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Understanding Sadomasochism: An Examination of Current Perspectives

Patricia A. Cross

**A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

Department of Psychology

Carleton University

November 1998

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“Understanding Sadomasochism: An Examination of Current Perspectives”

submitted by

Patricia Cross

in Partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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December, 1998

A NOTE TO READERS

Please be advised that portions of this thesis, in particular Appendix FF, contain sexually explicit material and therefore should not be read by minors or by persons likely to be offended by such material.

ABSTRACT

In Study 1, individuals who reported being sadists ($n = 27$), masochists ($n = 34$), and switchers ($n = 32$) were examined along with a comparison group of non-sadomasochists ($n = 61$) on a battery of indices selected to test a number of perspectives regarding s/m. The psychoanalytic hypothesis was addressed with measures of sexual guilt and tendencies towards id-driven behaviours; the psychopathology hypothesis was tested with a number of measures of mental stability and psychopathy; the radical feminist view was assessed with indices reflecting anti-feminist beliefs; and the escape-from-self view was explored by way of measures indicating escapism, control, social potency, and sexual proclivities. Sadists', masochists', and switchers' responses did not differ significantly from one-another or from those of the non-s/m group, with the exception of masochists' increased likelihood of being currently employed relative to non-sadomasochists and sadists. In Study 2 the sexual proclivities of virtual sadomasochists ($n = 10$) were compared with those of real-life sadomasochists ($n = 10$), non-s/m fantasy role-players ($n = 10$), and non-s/m non-role-players ($n = 10$). Cluster analyses indicated that the virtual and real-life sadomasochists' sexual proclivities were similar, as were those of the non-s/m fantasy role-players and non-role-players, suggesting that the virtual sadomasochists can reasonably be expected to be like those of real-life sadomasochists in terms of their sexual tastes. Findings also indicated that sadomasochists do differ from fantasy role-players, indicating that s/m cannot be explained as simply one variant of fantasy role-playing. Study 3 involved the collection of a sample of virtual s/m interactions ($n = 8$ dyads). These encounters were transcribed and subjected to content analysis. The concept of a power exchange was consistent with content analysis findings that a power differential was established and maintained by both partners in several different ways, including the role-specific utilization of differing modes of communication, language, and behaviours.

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Pat C.

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INTRODUCTION

Sadomasochism (s/m) presents the social science researcher with a compelling paradox: how is it that for some people, the pursuit of sensual pleasure becomes intimately connected with such experiences as pain, bondage, and humiliation? How is it that spankings, whippings, and a host of other such seemingly noxious stimuli become highly eroticized for some people? Is this the domain of the mentally ill, the misogynistic, the neurotic? Or is the phenomenon better understood in some other way?

The purpose of this research was three-fold. First, it was anticipated that these efforts would ultimately play a part in establishing sadomasochism as a behaviour not necessarily tied to mental illness, neurosis, or gender inequities. A second goal was to evaluate the usefulness of other theories that attempt to explain s/m as a set of behaviours best understood as a function of the context in which they occur, namely modern Western society. One promising candidate was the contention that sadomasochism, and masochism in particular, provides the individual with an escape from stressful high-level awareness of the self, a kind of "holiday" from daily responsibilities and worries. Thirdly, if none of the proffered theories was supported, it was hoped that the findings would provide an indication of a more appropriate framework for understanding s/m, which could then be pursued in subsequent research.

What is S/M: Definitions and History

What are S/M Behaviours?

S/m participants are typically understood as being either sadists (also known as dominants, masters, tops) or masochists (also called submissives, slaves, bottoms). However, in addition to these two categories, some s/m participants, known as "switchers", report that they enjoy either role equally, or that, while they prefer one role over another, sometimes they switch for a change of pace or for the sake of convenience.

Historically it was believed that masochism and sadism always appeared together in a given individual (e.g. Ellis, 1936; Freud, 1924). However, in spite of the existence of switchers, it is not the case, according to more recent research, that all s/m participants switch roles. Some in fact have a powerful role preference from which they do not deviate; others may switch only begrudgingly, to please a partner (Baumeister, 1989). Therefore there appear to be three categories of s/m participants: masochists, sadists, and switchers. In contrast, non-sadomasochists are known within the s/m community as “vanilla”. In spite of the early emphasis on the existence of switchers, most modern theoretical and experimental work on s/m ignores them and focuses on sadism or on masochism as distinct and independent phenomena.

S/m is generally understood as comprising both physical and psychological dimensions (Moser, 1988). Usually s/m practitioners enjoy some combination of both these dimensions, but some individuals are quite specific about which behaviours they enjoy and which they do not. While predominant academic and medical theories place the giving and taking of pain as central to the s/m experience, many participants instead emphasize an exchange of power as being key.

According to participants (e.g. Califia, 1983), both physical and psychological behaviours are devised to emphasize the transfer of power from the submissive to the dominant partner (Moser, 1988). It is this consensual exchange of power, according to participants, that is erotic; the pain is simply one method of achieving this power exchange (Moser, 1988). According to this view, power and not pain is the commodity of importance (e.g. Califia, 1983).

In contrast, mainstream medical and academic perspectives continue to conceive of pain as the core experience of s/m. Thus, despite reports of s/m participants themselves, the focus in academia and in medicine has been largely on the importance of pain in and of itself as the central source of sexual gratification for both partners and

hence as the key to understanding and defining s/m encounters. It has been widely recognized, though, that this exchange of pain typically takes place by means of certain kinds of physical activities, and that it is also generally associated with the sadist inducing in the masochist the emotionally painful experience of humiliation.

Physical Behaviours

Typical s/m behaviours may involve activities such as bondage, physical discipline, intense stimulation, sensory deprivation, and body alteration (Moser, 1988). A brief description of each of these activities is in order.

Bondage activities range from being held down or loosely tied (where escape would not be difficult), to behaviours involving elaborate restraints that leave a person completely immobilized and/or suspended. Included in this category are the use of popular devices of partial immobilization, such as handcuffs, leashes, and constricting clothes, as well as the use of physical force to hold down one's partner (Moser, 1988).

Physical discipline generally ranges from slapping to whipping and/or caning. These behaviours can be of low intensity such that no marks are left, of moderate intensity such that only temporary redness is left, or of high intensity so that extensive bruising, welts, or other lesions are left for several days or even weeks. The bodily areas typically targeted are the buttocks, though other areas are occasionally also implicated (Moser, 1988).

Intense stimulation activities include biting, the use of hot wax on the skin, and the use of pinching devices such as nipple clamps, etc. These are activities that produce strong sensations with little or no tissue damage (Moser, 1988).

Sensory deprivation can also heighten senses as well as intensify feelings of vulnerability. For example, a blindfold deprives the wearer of knowing where or how the

next sensation will manifest, and a gag deprives the wearer of their chief mode of communication (Moser, 1988).

Body alteration activities generally refer to tattooing, piercing, and/or branding. These behaviours are seen as proof of a masochist's commitment to his or her partner and as evidence of this partner's "ownership". As well, the procedures themselves are a very effective means of inducing intense sensory experience and feelings of vulnerability (Moser, 1988).

Psychological Behaviours

The psychological aspect of s/m consists of inducing in the masochistic partner feelings of humiliation, degradation, apprehension, and powerlessness (Moser, 1988). Conversely, the sadistic partner is made to feel powerful, exalted, and in control. The most common psychological aspect of the interaction, though by no means a universal component of s/m encounters, is the humiliation of the masochist, induced via differing means in different individuals (Moser, 1988). Both verbal statements and actions can generate the experience of humiliation. For example, verbally berating the masochist, requiring the masochist to do menial work, and treating him or her as less-than-human are all ways of inducing a sense of humiliation (Moser, 1988).

Academic Understanding of S/M

The definition of s/m to which a researcher adheres is, of course, a reflection of the theory he or she has endorsed for understanding it. In addition to academic efforts, s/m participants themselves have not been silent in the area of theory, bringing the benefit of personal experience to bear on their own theoretical constructions. A more detailed discussion of these various perspectives follows.

Medical/Psychoanalytic Perceptions of S/M

The medical/psychoanalytic theorists, while differing in the specifics of their views, generally agree that s/m is symptomatic of a sickness or maladjustment of some kind. For example, Krafft-Ebing (1886-1965), the father of academic inquiry into s/m, suggested that sadomasochism is a congenital mutant condition, rather like hermaphroditism. Freud (1924) explained masochism as a maladaptive transmutation of the death instinct, and saw sadism as evidence for a weak superego and ego, resulting in the id being permitted to find expression in sexual violence. Stekel (1929/1953) suggested that masochism and sadism are forms of psychosexual infantilism. Maslow (1942) averred that s/m interests develop out of feelings of insecurity. More recently, McCary (1967/1973) suggested that s/m interests are a response to feeling disgust for anything sexual. While none of these conceptualizations have been adequately tested, all have enjoyed a measure of popularity, and all are clear in their message that sadomasochism is a negative behavioural manifestation, indicative of either inferior health, inferior adaptation, or inferior maturation.

Although the terms sadism, masochism, and sadomasochism were originally coined to refer to sexual behaviours (Krafft-Ebing, 1886-1965), to the psychoanalysts, medical professionals, and general public alike these have over time come to be applied to behaviours, motivations, cognitions, and emotional responses in areas well beyond sexuality. For example, Freud (1924) posited three kinds of masochism, only one of which referred directly to sexual behaviours. This ballooning of the definition is unfortunate, as it creates problems in operationally defining constructs for purposes of research, and it impoverishes the utility of the terms. The current research has limited its scope to the terms as they apply to sexual behaviours, since the other forms of sadism and masochism are said to be derived from these (e.g. Baumeister, 1989). That is, sexual sadism and masochism are believed to be at the core of sadistic and masochistic

behaviours of all kinds (Freud, 1924) and are therefore key to any understanding of sadism and masochism more generally.

Interestingly, the mental health community has recently altered its formal definitions of sexual sadism and masochism. The DSM-IV diagnostic criteria for sexual sadism have changed significantly as compared to the previous edition of the DSM. Currently, diagnosis requires both of the following:

- A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors involving acts (real, not simulated) in which the psychological or physical suffering (including humiliation) of the victim is sexually exciting to the person.
- B. The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning.

The previous DSM-III-R required only one of the following:

- 1. On a nonconsenting partner, the individual has repeatedly and intentionally inflicted psychological or physical suffering in order to produce sexual excitement.
- 2. With a consenting partner, the repeatedly preferred or exclusive mode of achieving sexual excitement combines humiliation with simulated or mildly injurious bodily suffering.
- 3. On a consenting partner, bodily injury that is extensive, permanent, or possibly mortal is inflicted in order to achieve sexual excitement (DSM-III-R).

Thus the medical community appears to be narrowing down the criteria for a diagnosis of sexual sadism. While previously, according to criterion #2, one could be so-labeled simply by engaging in consensual sex involving simulated humiliation and suffering, now the acts have to be "real", not simulated, and causing some sort of functional impairment. Thus psychiatry appears to be attempting to make room for some dominance and submission behaviours in the context of healthy sexuality, leaving only behaviours or fantasies of behaviours that are "real" (though the definition of this term may prove to be problematic) and that cause problems for the individual as a basis for diagnosis.

Likewise, the DSM-IV criteria for a diagnosis of sexual masochism have changed. They currently require both of the following:

- A. Over a period of at least 6 months, recurrent, intense sexually arousing fantasies, sexual urges or behaviors involving the act (real, not simulated) of being humiliated, beaten, bound, or otherwise made to suffer.
- B. The fantasies, sexual urges, or behaviors cause clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning (DSM-IV).

The previous DSM edition required only one of the following:

- 1. A preferred or exclusive mode of producing sexual excitement is to be humiliated, bound, beaten, or otherwise made to suffer.
- 2. The individual has intentionally participated in an activity in which he or she was physically harmed or his or her life was threatened in order to produce sexual excitement (DSM-III-R).

So while previously all that was required for a diagnosis of sexual masochism, according to criterion #1, was that one preferred one's sex life to include being bound, beaten or humiliated, now these experiences must be non-simulated and must cause the person distress or impairment in some domain. This is important because it again implies a shift in what is regarded as normal sexuality. While it is still possible to "diagnose" these as "illnesses", the criteria are tightening up such that many, indeed arguably the vast majority of actual practitioners would be ineligible for membership in the category. This is encouraging for those who view s/m not as an illness, but as a valid medium for sexual expression. However, it is important to note that currently one is vulnerable to diagnosis simply by having s/m-related fantasies that cause some concern. Thus despite efforts to limit the applicability of these labels, the potential for wide-spread diagnosis remains. As well, many mental health practitioners and medical model adherents continue to view sadomasochistic sexual interests and behaviours as necessarily symptomatic of dysfunction (e.g. Bradford, 1995).

Alternative Interpretations of S/M

S/m practitioners. Despite the recent changes to the DSM-IV criteria, the term "sadomasochism" as it is understood by most medical and psychoanalytic model adherents typically assumes a pathological association between sexual arousal and physical and/or psychological pain (Katchadourian & Lunde, 1975; Krafft-Ebing, 1886; McCary, 1967/1973). It is fair to say that the medical community takes a conservative stance in regard to any connection between s/m and mental well-being; the tendency is still very much in the direction of viewing s/m behaviours and fantasies as symptomatic of dysfunction.

However there are groups, including those who participate in s/m activities, who argue that s/m is better understood as an erotic ritual that involves acting out fantasies in which one partner is sexually dominant and the other partner is sexually submissive (Califia, 1983). This ritual is preceded by a negotiation process that enables participants to select their roles, state their limits, and specify some of the activities that will take place. According to this view, the basic dynamic of sexual sadomasochism is an eroticized, consensual exchange of power, and not violence or pain. Hence the reduction of s/m to the exchange of pain in order to obtain unhealthy sexual pleasure is regarded by those who practice s/m as an inappropriate, overly-simple interpretation (Tucker, 1991). Practitioners of s/m caution would-be researchers and theorists that all is not necessarily as it appears to be in s/m relationships, and that one risks premature foreclosure on an invalid interpretation if one fails to appreciate the importance of theatre and ritual in the typical s/m encounter (Tucker, 1991). For example, according to s/m practitioners, the masochist is very often the architect of the scenario, not, as first impressions might indicate, the sadist (Tucker, 1991).

Sadomasochism is described by participants as a sophisticated and complex sexual game, with its own implicit and explicit rules and conventions (e.g. Samois, 1987).

These rules must be recognized, and their importance appreciated, if one is to come to a genuine understanding of s/m. As Truscott (1991) defines it, s/m is "a convenient abbreviation for behaviours between consenting adults that are sexually pleasurable, that involve a short- or long-term exchange of power and responsibility, and that may involve activities not traditionally associated with sexual behaviour, such as bondage, flagellation, cutting, branding, and the adoption of roles in which one partner is 'dominant' and the other 'submissive' " (p. 16).

It is clear, then, that there exist marked differences in the way s/m may be understood and defined. Mental health professionals emphasize the giving and receiving of pain, accepting the dynamics of s/m according to their face value. Alternatively, those who participate in s/m describe it as consisting of two levels of interpretation: the surface dynamic, wherein the sadist inflicts pain and/or humiliation upon the masochist; and the underlying dynamic, wherein an agreement, either tacit or overt, has been made between the parties, often such that the sexual desires and fantasies of the masochist are explicitly catered-to (Tucker, 1991).

Radical feminists. This perspective asserts that s/m represents the leaching of the poison of patriarchy into the arena of sexuality. Radical feminists contend that s/m is a manifestation in the sexual realm of cultural misogyny and of the social and political repression of women (e.g. Bar-On, 1982; Butler, 1982; Meredith, 1982). That some people enjoy the degradation and torture which seems to be administered in sadomasochistic sex is reflective of their acceptance of patriarchal dogma and of patriarchal domination on a cultural scale.

Escape-from-self. A social/personality slant on s/m offered by the self theorist Baumeister (1988; 1989) defines masochism in particular as a behaviour ideally suited to

permit for a temporary and powerful escape from higher-level self-awareness. Sadomasochism exists as a function of modern western culture, which emphasizes individuality and personal responsibility for one's destiny. The focus in Western culture on the importance and uniqueness of the individual, and the Western-world belief that each individual is responsible for his/her own destiny, causes some people significant stress. Masochism, Baumeister says, emerged as one coping technique for that stress.

According to this view, masochism is the primary phenomenon, while sadism is secondary. Sadism exists essentially because the masochists need partners. The motivation of many sadists is to please their partner, and not, usually, to take pleasure in the administration of pain, humiliation, and bondage in and of themselves. It is the fact that the administration of pain, humiliation, and bondage is desired by the partner that motivates the typical rather inappropriately-named "sadist", according to this theory. As for those few "genuine" sadists who do intrinsically enjoy the experience of administering pain, bondage and humiliation, Baumeister suggests that these are people who, by stepping out of their everyday roles, enjoy the temporary experience of something they usually do not have, namely power. So s/m is seen here as a kind of coping technique, developed out of a need to escape self-awareness in the case of masochists, or so as to experience the sensation of power in the case of genuine sadists (Baumeister, 1988, 1989).

In sum, there are several current conceptualizations as to the etiology of s/m: the medical/psychoanalytic view that it is symptomatic of mental dysfunction; the perspective espoused by s/m participants that it is the consensual acting out of erotic power-based fantasies; the radical feminist perspective that it is symptomatic of the patriarchal nature of the society in which we live; and the social/personality view that s/m serves to temporarily alter one's self-perceptions and self-experiences. These perspectives did not develop in a vacuum; they have emerged as a function of historical trends within

academia. In order to place this discussion in historical context, a brief survey of the history of scholarly discourse regarding sadomasochism follows.

History

The term "sadomasochism", coined by Krafft-Ebing (1886), derives from the lives and writings of two men. From the Marquis de Sade (1740-1814), a French nobleman who was imprisoned for his libertine acts and writings, is derived the term "sadism", while from Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836-1895), whose novels and lifestyle shocked the Victorian world, comes the term "masochism". Themes of erotic pain, dominance, and submission run consistently throughout both men's work (Thompson, 1991). Certainly, then, sadomasochism was a clearly recognizable phenomenon as far back as the 18th century. Does its existence go back even farther?

While some researchers maintain that evidence does indeed exist for the presence of s/m in ancient times (e.g. Moser, 1988), others contend that it is specific to modern western culture (Baumeister, 1988). There is general agreement though that by the late 15th century the first unambiguous case of s/m was reported (cited by Ellis, 1936). At this time, s/m was regarded as a curiosity rather than as a pathology per se.

The question as to whether sadomasochistic sex was engaged in before the late 15th century and whether it existed in non-Western cultures has sparked some debate. Moser and Levitt (1987) review findings that behaviours appearing to have some key sadomasochistic characteristics are found in pre-literate societies as well as among non-human species (Ford & Beach, 1957; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953, as cited in Moser & Levitt, 1987), and that they appear transhistorically in complex societies from ancient Egypt (Bloch, 1935; Ellis, 1936, as cited in Moser & Levitt, 1987)) to the present, and in Indian (Kokkoka, 1150/1965; Malla, 1500/1964; Vatsyayana, 450/1964,

as cited in Moser & Levitt, 1987), Oriental (Wedek, 1962, as cited in Moser & Levitt, 1987) and Arab (Eulenberg, 1934, as cited in Moser & Levitt, 1987) cultures.

Baumeister (1989), on the other hand, dismisses these historical references as ambiguous and unconvincing. For one thing, he says, the bits and pieces of historical record that are touted as evidence are far from obviously sadomasochistic in nature. While a host of other sex acts are described in unambiguous detail, these "s/m" passages typically refer to flagellation in the context of punishment, without any clear sexual purpose, or to expressions of love which involve self-abnegation. This is a far cry from a lucid description of the use of pain, bondage, and humiliation for sexual gratification. For example, the sex manuals of the ancient Chinese were as complete and detailed as any modern sexology text, including such behaviours as bestiality, sodomy, group sex, homosexuality, pederasty, and virtually any other unusual sexual practice one can imagine. The exception was sadomasochism, conspicuous by its absence (Tannahill, 1980). Likewise, ancient Greek literature was full of sex scenes pertaining to a wide range of acts, which have been carefully documented and catalogued, but which contain no reference to sadomasochism (Licht, 1934, as cited in Baumeister, 1989). The Latin erotic literature enjoyed by the Romans also ignored sadomasochistic behaviours (Ellis, 1905, as cited in Baumeister, 1989). The closest they came to s/m was a scene in Petronius' Satyricon involving a mild whipping to the front of the body. However, as Baumeister is quick to point out, this was not done for sexual enjoyment or stimulation, but rather as part of a magical cure for impotence (Ellis, 1905, as cited in Baumeister, 1989).

There are some ambiguous phrases in ancient poetry that express a desire to submit to or to worship one's beloved, and some scholars have taken this as evidence for a masochistic attitude. The best example from this quarter is an Egyptian poem written about 1200 BC in which the writer imagines himself as a servant of his beloved,

provoking her anger in order to hear her angry voice (Ellis, 1905, p. 112, cited in Baumeister, 1989). This is an isolated example, and, as Baumeister (1989) points out, it is clearly a long way from unambiguous evidence for masochistic sex.

