19(4), 403–415. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-017-0810-4>

Youth Wellbeing Project. (2020). *IQ programs*. [https://edu.youthwellbeingproject.info/iq\\_programs/](https://edu.youthwellbeingproject.info/iq_programs/)

Zhou, Y., & Paul, B. (2016). Lotus blossom or dragon lady: A content analysis of “Asian women” online pornography. *Sexuality & Culture*, 20(4), 1083–1100.

Zurcher, J. D. (2017). Exploring descriptive norms of parent-child communication about pornography among parents of middle-schoolers in the US. *Journal of Children and Media*, 11(4), 381–398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17482798.2017.1312471>