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I Didn't Consent to That: Secondary Analysis of Discrimination Against BDSM Identified Individuals

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I DIDN'T CONSENT TO THAT:

A SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST BDSM-IDENTIFIED

INDIVIDUALS

By

LARRY IANNOTTI

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Social Welfare in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
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Abstract

I DIDN'T CONSENT TO THAT: A SECONDARY ANALYSIS OF DISCRIMINATION

AGAINST BDSM-IDENTIFIED INDIVIDUALS

by

Larry Iannotti

Dissertation Chair: Professor SJ Dodd

Sadomasochistic (BDSM) sexual behavior is an understudied phenomenon within the social sciences generally, and social work in particular. While BDSM sexuality encompasses a wide variety of activities a community of individuals interested in BDSM is identifiable and has coalesced around organized groups, events, political activism, and shared sexual interests. This community has experienced discrimination, violence, and harassment (DVH) as a result of social approbation and stigma associated with BDSM practices. The study examines results of a secondary analysis of data from the *Survey of Violence & Discrimination against Sexual Minorities*, conducted in 2008. Severity and frequency of various types of DVH are explored and relationships between demographic characteristics, BDSM activities, and frequencies of DVH are examined. An emancipatory social work frame is used to contextualize the results of the analysis, and implications for both practice and policy are discussed.

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"For nothing is more democratic than logic; it is no respecter of persons and makes no distinction between crooked and straight noses."

Friedrich Nietzche, *The Gay Science: with a Prelude in Rhymes and an Appendix of Songs*

Chapter I: Introduction

Discrimination of Sadomasochistic and Fetishistic Sexual Minorities

Sadomasochistic and fetishistic sexual behavior is an under-studied phenomenon within most academic disciplines. Whether in legal scholarship, sociology, or social welfare, the subject has barely begun to be explored. Only in psychology is the subject matter taken up fairly regularly, though here much of the research is limited by a heteronormative and procreative viewpoint, beginning from a premise that sadomasochism is a deviation from normative sexual behavior (Moser & Kleinplatz, 2005). Such a viewpoint often leads to the subject being framed as unusual or even aberrant, with studies aimed at understanding the behavior within the realm of sexual pathology (Aggrawal, 2008; Stekel, 2010). There have been only a handful of studies looking at discrimination toward individuals who identify as participating in sadomasochistic or fetishistic sexual behavior (Bienvenu, 2005; Connolly, 2006). The primary goal of this study is to add to the knowledge base about the frequency and types of discrimination experienced by individuals as a result of their participation in sadomasochistic and fetishistic sexual behavior. Secondarily, the research will examine relationships between demographic information, sadomasochistic behavior, and types of discrimination experienced by participants.

All expressions of sexuality deserve serious attention by the clinical disciplines within the social sciences. Sexuality exerts considerable power within our daily lives, both on a social and personal level (Butler, 1986; Foucault, 1978; Rubin, 1984; Weeks, 1981). It provokes strong social debate, informs political ideologies and personal identities, influences social policy, and arises regularly as a central theme in religious and moral theorizing. Sexuality is woven into the fabric of everyday life in both simple and complex ways. While acknowledging the complexity of human sexuality, this study is limited to an analysis of data collected from subjects who self-

identified as participating in some form of sadomasochistic or fetishistic sexual expression. The data comes from a survey entitled Survey of Violence & Discrimination against Sexual Minorities, which was carried out in 2007/2008 by Susan Wright (www.ncsfreedom.org). Subjects also answered a series of questions in this survey designed to ellicit information about their demographic background, their participation in sadomasochism, and their experiences (or lack thereof) of being discriminated against as a result of their participation in sadomasochistic activities (BDSM)[1].

Some of the data from the survey has been reported on the website of the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, but much of the data remains un-analyzed (https://ncsfreedom.org/component/content/article/373.html). This study is a secondary analysis of Wright's 2007/2008 survey data. The objective of the study is to compile and report the prevalence rates and types of discrimination and violence experienced by various subsets of the cohort. Chi-square analysis will be conducted to examine whether certain combinations of demographic, racial, gender or sexual orientation characteristics are associated with higher or lower incidents of discrimination, harassment and/or violence.

This dissertation describes the current state of research regarding the phenomenon of discrimination and violence perpetrated against individual members and groups of the sadomasochistic and fetishistic community, situates this research in the context of a viable social-sexual minority identity, and suggests avenues to further research that may uncover important knowledge about this phenomenon.

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[1] Sadomasochistic sexuality will be referred to throughout the proposal as BDSM which is a common acronym used to reference a vast range of sexual expressions that may involve one or more of the following: bondage and discipline, dominance and submission, sadism, masochism, and fetishistic sexual activities. Further elaboration will be made in Chapter II: Terminology and Context.

The present chapter will explain why the research is important for Social Work, with particular emphasis on Social Work's relationship to research about marginalized populations, and its dedication to the surfacing of subjugated knowledge. Chapter II defines BDSM terminology and places the phenomenon of BDSM in a heuristic context through an exploration of the ways in which the disciplines of law, psychology, and sociology have approached it. Chapter III attempts to organize the vast literature available on discrimination, inter-group violence and social stigma – particularly that which focuses on GLBT populations, while chapter IV explores what is already known about discrimination perpetrated against BDSM-identified individuals and groups. Chapter V describes the methodology of the data collection and survey analysis, which included the creation of new variables to assist in analysis. Chapter VI presents the results of these analyses, first exploring frequencies of demographics, discrimination, and behavior; then describing significant relationships that were found between these sets of variables. Chapter VII will examine these findings in light of relevant research, while chapter VIII will place the findings in the context of social work practice and pedagogy and point towards potential future research beneficial to the field.

Why the Survey Data should be analyzed: Social Work and Empowerment of Marginal Populations. In some ways, the nearly complete absence of theoretical literature, or any substantial exploration, of discriminatory experiences within this particular group of individuals is nowhere more surprising than within the discipline of social work. Social work has a long history of committing itself to an anti-discriminatory/social justice practice ethic (National Association of Social Workers, n.d.). This practice ethic has led social work, as a profession, to the forefront of work with many marginalized populations. A commitment to social justice informs the way in which social work approaches almost all service populations and the way in

which, as scholars and researchers, social workers have sought to create unique knowledge bases.

Social work has a long tradition of working to alleviate discrimination among stigmatized populations (Glicken, 2007). The very origins of the social work profession stem from work with psychiatric patients in early state institutions, as much as it stems from work in the settlement houses; both highly stigmatized and ostracized social groups who were frequently the object of discrimination, harassment and violence.

By the end of World War I, in V.A. hospitals in the United States, the role of physicians and nurses who cared for wounded vets ended when the patients left the hospitals. One of social work's earliest roles was in attempting to re-situate these patients into their communities (United States Department of Veterans Affairs, n.d.). In settlement houses social workers were tasked with helping families newly arrived in the U.S. adjust to an often radically different social order, and typically hostile new environment. Psychiatric patients and immigrants occupied, arguably, one of the most denigrated social positions of the day. This tradition of helping the under-served, dis-empowered and socially stigmatized has carried on through the decades (Simon, 1994).

Social work has focused on discrimination and marginalization within psychiatric and medical patient populations, prisoners, the poor, racial minorities, women and more recently sexual minorities; at least in the classic sense of lesbian, gay and bisexual identities. And as an identifiable population of transgender-experienced individuals emerges, social work has recognized this growing social and cultural identity and begun to respond (Mallon, 1999b).

While substantial research and theory building has been done within social work regarding gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) identities - both from the standpoint of clinical practice as well as policy (Mallon, 1998b) - the broader arena of human sexuality

generally has not received an amount of scholarly attention equal to its importance as a factor in human behavior, socialization and identity (Dunk, 2007). The "Journal of Social Work & Human Sexuality" was the only social work journal dedicated specifically to exploring the rich arena of human sexuality through the discipline of social work but lasted only 11 years (from 1982 through 1993), publishing only 20 issues (8 of which were published as single "double issues") in 8 volumes, for a total of 148 original articles (retrieved January, 2011).

Social work has added very little to the knowledge of discrimination and stigma of sexual identities other than lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB). Nor has it developed an identifiable literature regarding the general psycho-social experiences of individuals who identify as sexual minorities other than LGB (or other than strictly LGB); such as the sadomasochistic, BDSM, or fetishistic communities. Communities and individuals such as those associated with sadomasochistic or fetishistic sexual expressions are an almost entirely absent subject from social work literature.

Stephen Hicks, a British social worker, recently explored the question of whether social work is complicit in maintaining the status quo of binary-gendered and heteronormative social power dynamics. He posits that social work continues to give power to the binary-gendered, heteronormative status quo when we utilize what he refers to as an "ethnic identity" model of sexuality. Ethnic identity models are those in which all variant groups, such as BDSM, sadomasochism or fetish groups, are defined in relationship to a heteronormative, two-gendered model (Hicks, 2008c).

Hicks argues that everyday sexuality is actually a complex matrix of intersecting expressions and identities, all of which need far more investigation by social work. As well, he points out how our knowledge of human sexual behavior is limited when the only sexual

identities that are validated through research are "gay", "lesbian", "bisexual", and "heterosexual". Along with non-gendered sexualities, and non-labeled sexualities (those which remain fluid between the established categories/labels) sadomasochism and fetishism are also sexual activities that influence and add to personal and community identities of sexuality (Langdridge & Butt, 2004; Mosher, Levitt, & Manley, 2006), but are all too often left off the map, remaining unexplored.

Subjugation and Subjugated Knowledge: from Foucault to Hartman. Foucault argued that "[d]iscourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Foucault, 1978, p. 101). For Foucault, what is talked about, the way that it is talked about, and what is not talked about, serves to consolidate power within the dominant ideology. This power consolidation occurs in large part because it is the dominant ideology which provides the language with which discourse on a particular topic is developed; such as understanding the gay or lesbian sexual experience only in contrast to that of heterosexuality. Likewise, to understand a phenomenon such as BDSM or fetishes only in contrast to heteronormative, procreative sexual activity "reinforces" heteronormative, procreative sexual activity as the norm (both quantitatively and substantively). But his statement also alludes to the opportunity that exists through discourse on a given topic to re-examine the status quo; to question it, rearrange relationships, and empower subaltern or subjugated positions.

The sexually subaltern was of particular interest to Foucault, who analyzed the ways in which medicalized and psychiatrized homosexuality helped perpetuate heteronormative social constructs and the positioning of heterosexuality as dominant in our understanding of human sexual behavior. Likewise, a study of BDSM behavior and experiences will surface the ways in

which genital, procreative, and heteronormative understandings have dominated our conceptualizations of sexual behavior. A useful examination of this discourse must include both dominant and subjugated knowledge.

The topic of subjugated knowledge and social work practice has been explored by several writers. Figueira-McDonough, Netting & Nichols-Casebolt (2001), Hartman (1992), and Chambon et al. (1999) all provide an extensive look into post-modern, Foucauldian analysis of social work practice. Ann Hartman's (1992) now famous piece on subjugated knowledge made a strong statement about the inherent paradox within social work's call to empower the disempowered with professionalism and knowledge which, of course, from a Foucauldian perspective is power itself and therefore risks disempowering those it seeks to help. She states

> We must participate with them in the insurrection of subjugated knowledge. We must listen to honor and validate our clients' expertise. We must learn to bracket our knowledge, to put it aside so it will not shape our questions and our listening and cause a barrier between us and the people we would understand.
>
> (Hartman, 1992, p. 484).

Hicks (2005; 2008a; 2008b; 2008c), as mentioned earlier, has begun to apply much of this theoretical work to direct social work practice in a way that much more closely resembles Foucault's analysis. He does so by returning to the notion of subjugated knowledge and applying it to the realm of sexuality. While most of his work focuses primarily on adoption and foster care issues for gay men and lesbians, he has recently been questioning the dominant social work ideology regarding sexuality, sexual expression and sexual identity on a broader level.

Others outside of the social work discipline have also utilized the notion of subjugated knowledge and argued for its importance not only in terms of empowerment, but also in terms of

its usefulness in broader theory and practice development. Most common to the literature is the application of subjugated knowledge in the exploration of gendered experiences, both from a feminist standpoint (Gilligan, 1993; Grant, 2007), as well as from a transgender standpoint (Stryker, 2006). There has also been a growing number of pieces on subjugated knowledge as it is applied to the understanding of women's sexuality more generally (Brooks & Edwards, 1997; Chubin, 2014; Rifà-Valls, 2009) as well as minority health issues (J. P. Egan, 2007). The lens of subjugated knowledge will be utilized in understanding and discussing analysis of the survey since it was conducted among a group of individuals who are socially and politically marginalized.

Social Work with BDSM-identified Individuals. Social work, as a profession and an academic discipline, has compelling reasons to examine and analyze the stigmatization of and discrimination against members of the BDSM community. A social stigma that is broadly defined and activity-based brings significant approbation upon the individuals associated with such activities; their sexual expressions forcing them to either hide their participation in such activities, or risk discrimination, harassment or even violent attacks as members of a marginalized and socially sanctioned group. Social workers, as students of society and as clinicians, have an obligation to understand the experiences of individuals who are stigmatized as a result of their engagement in a consensual, if uncommon, form of sexual expression.

As Mullaly (2007) points out in *Structural Social Work*, it is the combination of theory and practice that brings about true social change. Mullaly cites social work's "radical" history, its "critical social theory base", its "dialectical analysis" of social and clinical problems and its focus on all forms of oppression as the basis for a "transformative and emancipatory form of social work practice" (Mullaly, 2007). This emancipatory praxis is applicable to all segments of

our society. It is still acceptable in most of the world's societies to view BDSM sexual

expressions as deviant, pathological or even morally 'wrong'; yet BDSM behavior, in some

form, has been an identifiable phenomenon within human sexuality across a wide variety of

times and spaces (Ellis, 1942). Even still, whether seen through a lens of pathology or normative

human behavior, BDSM practitioners currently practicing safe and consensual behavior should

not be subjected to discrimination, harassment or violence.

From a basic human rights perspective, violence against any minority group is

antithetical to the ethical standards of social work. Numerous cultural forces in present-day

Western societies view BDSM behavior as a valid reason to discriminate against an individual in

personal, professional and legal arenas. The strong social stigma on which this discrimination is

based may also lead to violence. Therefore the research under consideration here is very much in

keeping with social work's mission to observe patterns of discrimination against minorities and

understand the impact that discrimination may have on people's lives.

Surveying Discrimination - Clinical Implications. Viewing the research through the

lenses of marginalization, subjugation and discrimination brings important clinical implications

into view. Both policy and direct-practice can be enhanced by increasing our understanding of

what this particular sub-set of the community experiences in terms of harassment, discrimination,

and violence. It has been shown that stigmatized groups tend to have greater difficulty accessing

healthcare (Bathje & Pryor, 2011), tend to exhibit higher risk-behavior (Radcliffe et al., 2010),

and have poorer psychological health outcomes (Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2008). Quinn

and Chaudoir have begun to look at the differences in access to care as well as health, and mental

health outcomes focusing specifically on individuals with what they term "concealable

stigmatized identity" (Quinn & Chaudoir, 2009, p. 571). Their findings reflect what has been

discovered previously, that both anticipated stigma and cultural stigma lead to poor health and mental health outcomes.

Clinical social workers rely on their knowledge of human behavior in order to successfully assess client issues and design appropriate interventions. Most social workers, at some point in their career, will work with a client who identifies as participating in BDSM. Gaining knowledge of how an entire subset of individuals have come to view their sexual behavior, how it has impacted their relationship with their environment, and factored into their own process of self-identity is imperative in order to provide effective and ethical treatment. The data-set under consideration in this dissertation represents a first step towards increasing our understanding of the discriminatory experiences, self-identity and behaviors of an understudied and misunderstood sexual minority.

Chapter II: Terminology and Context

This chapter will define the phenomenon under consideration in two ways: by introducing terminology specific to BDSM and by reviewing the legal, psychological and sociological literature on BDSM; thus providing a context for the analysis of the data. The first section will explore terms used to describe the various activities that BDSM-identified people enjoy and participate in, explicate different roles that are played out by the participants, and identify certain categories of behavior. The second section will look at how BDSM has been viewed from a legal perspective, followed by an exploration of psychological thought regarding BDSM and finally a review of sociological studies of BDSM.

BDSM Terminology: Safe, Sane and Consensual

As for defining sadomasochistic sexual behaviors themselves, the range is vast, shifting and often defined by the individual themselves. The notion of what constitutes a sadomasochistic sexual expression is, ultimately, socially constructed and extremely individualized. As a result the meanings (and inclusion/exclusion) of specific practices are continually changing – and are different in different cultures and within different communities. For the purposes of this study, descriptive definitions of the most common practices utilized for sadomasochistic sexual expression in the United States will be provided.

Throughout this study, the term BDSM will refer only to activity occurring between consenting adults and that which is viewed by members of BDSM communities as 'safe, sane and consensual.' BDSM is a triple acronym that stands for Bondage and Discipline, *BD*SM; Dominance and Submission, B*DS*M; and Sadism and Masochism, BD*SM*. It is an umbrella term that includes a wide variety of sexual activities that often overlap and can be practiced with a wide range of intensity. Many activities are erotized rather than overtly sexual, they are activities

that fall well outside the realm of biologically and genitally based coital sex yet they provoke strong erotic and sensual feelings for the individual who participates in them. These activities usually take place within a defined "scene." The use of the word scene is itself redolent of acting, make-believe, and fantasy. The scene is what happens between the individuals after the negotiation and before the end of the SM play, which may or may not include coital or genital-oriented sexual activity.

A scene is often negotiated between participating individuals before-hand when they tell each other what they would like to experience, which activities they enjoy, and what, if anything, they do not want to do. This is the social norm within the BDSM community, from which arose the concept of "safe, sane, and consensual" (SSC). Some years ago, the phrase was added to the mission statement of Gay Male S/M Activists (GMSMA), an organization formed in the early 1980's in New York to build social, educational and political activist resources for BDSM (stein, n.d.). It was a very conscious attempt to provide a framework for understanding sadomasochistic activity in a way that could be politically and socially defensible. It's used as a guidepost for assessing BDSM activity, suggesting that 'good' BDSM is safe, sane and consensual. Safe, sane, and consensual was taken up by the BDSM community as a particularly popular credo and became nearly universally accepted as the foundation for acceptable sadomasochistic activity.

After some years of use, debate within the community gave rise to a new slogan: 'risk-aware, consensual kink' or RACK. The acronym RACK appears to have developed, at least in part, because of dissatisfaction with two aspects of SSC (Devus.com, n.d.; Medlin, n.d.; Miller & Switch, n.d.). Both acronyms acknowledge the aspect of safety, though from different angles. SSC states straightforwardly that all BDSM play should be safe, while 'risk-aware, consensual kink' (RACK) is based on the logical assumption that practically no human activity is ever

entirely safe (crossing the street, driving a car, playing sports, etc.) and individuals should be allowed to determine their own comfort level regarding how safe something they do must be, through conscious consideration of the risks involved.

SSC, the older of the two maxims, also includes the notion that BDSM scenes should fall within the definition of 'sane'. Conversations within the community had begun almost immediately after the wide-spread adoption of SSC that one person's version of sane might not be another's. RACK responds to this by eliminating the component all together. Instead, the idea that the person must be 'aware' pre-supposes that they have the mental and emotional faculties to competently make decisions for themselves.

To keep activities safe, participants in BDSM also establish safewords which are used to indicate that an individual wants the scene to end. Safewords are used so that during the course of the scene, the submissive participant can role-play resistance, and the dominant participant will know that it is still okay to continue the negotiated activities. Upon hearing the safeword, however, all play comes to a halt. Participants also talk frequently about their "limits". In its simplest form limits provide boundaries which describe the lines between activities that the individual is comfortable participating in, and those that they are uncomfortable with.

BDSM vs. Abuse and Violence: An Important Distinction. Consent is perhaps the most important, but not the only, aspect of BDSM scenes that distinguishes BDSM from violence and abuse. Consent has, in many ways, become a key element of the BDSM communities' efforts to de-stigmatize BDSM behavior, and BDSM organizations have promoted open discussion of consent as BDSM has gained visibility in society. Both SSC and RACK emphasize the presence of consent. Consent is not only inferred in BDSM experiences because encounters between sadists and masochists are willingly and cooperatively produced, but it is

also frequently given through clear verbal agreements. A victim of abuse or violence does not have the ability to give or withdraw consent. It is well known, however, that abuse occurs across a variety of socio-economic, racial, sexual orientation and age-group relationships. Therefore it is possible that a BDSM relationship may also be an abusive relationship, but to conflate the two is to misunderstand the nature and dynamics of BDSM encounters (Moser & Madeson, 1996).

BDSM experiences are predicated on the idea that everyone involved has valid needs, mutual desires, and clear limits; and these needs, desires, and limits will be clearly communicated and respected by all involved. Such a dynamic is absent in abusive relationships or violent encounters. While it is difficult to describe the full scope of BDSM activities, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that BDSM organizations, as well as popular writings from the BDSM community (Brame, 2000; Conversio Virium, n.d.; Gay Male S/M Activists, n.d.; Henkin & Holiday, 1996; Lesbian Sex Mafia, n.d.) make clear distinctions between acts of violence or coercion and consensual BDSM activity.

Types of Activities. Popular writings by BDSM practitioners (Bannon, 1992; Bean, 1996) and descriptions of educational classes given by BDSM social groups (Gay Male S/M Activists, n.d.; The Eulenspeigel Society, n.d.) provide descriptions of behaviors currently considered to be part of the BDSM repertoire. These behaviors can involve any one, or a combination of the following: light to heavy physical pain (spanking, slapping, punching, flogging, whipping), tickling, electro-stimulation, application of hot or cold temperatures, or other sensory stimulation; sensory deprivation such as blindfolds or auditory blocks (earplugs, hoods, etc); the use of restraints or physical immobilization, often referred to as bondage; role-play or fantasy play which are typically behaviors aimed at intensifying a sense of dominance, submissiveness or humiliation; the use of objects (often referred to as "toys"); use of bodily

productions such as spit, urine or feces; fetishized clothing such as uniforms or provocative undergarments; specific materials such as leather, rubber, spandex or particular accessories such as boots, gloves, or high heels.

As was noted earlier, BDSM is a triple acronym that stands for Bondage and Discipline, Dominance and Submission, and Sadism and Masochism. Bondage is the use of tying up, often with rope or other restraints; discipline is the use of rules or punishment (this may have a sadistic or masochistic aspect to it when it includes physical pain or humiliation). Discipline also includes activities related to the more standard definition of the term. Activities aimed at testing will power or the limits of physical endurance may also be included in what is termed discipline. Dominance is the control of one party over another, and submission is its reverse – being dominated, overpowered, or controlled. Such scenes may be considered sadomasochistic as well, or simply role play. Sadism is the process of attaining gratification from inflicting pain or humiliation onto another; while masochism, is the seeking of gratification through receiving pain or humiliation.

These behaviors may lead to or include genital contact or they may not include genital contact. Most participants refer to their participation in such activities as sexual but others do not. An illustration of the socially constructed nature and constantly evolving personal and sexual meanings associated with the broad category of BDSM is the more recent inclusion of polyamorous relationships within the rubric. Polyamorous relationships are relationships in which more than two individuals are involved with each other intimately, or relationships between two people who have agreed that it is permissible for one or both to have 'scenes' or sexual partners outside the primary relationship. While some within the BDSM community accept this inclusion others feel that only if the sexual play within the polyamorous relationships

meets the criteria for BDSM, can the people involved be considered a part of the BDSM community.[2]

BDSM usually involves the acting out of unequal roles. BDSM participants who play out the submissive roles (receiving pain, being humiliated, experiencing sensory deprivation or stimulation, or maintaining a submissive role in fantasy) are known as 'submissives' or 'bottoms' (as well as other terms such as 'subs', 'slaves', 'boys' or 'girls'). BDSM participants who play out dominant roles (inflicting pain, humiliation, sensory deprivation or stimulation, taking dominant roles in fantasy) are known as 'dominants' or 'tops' (and again, may be referred to in other terms such as 'doms', 'masters', 'sir' or 'madame'). Those who switch between both roles (either within the context of a single scene, or in different scenes) are known as 'switches'. Tops, bottoms and switches are referred to as 'players' and the acting out of BDSM sexual fantasy is referred to as a 'play' or 'scene'.

The terms 'light', 'medium' and 'heavy' are often used to describe the intensity of the scenes acted out. Although these terms are highly subjective, two surveys of BDSM populations found that nearly half of BDSM participants consider themselves to be 'medium' players (Connolly, 2006; Moser & Levitt, 1987). Both of these surveys, plus an additional one undertaken by Bienvenu (2005), found that many players switched roles between 'top' (dominant, sadist) and 'bottom' (submissive, masochist) and that there exists a wide diversity of types and degrees of activities which individual respondents report as pleasurable. It is important to note that many participants who enjoy sadomasochistic sexual activities that utilize pain would not describe what they are experiencing as pain, but rather as "stimulation" or "sensation".

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[2] Personal conversation with Susan Wright, The National Coalition for Sexual Freedom.

Contextualizing BDSM: Legal, Psychological, and Sociological Perspectives

According to the 1990 Kinsey Institute New Report on Sex, "Researchers estimate that 5-10 percent of the U.S. population engages in sadomasochism for sexual pleasure on at least an occasional basis, with most incidents being either mild or stage activities involving no real pain…"(Reinisch, Beasley, Kent, Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, & Reproduction, 1990). While some aspects of sexual expression which fulfill one or more of the aspects of BDSM detailed above, may indeed be practiced at one time or another by up to 10 percent of the population.

Sadomasochism is a fairly modern term for the behavior, but evidence of its practice can be found even in ancient civilizations. Likewise, the behaviors associated with sadomasochism and fetishistic sexual behavior, are seen across a wide spectrum of cultures. The term we use today was first coined by Richard von Krafft-Ebing. It refers to the association of sexual arousal with the experience of physical or psychological pain. Krafft-Ebing originated the term sadomasochism in 1886 by combining the terms "sadism" and "masochism". Krafft-Ebing was attempting to research the biological basis of human sexual impulses and behavior when he became interested in the observation that human beings sometimes appeared to derive pleasure from pain. His work, Psychopathia Sexualis (Krafft-Ebing, 1886), was the first modern scientific text to describe sadomasochistic behavior.

The term sadism itself is a derivation on the name of one of its most famous practitioners, the Marquis de Sade, who wrote extensively and floridly in the late 18th century (100 years before Krafft-Ebing) about the sexual excitement and pleasure he gained by inflicting both psychological and physical pain on others (Sade, 1965; Sade, 1966). Masochism is a term derived from Leopold von Sacher-Masoch who wrote *Venus in Furs*, sixteen years prior to

Krafft-Ebbing (Sacher-Masoch, 2000, orig. 1870), which consisted of a group of stories about men who attain sexual satisfaction while being flagellated by female partners. For the modern western world these three names have become synonymous with sadomasochistic sexual behavior.

Since its inception as a topic of scientific study through the works of Krafft-Ebing (1886), Albert Ellis (1897), Magnus Hirschfeld (1914), and Freud (1962, orig. pub. 1905), sexuality (and sadomasochism in particular) has been the subject matter of writings within the fields of psychology and psychiatry, sociology and anthropology, and more recently legal scholarship. Today there is not only wide variance of meanings ascribed to the terms sadism, masochism and sadomasochism, but there is considerable confusion as well, particularly within the psychological discipline, regarding the origin and nature of the phenomenon as it expresses itself in human sexual behavior. A review of the legal, psychological and sociological literature available on the subject follows.

Legal Theorizing

Consent. From a legal standpoint, SM holds no particular standing, it is neither a discrete identity, worthy of protected class status, or a specific behavior, able to be codified, legalized, or criminalized. In many ways, sadomasochistic behavior lies at the intersection of multiple heuristics relating to sexual behavior, consent, personal liability, and stigmatized out-groups, to name a few. Legal scholarship on SM sexual expressions fall within three broad conceptual arenas: what the law might consider criminal behavior (often hinging on the issue of consent), attempts to curtail the distribution of BDSM-related content, and discrimination issues.

Most of the legal scholarship attempts to review how established legal doctrine might be applied to specific behaviors; applying a consent vs. violence framework. It asks what actions are

legal, between whom, and where; and which actions rise to the level of punishable offenses such as assault, kidnapping or rape. Consent is a complex issue, legally speaking. If behavior is understood to be abuse, assault, or battery, then the issue of consent is moot because, legally speaking, one cannot consent to their own assault. There are instances in which individuals were discovered to be participating in BDSM activities as 'bottoms' (those receiving pain), and were arrested and jailed for participating in their own assault (The Spanner Trust, n.d.; White, 2006).

This notion regarding the impossibility of consent in situations that might be considered abusive or assaultive is not universal, however. There is a long held argument in legal circles which presents a strong reason for the de-criminalization of SM behavior known as the pugilist argument (Green, 2001). It is used to argue that individuals (both tops and bottoms) who have consented to participate in BDSM activities should not be seen as co-conspirators in assault charges. The argument rests on the idea that BDSM activities should be seen as similar to sporting events, thrill rides, certain religious ceremonies, or elective yet invasive/dangerous medical procedures, many of which also carry acknowledged risk to one's physical being yet have long been exempted from criminal prosecution. Langdridge (2006) explains that there is no rational argument for limiting such exemptions to only the categories above, nor is there a rational argument that has been posited for viewing one's consent to sexual activity which may carry some amount of inherent risk differently from the above mentioned categories.

Freedom of Speech. As far as privacy or freedom of speech issues are concerned recent legal efforts by the United States Congress and the Department of Justice (DOJ), during the Clinton and Bush administrations, show a concerted effort to reduce or remove the protections that these rights afford individuals who participate in BDSM activities. Depictions of BDSM sexual expression have been singled out as especially repugnant and in need of curtailment both

on a federal and local level and federal prosecutorial activity, while present since the 1950's, has been shown to be increasing since the early 1980's (National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, n.d.c; Ridinger, 2006). A press release from the DOJ, announcing the formation of a special task force on Internet obscenity in 2004, grouped consensual sadomasochistic activities in with pedophilia and bestiality (Gellman, 2005). The Attorney General promised swift prosecution of anyone possessing imagery or text which depicted SM behaviors. Current legal standards seem to parallel the diagnostic criteria and categorizations found in the DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) where rape, pedophilia and other non-consensual, anti-social and victimizing behaviors are seen as comparable to consensual SM.

On the local level there has been a marked increase in the willingness of local municipalities to adopt and enforce regulations on usage of commercial space in an attempt to "zone out" sexually related businesses. In 1994/1995 the Giuliani administration in New York City pushed for, and received, a controversial zoning law which effectively barred businesses considered "adult" from doing business in all but a few of the remotest neighborhoods in the metropolitan area (Cook, 2006). Other municipalities as well -- Worcester, MA, Syracuse, NY, St. Petersburg, FL -- have recently tried to alter zoning laws in attempts to do away with sexually-related businesses from downtown centers. As Cook (2006) points out, these efforts appear and disappear in a continual circular motion between local municipalities and the commercial sex industry. Prior to this, during the 1980's, New York City went through similar convulsions as it struggled to respond to the AIDS crisis. Once it was clear that AIDS was going to be a catastrophic public-health epidemic, proposals soon followed to shutter the sex clubs which had become ubiquitous with urban gay male sexuality (Woods & Binson, 2003). These legal actions on the part of one municipality fundamentally altered the discourse surrounding a

particular subaltern, counter-cultural, sexual citizen. These watershed events affected the discourse on SM sexuality as well as broader sexualities, not just homosexual but heterosexual too (after all, the majority of adult businesses affected by Giuliani's zoning alterations catered to male heterosexuals).

Sexuality as Identity: The First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments. With regards to LGBT identity issues and discrimination there has been a fairly substantial beginning to legal theorizing and research regarding the intersection of sexuality and personal identity (Eskridge & Hunter, 2004). However, legal scholars have participated in only a small amount of debate regarding the application of legal concepts of personal identity to sadomasochistic or fetishistic sexual behavior. Legal doctrines which apply to personal identity were first developed around issues of race and later gender. These doctrines, which are well established at this point, rest on the notion that immutable characteristics of a person cannot be used as a reason to deny such persons rights granted under the constitution. Through legislation and case law the First, Fifth and Fourteenth amendments have been firmly established as the cornerstones to religious, racial and gender equality. It has been argued that these same legal foundations might be used to provide true legal and constitutional equality to individuals and groups identifying as homosexual or lesbian (Eskridge, 1999), and more recently to transgender or intersex individuals (Eskridge & Hunter, 2004). A search of the law reviews and journals on Lexis/Nexis® in February of 2014 revealed only three articles which theorized the possible application of First, Fifth and Fourteenth amendment law to those individuals participating in sadomasochistic or fetishistic sexual expressions – those by Bergelson, Pa, and White. Bergelson (2007) argues that the presence of consent in sadomasochistic encounters means that no rights violations exist during the behavior, therefore it follows that due process under the fifth and fourteenth

amendments should allow for a consent defense. To deny due process is, itself, a rights violation. Pa (2001) states that sex-laws which criminalize, or leave open the possible criminalization, of consensual sexual practices between adults goes against the fundamental principle of the first amendment, abridging the pursuit of happiness.