A few other scholars have noted that ancient religious rituals sometimes involved self-mutilation, and have used these as historical evidence for sexual masochism (Bullough, 1976; Taylor, 1954/1970). Because these few practices are the only behavioural evidence anyone has offered as proof of sadomasochism in the ancient world, they are worth examining. Baumeister (1989) asserts that they are not a valid indication of masochistic activity. He argues that there is a wide gap between sexual activities and religious activities, and submitting to pain and harm in a religious context is not necessarily (or even likely) the same as doing it during sexual play. Further, says Baumeister (1989), the self-mutilation which occurred does not resemble sexual masochism. Sexual masochists in fact meticulously avoid harm to themselves, seeking pain but not wanting injury. This is utterly unlike the reports of religious initiates who gouge their skin with knives, or even cut off parts of their bodies. Baumeister (1989) also points out that there is no sign that any sexual arousal occurred in connection with these religious self-injuries. In contrast, modern masochists present extensive evidence of sexual arousal (Baumeister, 1989). In short, modern masochists do certain things in a sexual context and for the sake of sexual arousal. Ancient religious initiates did different things, in a religious context, and apparently without a sexual dimension. Thus Baumeister (1989) dismisses the bits of evidence supporting the existence of sexual masochism in the ancient world and concludes that s/m is a relatively recent addition to the sexual repertoire.

So while by some accounts s/m has a long history, by others it has appeared relatively recently and is limited to Westernized cultures. If it is the case that s/m did not exist in any substantive form before the late 15th century, why did it appear then? Why

appear at all? Baumeister (1989) ties the appearance of s/m in with the changing concept of the self in this era. During the Renaissance people began to think in more individualistic terms. In the three centuries after the end of the Middle Ages (approximately 1500 to 1800), Western culture became heavily individualistic. That is, value was placed on the unique characteristics and experiences of individuals (e.g. in the 16th century people began writing about themselves in greater detail than ever before, emphasizing their personal traits and experiences), and people began to believe in the concept of a unique destiny (e.g. in the 18th century there was an emphasis on creative art, passionate love, and inner character, reflecting the importance of fulfilling one's "special potential"). A person's fate was his or her own.

By the end of the 18th century, individuality and individualism were common concepts that organized the way people approached and understood life. This is vastly different from the construction of self in the Middle Ages, for example, when people's identities were defined through standard, stable, and straightforward means, such as one's role in the family (mother, father, sibling) and one's relationship to others in society (e.g. land-owner, serf, peasant, nobility) (Baumeister, 1989). There was at this time little emphasis on individuality (Weintraub, 1978, as cited in Baumeister, 1989) in the sense of trying to be unique or different, and still less emphasis on being the captain of one's own destiny. One was born into one's lot in life, and the rest was God's will.

Baumeister (1989) asserts that the trend toward individualism has continued on into the 20th century. Values that had been regarded as objective truths only a century ago are now seen as "personal values", formed by searching within one's own psyche (e.g., the belief in God or in an afterlife). The inner self is now seen as a vast, complex, and highly developed region rich with extensive contents. Nowadays, modern Western culture continues to value individuality and autonomy, but it is becoming much harder for the average person to be independent and autonomous than it was even a century ago

(Baumeister, 1989). Modern life affords fewer opportunities to live independently of others; an office worker in a big company perceives that he/she is but a cog in a large machine. Independence and autonomy have become increasingly difficult ideals to achieve in the modern age. Thus a burden of selfhood began to develop in the early modern period, and has continued to grow. It is not always easy, pleasant, or even possible to be unique, autonomous, and self-promoting, and in fact this goal has become increasingly difficult in the present day.

As a result, the desire for escape from the burden of self also developed and grew, apace with the growth of the cult of the individual. Sexual masochism was one very powerful means by which the burden of selfhood could be, at least temporarily, escaped. The pain used in sadomasochism serves to focus the individual on a “lower level” identity, that of human animal; that is, pain serves to shift self-awareness from the more complex experience of the self as responsible, autonomous individual to an experience of the self as a physical being. The humiliation that so often accompanies s/m further strips the individual of his/her everyday sense of person, facilitating this downward shift in self-awareness. In this way, s/m could act as a mechanism for escape from an occasionally overwhelming sense of self. Thus the emergence of s/m in the early 1500s, and its growth to modern day, where it now rests on the very boundary of mainstream experience, can be understood as a symptom of the growth of the burden of selfhood (Baumeister, 1989).

So, while some contend that s/m has always existed, Baumeister (1988, 1989) argues that it is in fact a recent development. This has important implications for his theoretical development of what sadomasochism is, since it ties s/m to social, cultural, and historical context, and refutes contentions that sadomasochistic behaviour is a function of genetic endowment. Whether one agrees with his analysis or not, and whether s/m has been around for eons or not, one thing is irrefutable: in the current era, s/m

behaviours and fantasies are far from rare (Hamilton, 1929; Hariton, 1972; Hunt, 1974; Kinsey et al, 1953; Sue, 1979).

Prevalence and Participants

General population surveys have not adequately established the proportion of the general population that identifies s/m as part of its sexual repertoire. Because prevalence estimates vary as a function of recruiting strategies, how the terms are defined, and the honesty of respondents, it may not be possible to uncover the actual rates of participation. However, since the tendency is towards an under-reporting of s/m activity in such research, results from those studies that do exist suggest that s/m behaviour is not rare (Moser & Levitt, 1987).

Estimates of masochistic sexual response range widely, due, at least in part, to the various ways sadomasochism has been defined by different researchers. Estimates in males range from 2.5 % who report having obtained sexual pleasure from receiving pain (Hunt, 1974) to 45.8% who report fantasizing about being raped by a woman (Crepault & Couture, 1980). In females, estimates of masochistic sexual response range from 4.6% reporting having obtained sexual pleasure from receiving pain (Hunt, 1974) to 29% reporting receiving "pleasant sexual thrills" from having pain inflicted upon oneself (Hamilton, 1929).

Estimates of sadistic sexual response in males range from 4.8% who report having obtained sexual pleasure from inflicting pain (Hunt 1974) to 51% who report receiving "pleasant sexual thrills" from inflicting pain on another (Hamilton, 1929). In females, the figures range from 2.1% reporting obtaining sexual pleasure from inflicting pain (Hunt, 1974) to 32% reporting receiving "pleasant sexual thrills" from inflicting pain on another (Hamilton, 1929).

Other studies have supported the idea that sadomasochistic sexuality is not rare. For example, Dietz & Evans (1982) classified 1760 heterosexual pornography magazines in New York City according to the theme of the cover photographs. Bondage and humiliation scenarios were featured on 17.2% of the magazine covers, suggesting that sexual interest in such themes was not unusual. Relatedly, Stein (1974) surreptitiously observed 1242 men who patronized prostitutes, none of whom were professional dominatrixes or advertised s/m services, and found that 13% wanted to be treated as "sexual slaves".

Thus it seems safe to conclude that s/m represents a small but not particularly uncommon constellation of sexual behaviours in modern western culture. This being the case, which segment of the population is drawn to these activities? What sort of people make up this subculture? Answers to these questions, of course, speak to the issue of whether s/m is an activity for marginalized, dysfunctional people, or whether, instead, it is unrelated to mental and social well-being.

Spengler (1977) studied 245 West German men by way of questionnaires sent to advertisers in s/m contact magazines and to members of participating s/m clubs. His participants were roughly evenly divided among self-defined heterosexuals, homosexuals, and bisexuals. He found that respondents tended to be very secretive about their s/m activities, many were involved in long-term relationships with their s/m partner, and their s/m sexual encounters made up a minority of their sexual life, with only 16% desiring exclusively s/m sex. He also found that, by and large, they accepted their sexuality and were generally no more depressed than a comparison group of non-s/m homosexual men. This group was selected as an appropriate comparison group because they, too, belonged to a sexual minority group, one which often led to secretiveness. Depression would be expected among sadomasochists if in fact s/m was related to social and/or mental dysfunction.

Moser and Levitt (1987) examined 178 male respondents from s/m support groups (e.g. the Eulenspiegel Society in New York City and the Society of Janus in San Francisco). This sample was demographically similar to Spengler's (1977). Both samples were better educated than the general population, with 95% of the Moser and Levitt (1987) sample having attended college. Yearly income levels were also higher than for the general population. Approximately 95% of the sample was white. On average, respondents' first s/m experience occurred at age 23, and they reported "coming out" to friends and family on average at age 26.

Thus a picture begins to emerge of a relatively well-adjusted group, better educated and of higher socio-economic status than the norm. However, caution is required for any interpretation based on such specific samples as support groups and advertisers in s/m magazines. It is not clear the extent to which such samples are representative of the s/m subculture at large.

Moser and Levitt (1987) also inquired into the kinds of s/m behaviours in which respondents engaged. Fifty to 80% performed "bondage and discipline" acts (e.g. being tied or otherwise bound, being made to follow orders, etc.). Thirty-seven to 41% of the sample reported participating in pain-causing behaviours (e.g. using hot wax, biting, face-slapping). More dangerous pain-causing behaviours were engaged in much less often, reported by 7 to 18% (e.g. branding, piercing).

There is some question as to whether as many women as men are s/m practitioners. While some research has failed to obtain large samples of female s/m practitioners (e.g. Lee, 1979; Spengler, 1977), more recent surveys indicate that in fact women do participate in these behaviours in appreciable numbers. For example, Moser and Levitt (1987) also sampled 47 females (21% of their overall sample) in their survey. Similarly, Weinberg, Williams and Moser (1984) were able to obtain a female s/m sample without difficulty. It may be that those surveys that had trouble collecting a

female sample failed to advertise for participants in magazines and in clubs that were frequented by women. Moser and Levitt (1987) found that these women tended to be more inclined to bisexuality than the men and to consider themselves more submissive than the men. They also appeared to be somewhat more experimental than the men, reporting a wider variety of s/m and non-s/m sexual behaviours. Thus it seems clear that women do participate in s/m, and that those who do may in fact be more open to unusual sexual behaviours than the men.

So findings from these studies indicate that generally, s/m practitioners (male and female alike) tend to try many different sexual behaviours (with females possibly engaging in a wider range of activities), and are not exclusive in their s/m interest (Moser & Levitt, 1987). Most report that they do not need to engage in s/m behaviour or fantasy to reach orgasm (Moser & Levitt, 1987; Spengler, 1977), though 70% of a male sample report that orgasm is easier to achieve if s/m is involved (Breslow et al, 1986). Surveys also indicate that most s/m practitioners (male and female) are flexible in terms of the role they take, with relatively few indicating exclusively dominant or submissive interests (Breslow et al, 1985, 1986; Moser & Levitt, 1987; Spengler, 1977). There has been some indication that the submissive role is slightly preferred over the dominant (Moser & Levitt, 1987; Breslow et al, 1985, 1986). Again, though, it is unclear to what extent these findings generalize beyond the self-selected samples.

There is support for the contention that at least some s/m practitioners are able and willing to sustain long-term relationships (Moser, 1988). The role of s/m in these relationships varies in a number of ways. Some couples engage in s/m during some sexual encounters; some have at least an element of s/m in all sexual interactions; some employ s/m role-plays throughout the relationship but not at all times; and some rare individuals attempt to live out the s/m roles at all times ("life-stylers") (Moser, 1988). Some see s/m as part of foreplay, some see it as part of a lifestyle, and some fluctuate

between these two views (Breslow et al, 1985, 1986). The respondents to the various studies did not believe that their s/m interests were a psychological problem and did not wish to change their s/m orientation (Breslow et al, 1986; Moser & Levitt, 1987). While some s/m participants reported concern that their s/m activities might escalate to a dangerous level, this concern seems to be unfounded. Lee (1979) found no incidences of such escalation; further, no incidences were found after a search of the subjects' medical and psychiatric records, beyond a few clearly accidental circumstances (e.g. needing treatment for infection after a nipple-piercing in spite of attempts at the time to do the piercing under sterile conditions).

Thus s/m participants, according to this survey data, appear to be generally above-average on several indices, from education level to socio-economic status; while men are represented more in the research, there is some indication that substantial numbers of women are also involved. The repertoire of sexual behaviours for these individuals includes, but is typically not limited to, sadomasochistic acts. These findings are important to any efforts to understand s/m in that these participants as a group show no evidence of being socially marginalized, educationally or economically disadvantaged, incapable of long-term intimacies, or unhappy with their sexuality.

Current Theories

The theories presently supported in various scholarly literatures can be roughly broken down into two general orientations: those perspectives viewing s/m as evidence of individual maladjustment, either mental or physical, and those seeking to explain it by reference to cultural and social context. In the first group reside the psychoanalytic and medical models. In the second group are found such ideas as s/m being a reflection of cultural gender inequities, and s/m being an adaptive temporary escape from stressful

self-awareness. A review of the applicable literature accompanies the following detailed discussion of each of these perspectives.

The Psychoanalytic Perspective

Freud had much to say about sadism and, as he saw it, its derivative, masochism. Of sadism, he contended that humankind is possessed of an aggressive component, and that when id impulses are not controlled, anger and frustration may be expressed in violent behaviours against others. This is particularly true for those individuals who possess a weak superego or an ineffectual ego (Freud, 1900). Destructive impulses pre-date constructive ones; all people possess the desire to over-power, to wound, to kill. It is only through the process of development of the ego and the superego that individuals manage to repress and otherwise deal with these impulses (Freud, 1900). In this sense, sadism is not strictly sexual, but sex is tied to sadism in the same way that sex and aggression are tightly linked; sex represents an opportunity to express violent and aggressive id impulses. The heterosexual sex act is seen by psychoanalysts as an aggression on the part of the male, an invasion, an overpowering of the female. Thus the male role in sex is viewed as containing inherent sadistic elements (interestingly, this view is also espoused by the radical feminists). Likewise the female's role in coitus is imbued with masochistic elements, since she obtains pleasure from this violation (Freud, 1900). Further, masochism reflects feelings of shame and guilt (conscious and/or unconscious) which surround the experience of sexual pleasure; the pain desired by the masochist provides the punishment demanded by the superego as payment for sexual pleasure (e.g. Dekkers, 1992). However, while some sadistic and masochistic predispositions based on gender are therefore ubiquitous, ego defenses serve in the normal individual to mediate these urges, and the superego joins in to ensure that sadistic impulses are not acted upon (or are at least modified in some way, so as to be more

socially acceptable, before finding expression). When these urges are not thusly mediated in the individual, the result is sadism. Likewise, of masochism, Freud wrote, "there is a masochistic component in the sexual constitution of many people, which arises from the reversal of an aggressive, sadistic component into its opposite" (Freud, 1900, p. 159). Thus sadism is the core phenomenon, and masochism derives from it. Masochism is sadism which has been turned back on itself, a secondary phenomenon.

Freud later amended his theory to give room for the possibility of primary masochism as an expression of the death instinct (Freud 1920), but still asserted the ubiquitousness of sadism. He further distinguished between three different kinds of masochism: erotogenic masochism, involving taking sexual pleasure in pain; feminine masochism; and moral masochism, which takes the form of a largely unconscious sense of guilt (Freud, 1924). Thus the term escaped the confines of sexual behaviour and became applicable to a multitude of non-sexual acts, thoughts, and wishes. For purposes of this paper, though, as has already been discussed, the meaning is restricted to sexual masochism, and for that matter, sexual sadism.

Since Freud, many other psychoanalysts and neoanalysts have commented on sadism and masochism. For example, Reich (1933) and Reik (1939) debated whether pain per se was experienced as pleasurable by the masochist, or whether, instead, pain was a necessary precondition to pleasure. More modern psychoanalytic theorists describe s/m as the enacting of conscious and unconscious fantasies into reality (Coen, 1988). That is, while most people can make use of and be satisfied with sadomasochistic fantasy alone, sadistic and masochistic "perverts" need more than fantasy to obtain sexual satisfaction. Thus the Freudian (1900) idea that normality and abnormality are extremes on a continuum is still espoused by modern psychoanalysts; that is, the difference between "normal" and "disturbed" individuals is a matter of degree. Despite the universality of sadistic urges (e.g. Freud, 1900), the need to actively engage in sadistic

sexual acts instead of being content with fantasies or having the ego defense mechanisms successfully repress, deny, or otherwise turn these desires into socially acceptable behaviours has been seen as a reflection of insecurity (e.g. Maslow, 1942) or as a reflection of a deep-seated disgust for sex (McCary, 1973), and is grounds for a label of "sexual pervert" (Coen, 1988).

Stoller (1989), a psychoanalytic clinician who works with sadomasochistic clients, speculates that s/m, particularly masochism, represents a reproduction of the major traumas in early life, except that in the re-enacted scenario, all ends happily. The details of the adult script tell what happened to the child. In a paper concerning eight clients who were practicing sadomasochists, he noted that those who were most into extreme physical "pain-in-the-flesh" s/m all had suffered massive physical disease with terrifying medical interventions in early childhood. As a result they had suffered severe and chronic confinement, and this presumably led to their perversion. Each described the process by which they consciously forced themselves to master uncontrollable physical agony and terror by working with the pain in their heads, until it was converted into "pain-as-pleasure", or "voluptuous pain" (p. 279). Thus, presumably, sadomasochistic proclivities are a function of childhood trauma. This is, of course, the psychoanalytic explanation for virtually all neuroses and psychoses.

Such a sample is problematic both for its small size and its dubious generalizability (participants were not randomly selected, and the study did not look at sadomasochists who had not sought therapy). Nevertheless, Stoller (1989) makes use of these findings to support his notion that s/m permits for a therapeutic replaying of childhood traumas. He does not, however, report how many other s/m patients he has treated who do not report such childhood pain and trauma; nor does he discuss s/m participants who had not sought out therapy. His research is typical of much of the

modern psychoanalytic publications on s/m in that his findings are based on data from his clinical work, specifically on small non-randomly selected samples.

The Psychopathology Perspective

The psychopathology perspective is similar to the psychoanalytic view in that both take the stance that s/m reflects dysfunction of some kind. However, while the psychoanalysts perceive this dysfunction to be situated in the psyche and resulting from sexual/social conflicts in childhood, the psychopathology camp prefers to view the problem from a medical perspective. While it does not deny the possibility that s/m can be learned behaviour, the preferred framework for understanding it is as a mental health issue. Thus the discourse includes such terminology as "disorder", "disease", and "treatment". The general population as well as many experts consistently link the concept of sadomasochism with such terms as psychopathology, psychopathy, and sexual perversion.

Early on in the study of sexuality, Krafft-Ebing (1906) and his colleagues equated sexual deviance with disease and described particular forms of deviance as though they were specific illnesses. The present system of classification utilized by clinicians still sustains this view (e.g. Bradford, 1995; Brown, 1983). However, some theorists in the early 1980s re-floated the old Freudian (1900) idea that sadism and masochism, as well as other sexual deviances, reside on a continuum, at one end of which is normal sexual behaviour, and at the other abnormal sexual behaviour. That is, rather than it being a case of normal (i.e. not sadomasochistic) versus abnormal (sadomasochistic), shades of gray are permitted: the presence of some sadomasochistic proclivities may not necessitate labeling as deviant. Thus in the mental health field it appears that, theoretically at least, there has been some widening of the standards by which normal sexuality is judged.

Nevertheless, current literature still links sadomasochism and such antisocial behaviours as rape and murder (e.g. Bradford, 1995; Ehm & Patrick, 1995). Will such associations become more rare as s/m activity becomes better understood? Or is there some truth to the idea that s/m is related to rape and other forms of violence?

It may be that what the DSM-IV identifies as masochistic and sadistic are different entities altogether from the behaviours practiced in the s/m subculture. This may be a case of confusing apples with oranges; the diagnostic criteria may not apply to the majority of s/m practitioners, but, unfortunately, the "bad press" associated with these diagnostic labels colours popular and academic opinion with regard to any and all s/m activity and/or subcultural affiliation.

According to the psychopathology stance, then, sadomasochists who assume the dominant role (sadists) may be perceived as potential or actual sex criminals or psychopaths. On the other hand, sadomasochists who assume the submissive role (masochists) are themselves at risk for being labeled as neurotic, as suffering from low self-esteem or as engaging in self-defeating behaviours. Is there in fact evidence suggesting unusually high levels of psychopathology in the s/m community?

Gosselin and Wilson (1980) studied non-clinical groups of male sadomasochists (i.e. individuals who were active in the s/m community, and who had not sought treatment or counseling for their s/m proclivities), as well as groups of male fetishists, transvestites and transsexuals. These groups scored higher on neuroticism than controls, though the s/m group showed the smallest differences. However, many more studies have failed to find evidence of dysfunction among non-clinical samples of sadomasochists (e.g. Moser & Levitt, 1987; Moser, 1988; Spengler, 1977) and therefore this finding must be interpreted in the light of the weight of the evidence on the other side, and in light of the fact that the "normal" population varies on these dimensions substantially without being considered dysfunctional.

Findings from Moser and Levitt's (1987) sample of 178 s/m men and 47 s/m women support Spengler's (1977) findings in West Germany that most participants reported being satisfied with the s/m aspect of their sexuality. Not more than 6% reported that they were emotionally disturbed about their involvement in s/m, although another 10% reported that they had sought professional consultation about their s/m inclinations. Thus it does not appear, based on this evidence, that emotional disturbance is a significant problem for the majority of s/m participants.

Thus there is some evidence pointing towards the mental well-being of the average s/m participant. Nevertheless, sadomasochistic sexuality is far from finding public or medical approval, and arguments can still be mounted that construe consensual s/m as a kind of training ground, or gateway, to "real" sexual sadism (i.e. nonconsensual violent sex acts) (e.g. Bradford, 1995; Brown, 1983; Ehm & Patrick, 1995). It may be that people who engage in consensual s/m do so because they are afraid to do what they really want, which is to genuinely dominate, genuinely torture, genuinely enslave another person. That is, it could be argued that the s/m subculture is the repository, not only of individuals who are developing a taste for violent sex, but also of all the failed and "would-be" rapists and sex killers who do not have the nerve to enact their fantasies, but who find s/m to be as close a substitute as legally possible. If this is the case, it ought to be possible to identify such individuals through the use of psychological tests.

Regarding masochism, the perception persists, despite research findings to the contrary, that there must be something wrong with someone who engages in masochistic sex (e.g. Katchadourian & Lunde, 1975; McCary, 1973) . It may be that more compelling evidence is needed before these ideas can be substantively altered. What is required, perhaps, is a comprehensive survey utilizing a battery of valid and reliable measures of psychopathology and adjustment. If it is true that masochists are mentally disturbed, here

too it ought to be possible to unambiguously identify these problems through the use of such psychological tests.

The Radical Feminist Perspective

The feminist environment is in fact deeply divided in its views of sadoomasochism. The radical feminist interpretation is that s/m is both caused by and serves to perpetuate the patriarchal power structure (e.g. Bar-On, 1982; Butler, 1982; Dougherty, 1987; Lewis & Adler, 1994; Meredith, 1982; Rian, 1982; Rubin, Provenzano & Luvia, 1974; Russell, 1982). That is, s/m practitioners have internalized the themes of oppressor and oppressed, and brought them into play in a sexual context. The implications are necessarily negative for women, in that the perpetuation of oppressive themes works against the feminist struggle for equality and liberty. This being the case, a practitioner of s/m cannot, while defining him/herself as a sadoomasochist, also count him/herself as a feminist. Much of the radical lesbian feminist community in particular disapproves of s/m, especially lesbian s/m (Califia, 1983). Some feminist theoreticians equate the status of the role of sadist with masculinity and male privilege (as with the psychoanalytic view), and equate the role of masochist with femininity and the low status of women in this culture (Califia, 1983). They see s/m as a logical extension of sexism. Essentially, because s/m entails the bondage, humiliation, and infliction of pain by one person upon another, this is seen as recapitulating the bondage, humiliation, and pain inflicted upon women as a group by the patriarchy. To bring the dynamic of a cultural power imbalance into one's sexual expression is to mimic and thus to perpetuate the gender-based power differential that exists on a societal scale.

Dougherty (1987) asserts that the source of women's masochism is located in the patriarchally organized society. Simply put, male sadism creates female masochism. Feminists who take this stance cite learning theory models of socialization, and point out

that sexual stereotyping begins at birth, continuing throughout the life span (e.g. Rubin, Provenzano, & Luvia, 1974, as cited in Dougherty, 1987). Poglebin (1981, as cited in Dougherty, 1987) found that in early infancy, boys' dependency needs are gratified more than girls'. Thus girls grow up into women who still yearn for the comfort of a dependency relationship, and are therefore vulnerable to the lure of a "male dominant - female submissive" relationship. Passivity and masochism are idealized goals for little girls (de Beauvoir, 1952, as cited in Dougherty, 1987), as epitomized by many popular fairy tales in which heroines are humiliated (e.g. Cinderella), locked away (e.g. Rapunzel), and poisoned (e.g. Snow White), and await the male hero to save them. The radical feminists argue that s/m need not take the form of "female-submissive, male-dominant" in order to substantiate this argument. In fact, the mere presence of a power imbalance, regardless of the presence or absence of male participants and the roles they assume, is sufficient to indicate the influence of sexism. This is because women as well as men, and lesbians as well as heterosexual women, can be guilty of internalizing patriarchal values and frameworks, and of transposing them onto their sexual encounters. It has been one of the primary goals of feminists to articulate, and then eradicate the model of dominance and submission upon which so much of human behaviour in patriarchal society is based (Hopkins, 1994); therefore a replication of such a power-based model in the sexual realm is viewed as repugnant.

Thus according to the radical feminists, s/m participants do what they do as a result of exposure to and acceptance of the gender and status inequities of Western culture. That is, they have internalized the framework of status and power differential to such an extent that it permeates every mode of expression, including the erotic. They have endorsed notions about sex and sexuality which include power, aggression, domination, and submission. It seems clear that individuals who have incorporated the mainstream misogynistic framework to this degree cannot be feminists. Such was the

feminist "party line" regarding s/m throughout the 1960s and most of the 1970s (Hopkins, 1994).

It was then disturbing for many radical and politically active feminists in the late 1970s and early 1980s to discover that there were women who called themselves both feminists and sadomasochists (Hopkins, 1994). These were not, by their own accounts, women who supported male domination; they did not claim to be reactionary anti-feminists. They were, they said, lesbians and activists and scholars who believed that one could be both a feminist and a sadomasochist at the same time. There ensued a battle within the feminist movement as to the meaning of s/m and the meaning of feminism which, though it has cooled, has not yet been settled (Hopkins, 1994).

The increasing acceptability and impact of lesbian s/m on lesbian culture in general is seen by some feminists as dangerously formative of lesbian experience and self-definitions (Lewis & Adler, 1994). They worry that s/m has popularized a notion of the erotic as separate from the emotional, the social, and the political, which flies in the face of the feminist politicization of personal experience. The s/m lifestyle is accused of negating any regard for the future or for commitment beyond the single sexual encounter (Lewis & Adler, 1994). Further, the s/m practitioners' argument that s/m is consensual sex is challenged. "The s/m scenario of consent fails to allow for such motivations as the fear of losing a lover or being isolated from the only lesbian community one knows" (Lewis & Adler, 1994, p. 439). In other words, some people may be coerced into s/m sex in order to keep their partner happy. The contention is that the ability of the masochist to say 'no' and thereby control the direction of the sexual encounter is likely illusory much of the time, just as the ability of the battered woman to say 'no' to her batterer is illusory (Lewis & Adler, 1994). Thus the fear is that acceptance of s/m by feminists would lead to a negative alteration in the feminist identity as well as to problems with incorporating feminism into the mainstream. On top of doing damage to the goals and ideals of

feminism, acceptance of s/m would result in the popular image of the feminist, already somewhat embattled, receiving a black eye.

Calafia (1983, 1984, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1992) is a leading voice on the other side of the feminist debate. She defines s/m as an erotic ritual preceded by a negotiation process that enables participants to select their roles, state their limits, and specify some of the activities that will take place. Thus the basic dynamic of sexual sadomasochism is an eroticized, consensual exchange of power and not violence or pain. S/m is empowering to women, Calafia says, because for one thing it gives them sexual pleasure in a context where it is all right to ask specifically for particular acts to be committed (and in fact where such explicitness and frankness are generally the norm), and for another, it is chosen freely. For a woman to engage in the sexual expression of her choice, and for her to then have an orgasm as a result, puts her unambiguously in control of her sexuality and of her pleasure, and is therefore empowering (Calafia, 1987).

In response to arguments which equate the sadistic or dominant role with patriarchal control over women, Calafia (1980) points out that the sadistic role in s/m is not based on economic control or physical constraint, as is the case with patriarchal dominance in general. The only power a sadist has is temporarily given to her by the masochist. Further, the sadistic role does not require the use of male paraphernalia, like suits, ties, or other masculinizing clothing; the dominant woman is free to wear blatantly feminine, body-revealing clothing, leaving no doubt in the masochist's mind that his/her partner is female. As well, the power the masochist loans to his/her sexual partner is not permanently lost; nor does it inhibit his/her ability to maneuver and succeed in other areas of life (Calafia, 1980). The lesbian who self-identifies as a sadomasochist uses roles, power exchanges, and intense sensations for sexual gratification. This is very different from using social institutions, police powers, and economic inequity to force individuals into a culturally subservient position.

Califia (1980) also points out that if s/m were the result of male domination, it would not be stigmatized, but instead would be the official form of sexual interaction. Its stigma in mainstream culture argues against its being an agent of the status quo. A better case, she says, can be made for viewing s/m as a significant sexual minority, similar in that regard to homosexuality (Califia, 1980). Certainly the prevalence research which has been done support her contention that s/m, while not rare, is practiced by a relatively small minority of individuals (e.g. Hunt, 1974; Moser & Levitt, 1987; Stein, 1974). Further, while s/m is not particularly uncommon, Califia (1980) asserts that it is not, at this point, sufficiently common to be considered a mainstream activity; thus any attempts to label s/m as a product or engine of the patriarchal status quo are misguided.

Hopkins (1994), a feminist social psychologist, conducts a critical evaluation of the anti-s/m stance, arguing that, in fact, individuals from this camp have failed to grasp the essence of s/m behaviour. Generally, Hopkins says, the feminist anti-s/m argument consists of three key assertions: (1), that lesbian s/m replicates patriarchal relationships; (2), that consent to activities which eroticize dominance, submission, pain, and powerlessness is structurally impossible or ethically irrelevant; and (3), that lesbian s/m validates and supports patriarchy. Taken one at a time, Hopkins' (1994) examination of these arguments follows.

First, the claim that s/m replicates patriarchy is the most commonly-mounted argument by the radical feminists (e.g. Bar-On, 1982; Rian, 1982; Russell, 1982). Patriarchal society allows or encourages the sexual, economic, and psychological abuse of women, largely at the hands of men and for male purposes. Lesbians who derive pleasure from humiliating or causing pain to other women are blatantly reproducing the implicit values of patriarchy, probably as a result of having internalized the view that women are sexual objects to be used for pleasure. In effect, this argument presents s/m as a core structure of male-dominated culture. The fact that women engage in s/m with other

women does not obscure this fact; indeed, it brings it into greater relief. Women, including lesbians, can internalize patriarchal dogma, including the degradation of women as sexual objects (Bar-On, 1982; Meredith, 1982; Russell, 1982).

Second, radical feminists take issue with s/m advocates' claims that since participants in an s/m activity consent to the act, they are not doing anything wrong (e.g. Califia, 1980). Radical feminists disagree, arguing that consent has long been used to justify treating women as lesser creatures, and the fact that women often say they consent to certain patterns of male domination does not prove that they are acting freely. Women, like men, typically learn and internalize patriarchal values and think of them as natural. Consent to abuse cannot be considered justification of abuse. The purported "consent" is just an example of how deeply the internalization of oppression goes. In fact, even if consent is considered to have been given, this does not entail that the activity should then be considered morally permissible or non-pathological. Thus, the radicals argue, consent can be seen as a structural impossibility or as a hopelessly conflated irrelevancy (Butler, 1982; Rian, 1982; Russell, 1982).

Third, the radicals say that as a result of replicating patriarchal values and behaviours, promoting s/m has the effect of supporting patriarchy. The claim that women's pain and humiliation can be conjoined with feminism itself validates patriarchy's activities and undercuts the power of feminist opposition. So not only does s/m replicate patriarchy, but it actually furthers it and actively interferes with the liberation of women (Hein, 1982; Lorde & Starre, 1982; Russell, 1982).

Hopkins (1994) formulates a counter-argument that s/m sexual activity does not replicate patriarchal sexual activity at all. Rather, it simulates it. While replication implies that s/m encounters merely faithfully reproduce patriarchal activity, simulation implies that s/m selectively replays surface patriarchal behaviours onto a different contextual field. For example, they do not rape; they do "rape scenes". They do not enslave; they do

"slave scenes". S/m is constructed as a performance, a production, and, importantly, is recognized as such by the participants. Core features of real patriarchal violence are absent. For example, in real rapes, the victim is not a participant, but an object or commodity. In an s/m rape scene, though, the "victim" has negotiated with her "rapist" ahead of time to establish the nature of the "rape". Thus s/m scenes excise the violent, patriarchal features of the behaviours they simulate. While real rape, kidnapping, slavery, and bondage cause harm, limit freedom, terrify, scar, and coerce, s/m simulations do none of these things.

Further, it is not obvious that taking pleasure in the simulation of violence, domination, and submission is the same thing as or even indicative of taking pleasure in genuine violence, domination, and submission. One cannot assume that s/m participants actually find pleasure in the genuine torture of slaves or in the cries of a real rape victim. One can find these acts deplorable while at the same time desiring the simulation of those events, seeking a negotiated and consensual "submission" or "domination". This does not mean that simulation is the closest the s/m practitioner can get to his/her desires. This does not mean that simulated rape is the legal stand-in for the real thing. Rather the sadomasochist can desire the simulation itself, not as an inferior copy of the real thing, but as itself.

Hopkins (1994) clarifies his point with the analogy of being on a roller-coaster. There is intense emotion and high physiological arousal experienced as a result of a simulated plummeting to one's death, or smashing into trees or railings, or flying off into thin air. But is the best interpretation of the roller coaster rider's desire that he or she would actually like to plummet to his/her death? Is it the case that the rider genuinely desires to be violently killed, but because the law and morality attempt to prevent it, alas, he/she is not able? The answer is, of course, no. In fact the experience desired by the roller coaster rider is precisely the simulation, not because simulation is all he/she can

get, but because the simulation itself is thrilling and satisfying, while the "real" experience is thoroughly unwanted. In the same way it is not justified to assume that a practitioner of sadomasochism finds real violence, real sexism, or real domination and submission desirable. As one lesbian sadomasochist put it, "calling an s/m person sexist is like calling someone who plays Monopoly a capitalist" (Samois, 1987, p. 151).

Thus the s/m participant consents to a simulative performance, not to genuine domination or submission, and as such, the radicals' critique of consent fails to apply here (Hopkins 1994). While it may be true that one cannot genuinely consent to true powerlessness and domination, this does not hold for consenting to simulated powerlessness and domination.

Besides the consent issue, however, there is the matter of public image to be addressed. The radical critical argument warns that, simply by taking place in patriarchal culture, s/m is likely to be interpreted by society at large as condoning the objectification of women's bodies, even if the sadist is herself a woman. According to this argument, it makes no difference if it really is a simulation; "to parody an institution is nevertheless to reinforce its world view and hence to validate it" (Hoagland, 1982, p. 159). In a world where feminist critical insights are the experience of a relatively small group, s/m (especially lesbian s/m) functions as a dumping of images into masculinist context. Thus s/m images in the hands of "masculinist" men can be used to validate their own chauvinistic sexual desires and their version of women's sexual desires ("well, *she's* a feminist and *she* likes it" (Hopkins, 1994, p. 131)). So according to this argument, s/m hurts the overall women's movement because it is likely to be misunderstood and used as a tool against women and against feminism.

Thus the radicals advocate that feminist s/m practitioners renounce s/m and stop living out these particular fantasies. What this amounts to, says Hopkins (1994), is an admonition to deny or to hide one's sexual/political activities because they hurt the

"movement" or because they "make things worse". This contradicts the radical feminist antipathy towards the notion that the goal of feminism ought to be to assimilate with the mainstream culture. Just as NOW members tried to purge lesbians from its membership because they were perceived of as hurting the progress of the women's movement ("the lavender menace" (Califia, 1987)), the feminist lesbian community appears to be trying to purge themselves of sadomasochists ("the leather menace" (Samois, 1987)).

In sum, the feminist camp is divided in its understanding and acceptance of s/m. While the pro-s/m feminists assert that sadomasochism is empowering because it leads to female orgasm (Califia 1987), because it is chosen freely (Califia, 1987), and because, contrary to appearances, it is not about real pain, oppression, or humiliation (Hopkins, 1994), the anti-s/m feminists take issue both with what they see as the underlying patriarchally-based motivation behind the acts, and with the message that these behaviours send to the public at large.

If the radical feminists are right, and those who engage in s/m are recapitulating patriarchal misogyny (and are therefore by definition not feminists), one ought to be able to find differences between s/m participants and non-participants on indices of endorsement of traditional, anti-feminist gender roles. That is, if s/m participants have incorporated the patriarchal message so thoroughly as to give it expression in their sexual behaviours, and if feminism is inconsistent with these internalized patriarchal beliefs, then these individuals would be more likely than non-s/m participants to endorse anti-feminist beliefs such as occupational restrictions on the basis of gender. However, if the pro-s/m feminists are right, there is nothing inconsistent about holding feminist beliefs and engaging in s/m behaviours. In this case one would not find a relationship between s/m participation and endorsement of anti-feminist beliefs.

The Escape-From-Self Perspective

Social psychology looks at behaviour as a function of the context in which it occurs. While the psychoanalysts and medical-model clinicians look to the individual psyche or to physiology for an understanding of s/m, and the feminists see it as a consequence of social-sexual inequity, social and personality psychologists understand it as a function of cultural, political, personal, and historical factors.

Baumeister (1988, 1989) is a social/personality psychologist who studies notions of self. In the late 1980s, he combined his theory of self with cultural and historical analysis in an attempt to understand sadomasochism. The resulting theory focuses on masochism as the key phenomenon. The basic thrust is that masochism represents a kind of "temporary holiday" from high-level self-awareness. That is, masochism may be a means of escaping from high-level awareness of self as a symbolically mediated, temporally extended identity. Such awareness is replaced by a focus on the immediate present and on bodily sensations, and sometimes by a low-level awareness of the self as object.

It is plausible that high-level self-awareness can lead to anxiety and discomfort under some circumstances. The requirements of making decisions under pressure or uncertainty, of taking responsibility for actions that may disappoint or harm others, of maintaining a favourable public image of self despite all threats and challenges, and of asserting control over a recalcitrant social environment can become oppressive and stressful and can foster desires to escape (Baumeister, 1988). This would hold true for both men and women in stressful social/business roles. Baumeister's theory is founded on three key elements: first, the primacy of masochism; second, the myth of self-destructiveness; and third, the concept of the self. A closer examination of these elements follows.

The primacy of masochism. Most theorists (e.g. Stekel, 1929/1953) have assumed a strong link between sadism and masochism and have emphasized sadism, because it is presumably the more important and fundamental pattern. Baumeister (1988) makes a case against this view. For one thing, he says masochism is more common than sadism. As evidence he points to a sample of letters to sex-oriented magazines that has more contributions written by masochists (n=158) than by sadists (n=64). While the generalizability of such a sample is questionable, other research has also noted a predominance of masochists over sadists (e.g. Samois, 1987; Friday, 1980; Greene & Greene, 1974; Scott, 1983; Janus Bess & Saltus, 1977). Studies looking at the etiology of masochism indicate that nearly all participants begin in the masochistic role, and some later go on to prefer playing the sadistic role (Kamel, 1983; Lee, 1983; Scott, 1983; Califia, 1983). This behavioural evidence is interpreted by Baumeister (1988) as indicating that masochism always precedes sadism and therefore must be the primary phenomenon, with sadism as the secondary, derivative pattern. Of course, another interpretation could be that masochism is represented more because those who take this role are at a lower risk of courting social stigma than are those who assume the sadistic role. It also may simply be easier and require less skill to play the "passive" role. Nevertheless, given that masochism is the more common pattern, Baumeister concludes that it deserves primary emphasis in theoretical treatments.

Baumeister (1988, 1989) also asserts that since masochists are far more plentiful than sadists, a great number of so-called "sadists" are in fact masochists who have had to learn to be flexible until such time as they get their turn at playing the submissive role. It is not the case, though, that preference for the sadistic role does not exist. There are people who genuinely prefer this role, though they are fewer in number than those who prefer the masochistic role. Baumeister (1988, 1989) speculates that those who do prefer the sadistic role may be doing so not out of a need to escape self, but out of a need to

bolster the self-concept. The sadistic role provides for an enhanced high-level self-awareness, in that the individual actively controls the scene and actively takes measures to avoid injury to the masochist. Thus there is no opportunity to slip into a lower-level of self-awareness for the sadist. What is possible, though, is an awareness of self that is enhanced by the dynamics of the scene. Feelings of potency, of power, and of control are experienced by the sadist because within the scene he or she embodies these characteristics and is treated as though he/she was in fact such a formidable individual. In this way, the role might appeal to individuals for whom such elements are lacking in their every-day self-concept. Thus sadists may require a nurturing of a precarious sense of self, and a reinforcement of notions of personal power and authority.

The myth of self-destructiveness. In spite of many attempts to generalize masochism to self-destructive intentions (e.g. Franklin, 1987; Lewin, 1980; Shainess, 1984; Stekel, 1929/1953) and therefore conclude that it is of psychopathological or neurotic etiology, recent evidence indicates that masochists do not seek failure, harm, or injury. It appears that, instead, masochists seek pain while carefully avoiding actual injury (Baumeister, 1988). Rubin (1987) reports that dominant partners in s/m relationships compete for the reputation as "the safest", indicating that the infliction of harm or injury upon a submissive partner is to be strenuously avoided.