Other countries have versions of legislation, or are signatories to conventions such as the European Convention on Human Rights which cover and guarantee comparable human rights, civil rights and personal liberties. White (2006) synthesizes all the arguments made by Pa, Bergelson, and Eskridge to show how the outcome of the Spanner Trials (1987 – 1990) in Great Britain produced fundamental rights violations against the defendants. The Spanner trials ended with criminal convictions for both tops and bottoms involved in consensual BDSM behavior. The case was appealed to the European Court of Human Rights, which surprisingly upheld the convictions, based on the view that the behavior was, indeed, assault. The original prosecution charged that the bottoms had aided and abetted their own assaults.

Sexual Citizenship. Some writers have been able to utilize Foucauldian frameworks, even the concept of governmentality, to open new areas of exploration within the social sciences. Of particular interest to this dissertation is the conceptualization of citizenship (Buker, 1990; Klesse, 2007; Richardson, 2004; Stychin, 2000; Venn, 2007) as it relates to sexual identity. Foucault's major thrust, throughout his thinking, is the theme of power and discourse. With the topic of governmentality he began to take up these issues with regard to the state, the process of government, and the law. In order to understand governmentality as a discourse of power, one must imagine not just the state, but the subjects, what Foucault refers to as "the population". In many ways, our modern concept of citizenship incorporates this post-modern stance. One's

citizenship is no longer conceived of as the "subject", per se – but rather the aspect of the individual which exists as a result of a relationship to some form of state, or governmentality.

It is important to keep in mind as we move forward with this conceptualization of citizenship that within a strict legal framework citizenship denotes a specific class of people who are formally recognized by the state. At times this may appear in the form of location (place of birth), behavior (marriage status) or personal identities (race and gender), but a powerful agency is also found in the relationship between the construction of citizenship and governmentality.

Many theorists have begun to tackle this distinctly Foucauldian notion of citizenship. Digeser (1992; 1995; 2002) critically examines how power forges subjects and his treatment of agency is similar; that is, agency is something that may exist *between* entities – in the relational dynamics of power, as well as *within* entities. Also Gorham (2000; 1995) has pointed out the ways in which Foucauldian analysis can uncover how well-intentioned neo-liberal concepts such as the welfare state, can, in fact, perpetuate the very power dynamic which subjugates citizens into a capitalist system; which then, in turn, perpetuates the inequality which was the object to be removed in the first place. Here the citizen is cast more as a hapless victim of an agency that seems unattached to either state or individual.

Plummer (2003; 1996; 2001) has taken sexual citizenship and refined the concept into one he calls "intimate citizenship". He argues that post-modern forms of relationship, procreation and privacy have surfaced a need for a broadening of the definition of personhood. However, for the purposes of this dissertation it is enough to recognize that any governmentality or citizenship discourse which pertains to BDSM behaviors exerts powerful meanings upon both the behaviors and the individuals involved, and ultimately impacts the participants standing politically, socially and medically.

Psychological Theorizing

Confusion of Terms. Breslow (1989) surveyed the psychological literature that dealt with sadomasochism and concluded that the literature contained three main areas of confusion: unfounded "theoretical constructions", overgeneralization, and problems with definition. The main issue behind unfounded and poor development of theory is that works which attempt to develop either etiological or phenomenological theory are based on small samples (often an *n* of 1) that cannot be generalized to a wider population. In fact, most articles dealing with sadomasochistic behavior that are published in psychological journals are single case studies (Chirban, 2006; Frei, Vollm, Graf, & Dittmann, 2006; Lykins & Cantor, 2014; Saleh, Niel, & Fishman, 2004). The majority of articles that seek to understand etiology are forensic and deal only with non-consensual behavior.

Confusion about the term "sadomasochism" in disciplines related to mental health was present from the outset and has led to both overgeneralization and unclear definitions. At the time that Krafft-Ebing and others were studying the biology of sex; Freud was laying the groundwork for his theories of psychoanalysis. Both Freud (2009, orig. 1915), who first published *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* in 1905, and Jung who published *Psychology of the Unconscious* several years later (1916, orig. 1912, english trans. 1916) were aware that some individuals appeared to derive pleasure from pain, and they attempted to account for this phenomenon from a psychoanalytic perspective. These early psychoanalytic texts, however, conflated sexual desire with other motivational behaviors and used the terms 'masochism' and 'sadism' to refer to any psychological impulse that contained a wish to harm oneself or another person. The same pathological etiology was assumed whether or not such impulses occurred within a sexual context, or the behaviors were consensual or non-consensual (Hanly, 1995). Any

thought or behavior which associates pleasure with one's own pain, or that of another's, is regularly referred to as masochism or sadism within psychoanalytic texts. This broad definition continues to confound the clinical literature today, and continues to exacerbate attempts to better understand the psychological territory of sadomasochistic sexual desire and behavior by muddying the definitional waters.

　　　Pathologizing BDSM. Psychiatry and psychology have a history of collusion with socio-political power that marginalizes certain subgroups. This tendency has been well-documented in the case of African Americans, women and sexual minorities (Crosby, 2004; Howarth, 2006; Nicholson & Seidman, 1995; Rosario, 1997). This marginalization is the result, in part at least, of labeling certain behaviors as deviant and consequently viewing individuals displaying these behaviors as either ill or criminals. Labeling theory holds that social labeling of such individuals not only maintains the social distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable behavior, but also creates a system in which the individual necessarily comes to see themselves as deviant, ill or morally lacking (Becker, 1991). Since Thomas Szasz published his seminal work, *The Myth of Mental Illness* (1974) there has been an ongoing critique of the way that medicine (psychiatry) defines mental illness and, by default, human behavior which is to be considered normal and acceptable. The primary argument has been that by locating our definitions of normal and abnormal behavior within the field of psychiatry (a medical discipline) we have blurred the distinction between human behaviors and biological disease. Modern psychiatric diagnosis, represented by the diagnostic categories found in the DSM-V, has become a lexicon of socially unacceptable thoughts and behaviors that are given the imprimatur of medical illness.

　　　The literature is also replete with divergent theories, approaches and conceptualizations about sexuality in general (D'Emilio & Freedman, 1988) and BDSM sexuality in particular

(Cross & Matheson, 2006) Most psychological theories attempt to explain BDSM from a pathological perspective. Diagnoses include repetition compulsion, anti-social personality disorder, narcissism, depression and disturbances in the ego or super ego.

These notions regarding the ontology of BDSM sexuality remain theoretical with little etiological research offered as proof. Psychiatric articles about BDSM often conflate the object of the behavior as the diagnosis itself, such as in the case of Transvestic Fetishism. Unfounded associations between SM and rape, pedophilia, murder and other crimes are also present throughout the psychiatric literature (Bradford, 2006; Briken, Nika, & Berner, 2001; Briken, Habermann, & al., 2006; Dickey, Nussbaum, & Chevolieau, 2002; Gratzer & Bradford, 1995) although there is no scientific evidence to support commonality or causality between BDSM and criminal or violent behavior. Breslow (1989) notes that the overall lack of conformity among mental health theorists and practitioners with regard to the etiology and ontology of BDSM results in unclear implications for clinical practice with BDSM-identified individuals. If the vast majority of BDSM practitioners are not criminally pathological, then the majority of psychiatric literature on the subject is unhelpful for clinicians working with BDSM-identified clients.

Finally, the continued use of research methods that rely heavily on case-studies (Abdo, Hounie, de Tubino Scanavino, & Miguel, 2001; Bender, 2012; Chirban, 2006; Christian, 2009; Saleh et al., 2004; Southern, 2002; Ueno, Asano, Nushida, & al., 2003) furthers the confusion about BDSM in the field of mental health; explicating in great detail individual cases which can neither be proved or disproved as representative or generalizable. The cases chosen for case-study are most often chosen because they appeal to the authors privately held pre-suppositions and appear to support previously held theories about human sexuality, psycho-dynamics and sadomasochism. The most common feature of the psychological theories found in the literature is

that SM behavior is necessarily the result of pathology – and yet nowhere throughout this vast body of literature is it possible to find any scientific proof that might validate such a conclusion.

The disciplines of psychology and psychiatry have produced only scant amounts of literature that furthers our understanding of discriminatory experiences of individuals who participate in sadism, masochism or fetishistic sexual activity. Most psychiatric and psychological literature dealing with sadomasochism is aimed at describing and defining pathology or deviance (Blos, 1991; W. I. Grossman, 1991; Kernberg, 1991). Very little of this research concerns itself with personal experiences of discrimination. Most of the psychiatric research done is based on theories of human sexuality which are firmly grounded in procreative, heteronormative heuristic assumptions. Sexual expressions which fall outside of these constructions are seen as symptoms of underlying pathology or deviance from normally directed sexual behavior (Breslow, Evans, & Langley, 1986; Breslow, 1989; Lohr & Admas, 1995; Nichols, 2006; Southern, 2002).

There are only three studies comparing psychological functioning between self-identified sadomasochistic practitioners and previously established mental illness trends within the general public: Connolly's (2006) study of psychopathology published in the *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality*, Bienvenu's (2005) study which was presented at the American Sociological Association's annual meeting in 2005, and the more recent study conducted in the Netherlands by Andreas Wismeijer and Marcel van Assen (2013). None of these studies found significant differences in mental health functioning between BDSM practitioners and the general population. In fact, in both the Bienvenu (2005) and Wismeijer and van Assen (2013) study, it was found that those BDSM practitioners who identified as dominant had less psychological distress compared to non-BDSM populations.

Connolly's (2006) study utilized a battery of seven (7) psychometric tests designed to measure psychopathology. Thirty-two self-identified BDSM practitioners participated. The sample's scores for clinical psychopathology and severe personality pathology were comparable to test norms and to DSM-IV-TR estimates for the general population. Measures for depression, anxiety, obsessive-compulsion, psychological sadism, psychological masochism, and PTSD were examined.

The Bienvenu (2005) study was a slightly less exhaustive study in terms of instruments used to measure mental health functioning, although it did have over 1,300 participants. The study used a twelve-item measurement called the Global Health Questionnaire (GHQ). The questionnaire was administered via the internet to self-identified BDSM practitioners recruited through BDSM social organizations. The results of 1,347 participants scores on the GHQ were compared to published results from other populations. Findings from this study include lower mental health morbidity rates, overall, within the BDSM population; no significant correlation between mental health morbidity rates and sexual orientation; and a slight, though statistically significant, correlation between SM role practice (submissive vs. dominant) and likelihood of "psychological distress"; with submissives reporting slightly higher levels and dominants reporting slightly lower levels (Bienvenu, 2005).

The Wismeijer and van Assen (2013) study utilized the NEO Five-Factor Inventory (Widiger & Costa, 2013) as a basis for assessing personality and social functioning of study participants. The results suggested favorable psychological characteristics of the BDSM cohort. The statistically significant results of this study found that BDSM participants were less neurotic, more extraverted, possess a greater openness to new experiences, more conscientious, better able to handle rejection, and had a higher over-all sense of subjective well-being then non-BDSM

participants. Here, as in the Bienvenu study, self-identified submissives had slightly lower (less favorable) scores compared to those in the dominant cohort.

Other writers have also sought to utilize a non-pathological lens in understanding sadomasochism. Charles Moser (1988; 1992; 1993; 1998; Moser & Madeson, 1999; Moser & Kleinplatz, 2005; M. Weinberg, Williams, & Moser, 1984) has done extensive research within the BDSM community and published his findings using both a medical and sociological lens. He finds no essential connection between sadomasochism and pathology. Viewing BDSM from a sociological standpoint Moser has written several ethnographic pieces (1987; 1993; Moser & Madeson, 1996). Moser's more recent work is grounded in psychological and medical theory and has argued for the removal of paraphilias from the DSM-IV-TR (Moser, 2001; Moser & Kleinplatz, 2005), as well as from the DSM-V (Shindel & Moser, 2011). Moser and Kleinplatz, writing together, "suggest that the construct of the Paraphilias is ambiguous and does not describe a diagnosable, distinct mental disorder" (2005, p. 94). Their article makes a firm argument that the behaviors listed in the Paraphilia section are far from an exhaustive list of unusual sexual impulses. The idea that the Paraphilia section of the DSM-V accurately or fully lists non-normative sexual behavior is false and empirically unfounded (Tuch, 2010). As well, they also argue that a list of non-normative sexual behaviors would be highly subjective and deeply embedded in socio-cultural contexts, and that no empirical research exists to show a connection between particular sexual behaviors and an identifiable and discreet mental illness. The circular logic used to classify specific behaviors as mental illness is revealed in both Moser's earlier article and his later work with Kleinplatz. The authors compare the diagnosis found in the Paraphilia section of the DSM to that of obsessive compulsive disorders noting that there is no distinction made between excessive hand-washing and other forms of obsessive or

compulsive behavior. Further, Cross and Matheson (2006) have shown that the giving and receiving of pain, which is integral to the definition of sadomasochism in the DSM-IV-TR and continued into the definitions found in the DSM-V, was not the most salient relational feature among self-identified BDSM practitioners. Instead, seeking and creating power differentials within the relationship was the common denominator among the sample.

Reiersol & Skeid (2006) have made similar arguments for the removal of the paraphilias from the ICD-10 (WHO, 1992). They note as well that a common defense of maintaining fetishism or sadomasochism is that the diagnosis can only be made if the individual displays "clinically significant distress" (WHO, 1992). In response, they point out that such distress may well exist for individuals if "the kind of sex they prefer is frowned upon, stigmatized or subject to diagnosis." (Reiersol & Skeid, 2006, p. 247).

Clinical work with clients who prefer BDSM sexual expression is impacted by faulty assumptions underpinning the DSM-V and ICD diagnosis. Utilizing a socio-cultural construct such as normative vs. non-normative sexual behaviors as the basis for diagnosing a mental illness also allows for the therapists' own personal socio-cultural values and constructs to guide diagnostic decisions. Kolmes (2006; 2003) has cited several types of negative therapist behaviors utilized in working with BDSM clients: pressuring a client to give up BDSM practices, confusing BDSM with abuse, having the client educate therapist about BDSM, assumptions that abuse is usually the 'cause' of interest in BDSM, therapists misrepresenting their knowledge of BDSM practices.

Sociological and Anthropological Theorizing

Early Foundations. The disciplines of sociology and anthropology have amassed the most objectively descriptive explorations into the phenomenon of sadomasochism and fetishistic

sex. These disciplines also have the longest history of looking at sexual behavior, from a descriptive, rather than judgmental perspective, though the earlier work can certainly be seen as less sympathetic. One of the earliest scientific writers to explore BDSM and fetishes in human sexuality was Havelock Ellis (1897; 1909; 1926). Like Krafft-Ebing who is discussed above, Ellis was trained as a physician, but he explored the topic from an historical vantage point, citing ancient texts, often verses of songs, as proof of early sadomasochistic practices (Ellis, 1942). While both Krafft-Ebing (1886) and Freud (1962) saw sadomasochism as perversion or pathology resulting from thwarted natural instincts, Ellis (1897) was the first to clearly state that while the practice of sadomasochism appears to be about the infliction or receiving of pain (and, in his terms, violence), it was experienced as pleasure. He made a clear distinction between the practice of BDSM and cruelty; further pointing out that pain, on its own, was not something that sadists or masochists sought out; that the infliction or receiving of pain during sexual activity was an entirely different experience than pain occurring in every-day life. Ellis also spent a good deal of time researching examples from literature and the arts which showed that BDSM was a behavior that has existed throughout time and many different cultures; often citing ancient, medieval, and renaissance texts, poems, religious rituals, songs and works of art (Ellis, 1942). Ellis argued that sadomasochistic expressions in sexuality are "pre-cultural" (Crozier, 2004).

Throughout these early sociological works on sexual behavior BDSM is often understood as a natural aspect, or at least a naturally occurring phenom, of human sexuality (Gebhard, 1969). While most sociological works steer clear of moral theorizing about the value of such behavior, they firmly establish the existence of BDSM across varied cultures and historical epochs. Further, Gebhard's work chronicled the existence of BDSM not only across cultures and times, but he also noted the co-occurrence of pain during sexual intercourse in other species.

Referencing other mammals known to utilize pain during coitus, Gebhard theorized that the existence of sadomasochistic impulses was predetermined both phylogenetically and culturally (Gebhard, 1969). Kinsey (1948) also noted that scratching, biting, and hitting were normative aspects of sexual relations.

Gebhard (1969) was not surprised by the phenomenon of BDSM given that "human social organization is generally based on a dominance-submissiveness relationship, a peck-order" (Gebhard, in T. Weinberg & Kamel, 1983, p. 38). More modern writers have also explored ways in which BDSM can be seen as a sexually-charged re-enactment of existing and accepted every-day sadomasochistic social dynamics (Chancer, 1992). Socio-historical links have also been established, both by Gebhard and others (Porter & Teich, 1994) between ecstasy and pain, and between pain and personal growth. In both religious and non-religious cultural traditions pain is seen as "good for the soul" (Porter & Teich, 1994, p. 51).

In some disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and queer theory, there is an interest in viewing the phenomenon of BDSM through a variety of theoretical and analytic lenses that is lacking in the social work literature. Weinberg (1978; 1983; 1984; 1980) has been influential in disseminating sociological and anthropological research on BDSM; "Sadism and Masochism Sociological Perspectives" (Weinberg, 1978) entreats readers to consider "Frame analysis, role theory, interactionist, phenomenological, and ethnomethodological perspectives" as ways of gaining more "insight into the world of sadists and masochists." (Weinberg & Kamel, 1983, p. 100).

Post-structuralism Theorists. Post-structuralist sociological theorists look beyond simple hierarchies and power differentials and explore the relational dynamics in society which produce such hierarchies and power. The study of sexuality has been a prime location for the application

of social constructionist thought (Butler, 1986; Foucault, 1978; Rubin, 1984; Weeks, 1977a). A central principle of social construction is the reciprocal relationship between socio-cultural institutions and ways of understanding, and individual-level perceptions, frameworks and hegemonies. Meanings, which become attached to symbols of language, behavior, and beliefs, are not only shared between the socio-cultural institutions which legitimize them and the individuals who practice them in their daily lives, but such meanings are born from, altered by or maintained through the constant inter-relatedness of individuals and socio-cultural institutions (Payne, 2005).

Gayle Rubin is a cultural anthropologist whose work has focused on gender and sexuality, as well as specific sexual populations, urban settings, sexology, and racial taxonomies. She has produced multiple groundbreaking works, but is perhaps best known for her two essays, "The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex" (1975), and "Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality" (1984). While formally trained as an anthropologist, Rubin draws on theory and research from Sociology, Psychology, Marxism, Economics, Political Science and Urban Studies. In "The Traffic in Women" Rubin is exploring ways in which we can theorize gender as the outcome of a cultural relationship between men and women, rather than the sum of certain behaviors and attributes biologically and culturally assigned to sex. Through her thesis she raised feminist rhetoric to a relational plane, exposing dynamic relational aspects which underpin the cultural construction of gender. In doing so, she makes one of the strongest arguments yet that gender is almost entirely removed from something which is biologically essential. Seeing that Marxism fell short when applied to feminist thought, yet looking to a Marxist framework of production, "The Traffic in Women" explains the social

relations underpinning the production of gender and why this production appears destined to hold women in lower social positions relative to men.

Rubin next turned her attention to the cultural production of the distinctions between valued sexual behaviors and stigmatized sexual behaviors (Rubin, 1984). Utilizing both Foucault's and Levi-Strauss' work which established sexual behavior as a social construction, divorced from biological needs (a similar argument to the earlier *Traffic*), Rubin asks why, then, should certain behaviors be suspect while others are valorized? Rubin warns that it is important to remain focused on some of the very real ways in which sex/sexuality is policed, and how certain sexual communities are marginalized through enforcement of what she refers to as the "moral sex hierarchy". Rubin's ideas go far beyond the notion of a simple social-sexual hierarchy with heterosexuality on top, and homosexuality on the bottom (Halberstam, 1998). Rubin's work details the interwoven nature of sex, gender, sexuality, and behavior with morality, politics, and economy. Perhaps most notable for sexologists are her graphic depictions of these ideas showing promoted sexual behaviors in relation to culturally abhorrent behaviors (see figures 1 and 2) which first appeared in "Thinking Sex".

The charmed circle:
Good, Normal, Natural,
Blessed Sexuality

Heterosexual
Married
Monogamous
Procreative
Non-commercial
In pairs
In a relationship
Same generation
In private
No pornography
Bodies only
Vanilla

Homosexual

S M

In sin

With manufactured objects

Heterosexual

Married

Monogamous

Promiscuous

Vanilla

Bodies only

Procreative

Non-procreative

Pornography

No pornography

Free

At home

Same generation

In a relationship

Coupled

For money

In the park

Cross-generational

Casual

Alone or in groups

The outer limits:
Bad, Abnormal,
Unnatural,
Damned Sexuality

Homosexual
Unmarried
Promiscuous
Non-procreative
Commercial
Alone or in groups
Casual
Cross-generational
In public
Pornography
With manufactured objects
Sadomasochistic

Figure 1 - The Sex Hierarchy: the charmed circle vs. the outer limits. (Rubin, 1984)
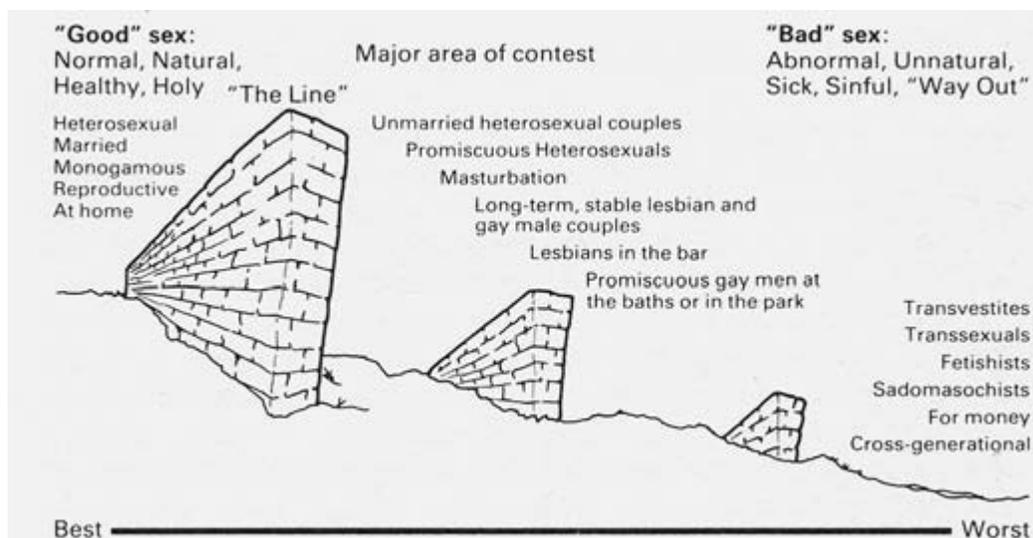
Figure 2 - The sex hierarchy: the struggle over where to draw the line. (Rubin, 1984)

Jeffrey Weeks (2005) described the contributions made by early social constructionists working in sociology, anthropology, history and other fields of social inquiry, during the 1960's, 70's, and 80's in the field of human sexuality by enumerating the important questions that came out of that discourse:

> First, how is sexuality shaped, how is it articulated with economic, social, and political structures, and how, in a phrase, has it been invented? Second, how has the domain of sexuality achieved such a critical organizing and symbolic significance in Western culture, and why do we think it is so important? Third, what role should we assign class divisions and patterns of male domination and racism, how is sex gendered and made hierarchical, and what is the relationship between sex and power? Coursing through each of these questions is a recurrent preoccupation: if sexuality is constructed by human agency, to what extent can it be changed? (Weeks, 2005, p. 190)

Weeks (1977a) original work, published a year before an English translation of Foucault's *The History of Sexuality* (1978) was published, is historical in structure but interweaves social, political, psychological and legal discourse from the 19th century forward to show how all these forces were at play in the construction of the psycho-social sexual identity which came to be recognized as homosexual. Weeks (1981) next explored the interwoven nature

of gender, class, and sexuality in the production of socio-cultural hegemonies of femininity, domesticity, and sexual identity.

Both books provide clinical applications of what Foucault was concurrently writing about (in *The History of Sexuality,* [1978]) in a more philosophical way. Foucault (1978) argued that a question more important than the biological underpinnings of sexuality, and more important than the understanding of its use as pleasure, was the question of how sex and sexuality came to occupy such a powerful and privileged place in our current cultural constructs; that it has come to be seen as somehow an essential essence of who we are as individuals; and occupies a crucial aspect of what we consider personal identity.

Post-structuralist ideas of personal identity and their relationship to the social construction of cultural hegemonies is most clearly embodied in the work of Judith Butler (1986; 1987; 1991; 1994; 1999a; 1999b; 2001). Butler is as inscrutable as Foucault, yet both have written seminal works which have defined the current post-modern, post-structuralist landscape in the theorizing of modern sexuality, with Butler's contribution located firmly within feminism, gender and queer studies. One of Butler's great contributions has been her thinking around the idea of performativity. Building on Foucault's ideas about language and power, Butler explores gender through a performative lens and explains the "reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains" (Butler, 1993, p. 2). Through performativity we create social categories, understandings, rules, and ultimately individual behavior which conforms to social norms. In the process we have created a shared language and hegemonic framework with which various social phenomena are viewed. BDSM is one of these phenomena.

Conclusion

BDSM is distinguishable from violence, abuse and coercion (Moser & Madeson, 1996).

While the term itself is relatively modern, BDSM-related themes and activities appear in human

sexuality across many cultures and times (Ellis, 1897; 1926). Since the earliest sexologists

BDSM has been identified as part of the great variety of human sexual expressions; on the one

hand normalizing the presence of such behavior, and on the other pathologizing and medicalizing

it (Krafft-Ebing, 1886). Jurisprudence on the subject is minimal and has yet to establish a legal

precedent for viewing BDSM as a personal identity with any legal standing, either through

discourse on citizenship, or rights applications (Eskridge & Hunter, 2004; Pa, 2001). BDSM

activity can be used against individuals who participate in it in a variety of legal scenarios;

divorce, child-custody arguments, adoptions, housing discrimination, and job-discrimination

(Wright, 2006). BDSM behavior in some instances is a punishable crime when seen by the state

as assault (Langdridge, 2006; White, 2006).

Psychological theorizing has focused primarily on forensic and single case studies

(Breslow, 1989). Research is generally framed in heteronormative constructs, taking as a given

that the presence of BDSM behavior in an individual's life denotes underlying psychopathology.

Only two studies are available (Bienvenu, 2005; Connolly, 2006) which compared the mental

health functioning of BDSM-identified individuals with the general population, both of which

found little to no difference. No psychological studies exist looking at the presence, nature, or

impact of discrimination on the lives of BDSM practitioners.

Finally, the review of sociological research into BDSM communities and constituents

allows us to trace the shift from structuralist to post-structuralist thinking with regards to

sexuality. Sociologists and queer theorists have significantly enhanced our ability to view sexual

behavior outside of a naturalistic or moralistic lens (Butler, 1999a; Califia, 1994; Foucault, 1978; Rubin, 1984; Weeks, 1981). We can now speak of the "invention" of sexual identities (Katz, 1995), rooting our understanding of the meanings of BDSM behaviors within a socially constructed context.

Chapter III: A Review of the Literature on Discrimination

Stereotyping, Prejudice, and Discrimination

  Theories of Discrimination. This chapter will review some of the theoretical building blocks of stereotyping, prejudice, stigma, discrimination and inter-group violence. It will then go on to look more specifically at literature which utilizes these theories to examine instances of discrimination and violence perpetrated against sexual minorities. Finally, the chapter will review sources of prevalence data regarding discrimination violence towards sexual minorities, and it will look at the three extent surveys of discrimination and violence perpetrated against BDSM-identified individuals and groups.

  Viewed in a broad sense, the study of discrimination includes the concepts of stereotyping, prejudice, stigma, deviance, intergroup relations and interpersonal dis/empowerment. In a practical sense there are two levels on which discrimination is played out: the individual/interpersonal and the social/institutional. On the individual level, an individual or group is stigmatized when it is believed to have attributes that are viewed as deviant or undesirable. Within the individual framework we are often talking about discrimination as a verb, referring to derogatory or destructive actions taken against individuals who are perceived to embody some stigmatized attribute. Individual actions of discrimination are taken out of a belief that the stigma displayed by the individual is a negative force in society and worthy of attack.

  Micro aggression is one phenomenon occurring at the individual level, which has received attention over the last few decades. First introduced by Pierce (1970), micro aggressions are usually brief, everyday experiences which reinforce the devalued status of subordinated or stigmatized groups. Often hegemonic in nature, micro aggressions can occur with or without awareness by either the aggressor or the target (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000), however this

does not diminish the negative impact of such occurrences. Micro aggressions have been used to further our understanding of stigma, discrimination, and aggression occurring on the individual level within the contexts of race (Constantine, 2007; Sue et al., 2007), immigration (Jimenez-Castellanos & Gonzalez, 2012), sexual orientation (Parrott, 2008), and even medical diagnosis (Heintz, DeMucha, Deguzman, & Softa, 2013).

On an institutional or societal level, beliefs about specific stigmata or forms of deviance become codified into organizational policies, government or institutional regulations and laws; they appear in market structures, can be seen in real estate and other societal-spatial dynamics; and in generalized social attitudes, value structures and power hierarchies. Here discrimination is seen not so much as an action, but as an atmosphere or environment. While individual discrimination and institutionalized discrimination exist independently of each other, they are also understood to reinforce each other, one constantly providing the other with validity and justification for the continued discrimination.

The study of discrimination has a long history. In the early part of the 20th century writers such as Kurt Lewin (1935; 1938; 1951; 1964), and G.W. Allport (1948; 1951; 1952; 1954; 1955) explored ways in which particular social groups became disadvantaged. Through the use of interactionist theories popular at the time, writings on discrimination explored the idea that prejudice does not emanate from discrimination, but rather the other way around, that prejudiced thoughts lead an individual to ascribe negative attributes, and the concomitant stigma, to those perceived to be members of an "out-group." Prejudice is primarily an attitude associated with the thoughts and feelings of people who discriminate, and while it is clear that those who are discriminated against may also hold their own prejudices, the present study data can do little to shed light on what was actually in the mind of the perpetrators.

Group Prejudice, Stigma and Discrimination. Mid-twentieth century sociological work on prejudice developed theoretical frameworks for examining prejudice and discrimination which helped distinguish prejudicial attitudes, beliefs and behaviors (Maluso, 1995). Allport (1954) made significant contributions to these sociological frames, although it was primarily focused on tensions between Christians and Jews. He was also one of the earliest researchers to suggest a continuum of interpersonal discrimination ranging from avoidance/rejection to physical attack (and in the case of his subjects, genocide) (Allport, 1951).

The early works of Lewin and Allport were soon added to by others interested in how prejudice and discrimination form 'out-groups' and the complex interpersonal and inter-social interactions that result. Sociological discussion moved the investigation of stigma and deviance from one in which the majority of psychologists and sociologists explored ways in which stigma and deviance were created and used by various in-groups and ultimately resulted in the formation of out-groups; to one in which the central questions were about how the individual or group manages the stigma of being on the 'out-group' side of things. Sociologists began exploring the shape of the boundaries (and the relational dynamics) between normalcy and deviance; the discourse of deviance. They were asking, in effect, not only how the individual, group, or society creates stigma, but how does it *respond* to it. Goffman (1963) and Schur (1965) further cemented the notion that for a personal attribute to be considered stigmatizing, such a belief needed to be held generally by the society in which that individual exists – i.e., it must exist on a group level.

Personal opinion differs from stigma in that personal opinion alone does not carry sufficient social capital to create social group oppression. In this way a particular identity does not become stigmatized unless such stigma exists on a group level and there is stigma present at a societal level aimed at the entire group. A large part of these ideas came out of framing and

cognition theory, in which social scientists look for the shared frames of reference between people which speeds, and narrows, communication. Frames are basically collections of stereotypes and anecdotes which are fairly commonly held and which individuals use to make sense of, order, and respond to their experiences and their interactions with others (Goffman, 1974).

The relationship between in-groups and out-groups is an important concept for contextualizing the survey data which deals with experiences of discrimination. The concepts of 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' is one way of creating a framework for viewing the dynamics of oppression. Such dynamics include the practices of discrimination, harassment and violence as ways in which the dominant in-group continues to maintain power and simultaneously disempower the out-group. The study of in-group/out-group social dynamics can be traced back to work done at the beginning of the twentieth century by W.G. Sumner, who coined the term "ethnocentrism" (Sumner, 1906), shortly after the usage of the term "ethnocentric" had been established by William McGee (1900).[3]

While all theorists discussed so far have produced seminal works in the area of stigma and prejudice, there have also been social psychologists looking at stigma as it relates to prejudice on a macro-social level. This body of work helps contextualize the individual behavior within a broader social context. Within a dialectical framework of understanding each gives meaning to the other; the individual's actions, while expressing some aspect of the socio-cultural context in which they are taking place, also add to the social constructions that are constantly shifting, growing, receding and changing shape. To understand discriminatory action it is necessary to understand the social structures which are both fed by, and feed such actions.

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[3] Tangentially: Sumner's use of the terms "we-group" and "others-group" (p. 12-13) can probably be understood as the precursors to today's more universally utilized 'in-group' and 'out-group'.