Other sources report that any person who injures a partner during s/m sex is shunned by other potential lovers (e.g. Kamel, 1980; Scott, 1983). In addition, manuals and workshops emphasizing safe techniques of bondage and pain infliction are regularly circulated in the s/m subculture (e.g. Bellwether, 1982; Greene & Greene, 1974). Thus it appears that masochism does not involve seeking to harm oneself. Pain is often sought, but injury is widely and carefully avoided. Relatedly, evidence of the success and competence that often make up masochists' daily lives (e.g. Stoller, 1989) suggests that

masochistic sexuality has no correlate of self-defeating conduct in everyday life. Thus injury is avoided within the sexual context, and no evidence exists of self-destructive behaviour in non-sexual contexts. Given this, Baumeister (1988) reasons, the masochist's quest for pain must be understood as arising from motives other than the desire for self-harm and injury.

The concept of the self. Based on a substantial body of research into the construct of the self (see Baumeister 1988 for a complete review), several generalizations can be drawn. Since the self develops in order to facilitate the organism's quest for happiness and avoidance of suffering, it is oriented towards controlling the environment, and towards perceiving itself as having control. Also, the self strives to maintain a positive evaluation, both in others' eyes and in its own. In this context, then, masochism presents a challenging paradox. Whereas the self seeks to avoid pain, masochists seek it out. Whereas the self strives for control, masochists apparently relinquish it. Whereas the self seeks to maintain and increase esteem, many masochists seek humiliation. In this way masochism represents a systematic attempt to temporarily eradicate the main features of the self. Why would some people wish to do this?

As has already been touched upon, Baumeister asserts that selfhood can become burdensome at times. Sometimes people enjoy self-awareness, but many times people may wish to escape and avoid it (e.g. after experiencing an interpersonal rejection (Gibbons & Wicklund, 1976)). Desire to escape from self-awareness has been linked to the use of several commonly available drugs such as alcohol and tobacco (e.g. Hull, 1981; Hull & Young, 1983; Young & Jouriles, 1986; Wicklund, 1975). It is also plausible that escape from self-awareness is an underlying goal in other recreational activities, such as spectator sports, watching movies, and reading novels (Baumeister, 1988).

Relatedly, Spence and Sawin (1984) found that men's greatest complaint about the masculine role imposed by society was the demands made on them by their careers, particularly the pressures to be successful and the weight of responsibility -- that is, the burden of selfhood. Pennebaker, Hughes and O'Heeron (1987) showed that people who had control over a noise stressor thought at higher levels and experienced more negative affect than people who had no control. Thus, having control prevented people from escaping negative affect by shifting to lower levels of thinking. So if a stressor is beyond one's control, one's thought process can shift to lower levels, thereby providing an escape from negative affect. If one does have control, though, this means of escape is not available. Taken together, these findings indicate that the responsibilities which go along with being in powerful positions involving control can sometimes become stressful and unpleasant.

A successful self in particular becomes the focus of others' high expectations, the awareness of which can also be burdensome, leading to strategic and even potentially self-harmful behaviours to escape such pressures (Jones & Bergals, 1978). Exerting responsibility and maintaining esteem may become emotionally draining, and it makes sense that some people might want to escape from self-awareness on occasion. This suggestion explains why masochism is apparently so popular among powerful and successful men (Janus et al., 1977). High levels of esteem and responsibility produce the most complex and elaborate selves, which may be the most burdensome selves. As a result, such individuals may seek the strongest modes of escape, one of which may be sexual masochism.

Baumeister's (1988, 1989) argument, then, is that sexual masochism provides a powerful method of removing high-level, abstract self-awareness, while focusing attention on the lowest possible levels of self awareness. It accomplishes this by re-focusing awareness on the self in a physical, low-level, and immediate manner, and, for

some, by creating a new fantasized identity that is fundamentally different from the self that is escaped. In order to test these ideas, Baumeister (1988) conducted a study of 225 letters from sadists and masochists published in 36 issues of a popular s/m magazine (Variations). One must bear in mind the drawbacks of such a sample when interpreting the results; it is unclear the extent to which it represents s/m participants generally, since not all s/m participants read this magazine, and not all those who do read it write letters to be published in it. Baumeister (1988) found that, according to the contents of the letters, pain was administered chiefly by spanking, paddling, or mild whipping to the buttocks. A few letters referred to using clothespins or clamps to pinch the skin. Other more extreme methods of pain induction were, according to his sample, uncommon. The doses of pain were carefully limited, and were not experienced as pleasure, but as aversive, even during the experience. This is consistent with other research findings; for example, masochists report disliking headaches and dental work as much as anyone else (e.g. Scott, 1983; Weinberg, Williams & Moser, 1984).

Baumeister (1988) concluded that it does not appear to be the case that masochists experience pain as pleasure; rather, the evidence indicates that they experience pain as pain, like everyone else. If the sensation of pain never becomes pleasant, then, Baumeister reasoned, masochists presumably seek it for something other than the sensation itself: either for the "meaning" of the sensation or the effects of the sensation. The meaning of pain in this context may be its clear delineation of which member of the dyad has power and which is powerless. If one person inflicts pain on another, the symbolism of that act clearly identifies the recipient as submissive, under the "control" of the other, at the other's "mercy". This conveys a strong message of powerlessness for the masochist; and if one is powerless, one is free to shift self-awareness to lower levels and thus escape aversive self-awareness (see Pennebaker et al, 1987).

In terms of its effect, pain, or the threat of it, can itself facilitate escape from high-level self-awareness (Scarry, 1985). As has been mentioned, pain blots out higher-order thought and complex or symbolic self-awareness. Thus it may function as an effective means of removing unwanted thoughts and self-images from awareness, particularly in circumstances where it is obtained without injury and in carefully limited doses. Pain undeniably has the effect of focusing the attention on the physical self, or at least that part of the body where the pain is located (Scarry, 1985). It is possible that it does a better job, as sensations go, of focusing attention in the immediate moment than does pleasure alone, even intense pleasure. And if pain can be combined with pleasure, then, it stands to reason, it becomes all the more effective.

In masochistic practice, pain (or the threat of pain, or the fantasy of pain) blots out broader self-awareness, focusing the person narrowly on the here and now. In addition, being in bondage (the practice of being restrained with ropes, scarves, ties, handcuffs, etc.) makes it impossible for the self to exert initiative or control or to take responsibility for actions and decisions. Add to this the element of humiliation, the pursuit of which is a common theme in masochism, temporarily demolishing one's self-esteem and social identity, and masochistic activity is revealed as a multi-tiered attack on the higher-level aspects of the self (Baumeister, 1988). At the same time, awareness of self becomes focused on the lowest possible levels. In effect, this theory states that "masochism is an escape *from* identity *to* body" (Baumeister, 1988, p. 42). As such, it can be grouped with such activities as skydiving, mountain climbing, and alcohol intoxication. Baumeister (1988, 1989) concludes that, as escapes go, masochism appears to be relatively harmless, and if self-report data are to be believed, the yield of pleasure is often substantial.

The question remains, however, given sadomasochism's stigmatized status in modern Western culture, why masochism would be chosen over some of the other available escapes. Baumeister (1988, 1989) speculates that it is one of the more potent

forms of escape, providing more powerful experiences than movies or board games or even sky-diving, possibly because it is paired with sexual pleasure. Thus it may appeal to people who require or desire a particularly powerful means of achieving a successful escape from self. After all, one's mind can wander while playing Scrabble, or while reading a novel; it seems reasonable to assume that the sensations of physical pain, bodily powerlessness, sexual arousal, and humiliation are substantially harder to ignore.

THE PRESENT STUDIES

The present research was conducted in order to address the viability of current perspectives on s/m. Tenets of the psychoanalytic, psychopathology, radical feminist, and escape-from-self theories were tested in Study 1 by way of a battery of questionnaires chosen to test these various perspectives. These instruments were administered to s/m and non-s/m samples so as to determine whether sadomasochists differ systematically from non-sadomasochists on dimensions pertaining to the various theories being assessed. Study 3 focused on addressing a conceptualization of s/m based on the reports of s/m participants themselves, namely that s/m encounters can best be understood as involving a consensual exchange of power. While couching s/m in terms of a power exchange is not irreconcilable with some views of s/m (e.g. the radical feminist and escape-from-self perspectives), it does contradict frameworks that see s/m as revolving around the experience of humiliation, bondage, and particularly pain as goals in and of themselves. The psychoanalytic and psychopathology perspectives tend to conceptualize s/m in this way, in that pain is the commodity of value in its own right. Understanding power to be the commodity of importance, however, suggests that pain, bondage, and humiliation are of importance only insofar as they assist in the creation and maintenance of a power imbalance. This is important because some views of s/m are based on the assumption that pain is sought and administered for its own sake, i.e. as an end unto itself (e.g.

psychoanalytic, psychopathology views). Establishing that this may not be the case therefore casts doubt on these perspectives.

One way to study the utility of an exchange-of-power framework is to observe sadomasochistic scenes in progress. If an exchange of power is the underlying goal of s/m interactions, the means by which this exchange is established and maintained ought to be discernible. Study 3, then, represents an effort to make use of observational data in order to assess the viability of the power exchange framework. Relatedly, Study 2 represents an attempt to obtain empirical justification for the use of an on-line s/m sample for this purpose. Another goal for Study 2 was to address the possibility that s/m is essentially one form of fantasy role-play. Therefore the sexual proclivities of virtual and real-life sadomasochists were compared to those of non-sadomasochists and fantasy role-players. Taken together then, these three studies, examine both current academically-espoused views of s/m and the predominant power-exchange view expressed by s/m participants themselves.

STUDY 1

The first study was an attempt to test the four different academic perspectives on s/m already described. This survey was the first to directly compare among these current perspectives. It also was the first to utilize such a comprehensive battery of inventories, with several measures for each of psychopathology, feminist beliefs, dissociation, escapism, and control. The goal of this study, then, was to seek empirical support for these currently-espoused theories of s/m: the Psychoanalytic view; the Psychopathology perspective; the Radical Feminist view; and the Escape-from-self theory.

Method

Participants and Procedure

The initial s/m group consisted of individuals (N=103) solicited from the general public through postings on sex-related Internet news groups and of friends and acquaintances of the Internet responders, in the classic "snow-ball" approach. The data from 10 of these participants was not used in this study because these individuals indicated that they engaged in s/m practices exclusively via the Internet. Since it was not clear that such individuals come from the same population as those who practice s/m in real life, they were excluded from analyses. The final s/m sample, then, consisted of 93 individuals: 27 fell into the "sadist" category (21 males, 6 females), 34 were "masochists" (26 males, 8 females), and 32 were "switchers" (22 males, 10 females). As well, 61 non-sadomasochistic participants made up an Internet-derived comparison group (46 males, 15 females). Finally, 36 individuals comprised a comparison group made up of Introductory Psychology students (16 males, 20 females), obtained for purposes of determining whether and in what manner the Internet-derived samples may be biased.

After an Introductory statement describing the research and the researchers (Appendix A), participants were administered an Informed Consent form that stipulated their rights as experimental participants (Appendix B). The questionnaires followed the Informed Consent, and, at the end of the package, participants read a written debriefing message (Appendix C). The entire questionnaire package was posted on 67 different sex-related boards, selected by conducting a search on all boards dealing with sex (with the exception of any dealing with sexual abuse) (a list of these news groups can be found in Appendix D), and interested individuals were invited to fill out the package and return it, either via e-mail or via regular mail, to the experimenters, with the proviso that they must be over the age of 18 to participate. Similarly, in order to solicit volunteers for the Internet comparison group, the questionnaire package was posted to 61 different non-sexual adult-oriented news groups (see Appendix D). Participants were not paid for their participation. Participation time varied from person to person, but averaged approximately two hours.

The Internet-derived comparison group was solicited from postings on non-sex-related Internet news groups in the same manner as with the s/m group. An Internet-derived comparison group was obtained, as opposed to a comparison group collected by more traditional means, in an effort to match the s/m sample for computer literacy and Internet access.

Participants in all groups were able to complete the battery of questionnaires in one of several ways: over the Internet; by requesting a hard copy (complete with self-addressed envelopes for their return back to the researchers) via regular mail; or by downloading and printing the package and mailing it back to the researchers (mail costs were then refunded to the participants). All participants either e-mailed, mailed, or (in the case of the Introductory Psychology group) personally returned the completed questionnaire package to the principal investigator, who also functioned as the liaison for

participants and potential participants with questions, problems, and requests. E-mailed packages were transferred to disk and then printed. All questionnaires were scored by the same two female researchers.

Materials

A number of measures were included in the questionnaire package so as to permit assessment of the four previously-described theories pertaining to s/m. The researchers were cognizant of the need to restrict the size of the questionnaire package so as to avoid making participation prohibitively time-consuming. Whenever possible, subsets of larger questionnaires were used instead of the full inventory. Since the questionnaire package was posted to news groups on the Internet, the order with which questionnaires were presented was not varied. When total scores were a function of summing responses, missing values were dealt with by inserting the mean per-item score. Where total scores were a function of taking the average response per item, missing responses were replaced with the mean score. A description of these questionnaires follows.

(1). The Sexual Desire Conflict Scale (Kaplan & Harder, 1991) (Appendix E)

This scale, intended by its creators for use with women, was administered to both sexes in this study. The researchers were confident in applying the scale to men as well as women because the items themselves are gender- and orientation-neutral. The 33-item scale is meant to reflect participants' discomfort and conflict in relation to their sexual desires (Kaplan & Harder, 1991). Participants are asked to rate, on a scale from 1 (never) to 5 (very frequently), the extent to which various statements apply to them (e.g. "I know when I am attracted to someone sexually").

This scale was included in the examination of the psychoanalytic hypothesis because it provides a measure of sexual guilt hypothesized to be more intense for

individuals engaging in sadomasochism, particularly those taking the submissive role. Initial tests of validity for this scale were conducted on a sample of 54 women, selected for membership in groups of sexually abused, previously traumatized, and control individuals. The scores of the scale correlated significantly with those on a scale of sexual dysfunction ($r = .50$) and successfully differentiated the sexual abuse survivors from the other two groups (Kaplan & Harder, 1991).

This scale proved to be of insufficient reliability with the present sample ($\alpha = .23$) and was ultimately dropped from analyses.

(2). The Sexual Behaviours Inventory (Appendix F)

This inventory of non-s/m (vanilla) and s/m sexual behaviours was constructed for the present study in order to obtain a measure of participants' sexual proclivities, as well as sexual guilt and judgments as to the morality of various sexual behaviours. The 79 items were selected on the basis of pilot research findings, and ranged from relatively mainstream acts (e.g. "deep kissing") to more exotic, s/m-based behaviours (e.g. "being heavily whipped"). The s/m items included both masochistic (e.g. "being caned") and sadistic behaviours (e.g. "caning your partner"). For each item, respondents were asked to indicate in Column A those behaviours in which they engaged. Participants then indicated in Column B those behaviours which they had not performed but would like to try. Finally, respondents were asked to indicate in Column C those behaviours which they judged to be morally wrong. Thus Column A yielded a score reflecting frequency of participation in various sexual acts; Column B yielded a score reflecting desire to engage in sexual acts that had not to date been engaged in; and Column C yielded a score reflecting disapproval of various sexual acts.

Column B was included so that participants could indicate desirable activities in which they had not yet had the opportunity to engage. This controlled for the potential

confound of sexual experience in that, when combined with Column A responses, it provided a measure of sexual proclivities reflecting desires and fantasies as well as actual experiences. Additionally, Column B items were important to the calculation of the sexual guilt measure; those activities reportedly engaged in or deemed desirable that were also judged to be immoral by the individual were taken as evidence of guilt feelings about sexual proclivities.

Specifically, scores were initially obtained reflecting (1) mild-to-moderate dominant acts; (2) extreme dominant acts; (3) mild-to-moderate submissive acts; (4) extreme submissive acts; and (5) non-s/m, or vanilla, acts. These categories were selected because the researchers reasoned that an individual who may endorse mild s/m acts may or may not also endorse more extreme s/m behaviours. Thus separate measures of both relatively mild and relatively extreme s/m acts were obtained for masochistic and sadistic varieties of behaviours as well as an indicator of non-s/m sexual proclivities. This way, possible relationships between endorsements of different kinds of sexual behaviours could be examined. For example, the possibility existed for relationships to be found between non-s/m acts and mild s/m acts, as well as between mild and extreme s/m acts. To lump all degrees of s/m activity together would obscure such potential findings.

The items for each subscale were determined by having two independent judges not otherwise involved in the research each sort the items into these 5 categories. Discussion resolved any difficulties raters had. Inter-rater reliabilities prior to resolution of disagreements were good: mild-to-moderate dominant acts, $\phi = .67$ (87% agreement); extreme dominant acts, $\phi = .65$ (86% agreement); mild-to-moderate submissive acts, $\phi = .75$ (89% agreement); extreme submissive acts, $\phi = .75$ (89% agreement); non-s/m acts, $\phi = 1.00$ (100% agreement). Thus for each individual, scores were obtained for five subscales.

The dominant and submissive subscale items yielded values representing the strength of one's sexual proclivities in these domains. This was done in the following manner: the Column A responses pertinent to that subscale were summed and then added to the summed Column B responses. This combined value was then transformed into a z-score. This procedure was undertaken for mild-to-moderate sexual proclivities and extreme sexual proclivities, regarding both submissive and dominant behaviours. Pearson correlation coefficients indicated that the mild-to-moderate submissive proclivities and the extreme submissive proclivities indices were highly correlated, $r = .86$, $p < .001$; as well, the dominant mild-to-moderate proclivities and the extreme dominant proclivities were highly correlated, $r = .79$, $p < .001$. Therefore these were combined and standardized, the net result being one measure reflecting submissive acts and desires (called "Submissive Proclivities") and one reflecting dominant acts and desires (called "Dominant Proclivities").

Column C permitted an indication of participants' disapproval of various kinds of sexual behaviour (i.e. a disapproval index was obtained for mild-to-moderate submissive acts, extreme submissive acts, mild-to-moderate dominant acts, extreme dominant acts, and vanilla (non-s/m) acts). In an effort to determine whether these values reflected a general disapproval of sexuality, or whether each index was relatively independent of the others, a principal components factor analysis on these five Column C indices was conducted. A single-factor solution was obtained (only one eigenvalue was > 1), for which all the disapproval indices had loadings from .75 to .97. It therefore appeared that combining the C index items was appropriate. Reliability for this factor was good, $\alpha = .95$. Thus in addition to the submissive and dominant proclivities measures, a third measure reflecting disapproval of various kinds of sexual behaviours was obtained, and dubbed the "Sex Is Bad" factor.

The final measure to be taken from this inventory was the Guilt Index. The Guilt Index was a composite score that reflected guilt about one's sexual activities and/or sexual desires. It was calculated by counting the number of activities that the participant indicated engaging in or wanting to engage in which were also considered by that individual to be morally wrong. That is, it reflects a person's actions and desires that were perceived by them as immoral.

This inventory was important to the examination of the psychoanalytic perspective as it yields a measure of sexual guilt. It also yields a measure of submissive sexual proclivities that is needed to test one of the predictions of the escape-from-self hypothesis.

(3). The Social Personality Inventory (S.P. Inventory, Hill & Wong, 1995) (Appendix H)

This 46-item inventory is designed to measure psychopathy, or antisocial personality disorder. The creators of the scale report that it has good test re-test reliability ($\alpha = .89$) (Hill & Wong, 1995) and good face validity. It contains two subscales: Intrapsychic factors and Interpersonal factors, with alphas of .83 and .85 respectively. These two dimensions are highly correlated ($r = .54$), reflecting the hypothesized overlap between intrapsychic and interpersonal manifestations of psychopathy (Hill & Wong, 1995). Participants responded to each item (e.g. "I can get what I want, when I want") using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree). Scores for each item are summed to yield a total score. Higher scores on each subscale reflect a greater likelihood of psychopathy.

This scale demonstrated good inter-item reliability with the present sample, yielding an $\alpha = .87$ for intrapsychic factors and an $\alpha = .89$ for interpersonal factors. This scale is important to the assessment of the psychoanalytic perspective

regarding sadists; this view contends that sadists are individuals with weak superegos, who, therefore, let their ids run amok. Some of the consequences of id-serving behaviour include selfishness, impulsiveness, and lack of empathy, all ostensibly measured by inventories of psychopathy. It is, of course, also pertinent to the psychopathology view of sadism as well.

(4). The Differential Personality Questionnaire (DPQ, Tellegen, 1976) (Appendix I)

The full DPQ consists of seventeen subscales, of which the present study selected four (social potency; authoritarianism; stress; danger-seeking). These scales consist of 128 forced-choice items, for which the respondent must choose one of two responses. VandenBosch and Luteyn (1990) demonstrated the discriminant validity of the subscales. They also reported that the DPQ discriminates diagnosed mental patients from healthy controls. In addition, Hamilton, Haier and Buchsbaum (1984) reported that scores on the subscales correlate highly and in a negative direction with self-report measures of life satisfaction. Further, Ben-Porath, Algamor, Hoffman-Chemi and Tellegen (1995) conducted a factor analysis on the items, finding factorial stability among the subscales across two different cultures (Israeli and American). They also reported that internal consistency was demonstrated. DiLalla and Gottesman (1985) were able to differentiate schizophrenic from non-schizophrenic siblings using the scale.

The danger-seeking subscale was pertinent to the psychoanalytic hypothesis. This index presents respondents with a series of scenario pairs, one of which is safe but tedious, and the other exciting but dangerous (e.g. "I would enjoy trying to cross the ocean in a small but sea-worthy sailboat"). Participants choose the option they would prefer. It measures the tendency to prefer thrilling but dangerous activities over tedious but safe ones. This would therefore be another indicator of id-driven behaviours, since the id seeks immediate gratification regardless of long-term cost. Therefore this index

was included as a test of the psychoanalytic perspective on sadism. The danger-seeking subscale was also included in the assessment of the escape-from-self view, since masochism is therein compared with other "thrill-seeking" activities, like skydiving (Baumeister, 1989). This scale yields an index of thrill-seeking tendencies, which, if the theory is right, should be greater among masochists than others.

The social potency subscale (e.g. "People consider me forceful") is important to the psychopathology hypothesis because it provides a measure of social dominance (pertinent to the psychopathology perspective on sadism). It also provides a test of the escape-from-self theory's contention that sadists, in contrast to masochists, require a bolstering of their self-concept. This implies that they suffer from a relative lack of perceived social power in every-day situations.

The authoritarianism subscale (e.g. "I think people should observe moral laws more strictly than they do") is pertinent to the psychopathology hypothesis in that it provides a measure of one's aspirations to positions of leadership as opposed to respecting current authority figures (pertinent to the psychopathology perspective on sadism).

The stress subscale (e.g. "I often feel fed up") provides an indicator of the extent to which stressors have a negative impact in the individual's life. Thus it is useful for the psychopathology perspective, as mental dysfunction is associated with stressful life circumstances (e.g. Barlow & Durand, 1995).

These subscales all demonstrated good reliability with the present sample: danger seeking, $\alpha = .78$; social potency, $\alpha = .88$; authoritarianism, $\alpha = .77$; and stress, $\alpha = .91$.

(5). The Neuroticism Subscale from the Eysenck Personality Inventory (short form) (Eysenck, 1977) (Appendix J)

This six-item, yes/no scale assesses respondents' emotional stability (e.g. "Are you inclined to be moody?"). The score consists of the number of yes responses. Much research exists which demonstrates the convergent and discriminant validity of this scale. For example, Lehrer and Woolfolk (1982) compared the neuroticism subscale with such scales as the Symptom Check-List-90-Revised, the Hamilton Anxiety Scale, and the Edwards Social Desirability Scale, establishing its convergent and discriminant validity. In addition, it has the advantage of being very brief. For the present study it demonstrated good inter-item reliability, $\alpha = .77$.

This scale provided a measure of mental stability, and, as such, assisted with the assessment of the psychopathology perspective

(6). The Symptom Check-List-90-Revised (SCL-90-R) (Appendix K)

This is a 47-item index of psychological symptom patterns indicative of psychopathology (Derogatis, 1977). It asks respondents to rate, on a scale from 0 (not at all) to 4 (extremely), the extent to which they have been "distressed by" various symptoms in the past month. The questions break down into 5 subscales: (i) somatization (e.g. "how much were you distressed by faintness or dizziness?"); (ii) interpersonal sensitivity (e.g. "how much were you distressed by your feelings being easily hurt?"); (iii) anxiety (e.g. "how much were you distressed by nervousness or shakiness inside?"); (iv) hostility (e.g. "how much were you distressed by feeling easily annoyed or irritated?"); and (v) psychoticism (e.g. "how much were you distressed by hearing voices that other people do not hear?"). Scores for each subscale are obtained by summing responses pertinent to each subscale. Arrindell and Ettema (1981) reported that the internal consistency of the scale was satisfactory, and found evidence for discriminant validity.

Edwards (1978) reported that the scale shows promise as an assessment instrument for psychiatric patients over time. Hafkenschied (1993) further demonstrated the scale's utility in discriminating mental patients from healthy controls. He concluded that it is a valuable instrument for the detection of psychiatric cases in the general population. Noh and Avison (1992) conducted assessments of Korean immigrants using the scale, and found evidence for its cross-cultural applicability.

This scale was included in its entirety because it provides a great deal of information regarding psychopathology, spread across five different subscales, in a relatively condensed format. Alphas indicated good inter-item reliability for each of these subscales with the present sample: somatic complaints, $\alpha = .80$; interpersonal sensitivity, $\alpha = .85$; anxiety, $\alpha = .89$; hostility, $\alpha = .78$; and psychoticism, $\alpha = .86$.

(7). The Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES, Carlson & Putnam) (Appendix L)

This scale asks respondents to rate, with a number from 1 (not at all) to 100 (all the time), how often they have had each of 28 different dissociative experiences (e.g. "Some people find that they have no memory for some important events in their lives (for example, a wedding or a graduation). Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you"). The participant's final score represents the mean response averaged across the 28 items. Putnam & Carlson (1994) reported that the DES has been successfully used to screen patients with multiple personality disorder. Carlson and Putnam (1993) reviewed studies relating to reliability and validity of the scale, and concluded that it has test-re-test reliability and demonstrates discriminant validity. Carlson, Putnam, Colin, and Moshe (1993) performed discriminant function analysis on the scale items to classify adult psychiatric patients in North America, and found that it performs well as a screening instrument for psychopathology. It also was shown to be reliable across diverse

geographic centres. With the present sample it was also found to have high inter-item reliability with the present sample, $\alpha = .90$.

This scale was important to the examination of the psychopathology hypothesis, since dissociation is a prime symptom of a number of DSM-IV-defined disorders. It can also be used to address the issue brought up by the escape-from-self theory as to whether masochists indulge in other forms of self-escape besides s/m. Rather than being seen as a measure of mental illness, dissociation can alternatively be viewed as an ability, or skill, which permits the individual to lose him- or herself in fantasy (Spanos, Cross, Dickson & Dubreuil, 1993). Thus it would be an important skill to have if one was eager to escape higher-level self-awareness by "losing oneself" in fantasy. In this way it is an important test for the escape-from-self hypothesis.

(8). The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) (Appendix M)

This 10-item scale was included to measure self-esteem as an indicator of well-being, and asks participants to respond to statements about themselves (e.g. "On the whole I am satisfied with myself") using a 4-point scale (SA = strongly agree; SD = strongly disagree). Responses are summed to yield a total score. Higher scores reflect higher self-esteem. O'Brien (1985) conducted a factor analysis on the RSE and found a single factor, eigenvalue = 5.28, strongly supporting the unidimensionality of the scale. Further, the RSE correlated significantly with global subscales of the Eagly Feelings of Inadequacy Scale, additionally supporting the contention that the RSE measures global self-esteem (O'Brien, 1985). It has been shown to have good test re-test reliability (Shapurian, Hojat & Nayerahmadi, 1987) and concurrent validity with other criterion measures (Brems & Lloyd, 1995; Lorr & Wunderlich, 1986). Its internal consistency has been found to be good, $r = .78$ (Westaway & Wolmarans, 1992). It also demonstrated good inter-item reliability with the present sample ($\alpha = .75$).

This scale is important to the psychopathology hypothesis in that it provided a brief, reliable, and valid measure of well-being. It can be used in relation to the Escape-from-self theory in that it helps examine the assertion that sadists need bolstering of their self-concept and therefore must have poorer self-esteem than masochists.

(9). The Matheson Feminist Attitudes Scale (Matheson, 1994) (selected items)
(Appendix N)

This scale was constructed to assess participants' sensitivity to feminist issues and approval or disapproval of the changing female roles in Western culture. It asks respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree with various statements on a scale from -3 (disagree entirely) to +3 (agree entirely). Items are scored from 1 (originally a -3) to 7 (originally a +3) so as to avoid negative scores. Fifteen representative items were selected from the larger scale for use in this study (e.g. "Many feminists are just complainers"). A higher total score indicates more negative attitudes towards feminism; a lower score indicates endorsement of feminist ideals. This subset of items demonstrated good inter-item reliability with the present sample, $\alpha = .90$.

(10). The Spanos Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spanos & Dubreuil, 1991)
(Appendix O)

This scale consists of 32 items designed to assess the extent to which women are seen as using their sexuality as a means of gaining favours, and as people in need of male protection and favour. Respondents are asked to indicate their judgment, from 1 (not at all true) to 5 (very true) concerning various statements about women (e.g. "a lot of women flirt and use their looks in order to get ahead"). Higher total scores have been found to reflect more traditional and objectifying attitudes (Burnley, 1994). This scale demonstrated high reliability with the present sample, $\alpha = .90$.

(11). The Desirability of Control Inventory (Burger & Cooper, 1979) (Appendix P)

This questionnaire asks participants to indicate the extent to which 20 items apply to them, on a scale from 1 ("this statement doesn't apply to me at all") to 7 ("this statement always applies to me"). The items assess an enjoyment of situations in which the respondent is in control (e.g. "I enjoy being able to influence the actions of others"). Summed scores ranging from 20 to 80 indicate a low desire for control, while scores from 81 to 140 indicate a high desire for control (Breslow, 1987). This scale has been found to have substantial internal reliability ($\alpha = .81$), good test-retest reliability ($\alpha = .75$), and good discriminant validity as compared to locus of control (Rotter 1966) and to social desirability (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). For the present sample this scale demonstrated good reliability, $\alpha = .83$.

This scale was included in the examination of the escape-from-self theory, because this perspective predicts that masochists generally choose careers and social roles in everyday life that require them to be responsible and in control of numerous factors in their environments, suggesting that, generally, masochists seek out environments that maximize personal control. Indeed, the theory asserts, this is one of the reasons why they have a strong need to escape from the weight of their sense of responsibility.

(12). The Role-Play Inventory (Fletcher & Averill, 1984) (Appendix Q)

This 7-item scale assesses respondents' capacity to become absorbed and involved in fantasy, in the form of movies, plays, and personal imaginings. Participants indicate, using a 4-point scale (1 = strongly agree; 4 = strongly disagree) the extent to which the statements reflect personal experience (e.g. "I am able to exclude everything from my

mind and construct a new, imaginary world, and feel for a time that it is real"). For the present sample, this index demonstrated high reliability, $\alpha = .90$.

This was an important scale for the escape-from-self hypothesis in that it provided a measure of role-playing proclivity; role-playing is a skill which provides for a temporary release from normal identity; it is also ostensibly a skill necessary for successful participation in many s/m "scenes".

(13). The Day-Dream Scale (Singer & Antrobus, 1970) (Appendix R)

Participants were administered five questions selected from the larger Day-Dream inventory (Singer & Antrobus, 1970), and were asked to choose among five options for each question (e.g. "I lose myself in active day-dreaming (1) infrequently; (2) once a week; (3) once a day; (4) a few times during the day; (5) many different times during the day"). The summed score indicates the frequency with which the respondent engages in daydreaming activity, with higher scores indicating higher frequencies. Gold, Teague and Jarvinen (1981) compared respondents' self-reports of daydreams with their scores on this scale and found a significant correlation, indicating good construct validity. Cundiff and Gold (1979) reported that test scores demonstrate test re-test reliability. This scale demonstrated good inter-item reliability for the present sample, $\alpha = .88$.

This was an important measure for the Escape-from-self hypothesis in that it provided a measure of fantasy proclivity indicative of a capacity to "escape" into daydreams. This would be a much valued skill for individuals who wish to escape the burden of selfhood.

(14). The Locus of Control Scale (Rotter, 1957) (Appendix S)

This now-classic scale measures the extent to which an individual believes control in one's life is possible. Respondents are asked to choose one option for each of 23 pairs

of statements (e.g. "A: the average citizen can have an influence on government decisions; B: This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the "little person" can do about it"). Participants are given one point for every item they select that reflects in internal locus of control. The total score is the total number of points received. Lower scores thus reflect a more external locus of control, and higher scores reflect a more internal locus of control. Goodman & Waters (1987) reported that it shows convergent validity with other locus of control measures. For the present study this index demonstrated good validity, $\alpha = .89$.

This is an important scale for testing the Escape-from-self hypothesis because the theory predicts that those who possess an internal locus of control will feel the burden of selfhood to a greater extent than others, and therefore will be more likely to engage in s/m as an escape from this burden.

(15). The Inventory of Childhood Memories and Imaginings (ICMI) (Wilson & Barber, 1987) (Appendix T)

This 52-item inventory was designed to assess fantasy-proneness (e.g. "Now that I am an adult, I still in some sense believe in such things as fairies, elves, or leprechauns, etc."). Respondents indicated which of the items apply to them by marking the selected items with a "X". The score consists of the number of items endorsed. Rauschenberger and Lynn (1995) reported that this scale predicts past history of dissociative episodes. Rao (1992) found that it correlated significantly with number of psychic events reported by a non-clinical sample. For the present study this scale demonstrated good reliability, $\alpha = .87$.

This scale was included to address the Escape-from-self theory. It provided an alternate convergent measure of propensity to get lost in fantasy, and therefore stands as an index of one's tendency to utilize fantasy to "escape".

(16). The Drug-Use Inventory (Appendix U)

An 18-item questionnaire was constructed by the researchers to assess drug-taking activity. Respondents rated on a 5-point scale (a = never tried it, scored as 1; e = use it frequently, scored as 5) their ingestion of a number of different substances. The drug types were later broken down into four categories: common legal (alcohol, tobacco, caffeine, mild painkillers (e.g. Tylenol, Aspirin, Advil)); soft illegal recreational (marijuana, hashish, magic mushrooms, LSD, mescaline); hard illegal recreational (cocaine, crack, heroin, amphetamines (e.g. speed, opium)); and prescription (strong painkillers (e.g. morphine, codeine), benzociazepines, methaqualone (i.e. Quaaludes), Prozac)). These categories were determined by having two judges independently categorize the substances. Where differences emerged, they were solved through discussion. Inter-rater reliabilities were perfect: common legal, $\phi = 1.00$, 100% agreement; soft illegal recreational, $\phi = 1.00$, 100% agreement; hard illegal recreational, $\phi = 1.00$, 100% agreement; and prescription, $\phi = 1.00$, agreement 100%. Each subscale demonstrated adequate reliability with the present study: common legal, $\alpha = .66$; soft illegal recreational, $\alpha = .76$; hard illegal recreational, $\alpha = .75$, and prescription, $\alpha = .66$.

This scale was included because of its pertinence to the escape-from-self theory, in that drug use is another potential means of escaping from self-awareness.

(17). Vital Statistics (Appendix V).

A series of questions aimed at obtaining demographic information was included. Respondents were asked to indicate their age, sex marital status, sexual orientation (from a series of five options: strictly heterosexual to strictly homosexual), religious affiliation,

educational background, current form of employment, income-bracket; and whether or not they belong to an ethnic minority.

These demographic variables were important to the exploratory-descriptive aspect of the study. They were also useful for determining the nature of any biases inherent to Internet-derived samples. As well, the income information provided information pertinent to the escape-from-self perspective, which asserts that most sadists are individuals with relatively low social power. It stands to reason that one way this reduced social power would manifest is in a less high-profile and therefore less high-paying career.

(18). The NPS Sex-Activity (Spanos, unpublished) (Appendix W)

This questionnaire consists of five items designed to provide information as to respondents' sexual activity to date. The age of first sexual intercourse, number of partners, and length of longest relationship are obtained in three open-ended questions. A fourth item asks respondents to rate their sex drive from "a" (very low) to "e" (very high). The fifth item asks respondents to rate their sex life from "a" (not at all satisfactory) to "e" (totally satisfactory).

These exploratory items were included to provide added information as to the sexual behaviours of the s/m subculture as compared to non-s/m individuals.

Rationale Behind the Analyses

First, a comparison was conducted comparing the Internet-derived versus non-Internet-derived groups on demographic variables. This was done in order to determine the nature of any biases specific to the use of Internet-derived samples. Results are in Appendix X. Next, the sadomasochists were compared to the non-s/m Internet comparison group on the same demographic items in order to determine whether any biases were present specific to s/m versus non-s/m Internet samples. These analyses are

in Appendix Y. Next, analyses comparing the sexual activities of the s/m and non-s/m Internet comparison group are reported. These provide a picture of the ways in which the s/m individuals' sexual proclivities and experiences differ from those of the non-s/m individuals, and ensure that, indeed, there are real differences to be found among self-defined sadomasochists and self-defined non-sadomasochists (i.e. that the self-defined labels have meaning). Finally, analyses examining the four different theoretical perspectives are reported. This set of findings is organized such that an assessment of each hypothesis is made in turn.

Results

Participant Characteristics

In total, the data from 190 individuals over the age of 18 were used in the study. Ninety-three of these people comprised the s/m sample. As indicated earlier, 27 fell into the "sadist" category (21 males, 6 females), 34 were "masochists" (26 males, 8 females), and 32 were "switchers" (22 males, 10 females). Sixty-one non-sadomasochistic participants made up the Internet comparison group (46 males, 15 females). Thirty-six individuals comprised the university comparison group (16 males, 20 females). The university sample was compared to the Internet-derived groups on demographic items from the Vital Statistics questionnaire (Appendix V) in order to determine the direction of any biases inherent to using Internet-derived samples (see Appendix X for these analyses).

Sadists, masochists, switchers, and Internet comparison participants were also compared on demographic indices in order to determine whether they differed from one-another on these items. No significant differences were found. See Appendix Y for these analyses.

Sexual Activity and Attitudes Among the S/M and Internet Comparison Group

It was important to examine the sexual activities and preferences of the s/m group and the Internet comparison. Such differences could reflect fundamental ways in which sadomasochists differ from those who do not engage in s/m, pointing the way to a clearer picture of their potentially unique sexual make-up. For example, it may be that sadomasochists are more sexually experienced, more sexually active, or more likely to explore sexual orientations other than strict heterosexuality. Such findings would be meaningful in that they suggest that sadomasochism might be understood as a function of sexual sophistication, or as one of many activities engaged in by the sexually adventurous. It was also necessary to establish that the s/m groups' self-defined role preferences were consistent with their reported sexual proclivities; that is, it is important to determine, for example, that self-defined sadists are all referring to the same sets of behaviours and desires, rather than idiosyncratically and differentially defining sadistic sex. This could be demonstrated by finding that self-proclaimed sadists score higher on indices of dominant sexual proclivities, that self-proclaimed masochists score higher on indices of submissive sexual proclivities, and that switchers score high on indices of both dominant and submissive proclivities, compared to each other and to the non-s/m comparison group.

In terms of sexual orientation, two categories, exclusively heterosexual and not exclusively heterosexual (utilized for the same reasons as discussed in the previous analysis comparing Internet and non-Internet participants), were assessed using a chi-square analysis comparing sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group. This analysis was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 16.29, p < .001$. The pattern of results was such that the switchers reported the highest levels of homosexuality/bisexuality (68.8%, $n = 22$) and less exclusive heterosexuality (31.3%, $n = 10$) compared to the Internet comparison group, who were less likely to report bisexuality/homosexuality (26.2%, $n =$

16), and more likely exclusively heterosexual (73.8%, $n = 45$). As for the sadists and masochists, they reported 63.0% ($n = 17$) and 52.9% ($n = 18$) exclusive heterosexuality respectively, and 37% ($n = 10$) and 47.1% ($n = 16$) bisexuality/homosexuality respectively. Thus it appears that the sadomasochistic groups, particularly switchers, reported engaging in non-heterosexual sex to a greater extent than did the Internet comparison group.

To determine whether any significant differences could be found among these groups in terms of sexual activity, a chi-square analysis on sexually active/sexually inactive categories looking at sadists, masochists, switchers and the Internet comparison group was considered not possible since half the cells contained expected values of less than 5 participants. However, obtained frequencies clearly indicate that sexual inactivity is rare among sadomasochists with only 3.3% ($n = 3$ out of 91 individuals) falling into this category. It is somewhat less rare for the Internet sample, with 13.1% ($n = 8$ out of 61 individuals) reporting being sexually inactive. So it appears that the sample of sadomasochists was less likely to be sexually inactive than the sample of non-sadomasochists, though both groups were primarily active.

Participants also indicated the number of sex partners they had been with in their lives. These responses ranged widely. Sadists, for example, reported anywhere from 1 to 1000 partners ($M=79.3$, $SD = 200.8$). Thus the mean score did not adequately describe this widely distributed set of responses. Since parametric tests utilize mean scores, a non-parametric statistical test was considered to be a better strategy for analyzing these responses. To that end, responses were categorized into one of three groups as determined by dividing the entire respondent pool's responses into thirds: Group 1, containing the first third of responses overall, 0-5 partners; Group 2, containing the middle third of responses over all, 6-15 partners; and Group 3, containing the final third of responses overall, consisting of individuals reporting having been with more than 15

sexual partners. A chi-square analysis on these categories was significant, $\chi^2(6) = 13.74$, $p < .05$. Specifically, the pattern of responses indicated that sadists (44.0%, $n = 11$), masochists (38.2%, $n = 13$) and switchers (37.5%, $n = 12$) all contained more individuals in the third group (i.e. those with more than 15 sexual partners) than expected relative to the Internet comparison group (21.3%, $n = 13$). The Internet group, on the other hand, had more cases in the first group (i.e. those reporting from 0 to 5 partners) (47.5%, $n = 29$) relative to the others (sadists, 32.0%, $n = 8$; masochists, 14.7%, $n = 5$; switchers, 31.2%, $n = 10$).