The research in inter-group dynamics on a social level has had broad application to social problems, from the large-scale and seemingly intractable issues of genocide and international wars (Cobban, 2005; Sik Hung, 2005; Spini, Elcheroth, & Fasel, 2008) to the less global and more every-day occurrences of employment discrimination (Lalonde, Stroink, & Aleem, 2002; Pettigrew, 1998; Travis, 2012; Von Hippel, 2006). For a direct application of intergroup relational theory one can look to the work of Sidanius and Pratto who explore intergroup dynamics on the societal level, looking at specific ways in which social groups -- divided and defined by levels of social power and social control -- interact with each other (Hegarty & Pratto, 2004; Lee, Pratto, & Li, 2007; Pratto et al., 2000; Pratto, Glasford, & Hegarty, 2006; Sidanius, 2000; Sidanius, van Laar, Levin, & Sinclair, 2003; Sidanius, Henry, Pratto, & Levin, 2004; Sidanius, Haley, Molina, & Pratto, 2007).

Individual Prejudice, Stigma and Discrimination. Beyond the development and application of theories regarding inter-group discrimination on a group level, there has also been much research and theorizing done regarding discrimination on an individual level. Bourhis suggests that interpersonal discrimination should be evaluated through "interindividual analysis" rather than intergroup analysis (Bourhis, 1994). His argument is that actual discrimination is almost always carried out by one individual acting towards another. While power relationships which are institutionalized on a social level play a role in perpetuating discriminatory experiences, there is a personal – and often self-image related – meaning that is being enacted on the interindividual level. The language is provocative and suggests a usefulness to clinical social work that may be lacking in the broader, intergroup theories. Bourhis specifically looks at immigration issues and issues of individual identity. One very interesting finding that he has shown is individuals report fewer experiences of discrimination than the amount they assume

occurs to other members of their ethnic or cultural minority group. This implies that members of minority social groups often feel that the stigma attached to the group is greater than the stigma they feel they must deal with on an interpersonal level.

Others have also explored how prejudice and discrimination are played out on an individual level, sometimes with regard to how the acting out of discriminatory practices against a member of a perceived "other" group is related to the discriminating individual's sense of belonging to the "in-group" (Adorno, 1950; Allport, 1954). Still others have taken a more psychodynamic lens and applied it to perpetrators of discrimination in an attempt to explain how psycho-dynamic conflicts within an individual can lead to discriminatory behavior and deeply held prejudices (Bettelheim & Janowitz, 1950). These works have developed the idea of the authoritarian personality, who employs discriminatory attitudes as a sort of psychic defense mechanism.

Another individual-level theory that provides yet another way of understanding the psychological underpinnings of discriminatory actions is the mentalization of stereotypes and their connection to the production of stigma. Link (2001; 1987), has shown that once a person is seen to carry a particular social label individuals will then utilize a stereotype attached to that label to ascribe the attributes associated with the stereotype to the individual carrying the label. In the case of stereotypes that carry negative attributes stigma is produced. Paul (1998) has written on the psychological aspects of bias and prejudice. Her work describes how presumed characteristics of the groups an individual is purported to represent become the basis for the way the individual is treated. In other words, in many social settings, one person may respond to another based on the attributes (both negative and positive) which have been ascribed to the

group that the individual is presumed to belong to. If such a group is culturally or socially devalued, as is the case with BDSM, than the individual is treated accordingly.

There is growing evidence from the field of neuroscience that ingroup/outgroup dynamics produce negative neuro-affective responses as well. Shkurko (2013) has shown that one area of the anterior cingulate cortex is associated with self-referential thinking about ingroups, while a different area of the anterior cingulate cortex is associated with emotions felt towards outgroups. Derks, Inzlicht, & Kang (2008) have reviewed social neuroscience research which looks at the experience of stigma from the target's side, which they refer to as "stereotype threat" (Derks et al., 2008, p. 164). They find that the available neuroscience research upholds psychological understandings of the negative emotional and cognitive impacts of stigma and stereotyping.

The Relationship of Prejudice to Discrimination. Early on in the studies of social psychology, a distinction was made between prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice, along with biases and stereotyping, were seen as attitudes and belief or thought systems, whereas discrimination refers to an action taken on the part of an individual (LaPiere, 1934). Such actions can be overt or covert, aggressive or passive. In fact the perpetrator may be quite conscious of the discriminatory action they are taking, or they may not be. In the case of deeply held cultural or social beliefs regarding the mental health or moral accountability of individuals participating in BDSM, many perpetrators of discrimination would not consider themselves to be perpetrating an unfair discrimination, but rather they would tend to see their actions as demonstrating good judgment about a person's moral character or mental health status.

Another concept of discrimination and its antecedents which has emanated from within the field of social psychology is that of applying an attribution-value model to help understand

the prejudices which underlie discrimination, particularly discrimination which remains socially acceptable, such as in the case of BDSM. Crandall, et al. (2001) utilized an attribution-value model to help understand anti-fat attitudes.

These concepts are raised to provide context for understanding the survey data. The survey sought to collect and quantify experiences of identity and discrimination. Its analysis cannot help to build theory (whether that theory is related to social-psychological, personality-psychological or stigma-related phenomena) but it can add to our knowledge through the application of existing discrimination theory to this very particular sub-set of sexual minority individuals. As well, the theoretical knowledge base utilized in contextualizing experiences of stigma and discrimination becomes very important in understanding the ways in which interpretation of the data may be made.

The use of the term discrimination in this project is defined as specific harmful acts, perpetrated against individuals as a result of their having been identified by the perpetrator as belonging to a socially stigmatized group. Such acts may range from harmful to the persons emotional integrity or their bodily integrity, the acts may be legal or illegal, they may be verbal, physical or structural (cases in which the perpetrator utilizes social institutions such as the law to harm, control or interfere with the individuals life and pursuit of goals). The survey collected information from individuals who saw themselves as victims of such acts as well as information about what those acts were; the assumption underneath this data collection is that the victims, in self-identifying, are left as the arbiters of what is, and what is not discrimination. Any analysis of the survey data will be done utilizing the dominant theories of discrimination, and in particular, theories applicable to sexuality-based discrimination.

Literature on Quantitative Surveys of Discrimination of Sexual Minorities

    BDSM as a Sexual Minority. Having established a social construction context for our discussion of quantitative surveys of discrimination, we must note that it would be impossible to encapsulate the full breadth and depth of academic literature that exists with regards to interpersonal and intergroup discrimination within this review. While surveys of discrimination and bias-related violence offer insight and might add to the knowledge base of the particular phenomenon we are looking at (BDSM-related discrimination), what is most relevant to this study are the studies that look at discrimination and violence that occurs against sexual minorities.

    The growing BDSM subculture, that will be further elaborated upon in the next chapter, attests to the fact that many people who enjoy BDSM activities are also involved in community activities which are organized around the shared interest in BDSM. The formation of social organizations, both small and large, along with the growing political organizing, increases the dialectic discourse between individual and group; continually enhancing and enlarging the conceptualization of a BDSM identity and community (Chaline, 2010; Langdridge & Butt, 2004). The intricacies of self-identification, group-identification and labels are complex and there is not room here to even attempt an examination of such a complicated matrix of meanings and labels with regard to this cohort, but in consideration of the existence of a clearly present and organized community, the use of a common nomenclature, and the ability of this community to begin to organize political and social capital, it stands to reason that they be viewed as a sexual minority in their own right (Deverell & Prout, 1999; Langdridge, 2006).

    However the majority of other academic research has been organized around an understanding of sexual minorities as being those individuals who identify as gay-men, lesbians,

occasionally bisexuals and more recently 'men-who-have-sex-with-men' (MSM) and 'women-who-have-sex-with-women' (WSW). Not only does this reinforce the social construction of sexual-identity as centered around a heterosexual/homosexual binary but it attaches the notion of sexuality, and hence sexual subjectivity to something defined by the gender of the individuals involved (both subject and object).

Sexual subjectivity is a term that is frequently used in the social sciences to encompass ideas about identity (labels) as well as affect and the psychological sense of 'self'. Tolman (2002, pp. 5-6) explains sexual subjectivity as "a person's experience of herself as a sexual being, who feels entitled to sexual pleasure and sexual safety, who makes active sexual choices, and who has an identity as a sexual being." Because an individual's sexual subjectivity, their sexual self, with regard to BDSM is structured differently than LGBT subjectivity, it inhibits our ability to extrapolate information from these other studies. This, of course, provides another reason that the undertaking of an analysis of any data that describes the experiences specifically of a BDSM sexual minority is so important. For this reason the next section will explore major trends in the research of discrimination experiences within the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual communities.

BDSM and LGB: Similarities and Differences. There is a very rich collection of studies which have been carried out over a number of decades which describe the experiences of lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (LGB) with regards to their experiences of discrimination and violence (Herek, 1989; 1998; 2007b). While not entirely the same, there are some similarities between a LGB cohort and a BDSM cohort. The most obvious similarity is that both center on sexual behavior and expressions. We can see the similarity between studies of LGB experiences of discrimination and BDSM experiences of discrimination in that the perpetrators are reacting to

something they find objectionable about perceived or actual sexual expressions of the individuals. There is a difference in a particular aspect of perpetrator motivation, however, in the fact that often perpetrators of LGB-based discrimination and violence are also reacting to the perceived transgressions of stereotyped gender roles as well as perceived sexual object choice and identity (Herek, 2007a).

Another similarity between the LGB and BDSM related discrimination and violence is that individuals at risk of such discrimination and violence can often hide the traits that bring about the underlying stigma that provokes such discrimination and violence. This makes LGB and other sexuality related discrimination very different from racial discrimination in which the victim rarely has the opportunity to be 'closeted' about their race. Heterosexually identified BDSM individuals can retain an even higher level of privacy about their sexual lives than LGB and LGB/BDSM identified individuals if identification as part of the stigmatized group (BDSM) is only based on behavior or participation in actual BDSM activities. The reason for this is quite simple: there are many social structures, institutions and customs in which an individual is called upon to overtly or covertly share information about their life partners (assuming that one's life partner is also their sexual partner). Referring to a partner in conversation, naming a beneficiary for an insurance policy, taking advantage of domestic partner benefits at work or from the state, informing medical personnel of next-of-kin; all of these instances can "out" a lesbian or gay man. Indeed, for LGB individuals the mere mentioning of their partner's name in casual conversation can reveal their stigmatized social status. In order to have ones' association with BDSM revealed, one must reveal the behavioral details of one's sex life and there are far fewer social situations in which this is seen as expected or appropriate.

Another obvious similarity, although one which is rapidly changing, is the criminalization and lack of sexual citizenship offered both gay and lesbian persons and BDSM-identified individuals. While the Lawrence decision of the United States Supreme Court (Lawrence v. Texas, (02-102) 539 U.S. 558, 2003) has made it unlikely that any state law banning sodomy would stand juridical review, there are still many countries around the world that outlaw homosexual behavior, not to mention those nations like the United States who curtail immigration status, refuse civil protections or create second class citizenship through various legislative orders or government policies involving age of consent, marriage, financial regulations, benefits, entitlements, and tax structures. BDSM, as well, remains a criminalized activity. This was demonstrated by the Lasky case in Great Britain, which appealed all the way to the European Court of Human Rights, but lost (Laskey v. United Kingdom, 1997-I Eur. Ct. H.R. 120, 1997). In that particular case, both the 'bottoms' and the 'tops' involved in BDSM activity were arrested and tried. The tops, as one can guess, for physical assault, and the bottoms, for 'aiding and abetting' their own assaults. Many of the men arrested wound up serving a substantial amount of jail time.

Finally, in terms of similarities, both BDSM and same-sex sexual relations are often viewed as 'one-and-the-same' by social and political conservatives as well as religious fundamentalists (T. Egan, 1992; Greenfield, 1994; Seesholtz, 2008). They are nearly equal in their transgression of conservative hegemonic sexual ideology. While these arguments are rarely heard from centrist or liberal voices, they are made frequently and strongly by the social, cultural and political right, and play a strong role in shaping the public discourse on the subject; to allow homosexuality to be seen as non-deviant is to open a path to lifting all sexual prohibitions including pedophilia, bestiality and sadomasochism. Indeed, this was actually one of the

arguments put forward in the dissenting opinion written by Justice Scalia of the Supreme Court in the Lawrence decision (Lawrence v. Texas, (02-102) 539 U.S. 558, 2003, dissenting opinion).

The first difference between BDSM and LGB identities as subjugated expression is that there is more data available regarding discrimination experiences of LGB persons. A search of Academic Search Complete, for all years, using 'LGBT discrimination' returned 171 results (retrieved March 21st, 2014). A search in Academic Search Complete, for all years, using 'BDSM discrimination' returned only three (3) results (retrieved March 21st, 2014): Wright's *Discrimination of SM-Identified Individuals* (2006), Ridinger's *Negotiating Limits: the legal status of SM in the United States* (2006), and Sosa's *Beau Travail (1998) and Judith Butler* (2011).

A second difference arises when we consider the intersectional aspects of human sexuality. As Bowleg (2008) points out an individuals' sense of their own racial, cultural, gender, and sexual expression creates a multifaceted subjective self. Various aspects of who we are impact, in different ways, our experiences and reactions, at different times and in different situations.

A third difference is that LGB-related discrimination and violence takes place within a society that has begun to recognize the validity of rights-claims made by the LGB community. President Obama repeatedly acknowledged gay men and lesbians during several crucial campaign speeches as well as his inaugural address and immediately put issues of civil unions, healthcare and the dismantling of the military's "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy on the White House website, http://www.whitehouse.gov/agenda/civil_rights/ (Ambinder, 2009)(Ambinder, 2009). BDSM has no such nationally recognized agenda. In comparison BDSM remains far underground. One very obvious sign of just how underground is the number of 'scene-names' or

monikers used instead of real names for conference presentations, political organizing, social clubs, etc., that take place in the BDSM community. Very few individuals within the BDSM community are willing to use their legal names for fear of being negatively associated with a stigmatized group (private communication, Susan Wright & Bruce Marcus, February, 2009).

Finally, BDSM is still technically a diagnosis in the DSM-V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013, pp. 694-697). It is listed under paraphilias and can be diagnosed as "Sexual Masochism" or "Sexual Sadism", using codes 302.83 or 302.84 respectively. Other sexual behaviors that fall under the BDSM umbrella can also be diagnosed such as 302.4, Exhibitionism; 302.81, Fetishism; 302.82, Voyeurism; 302.89, Frotteurism; or 302.9, Paraphilia Not Otherwise Specified. Homosexuality, on the other hand, was 'down-graded' in the DSM in 1974 to "Ego-dystonic Homosexuality", which appeared in the DSM-III, and eventually dropped entirely as a diagnosis with the publication of the DSM-III-R (Kutchins & Kirk, 1997).

Significant LGBT Discrimination Research. LGBT-related discrimination, harassment, violence has been extensively written about. D'Augelli's work (1989a; 1989b; 1992; 1998; 2002; 2006) looks at the developmental ramifications from exposure to discrimination and stigma (D'Augelli, 1998). His studies have primarily looked at experiences of college students and LGBT youth and their experiences with LGB-related harassment (D'Augelli, 1992; 2002; 2003), experiences of families with gay children (D'Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 1998; D'Augelli, 2006), or community attitudes towards gay men and lesbians in small or rural communities (D'Augelli, 1989a; 1989b). His work has shown that an experience of stigma, discrimination, harassment, or violence as a result of sexual identity has a chilling effect on victims; often leading to a much greater reluctance to share their identity with others, and the presence of mental health issues later in life. D'Augelli's results have shown that 50% of LGB-

identified youth have experienced multiple verbal assaults, and approximately 7% report

episodes of violence perpetrated against them as a result of their sexual identity. Recently

D'Augelli has co-published several articles that deal with individuals who express themselves in

'gender-variant' ways, looking at the impact on family functioning, harassment and violence and

discriminatory attitudes (A. H. Grossman & D'Augelli, 2006; 2007; Martin & D'Augelli,

2009)(A. H. Grossman & D'Augelli, 2006, 2007; Martin & D'Augelli, 2009).

Similar results regarding anti-gay violence and harassment in the early 90's had been

found at Yale by Herek (1993), where the prevalence of various types of anti-gay harassment and

violence was catalogued. Herek has also documented the extent to which LGB students fear for

their personal safety, make modifications to personal behavior as a result of such fear, and the

correlation to later instances of mental health issues (Herek, 1998; 1999; 2007b; 2009; Herek &

Berrill, 1992).

Other authors have researched aspects of discrimination and how they play out within

particular LGBT cohorts such as LGBT ethnic groups (Diaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne J., & Marin,

2001), LGBT elders (Johnson, Jackson, Arnette, & Koffman, 2005), Native American

LGBT/Two Spirited cohorts (Walters, Simoni, & Horwath, 2001), and younger gay people

(Lampinen et al., 2008; Yarbrough, 2003). Badgett and others have looked at LGBT

discrimination from an economic standpoint, focusing on workplace discrimination (Badgett &

Frank, 2007; Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). Researchers looking specifically at experiences

of harassment and violence among a transgender population are relatively new, but quickly

growing (Brown, 2007; Mizock & Lewis, 2008; Petrosino, 2007; Stotzer, 2008; Witten, 2007).

Institutionalized heterosexism can also be understood as a structural form of

discrimination, producing negative experiences for LGB individuals attempting to operate within

these institutions. Gerald Mallon's work has explored issues of gay men and lesbians adopting children (Mallon, 2004; 2006; 1997a; 2011) and the discrimination that they face, and the lack of attention given to the needs of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth in child welfare and foster care systems (Mallon, 1998a; 1997b; 2000; 2001; 2006) This work addresses the LGBT issues from a programmatic and social policy perspective (Mallon, 1999a; 1999b; 2005; 2006), showing how outcomes for LGB adoptive parents are negatively impacted by institutionalized heterosexism creating unnecessary hurdles, and details the need for institutional changes which address this issue.

Aside from prevalence studies such as those mentioned above, many authors have also attempted to utilize discrimination theories in attempts to explore perpetrators motivations, attitudes and beliefs. These works becomes more about the production of stigma within the minds of perpetrators, then about empirical data regarding the quantity and quality of discriminatory, harassing and violent experiences of victims. There are actually far more studies available about the attitudes of perpetrators than there are general surveys of prevalence of discrimination and violence against sexual minorities (Comstock, 1991). Comstock provides an empirical examination of anti-gay violence in the United States. This is a sociological work, and the empirical data he relied on were all available data from other studies. Comstock has also shown the connections between religious teachings and anti-LBG violence, discrimination, and harassment(Comstock, 1993; 1996; Comstock & Henking, 1997; Comstock, 2001).

The Hate Crimes Statistics Act. The majority of prevalence data relevant to discrimination is collected by local and national Anti-Violence programs and the FBI. From an empirical standpoint this has been highly problematic. The FBI is mandated to collect this information by the Hate Crime Statistics Act (Hate Crimes Statistics Act of 1990). A local anti-

violence program directed at enumerating anti-gay crimes and assisting the victims here in New York created a National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP) more than 10 years ago. The effort has resulted in a positive combination of data collection and collaboration among various local LGBT anti-violence projects across the country. In conjuction with the FBI's annual Hate Crime Statistics Report, numbers from the NCAVP member organizations are collated into a yearly national report (www.ncavp.org). The most recent report for 2009 showed that while the number of reported hate crimes against LGBT persons decreased 12% from the number reported in 2008, the distribution of crimes reported changed, with the "serious" crimes category increasing 46% over the previous year(National Coalition of Anti-Violence Projects, n.d.). Major limitations of such reports, of course, are that the numbers are only reported incidents. The FBI relies on local police precincts for the collection of their data. These reports are therefore subject to the local police officers knowledge of hate crimes law, their attitudes toward the victims, and other factors that might influence their decision to label the individual incident a hate crime or to not do so. While the local anti-violence chapters have a built in mission to count as many incidents as possible as qualifying as a potential hate-crimes, here too definitions and interpretation come into play, and not all incidents that come to the attention of anti-violence projects are actually bias-related. Further, only a small fraction of actual incidents are ever reported to either law enforcement agencies or local anti-violence projects. The extent of underreporting is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate. In the end, while such reporting has been a tremendous success in raising visibility and applying political pressure, they only provide a minimal amount of help in tracking trends, and basically no empirical evidence on which to base prevalence statistics.

Other organizations that continue to attempt to quantify incidents of anti-LGBT discrimination, harassment and violence are the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation – GLAAD (www.glaad.org), the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force – NGLTF (www.thetaskforce.org) and Human Rights Watch (www.hrw.org) which itself produced a comprehensive report on anti-LGBT incidents in U.S. Schools in 2001(Human Rights Watch, 2001). There are also studies in other countries that mirror the work being done here in the United States. A review of recent studies and emerging knowledge in Australia can be found in a book by Justin Healy, *Gay and Lesbian Rights* (2007).

Two Previous Anti-BDSM Surveys

The two studies that are most relevant to the proposed research are the first *Survey of Violence and Discrimination Against Sexual Minorities* and a report done by a group calling itself "Female Trouble" out of Philadelphia. Female Trouble's report, *Violence Against S/M Women within the Lesbian Community,* was never published, but was widely distributed with the BDSM community (Keres, 1994).

Violence Against S/M Women within the Lesbian Community, was done in order to assess the experiences of BDSM-identified lesbians within the lesbian community.[4] The sample size for this study was the smaller of the two, at 539, and also utilized a convenience and snowball sampling technique, making it non-generalizable to a larger population. More than a third of the responses were collected in one place, a meeting of BDSM activists during the 1993 March on Washington for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Rights. Mailings were made to various women's BDSM clubs around the nation explaining the existence and purpose of the survey.

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[4] While the report doesn't reference it specifically, the introduction would appear to allude to the experiences of SM-identified women who had suffered discrimination, harassment and even violence at the Michigan Womyn's Festival.

Advertisements announcing the survey were placed in lesbian erotica journals, as well as the survey itself being printed in the publication "Brat Attack" and the Female Trouble newletter.

The report notes that a total of 539 questionnaires were completed by BDSM-identified lesbians, 56% reported some form of violence, harassment or discrimination at some point in their lifetime, perpetrated within the lesbian community. Thirty percent of the respondents reported some form of discrimination against them from the lesbian community as a result of their BDSM involvement, and 25% reported having been physically assaulted. Of the 367 women who reported that they had been the victim of violence themselves or witnessed others suffering a violent attack only 22% of them reported the incidents. This gives us some context in which to place the prevalence studies based on reported incidents. It also may indicate the extent of stigma felt by individuals within the BDSM community.

The other relevant study, the first *Survey of Violence and Discrimination Against Sexual Minorities* was completed in 1998 by Susan Wright (National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, n.d.b). The results of the original analysis are available from the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom's website.

The survey sought to capture information regarding the demographics of the respondents, the state in which they resided, their employment status, their income level, their age, gender and sexual orientation and race or ethnicity. The survey asked respondents whether they had ever experienced discrimination as a result of being involved in BDSM, offered several possible categories of discrimination for respondents to choose from; asked whether they had ever experienced a violent attack or harassing behavior, again offering categories; and then asked them to choose from a list of various BDSM activities that they believe led to their experiences of discrimination, harassment or violence.

The results of the first *Survey of Violence and Discrimination Against Sexual Minorities* showed that discrimination against BDSM-identified individuals is a significant problem warranting rigorous analysis. Of the 1017 subjects who participated in the first (1998) survey 87% had experienced verbal harassment, 25% had lost a job or job opportunity as a result of their being known to participate in BDSM activities, and another 25% reported being physically assaulted and 19% reported having personal property vandalized. Nearly one-third of the respondents reported that they had been discriminated against either occupationally, socially or through the legal system, and that this discrimination often occurred within child custody cases (Klein & Moser, 2006).

While it is significant that the majority of respondents belonged to a BDSM social organization, which might indicate a number of attributes that may make this particular population either more identifiable to perpetrators, or more sensitive to the possibility of being discriminated against, this conclusion is tempered by the knowledge that, of the 1017 respondents, 72% reported that they do not "freely tell others" about their involvement in BDSM activities. This can be interpreted to mean that close to three-quarters of the survey population was closeted about their BDSM activities.

Chapter IV: Discrimination in the BDSM Community

BDSM and Popular Culture: the Formation of Social Groups and Sexual Identities

Even a casual observer will note that, particularly during the past two decades, the number of pop-culture and media references to BDSM iconography has increased (Weiss, 2006). There has also been an increase in BDSM social groups and BDSM social gatherings; these gatherings have also attracted an increasing number of participants (Wright, 2006). The BDSM community has responded to this growing visibility with education and outreach efforts (National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, 2012).

In 1991 the Leather Archives and Museum was founded in its own building in Chicago for the purpose of "compilation, preservation and maintenance of [the] leather lifestyle…,history, archives and memorabilia for historical, educational and research purposes" (Leather Archives & Museum, n.d., para. 9). The Folsom Street Fair, an annual event created and coordinated by the SM community in San Francisco raised over $350,000 last year to be given away to local charities, and organizers state that attendance is 400,000 people. It is the third largest outdoor fair in California (Folsom Street Events, n.d.). A national organization called the Leather Leadership Conference was founded in 1997 by John Weis. The goal of the organization was to host an annual conference dedicated to building leadership skills within the SM community. Over 300 individuals attend the fourth conference, held in Washington, DC, in 2004 (Leather Leadership Conference, n.d.a, para. 1), and more than 350 attended the tenth conference held in New York City in 2006 (Leather Leadership Conference, n.d.b, April 9, 2006 press release). Conferences are designed to "aid in the growth and success of organizations and community groups through the development of [leadership] skills by providing access to leadership information and topics" (Leather Leadership Conference, n.d.b, para. 3). The keynote speaker for the 10th year

anniversary conference in 2006 was Mary Frances Berry, former chair of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and an influential author and activist in the area of human rights (Leather Leadership Conference, n.d.c). There are dozens of other organized groups throughout the U.S., Canada and Europe which provide activist, educational and support services to the SM community (The Leather Journal, n.d.). And on a final note regarding the growth of social and political organizing within the BDSM community, both Columbia University and the University of Chicago have active BDSM student organizations.

Returning for a moment to social work and empowerment it is interesting to note that social work tends to focus, at least in the literature, on empowerment at the individual level, rather than empowerment on a group or social level. A review of the social work literature done by Gutierrez *et al*. (Guttierrez, Parsons, & Cox, 1998) discovered that the vast majority of social work articles were focused on empowerment from an individual perspective, and not from an intergroup perspective. But there remains significant discussion regarding the concept of empowerment generally within the social work literature. Pease (2002) sees it as one of social work's major discursive practices, but argues two important points about it. First, that most of the post-modern theorists within the discipline see empowerment on the individual level as little more than self-determination (another standard of social work practice, but significantly different from broad-based social intergroup empowerment) and second, that for intergroup empowerment to have truly emancipatory results it must somehow shift the commodification of social power from that of a "powerful-powerless dualism" to one that imagines diversity and the distribution of power in some other way (Pease, 2002, p. 135).

Rather than a comparative form of conceptualizing difference, which can reinstate unfair power dynamics and often reiterates a normative/variance typology, Pease (2002) suggests that

lasting empowerment is arrived at by constructing non-comparative ways of understanding difference. From post-modernists to queer theorists, researchers and scholars have been challenged to conceptualize a paradigm other than that of a hierarchical ordering of experiences and identities; where one is more valued than another. Applied to the population that this survey has queried, the researcher must envision a way of understanding human sexuality that does not hold any 'norms' but instead sees all variances of sexual expression as a naturally occurring array of human behavior.

Wilkinson (2009) shows the underlying assumptions of pathology and "otherness" involved in BDSM imagery appearing in popular culture. While Weiss (2006) speaks to the representation of BDSM in movies specifically (such as Secretary) and argues that such representations offer two options for understanding BDSM behaviors and identities: either "acceptance via normalization" or "understanding via pathologization" (Weiss, 2006, p. 105). Weiss argues that the forms of BDSM seen in movies reinforces the lines between normal sexual behavior and pathology. Both of these authors have shown that we continue to conceptualize alternative forms of sexual expression as an "us-or-them" proposition, instead of understanding sexual behavior as a phenomenon resulting from different thoughts, emotional experiences, and physical sensations occurring within a complex and varied matrix of personal and social contexts, which ultimately creates a fluid, ever-changing intersection between individual psyches, the actual behaviors and both individual and social meanings.

Discrimination of BDSM-identities and communities

A significant amount of information is available regarding discrimination, harassment, and even violence perpetrated against individuals who are identified as participating in bondage and discipline, dominance and submission, sadomasochistic, or fetishistic sexual behaviors

(BDSM). All of this information remains largely unexplored by the academic community; scholarly and empirical investigation of discrimination and violence against BDSM-identified individuals is almost entirely absent. The National Coalition for Sexual Freedom (www.ncsfreedom.org) has operated since 1997 as an advocacy agency as well as a political, legal and social resource for individuals and groups involved in BDSM. The National Coalition for Sexual Freedom (NCSF) educates government officials as well as the media about consensual and legal BDSM sexual activitiesh. At least once a month, NCSF publishes (electronically) "Media Updates" (www.ncsfreedom.org) which reports on incidents involving discrimination, criminal actions or media attention to BDSM related activities and individuals. They also run an "Incident Response Program" in which they help assist individuals and groups who feel they have been "persecuted" or discriminated against as a result of BDSM activities. Through such work, NCSF has collected hundreds of "incident reports" that provide a unique and valuable resource for the academic study of discrimination against BDSM individuals and groups. In 2013 alone, more than 630 such incidents were reported to NCSF (National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, 2012). These incidents include criminal issues, custody cases, zoning problems, employment discrimination and domestic disputes.

NCSF has been a primary source of cataloging the information that does exist. Otherwise, web-chats, email lists and list-serves, along with stories told by individuals within the BDSM community provide the majority of documentation of BDSM-related discrimination outside of the three surveys mentioned earlier. These secondary sources, however, provide some very rich context to the issue under consideration.

Discrimination from the Heterosexual Community. In 2000 there was an example of a discriminatory action on the part of a business that has played out multiple times across the

United States before and after. The story represents a specific form of BDSM discrimination that has occurred regularly and continues today: incidents in which a public accommodation such as a hotel, in this case the Grand Hyatt, cancels a contract or refuses to allow the use of its facilities because the individuals involved are identified as BDSM practitioners. Private business is legally allowed to decide what types of events they allow to be held in their facilities, and there is certainly no crime being committed by hotels who refuse to host BDSM related events, but actions by these hotels remains an example of discrimination against BDSM on a professional level.

In 1994 the Grand Hyatt in New York had been booked by a coalition of BDSM social organizations in order to hold a "International S/M Leather Fetish Celebration (see: http://www.walp.dds.nl/makinghistoryfolder/timeline/1990.htm) which was to consist of a number of political and educational workshops and roundtables. The event was planned to coincide with the Stonewall 25 celebrations which were taking place in New York during the month of June – the month of the annual Gay Pride March. The coalition had a contract for the event with the hotel, complete with a description of activities and expected participants. When factions from the far right became aware of the planned event they put tremendous pressure on the hotel chain to revoke the contract. Only by threatening legal action, and pointing out that the contract had specifically spelled out the purpose, nature and expectations of the event, did the organizers of the event succeed in forcing the hotel to allow the event to take place. Other events have not been so lucky.

Outside of Boston, an annual event had been held called the Fetish Flea Market (http://www.nelaonline.org/fff.php), in which money for non-profit charities is raised through the staging of a weekend's worth of events, including a large indoor flea market in which private

citizens gather in the sold out hotel and utilize both the hotel and convention center spaces to host parties and sell fetish items to each other. Because of pressure brought to bear by the Concerned Women for America and other groups, the town selectmen placed an injunction on the event and insisted that it pay a special permit fee, newly created by the town which was meant to be applied to pornography shops. The permit fee is assessed based on the cost of a commercial venues' lease. As the event had booked the entire hotel, the permit would have cost them close to $10,000 and was not feasible for the group. They moved the event to another Boston suburb only weeks before the actual event (Wallgren, n.d.). Similarly "My Vicious Valentine", and annual event in the Chicago area, had to be moved to a new hotel (from a Radisson to a Ramada) – also when Concerned Women of America (www.cwfa.org) brought enough pressure that original hotel chain agreed to cancel the event (Smith, 2002).

In Kansas in 2004 another group was also forced out of a hotel. The Alternative Hedonistic Society was set to hold their "Obsessive Fetish Ball" (a fund-raising event) at a Holiday Inn in Olathe, KS. The contracts had been signed and agreements established that there would be no sexual activity and no nudity. Regardless, after a negative story about the event ran on the local Fox News affiliate, the Holiday Inn cancelled their contract – forcing the event to be cancelled. The group had even spoken with Olathe police and town representatives, who assured the hotel that they were aware of the event and had no objections to it (National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, n.d.a).

Discrimination within the LGB Community: the Minority's Minority. Looking at the treatment of BDSM individuals within the socio-political struggles of another sexual minority illustrates the place BDSM occupies in the hierarchy of acceptable sexual expressions (see Rubin's graphic depiction of this hierarchy, figure 2, on page 37). The gay-rights movement has

a long history of being openly inhospitable to factions of the community deemed politically or morally unacceptable, especially if those groups or individuals were perceived as a risk to gaining greater political strength for the larger LGB community. BDSM-identified groups and individuals were rarely asked to participate in public demonstrations aimed at elevating the political clout or social standing of the gay community. To be sure, debate about this political positioning was present from the outset. Harry Hay warned the movement in its early days to remember that the point was to bring freedom of sexual expression to all sexual minorities (Bronski, 2002; Heredia, 2002; Levy, 2000; Roscoe, 2013). Still, the shutting out of BDSM individuals has occurred with regular frequency.