Information concerning participants' self-reported sex drive (from the NPS Sex Activity Questionnaire, Appendix W) was also examined. A oneway between-subjects ANOVA comparing sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group was significant, $F(3, 148) = 6.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$. Post-hoc analyses involving all pairwise comparisons (Tukey's HSD) indicated that masochists ($M = 0.65$, $SD = 0.79$) reported having a higher sex drive than did the comparison group ($M = -0.12$, $SD = 0.89$) or the switchers ($M = 0.02$, $SD = 1.00$). No other comparisons were significant. Thus, it appears that this sample of masochists had a particularly high sex drive relative to the non-sadomasochists, and, interestingly, when compared to the switchers as well.

A oneway between-subjects ANOVA on reported satisfaction with sex life was nonsignificant, $F(3, 145) = 1.15$, ns, $\eta^2 = .01$. Therefore it does not appear to be the case that sadomasochists differ from the Internet sample, or from one-another, on this variable.

Information as to the relationship status of participants was obtained and used to categorize participants as being seriously involved (including being married, living together, seriously dating, or engaged) or uninvolved (including being single and not seriously dating, or divorced/separated/widowed and not seriously dating). A chi-square analysis was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 7.75$, $p < .05$. The sadists and masochists were most

likely to report being involved with someone (sadists, 70.4%, or $n = 19$ involved; masochists, 76.5%, or $n = 26$ involved), particularly in comparison to the Internet comparison group (50.0%, or $n = 30$ involved). Thus it appears that the sadists and masochists were more likely to report a current relationship relative to the non-s/m group.

In an effort to establish the validity of participants' self-reported s/m role preferences, a oneway between-subjects MANOVA was conducted on three indices derived from the Sexual Behaviours Inventory -- the Dominant Proclivities index, the Submissive Proclivities index, and the "Sex Is Bad" factor -- comparing sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group. The MANOVA was significant, Pillais = .95, $F(9, 450) = 23.17$, $p < .001$. Follow-up univariate F-tests indicated that the Dominant Proclivities index was significant, $F(3, 150) = 40.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .45$. Post-hoc analyses looking at all pair-wise comparisons (Tukey's HSD) revealed that, as expected, sadists ($M = 1.11$, $SD = 0.91$) and switchers ($M = 1.06$, $SD = 0.85$) scored higher than masochists ($M = -0.04$, $SD = 0.96$) and the Internet comparison group ($M = -0.52$, $SD = 0.49$) on this index. The Submissive Proclivities index was also significant, $F(3, 150) = 52.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .51$. Post-hoc analyses indicated that masochists ($M = 1.08$, $SD = 0.95$) and switchers ($M = 1.06$, $SD = 0.77$) both scored higher than sadists ($M = -0.12$, $SD = 0.82$) and the Internet comparison group ($M = -0.52$, $SD = 0.49$) on this measure.

Follow-up analyses also indicated that the "Sex is Bad" factor was significant, $F(3, 150) = 3.48$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Post-hoc analyses indicated that the non-s/m comparison group ($M = -0.19$, $SD = 0.63$) scored higher than the switchers ($M = -0.50$, $SD = 0.20$). No other differences were significant. Thus the Internet comparison group was more likely to report that sex is morally wrong relative to the switchers.

These findings confirm that the self-reported role preferences of the sadomasochists appropriately reflect their actual sexual activities and preferences. Those

who reported that they were sadists did score higher on the measure of dominant proclivities and lower on submissive proclivities than other groups, except for switchers. In contrast, those who reported that they were masochists did score higher on submissive proclivities and lower on sadistic proclivities than other groups, except for switchers. Switchers scored highly on the measures of both dominant and submissive proclivities. Further, sadomasochists scored higher on sadomasochistic proclivities relative to the non-s/m Internet comparison group, indicating that, indeed, these were individuals with sexual tastes that included activities outside the mainstream. Therefore it appears that this sample of self-professed sadomasochists was indeed different from the sample of non-sadomasochists in terms of sexual tastes, and that individuals were correctly classified according to their self-reported s/m role preferences.

Finally, while the s/m and non-s/m respondents did not differ in terms of reported satisfaction with sex life, the groups did differ in a number of ways. The s/m group was less likely to be exclusively heterosexual. As well, they reported more sex partners than the non-s/m respondents. Masochists in particular reported a stronger sex drive relative to non-sadomasochists.

Testing the Hypotheses

Each of the four hypotheses was tested by using analyses of variance and chi-square techniques to examine and compare the responses of sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group on variables pertinent to each perspective. Factor analysis was used, where feasible, to reduce the number of variables. Pearson correlation coefficients were also referred to as justification for combining some pairs of variables. Some variables were pertinent to more than one hypothesis, and for this reason, were not included in any variable-reduction procedures. Results as they pertain to each hypothesis follow.

Psychoanalytic Hypothesis

The psychoanalytic perspective takes the stance that individuals who actively seek pain in a sexual context do so because sexual pleasure is strongly tied to (un)conscious feelings of shame and guilt. Masochism has several features which make it appealing to such individuals; first, the masochist is often immobilized during the sexual interaction. This effectively creates an illusion of non-consent which placates the superego's strictures against actively seeking sexual pleasure. Second, it usually involves pain and humiliation, and these too serve the superego's interests, punishing the individual for their sexual pleasure. It follows, then, that such individuals would not be comfortable with sexuality and with sexual pleasure without such punitive components.

In order to address this hypothesis, sexual guilt was measured with the Sexual Behaviours Inventory. This test yields a measure of sexual guilt consisting of the number of items that the respondent endorses as having performed or as wanting to perform, while at the same time judging them to be ethically or morally wrong. If this hypothesis is correct, then masochists, to a greater extent than sadists and non-s/m practitioners, should report engaging in sexual acts (or wanting to) which at the same time they deem to be ethically or morally wrong. To assess this, a oneway between-subjects ANOVA on the guilt index was conducted, comparing masochists with sadists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group. It was not significant, $F < 1$. Thus there is no indication that the masochists scored higher on sexual guilt than any of the other groups. Overall standardized scores averaged $M = .002$, $SD = 1.003$.

The need to act out sadistic fantasies, according to the psychoanalytic perspective, is seen as a reflection of a weak superego or an ineffectual ego, permitting the id impulses too much free reign (Freud, 1900). In order to test this idea, responses of sadists on the two measures of psychopathy (intrapersonal and interpersonal) obtained from the

Social Personality Inventory were examined (psychopathy is understood by psychoanalysts as being due to a weak or non-present superego, and therefore high scores on this psychopathy index can be taken as support for a weak superego). Also pertinent were sadists' responses on the Danger-Seeking subscale of the DPQ, which ought to be able to detect thrill-seeking, impulsive behaviours characteristic of individuals who are id-driven. To assess this, a oneway between-subjects MANOVA on these three measures comparing sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group was conducted. it was not significant, Pillais= .04, $F(9, 435) = 1.20$, ns. Thus, it appears that the sadists were no more prone to id-driven activities than other groups. Overall, participants average standardized scores on these indices were as follows: danger-seeking, $M = .09$, $SD = 1.00$; interpersonal psychopathy, $M = .04$, $SD = .98$; intrapersonal psychopathy, $M = -.06$, $SD = 1.00$. In sum, the psychoanalytic hypothesis was not supported by these findings.

Psychopathology Hypothesis

The psychopathology literature links sadism with psychopathy, and masochism with mental illness more generally (e.g. neurosis, self-esteem, dissociation). Thus differences were sought among the groups on a number of measures of mental health chosen to assess either psychopathy and associated constructs in the case of the sadists, or mental dysfunction more generally in the case of the masochists (e.g. self-esteem, anxiety and stress, neurosis, dissociation, psychosis).

Differences among masochists versus the other groups were sought on a mental instability factor consisting of the SCL-90-R subscales (psychoticism, anxiety, interpersonal sensitivity, somatic complaints), the Eysenck neuroticism index, and the stress subscale of the DPQ. In addition to this factor, scores on the measure of dissociation (DES) and on the index of self-esteem (RSE) were also included. If in fact

masochists are significantly mentally disturbed, these measures should detect this. To test this, these variables were factor analyzed, with the exception of the RSE and the DES, which were kept single because they were also pertinent to other hypotheses. A principal components extraction yielded a one-factor solution with an eigenvalue > 1 . Factor loadings for each variable were high, ranging from .71 to .89. This was dubbed the "Mental Instability Factor", and was interpreted as representing psychological problems and mental instability. Reliability was good for this factor, $\alpha = .88$.

A oneway between-subjects MANOVA comparing masochists to sadists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group was conducted on the Mental Instability factor, the RSE, and the DES. It was not significant, Pillais = .02, $F < 1$. Therefore masochists were not found to be more prone to psychological distress or mental instability than the other groups. Overall, participants scored $\underline{M} = .01$, $\underline{SD} = 1.01$ on this factor.

The psychopathology hypothesis also predicts that sadists would score higher than those who do not assume the sadistic role on measures of psychopathy. To address the psychopathology prediction concerning sadists, a oneway between-subjects MANOVA was conducted on the measure of hostility, the measure of authoritarianism, and the two psychopathy indices from the S.P. Inventory, comparing sadists to masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group. This test was significant, Pillais = .04, $F(9, 447) = 2.04$, $p < .05$. Follow-up univariate F-tests revealed that only the authoritarianism variable was significant, $F(3, 149) = 3.76$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .07$. The hostility variable, $F < 1$, the interpersonal psychopathy item, $F(3, 149) = 1.93$, ns, $\eta^2 = .04$, and the intrapersonal psychopathy item, $F(3, 149) = 1.82$, ns, $\eta^2 = .03$, were non-significant. Overall standardized responses for these nonsignificant variables were as follows: hostility, $\underline{M} = -.03$, $\underline{SD} = .99$; interpersonal psychopathy, $\underline{M} = .04$, $\underline{SD} = .98$; intrapersonal psychopathy, $\underline{M} = -.06$, $\underline{SD} = 1.00$.

Post-hoc analyses involving all pairwise comparisons (Tukey's HSD) on the authoritarianism item showed that the Internet comparison group ($M = 0.11$, $SD = 0.98$) scored higher than switchers ($M = -0.55$, $SD = 0.84$) on this measure. No other comparisons were significant (masochists, $M = -.14$, $SD = 1.02$; sadists, $M = -.36$, $SD = .92$). These findings suggest that non-sadomasochists may be more inclined to authoritarianism, not less, than some s/m participants. These primarily null findings, taken with the previously described non-significant findings regarding the psychopathy indices, indicate that sadists were no more inclined to psychopathic behaviours or attitudes than the other groups. Therefore these findings failed to support the psychopathological perspective on s/m.

Radical Feminist Hypothesis

Radical feminists (Hopkins, 1994) do not permit for a self-definition as an s/m practitioner and as a feminist. It is not possible, according to radical feminists, to have incorporated the patriarchal doctrine to such an extent that it pervades one's sexual life, and yet still endorse anti-patriarchal ideals. If this is the case, then s/m practitioners should be unsympathetic to feminist ideals and values relative to the comparison groups. If the hypothesis is correct, then s/m practitioners should be less likely to endorse feminist ideals and more likely to endorse traditional notions of female gender roles.

Differences between s/m practitioners and non-s/m comparison groups were sought on an index derived from the two measures of feminist beliefs (the Feminist Attitudes Scale (Matheson, 1996) and the Spanos Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spanos, 1994)). These two measures correlated reasonably highly ($r = .62$, $p < .001$); therefore responses were summed and then standardized for these measures. The resulting index was interpreted as measuring endorsement of traditional gender-roles. A oneway between-subjects ANOVA was conducted on this composite score, comparing

sadists, masochists, switchers and the comparison group. The ANOVA was not significant, $F(3, 149) = 1.53$, ns, $\eta^2 = .03$. Thus no evidence was found suggesting that sadomasochists espouse anti-feminist beliefs to a greater extent than the non-sadomasochists sampled. Overall, participants' average score on this index was $M = -.13$, $SD = .84$. However, it could be argued that both the s/m and non-s/m groups may hold anti-feminist beliefs; that is, perhaps the finding that sadomasochists are not especially anti-feminist is an artefact of the group to which they are compared, in this case a mostly-male sample of computer users. An examination of the unstandardized mean scores for each of the two initial inventories is helpful in clarifying this. The Matheson Feminist Attitudes Questionnaire has a minimum possible raw score of 15, and a maximum of 105. If the individual answered noncommittally for each item, he/she would receive a raw score of 60 (a mean score per item of 4, marked "neither agree nor disagree", on a likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 7). Thus scores less than 60 indicate anti-traditional (i.e. pro-feminist) beliefs, whereas scores above 60 indicate pro-traditional (i.e. anti-feminist) beliefs. The sadists in the present study obtained a mean raw score of $M = 38.12$, $SD = 19.52$ (mean score per item = 2.5, halfway between "disagree a little" to "disagree somewhat"). The masochists scored $M = 35.82$, $SD = 13.52$ (mean score per item = 2.4, again between "disagree a little" to "disagree somewhat"). The switchers scored $M = 35.25$, $SD = 12.82$ (mean score per item = 2.4). The non-s/m comparison group scored $M = 40.44$, $SD = 15.92$ (mean score = 2.7). Thus all four groups scored on average well below the noncommittal total score of 60 (or a mean score per item of 4), indicating generally pro-feminist attitudes. On average, they tended to respond to the anti-feminist items by indicating disagreement.

Regarding the Spanos Attitudes Towards Women Scale, a minimum raw score of 32 and a maximum raw score of 160 is possible. If an individual answered noncommittally for all items, he/she would receive a total raw score of 96 (or an average

response per item of 3 on a Likert-type scale from 1 to 5). Thus any score below 96 is anti-traditional, while scores above 96 are relatively pro-traditional. Sadists in the present study obtained an average raw score on this scale of $\underline{M} = 69.50$, $\underline{SD} = 25.50$ (or a mean response per item of 2.2, between the noncommittal score of 3 and 1, labeled “not at all true”). Masochists obtained an average raw score of $\underline{M} = 68.12$, $\underline{SD} = 15.78$ (or a mean response per item of 2.2). Switchers’ mean scores were $\underline{M} = 66.84$, $\underline{SD} = 16.50$ (or a mean response per item of 2.1). The non-s/m comparison group’s mean raw score was $\underline{M} = 73.68$, $\underline{SD} = 19.21$ (or a mean response per item of 2.3). Again, all four groups scored on average well below the noncommittal score, indicating anti-traditional, pro-feminist beliefs. So it does not appear to be the case that the non-feminist views of all four groups were obscuring the s/m group’s patriarchal beliefs; rather, all four groups report relatively pro-feminist attitudes.

Interestingly, though, a difference did emerge when responses for males were compared to those of females collapsed across groups by means of a oneway between-subjects ANOVA, $F(1, 151) = 12.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. Males scored higher on endorsement of traditional gender role beliefs ($\underline{M} = .01$, $\underline{SD} = .87$) relative to females ($\underline{M} = -.53$, $\underline{SD} = .59$). However, examination of raw scores on both original inventories indicates that the males’ scores, while higher on average than the females’, were still well below the “noncommittal” score, indicating relatively pro-feminist views. Average raw scores for the two inventories were as follows: for the Matheson Feminist Attitudes Scale, males had a mean score of $\underline{M} = 40.94$, $\underline{SD} = 15.86$ (or a mean response per item of 2.7 on a 7-point scale), whereas the females’ average score was $\underline{M} = 28.84$, $\underline{SD} = 10.13$ (or a mean response per item of 1.9 on a 7-point scale); for the Spanos Attitudes Towards Women scale, the males’ mean score was $\underline{M} = 72.04$, $\underline{SD} = 20.00$ (or a mean response per item of 2.2 on a scale from 1 to 5), while the females’ mean score was $\underline{M} = 65.10$, $\underline{SD} = 16.04$ (or a mean response per item of 2.0 on a scale from 1 to 5). In sum, there was no

evidence that sadomasochists are more pro-traditional and anti-feminist than the non-sadomasochists. Indeed, all participants, regardless of the presence or absence of sadomasochistic proclivities, scored on average as relatively more pro-feminist than pro-traditional, though females were more pro-feminist on average than males.

Escape-From-Self Hypothesis

If s/m participants engage in these acts so as to enjoy an escape from high-level self-awareness, then it may be that they tend to engage in other self-escaping behaviours as well. To address this possibility a number of measures relating to escapism were pertinent: the Inventory of Childhood Memories and Imaginings (ICMI, Wilson & Barber, 1987); part of the Role-Play Inventory (Fletcher & Averill, 1984); part of the Daydreaming Inventory (Singer & Antrobus, 1970); the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES); the Drug-Use Inventory; and the danger-seeking subscale from the DPQ (Tellegen, 1976). If these people seek an escape from self, then perhaps they also seek it in other behaviours. If so, masochists ought to score higher on these measures.

Of these measures, two were pertinent to other hypotheses as well, namely the Dissociative Experiences Scale and the danger-seeking subscale of the DPQ, and were therefore left as individual measures. The Drug Use Inventory standardized subscale scores correlated with each-other significantly (correlations from $r = .32, p < .001$, to $r = .59, p < .001$) and were averaged to yield a composite drug-use score, with a reliability of $\alpha = .75$. The remaining three variables (Role-Playing, Day-Dreaming, ICMI) were factor-analyzed, using principal components extraction, yielding one factor with eigenvalues > 1 . Loadings for the three indices ranged from .70 to .84. This factor was dubbed "Imaginal Propensities", with a reliability of $\alpha = .75$, and was interpreted as measuring one's capacity for and engagement in fantasy and imagination.

This theory also predicts that those people who engage in masochistic sex do so because they need to escape the burden of selfhood. Selfhood becomes burdensome when people are in positions that are perceived as stressful. Those most susceptible are individuals who feel responsible for events in their lives, and who typically have a need to be in control (Baumeister 1988, 1989). To test this, those variables that indicate a susceptibility towards s/m behaviour according to this theory were included in the study, namely Locus of Control and Desirability of Control. The Pearson correlation coefficient for these two control-related indices was not significant ($r = .12$, ns) and therefore these variables were not combined.

A oneway between-subjects MANOVA was conducted on the Drug-Use index and the Imaginal Propensities factor as well as the Rotter Locus Of Control and the Desirability of Control indices, comparing masochists, sadists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group. The MANOVA was not significant, Pillais = .05, $F(12, 420) = 1.67$, ns. Overall, participants' average scores on these indices were as follows: Drug-use Index, $M = .00$, $SD = 1.05$; Imaginal Propensities factor, $M = .01$, $SD = 1.00$; Locus of Control, $M = -.02$, $SD = 1.00$; Desirability of Control, $M = .06$, $SD = 1.12$.

This theory also predicts that masochists would be more likely to hold occupational positions of responsibility and authority, while sadists would be more likely to hold lower-status jobs or to be unemployed. To address this prediction, participants were asked to indicate whether they were employed, and if so, what kind of job they held. Responses were initially categorized as follows: professional/white collar; blue-collar; other, such as student or retired; and unemployed. A chi-square analysis on these results as not possible, however, as too many cells had expected values of less than five. In order to formally test employment status, responses were reduced into two categories: employed for pay and not employed for pay. A chi-square analysis on these categories was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 7.80$, $p < .05$. Non-sadomasochists (40.7%, $n = 25$) and sadists

(41.7%, $n = 11$) were more likely to be unemployed relative to masochists (13.3%, $n = 4$) and switchers (29.0%, $n = 9$), who were relatively more likely to be employed.

In sum, there was little evidence to suggest that the masochists were more inclined to engage in escapist behaviours such as drug-taking, day-dreaming, or fantasizing than any of the other groups, or that the masochists were more likely to have an internal locus of control or to desire control in their everyday lives to a greater extent than other groups. However, consistent with the theory, the masochists were less likely than others to be unemployed.

In order to address the idea that many so-called "sadists" are in fact masochists who have learned to be patient and flexible as they wait their turn to take the submissive role, the Submissive Proclivities index from the Sexual Behaviours Inventory was utilized. A oneway between-subjects ANOVA conducted on this factor was significant, $F(3, 150) = 52.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .51$. Post-hoc analyses involving all pairwise comparisons (Tukey's HSD) revealed that the masochists ($M = 1.08$, $SD = 0.95$) and switchers ($M = 1.06$, $SD = 0.77$) both scored higher than the Internet comparison group ($M = -0.52$, $SD = 0.49$) and the sadists ($M = -0.12$, $SD = 0.82$), suggesting, contrary to the prediction of this theory, that submissive acts and desires are preferred by masochists and switchers relative to sadists, who do not in fact differ on this index from non-sadomasochists.