In the early 1980's in New York a group of prominent activists in the gay community came together to begin discussions of forming a Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center. A series of public discussions were held in a church in Greenwich Village about how the project would proceed, how it would be funded, who would participate, and which groups would be allowed to be housed at the old high school building on West 13th Street that had just been purchased from the City of New York and was to serve as the Center's home. There had already been growing controversy within the gay community regarding the acceptance of groups seen as 'radical' or 'fringe' into the public Gay Rights agenda. The country overall was well into a conservative backlash against the perceived excesses and personal freedoms celebrated in the late 60's and 70's. In response, many in the gay community did not want to give up the toe-hold of political power that had been so hard-won, and saw the more radical faces of the gay community as being unpalatable and dangerous to further social acceptance. As a result, groups such as transgender individuals, NAMBLA (North American Man-Boy Love Association), and

BDSM groups were considered a detriment to the movement and, often literally, uninvited from public activism and the political process.

Back in the organizing meetings for the soon to be created Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center, a group known as Gay Male S/M Activists (GMSMA) attended and asked to be included in the process and allowed to rent space in what was to be the communities new home. Immediate opposition was raised from significant portions of the meeting attendees and several weeks of discussion ensued. While more tolerant and accepting voices were beginning to win the argument, the key factor was probably put into play when a politically savvy member of GMSMA's board announced to one of the Center's planning meetings that the GMSMA membership had collectively raised a large amount of money to supply hundreds of folding chairs to the center "as a gift." The decision to allow GMSMA a home in the center followed almost immediately (Private communication, Bruce Marcus, past president of GMSMA, February, 2009). A similar story played out in London in 1985 when a lesbian BDSM group was refused meeting space in the Gay Center there (Ardill & O'Sullivan, 2005).

Only a few years later, back in the United States, during the planning for the 1987 March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights the gay BDSM community again met with strong and vocal objection from the organized LGB movement. When a number of prominent BDSM social groups came together and lobbied to have a 'Leather Contingent' in the march, opponents voiced concern that a political march for equality was no place for such transgressive groups whose presence could only hurt the cause. The opposition was actually spear-headed by Andy Humm, a prominent journalist in the gay press. In response, GMSMA and other BDSM organizations rallied support from other 'fringe' groups who were being ousted from the planning process. It took the united voices from the radical feminist groups, transgender

coalitions and the BDSM community to finally get a recognized contingent in the march. A similar process was to reoccur for the March on Washington in 1993. While a specified BDSM contingent was allowed in the actual march, repeated requests from the BDSM community to be represented in the speaker line-up onstage was met with non-responses, and finally refusal. In response, a large contingent of BDSM activists organized to hold a national "S/M Leather Conference" during the weekend of the march. They rented a local function hall in a downtown Washington hotel and had hundreds of BDSM activists participate (private communication, Susan Wright, February, 2009).

The discrimination of BDSM identified individuals includes some more horrific individual stories which lie far from the realm of the academic. In March of 2009, a WABC news reporter, George Weber, was killed by a young man he had communicated with online, met in a public place, and then decided to bring back to his apartment in Brooklyn. An article in the Daily News, entitled "Violent sex ad led to murder of WABC newsman George Weber, confesses teen: cops", explained that the online ad that Mr. Weber had placed explained that he was looking for a BDSM sexual encounter (Gendar & Lemire, 2009). The young man who answered the ad ended up binding Weber's ankles with duct tape and stabbing him repeatedly. The majority of reader responses posted online reflected a strong sentiment that Mr. Weber got what he deserved, one reader stated: "What really bugs the h$#@ out of me is that the media continue to make this guy out to be some regular all american fellow who happened to get murderd. He was a sadomasochistic homosexual who was trolling the internet for 'rough sex'" (retrieved December, 2011), as though this justifies his subsequent murder. There are plenty of other stories and incidents involving far worse than academic discrimination, where individuals lose their livelihoods, their homes, their families and even their lives.

Conclusion

An individual's choice of sexual expression is one of the most intimate behaviors that human beings participate in. It is intricately woven into the individual's sense of personal identity, family and social life. Sexuality in our culture has been psychoanalyzed, sociologically scrutinized, politicized and legalized. Sociological treatments of sexuality have attempted to view sexual phenomenon through the lens of citizenship, citizenship in a Foucauldian sense, that is. David Evans (1993) refers to it as "sexual citizenship", which he describes as a state of subjectivity which is defined (and redefined) by characteristics and contours of the individual's relationship to the power of the state. Henning Bech (1995) coins the term "discursive constructionism" to describe the confluence of discourse, power and sexuality. He states that this is what happens when "discourses (on gender and sexuality) construct (gender and sexual) identities" (Bech, 1995, p. 187). Similar conceptualizations have been developed by earlier writers such as Jeffrey Weeks (1977a; 1977b; 1981; 1991), whose work predates and in many ways even prefigures that of Foucault's, especially with regard to sexuality. Weeks makes persuasive arguments that the ways in which we understand sexual behavior and sexual identity emerge out of discourses between dominant and subaltern hegemonies, which are culturally and historically grounded. And in his article *Sexual* Citizen he cogently points out how our socio-cultural understanding of sexuality has evolved to a place where individuals speak of the sexual identity as a "defining characteristic of personhood and of social involvement" (Weeks, 1998, p. 36). Landridge (2006) further discusses this in direct relation to SM expression and an SM identity.

In the face of opposing arguments from those who envision a world in which difference is not an ordered hierarchy, but a natural and appreciated prism of variations, the dominant

cultural groups continue to cling to the notion that their ontological framework for the world is a central, natural and ordered one - all others are troublesome and dangerous; perhaps disordered, certainly aberrant. Nowhere is this as clear as it is within psycho-social discourses of sexuality. The aberrant, subaltern, and counter-cultural groups formed around non-heteronormative sexual expressions are marginalized, often criminalized, sometimes denied even basic human rights, and surely denied civil and constitutional protections. They are dependent upon forgiveness and tolerance from dominant groups for inclusion within the larger social fabric.

There is very limited research regarding the prevalence of discrimination and discriminatory violence perpetrated against sexual minorities of any kind, and even less regarding the experiences of the BDSM population. As sexuality continues to prove itself an elusive and ever-changing entity, and as we see more clearly that hierarchical matrices of social power are harmful to those who are oppressed by them, greater knowledge of variant sexual expressions must be explored – and the devastating effects of discrimination, harassment, and violence perpetrated by dominant social-group entities must be surfaced, studied and stopped. Perhaps these new understandings will lead us towards a contemplation of "personhood" which carries with it fundamental human rights, regardless of sexuality, citizenship or socio-cultural norms (Robson & Kessler, 2008). Our current identities, organizations, locations, laws, and psychologies are only temporary. The most powerful agency resides neither within the individual, nor forms of social organization; but rather between the two; within the unique transactions newly created within each instance of human interaction. The power and contours of this agency is constantly being defined and redefined through the discourse of contested sites.

When an individual's sexual expression resides in one of these contested sites, and becomes defined as outside the realm of acceptable social constructions as defined by dominant

group ideology, then there is a clear and negative impact on all areas of functioning for that individual; not as a result of the behavior itself, but rather from the social stigma, resultant discrimination and even violent attacks coming from the broader society in which the individual must live. It is squarely within social work's mandate to understand such phenomena, to conduct research in order to compile a broad and useful knowledge-base about such discrimination and violence, and then use that research and understanding to ameliorate the harm that oppression brings to the lives of those individuals, the structure of their groups, and the health of their communities. To that end, the proposed research hypothesizes that analyzing the data will suggest three different relationships. First, that differences in demographic variables will be related to differences in frequencies or types of discrimination, harassment or violence (DVH). It is hypothesized that participants who identify as LBGT as well as BDSM will have higher rates of DVH, as will racial minority, female, and transgender participants. Second, that the greater degree to which an individual is "out" about their involvement in BDSM will correlate positively with greater numbers of experiences of DVH; and three, that participants with greater interest and identification in BDSM will have higher rates of DVH.

Chapter V: Methodology

Introduction

The research consists of secondary analysis of data already collected by Susan Wright in partnership with the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom. Permission was received from Ms. Wright to perform secondary analysis on the data (see appendix B). While the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom (www.NCSfreedom.org) has reported information regarding some of the demographic and DVH frequencies from the survey (https://ncsfreedom.org/resources/bdsm-survey.html), and a slightly more in-depth review of frequencies, along with a comparison to a similar survey carried out 10 years prior (https://ncsfreedom.org/images/stories/pdfs/BDSM_Survey/2008_bdsm_survey_analysis_final.pdf), there still existed the potential to mine the data further. The analysis found in the following chapter reviews some of the basic frequencies reported on by NCSF, as well as presents further investigation of more detailed demographic information, examines rates for both general and specific types of discrimination, violence, and harassment (DVH), including professional discrimination, business discrimination, and internet curtailment. Rates for particular BDSM activities, roles, and labels, are reported, and relationships between a number of related variables are examined.

The survey sought responses from individuals who consider sadomasochism or BDSM to be a defining aspect of their personal or sexual identity, or who self-identified as participating in what they considered to be BDSM behavior. As was argued in the previous chapter, the survey population can be considered a discreet sexual minority. While most who participated in the survey would also be able to describe themselves as heterosexual, bisexual, gay, or lesbian, the reason they undertook completing the questionnaire was due to their identification with a BDSM

sub-culture and the fact that some amount of their sexual expression falls within a BDSM-related category (see details on various BDSM expressions in the preceding Terminology section).

Description of the Available Data

The survey was conducted almost entirely online, although a paper version of the survey was also available (see appendix C). Results from completed paper surveys were input into the database. A total of 3,058 surveys were completed. The survey was primarily aimed at collecting data related to frequency of the participant's experiences of being harassed, discriminated against, or having violence perpetrated against them as a result of their participation in BDSM or fetish activities. Participants were asked if they had ever "experienced discrimination" because they were, "or were perceived to be, involved in SM-Leather-Fetish practices?" They were then presented a list of possible ways in which they may have been discriminated against and asked to check all that apply. These possibilities included: loss of job or contract, loss of promotion/demotion, loss of child custody, divorce/settlement, refused membership, refused housing, refused services, internet harassment, persecution, or arrest. The survey also asked if the participant had ever been discriminated against by a professional as a result of participating in, or being perceived to participate in, "BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices". They were then asked which sorts of professionals and given a list to choose from which included: medical doctor, dentist, mental health practitioner, accountant, lawyer, building/contractor, personal service provider, professional service provider, or police/government employee.

The survey asked if participants had ever experienced violence or harassment as a result of being involved with, or perceived to be involved with "BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices." Participants were again supplied a list of possible violence or harassment experiences and asked to check all that applied. The list for violence included: rape/attempted rape, vandalism, physical

assault, sexual assault, or domestic violence; while the list for harassment included: verbal

harassment or abuse, stalked or followed, physical harassment, sexual harassment, or

blackmail/threats of exposure. Participants were then asked if they had pressed charges as a

result of any of these experiences, and if not, why. A check list of possible reasons for not

pressing charges was supplied with the options: fear of further harassment, fear of losing child

custody, fear of job safety, fear of legal repercussions, or fear of family disapproval. The survey

also asked, if the participant had been a victim of violence or harassment, which category the

perpetrator belonged to. Options included: lover/partner/spouse, family member, co-worker,

acquaintance, stranger, or "other"; with space to describe "other" if that's how they responded.

Another section of the survey asked survey participants who were involved in BDSM-

related businesses if their business had ever been impacted by harassment or discrimination as a

result of being a "BDSM-Leather-Fetish" related enterprise. Again, a check-list with possible

types of harassment or discrimination as well as outcomes from such harassment and

discrimination was supplied and the participant was asked to check all that applied. The list

contained: loss of lease, loss of occupancy certificate, loss of business, fines, negative media

coverage, harassment by neighbors, harassment by police/authorities, arrest, refused insurance

coverage, harassment by organizations, or refused credit card services.

There was also a section of the survey which asked respondents whether they had ever

"curtailed" their internet activity for "fear of prosecution" do to "BDSM-Leather-Fetish

practices." If the respondent indicated that they had curtailed their usage, they were next asked

what they did or didn't do, with options ranging from not visiting particular websites, to posting

an "18-and-over" warning page, to not posting images, videos or text. Respondents were also

asked if they had "changed the way [they] do business over the internet" as a result of U.S. Code

2257. U.S. Code 2257 was federal legislation that was enacted as part of the PROTECT Act (United States Congress, 2002) and required anyone involved with the production or distribution of pornographic material to maintain detailed records verifying the identity and age of all persons depicted in the material.

The data includes responses to a series of questions aimed at categorizing the various types of BDSM activities that the respondents participated in. Seventeen different BDSM-related activities such as bondage, role-playing, spanking, exhibitionism, voyeurism, and other fetishes were enumerated and the respondents were asked to answer a series of questions using the numbers representing the various activities as their answers. An option of "other" was also included and the respondents were asked to describe what that other activity was. Respondents were first asked to list all the activities they enjoy. Next they were asked to rank the top three activities, in descending order, that they participate in most frequently. They were then asked to rank their top three most favorite activities in descending order. Respondents were asked if they believed that participating in any of the listed activities had led to an experience of discrimination, harassment, or violence and if so, which ones. They were then asked which activities they felt were most likely to lead to discrimination, harassment, or violence. Finally, in this section, they were asked how they identify their role within the BDSM community and given a list of roles to choose from including the option "other"; and also asked how they refer to the activities they participate in, again a list was supplied along with an option of "other" and the available space to write in their own description.

In addition to the above data summarizing discriminatory or violent experiences, and BDSM identity, the survey also collected demographic information about participants' age,

occupation, gender (male, female, transgender), sexual orientation (gay/lesbian, bisexual, heterosexual, other), employment status, income level, and race/ethnicity.

Sampling

The survey was distributed electronically and internationally. The collected data was kept in an encrypted environment and the website used for the survey (Surveymonkey.com) is an SSL protected website and server. The survey data are publicly available, de-identified, and anonymous. The Hunter Amethyst IRB application was made and approval was granted (IRB number HC – 090923391) for *Secondary Analysis of a Survey of Discrimination* using this data.

Both convenience and snowball sampling techniques were employed in gathering participants for the original survey. The first effort to recruit sample subjects was an email 'blast' sent out to 62 NCSF "Coalition Partner" organizations. At the time of sample collection, five of the largest organizations affiliated with NCSF were: National Leather Association – International, Gay Male S/M Activists, The Eulenspiegel Society, Black Rose, and the Society of Janus. These five groups in themselves have upwards of 10,000 email addresses in their member lists, and it was estimated that an aggregate of more than 15,000 email addresses received the initial request, as well as follow-up requests, to participate in the study.

Websites catering to BDSM and fetish markets agreed to post advertisements or links to the survey. These websites included: The Eulenspiegel Society (www.tes.org), a social organization based in New York with several thousand members; Recon (www.recon.com), the largest online dating site for gay men interested in BDSM or fetish-related sex; and Mr. S Leathers (www.mr-s-leather.com), a retailer of leather, fetish and BDSM items in San Francisco which has a world-wide internet-based market. Several people also posted information about the survey on their personal blogs and various BDSM-related electronic newsletters carried

information about the survey or sent requests for participants to their membership lists. Palm-cards with information about how to participate in the survey were handed out at large BDSM events in New York, Washington, DC, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Chicago between . A total of 5,000 postcards were mailed out for distribution on free literature tables at 16 national and local BDSM events throughout the United States.

Creation of New Variables

As part of the secondary analysis process several new variables were created in order to better analyze both frequencies and relationships between demographic, behavioral, and discrimination, violence, and harassment (DVH) data. The first of these was a variable (*dvh*) indicating whether a respondent had provided an affirmative response to any of the questions about experiencing discrimination, violence, or harassment. Next, variables indicating the number of types of discrimination a respondent had indicated (*disctot*), the number of types of violence (*viotot*) and the number of types of harassment (*harasstot*) were created. Ten (10) records showed a positive indication for discrimination and checked "other", but wrote in that they had not been discriminated against. These records were corrected to reflect no experience of discrimination.

In the original survey, experiences of violence and harassment were grouped together and respondents were asked the general question: "*Have you ever been the victim of violence or harassment because you are, or were perceived to be involved in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices?*" Respondents were then asked to indicate what types of violence or harassment they experienced. In order to separate out violence from harassment, two new variables were created, violence (*vioyesno*) to capture those respondents who had experienced violence, and harassment (*harassyesno*) to capture those respondents who had experienced harassment. Each was coded

"1" if a respondent indicated an experience of violence or harassment, or "0" if they had not. Also, among the variables describing types of violence, both "sexual assault" and "rape" existed as separate variables. These were combined into one variable, sexual assault (*sexasslt*). There were four cases in which a respondent had not chosen a particular category, but provided detailed comments describing an experience of sexual assault. The variable sexual assault was corrected on those respondents' records to indicate that they had experiences of sexual assault. Finally, a new discrimination variable was created after review of qualitative data that was collected when respondents were asked if there was any other type of discrimination they had experienced. Many respondents indicated discrimination by family, friends, or community. A new variable, family/community discrimination (*famcommdisc*), was created to capture this data.

Certain demographic variables were created as well. It was determined that broad age groups, or cohorts, would be more useful in examining relationships between age and DVH, or age and BDSM behaviors (Burt, 1991). Borrowing from both developmental psychology (Erikson, 1964; Whitbourne, Elliot, Zuschlag, & Waterman, 1992) and social science research theory (Harding, 2009; O'Brien, 1999) four binary age-group variables were created based on primary life-stages, with a focus on social network cohorts: adolescent (15 – 21), young adult (22 – 32), middle adult (32 – 49), and older adult (50+). If a respondent fell within a particular age group, that variable was coded "1", otherwise it was coded "0". As well, a multiple-category categorical variable, *age*, was created which was coded "1" for adolescents, "2" for young adults, "3" for middle adults, and "4" for older adults. Binary variables existed for specific income groups; *income1, income2, income3, income4, income5* (each coded "1" if the respondent reported that level of income, or "0" if they did not) and these were used to create a new categorical variable, income, which was coded "1" for those earning under $10,000 per year

(*income1*), "2" for those earning between \$10,000 and \$24,999 (*income2*), "3" for those earning

between \$25,000 and \$49,999 (*income3*), "4" for those earning between \$50,000 and \$99,999

(*income4*), and "5" for those earning \$100,000 or more (*income5*).

For gender, the data had four binary variables (*male, female, transgender, intersex*), and a

fifth binary variable *multi-gender* was created and coded "1" for those respondents who had

chosen more than one gender. And as was done for age, a multiple-category categorical variable

called *gender* was created and coded "1" for male, "2" for female, "3" for intersex, "4" for

transgender, and "5" for multiple gender. For sexual orientation, as well, the data had four binary

variables (*heterosexual, bisexual, gay/lesbian, other*), but similar process created a new sexual

orientation variable, multiple sexual orientation (*multiple SO*), which indicates respondents who

chose multiple sexual orientations. Also, within sexual orientation variables, a significant

number of respondents chose "other" and wrote in "queer". Because this was common among

respondents the variable *queer* was created. And as was done for age, income, and gender, a

multiple-category categorical variable, *sexual orientation*, was created and coded "1" for

heterosexual, "2" for gay or lesbian, "3" for bisexual, "4" for queer, "5" for other, and "6" for

multiple sexual orientation. Finally, the categorical variable race was created and coded "1" for

African American, "2" for Latina/Latino, "3" for Caucasian, "4" for Arab/Middle Eastern, "5"

for Asian/Pacific Islander, "6" for Native American, and "7" for multi-racial. The creation of

both binary and multiple-category categorical demographic variables allowed for the analysis of

between group differences (using the multiple-category categorical variable – such as race, age,

or gender) as well as an analysis of one particular demographic characteristic against all others

(e.g. male vs. not male).

Three (3) new variables were created for data relating to roles that respondents have in their BDSM activities: dominant, versatile, and submissive. A list of possible roles had been supplied to participants, who chose any that they felt applied to them. These roles were assessed as being either dominant, submissive, or versatile, and the appropriate variables were coded accordingly. If a respondent chose one or more dominant roles from the list ("Top", "Master/Mistress", "Dom", "Owner", "Daddy", or "Mommy") they were coded "1" for dominant; if they chose one or more submissive roles from the list ("Bottom", "Slave", "Sub", "Pup", "Boy", "boi", or "Girl") they were coded "1" for submissive; if they chose either "switch" or "versatile" from the list they were coded "1" for versatile. If a respondent chose both dominant and submissive roles from the list, they were not coded "1" for any of the three new variables. The reason such respondents were not coded as "versatile" was that they had not chosen this from the list provided, so an assumption can be made that they felt these titles were not applicable to them.

Conclusion

The following chapter begins with descriptions of the demographic information of survey respondents, examining respondents' nationality, age, sexual orientation, race, and employment status; including how "out" respondents are about their BDSM interests. It continues with a detailed exploration of rates of discrimination, violence, and harassment; whether or not respondents had pressed charges if crimes had been committed against them, and if not, what their reasons for not pressing charges were. An examination of the various BDSM activities, roles, and labels follows the examination of DVH.

After a thorough exploration of frequencies, an analysis of relationships between demographic variables and experiences of DVH is presented. These relationships specifically

focus on areas pertinent to legal, psychological, and social aspects of the lives of respondents. With regard to legal issues, the areas of focus will be: loss of child custody, divorce, arrest, discrimination by government officials, and tendencies to avoid pressing charges against perpetrators. Regarding psychological issues, the analysis will examine discrimination that occurred in the context of medical care or mental health care. Sociological impact will be assessed through investigation of the impact of demographic variables on respondent's choices regarding how 'out' they are about their BDSM interests, as well as an investigation of significant relationships between BDSM behaviors and DVH experiences.

Chapter VI: Results

Frequencies

Demographics. Analysis is based on a data set of 2994 completed surveys. Responses were received from over 39 countries, the overwhelming majority of responses came from the United States (2366), followed by the United Kingdom (152) and Canada (140). Together, these three countries accounted for 88.8% of completed surveys. Table 1 shows a selection of the eight countries that had the most respondents with the number of respondents from each of those countries – totaling 92.5% of all surveys. Ages of respondents ranged from 15 to 87; with a median age of 40 and a mean age of 40.2. Table 2 shows groups divided by ten-year increments based on age of respondents, and table 3 shows the four-stage age category distribution.

Table 1 - Survey Participants by Countries

Country	Frequency	% of Survey Population (n=2994)
United States	2366	79.0
United Kingdom	152	5.1
Canada	140	4.7
Australia	32	1.1
Germany	27	.9
Norway	25	.8
Netherlands	14	.5
New Zealand	14	.5
Other	224	7.4
Total	2994	100

Table 2 - Age Distribution (10 year increments)

Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 20	76	2.5
20 - 29	585	19.5
30 - 39	753	25.2
40 - 49	864	28.9
50 - 59	546	18.2
60 - 69	135	4.5
70 - 79	21	0.7
80 - 89	4	0.1
Age Not Given	10	0.3
Total	2994	100.0

Table 3 - Four Stage Age Distribution

Age	Frequency	Percent
15 - 21	171	5.7
22 - 32	699	23.3
33 - 49	1408	47
Over 50	706	23.6
Age Not Given	10	0.3
Total	2994	100.0

The gender of participants broke down fairly evenly with slightly more female respondents (50.5%), compared to male respondents (44%). There were a significant amount of respondents who identified themselves as transgender (4.9%) but just 0.5% identified themselves as intersex. Four (4) respondents chose multiple gender identities and were coded as such, making for the smallest gender subset (0.1%). Respondents were asked about sexual identity and 38.2% of them identified as heterosexual, 21% as gay or lesbian, 32.6% as bisexual, 1.6% as

queer and 2.4% as "other sexual identity". A small number of respondents ($n = 123$, 4.1%) choose more than one of the above sexual identity categories to describe themselves. These respondents were coded as multiple sexual orientation (*Multiple SO*). Table 4 shows a breakdown of sexual orientation by gender identification.

Table 4 - Gender and Sexual Orientation

Gender:	Male	Female	Intersex	Transgender	Multi-Gender	total
Sexual Orientation:						
Heterosexual	588	531	3	19	2	1143
Gay/Lesbian	453	156	1	20	0	630
Bisexual	219	694	8	56	0	977
Queer	0	27	1	20	1	49
Other	19	36	0	16	1	72
Multiple SO	38	69	1	15	0	123
Total	1317	1513	14	146	4	2994

Racial identification was also collected with a high percentage of the respondents identifying themselves as Caucasian (85.3%). African Americans accounted for only 2.5% of respondents and Latinas/Latinos for 2.3% - both groups significantly under-represented by the survey sample when compared to percentages within the total U.S. population. Asian/Pacific Islanders were also under-represented at 1.5% when compared to US Census data, however Native Americans were somewhat over-represented coming in at 1.1% of the survey population; a slightly higher percentage than found in the general population - 0.9%. Arab/Middle Easterners accounted for only 0.4% of the survey population, and 6.9% of the respondents either identified themselves as multi-racial or chose more than one racial identifier.

Almost 17% (*n* = 505) of respondents were students, 20.9% (*n* = 627) were self-employed, compared to 34.4% (*n* = 1030) who were employed by others, and 6.7% (*n* = 201) were unemployed at the time of the survey. There were 1398 (46.7%) who were employed full-time and 333 (11.1%) who reported being employed part-time. While specific household income was not requested, a five-category 'income-level' scale was created and respondents were asked to choose the category that best described them in terms of income. From lowest to highest income, 386 (12.9%) reported earning under $10,000 per year (*income1*), 517 (17.3%) reported an income of between $10,000 and $24,999 per year (*income2*), 950 (31.7%) reported and income between $25,000 and $49,999 (*income3*), 853 (28.5%) reported an income between $50,000 and $99,999 per year (*income4*), and 288 (9.6%) reported an income of above $100,000 per year (*income5*).

Being out about BDSM. Respondents were asked if they were "out" about their participation in BDSM and 1651 (55.1%) reported that they were out, while 1242 (41.5%) stated that they were not out about their BDSM interests. Respondents were offered an opportunity to describe the types of people in their lives that they were not out to about their BDSM interests. Rates varied from 4.9% of respondents not being out to a partner, lover, or spouse, to 62.4% not being out at work. Rates also varied when taken as a percentage of only those respondents who stated they were out, and percentages of the entire survey population. Table 5 shows frequencies of responses to questions about who they were not out to, showing percentages for both the group who stated they were out, and the entire survey population. Interestingly, there was only about a 20% difference in rates between these two groups when it came to being out at work or to family, but a 300% difference when it came to being out to a partner/lover/spouse, or to the

BDSM community. Likewise, respondents who identified as being out were only half as likely as those who did not identify as being out to be out to non-BDSM friends.

Table 5 – Out to whom

	% respondents who stated they were "out" (*n* = 1651)	% total survey respondents (*N* = 2994)
Not out at job	52.9	62.4
Not out to family	50.2	61.1
Not out to non-BDSM friends	24.4	40.8
Not out to BDSM community	1.5	5.1
Not out to partner/lover/spouse	1.5	4.9
Other	15.4	11.9
Any of the above	82.3	83.8

Whether or not they had claimed to be out or not about their BDSM interests, respondents were asked for any reasons they might not be out to certain people in their lives. Fear of family disapproval was selected more than any other reason (*n* = 1552, 51.9%). This was closely followed by fear of job repercussions (*n* = 1422, 47.5%); fear of public disapproval ranked next (*n* = 1014, 33.9%), then fear of a friend's disapproval (*n* = 838, 28%) and fear of harassment (*n* = 821, 27.4%). The least frequently cited reasons were fear of losing child custody (*n* = 226, 7.5%) and fear of partner's disapproval (*n* = 143, 4.8%). A little more than half of the total survey respondents (*n* = 1626, 54.3%) had more than one reason for not being out, although only 41% of respondents stated that they were not out. This occurred as a result of making all questions about being out or not, and about why they are our or not, optional; hence a respondent would have been able to skip answering the question about being out, but still answer questions about why they might not be out.

Discrimination. Respondents were asked if they felt that they had ever been discriminated against "because you are, or were perceived to be, involved in SM-Leather-Fetish practices?" Over one quarter of respondents ($n = 817$, 27.3%) reported that they had been discriminated against as a result of being involved in, or perceived to be involved in SM-Leather-Fetish practices. Respondents were then asked about what types of discrimination they had experienced. In total, 746 respondents indicated a specific category or type of discrimination that they had experienced, choosing from a list provided ("loss of job or contract", 20.3%; "loss of promotion/demotion", 12.5%; "loss of child custody", 6.7%; "divorce/settlement", 13.3%; "refused membership", 8.8%; "refused housing", 4.8%; "refused services", 18.7%; "persecution", 22.2%; "arrest", 2.6%; and "other", 35.1%.)

Below is a table showing the various types of discrimination that respondents reported in order of frequency. The table includes the additionally created category of "General Discrimination by Family, Friends or Community" based on the variable *famcommdisc*, representing respondents who had chosen "other" and described discrimination by family, friends, or community (see previous chapter).

Table 6 - Types of Discrimination

Discrimination Type	Frequency	% Those experiencing Discrimination	% of Survey Population
Persecution	181	22.2	6.0
Loss of Job or Contract	166	20.3	5.5
Refused Services	153	18.7	5.1
Divorce/Settlement	109	13.3	3.6
Loss of Promotion or Demotion	102	12.5	3.4
General Discrimination by Family, Friends or Community	107	13.1	3.6
Refused Membership	72	8.8	2.4
Child Custody Discrimination	55	6.7	1.8
Housing Discrimination	39	4.8	1.3
Arrest	21	2.6	0.7
Other	287	35.1	9.5

Respondents were allowed to indicate as many specific discrimination categories as they had experienced and 302 respondents, representing 10% of the entire survey population or 37% of those who were discriminated against, indicated that they had experienced two or more categories of discrimination. Further, 95 respondents, 3% of the entire survey population and 12% of those discriminated against, indicated that they had experienced three or more types of discrimination. The top four categories, taken together, represent 490 individual respondents (some respondents chose more than one of these categories), which accounts for 60% of the group of respondents who reported discrimination.

Discrimination in Professional Contexts. The survey also asked about whether respondents had experienced discrimination against them perpetrated by professionals. This question was first asked in a general way – 'Have you ever been discriminated against by

professional or personal service providers because you are, or were perceived to be involved in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices? Next, there were nine separate categories of professionals listed: MD's, dentists, mental health practitioners, police or government employees, accountants, lawyers, contractors, 'personal service providers', 'professional service providers' and 'other', and respondents were asked to indicate if they ever experienced discrimination from any of those particular types of professionals. Table 7 shows the results from those questions in descending order.

Table 7 - Types of Professional Discrimination

	n	% Survey Population	% Professional Discrimination
Experienced Professional Discrimination	355	11.9	100
MD	173	5.8	48.7
Mental Health Practitioner	143	4.8	40.3
Police or Government Employee	91	3.0	25.6
Professional Service Provider	31	1.0	8.7
Lawyer	28	0.9	7.9
Personal Service Provider	23	0.8	6.5
Contractor	8	0.3	2.3
Dentist	6	0.2	1.7
Accountant	5	0.2	1.4
Other	34	1.0	9.6

Taken together, the top two categories, professional discrimination by a MD and professional discrimination by a mental health practitioner account for 251 respondents, with 65 respondents indicating an experience of discrimination from both an MD and a mental health practitioner.

This represents 70.7% of all respondents who had experienced some form of professional discrimination.

Violence and Harassment. Questions about experiences of violence or harassment yielded fewer positive responses than did discrimination. Still, nearly 25.8% of the survey population ($n = 775$) responded affirmatively to the general question asking if they had ever experienced violence or harassment as a result of their involvement in "BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices." For those respondents who identified specific types of violent or harassing experiences, "Verbal Harassment or Abuse" ranked the highest with the most responses ($n = 523$), followed by internet harassment ($n = 290$), then blackmail, being stalked, and sexual harassment (Table 8). There were slightly more incidents of physical assault reported than incidents of physical harassment. Sexual assault was the least cited experience reported by the survey participants.

Table 8 - Types of Violence and Harassment

	n	% Survey Population	% within Violence ($N = 230$) or Harassment ($N = 728$)
Experienced Violence	230	7.7	100
Physical Assault	108	3.6	46.9
Domestic Violence	80	2.7	34.8
Vandalism	70	2.3	30.4
Sexual Assault	66	2.2	28.7
Experienced Harassment	728	24.3	100
Verbal Harassment or Abuse	523	17.5	71.8
Internet Harassment	290	9.7	39.8
Blackmail or Threats of Exposure	206	6.9	28.3
Stalked or Followed	168	5.6	23.1
Sexual Harassment	128	4.3	17.6
Physical Harassment	98	3.3	13.5

There were an additional eight respondents who answered affirmatively to the question "[h]ave you been the victim of violence or harassment because you are or you were perceived to be involved in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices", but did not provide any additional clarification, either by checking off a specific category (or categories) or by providing a comment.

Respondents who answered affirmatively to the question about having experienced violence or harassment were also asked whether they had pressed charges. Only 48 respondents, or 7.1% of those having experiences of violence or harassment ($N = 679$) indicated that they had pressed charges. Further questions were asked regarding who their perpetrator was (if known) and why they didn't seek to press charges (if they had not). A total of 644 respondents identified who their perpetrator was. Six possible options were provided with regard to perpetrators:

Lover/partner/spouse, Co-worker, Stranger, Family member, Acquaintance, and Other. Table 9

shows the frequencies for responses.

Table 9 - Perpetrators

	n	%	% Those Reporting Violence or Harassment (*N* = 679)
Stranger	218	7.3	32.1
Acquaintance	147	4.9	21.6
Lover/partner/spouse	101	3.4	14.9
Co-worker	81	2.7	11.9
Family Member	29	1	4.3
Other	68	2.3	10

As far as reasons for not pressing charges, six categories were provided: fear of further

harassment, fear of job safety, fear of family disapproval, fear of losing child custody and fear of

legal repercussions, and 'other'. Fear of further harassment received a 42% response rate, while

family disapproval had a 24% response rate, and fear of job safety as well as fear of legal

repercussions both received a little over 22% (22.5% and 22.1% respectively). Finally, 10.6%

reported that they did not seek to press charges against their attacker out of fear of losing child

custody.

In total, 1118 (37.3%) survey respondents indicated that they had experienced some form

of personal harassment, discrimination, or violence. An additional 43 respondents (who had not

otherwise indicated personal experiences of harassment, discrimination, or violence) indicated

that they had experienced harassment or discrimination while running a BDSM-related business

(see following section) -- bringing the over-all total number of respondents who have been

impacted by anti-BDSM-Leather-Fetish harassment, discrimination, or violence to 1161 out of

the 2994 participants, or 38.8% of the total survey population.

   Business Discrimination & Internet Curtailment. Respondents were asked if they had

"ever been the victim of harassment or discrimination because [their] business or event is, or was

perceived to be, involved with BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices?" More than 7% ($n = 215$)

reported that their business or event had been discriminated against, or harassed because of its

association with BDSM. To illicit further detail about the types of discrimination or harassment,

respondents were given eleven different categories of discrimination or harassment that might

occur towards a business and asked if they had experienced any of those particular forms of

discrimination or harassment. A category of 'other' was also offered for respondents who felt

that their experience of business discrimination or harassment fell outside any of the eleven

categories offered. Table 10 shows the frequencies of responses for the eleven specific categories

as well as for 'other'.

Table 10 - Business Discrimination Type Response Rate

Type of Business Discrimination	*n*	% experiencing business discrimination/harassment (*N* = 215)	% of entire survey population (*N* = 2994)
Negative Media	55	32.1	1.8
Harassment by police/authorities	47	20.9	1.6
Harassment by neighbors	45	20.9	1.5
Harassment by organizations	42	19.5	1.4
Loss of lease	37	17.2	1.2
Refused Credit Card services	31	14.4	1.0
Loss of business	30	14.0	1.0
Refused insurance coverage	19	8.8	0.6
Loss of occupancy certificate	14	6.5	0.5
Arrest	8	3.7	0.3
Fines	5	2.3	0.2
Other	55	25.6	1.8

Curtailment of Internet Usage. The survey included a section asking respondents about whether they "curtailed" their use of the internet as a direct result of fear of being prosecuted in some way for their participation in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices. The question was first posed generally asking for a 'yes' or 'no', and then options were provided which detailed specific types of internet activity that the respondent may have avoided, and an option of "other" was also provided. Respondents could check off as many categories as they felt applied to their particular experiences of internet activity curtailment. More than a third (*n* = 1083, 36.2%) of the survey

respondents acknowledged that they had, in some way, curtailed their internet usage as a result of fears of prosecution due to their BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices. Table 11 shows frequency levels for the specific categories of types of curtailment.

Table 11 - Internet Curtailment Type Response Rates

Internet Curtailment	*n*	% of respondents who curtailed internet usage (*N* = 1083)	Percent of survey population (*N* = 2994)
Didn't post image	765	70.6	25.6
Didn't visit website	488	45.1	16.3
Didn't post text	464	42.8	15.5
Didn't link to website	413	38.1	13.8
Didn't join email group	333	30.7	11.1
Posted an 18-and-over warning	287	26.5	9.6
Barred website access	174	16.1	5.8
Didn't add meta-text	85	7.8	2.8
Other	119	10.9	3.9

BDSM Activities, Roles, and Labels

The survey collected information about respondents participation in specific forms of BDSM behavior, both activity and 'role'. It also compiled data on how individuals refer to the BDSM community. There were 429 respondents who did not fill out any of the questions in these three sections – although 113 of them (26%) reported that they had experienced some form of DVH as a result of their being involved in BDSM; and 5% (*n* = 21) reported some form of professional discrimination.

Activities. The section, entitled "BDSM-Leather-Fetish Activities" listed 17 different sexual activities or fetishes, as well as an "other" category, and asked participants to list all the

activities they enjoy. If the participant checked the "other" category, there was a space supplied to write something about what types of activities they participated in that they felt qualified as BDSM-Leather-Fetish activities. They were then asked to list in rank order the three most frequent activities they participate in, as well as the three they get the most enjoyment from. Participants were asked if they had experienced discrimination, violence, or harassment (DVH) "as a result of any activity on the list?"

The next thing that was asked in this section was for participants to identify any activities on the list that they feel led to a personal experience of DVH. Then participants were asked which activity on the list that they felt, in general, was most likely to "be the object of violence, discrimination or harassment?" Table 12 shows frequencies of responses to these questions.

Table 12 - BDSM Activities Response Rates

BDSM Activity

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.	P.	Q.	R.
All Activities Enjoyed	2316 77.4%	2298 76.8%	2042 68.2%	1960 65.5%	1638 54.7%	1534 51.2%	1369 45.7%	1333 44.5%	1227 41.0%	1222 40.8%	1123 37.5%	1068 35.7%	918 30.7%	735 24.5%	702 23.4%	460 15.4%	369 12.3%	330 11.0%
Participated in Most (First)	420 14%	871 29.1%	179 6.0%	295 9.9%	136 4.5%	62 2.1%	23 .8%	189 6.3%	69 2.3%	27 .9%	14 .5%	58 1.9%	15 .5%	20 .7%	4 .1%	12 .4%	81 2.7%	36 1.2%
Participated in Most (Second)	597 19.9%	414 13.8	283 9.5	376 12.6%	116 3.9%	107 3.6%	55 1.8%	141 4.7%	81 2.7%	36 1.2%	51 1.7%	67 2.2%	41 1.4%	21 .7%	15 .5%	28 .9%	39 1.3%	24 .8%
Participated in Most (Third)	395 13.2%	261 8.7%	315 10.5%	343 11.5%	122 4.1%	133 4.4%	94 3.1%	163 5.4%	92 3.1%	47 1.6%	113 3.8%	78 2.6%	101 3.4%	40 1.3%	30 1.0%	46 1.5%	58 1.9%	31 1.0%
Enjoy the Most (First)	453 15.1%	753 25.2%	168 5.6%	308 10.3%	84 2.8%	75 2.5%	30 1.0%	177 5.9%	56 1.9%	24 .8%	43 1.4%	87 2.9%	42 1.4%	25 .8%	13 .4%	18 .6%	93 3.1%	37 1.2%
Enjoy the Most (Second)	505 16.9%	417 13.9%	250 8.4%	332 11.1%	113 3.8%	109 3.6%	69 2.3%	151 5.0%	65 2.2%	39 1.3%	102 3.4%	95 3.2%	56 1.9%	21 .7%	28 .9%	31 1.0%	48 1.6%	35 1.2%
Enjoy the Most (Third)	404 13.5%	264 8.8%	296 9.9%	339 11.3%	129 4.3%	120 4.0%	83 2.8%	143 4.8%	79 2.6%	53 1.8%	124 4.1%	87 2.9%	100 3.3%	50 1.7%	46 1.5%	41 1.4%	57 1.9%	26 .9%
Experienced DVH as result of activity on list																		
Led to experience of DVH	62 2.1%	148 4.9%	12 .4%	100 3.3%	64 2.1%	12 .4%	20 .7%	100 3.3%	27 .9%	2 .1%	7 .2%	19 .6%	7 .2%	25 .8%	4 .1%	1 .0%	50 1.7%	38 1.3%
Think most likely to lead to experience of DVH	123 4.1%	155 5.2%	17 .6%	301 10.1%	32 1.1%	10 .3%	46 1.5%	159 5.3%	37 1.2%	4 .1%	23 .8%	16 .5%	54 1.8%	39 1.3%	3 .1%	1 .0%	62 2.1%	325 10.9%

Experienced DVH as result of activity on list

Yes	No
597 19.9%	1907 63.7%

A. Bondage and Discipline, **B.** Dominance and Submission, **C.** Spanking, **D.** SM, **E.** Consensual Voyeurism, **F.** Role Playing, **G.** Consensual Exhibitionism, **H.** Polyamory/Multiple Partners, **I.** Clothing Fetish, **J.** Humiliation, **K.** Leather, **L.** Fisting, **M.** Watersports, **N.** Body Modification, **O.** Medical Scenes, **P.** Foot Fetish, **Q.** Other, **R.** Cross Dressing.

Roles. The "BDSM-Leather-Fetish Activities" section also included a list of 16 different identifiers typically associated with BDSM-leather-fetish roles, as well as a "none of the above" category. The possible role-identifying monikers listed were: "top", "bottom", "Master", "Mistress", "slave", "Dom", "sub", "pup", "owner", "switch", "versatile", "Daddy", "Mommy", "boy", "boi", and "girl". Participants were asked to choose any that they felt identified their "role in the SM community". Not every participant answered this question about role-identity, although 85% of participants did ($n = 2544$). Table 13 shows frequencies for answers to this question.

Further investigation of responses to questions of role reveal that significantly more participants chose purely submissive identifiers (30.7%), than those who chose purely dominant identifiers (21.9%); and least numerous were those who chose only "Versatile" or "Switch" without choosing any of the dominant or submissive identifiers. Those respondents accounted for only 6.7% of the survey participants. Looking at those participants who chose dominant as well as submissive identifiers, 13.5% of respondents who identified as "Sub" also chose "Top" ($n = 138$) as an identifier, and 10.6% of those choosing "Sub" also chose "Dom" ($n = 108$). In fact, 821 (27.4%) respondents chose either "Versatile" or "Switch" as a role identifier and an additional 63 (2.1%) respondents choose both dominant and submissive role identifiers even though they did not choose the "Versatile" or "Switch" categories, for a total of 884 (29.5%). This represents somewhat less than a third (29.5%) of all survey participants, and slightly more than a third (34.6%) of those participants who answered the question about role.

Table 13 - BDSM Role Frequencies

BDSM Role	n	% of Survey Population ($N = 2994$)	% of those answering role questions ($N = 2554$)
Sub	1019	34.0	40.1
Bottom	865	28.9	34.0
Top	810	27.1	31.8
Switch	680	22.7	26.7
Dom	662	22.1	26.0
Master/Mistress	592	19.8	23.3
Slave	539	18.0	21.2
Versatile	378	12.6	14.9
Owner	281	9.4	11.0
Girl	273	9.1	10.7
Daddy	252	8.4	9.9
Boy	199	6.6	7.8
Pup	138	4.6	5.4
boi	89	3.0	3.5
Mommy	63	2.1	2.5
None of the above	96	3.2	3.8
Submissive Only	920	30.7	36.2
Dominant Only	656	21.9	25.8
Versatile-Switch	202	6.7	7.9

Labeling the Community. The last question in this section asked participants to choose from a list of eight words that are often used to refer to the activities associated with BDSM (those activities listed earlier in this section of the questionnaire), identifying those words that they use to refer to such activities. Once again, a category of "none of the above" was supplied.

Close to 85% ($n = 2535$) of survey respondents provided some answer to this question, even if simply choosing "none of the above" ($n = 77$). Table 14 shows frequencies of responses to this question. "BDSM" was the most popular choice ($n = 1842$, 61.5%) for referring to activities which were listed on the survey, with "Kink" chosen next most frequently ($n = 1538$, 51.4%), followed by "D/s" (which is an abbreviation for Dominance and Submission) being chosen 1248 (41.7%) times by participants as the way they refer to the activities listed.

Table 14 - BDSM Community Labels

Refers to BDSM as:	n	Percent of Survey Population ($N = 2994$)	Percent of those answering "refers to BDSM" question ($n = 2535$)
BDSM	1842	61.5	72.7
Kink	1538	51.4	60.7
D/s	1248	41.7	49.2
SM	1071	35.8	42.2
Bondage	911	30.4	35.9
Fetish	891	29.8	35.1
Bondage/Discipline	857	28.6	33.8
Leather	851	28.4	33.6
Master-slave	771	25.8	30.4
Polyamory	649	21.7	25.6
None of the above	77	2.6	3.0

Relationships Between Demographics and DVH

There were thirty-seven (37) variables which described personal experiences of discrimination, violence, and harassment (DVH), and thirty-two (32) variables (both multiple-category and binary) describing demographic information about age, income, race, gender, and sexual orientation. These two sets of variables were cross-tabulated using chi-square test of

association to explore relationships between DVH and demographic information. Of the 1184

resulting analysis, 378, nearly a third, rose to the level of significance (see appendix D –

Demographics x DVH). Only three (3) DVH variables were associated with fewer than three (3)

demographic variables – all within the professional discrimination group – and two (2) DVH

variables were associated with as many as twenty (20) demographic variables. Interestingly, both

of these DVH variables were sexually related: sexual harassment, and sexual assault. There was

only one (1) DVH variable that was not associated with any demographic variables:

discrimination by lawyer. Likewise, there was only one (1) demographic variable, Latina/Latino,

that had no significant associations with any of the DVH variables.

Gender topped the list of the five between-group demographic variables (age, income,

race, gender, and sexual orientation) that impact DVH showing significant associations to thirty-

one (31) different DVH variables. Among individual gender groups, intersex had the most

associations with DVH variables, showing significance in relation to twenty-four (24) DVH

variables. On the opposite end, being multi-gendered was significantly related to only two (2)

different DVH variables. Identifying as transgender was significantly associated with nineteen

(19) DVH variables, male with seventeen (17), and female with fifteen (15). Importantly,

individual gender categories sometimes rose to the level of significance in their association with

a particular DVH variable, while between-group differences remained below the level of

significance. This meant that there were actually thirty-four (34) different DVH variables that

had a significant association with at least one gender-related variable. Further, being male had a

negative relationship with all but two of the DVH variables, arrest and vandalism; whereas being

transgender had a positive relationship with any of the DVH variables that it has a significant

association with, making transgender respondents more likely to have experienced DVH and male respondents less likely to have experienced DVH.

Between-group differences in sexual orientation also had a frequent impact on DVH experiences as shown by the twenty-five (25) different DVH variables that were significantly related to sexual orientation. Being gay or lesbian had a significant relationship to twenty-two (22) DVH variables, followed by heterosexual, which was significantly related to twenty-one (21) DVH variables. Next, bisexual was related to eighteen (18) different DVH variables, queer was related to ten (10), other to six (6), and multiple to five (5). In all, thirty-two (32) DVH variables were significantly associated at least one sexual orientation-related variable.

Between group differences in race had twenty-three (23) significant associations with DVH variables. However, here too, certain individual racial categories rose to the level of significance in their relation to a particular DVH variable, while between-group differences in race did not. As well, there was a striking variance in the number of DVH variables that any given racial category was significantly associated with. For instance, as was mentioned, Latina/Latino was not associated with any DVH variables, while Native American was associated with twenty-seven (27). Asian/Pacific Islander was associated with only one (1) DVH variable, African American with only two (2), Caucasian with three (3), and Arab/Middle Eastern with four (4). Similar to Native American, multi-racial was significantly associated with twenty-two (22) different DVH variables. Either between-group differences, or individual racial categories, were significantly associated with thirty (30) different DVH variables.

Age and income showed less impact on rates of DVH. Between group differences in age had an impact on fourteen (14) different DVH variables. The young adult age group had the greatest number of significant associations, with relationships to rates of ten (10) different DVH

variables, followed by older adult with eight (8), then middle adult with six (6), and finally

adolescent with five (5). A total of seventeen (17) DVH variables had significant associations

with one or more age-related variables. Between group differences in income was significantly

related to eight (8) different DVH variables. However, the lowest income group (*income1*) was

related to eleven (11) DVH variables, followed by the fourth income group (*income4*)*,* which

was significantly related to eight (8). The second income group (*income2*) was significantly

related to four (4) DVH variables, while the fifth income group (*income5*), the highest income

group, was significantly related to two (2), and the third income group (*income3*) to only one (1).

Like age, income-related variables were significantly associated with seventeen (17) different

DVH variables.

Association between Legal Issues and Demographics

A number of survey questions relate directly to the notion that some of the behaviors

associated with BDSM sexual expression could be interpreted as either illegal, or have legal

repercussions. For instance, the survey asked participants if they had, as a result of their

participation in BDSM activities, ever experienced loss of child custody, a divorce, been

arrested, been discriminated against by a lawyer, police, or government official, whether a

BDSM-related business they were involved in had been harassed by police or government

officials, or arrests had been made relating to the business. Respondents were also asked if they

had decided not to press charges after being the victim of harassment or violence as a result of

their being identified as participating in BDSM. If they noted that they had avoided pursuing

legal action against perpetrators of violence or harassment, they were then asked why, and

offered several possibilities including "fear of losing child custody" and "fear of legal

repercussions". The following sections explore relationships between all these variables and respondent demographics.

Loss of child custody. Of the 55 respondents reporting loss of child custody as a result of their interests in BDSM, 60% of them were in the middle adult age range (33 – 49), compared with 20% in the young adult age group, 1.8% in the adolescent age group, and 18.2% in the older adult age group. Respondents in middle adulthood were significantly more likely than either younger or older respondents to have experienced the loss of child custody ($X^2 = 3.785$, $df = 1$, $p = .05$). Over 27% of respondents who lost child custody were in the lowest income bracket (under $10,000 per year) making them significantly more likely to have suffered the loss of child custody than respondents in higher income groups ($X^2 = 10.317$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$); low income respondents reported this experience at more than twice the rate (3.9% vs. 1.5%) of higher income respondents.

Respondents who identified as Native American were also more likely to report loss of child custody ($X^2 = 11.246$, $df = 1$, $p = .005$; FET) and did so at a rate just over 9%. On the other hand, respondents who were gay or lesbian were significantly less likely to report loss of child custody ($X^2 = 7.237$, $df = 1$, $p = .007$). Only 7.3% of respondents who stated they had lost child custody were gay or lesbian, even though gay men and lesbians accounted for 21% of the survey population. Bisexuals were significantly more likely to report loss of child custody ($X^2 = 4.493$, $df = 1$, $p = .03$), comprising 47.3% of those reporting this form of discrimination, while making up only 32.6% of the overall survey population. Nearly five percent ($n = 7$) of transgender respondents reported the loss of child custody, making them significantly more likely than respondents with other gender orientations to report this type of discrimination ($X^2 = 7.117$, $df = 1$, $p = .018$; FET).

Divorce. Between group differences within age ($X^2 = 19.232$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$), gender ($X^2 = 18.319$, $df = 4$, $p = .007$; FET), and sexual orientation ($X^2 = 12.746$, $df = 6$, $p = .033$; FET) all appeared to be related to whether respondents had experienced a divorce. Between-group differences within income ($p = .424$) and race ($p = .250$) appeared to have no effect on the likelihood that a respondent had experienced a divorce or settlement.

Respondents older than 50 were more than three times as likely (5.5%) to report a divorce or settlement than respondents aged 22 through 32 (1.6%) or respondents aged 15 to 21 (1.2%). Older respondents were significantly more likely to have experienced a divorce than any other age group ($X^2 = 9.342$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$) while respondents aged 22 to 32 were significantly less likely to have experienced a divorce or settlement ($X^2 = 11.105$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$, V = -.061). Unexpectedly, female respondents reported experiencing a divorce at a lower percentage (2.8%) than was true for the survey respondents as a whole (3.6%), making them significantly less likely to report this form of discrimination ($X^2 = 6.728$, $df = 1$, $p = .009$). Transgender respondents, on the other hand, reported having had a divorce as a result of their BDSM interests at a rate of almost one in ten (9.6%), making them significantly more likely to report this type of discrimination ($X^2 = 14.806$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$; FET) than respondents who were not transgender. Finally, only 1.9% of gay men or lesbians reported this kind of discrimination ($X^2 = 6.925$, $df = 1$, $p = .009$, $phi = -.048$), while 5% of bisexual respondents claimed to have experienced it ($X^2 = 8.456$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$, $phi = .053$); making gay men and lesbians significantly less likely and bisexuals significantly more likely than other respondents to have experienced discrimination in the form of a divorce or settlement. Effect of sexual orientation on this form of discrimination remained small.

Arrest. Between-group differences within income and race showed no significant association with arrest; in fact, none of the income or race variables were associated with arrest. The multiple-category demographic variables age, gender, and sexual orientation, however, all had some impact on the likelihood that a respondent had been arrested (see table 15). In terms of age, no respondents in the young adult age group reported having been arrested as a result in participating in BDSM compared to 1.3% of older adults. Respondents in the middle adult age group had a rate of 0.7% for this type of discrimination, and adolescents reported being arrested at a rate of 1.2%. Chi square tests of association run between arrest and each binary age variable show that young adults were significantly less likely to report being arrested as a result of participating in BDSM ($X^2 = 6.441$, $df = 1$, $p = .011$, $phi = -.046$) than other age groups, whereas older adults were significantly more likely to report this form of discrimination ($X^2 = 4.361$, $df = 1$, $p = .038$) than adolescents, young adults or middle adults.

Table 15 - Demographics by Arrest

	Arrest
Age	$X^2 = 8.780$, $df = 3$, $p = .032$, V = .054
Gender	$X^2 = 17.402$, $df = 4$, $p = .002$, V = .072
Sexual Orientation	$X^2 = 15.214$, $df = 6$, $p = .019$, V = .071

For gender, being either male or female had an impact on the likelihood of reporting arrest, with female participants less likely to report being arrested ($X^2 = 15.019$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.071$) and male participants slightly more likely to report being arrested ($X^2 = 13.897$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = .068$). Finally, reversing the association found with divorce, being gay or lesbian ($X^2 = 11.141$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$, $phi = .061$) or bisexual ($X^2 = 6.247$, $df = 1$, $p = .012$, $phi = $

-.046) impacted rates of arrest, but with gay men and lesbians being more likely and bisexuals being less likely than other respondents to report having been arrested.

Discrimination by police or government employees. Two other variables representing experiences with the legal system resulted from questions regarding whether a respondent had ever experienced discrimination by a professional service provider. In particular, respondents were asked if, as a result of their BDSM activities, they had ever been discriminated against by a lawyer or "police or government employee". No associations were found between demographic variables and the experience of being discriminated against by a lawyer, however race, gender and age all appeared to be associated with this form of discrimination (see table 16). Respondents who identified as gay were also significantly more likely to report discrimination by police or government employees ($X^2 = 3.978$, $df = 1$, $p = .046$), although between-group differences in sexual orientation were not significant ($p = .484$). Respondents between 22 and 32 years of age were significantly less likely than respondents in other age groups to report having experienced discrimination by police or government employees ($X^2 = 9.496$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$), making up more than half (54.9%) of the total number of people who reported this form of discrimination. Over 15% of Native Americans reported this form of discrimination, making them significantly more likely ($X^2 = 16.187$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) along with multi-racial respondents ($X^2 = 3.904$, $df = 1$, $p = .048$) to have experienced discrimination by police or government employees. The impact that being Native American or Multi-racial had on this form of discrimination remained weak (*phi* < .07).

Table 16 - Demographics by Police or Government Employee Discrimination

	Discrimination by Police or Government Employee
Age	$X^2 = 12.182$, $df = 3$, $p = .007$, V = .064
Race	$X^2 = 20.419$, $df = 6$, $p = .002$, V = .091
Gender	$X^2 = 11.031$, $df = 4$, $p = .026$, V = .077

Pressing charges against perpetrators. If a respondent had experienced violence or harassment as a result of being identified as participating in BDSM, they were then asked if they had pressed charges. No demographic variables were found to have significant associations with pressing charges ($p > .1$). If they answered that they had not, they were then asked why they had not. Two of the choices given for not pressing charges were "fear of losing child custody", and "fear of legal repercussions". Both of these variables appeared to have significant associations with demographic characteristics of respondents.

Not pressing charges against a perpetrator of violence or harassment for fear of losing child custody was significantly related to between-group differences within each demographic variable: age ($X^2 = 16.572$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$, V = .075), income ($X^2 = 9.749$, $df = 4$, $p = .045$, V = .045), race ($X^2 = 21.923$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, V = .086), gender ($X^2 = 15.331$, $df = 4$, $p = .002$, V = .072), and sexual orientation ($X^2 = 28.381$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$, V = .097) – with sexual orientation having the strongest association.

Middle-aged adults (33 to 49) were significantly more likely not to report violence or harassment out of fear of losing child custody ($X^2 = 10.348$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$, $phi = .059$), whereas adolescents ($X^2 = 4.660$, $df = 1$, $p = .031$, $phi = -.039$) and older adults ($X^2 = 8.665$, $df = 1$, $p = .003$, $phi = -.054$) were significantly less likely to have avoided reporting violence or harassment out of fear they might lose child custody. Among binary income variables, only

income3 (those earning between $25,000 and $49,999 per year) showed a significant relationship to fearing loss of child custody if they were to press charges against a perpetrator of violence or harassment ($X^2 = 4.248$, $df = 1$, $p = .039$). The only racial groups showing significant association with not pressing charges for fear of losing child custody were, once again, Native American ($X^2 = 9.026$, $df = 1$, $p = .003$, phi = .055) or multi-racial ($X^2 = 4.926$, $df = 1$, $p = .026$, phi = .041). Being Native American had a weak relationship to not reporting DVH out of fear of losing child custody, and the relationship between being Multi-racial and this particular reason for not reporting DVH was even weaker.

Overall, survey respondents reported avoiding pressing charges for fear of losing child custody at a rate of 2.5%, males, however, reported this fear at a rate of only 1.3%, while females reported this fear as motivation for not pressing charges at a rate well above the survey average (3.4%). Those respondents who identified as male were significantly less likely to avoid pressing charges for fear of losing child custody ($X^2 = 15.981$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) and female respondents were significantly more likely to avoid pressing charges for this reason ($X^2 = 9.647$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$). Finally, only five respondents (0.8%) who identified as gay or lesbian reported avoiding pressing charges against a perpetrator for fear of losing child custody while 45 bisexual respondents (4.6%) reported this fear; making gay men or lesbians less likely to have avoided pressing charges because they feared losing child custody ($X^2 = 10.758$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$, *phi* = -.060) and bisexual respondents more likely to have avoided pressing charges for this reason ($X^2 = 24.714$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, *phi* = .091).

Not pressing charges against a perpetrator of violence or harassment for fear of legal repercussions was associated with differences among racial groups ($X^2 = 28.717$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$) as well as differences among gender groups ($X^2 = 25.216$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$). And while

differences among sexual orientation groups was not associated with legal repercussions rates (p = .315), bisexual respondents were slightly more likely (X^2 = 6.433, df = 1, p = .011, phi = .046) than heterosexual, gay, lesbian, and queer respondents to report fear of legal repercussions as the reason they decided not to pursue charges against perpetrators, accounting for 40.5% of the respondents who identified this reason for not pressing charges. With race, Native Americans reported fear of legal repercussions as the reason they didn't pursue charges against a perpetrator at a rate of 21.2%, compared to a total survey rate of 5.1%, making them significantly more likely than other racial groups to avoid pressing charges against perpetrators of violence and harassment because of this fear (X^2 = 14.356, df = 1, p < .001). Both intersex respondents (X^2 = 7.724, df = 1, p = .005), and transgender respondents (X^2 = 15.711, df = 1, p < .001) were also significantly more likely to report having avoided pressing charges for this reason, while male respondents, were significantly less likely than respondents of other genders to have avoided pressing charges against a perpetrator for fear of legal repercussions (X^2 = 6.588, df = 1, p = .01), reporting this fear at a rate of only 3.9%.

Legal issues for BDSM-related businesses. Two final variables related to legal issues surrounding BDSM were whether a respondent associated with a BDSM-related business or event had ever been the victim of harassment by police or "authorities", and whether they had ever been arrested in connection with running a BDSM-related business or event. Respondents in the highest income bracket reported this type of harassment at a rate of 3.5% and males at a rate of 2.1%, compared to the rate for all respondents which was only 1.6%. Harassment by police or authorities was significantly more likely to have been experienced by respondents earning over $100K ($X^2$ = 7.464, df = 1, p = .012 FET), as well as by male respondents (X^2 = 3.894, df = 1, p =

.050 FET). Arrest, as a result of participating in, or running a BDSM-related event or business was not significantly associated with any of the demographic variables it was tested against.

Psychologically-related Variables and Demographics

      Discrimination by medical doctor or mental health provider. Two variables that are directly related to the predominant psychological and psychiatric view of BDSM as aberrant and pathological are discrimination by a mental health practitioner, and discrimination by a medical doctor (which would include psychiatrists). Age was found to be unrelated to whether a respondent was more or less likely to have experienced discrimination by either a mental health provider or a medical doctor. However between-group differences within race ($X^2 = 15.578$, $df = 6$, $p = .016$) gender ($X^2 = 22.063$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$), and sexual orientation ($X^2 = 36.544$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$), were all associated with experiencing discrimination by a mental health practitioner. The same held true with discrimination by a medical doctor, with race ($X^2 = 14.635$, $df = 6$, $p = .023$), gender ($X^2 = 25.536$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$), and sexual orientation ($X^2 = 28.583$, $df = 6$, $p < .001$) all significantly associated.

      The rate that discrimination by a medical doctor was reported within the survey population was 5.8%. Males, however, reported being discriminated against by an MD at a rate of 4.2%, while females reported at a rate of 6.8%, and intersex respondents at a rate of 28.6%. Men were significantly less likely to have experienced being discriminated against by a medical doctor ($X^2 = 8.443$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$, $phi = -.053$) while female ($X^2 = 6.825$, $df = 1$, $p = .009$, $phi = .048$) and intersex ($X^2 = 13.422$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = .067$) participants were significantly more likely to have experienced this type of discrimination.

      While between-group differences in income was not related to discrimination by a mental health provider ($p = .191$), respondents earning less that $10,000 a year were significantly more

likely to report this form of discrimination (X^2 = 4.796, df = 1, p = .029) than respondents

earning more – doing so at a rate of 7% while the rest of the survey respondents reported this

form of discrimination at only 4.8%. Likewise, Native American respondents who reported this

type of discrimination at a rate of 9.1%, and Multi-racial respondents who reported it at a rate of

9.7%, were significantly more likely [(X^2 = 5.438, df = 1, p = .02) for Native Americans and (X^2

= 11.671, df = 1, p = .001) for Multi-racial respondents] than respondents of other races to report

being discriminated against by a mental health provider. Being male was associated with this

type of discrimination (X^2 = 15.486, df = 1, p < .001), as was being female (X^2 = 9.697, df = 1, p

= .002), or transgender (X^2 = 5.375, df = 1, p = .02). Once again, males reported being

discriminated against at a lesser rate (3.0%) than women (5.9%), transgender respondents

(8.9%), or survey participants in general (4.8%). In terms of sexual orientation and it's

relationship to being discriminated against by a mental health provider, respondents who

identified as bisexual, queer, or those who identified themselves as having some 'other' sexual

orientation, or multiple sexual orientations, were slightly more likely than heterosexuals to report

this form of discrimination (see table 17). Being gay or lesbian was not related to experiencing

discrimination by a mental health practitioner.

Table 17 - Sexual Orientation by Mental Health Provider Discrimination

Discrimination by Mental Health Provider	
Heterosexual	X^2 = 2.980, df = 1, p = .05, *Phi* = -.032
Gay/Lesbian	(p = .163)
Bisexual	X^2 = 4.757, df = 1, p = .029, *Phi* = .040
Queer	X^2 = 7.813, df = 1, p = .004, *Phi* = .061
Other	X^2 = 8.880, df = 1, p = .003, *Phi* = .054
Multiple S.O.	X^2 = 15.523, df = 1, p < .001, *Phi* = .072

Associations between Sociologically-related Variables and Demographics

 Being Out. One group of variables that are clearly located within the sociological landscape of BDSM are those having to do with whether respondents were 'out' about their interest in BDSM, to whom they were 'out' to about it, and if not, what their fears were that kept them from being 'out' about it. As was stated earlier, 57% ($n = 1651$) of respondents who answered the question described themselves as being out, however, within this group 24% ($n = 403$) were not out to non-BDSM friends and more than half of those who said they were out were not out to family ($n = 829$) or work ($n = 874$).

 Differences in income ($X^2 = 13.138$, $df = 4$, $p = .011$), gender ($X^2 = 11.236$, $df = 4$, $p = .024$), and sexual orientation ($X^2 = 97.990$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$) appear to have a significant association with being out; with only 52.8% of respondents earning over \$50,000 per year reporting being out, and only 46.9% of heterosexuals being out. Conversely, 69.5% of transgender respondents, 68.2% of gay men and lesbians, 60.2% of bisexuals, and 85.4% of those respondents identifying as queer were out about their BDSM interests. Those participants earning between \$50,000 and \$99,999 per year ($X^2 = 8.728$, $df = 1$, $p = .003$) and heterosexuals ($X^2 = 84.085$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) were significantly less likely to report being out about their BDSM interests, while respondents identifying as transgender ($X^2 = 9.473$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$), gay ($X^2 = 40.299$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), bisexual ($X^2 = 4.309$, $df = 1$, $p = .038$), or queer ($X^2 = 20.594$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) were significantly more likely to be out about their BDSM interests. Being heterosexual appeared to have the strongest relationship, albeit a negative one, on whether a respondent would report being out.