Baumeister (1988, 1989) also contended that those who prefer the sadistic role do so out of a desire to experience an awareness of self as powerful and adored. This implies a lack of such experience in every-day life for these people. That is, sadists are individuals whose ordinary lives likely do not include experiences of power, potency, control, and adulation. Those indices intended to address low social power were Job Status (from the Vital Statistics questions), self-esteem, and social potency. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale and the social potency subscale of the DPQ have already

been discussed in previous findings, and were found to be unable to differentiate among any of the groups. In terms of job status, while sadists were more likely to report unemployment than were the masochists, they did not differ from non-sadomasochists in this regard, suggesting that the unusual group on this dimension was the masochist group. Therefore this cannot be taken as unambiguous support for the idea that sadists occupy significantly lower positions in the social stratum than most people. These non-significant findings indicate that the data do not support the escape-from-self contention that sadists are people who experience lower levels of social power in every-day life.

In sum, then, there is no support for the contention that most sadists are would-be masochists, or that those who do prefer the sadistic role have lower social power than others. While it appears that sadists may be more likely than masochists to be unemployed, it seems that masochists are the unusual group in this regard. Further, other indicators of status failed to reveal any other such differences.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to seek evidence in support of several currently-espoused theories regarding sadomasochism. Specifically, psychoanalytic, psychopathological, radical feminist, and escape-from-self explanations of s/m were assessed by means of a battery of questionnaires administered to sadomasochists solicited via Internet advertisements, and compared to non-sadomasochists obtained in the same manner. Results did not support any of these theories.

Findings from this study failed to support the psychoanalytic contention that masochists suffer from guilt about their sexuality to a greater extent than others. The index of sexual guilt constructed for this research failed to demonstrate significant differences among masochists and other groups. It is important to note, though, given that this index derives from a newly-constructed inventory, that this measure does not have

the advantage of having been subjected to tests of various forms of validity and reliability. Despite its face validity, it is possible that the guilt measure was in some way biased or failed to adequately measure sexual guilt. Such a potentiality must be borne in mind when interpreting these findings. It may also be that those sadomasochistic individuals who participated in the study were those who do not feel guilt about their sexuality. It is certainly possible that sadomasochists exist who do feel guilty about their sexuality, and that these would be the individuals who would be unlikely to want to participate in research into this issue. They may also be unwilling to self-define as sadomasochists at all.

This perspective also predicts that sadists are more vulnerable to id-driven behaviours than others (e.g. impulsive, selfish, hedonistic, potentially risky behaviours). Support was not found for this contention; measures of psychopathy and danger-seeking failed to differentiate sadists from other groups, as would be expected if in fact they were more id-driven. It therefore appears, given these findings, that a psychoanalytic understanding of s/m may not be the most viable.

The results also failed to support the medical-model assertion that masochists are mentally unstable. The mental instability index, comprised of measures of psychoticism, neuroticism, anxiety, interpersonal sensitivity, somatic complaints, and stress, did not differentiate masochists from other groups; nor did measures of dissociation and self-esteem. Certainly one would expect, if masochists were more mentally unstable than others, that such a collection of measures would be able to detect this. The contention that sadists are psychopathic likewise failed to obtain support in the current findings. Indices of psychopathy, as well as the related constructs of hostility and authoritarianism, did not yield higher scores among sadists relative to other groups, as would be expected if in fact sadism were a function of psychopathy. Thus these results suggest that the medical model may not be the most useful framework for understanding sadomasochism.

The radical feminist contention that endorsement of feminist beliefs is fundamentally incompatible with the practice of sadomasochism was also not supported by the current research. Specifically, the findings indicate that participation in sadomasochism is not associated with the endorsement of traditional gender roles to any greater extent than was found in the non-s/m comparison group. In fact, scores across groups indicated relatively pro-feminist ideologies. However, one could argue that this may be a situation in which individuals hold two incompatible beliefs simultaneously. It is not always the case that a given person's belief system is internally consistent and logical. It could be that many sadomasochists who report endorsing feminist ideologies are simply not aware of the patriarchal philosophy underlying their sexual proclivities.

If it were true, however, that sadomasochism was a function of the internalization of patriarchal ideology, then, as Califia (e.g. 1984; 1992) says, it would surely be an accepted form of sexual expression, and not, as is the case, an activity maligned and often punished by the mainstream. One would also expect that, in cultures where patriarchy goes relatively unchallenged (e.g. Islamic states), sadomasochism would be more common than in cultures where patriarchy has been articulated and challenged (e.g. North American society). In fact, the opposite appears to be true; sadomasochism is largely a Western-world phenomenon (Baumeister, 1988, 1989). By the same logic, if s/m was a form of endorsement of patriarchal values, it would have been more common in Western culture in historic eras when patriarchy went relatively unchallenged as compared to the modern-day world. Again, this does not appear to be the case; sadomasochism seems to be a relatively modern phenomenon (Baumeister, 1988, 1989).

It is imperative to bear in mind that this study suffered from potential methodological weaknesses, which require the exercise of caution when interpreting the results. One area of potential concern is that the s/m sample may not have been generalizable to s/m participants more generally, given that it was obtained via Internet

solicitation; the sample may well have been biased, for example, towards Western-world, white males (Reid, 1994). Thus the samples obtained may have underrepresented females, members of minority groups, individuals with less formal education, and individuals of lower socio-economic status. It may be that the picture of sadomasochists that emerges from this research is accurate for white middle-class educated males, but reveals less, or is misleading, regarding other potential participants in s/m.

Since all participants except the university sample were obtained via the Internet, a few words on it and on Internet users in general seems appropriate. Briefly, the Internet is a system of computer networks providing access to various services and resources, including libraries and data-bases from around the world (Badgett & Sandler, 1993; Rheingold, 1993). There are various estimates as to the number of users on the Internet. For example, in 1995 Negroponte reported that roughly 30 million people world-wide were Internet users, and this number has certainly risen since then. The Internet clearly represents a vast and rapidly-expanding resource for research participants. It is, however, important to note the limitations to generalizability associated with sampling from this pool. This was the rationale behind the inclusion of the non-Internet-derived university sample in Study 1. Analyses comparing Internet and non-Internet groups found that the Internet sample contained a smaller proportion of people from eastern and middle-eastern countries relative to the non-Internet sample, as well as fewer minority group members, fewer females, fewer people professing a religious belief, and fewer strict heterosexuals. The Internet sample also was less likely to disapprove of various sexual activities relative to the non-Internet sample (see Appendix X for complete description of analyses and findings).

There are clear advantages and disadvantages to using an Internet sample for the present study. One of the advantages is that a larger sample is obtained in a relatively short period of time. The pool of potential participants is enormous, including dozens of

countries all solicited at once. This means that generalizability is enhanced in one respect, since the sample consists of respondents from around the globe. Another benefit is the enhanced degree of anonymity and convenience for participants, which translates into the inclusion of individuals who would otherwise be hesitant to volunteer as research participants. Sadomasochists are a notoriously reticent group, particularly, according to some researchers (e.g. Lee, 1977), the female participants. It would seem that this methodology does much to alleviate the obstacles to participation that might otherwise hinder the participation of these individuals.

Given that none of these views were unambiguously endorsed or refuted by the findings of this study, the issue of whether this study provides any information as to a more feasible direction for understanding s/m must be addressed. The exploratory analyses provided some interesting possibilities. For example, masochists reported higher sex drives than other people, and also were more likely to deviate from rigid heterosexuality. These findings suggest that masochists may be people with stronger sex drives and a greater willingness to explore different sexual avenues. That is, masochists may be understood as people for whom sex is relatively important, and for whom the varieties of sexual expression are attractive; in effect, they may be sexual gourmands with sophisticated and strong appetites.

Perhaps sadomasochism, far from being an indicator of psychological dysfunction, misogyny, or a need to escape, is simply a sophisticated form of sex play, providing those individuals with opportunity and a sufficiently adventurous attitude towards sex with the experience of intense, long-lasting, intimate encounters. Further, rather than pain, bondage, and humiliation being at the core of the s/m experience, perhaps these elements of sadomasochism are, as many s/m participants assert (e.g. Califia, 1980), better understood as tools that assist in the mutual creation of differential status. That is, power may be the core phenomenon; the exchange of power in an erotic

context may become, for some, a vehicle for the experience of sexual pleasure. While genuine rape, torture, and humiliation are crimes against humanity, the consensual simulation of such acts may represent an opportunity to play with the icons of power and authority for purposes of exploring and developing erotic fantasies.

Thus a key area of future study lies with the examination of the manipulation of power in s/m scenes. If an exchange of power is at the centre of the phenomenon, then, for example, research into masochists' desire for pain as an end unto itself may be misguided, as might research into sadists' enjoyment of witnessing their partners' pain as an end unto itself. It may be more informative to instead focus on the exchange of power in sadomasochistic scenes, examining the means by which the power exchange occurs, the methods by which it is maintained throughout a scene, and how such an exchange would provide a framework for erotic pleasure.

One way to address this possibility is to observe s/m encounters in progress, with an eye to uncovering the power dynamics within the scene and the techniques used for their instigation and maintenance. While examination of real-life s/m scenes would be ideal, the difficulties inherent in obtaining access to such encounters are often prohibitive. However, s/m activities take place not only in private clubs and individuals' bedrooms, but also in Internet s/m chat rooms. An ever-increasing number of such on-line venues for the exploration of numerous varieties of sexuality is available to anyone with a computer and a modem. The existence of these on-line s/m venues seems ideal for the observation of sadomasochistic interchanges. One potential problem, though, with such a study would be justifying the use of on-line sadomasochists as convenient "stand-ins" for real-life sadomasochists. Therefore, before such a study is attempted, it is necessary to find support for the contention that those who practice s/m on-line have sufficiently similar sexual proclivities as those who practice it in the real world.

To this end, Study 2 attempts to establish a similarity between real-life and virtual sadomasochists, with the goal of providing a rationale for studying on-line sadomasochistic interchanges. Following this, Study 3 makes use of on-line s/m encounters to explore the nature and role of power in sadomasochistic sexuality.

STUDY 2

Introduction

The recent sudden and extraordinary rise in popularity and accessibility of the Internet has made it possible for people to explore s/m in "cyberspace". "Virtual", or on-line s/m, differs from real-life s/m in that the encounters take place via text-based communications over the computer. Typically these on-line s/m encounters occur in Internet chat rooms, which are accessible to essentially any adult with a computer and a modem. The ready availability and accessibility of these Internet s/m "clubs" seems ideally suited to participant-observer research; for example, one is all but guaranteed an ample pool of potential participants. Further, the textual nature of the encounters makes it easier to collect and analyze scripts of the encounters than would be the case with real-life interactions, which require visual and auditory interpretation on the part of the observer.

However, making use of on-line s/m for purposes of exploring s/m more generally assumes that virtual sadomasochists are like real-life sadomasochists in terms of their sexual proclivities. It may well be, instead, that some or most virtual sadomasochists are more like fantasy role-players than real-life sadomasochists; that is, they may enjoy virtual s/m because of the role-play and fantasy involved, much as one finds in such games as "Dungeons and Dragons", and not because of the specifically sadomasochistic themes being explored. Indeed, the very existence of virtual s/m suggests that, for some, s/m may well be just a fantasy game of a particular kind. Another possibility is that virtual sadomasochists are "normal" people who enter virtual s/m venues out of curiosity, but whose sexuality does not involve sadomasochistic themes. It is necessary, then, to compare real-life sadomasochists, virtual sadomasochists, fantasy role-players, and "normal" non-sadomasochists in terms of their sexual proclivities so as to ascertain which group, if any, the s/m groups resemble. Ultimately, if the virtual s/m group is found to

have sexual proclivities similar to those of real-life sadomasochists, then one can be more confident that the study of s/m in the virtual realm can inform current understanding of s/m more generally. On the other hand, if sadomasochists (virtual and real-life) are indistinguishable from fantasy role-players, then this suggests that s/m may be understood as simply one variety of many possible fantasy role-play encounters. This is the rationale and the goal of the present study.

The Context of "Virtual" S/M

Virtual s/m takes place via synchronous communication. That is, interactions take place in real time as opposed to in a delayed or asynchronous fashion, as is the case with e-mail, news groups, and bulletin boards (Jones, 1995; Rice & Case, 1983). Asynchronous communication can be seen as most similar to traditional letter writing. A message can be composed at a pace convenient to the sender, and can be edited or completely deleted, until its contents are deemed ready for sending. It is not necessary, with these methods, for sender and receiver to interact in real time. Similar to an answering machine, a message can be sent and will "wait" until the recipient is ready to read it.

On the other hand, synchronous computer-mediated communication on the Internet occurs in real time. That is, text is transferred directly and immediately from the screen of one person to that of another person or group of people. People can communicate and interact with others almost instantaneously. In this way it approximates the immediacy of the telephone. One of the forms that synchronous communication takes is the "chat site", or "talker", which has many features in common with the arguably more well-known "MUDs" (multi-user dimensions) (for a more in-depth examination of MUDs see McNulty, 1997). Essentially these sites provide a "virtual environment" within which communication can occur.

When individuals enter a chat site for the first time, they are required to choose a nickname that they are to use on all subsequent visits. They then enter the talker, which is a virtual "place", often described as a building of some kind consisting of several different rooms, where other people can also "congregate". One has the opportunity to construct a description of oneself for the perusal of other site users. One can choose to examine others' descriptions as well (e.g. by typing ".examine Susan"). It is also possible to call up a "map" of the site and to read descriptions of all the virtual rooms contained at the site. So, more than just providing a simple way of communicating, the chat site also depicts a physical and social environment to contextualize the interactions.

The software behind the talker is such that it allows each user to access a database of "rooms" (Reid, 1995). Users are provided with textual descriptions of an artificially constructed place within which they can move and interact. Users can only "see" other users who are in the same room with them. Navigation from room to room is accomplished by way of commands the user types in (e.g. ".go entrance" would move the user to the entrance room). Within this virtual place, people can communicate easily in real-time with other users connected at the same time. There are also rooms that are constructed so that users can set them to a "private" mode, thus restricting entrance to those they invite specifically. In this way, intimate and private places are available within which to engage in virtual sex, among other activities.

By default, whatever is typed can be seen by people who are also in the same room once the return key is hit. It is also possible, though, to send private messages to a particular user. As well, one is able to "emote", either publicly or privately. For example, Mary can "smile" so that the entire room "sees" this action (by typing ".emote smiles", which manifests on other peoples' screens as "Mary smiles"), or she can "smile" privately to only one other user (by typing ".premote John smiles" which manifests only on John's screen as "Mary smiles"). Public statements and public emotes are witnessed only by

others in the same room. However, it is also possible to make a statement that is broadcast across the entire site to people in all rooms, by using a "shout" command. Thus the different commands available to the user permit communication to be channeled in different ways. The result is a system allowing the user to articulate anything they wish and to "perform" any action or to express any feeling, either to the entire community logged in at that time, or to the congregation in that particular room, or to a specific individual alone (Reid, 1995).

There are talkers specific to many different themes, including a number devoted to s/m exploration. These are sometimes referred to as dungeons. The nicknames and descriptions chosen by users at these sites often, but not always, indicate one's preferred role (e.g. calling oneself "MasterJohn" indicates a dominant role preference, while calling oneself "SlaveJulie" indicates a preference for submission; simply calling oneself "Julie", however, does not signal a preferred role). Also included in one's description can be a list of physical attributes, and sometimes a mention of preferred sexual behaviours. In this way, users have the option of clearly advertising their needs and preferences as well as their charms to interested potential partners.

The Present Study

Virtual s/m provides a potentially powerful means for studying sadomasochism. Access to research participants could be greatly aided by including virtual sadomasochists into the pool of possible research participants. Given the anonymity of participants in this medium, as well as the convenience of a venue that is open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, sadomasochistic individuals would almost certainly be both easier to find and more amenable to participating in research.

However, one drawback to sampling from such a group is the issue of generalizability. Are the sadomasochists found in these on-line meeting-places

sufficiently similar to sadomasochists who engage in s/m the more traditional way? One concern regarding such individuals is that they might be engaging in virtual s/m for reasons other than those that lead real-life sadomasochists to participate in real-life s/m.

In particular, it may be that on-line s/m attracts individuals who enjoy fantasy role-playing more generally as opposed to the specific s/m role-plays that occur in these talkers. As has been discussed, s/m involves the adoption of dominant and submissive roles which are essential to creating an atmosphere conducive to participants' erotic pleasure. Thus, given that the sex is not "real", perhaps virtual sadomasochists are not seeking a sexual sadomasochistic experience so much as a role-play experience of some kind. If this is the case, then any resemblance to real-life s/m is merely superficial, and the experience of virtual s/m should be more like that of taking part in fantasy role-play games such as "Dungeons and Dragons". Therefore, in order to determine whether virtual sadomasochists are an appropriate group for studying s/m, it must first be established that they have more in common, in terms of sexual proclivities, with real-life sadomasochists than they do with non-sadomasochists, and in particular, on-line fantasy role-players. Specifically, the issue is whether they share sexual proclivities in common with real-life sadomasochists, since it is by reference to these behaviours and desires that sadomasochism is defined.

To that end, the data from ten individuals obtained for Study 1 was examined in the present study. These individuals' responses were not included in the Study 1 analyses because they had reported engaging in s/m exclusively via the Internet. Of the ten, 3 reported taking the dominant role, 4 preferred the submissive role, and 3 self-identified as switchers. They were compared to a sample of ten real-life sadomasochists randomly selected from the Study 1 group who were matched for role preference. None of the real-life s/m participants indicated engaging in s/m in these on-line environments. Also included was a randomly selected sample of ten individuals from the non-s/m Internet

comparison group from Study 1. And finally, a sample of ten individuals who engaged in on-line fantasy role-play games such as “Dungeons and Dragons” was obtained. The goal was to determine whether the virtual s/m group had more in common, in terms of sexual proclivities, with the real-life sadomasochists, the role-players, or the non-s/m Internet group, or whether, alternatively, they were unique unto themselves. Thus four possibilities existed: (1) the virtual sadomasochists could most resemble the non-sadomasochistic Internet sample; (2) they could most resemble the non-sadomasochistic role-play sample; (3) they could most resemble the real-life sadomasochists; or (4) they could remain a distinct group unto themselves. These alternatives were based on the assumption that virtual sadomasochists will either be from the same population as real-life sadomasochists in terms of sexual proclivities, or, alternatively that they would have been attracted to virtual s/m venues for other reasons. These other reasons include the possibility that virtual s/m has more in common with fantasy role-play games like “Dungeons and Dragons”, and the possibility that “normal” people might simply be indulging their curiosity. The fantasy role-players were solicited by posting a request for volunteers on several on-line news groups devoted to discussions of fantasy role-play games (Appendix Z). This on-line fantasy group filled out the same Sexual Behaviours Inventory (Appendix F) that was included in the Study 1 battery. Thus data on sexual proclivities was obtained for all participants.

Method

Participants

The Internet s/m group consisted of 10 individuals reporting exclusively on-line s/m encounters, who participated originally in Study 1 but whose responses were not entered into analyses for that study. A second group of 10 on-line non-sadomasochistic fantasy role-players was solicited by advertising for participants on the appropriate news

groups (Appendix Z). Care was taken to ensure that no sadomasochists were included in this sample by asking potential participants to self-define as either sadomasochistic (in which case, they were to also indicate their role preference) or non-sadomasochistic. None of the potential participants from this group indicated that they were sadomasochists. The advertisement that was posted is reproduced in Appendix AA. A randomly selected subset of 10 individuals from the s/m group obtained in Study 1 was also used in this research, as well as a randomly selected subset of 10 individuals from the Study 1 non-s/m comparison group. These individuals were obtained by selecting their assigned experimental numbers at random (literally, from a hat) with the proviso that the s/m sample be matched to the virtual s/m group for role preference. Thus four different groups were obtained; two ostensibly with sadomasochistic proclivities (the real and virtual s/m groups), and two without s/m proclivities (the non-s/m Internet comparison group and the on-line role-players).

Procedure

Participants from the real-life s/m, the virtual s/m, and the non-s/m comparison groups were recruited in the course of Study 1. Participants in the non-s/m fantasy role-play group were solicited via Internet advertising (see Appendix AA) posted to fantasy role-play news groups (Appendix Z). Potential participants from the role-play pool were told that the study was attempting to examine the relationship between engaging in fantasy games and a variety of personality and adjustment characteristics. Those interested in participating were asked to contact the Principal Investigator via e-mail. Those who responded were e-mailed the Sexual Behaviours Inventory, and Informed Consent and Debriefing forms. As with Study 1, participants were given the option of e-mailing or mailing their responses back to the same female researcher. E-mailed packages were transferred to disk and then printed.