 Sexual orientation also had a significant association with variables describing what types of people a respondent might be out to regarding their BDSM interests. Exactly 64% of

heterosexuals reported not being out to their family, compared with the 61% rate for the total

survey population. Gay men and lesbians reported not being out to their family at a slightly

smaller rate of 57.5%. Heterosexuals, once again, were significantly less likely to be out to their

families ($X^2 = 6.983$, $df = 1$, $p = .008$), and gay men and lesbians significantly more likely to be

out to their families ($X^2 = 5.600$, $df = 1$, $p = .018$). This pattern of heterosexual respondents being

significantly more likely to not be out and gay men or lesbian respondents significantly more

likely to be out held true for not being out at work as well as not being out to non-BDSM friends

(see table 18). Additionally where not being out at work was concerned, the sexual orientation of

queer also proved significant. And both queer and 'other' sexual orientation proved significantly

associated with not being out to non-BDSM friends. A statistically significant association was

also found between being heterosexual and not being out to the BDSM community ($X^2 = 8.860$,

$df = 1$, $p = .003$). Out of the entire survey population, just 5.1% of people reported that they were

not out about their BDSM interests with the BDSM community, while the rate for heterosexuals

was 6.5%.

Table 18 - Sexual Orientation by Not Out to Friends or Job

	Not out to non-BDSM friends	Not out to job
Heterosexual	$X^2 = 61.760$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, phi = .144	$X^2 = 8.448$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$, phi = .053
Gay/Lesbian	$X^2 = 35.077$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, phi = -.108	$X^2 = 13.784$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, phi = -.068
Queer	$X^2 = 16.845$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, phi = -.075	$X^2 = 6.252$, $df = 1$, $p = .012$, phi = -.046
Other Sexuality	$X^2 = 3.700$, $df = 1$, $p = .054$, phi = -.035	($p = .762$)

Out of the entire survey population, 146 people (4.9%) reported that they were not out to

their partner or lover about their BDSM interests. Even with the group who reported that they

were out about their BDSM interests ($n = 1647$), 1.5% ($n = 24$) still stated, at the same time, that

they were not out to their partner or lover. While sexual orientation was associated with whether

or not a respondent was out to family, work, non-BDSM friends, and BDSM-friends, it appeared

to have no significant association with being out to a partner or lover. Age ($X^2 = 23.189$, $df = 3$, p

$< .001$), income ($X^2 = 11.661$, $df = 4$, $p = .020$), and gender ($X^2 = 17.835$, $df = 4$, $p = .001$), were

the demographic variables associated with whether or not a respondent was out to a partner or

lover.

As stated, a total of 4.9% of the survey population reported that they were not out to a

partner. Adolescents reported not being out to a partner at a much higher rate, 10.5%, and older

adults also reported not being out to a partner at a higher (6.8%) rate. Young adults reported not

being out to their partners only 3.3% of the time and middle adults just 4% of the time.

Adolescents and older adults were significantly less likely to be out to a partner, whereas

respondents between the ages of 22 and 49 were significantly more likely to be out to a partner

(table 19). As well, respondents who earned less than $10,000 a year were slightly more likely to

not be out to their partners ($X^2 = 5.400$, $df = 1$, $p = .020$), reporting it 7.3% of the time, while

respondents earning between $10,000 and $24.999 per year were slightly less likely to not be out

to their partners ($X^2 = 5.255$, $df = 1$, $p = .022$), reporting it only 2.9% of the time, compared to a

rate of 4.9% for the survey population. Earning $25,000 or more was not significantly associated

($p > .05$) with either being out, or not out, to a partner. Finally, with gender, male respondents

were significantly more likely to not be out to their partners ($X^2 = 13.779$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$),

reporting this 6.5% of the time, compared to female respondents, who were significantly less

likely to be out to their partners ($X^2 = 15.773$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), reporting this only 3.4% of the

time.

Table 19 - Age by Not Out to Partner

	Not Out to Partner, Lover, or Spouse	
Age Group	Chi-Square Value	Response Rate (%)
Adolescent (15 – 21)	$X^2 = 12.480$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$	10.5
Young Adult (22 – 32)	$X^2 = 4.945$, $df = 1$, $p = .026$	3.3
Middle Adult (33 – 49)	$X^2 = 3.930$, $df = 1$, $p = .047$	4
Older Adult (over 50)	$X^2 = 7.361$, $df = 1$, $p = .007$	6.8

Respondents were also asked, if they were not out, to pick from a list of possible reasons for not being out: fear of harassment, fear of job repercussions, loss of child custody, family disapproval, friends disapproval, partner's disapproval, and/or public disapproval. Only 4.8% of total survey respondents reported that they were not out due to fear of their partner's disapproval, however 5.8% of heterosexuals reported that they were not out for this reason; making heterosexuals significantly more likely to remain closeted about their BDSM interests due to fear of a partner's disapproval ($X^2 = 4.472$, $df = 1$, $p = .034$). Likewise, heterosexuals were significantly more likely than non-heterosexuals ($X^2 = 31.588$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$) to remain closeted out of fear of a friend's disapproval, reporting this fear at a rate of 33.6%, far greater than the rate for non-heterosexuals (24.2%). Finally, 37.3% of heterosexuals reported remaining closeted out of fear of public disapproval, compared to only 31.5% of non-heterosexuals, making heterosexuals significantly more likely to have this fear than non-heterosexuals ($X^2 = 10.671$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$).

Tests of association were also run between the reasons for not being out, and whether or not a respondent was out, to determine the strength of association between the two variables. Not surprisingly all reasons were significantly correlated with being out or not; however, there was a

noticeable increase in strength of association between the least strongly associated, and most strongly associated fear. Table 20 shows the results of these analysis in ascending order of strength.

Table 20 - Reasons for Not Being Out by Out/Not Out

	Out/Not Out
Fear of Friends' Disapproval	$X^2 = 373.004$, $df = 1$ $p < .001$, $phi = -.359$
Fear of Public Disapproval	$X^2 = 280.321$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.311$
Fear of Family Disapproval	$X^2 = 184.411$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.252$
Fear of Harassment	$X^2 = 94.266$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.181$
Fear of Partner's Disapproval	$X^2 = 86.292$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.173$
Fear of Job Repercussions	$X^2 = 70.203$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.156$
Fear loss of Child Custody	$X^2 = 34.517$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, $phi = -.109$

Relationships Between BDSM Behavior and DVH

Being out. Not surprisingly being out impacted rates of discrimination ($X^2 = 106.399$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), violence ($X^2 = 14.837$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$), and harassment ($X^2 = 65.326$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$); with the strongest impact on rates of discrimination, followed by harassment, and the least impact on rates of violence. Those who were out were a little over 2% more likely to experience violence compared to those who were not out (7.6% compared to 5.2%), and respondents who were out were 10% more likely to experience harassment than those who were not out (26.8% for those who were out, compared to 15.3% for those who were not out). More strikingly, respondents who were out about their BDSM participation were almost twice as likely to report at least one experience of discrimination, compared to those who were not out (35.1% for those who were out vs. 17.8% for those who were not). Finally, respondents who were out were also nearly twice as likely to report some form of professional discrimination, doing so at a rate of

15.1%, compared to those who were not out, who reported professional discrimination at a rate of only 8.5%.

BDSM activities. The survey's main aim, however, was to collect information pertaining to experiences of DVH that occurred as a result of an individual participating in BDSM activities, whether they were out about their BDSM interests or not. Therefore, one important question to ask about DVH was whether variables related to the types of BDSM behaviors an individual was either interested in, or participated in, had any impact on the frequency of DVH. With regard to particular BDSM interests that respondents indicated they enjoyed, almost all were associated with increased rates of discrimination, violence, and harassment. In fact all the BDSM activities listed by the survey were associated with harassment ($p < .05$). Only one activity was not significantly associated with discrimination: spanking ($p = .067$). And the two activities that were not associated with violence were cross dressing ($p = .216$), and foot fetish ($p = .281$). With the exception of the significant associations between fetish interest total, participate in frequently, and enjoy the most, with discrimination total, violence total, and harassment total, none of the relationships between BDSM behaviors and specific types of DVH were powerful, all had only small effect sizes (*phi* $< .20$).

As just noted, the most powerful and statistically significant associations were found between discrimination totals, violence totals, and harassment totals and the variables describing how many fetishes a respondent was interested in (*fetish interest total*), which they participated in most frequently (*participate in frequently*), and which they enjoyed the most (*enjoy most*). The resulting nine (9) chi-square results are displayed in table 21.

Table 21 - DVH Totals by Fetish Interest Total

	Fetish Interest Total
Discrimination Total	$X^2 = 182.024$, $df = 102$, $p < .001$, V = .247
Violence Total	$X^2 = 126.100$, $df = 68$, $p < .001$, V = .205
Harassment Total	$X^2 = 214.373$, $df = 102$, $p < .001$, V = .268
	Participate in Frequently
Discrimination Total	$X^2 = 182.407$, $df = 108$, $p < .001$, V = .247
Violence Total	$X^2 = 99.778$, $df = 72$, $p = .017$, V = .183
Harassment Total	$X^2 = 191.247$, $df = 108$, $p < .001$, V = .253
	Enjoy Most
Discrimination Total	$X^2 = 156.528$, $df = 108$, $p = .002$, V = .229
Violence Total	$X^2 = 96.206$, $df = 72$, $p = .03$, V = .179
Harassment Total	$X^2 = 164.836$, $df = 108$, $p < .001$, V = .235

Because number of fetishes chosen appeared to have the strongest significant associations with DVH totals, actual rates of discrimination, violence, harassment, and professional discrimination within each fetish interest total category were examined and compared. The following graphs illustrate rates of discrimination (figure 3), violence (figure 4), and harassment (figure 5), and DVH (*figure* 6), which trend upwards with each successive fetish interest total category. Independent sample t-tests were conducted to compare rates of fetish interest and the experiences of discrimination, violence, and harassment. There was a significant difference in the mean number of fetish interests ($t = 7.15$, p < .001) for those participants who had not experienced discrimination ($M = 7.09$, $SD = 4.37$) and those that had ($M = 8.38$, $SD = 4.49$), as well as for those who had not experienced violence ($M = 7.29$, $SD = 4.45$) compared to those who had ($M = 9.22$, $SD = 3.88$); ($t = -6.37$, $p < .001$). Likewise, there was a significant difference in the mean number of fetish interests ($t = -10.42$, $p < .001$) reported by participants who had

experienced harassment (*M* = 6.97, *SD* = 4.43) compared to those who had not (*M* = 8.91, *SD* = 4.13). Participants who experienced discrimination, violence, or harassment had significantly more fetish interests than those participants who had not experienced discrimination, violence, or harassment.
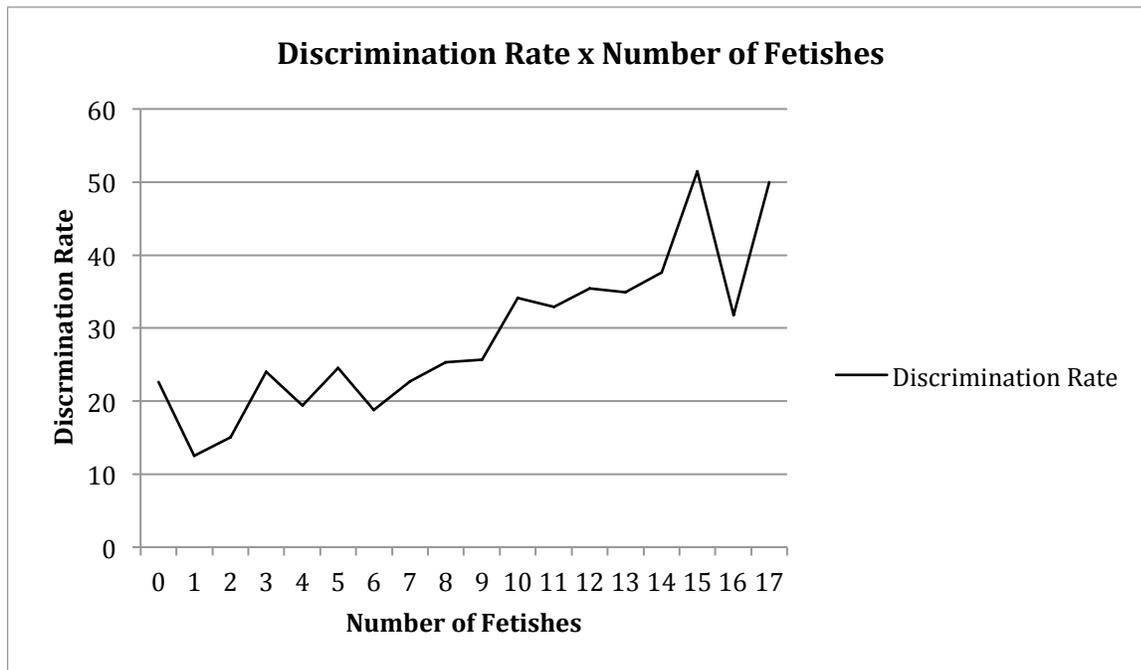
Figure 3 - Discrimination Rate by Number of Fetishes
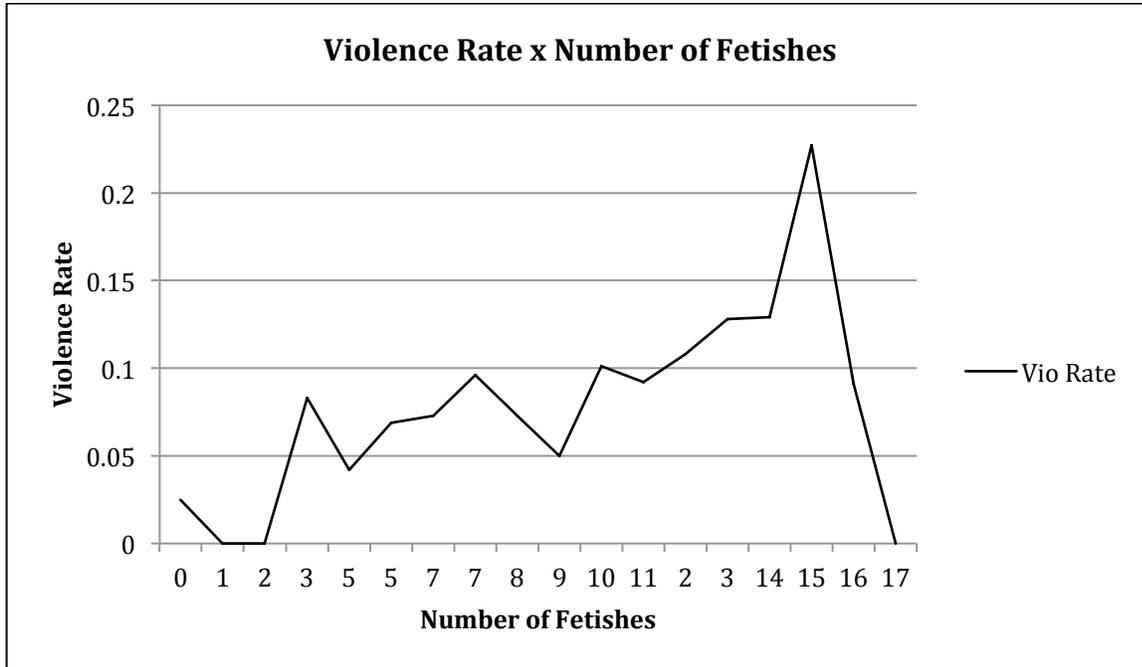
Figure 4 - Rates of Violence by Number of Fetishes
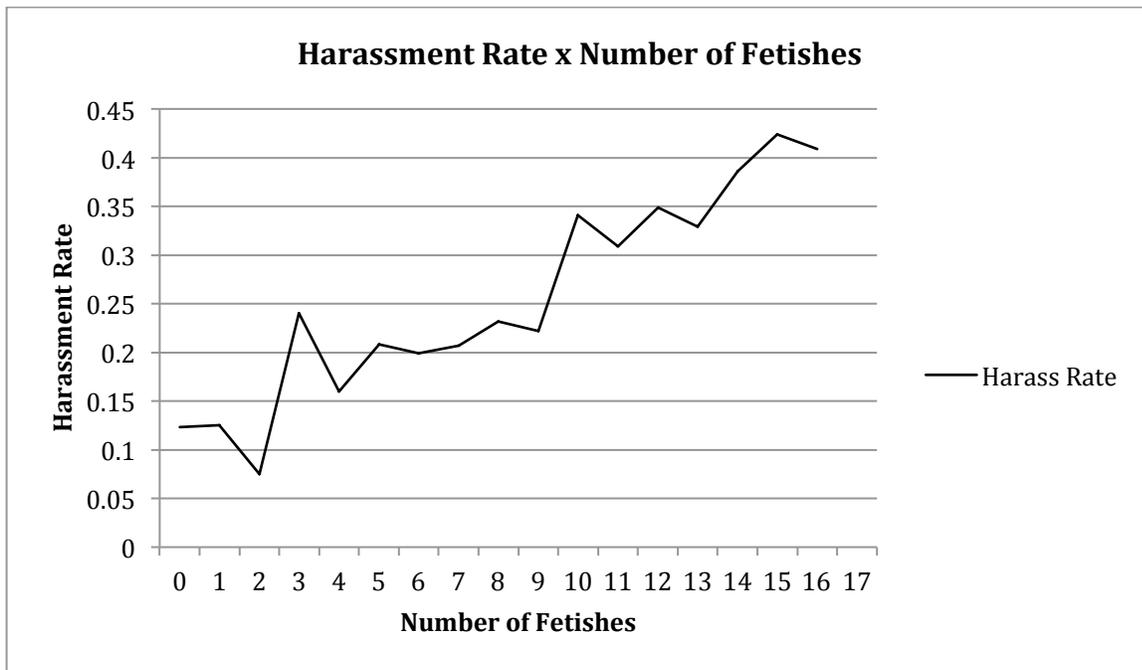
Figure 5 - Rates of Harassment by Number of Fetishes

DVH Rate x Number of Fetishes
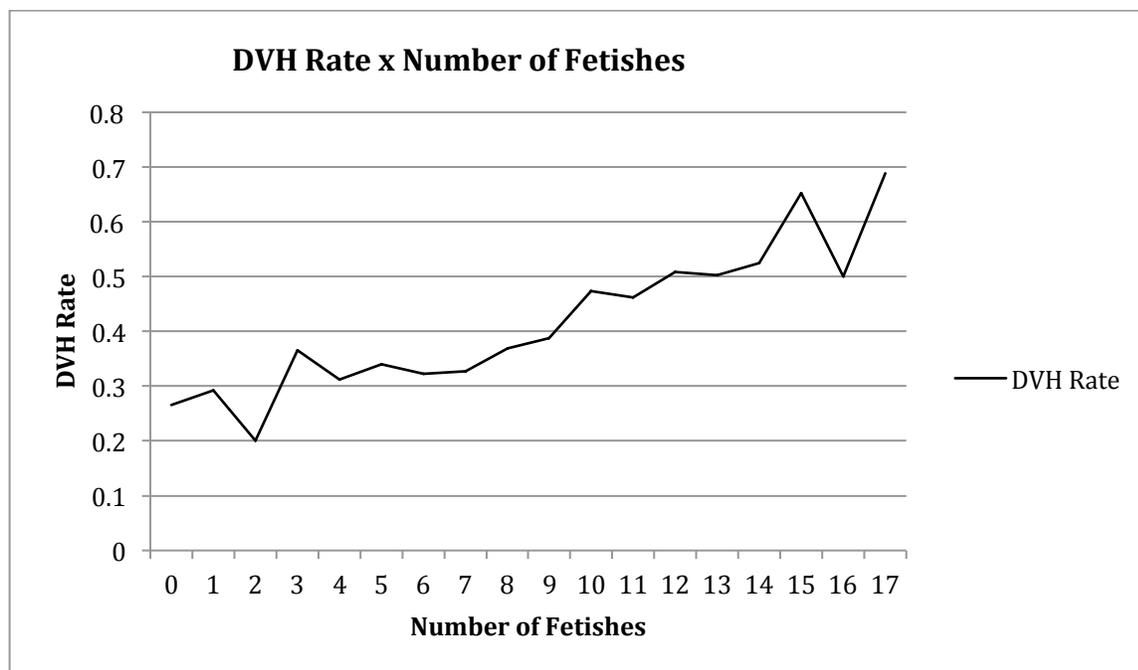
Figure 6 - Rates of DVH by Number of Fetishes

The associations between fetish interest total and rates of discrimination, violence, harassment, and total DVH, were mirrored by the association between fetish interest total and professional discrimination ($X^2 = 83.141$, $df = 17$, $p < .001$). Specifically, the four types of professional discrimination that are explored above, discrimination by a medical doctor, a mental health provider, police or government employees, and discrimination by a lawyer, were all found to be impacted by the number of fetishes reported by the respondent. Table 22 shows the results of cross-tabulations between fetish interest total and these four types of professional discrimination.

Table 22 - Professional Discrimination by Number of Fetishes

	Fetish Interest Total
Discrimination by Medical Doctor	$X^2 = 69.099$, $df = 17$, $p < .001$, V = .152
Discrimination by Mental Health	$X^2 = 58.669$, $df = 17$, $p < .001$, V = .140
Discrimination by Police or Govt.	$X^2 = 29.207$, $df = 17$, $p = .033$, V = .099
Discrimination by Lawyer	$X^2 = 31.782$, $df = 17$, $p = .016$, V = .103

Likewise, similar relationships exist between higher numbers of fetish interests, and an increase in the rate of professional discrimination or discrimination by an MD (see figures 7 and 8). The pattern is less discernable for discrimination by a mental health provider (MHP), discrimination by police or government employee (PGE), and discrimination by a lawyer (see figures 9, 10, and 11); however, the associations between greater number of fetishes chosen, and these forms of professional discrimination, were found to be statistically significant, even though they had a weaker effect.
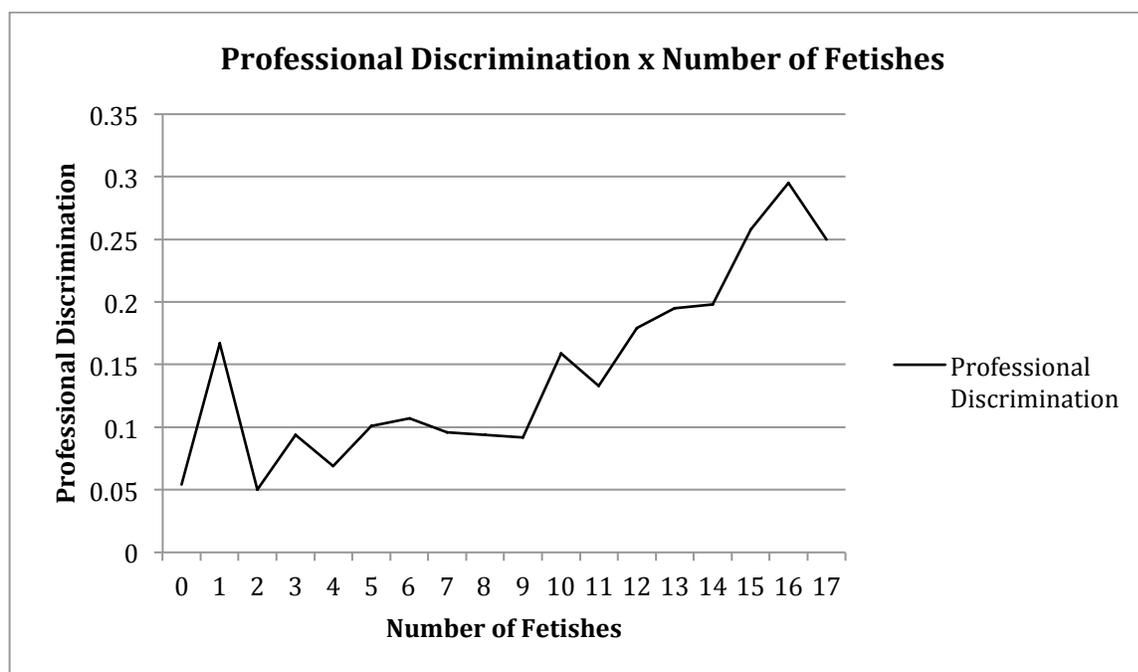
Figure 7 - Professional Discrimination by Number of Fetishes
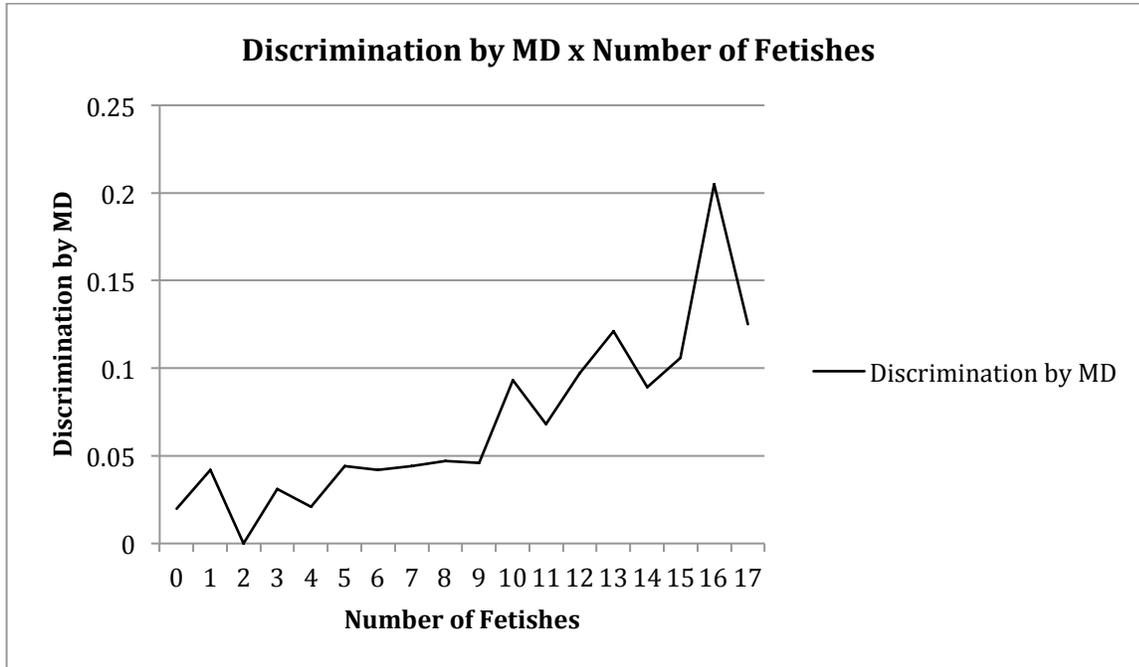
Figure 8 - Discrimination by MD by Number of Fetishes
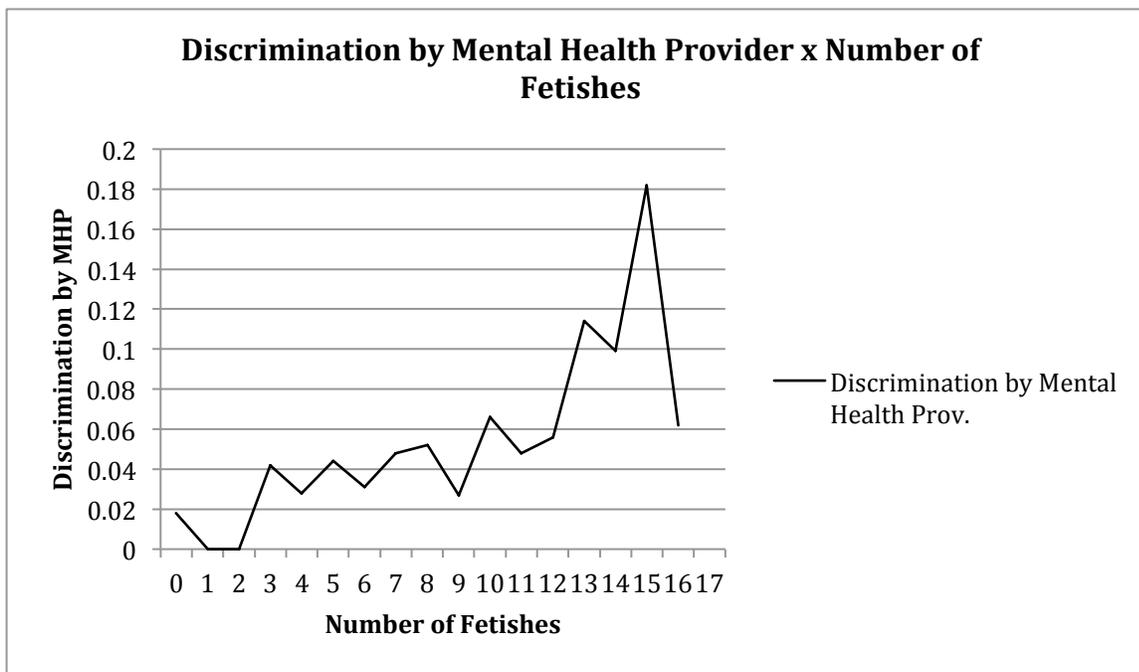
Figure 9 - Discrimination by Mental Health Provider by Number of Fetishes
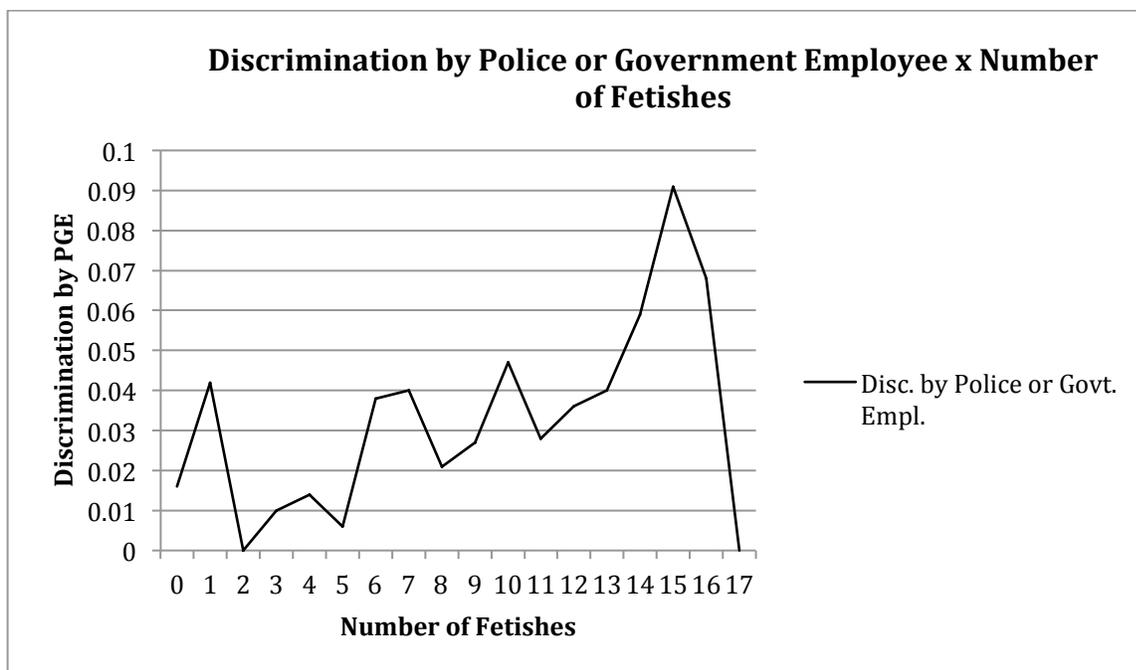
Figure 10 - Discrimination by Police or Government Employee by Number of Fetishes
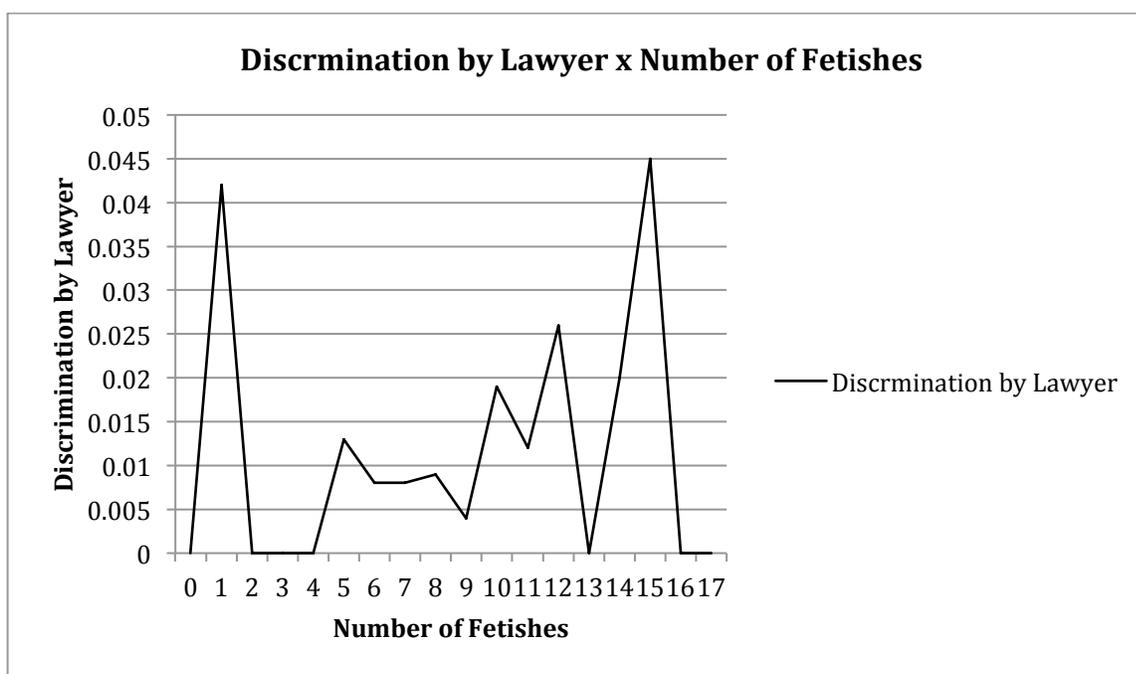
Figure 11 - Discrimination by Lawyer by Number of Fetishes

To further examine statistical significance in the relationship between higher number of fetish interests and greater likelihood of experiencing DVH, respondents were divided into two groups: those who had chosen nine (9) or fewer fetish interests, and those who had chosen ten

(10) or more fetish interests. Of all respondents, 36% (n = 1078) chose nine (9) or fewer fetish

interests and 64% (n = 1916) chose ten (10) or more. Nine (9) fetish interests were chosen as a

cut-point to form the two groups because this was the median number of fetishes chosen by those

respondents who answered the question about fetishes they enjoyed. Table 23 shows results from

examining relationships between these two groups and discrimination, violence, harassment, any

DVH, professional discrimination, professional discrimination by MD, professional

discrimination by MH provider, professional discrimination by police or government employee,

and professional discrimination by a lawyer. If a respondent indicated high fetish interests, they

were significantly more likely to experience discrimination, violence, and harassment. The

corollary was proven as well, with negative phi-values produced from testing the relationship

between low fetish interest and the various DVH variables.

Table 23 - Discrimination, Violence, and Harassment by Low and High Fetish Interest

	Low Fetish Interest (df = 1)	High Fetish Interest (df = 1)
Discrimination	X^2 = 60.281, p < .001, phi = -.142	X^2 = 60.281, p < .001, phi = .142
Violence	X^2 = 29.807, p < .001, phi = -.100	X^2 = 29.807, p < .001, phi = .100
Harassment	X^2 = 95.103, p < .001, phi = -.178	X^2 = 95.103, p < .001, phi = .178
DVH	X^2 = 90.847, p < .001, phi = -.174	X^2 = 90.847, p < .001, phi = .174
Professional Discrimination	X^2 = 57.133, p < .001, phi = -.138	X^2 = 57.133, p < .001, phi = .138
Professional Discrimination MD	X^2 = 48.570, p < .001, phi = -.127	X^2 = 48.570, p < .001, phi = .127
Professional Discrimination MHP	X^2 = 27.760, p < .001, phi = -.096	X^2 = 27.760, p < .001, phi = .096
Professional Discrimination PGE	X^2 = 9.967, p = .002, r = -.058	X^2 = 9.967, p = .002, phi = .058
Professional Discrimination Lawyer	X^2 = 9.881, p < .002, phi = -.057	X^2 = 9.881, p < .002, phi = .057

Chapter VII: Discussion

Introduction

First and foremost this was a survey of discrimination, violence, and harassment. The purpose of the survey was to explore levels of these occurrences within the BDSM community. To try and judge whether a particular rate of discrimination is either high or low would obfuscate the more fundamental problem that it exists at all. For social work practice, based in an anti-oppression framework, the presence of any amount of identifiable discrimination, violence, or harassment is reason enough for further research and attention. That nearly a third of the population studied reported some form of discrimination, a quarter reported some form of harassment, and almost 8% reported experiencing at least one violent attack as a result of being identified as part of the BDSM community, further supports the argument that individuals' lives are being negatively impacted, often quite seriously, as a result of stigma, fear, and marginalization of this group.

BDSM – A (Subaltern) Community of Common Understandings

One aspect of researching BDSM that is apparent from the outset, is the wide variance of terminology and interpretation of terms. Some confusion exists within the BDSM community, but more importantly, the vagary of terms has confused past research, as pointed out by Breslow (1986). While Breslow is primarily referring to the psychoanalytic usage of the terms in which, at points sadism and masochism are used to describe personality styles, and, at other points, particular behaviors, the present survey uncovers a well-formed (if fluid) understanding within the BDSM community regarding roles, behaviors, and meanings. This was seen in a number of ways. Firstly, there was a basic continuity between descriptive roles and behaviors. The majority of respondents who identified themselves using more than one role-descriptor, chose role

descriptors which were consistently either top-identified, or bottom-identified. Secondly, the "write-ins" that were elicited from participants showed enough of a pattern that certain new variables could be created, such as "queer" for sexual identity, and "top", "bottom" and "versatile" for role.

Further, almost all individual BDSM activities were statistically related to outcomes in discrimination, violence, and harassment (DVH), with the number of fetishes a participant was interested in also significantly impacting rates of DVH; the higher the number of fetishes, the more likely they were to experience DVH. This supports an underlying theory of the research that the DVH is aimed at an identity that is broad enough to encompass an array of activities (such as those listed in the survey itself), and boundaried enough to be recognized as constituting an identifiable, subaltern, and stigmatized community.

The premise, that while there is fluidity of terminology regarding behaviors and roles that comprise BDSM, there is still an identifiable BDSM community, also serves to make sense of response rates for individual BDSM activities that were listed by the survey. More than half of participants (54%) indicated that they enjoyed activities (listed on the survey) that were really general descriptions such as "SM" (65.5%), "bondage and discipline" (77.4%) and "dominance and submission" (75.8%). This is in contrast to listed activities which could be described as specific behaviors such as "foot fetish" (15.4%), "body modification" (24.5%), or "medical scenes" (23.4%). These results show that umbrella terms exist within the BDSM community, which denote broad categories of behaviors rather than any one specific behavior.

Likewise, specific fetish behaviors exist as well, but as one drills down into more specific behaviors, fewer individuals will be found to list these specific actions as descriptions of what they do. The one notable exception here is spanking. Interestingly, the very specific behavior of

spanking also ranked highly in terms of positive responses (68.2%), which is consistent with the

popularly held theory that spanking is one of the most commonly practiced BDSM-related sexual

behaviors (Plante, 2006) – often performed by individuals who do not consider the activity, or

themselves, BDSM-identified. That both umbrella terms and specific fetish behaviors exist, and

that more individuals would utilize the umbrella terms and fewer individuals will indicate

interests in specific forms of fetishes, furthers the idea of a fluid exchange within the BDSM

community between behaviors and identities. One person might think of themselves as enjoying

"role play", but not "medical scenes"; they might consider themselves part of the BDSM

community, but not enjoy bondage. The results seen in the activities section of the survey

describe a complex and dynamic social structure encompassing both behavior and identity.

BDSM vs. violence and abuse.

The fact that many participants were able to identify experiences of sexual harassment

and sexual abuse as forms of harassment and violence means that they were making a distinction

between their own BDSM-related sexual activities and acts of aggression or violence. This

furthers arguments made by community members and other researchers (Moser, 2006, Moser &

Kleinplatz, 2005) that there is a discernable difference between BDSM activity and violence.

And while this survey did not explore issues of consent, they are nonetheless implicated in the

findings regarding sexual harassment and sexual assault. Respondents were able to identify

BDSM activities such as bondage, dominance and submission, humiliation, spanking, and others

that they enjoyed and reported participating in, and at the same time were able to distinguish

these from identified experiences of sexual harassment, physical harassment, sexual assault,

physical assault, and domestic violence. This finding helps to establish a visible distinction

between BDSM and violence; BDSM activities are experienced by participants as sexual play - whereas violence, harassment, and abuse are not. One of the primary distinctions here is consent.

Establishing the presence of discrimination among a specific cohort, having asked those individuals specifically for experiences of discrimination that occurred as a result of being identified as part of that cohort, is perhaps one of the most cogent arguments that can be made in support of the idea that there, indeed, exists an identifiable BDSM community.

Discrimination and the Production of Fear

Out/not out. More than half of the survey participants stated that they were "out" about their BDSM interests. However, it was found that 52% of this group were not out at work and 50% were not out to family. Indeed, almost a quarter were not out to non-BDSM friends. It is understandable that someone might not share the intimate details of their sex lives with co-workers or family members, but this logic does not hold when looking at whether an individual who is interested in BDSM is out about those interests with their partner/lover/spouse or with other members of the BDSM community. Subtracting the number of individuals who stated they were out, but then stated that they were not out to their partner/lover/spouse or to members of the BDSM community (n=46) from the total number of individuals claiming to be out about their BDSM interests brings the overall percentage of survey respondents who are out about their BDSM interests to just about half (55%). Additionally, subtracting those individuals who were also not out to non-BDSM friends, the percentage shrinks to less than half (43%) of survey respondents being out.

But what does it mean for someone who participates in BDSM behavior to be out about this aspect of his or her lives? Obviously the question about being out or not is a complicated one. Research into rates of being out among LGB populations have been nearly impossible to

come by in ways that can truly be understood to be representative of the general population. Also, the notion of being out as it is applied to gay, lesbian, or bisexual sexual attraction cannot be so easily applied to the population and context of this survey. Being out about which gender(s) you are attracted to is not synonymous with disclosing information about specific sexual activities and behaviors that interest you. At minimum, though, the survey analyzed here has captured some of the structures surrounding the topic. Can "out-ness" be empirically assessed? If so, what are the descriptors used? As has been made clear from the analysis of the current research, whether someone is out or not about their sexual behavior depends highly on that individual's unique understanding of what it means to be out, and the circles in which their lives exist.

One thing that the research more directly assessed with regard to being out was the impact of particular fears on individuals' choices about being out. Interestingly, while DVH was more commonly perpetrated by a stranger (see following section), the fears most strongly and significantly related to whether a respondent was out or not were fears of disapproval by friends and family, as well as the public. Fear of further harassment had nearly half the effect size ($v = .181$) as fear of friend's disapproval ($v = .359$). While most respondents reported that their experiences of discrimination, harassment, and violence were perpetrated by someone outside the victim's circle of friends and family, respondents' appear to have the most fear of disapproval from their friends, were they to find out about their BDSM interests. So while the presence of DVH perpetrated against the BDSM community was shown to have an impact on whether an individual will be out about their BDSM interests, the stronger effect was seen in the broader, and perhaps more invasive, expectation of disapproval by friends and loved-ones.

Discrimination. Similar to the findings about behavior, it was expected that more general descriptors of discrimination ("persecution", "refused services") would have higher response rates than more specific forms of discrimination. However, both job loss and the experience of having a divorce proceeding unfairly impacted by a respondents BDSM activities were among the top four most highly chosen forms of discrimination. Here too, the implication of broader social institutions (employers, courts, child welfare,) participating in discrimination of BDSM and BDSM-identified individuals is made clear.

It was found that respondents reported more experiences of discrimination than of harassment, and more experiences of harassment than violence. This finding is unsurprising when seen in light of basic stigma theory regarding the relationship between discrimination and violence: that discrimination is necessary as a foundational element to discriminatory violence, but that escalation to violence requires additional phenomenon and is therefore less frequent (Allport, 1954, Lewin, 1938).

When asked about perpetrators, the most common response was "stranger" – however this only accounted for 32% of identified perpetrators. About as many perpetrators were well known to the victims. Combining the categories of "lover/partner/spouse", "co-worker", and "family member" accounts for approximately the same rate of response (33%). Perhaps in part as a result of this, only one in ten victims actually pressed charges. The most-cited reason for a victim not pressing charges was "fear of further harassment" which indicates, again, the multi-layered social dynamics in which the victim fears further harassment or discrimination by the institutions formed (ostensibly) to support and protect them. One interpretation here may be that pressing charges further solidifies the image of the discriminated individual as representative of a socially abhorrent group; and the more one is seen as a representative of the despised group, the

more likely one is to experience further discrimination, harassment, or violence. The fact that one can more easily hide their BDSM affiliation (as opposed to race or gender) would make this decision even more influential for the BDSM-identified individual.

The rate at which participants reported discrimination from doctors and therapists underscores the dangerous sequelae of professionally pathologizing consensual BDSM-related sexual behavior. According to Richters et al (2008) and Connolly (2006), there is no significant correlation between involvement in BDSM-related sexual behavior and psychological distress, sexual difficulties, or past experiences of sexual coercion. And yet, sadism and masochism remain as diagnosis in the DSM V. It has been well established that structure and meanings behind particular forms of sexual expression are socially constructed (Seidman, 2003; Butler, 1999; Vance, 1984; Rubin, 1984; Foucault, 1988). Of particular importance here is the Foucauldian perspective that these structures and meanings are manufactured through a tripartite social dynamic composed of discourse, knowledge, and power, and which points to the crucial role that psychiatry and medicine play in the creation and maintenance of these dynamics. Psychiatry, in particular, is a major center of discourse on human sexuality. It acts as the central owner of knowledge relevant to what is 'natural' and 'healthy' sexual expression; and wields much power in the application of these knowledges and discourses.

While many of the survey subjects may not meet the current diagnostic requirements of sexual sadism (the diagnosis requires the acts be non-consenting) or even sexual masochism (the diagnosis requires that the behavior cause "clinically significant distress or impairment"), the fact that sadistic or masochistic sexual impulses are defined by the DSM V as part of a symptom constellation adds legitimacy to the social construction of BDSM as deviant and unnatural. Thus psychiatrists and mental health practitioners are supported in any assumptions they might have

that BDSM interests are inherently related to psycho-pathology. The fact that medical doctors and mental health practitioners were the top most-cited professionals to discriminate against BDSM individuals is the visible outcome of their central location in the social construction of deviance. At the same time, physicians and therapists also serve as primary players within the care-giving professions. Their role as trusted professionals requires the creation of safe spaces in which individuals can seek help. The presence of discrimination and further stigmatizing occurring within these spaces and professional disciplines indicate that education and training regarding consensual BDSM practices is necessary within these fields.

Demographic Impacts on DVH

It was seen that almost all of the demographic characteristics that the survey asked about were significantly associated with outcomes of DVH. This was true for specific types of discrimination, violence, harassment, professional discrimination and business-related discrimination, as well as for rates of unspecified types of discrimination, violence, and harassment. The greatest number of significant associations were found between gender and DVH, followed by sexual orientation and DVH. This result was not surprising as social hierarchies and power dynamics related to gender and sexual orientation are complex, involve multiple layers of identity and meaning, and discrimination against these characteristics has been well documented (Kimmel and Aronson, 2014; Badgett and Frank, 2007; Mallon, 2008). Specific forms of discrimination that were asked about are seen more frequently perpetrated against a particular subset of the BDSM population; women, for instance, or bisexuals. The result found in this survey that transgender and intersex individuals are more likely than others to experience physical assault are in keeping with what it known about other forms of discrimination against transgender and intersex individuals (Jauk, 2013; Mallon, 2010).

Likewise, the survey uncovered a gender bias in rates of sexual harassment, with female participants more likely, and male participants less likely, to experience sexual harassment. This too mirrors what is known about sexual harassment in the United states (www.eeoc_gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/sexual_harassment.cfm), and what has been explored in the literature around attitudes and perceptions regarding sexual harassment (Shechory Bitton, 2013, Street, et al, 2007).

In the analysis of relationships between variables, attention was paid to DVH experiences that related directly to legal issues. Here too, demographics played a role, with age and sexual orientation impacting the likelihood of discrimination being experienced during child custody battles. This fact that it was found that respondents in middle adulthood were more likely to experience child custody issues is in line with national trends in custodial parenting, which show a gradual increase in average age of custodial parents (www.census.gov/prod/2011pubs/p60-240.pdf). Being bisexual was also correlated with higher rates of child custody discrimination and this fact is unsurprising in light of research showing ongoing discrimination against LGBT individuals in our court system (Ball, 2012, Richman, 2009). What is interesting, however, is that being gay or lesbian was not significantly correlated with this form of discrimination – while it was correlated with experiencing a divorce. This may be a result of a greater chance that individuals who are married with children, where there is a sexual orientation issue that arises during the course of separation, are more likely to be bisexual than to be gay or lesbian.

Not only was being lesbian or gay correlated with experiencing a divorce, but so was being older. There are several questions that this provokes. First, is there a role that shifting expectations in marriage plays, i.e. have couples recently married (who would, on average, be younger) held more liberal expectations of sexual differences, whereas couples who were

married longer ago (older individuals, on average) held more rigid views of sexual compatibility? If so, it might follow that when older unions dissolve, there is more acrimony around sexual issues. Secondly, is this an outcome of sexual compatibility to begin with? Or is it actually an outcome of changes in how BDSM interests get used in court. It is possible to imagine that the older respondents may have had their divorce experiences further in the past than younger respondents. So perhaps the use of one partner's BDSM interests as a way of influencing divorce settlements was more effective in the past and is less so today. And finally, what is the relationship between age and sexual orientation, if any, as it impacts outcomes of divorce experiences?

Surprisingly, race was not found to impact rates of arrest or influence whether or not a victim sought to press charges against the perpetrator. These findings contradict what other research has shown about discrimination in the application of the law (Staples, 2011, Kochel, et al, 2011). However, relationships were found between the fear of losing child custody as a reason for not pressing charges against perpetrators and all five demographic attributes tested. Middle aged, middle income females, particularly if they were bisexual and either multi-racial or Native American, were significantly more likely to remain silent about their victimization than were other survey respondents. This can be understood as a reflection of pervasive social power hierarchies which privilege heterosexual, Caucasian men. Such power dynamics have been shown to be present in the general population around issues of victimization and disclosure (Gartner, 1995, Cohn, et al, 2013, Delara, 2012). It is also understood that the impact of income may well have to do with its relationship to divorce and child custody disputes, than with any particular social phenomenon at play within the BDSM community.

Likewise, demographic characteristics continued to exert some small influence with rates of DVH experiences related to the psychological well-being of respondents. Respondents who had little financial resources were more likely to experience discrimination by a psychotherapist. One likely contributor to this dynamic may be the ability of individuals with greater financial resources to seek mental health treatment outside of their insurance restrictions, perhaps allowing them to access recommendations from BDSM friends. In contrast, those with limited financial resources may well be dependent on "in-network" providers and have less ability to seek out a provider who is trained and sensitive to BDSM issues.

Those respondents who identified as queer, were also more likely than those who identified as gay, lesbian, or heterosexual to experience discrimination by a mental health provider. This may speak to the problem that arises from the adherence of clinicians to psychotherapeutic models espousing hetero-normative frameworks such as self-psychology or object relations. If we are to assume a substantive sociological link between queer theory and the phenomenon of individuals using 'queer' as a sexual identity (Drucker, 2011) then the application of queer theory to clinical psychotherapy plays an important role in understanding why these individuals might describe experiences of discrimination by therapists. Viewing psychotherapy within a queer theory context is not a simple task (Downing & Gillett, 2011; Balick, 2011) although a handful of researchers and writers have begun to explore such clinical implications (Hodges, 2011; Iasenza, 2010; Kassoff, 2004; King, 2011; Offman, 2014).

Respondents who eschewed the sexual identification categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, or heterosexual might be more likely to feel at odds with both the hierarchical relationship of therapist/client, as well as some of the underlying binary sexual orientation frameworks often employed either through language or theory in the practice of psychotherapy, and thus be more

likely to have an unsatisfactory experience. The queering of the issue of sexual orientation and gender problematizes some of what is often considered foundational psychoanalytic theorizing, e.g. the Oedipal complex.

Regardless of the assumptions that can be made about why these various demographic characteristics of respondents appear to influence rates of particular types of DVH experiences, the fact that effect size was less than moderate for all of these associations means that demographic influences are not playing a major role in DVH outcomes. While demographic attributes account for slight changes in DVH rates, they remain only a small part of the underlying social dynamics. Without any detail concerning the context in which these discriminatory events emerged, further interpretation of the available data remains limited.

BDSM Behavior and DVH

Building on the argument that if demographics only explain a very small amount of variance within rates of DVH, we may point as well towards the larger impact that BDSM behavior was seen to have on experiences of discrimination, violence, and harassment. The amount of DVH seen in the survey, if only slightly impacted by demographics, was found to have stronger associations with the BDSM identity and behavior of survey participants. In particular, the relationship between higher number of fetish interests and higher rates of all forms of DVH upholds the survey's central assumption, that discrimination exists in this community as a result of the social approbations and negative stereotypes associated with BDSM behavior. The more "fetish-y" an individual is, the more likely they are to experience DVH. This notion was born out with the findings that the greater number of fetish interests a participant had, the more likely they were to experience DVH as a result of their being identified as participating in BDSM.

Importantly, this analysis also shows that fear of rejection, disapproval, and discrimination has a substantial impact on BDSM individuals' choices about being out as well as about whether they seek support and remedy from social, political, or legal institutions. Combining the relevance of greater fetish identity to increases in DVH, with the role that fear of personal rejection plays in whether a BDSM individual is out about their interests, or why they may not have pressed charges against perpetrators, it becomes clear that the discrimination reported on in this survey is not only directly connected to BDSM behavior, but continues to both impact, and reiterate the different (and sometimes lesser) citizenship status of individuals drawn to, and participating in BDSM activity. Not only does discrimination against BDSM-identified individuals create a diminished citizenship status through legal, economic, and social penalties, but having their citizenship diminished through these penalties, they are left with less power to influence change within the very institutions that legitimize their subaltern status.

Chapter VIII: Conclusion

BDSM, Discrimination, and Social Welfare

Social work, as a discipline, has been remiss in not placing greater emphasis on the development of theory and research pertinent to human sexuality (Trotter & Leech, 2003). Not only from the vantage point of uncovering oppression and seeking justice and empowerment for clients and communities, but also, more simply, to further social worker's knowledge and insight into how sex and sexuality operate on a personal and social level, how these structures and dynamics impact individual lives, and the role that advocacy, empowerment, and better clinical insight, can and should play.

Susan Wright, under the auspices of the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, has twice conducted surveys of individuals who self-identify as participating in what is commonly understood to be BDSM sexual activity. Nearly three thousand individuals completed online surveys making this the largest cohort of BDSM-identified individuals yet studied for the purposes of assessing experiences of discrimination, violence, and harassment; and the second largest survey of BDSM-identified individuals ever. As has been made clear from the previous chapters, there was a trove of behavioral and demographic data captured at the same time. This survey represents a unique glimpse into the experiences and behaviors of a sexual minority, which, up until now, has been woefully understudied.

The findings of this research demonstrate clearly that harmful discrimination, harassment, and violence are common occurrences perpetrated against a sexual minority that is rarely thought of, often misunderstood, and frequently invisible. Social work, as a discipline, has always been concerned with 'social problems' – and over the last century has emerged as a discipline focused on marginalized and disempowered communities, defining itself in terms of anti-oppression and

social justice (Pierson, 2012). There is a clear argument emanating from this research that the BDSM population is one such community; and the individuals within the BDSM community suffer in very real ways from marginalization, discrimination, and violence.

Although this research was primarily concerned with discrimination against BDSM individuals, it also raised the question of whether a group of individuals participating in a specific set of BDSM behaviors can be thought of as a community – and whether they think of themselves as a community. The preceding literature review established that a vibrant BDSM community exists, even if it remains unclear how individual respondents see themselves in relationship to this community. Regardless of the BDSM practitioner's sense of being part of this community, on the outskirts of it, or completely separate from it, discrimination still exerts influence. If individuals can be discriminated against, harassed, beaten up, or have their rights taken away as a result of being viewed as representative of an identifiable social deviance, then there are dominant social institutions, as well as political and legal structures which have (perhaps unwittingly) helped to define such a community, even through resistance to it.

Of direct impact on social work, is the unnecessary, destructive pathologizing of BDSM behavior. As clinicians, social workers participate daily in diagnostic and clinical work that is fundamentally reliant on the DSM V. Sexual dysfunctions in the DSM V are framed by an understanding of sexuality that is based on procreative, biologically understood, genitally-based intercourse (Drescher, 2009; Iasenza, 2010; LeFrancois, 2011), and describes either difficulties performing sex, such as *Female Sexual Interest/Arousal Disorder, Female Orgasmic Disorder, Genito-Pelvic Pain/Penetration Disorder,* or *Premature (Early) Ejaculation*, that are defined as such, or interests in sex that deviates from this, enumerated within the chapter on Paraphilic Disorders, such as *Frotteuristic Disorder, Sexual Masochism Disorder, Sexual Sadism Disorder,*

or *Fetishistic Disorder* (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Continued adherence to the underlying heteronormative framework with which the DSM V is based is one way in which BDSM becomes a socially created deviance. It is important that social workers grasp the socio-medico-political dynamics which bolster and propagate a pathological view of BDSM, and try to work against these destructive views.

Practicing social workers will, undoubtedly, find themselves in both advocate and therapeutic positions with BDSM individuals. Comprehending the lives of these individuals without bias and with full understanding of the discrimination they may face, and fears they may carry about potential discrimination, is indispensable to ethical and emancipatory work with these clients. The present research can inform social workers of the form that bias and discrimination may take within the lives of BDSM-identified individuals, as well as the predominate fears faced by them. As well, the research begins to describe the nature and fluidity of BDSM behavior, meanings, and identities.

And the value of further understanding this community does not end with the boundaries of clinical work. Policy, program administration and design, as well as direct service delivery, are all impacted by the fields weak commitment to individual empowerment within the realm of sexual behavior. So far, social work has paid attention to sexuality primarily within the realms of women's health, sexual violence, and LGBT advocacy (Dunk, 2007, Hicks, 2008). Its attention, both clinical and programmatic, to sexuality issues outside these realms remains inadequate; with no attention having been paid to the BDSM community or the individuals who make up that community. The present study begins a dialogue between social work research and this underserved and poorly understood community.

Limitations and Future Directions

      Research limitations. The most severe limitation of the data is that the survey sample was not representative. This limits the ability to draw generalizations from the findings. In addition to questions about generalizability to the general population, is the question of whether the sample was even representative of the BDSM community. This is nearly impossible to determine, as there have been no large-scale exploratory surveys aimed at describing demographic characteristics of the BDSM population. The one possible exception being a recent Australian survey the Australian Survey of Health and Relationships (Richters et al, 2008), which asked participants if they had participated in some form of BDSM over the past year. The original sample in that survey was random and representative of the overall (Australian) population, with regard to gender, age, and race. It was found that 2.2% of men and 1.3% of women in the study had participated in BDSM behavior of some sort in the past year. But this does not describe the BDSM community – rather it describes how many individuals within a generalizable sample will acknowledge some form of BDSM-related behavior. While conclusions from the Australian survey might be used to draw impressions of cultural and demographic variances among individuals who admit to participating in some form of BDSM (at least once over the past year), it is unlikely that all those individuals view themselves as part of the BDSM community. The present survey's sample, however, was drawn from targeted BDSM cultural events and social networks, creating a sample of individuals who, by participating in the survey, were self-identifying as being part of a BDSM community, albeit forming a non-generalizable sample.

      The current survey is not generalizable to the population (within the United States, or globally) as it did not employ random sampling and participant inclusion was not weighted or

otherwise modified to be representative of the population as a whole. As such, exact rates of DVH found in the survey cannot be stated as definitively mirroring rates that occur in the general population. Interestingly, one thing that was discovered in the Australian survey was that individuals identifying as gay or bisexual were more likely to have participated in some form of BDSM in the past year. The current survey had a higher rate of participation among gay men, at 21%, than would be representative in the general population, which is generally considered to be closer to 3.5%, according to the Williams Institute (www.williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu) – so perhaps this is a result of more gay men participating in BDSM-related activities, and is an accurate reflection of sexual orientation characteristics of the BDSM community.

Another limitation of the current research is that questions were formulated with aim of uncovering rates of discrimination, but not with an eye towards deeper levels of understanding the reasons, outcomes, and respondent understanding of these discriminations. Data describing survey participants which would be helpful for interpretation of findings is also missing. For instance, interpreting rates of child custody discrimination becomes limited when it isn't known how many participants were parents (a question not asked on the original survey). Likewise, interpretation of data regarding business discrimination was limited because it remained unknown how many business owners existed in the survey population, or whether businesses being discriminated against were BDSM-related.

Because Likert scales were not used there can be no assessment of the severity of particular acts of discrimination. For instance, respondents might acknowledge being discriminated against by a mental health professional, but depending on what actually happened, such an occurrence might have had ramifications for the individuals' career (a security clearance evaluation), or family life (an individual seeking to adopt children), or it may have been a

negative therapeutic experience which led the individual to have to seek treatment with another provider. The range of impact on respondents' lives can be great depending on the specifics of the case at hand. Without being able to gauge the severity of outcome from stated discriminatory events, little can be assessed other than a flat "rate" of discrimination within the survey population. The lack of interval measurement of variables meant that strength and direction of impact, not only of DVH, but of correlations between variables, was not possible to carry out.

Definition of terms was also a weakness found in the survey construction. Discrimination itself was never succinctly defined in the survey, apart from the further categories listed as possible discrimination experiences. But this list of categories was, in no way, exhaustive, and does not, in itself, formulate a universally recognized definition of discrimination. Likewise, some of the DVH categories themselves are ambiguous. For instance, "persecution" is listed as a type of discrimination, but this is a very subjective descriptor. And while there were follow-up questions regarding the concept of being out, even these categorical options remain vague as the experience and meaning of being out is different for each person. As an example, it would mean something very different for an individual who works in a sex-related industry such as a fetish clothing shop, or video store, to be out about their BDSM interests than it would for someone who teaches in a Catholic grade school.

Future directions. Despite the limitations, the findings of this study are valuable in furthering an understanding of the extent of discrimination, violence, and harassment that occurs as a result of individuals being identified as participating in BDSM. The survey data also serves to add to the knowledge available about BDSM behavior and identity. All of this leaves open many possible directions for future study. This study has established the presence of very real discrimination and violence perpetrated against individuals as a direct result of their being part of

the BDSM community, as well as the value of deeper understanding of BDSM to the social work profession. From both the perspective of building a greater knowledge base around human sexuality, and from the perspective of anti-oppression work, further research pertaining to BDSM behavior and the lives of BDSM-identified individuals is called for.

Clarifying questions for the current research. First and foremost, further research clarifying questions raised by the current study should delve further into the types and outcomes of discrimination. It is not enough to say that a certain percentage of discrimination exists. It is important for our discipline to understand the qualitative experiences of the discrimination, violence, and harassment that have been quantified in the present research. As was explicated above, a discriminatory event that looks the same categorically, may have very differenct ramifications for different individuals. These differences are important to know more about – knowledge from which can assist in both clinical and programmatic applications.

Many questions have been raised by the research presented in this dissertation. For instance, besides being identified as being part of the BDSM community, why do respondents feel they were discriminated against? This question could be posed in a number of different ways that might elicit further understanding of the kinds of discrimination being experienced, and reveal some of the complex social dynamics which could explain the relationships found between demographic information and experiences of DVH. Another line of questioning might address some of the complexities behind the decision to be out about BDSM interests. What factors influenced an individuals decision to be out, or not, about their BDSM interests? Were these factors different for men, for women, for younger or older individuals? Thirdly, and of particular importance to social welfare, what specific forms of discrimination by a mental health provider, or a MD, take place? What has the impact of these (further parsed) forms of

discrimination been, and how did the experiences change the individual's views of medical and mental health care?

A follow-up survey could also provide an opportunity to more finely hone questions about perpetrators in order to collect more useful data on who is discriminating and why. Are most perpetrators strangers, or were they well known to their victims? If they were known, how well do victims know their perpetrators? What role, if any, did the relationship between perpetrator and victim play in the form that the discrimination, harassment, or violence took place? And linking back to the issue of disclosure, how was it that the perpetrator came to know about the victim's interest in BDSM?

One area of research that can be taken up with the data currently under consideration would be an investigation of associations between demographic information and BDSM behavior. While it was beyond the scope of this dissertation, the data is there to be extrapolated. What relationships, if any, exist between age, gender, race, income, sexual orientation and interests in particular BDSM activities? Are there associations that can be proven significant between particular BDSM activities or particular demographic attributes, and labels respondents used to describe themselves, their activities, and the community? Is there greater variance of interests among particular demographic sub-sets, or particular labels for individual identity or community identity that is to be significantly associated with age groups, sexual orientations, or genders?

Results of these questions would help increase general knowledge and understanding of the experiences and lives of BDSM individuals, as well as help form a more coherent picture of the BDSM community. Most human sexuality texts used in higher education include some small amount of information about fetishes (Crooks & Baur, 2011, Allgeier & Allgeier, 2000). This

data is often extrapolated from non-scientific sources and framed by diagnosis found in the DSM

V. Further, it is often found mixed in with chapters on pornography and prostitution (Hock,

2012), or presented as "variations" or "atypical" (LeVay, 2006), where it is contrasted against

heteronormative, procreative, "natural" sexual behavior. The current research includes data

which offers a beginning view into how individuals perceive their BDSM interests as they relate

to identity and behavior. While much more data is necessary to flesh out a broader and deeper

understanding of BDSM, the present survey data has proved useful as a first step in this

direction.

Further questions and concluding thoughts. The survey also began to explore

terminology used in the BDSM community regarding both behavior and identity. Again there is

a beginning foray into categorizing and labeling, but a deeper conceptualization of what these

things mean to individual BDSM participants will go a long way in helping both Social Work

and mental health disciplines develop meaningful theory, policy, and practice with the BDSM

community and individuals. It is important to know more about how the construction of a BDSM

identity occurs, what factors are involved, and how this relates to the way individuals perceive

themselves within society. The presence of discrimination within this community speaks to the

particular complexities involved for an individual identifying as part of this community. What

are the issues that go into an individual's decision to identify as being part of the BDSM

community, and how best to understand these issues from a social policy and practice

framework?

Just as it would be beneficial for social work to explore the meanings and existence of

BDSM-identified individuals, so too would it be practical and beneficial to understand the

motivations and social forces behind the actions of the perpetrators. Social work stands to add

greatly to the study of discrimination by further investigating the phenomenon of discrimination against the BDSM community from the vantage point of the discriminator, as well as the discriminated. What psychological causes are there behind an individual's decision to discriminate, or worse, perpetrate violence against, a BDSM-identified individual? What social phenomena exist that prop up and support ongoing discrimination against this community?

The analysis of data from this survey makes four critical points. First, there is a coherent and identifiable community of individuals who, while referring to the community by different names, form a complex and dynamic social group. The BDSM behavior participated in by this community is different in essential ways from either abuse or interpersonal violence, and being "out" about one's BDSM identification is contextually and practically different from what we understand being "out" to mean for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender individuals. Secondly, while demographic characteristics show some relation to varying rates of DVH, a much stronger, positive correlation exists between an increased level of participation in BDSM activities and higher rates of DVH.

The third point emerging from the analysis of the survey data was that fear of rejection and disapproval from family and close social networks had stronger impact on individuals' decisions about pressing charges against perpetrators, or disclosing their interests to others, than did fear of further discrimination, harassment, or violence. And finally, it was found that social, economic, legal, and health-related institutions all participate in epistemologies and heuristics which further the construction of stigma associated with BDSM. Within this, psychiatry and other mental health disciplines, by pathologizing BDSM interest and activity, and, in large part defining language used to describe these interests and activities, are continuing to play a crucial role in the ongoing discrimination of BDSM-identified individuals.

I believe the questions brought up by this dissertation have fundamental differences from, while similarities to, questions currently investigated about sexual orientation and gender orientation. They are no less important to an emancipatory practice of social work, however. Theoretically, for social work to address the outcomes derived from the Survey of Violence and Discrimination Against Sexual Minorities requires stretching our understanding of sexual behavior. Can we embrace sexual expression as a form of pleasure without requiring that it exist only within certain forms of relationship, or that it include behavior that is easily relatable to procreative purposes? Is it possible to frame sensuality in a way that allows each individual to pursue consensual desire without having to be held to comparative standards about what is normal or natural? But even aside from these lofty and far-reaching goals, the data presented here can only be understood as a directive for social work to address the damaging presence of discrimination and violence against this community.

Appendix A: IRB Approval

HUNTER

The City University of New York

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB)
695 Park Avenue, Room E1204
New York, NY 10065
Telephone: (212) 650-3053
Fax (212) 650-3055
www.hunter.cuny.edu/irb

TO: Larry Iannotti
School of Social Work

FROM: Paul Cascella
Hunter Amethyst IRB: IRB00004471

SUBJECT: IRB Approval (Expedited Review)

STUDY: HC- 090923391 Secondary Analysis of a Survey of Discrimination

DATE: September 22, 2011

The Hunter Amethyst IRB: IRB00004471 has approved the above study involving humans as research subjects. This study was Approved – Exempt Category: 4 - based on 45CFR46.

IRB Number: HC- 090923391 This number is a Hunter Amethyst IRB: IRB00004471 number that should be used on all consent forms and correspondence.

Approval Date: September 21, 2011
Expiration Date: September 20, 2014

THIS APPROVAL IS FOR A PERIOD OF ONE-YEAR OR LESS. YOU SHOULD RECEIVE A COURTESY RENEWAL NOTICE BEFORE THE EXPIRATION OF THIS PROJECT'S APPROVAL. HOWEVER, IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO INSURE THAT AN APPLICATION FOR CONTINUING REVIEW APPROVAL HAS BEEN SUBMITTED BEFORE THE EXPIRATION DATE NOTED ABOVE. IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE APPROVAL BEFORE THE EXPIRATION DATE, ALL STUDY ACTIVITIES MUST STOP UNTIL YOU RECEIVE A NEW APPROVAL LETTER. THERE WILL BE NO EXCEPTIONS. IN ADDITION, YOU ARE REQUIRED TO SUBMIT A FINAL REPORT OF FINDINGS AT THE COMPLETION OF THE PROJECT.

Consent Form: All research subjects must use the approved and stamped consent form. You are responsible for maintaining signed consent forms for each research subject for a period of at least three years after study completion.

Mandatory Reporting to the IRB: The principal investigator must report, within five business days, any serious problem, adverse effect, or outcome that occurs with frequency or degree of severity greater than that anticipated. In addition, the principal

The City University of New York

365 Fifth Avenue

New York, NY 10016

DISSERTATION PROPOSAL CLEARANCE: HUMAN PARTICIPANTS

Must be submitted by all students before dissertation deposit

All dissertation proposals that involve research with human participants (including interviews, oral history, and database research) must be reviewed and approved by a CUNY HRPP Committee. The review should take place, and final approval be obtained, during the proposal stage of the dissertation; research involving human participants may not begin until approval has been granted. Approval must be obtained before the research has begun; approval will not be granted for research that has already begun. If the dissertation proposal is changed, the proposal must be reviewed and approved again by the CUNY HRPP Committee.

Any questions should be directed to the HRPP Coordinator at The Graduate Center Kay Powell, HRPP Coordinator, at 212-817-7525, kpowell@gc.cuny.edu.

LAWRENCE IANNOTTI   _S J DODD_
(Student's Name)   (Dissertation Advisor's Name)

SOCIAL WELFARE   I.D. No._____
(Student's Program)

Student's Home Phone & email _917-922-2876_   _Larryinyc @gmail.com_

Project Title: _Secondary Analysis of a Survey of Discrimination_

REQUIRED: Project Abstract (including methodology); attach and submit this form.

Please check one:

_X_ YES, this dissertation involves the use of human participants or data from human participants. Attached is a copy of the IRB approval letter from a CUNY campus.

_____ NO, this dissertation does not involve the use of human participants or data from human participants.

_____   _____
Student's Signature   Date

_____   _5/7/12_
Dissertation Advisor's Signature   Date

Send form and abstract to: Kay Powell, HRPP Coordinator, Room 8309

Approved:

_____   _Kay Powell_   _____
Signature, HRPP Coordinator, The Graduate Center   Date

2/2012

Appendix B: Permission Letter from Susan Wright

Susan Wright
1740 Bleecker St
Ridgewood, NY 11385
(718) 497-4994

May 18, 2008

Larry Iannotti, LCSW
875 Sixth Avenue, #1705
New York, NY 10001

Dear Mr. Iannotti,

I am pleased to inform you that you have permission to download and use the National Survey of Discrimination 2008 data set for the purposes of secondary analysis. This permission is given subsequent to the assurances that the data will be kept on an external hard-drive, which is to be stored in a locked office at 875 Sixth Avenue, in New York City. Proper protection of the data is a requirement of ongoing use.

All original data sets, as well as any copies made subsequently are to be destroyed after a period of 2 years. Prior to that time you may make a request for additional usage by contacting this office.

This letter grants permission of usage of the National Survey of Discrimination 2008 data set to Larry Iannotti and no other individual.

Sincerely,

Susan Wright

Appendix C: Survey of Violence & Discrimination – paper version

Survey of Violence & Discrimination
Against Sexual Minorities

Please help us by taking a moment to fill out this survey *even if you have not been* a victim of discrimination or violence. We are tracking demographics of our community, and we also need to know about the types of crimes, discrimination and abuses of authority that occur based on sexual expression. This is an anonymous survey being distributed to the BDSM-Leather-Fetish community. We will not ask for your name or any other identifying information on this form in order to ensure anonymity. You can also complete the survey online at www.surveybdsm.com. If you choose to fill out this form by hand, please return it to: *Survey of Violence and Discrimination, 875 Sixth Avenue #1705, New York, NY 10001.*

Demographics	**Gender** (check all that apply)	**Sexual Orientation** (check all that apply):	**Employment Status** (please check all that apply)
Age: ___ Zip code: _____ Country: _____ Occupation: _____	__ Male __ Female __ Transgender __ Intersexed	__ Gay/Lesbian __ Bisexual __ Heterosexual __ Other: _____	__ Student ___ Part-time __ Self Employed ___ Full-time __ Employed by Others ___ Retired __ Unemployed

Income Level
__ Under $10,000
__ $10,000-24,999
__ $25,000-49,999
__ $50,000-74,999
__ $75,000-99,999
__ $100,000 +

Race and Ethnicity: (please check only one)
__ African-American   __ Arab/Middle Eastern   __ Asian Pacific Islander
__ Latina/o   __ Multi-Racial   __ Native American
__ Caucasian   __ Other: _____

Discrimination

Have you ever experienced discrimination because you are, or were perceived to be, involved in SM-Leather-Fetish practices?
__ Yes __ No   (if 'yes' please check all that apply)

__ Loss of Job or Contract   __ Refused Housing   __ Persecution
__ Loss of Promotion/Demotion   __ Refused Services   __ Arrest
__ Loss of Child Custody   __ Internet Harassment
__ Divorce/Settlement   __ Other: _____
__ Refused Membership

Are you "out" about your involvement in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices?   __ Yes __ No

Who are you not out to:
__ Partner/lover/spouse   __ BDSM Community
__ Family   __ Non-BDSM Friends
__ Job (co-workers)   __ Other: _____

If there are certain types of people you are not out to, please tell us the reasons why:
__ Fear of Harassment   __ Partner's Disapproval   __ Family Disapproval   __ Loss of Child Custody
__ Job Repercussions   __ Friends' Disapproval   __ Public Disapproval   __ Other: _____

Have you ever been discriminated against by professional or personal services providers because you are, or were perceived to be involved in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices? __ Yes __ No

If you've answered yes, please check all of the following that apply:

__ Medical Doctor   __ Accountant   __ Personal Service Provider: (type)_____
__ Dentist   __ Lawyer   __ Professional Service Provider: (type)_____
__ Mental Health Practitioner   __ Building/Contractor   __ Police or Government Employee (type)_____
__ Other: _____

Please use the 'Personal Experiences' section on the other side of this form to describe any significant experiences of discrimination by professionals that you may have had.

Violence & Harassment

Have you ever been the victim of violence or harassment because you are, or you were perceived to be involved in BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices? __ Yes __ No (If 'yes' please check all that apply)

__ Verbal Harassment or Abuse   __ Vandalism   __ Physical Assault   __ Blackmail/Threats of Exposure
__ Stalked or Followed   __ Physical Harassment   __ Sexual Assault   __ Domestic Violence
__ Rape/Attempted Rape   __ Sexual Harassment   __ Other_____

If you answered 'yes' to the above question, did you press charges? __ Yes __ No
(if 'no' please check all that apply)

__ Fear of further Harassment   __ Fear of Job Safety   __ Fear of Family Disapproval
__ Fear of Losing Child Custody   __ Fear of Legal Repercussions   __ Other: _____

If you have been the victim of violence or harassment was the perpetrator a: __ Lover/partner/spouse   __ Family member
__ Co-worker   __ Acquaintance
__ Stranger   __ Other

Please use the 'Personal Experiences' section on the other side of this form to describe any significant experiences of violence or harassment you may have had.

Businesses and Events

Have you ever been the victim of harassment or discrimination because your business or event is, or was perceived to be involved with BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices?

__Yes __ No (if 'yes' please check all that apply)

__ Loss of Lease	__ Negative Media Coverage	__ Refused Insurance Coverage
__ Loss of Occupancy Certificate	__ Harassment by Neighbors	__ Harassment by Organizations
__ Loss of Business	__ Harassment by police/authorities	__ Refused Credit Card Services
__ Fines	__ Arrest	__ Other: _____

What type of business or event are you involved in: _____

Please use the 'Personal Experiences' space to describe any experiences of business discrimination you've encountered.

Internet and Web Use

Have you ever curtailed your Internet activity because of fear of prosecution due to your BDSM-Leather-Fetish practices?

__ Yes __ No (if 'yes' please check all that apply)

__ Didn't Post Image	__ Didn't Link to Website	__ Posted an 18-and-over Warning Page
__ Didn't Post Text	__ Didn't Join E-mail Group	__ Barred Users from Accessing Website
__ Didn't Visit Website	__ Didn't Add Meta-text on Website	__ Other: _____

If you have changed the way you do business over the internet was it a direct result of U.S. Code 2257? __ Yes __ No

BDSM-Leather-Fetish Activities

The following is a list of various BDSM-Leather-Fetish activities. Each activity has been given a number (1 thru 18). For the following questions, please indicate your answer using the number associated with the particular activity. If answering 'other' please describe the particular activity you are thinking about.

01 = Bondage & Discipline	02 = Body Modification	03 = Clothing Fetish	04 = Consensual Exhibitionism
05 = Consensual Voyeurism	06 = Cross Dressing	07 = Dominance and Submission	08 = Fisting
09 = Foot Fetish	10 = Humiliation	11 = Leather	12 = Medical Scenes
13 = Polyamory/multiple partners	14 = Role Playing	15 = Spanking	16 = SM
17 = Watersports	18 = Other: (please describe) _____		

1) Using the above numbers, please list all activities you enjoy: _____
2) In rank order, from most to least, which three do you participate in most frequently? ___, ___, ___.
3) In rank order, from most to least, which three do you enjoy the most? ___, ___, ___.
4) Have you experienced harassment, discrimination or violence as a result of any activity on the list? __ Yes __No
5) Which activity do you believe led to your experience of harassment, discrimination or violence? ___
6) Which activity do you think is most likely to be the object of violence, discrimination or harassment? ___
7) Which of the following words best identifies you or your role in the SM community (circle all that apply)?
   Top   Bottom   Master/Mistress   Slave   Dom   Sub   Pup   Owner   Switch   Versatile   Daddy   Mommy   Boy   boi   Girl   None-of-the-above
8) How do you refer to the activities that you participate in which are listed above (circle all that apply)? **Leather   SM   BDSM   Fetish   Kink   Polyamory   Master-slave   D/s   Bondage   Bondage/Discipline   none-of-the-above**

Personal Experiences with Discrimination and Harassment

Please use this space to provide any information about the above questions, or to explain any situation in which you feel you have been discriminated against, harassed, or the victim of persecution or violence as a result of your involvement in BDSM-Leather-Fetish activities or businesses. Feel free to use additional sheets of paper if necessary.

Appendix D: Chi-square results of demographics x DVH variables

DISCRIMINATION VARIABLES

Demographics by Discrimination, Violence, or Harassment

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	8.552	0.036	0.054
Young Adult (22-32)	1	2994	8.078	0.004	-0.052
Race	6	2994	15.049	0.020	0.071
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	20.976	0.000	0.084
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	8.510	0.004	0.053
Gender	4	2994	23.575	0.000	0.089
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	8.901	0.003	-0.055
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	3.855	0.050	0.036
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	12.165	0.000	0.064
S.O.	6	2994	52.192	0.000	0.132
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	41.185	0.000	-0.117
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	13.774	0.000	0.068
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	5.678	0.017	0.044
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	5.231	0.022	0.420
SO5 (OTHR)	1	2994	8.000	0.005	0.052

Demographics by Discrimination

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	11.947	0.008	0.063
Young Adult (22-32)	1	2994	11.354	0.001	-0.062
Middle Adult (33 - 49)	1	2994	5.217	0.022	0.042
Race	6	2994	24.515	0.000	0.090
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	35.893	0.000	0.109
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	17.027	0.000	0.075
Gender	4	2994	14.650	0.005	0.070
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	6.319	0.012	0.046
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	4.578	0.032	0.039
S.O.	6	2994	31.000	0.000	0.102
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	21.699	0.000	-0.085
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	4.948	0.026	0.041
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	6.034	0.014	0.045
SO5 (OTHR)	1	2994	7.743	0.005	0.051

Demographics by Loss of Job or Contract

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	15.498	0.001	0.072
Young Adult (22-32)	1	2994	11.235	0.001	-0.061
Middle Adult (33 - 49)	1	2994	5.710	0.017	0.044
Race	6	2994	12.415	0.053	0.064
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	4.877	0.027	0.040
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	5.609	0.018	0.043
Gender	4	2994	29.239	0.000	0.099
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	24.447	0.000	0.090
S.O.	6	2994	13.368	0.038	0.067
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	4.611	0.032	-0.039
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	4.710	0.030	0.040
SO6 (MLTP)	1	2994	4.345	0.037	0.038

Demographics by Loss of Promotion or Demotion

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	9.615	0.022	0.057
Young Adult (22-32)	1	2994	6.632	0.010	-0.047
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	6.505	0.011	0.047
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	7.613	0.006	0.050
Gender 5 (MG)	1	2994	5.675	0.017	0.044
S.O.	6	2994	20.080	0.003	0.082
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	5.370	0.020	-0.042
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	17.673	0.000	0.077

Demographics by Loss of Child Custody

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Middle Adult (33 - 49)	1	2994	3.785	0.052	0.036
Income	4	2994	13.580	0.009	0.067
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	10.317	0.001	0.059
Race	6	2994	16.055	0.013	0.073
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	11.246	0.001	0.061
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	7.117	0.008	0.049
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	7.237	0.007	-0.049
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	4.493	0.034	0.039

Demographics by Unfair Divorce or Settlement

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	19.232	0.000	0.080
Young Adult (22-32)	1	2994	11.105	0.001	-0.061
Older Adult	1	2994	9.342	0.002	0.056
Gender	4	2994	18.319	0.001	0.078
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	6.728	0.009	-0.047
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	14.806	0.000	0.070
S.O.	6	2994	12.746	0.047	0.065
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	6.925	0.009	-0.048
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	8.456	0.004	0.053

Demographics by Refused Housing

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	5.719	0.017	0.044
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	3.732	0.053	0.035
S.O.	6	2994	88.693	0.000	0.172
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	10.453	0.001	0.059

Demographics by Refused Membership

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Older Adult (50+)	1	2994	5.082	0.024	0.041
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	3.672	0.055	0.035
Gender	4	2994	14.633	0.006	0.070
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	12.391	0.000	0.064
S.O.	6	2994	19.682	0.003	0.081
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	3.920	0.048	0.036
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	13.937	0.000	0.068
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	3.712	0.054	0.035
SO6 (MLTP)	1	2994	5.902	0.015	0.044

Demographics by Persecution

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	3.931	0.047	0.036
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	14.815	0.000	0.070
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	3.844	0.050	0.036
Gender	4	2994	17.001	0.002	0.075
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	4.925	0.026	0.041
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	12.416	0.000	0.064
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	9.063	0.003	0.055

Demographics by Arrest

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	8.780	0.032	0.054
Young Adult (22-32)	1	2994	6.441	0.011	-0.046
Older Adult (50+)	1	2994	4.361	0.037	0.038
Race	6	2994	15.478	0.017	0.072
Race 3 (CAU)	1	2994	3.967	0.046	0.036
Gender	4	2994	15.537	0.004	0.072
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	13.897	0.000	0.068
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	15.019	0.000	-0.071
S.O.	6	2994	15.056	0.020	0.071
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	11.141	0.001	0.061
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	6.247	0.012	-0.046

Demographics by Refused Services

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race	6	2994	20.625	0.002	0.083
Race 1 (AA)	1	2994	3.852	0.050	0.036
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	8.639	0.003	0.054
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	19.280	0.000	0.080
Gender	4	2994	38.961	0.000	0.114
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	15.966	0.000	0.073
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	4.225	0.040	0.038
Gender 5 (MG)	1	2994	16.645	0.000	0.075
S.O.	6	2994	39.096	0.000	0.114
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	16.379	0.000	-0.074
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	24.950	0.000	0.091
SO6 MLTP	1	2994	5.710	0.017	0.044

Demographics by Family and Community Discrimination

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	10.863	0.001	0.060
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	8.019	0.005	0.052
Gender	4	2994	26.162	0.000	0.093
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	23.596	0.000	-0.089
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	23.998	0.000	0.090
SO5 (OTHR)	1	2994	6.753	0.009	0.047

Demographics by Total Types of Discrimination Chosen

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	18	2984	30.778	0.031	0.102
Young Adult (22 - 32)	6	2994	18.226	0.006	0.078
Race	36	2994	60.734	0.006	0.142
Race 6 (NA)	6	2994	48.746	0.000	0.128
Race 7 (MR)	6	2994	28.865	0.000	0.098
Gender	24	2994	55.778	0.000	0.136
Gender 3 (IS)	6	2994	19.920	0.003	0.082
Gender 4 (TG)	6	2994	17.722	0.007	0.077
S.O.	36	2994	50.494	0.055	0.130
SO1 (HET)	6	2994	18.033	0.006	0.078
SO2 (G/L)	6	2994	13.535	0.035	0.067
SO6 (MLTP)	6	2994	14.746	0.022	0.070

PROFESSIONAL DISCRIMINATION VARIABLES

Demographics by Professional Discrimination

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc3 (25K-49.9K)	1	2994	4.086	0.043	-0.037
Race	6	2994	23.473	0.001	0.089
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	11.838	0.001	0.063
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	13.447	0.000	0.067
Gender	4	2994	27.212	0.000	0.095
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	8.071	0.004	-0.052
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	4.005	0.045	0.037
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	12.934	0.000	0.066
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	5.887	0.015	0.044

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by MD

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race	6	2994	14.635	0.023	0.070
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	11.616	0.001	0.062
Gender	4	2994	25.536	0.000	0.092
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	8.443	0.004	-0.053
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	6.825	0.009	0.048
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	13.422	0.000	0.067
S.O.	6	2994	28.583	0.000	0.098
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	26.126	0.000	-0.093
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	4.757	0.029	0.040
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	14.814	0.000	0.070

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by Dentist

	df	n	X2	p	r
SO 1 (HET)	1	2994	4.089	0.043	-0.037

Demographics by Profressional Discrimination by a Mental Health Provider

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	4.796	0.029	0.040
Race	6	2994	15.578	0.016	0.072
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	5.438	0.020	0.043
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	11.671	0.001	0.062
Gender	4	2994	22.063	0.000	0.086
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	15.486	0.000	-0.072
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	9.697	0.002	0.057
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	5.375	0.020	0.042
S.O.	6	2994	36.544	0.000	0.110
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	4.757	0.029	0.040
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	11.292	0.001	0.061
SO5 (OTHR)	1	2994	8.880	0.003	0.054
SO6 (MLTP)	1	2994	15.523	0.000	0.072

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by Police or Government Employee

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Age	3	2984	12.182	0.007	0.064
Adolescent (15 - 21)	1	2994	9.496	0.002	-0.056
Race	6	2994	24.953	0.000	0.091
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	16.187	0.000	0.074
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	3.904	0.048	0.036
Gender	4	2994	17.706	0.001	0.077
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	3.667	0.055	-0.035
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	6.037	0.014	0.045
Gender 5 (MS)	1	2994	6.555	0.010	0.047
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	3.978	0.046	0.036

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by an Accountant

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	1	2994	6.522	0.011	0.047
Race 1 (AA)	1	2994	4.616	0.032	0.039
S.O.	6	2994	13.716	0.033	0.068
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	7.223	0.007	0.049

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by a Contractor

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Gender	4	2994	103.990	0.000	0.186
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	103.727	0.000	0.186

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by a Personal Service Provider

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race	6	2994	19.077	0.004	0.080
Race 3 (CAU)	1	2994	5.965	0.015	-0.045
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	4.995	0.025	0.041
Gender	4	2994	36.135	0.000	0.110
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	33.716	0.000	0.106
SO5 (OTHR)	1	2994	4.488	0.034	0.039

Demographics by Professional Discrimination by a Professional Service Provider

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Older Adult (50+)	1	2994	5.856	0.016	0.044
Gender	4	2994	29.768	0.000	0.100
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	24.100	0.000	0.090
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	4.162	0.041	0.037

VIOLENCE VARIABLES

Demographics by Violence

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race	6	2994	18.625	0.005	0.079
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	9.683	0.002	0.057
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	6.057	0.014	0.045
Gender	4	2994	24.963	0.000	0.091
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	7.094	0.008	-0.049
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	8.655	0.003	0.054
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	11.093	0.001	0.061
S.O.	6	2994	23.222	0.001	0.088
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	16.560	0.000	-0.074
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	6.063	0.014	0.045
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	5.070	0.024	0.041

Demographics by Vandalism

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc5 (100K+)	1	2994	6.607	0.010	0.047
Race	6	2994	25.936	0.000	0.093
Race 3 (CAU)	1	2994	4.934	0.026	-0.041
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	10.434	0.001	0.059
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	6.052	0.014	0.045
Gender	4	26994	15.239	0.004	0.071
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	5.050	0.025	0.041
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	11.721	0.001	-0.063
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	6.309	0.012	0.046
S.O.	6	2994	25.150	0.000	0.092
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	5.292	0.021	-0.042
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	15.321	0.000	0.072

Demographics by Physical Assault

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	4.283	0.038	0.038
Gender	4	2994	41.934	0.000	0.118
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	25.211	0.000	0.092
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	15.112	0.000	0.071
S.O.	6	2294	19.601	0.003	0.081
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	17.115	0.000	-0.076
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	5.573	0.018	0.043
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	4.728	0.030	0.040

Demographics by Sexual Assault

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
age	3	2984	8.547	0.036	0.054
Adolescent (15 - 21)	1	2994	5.149	0.023	0.041
Older Adult (50+)	1	2994	3.703	0.054	-0.035
Income	4	2994	16.083	0.003	0.073
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	9.946	0.002	0.058
Inc5 (100K+)	1	2994	5.098	0.024	-0.041
Race	6	2994	17.224	0.008	0.076
Race 4 (AME)	1	2994	3.928	0.047	0.036
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	4.629	0.031	0.039
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	13.314	0.000	0.067
Gender	4	2994	36.676	0.000	0.111
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	24.844	0.000	-0.091
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	12.021	0.001	0.063
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	9.523	0.002	0.056
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	7.285	0.007	0.049
S.O.	6	2994	29.798	0.000	0.100
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	8.829	0.003	-0.054
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	20.819	0.000	0.083
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	8.790	0.003	0.054
SO5 (OTHR)	1	2994	3.991	0.046	0.037

Demographics by Domestic Violence

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Income	4	2994	15.671	0.003	0.072
Inc2 (10K - 24.9K)	1	2994	4.642	0.031	0.039
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	1	2994	10.316	0.001	-0.059
Race	6	2994	16.039	0.014	0.073
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	7.819	0.005	0.051
Gender	4	2994	27.413	0.000	0.096
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	21.325	0.000	-0.084
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	12.661	0.000	0.065
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	7.295	0.007	0.049
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	4.117	0.042	0.037

Demographics by Total Violence

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
age	12	2984	29.627	0.003	0.100
age 2	4	2994	11.081	0.026	0.061
age 4	4	2994	11.221	0.024	0.061
Inc1 (<10K)	4	2994	10.788	0.029	0.060
Race	24	2994	42.000	0.013	0.118
Race 6 (NA)	4	2994	16.692	0.002	0.075
Race 7 (MR)	4	2994	13.287	0.010	0.067
Gender	16	2994	84.918	0.000	0.168
Gender 1 (M)	4	2994	9.963	0.041	0.058
Gender 3 (IS)	4	2994	56.095	0.000	0.137
Gender 4 (TG)	4	2994	22.334	0.000	0.086
S.O.	24	2994	38.951	0.028	0.114
SO1 (HET)	4	2994	19.018	0.001	0.080
SO2 (G/L)	4	2994	11.101	0.025	0.061
SO3 (BI)	4	2994	11.005	0.027	0.061

HARASSMENT VARIABLES

Demographics by Harassment

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
age	3	2984	11.158	0.011	0.061
Adolescent (15 - 21)	1	2994	10.228	0.001	0.058
Income	4	2994	14.974	0.005	0.071
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	6.557	0.010	0.047
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	1	2994	9.943	0.002	-0.058
Race	6	2994	21.921	0.001	0.086
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	15.518	0.000	0.072
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	12.046	0.001	0.063
Gender	4	2994	24.794	0.000	0.091
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	11.835	0.001	-0.063
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	8.237	0.004	0.052
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	8.373	0.004	0.053
S.O.	6	2994	53.069	0.000	0.133
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	49.059	0.000	-0.128
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	13.844	0.000	0.068
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	13.504	0.000	0.067
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	3.764	0.053	0.035

Demographics by Verbal Harassment or Abuse

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race	6	2994	12.265	0.056	0.064
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	10.204	0.001	0.058
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	3.935	0.047	0.036
Gender	4	2994	19.189	0.001	0.080
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	6.160	0.013	0.045
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	12.021	0.001	0.063
S.O.	6	2994	51.571	0.000	0.131
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	47.758	0.000	-0.126
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	18.941	0.000	0.080
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	8.653	0.003	0.054
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	4.020	0.045	0.037

Demographics by Stalked or Followed

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	1	2994	3.826	0.050	-0.036
Race	6	2994	13.784	0.032	0.068
Race 4 (AME)	1	2994	9.755	0.002	0.057
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	6.486	0.011	0.047
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	10.369	0.001	0.059
Gender	4	2994	28.309	0.000	0.097
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	22.250	0.000	-0.086
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	11.862	0.001	0.063
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	6.580	0.010	0.047
S.O.	6	2994	25.181	0.000	0.092
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	18.158	0.000	-0.078
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	16.721	0.000	0.075

Demographics by Internet Harassment

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
age	3	2984	29.363	0.000	0.009
Adolescent (15 - 21)	1	2994	9.274	0.002	0.056
Young Adult (22 - 32)	1	2994	9.675	0.002	0.057
Older Adult (50+)	1	2994	17.069	0.000	-0.076
Income	4	2994	31.600	0.000	0.103
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	11.777	0.001	0.063
Inc2 (10K - 24.9K)	1	2994	10.608	0.001	0.060
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	1	2994	16.444	0.000	-0.074
Race	6	2994	24.883	0.000	0.091
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	23.952	0.000	0.089
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	19.115	0.000	0.080
Gender	4	1994	12.440	0.014	0.064
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	5.293	0.021	-0.042
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	5.735	0.017	0.044
S.O.	6	2994	28.332	0.000	0.097
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	27.154	0.000	-0.095
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	4.703	0.030	0.040
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	11.215	0.001	0.061

Demographics by Physical Harassment

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Income	4	2994	10.497	0.033	0.059
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	7.936	0.005	0.051
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	1	2994	4.345	0.037	-0.038
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	4.523	0.033	0.039
Gender	4	2994	43.907	0.000	0.121
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	28.081	0.000	0.097
Gender 4 (TG)	1	2994	14.398	0.000	0.069
S.O.	6	2994	22.263	0.001	0.086
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	19.259	0.000	-0.080
SO2 (G/L)	1	2994	6.060	0.014	0.045
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	6.839	0.009	0.048

Demographics by Sexual Harassment

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
age	3	2984	15.939	0.001	0.073
Adolescent (15 - 21)	1	2994	4.906	0.027	0.040
Young Adult (22 - 32)	1	2994	5.635	0.018	0.043
Older Adult (50+)	1	2994	9.111	0.003	-0.055
Income	4	2994	20.054	0.000	0.082
Inc1 (<10K)	1	2994	9.607	0.002	0.057
Inc2 (10K - 24.9K)	1	2994	6.784	0.009	0.048
Inc3 (25K - 49.9K)	1	2994	4.245	0.039	-0.038
Race	6	2994	17.459	0.008	0.076
Race 4 (AME)	1	2994	3.676	0.055	0.035
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	7.475	0.006	0.050
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	8.424	0.004	0.053
Gender	4	2994	62.969	0.000	0.145
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	52.839	0.000	-0.133
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	46.956	0.000	0.125
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	10.113	0.001	0.058
S.O.	6	2994	27.104	0.000	0.095
SO1 (HET)	1	2994	13.301	0.000	-0.067
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	21.405	0.000	0.085
SO4 (QR)	1	2994	3.668	0.055	0.035

Demographics by Blackmail or Threats of Exposure

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
Race	1	2994	22.047	0.001	0.086
Race 6 (NA)	1	2994	15.968	0.000	0.073
Race 7 (MR)	1	2994	3.700	0.054	0.035
Gender	4	2994	13.076	0.011	0.066
Gender 1 (M)	1	2994	6.395	0.011	-0.046
Gender 2 (F)	1	2994	4.467	0.035	0.039
Gender 3 (IS)	1	2994	4.646	0.031	0.039
SO3 (BI)	1	2994	7.204	0.007	0.049

Demographics by Total Harassment

	df	n	X2	p	CV/r
age	18	2984	27.754	0.006	0.096
Adolescent (15 - 21)	6	2994	13.304	0.038	0.067
Income	24	2994	38.692	0.030	0.114
Inc2 (10K - 24.9K)	6	2994	12.541	0.051	0.065
Inc4 (50K - 99.9K)	6	2994	15.365	0.018	0.072
Race 4 (AME)	6	2994	22.793	0.001	0.087
Race 6 (NA)	6	2994	33.408	0.000	0.106
Race 7 (MR)	6	2994	20.219	0.003	0.082
Gender	24	2994	78.362	0.000	0.162
Gender 1 (M)	6	2994	29.073	0.000	0.099
Gender 2 (F)	6	2994	16.340	0.012	0.074
Gender 3 (IS)	6	2994	39.194	0.000	0.114
S.O.	36	2994	84.461	0.000	0.168
SO1 (HET)	6	2994	56.440	0.000	0.137
SO2 (G/L)	6	2994	21.407	0.002	0.085
SO3 (BI)	6	2994	27.469	0.000	0.096
SO4 (QR)	6	2994	16.565	0.011	0.074

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