Materials and Measures

Two indices from the Sexual Behaviours Inventory, namely the Dominant Proclivities index and the Submissive Proclivities index, were used in this study. These measures were chosen because they were the strongest predictors of group membership in Study 1, in that they had clearly differentiated the s/m from the non-s/m group (the Dominant Proclivities index differentiated the sample of sadists from the non-s/m group as well as from the masochists, while the Submissive Proclivities index differentiated the masochists from the non-s/m comparison group and from the sadists). These were also the measures that should theoretically differentiate those with sadomasochistic proclivities from those without. Thus these indices would reasonably be expected to do the best job of classifying the groups in this study.

Analyses

As has been mentioned, four possibilities present themselves with regard to the origins of the virtual sadomasochists: 1) they come from the same population as the real-life sadomasochists; 2) they are in fact more like non-sadomasochists; 3) if in fact fantasy role-players differ from the non-s/m Internet comparison group on sexual proclivities, the virtual sadomasochists most resemble these individuals; 4) they are a unique population unto themselves. In order to address these options, the statistical descriptive technique known as cluster analysis was employed. Cluster analysis was chosen because it is a technique that finds patterns of similarity and difference amongst cases on the basis of data obtained about each case. While discriminant analysis and factor analysis were initially considered, they were ultimately not satisfactory since they are techniques for determining groupings of variables, not cases.

Before examining the findings, a brief discussion of this statistical technique is in order, as it is a procedure with which some readers may not be familiar.

Cluster Analysis

Cluster analysis can be used to form groups of objects (such as persons) on the basis of the data collected for each object (Bijnen, 1973). The purpose of cluster analysis is to group and distinguish comparable units and to separate them from differing units. Hence in cluster analysis one attempts to construct groups of objects (in this case, real-life s/m participants, virtual s/m participants, fantasy role-players, and the non-s/m comparison group) in such a way that the objects in a cluster have "great" similarity to each other and "little" similarity with objects outside that cluster (Bijnen, 1973). Cluster analysis can also be utilized as a method for discovering "types". That is, constructs can be inferred from the clusters obtained (Lorr, 1983). Importantly, since the number and nature of such clusters are not known in advance, the clustering process is in fact a pre-classificatory exercise (Lorr, 1983). So the technique constructs a type-based classification scheme for hitherto unclassified data. Thus a cluster analysis conducted on the four groups obtained for this study should reveal with which group, if any, the virtual s/m sample ought to be categorized.

To that end, an agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis was conducted in the present study. Agglomerative hierarchical cluster analyses have the advantage over other kinds of cluster analyses in that they are conceptually the most simple to understand (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). The method is based on a rule of how to search a similarity matrix and when to combine cases, resulting in non-overlapping clusters. The resulting clusters are nested, in that each cluster can be subsumed as a member of a larger, more inclusive cluster at a higher level of similarity. This method starts by assuming as many clusters as there are objects. The two most similar cases are first

grouped, and then these initial groups are merged according to their similarities. Eventually, as the similarity decreases, all subgroups are fused into a single cluster.

An $N \times N$ similarity matrix based on the "distance" of participants' scores from one-another on the pertinent variables is created; the most similar cases, as determined by this matrix, are sequentially merged. That is, in a step-wise fashion, cases with the smallest distances from each-other (and therefore the greatest similarity) are combined. Step 1 therefore involves the grouping of those two cases that have the smallest distance score in the similarity matrix. The second step groups the next-closest cases, and so on, until all cases have been grouped. The "closeness" is defined differently depending on the method of linkage that is used.

While as many as twelve linkage methods, or sorting strategies, have been advocated in various literatures, three linkage methods in particular are the most commonly used: single linkage, complete linkage, and average linkage. The single linkage methodology begins the clustering process by searching for the two most similar entities in the matrix. Then, a new member is added to the cluster on the basis of the highest level of similarity to any one member of the existing cluster. That is, there is only a "single link" required between two cases for them to merge. Ultimately, all clusters end up joined together via this method (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). Thus, the rule for single linkage is this: cases will be joined to existing clusters if at least one of the members of the existing cluster is of the same level of similarity as the case under consideration for inclusion (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). The major advantage of this rule is its desirable property of being unaffected by ties in the data (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). Its major drawback, though, is that it has been shown in practice to have a tendency to chain, or form long, elongated clusters (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

The complete linkage method is the logical opposite to single linkage in that the linkage rule here states that any candidate for inclusion into an existing cluster must be within a certain level of similarity to all members of that cluster (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). This is a more rigorous rule than that embodied in single linkage; therefore complete linkage has a tendency to find compact clusters formed of highly similar cases (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

Average linkage was developed as an antidote to the extremes of both single and complete linkage. Although there are a number of variants to the method, each essentially computes an average of the similarity of a case under consideration with all cases in the existing cluster and, subsequently, joins the case to that cluster if a given level of similarity is achieved using this average value (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

Ideally, results for differing linkage methods should be similar, which would support the contention that the obtained clusters are "natural" (Lorr, 1983). Therefore one easy way to check the reliability of the obtained clusters is to conduct the analysis using all three linkage methodologies; if the clusters genuinely reflect a real pattern in the data, this pattern ought to be present under all three linkage conditions.

This sequence of mergers of clusters is represented visually by a dendogram, or tree diagram. The dendogram is a pictorial representation of the clusterings, and is used as a tool for interpreting the results. Each step at which a pair of cases merges is represented as a branch on this tree. Typically the dendogram depicts an initial large forking of the cases into two groups; after this, smaller clusters may emerge nested within the two larger categories.

Once a dendogram is obtained, the next issue becomes determining how many groups are present in the cluster. A dendogram often suggests that many different groups may be present in the data, and the problem, then, is where to "cut" the tree so that the optimal number of groups is found (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984). While many

advocates of cluster analysis recommend interpreting the number of clusters via simple visual inspection of the dendograms, there are more standardized techniques available to assist in this task. One common method is to graph the distance values at which the clusters combine, known as the fusion coefficients or amalgamation coefficients, against the number of clusters that appear at each fusion value (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984; Thorndike, 1953). The fusion coefficients are simply the numerical values at which the various cases merge to form a cluster. The result is much like the scree test used in factor analysis. A marked "flattening" in this graph suggests that no new information is portrayed by any following mergers of clusters. While this decision strategy is somewhat subjective, in fact such heuristic procedures are by far the most commonly used methods for dendogram interpretation (Aldenderfer & Blashfield, 1984).

In addition to the use of multiple linkage strategies, a second means by which reliability can be tested in the present study is to re-run the cluster analysis using a second set of randomly chosen participants from the real-life s/m group and the Internet comparison group. The same pattern of clusterings originally obtained ought to result from cluster analyses using these groupings as well.

Cluster Analysis in the Present Study

The difference scores for the present analysis were calculated on the basis of scores for each individual on the Dominant and Submissive Proclivities indices. Using these scores, a matrix of difference scores (called the "similarity matrix") for each pair of subjects was computed. Cluster analyses were then conducted on this matrix, using the three different linkage methods, each yielding a dendogram for interpretation (see Table 1 for dendograms).

Results

The cluster analysis yielded five distinct clusters. Interpretations were conducted primarily on the complete linkage analysis, since it typically yields the most straightforward dendograms with the most highly similar clusterings. The number of clusters was determined by plotting the fusion coefficients against the number of clusterings and noting where the graph begins to markedly flatten (see Table 2 for fusion coefficient/cluster plots). The dendogram clearly depicts five clusters (see Table 3 for a breakdown of clusters by group membership).

Cluster 1, consisting of 20 cases, contained all the non-s/m cases, including role-players and the Internet comparison group. No real or virtual s/m cases fell into this first large cluster. Cluster 2 consisted of 6 cases: three real-life masochists, 2 virtual masochists, and one virtual switcher. Cluster 3 consisted of 4 cases, of which 2 were real-life sadists, and two were virtual sadists. Cluster 4 consisted of 3 cases, of which one was a real-life masochist and two were virtual masochists. Cluster 5 consisted of 7 cases, of which one was a real-life sadist, three were real-life switchers, one was a virtual sadist, and two were virtual switchers.

An examination of the means and standard deviations for each cluster (Table 4) reveals that the individuals making up the first cluster (members of the two non-s/m groups) scored on average a full standard deviation or more below the mean relative to other groups on both dominant and submissive proclivities. Clearly, the individuals in this cluster did not report sadomasochistic proclivities relative to the others. Cluster 2, made up of 3 real-life masochists, 2 virtual masochists, and 1 virtual switcher, revealed high mean scores for submissive proclivities, and a relatively low mean score for dominant proclivities. Cluster 3, made up of virtual and real-life sadists, obtained much higher mean scores on dominant proclivities relative to submissive proclivities. Cluster 4, consisting of one real-life and two virtual masochists, obtained much higher scores on

submissive proclivities than they did for dominant proclivities. And finally, Cluster 5, consisting of both virtual and real-life sadists and switchers, scored high on average on both dominant and submissive proclivities, though the dominant proclivities score was higher.

An examination of the membership of each cluster suggests that the overall pattern was of two major clusterings, one containing all the non-sadomasochists (Cluster 1), and the other containing the virtual and real-life sadomasochists, which in turn separated out into smaller clusters. This indicates that at the broadest level of differentiation, non-sadomasochists were separate from sadomasochists. In other words, broadly speaking, the virtual sadomasochists and real-life sadomasochists were like each other, and unlike the non-s/m groups. Secondly, looking at the further clustering of the s/m grouping, real-life sadists tended to group with virtual sadists, real-life masochists tended to group with virtual masochists, and real-life switchers tended to group with virtual switchers. Thus it seems feasible to utilize virtual sadomasochists as reasonable stand-ins for real-life sadomasochists, since they cluster together, indicating similar sexual proclivities.

To assess reliability, the results of cluster analyses using the other two common linkage methods were also examined (see Table 1 for dendogram). Using the single linkage method, once again 5 clusters were obtained. While the specific location of particular individuals differed, the same pattern obtained with complete linkage was observed, namely one large group consisting of all the non-s/m individuals, and then four groups of virtual and real-life s/m individuals clustering in general according to their professed role preference. In sum, differences between the two obtained dendograms were minimal, and the pattern of virtual and real sadomasochists clustering together, away from the non-sadomasochistic groups, which themselves clustered together, was maintained.

The analysis was performed for a third time using the average linkage method (see Table 1 for dendogram). Results were again compared to the other linkage methods so as to establish the reliability of the obtained clusters. This linkage method also yielded five clusters. As with the other two methods, the first cluster consisted of all the non-s/m cases, including role-players and the Internet comparison group. The rest of the clusters combined the virtual and real s/m groups in much the same way as was found with the other linkage methods. Again, the basic pattern of the virtual and real s/m groups clustering together, and the role-players and the Internet comparison group themselves clustering together, was preserved.

Another reliability check took the form of a re-analysis, using a second random sample of ten individuals from the real-life s/m group, and a second random sample of ten individuals from the Internet comparison group, comparing them with the virtual s/m and role-play groups. Once again, three linkage methods were used: complete, single, and average. These analyses yielded from five to six clusters, depending on which linkage method was used (see Tables 5 and 6 for dendograms and fusion coefficient/cluster plots).

Looking at the complete linkage dendogram, six clusters were obtained. Once again, the first cluster consisted of all the non-s/m cases, including role-players and the Internet comparison sample. Cluster 2 consisted of 7 cases, of which 4 were virtual masochists, and 3 were real-life masochists. Cluster 3 consisted of 2 cases, one of which was a virtual switcher and one a real-life switcher. Cluster 4 contained a single case, namely a virtual sadist. Cluster 5 consisted of 5 cases, 2 of which were virtual switchers, and 2 of which were real-life switchers, and one a real-life sadist. Cluster 6 consisted of 4 cases, of which two were virtual sadists and two were real-life sadists. A similar pattern was again detected, grouping the virtual and real-life sadomasochists together, apart from the non-sadomasochistic cases, which themselves clustered together.

The single linkage method, creating 5 clusters, also yielded this pattern: one large cluster contained all the non-s/m cases, and a series of smaller clusters contained both the real-life and virtual sadomasochists. The average linkage method results were much the same: one large non-s/m cluster, with smaller clusters containing virtual and real-life sadomasochists.

Therefore, given that regardless of linkage method the same general pattern was obtained even with different samples of real-life s/m and Internet comparison cases, some degree of confidence can be invested in the reliability of these results. It appears that the virtual s/m group is similar to real-life sadomasochists and dissimilar to non-sadomasochists, including role-players, on the indices of sadomasochistic sexual proclivities.

Discussion

In sum, the cluster analyses suggest that virtual sadomasochists are more like real-life sadomasochists than non-sadomasochists, including fantasy role-players, in terms of their sexual proclivities. That is, the sample of people who engaged in s/m over the Internet appeared to share sadomasochistic proclivities similar to those reported by that people who engaged in s/m in the real world. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that these groups may well derive from a common population of sadomasochists. Thus virtual s/m may itself contribute to an understanding of real-life s/m.

One must, however, bear in mind the limitations inherent to this study. While the findings indicate that the real-life and virtual sadomasochists do share sexual proclivities in common, it need not necessarily follow that real-life and virtual sadomasochism can be equated. Certainly the fact that virtual and real-life sadomasochists have common sexual tastes makes it plausible that virtual and real-life s/m scenarios also have common ground. However, more research needs to be done to establish this with more confidence.

Evidence was obtained in the present study suggesting that virtual sadomasochists have much in common with real-life sadomasochists in terms of their sexual proclivities. These findings provide justification for making use of the virtual s/m participant pool as a source of data relevant to sadomasochism in the real world. Consequently, Study 3 makes use of virtual sadomasochists' on-line interactions in an effort to explore the role and nature of power in s/m encounters.

STUDY 3

Introduction

The existence of virtual s/m represents an opportunity to further explore the dynamics of sadomasochistic interactions. Given that, as Study 2 demonstrated, virtual sadomasochists appear to have much in common with real-life sadomasochists in terms of sexual behaviours and desires, an examination of virtual s/m represents an accessible means by which this secretive world may be studied

Given that Study 1 failed to find support for mainstream academic perceptions and understandings of s/m, the alternative conceptualization articulated by many practicing sadomasochists that s/m involves the consensual and eroticized exchange of power (e.g. Califia, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1992; Samois, 1987) becomes an attractive possibility. Perhaps the exchange of power is the key to understanding s/m. If so, an understanding of what is meant by power in this context, and how (and by whom) power is manipulated within the s/m dyad can be explored. To that end, one possibility for research opened up by virtual s/m is to provide researchers with the opportunity to study, via direct observation, the nature and importance of power to the structure and development of sadomasochistic scenes.

Given that Study 1 failed to find support for theories regarding s/m that see pain as integral to the experience, such as the psychoanalytic, psychopathology, and escape-from-self views, an examination of the power exchange hypothesis seems reasonable, particularly in light of the fact that s/m practitioners themselves tend to describe their experiences along these lines. Given that the concept of power, specifically interpersonal power, is at the heart of this perspective, a brief discussion of the theoretical framework underlying the concept of interpersonal power is in order.

Power and Status

Interpersonal power has been defined as the ability to get another person to do or to believe something he/she would not necessarily have done or believed of their own volition (Johnson, 1976). Intimately tied to this notion is the concept of status; status is one way in which power manifests (Berger, Rosenholtz & Zelditch, 1980; Turkle, 1995). According to Expectation Status Theory (Berger et al, 1980), the status of an individual leads to different expectations about behaviour and thus different behaviour toward the status-holder. Status is essentially an indicator of power; higher status means more power, expressed in a greater ability to directly alter other people's behaviours and/or beliefs (Berger et al, 1980).

One's status affects the strategies one chooses to adopt when trying to influence others (Falbo & Peplau, 1980). Specifically, persons of higher status utilize direct tactics (e.g. asking directly, stating the importance of one's demand, directly telling another person what to do, using direct statements or commands to indicate one's preference, using positive affect to reward compliance and negative affect to punish non-compliance) while persons of lower status utilize indirect tactics (e.g. using flattery, hinting, making suggestions, using body language and other non-verbal cues, behaving seductively) (Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Howard et al, 1986). An understanding of the relationship between power, status, and strategies of influence is important to the study of s/m because, if s/m concerns itself primarily with the exchange of power, then indicators of status, such as one's selection of various strategies of influence, can be utilized to differentiate the powerful from the powerless. That is, one way to examine power in s/m is to examine indicators of status in masochists' and sadists' actions and speech.

Status may be signaled in a number of different ways. One indicator of status can be the means by which the individual is addressed (Falbo & Peplau 1980). So, for example, if one individual refers to another as "Master", or "Mistress", this indicates a

greater status conferred upon the person being addressed. Similarly, if an individual is addressed as “pet”, or “slave”, or “slut”, this indicates a lower status conferred upon the one being addressed. This also extends to parental forms of address, such as “child” or “little one”. Relative status is also revealed in instances in which one individual obeys the orders of another (Falbo & Peplau, 1980). So, for example, if one person is told to kneel, and does so, this indicates the higher status of the person being obeyed. This could also, of course, extend to sexual behaviours as well. So, for example, if one individual ordered another to masturbate, or to display their genitalia, and was obeyed, this too would indicate a higher status for the person issuing the orders. It stands to reason, as well, that indicators of one individual being “owned” by another, such as statements like, “I am yours”, or “you are my possession” indicate a clear status differential such that the owner occupies a position of higher status relative to the owned.

Even expressions of concern and caring can indicate power and status (Falbo & Peplau, 1980). Specifically, expressions of concern that imply a responsibility on the part of one individual for the welfare of the other suggest an almost parental relationship, indicating greater power for the concerned individual relative to the person who is the object of that concern.

Other indicators of status differential include the mode of communication utilized by the individual. Specifically, direct communication (of needs, preferences, pleasure or displeasure) signals higher power while indirect communication signals lower power (Berger et al, 1980; Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Johnson, 1976). So, for example, communication in the form of direct statements indicates power, while communication by means of non-verbal cues indicates relative powerlessness.

Another indicator of power and powerlessness in the context of the current study may involve the individuals’ on-line anonymity. In the context of Internet chat rooms, anonymity permits for feelings of safety and comfort. The revealing of such real-life

information as name, location, age, etc., may serve to reduce or eliminate the individual's sense of comfort and safety. Therefore the solicitation and provision of real-life information in this context would presumably weaken or destroy the sense of safety and control experienced by the individual whose personal information is revealed.

These indicators of status, including mode of address, direct versus indirect communication, anonymity, and expressions of caring, can be helpful in the detection of power imbalance within the dyad.

Power and Pain

Sadomasochists generally describe s/m as a ritualized, consensual exchange of power (Calafia, 1980). That is, the masochist and the sadist come to an agreement, either explicitly or tacitly, that involves the temporary relinquishing of the masochist's control to the sadist. When control over one's actions and over acts performed on oneself is in the hands of another person, the individual with the control is the one in power; control over others means power over others (Johnson, 1976). Thus control translates into power, which can manifest in a status differential. Where would pain fit into this scenario?

If a power exchange is the core phenomenon with s/m, then pain, far from being the central element to s/m, may be understood as simply one of many possible tools useful for helping to establish and maintain the requisite power differential. Pain, according to the power exchange view, is an incidental to the scene, serving to delineate participants' relative status, and therefore their relative power. That is, the Power Exchange theory of s/m sees pain not as definitive of the s/m experience in itself, but as one of several tools for clearly differentiating the powerful from the powerless. It is, in effect, a symbol of status, of control, and thus of power; the person who is inflicting pain is clearly the one with greater power, while the person receiving the pain is

unquestionably the one with less power. Invoking pain is an efficient and clear indicator of power, and so is useful in establishing and maintaining status differential.

Given this view, pain, while helpful, is nevertheless expendable. Indeed, the existence of virtual s/m seems to argue for this point: no physical pain is in fact exchanged. However, with virtual s/m, pain's symbolic value may still be maintained through invoking it conceptually, through the administration and experience of "virtual" pain within a scene. Thus pain need not be painful, and indeed need not be present at all in s/m scenes; its utility is in its symbolic value, not in the physiological pain response. One would expect that other means of establishing and maintaining a power differential can be used in addition to pain, or in its stead.

If it can be established that the concept of a power exchange is consistent with the events that unfold during an s/m encounter, then this provides evidence for the utility of the power exchange model. That is, if the phenomenon of s/m is explicable in terms of a power exchange, then arguments asserting the pathological nature of s/m proclivities are called into question, because they are founded on the assumption that the giving and receiving of pain is the motivation for these events. If power, rather than pain, is the commodity of importance, pathology-based views of s/m may have to re-think their assumptions, or, at the very least, rework their rationale for depicting s/m as a function of sickness.

Method

Procedure

In order to examine the role and nature of power in s/m, it was necessary to observe virtual sadomasochistic scenes in progress, thereby obtaining textual accounts of the interactions. Virtual s/m "talkers" or "chat rooms" were easily found by conducting a search of web sites using a web-browser such as AltaVista (www.altavista.digital.com)

and conducting a search of the term "sadomasochism". Several of these chat rooms were utilized for this study (see Appendix BB for site addresses). These talkers are readily discoverable and accessible to anyone with telnet or web-browsing capabilities anywhere in the world. As much as possible, these sites are restricted to individuals over the age of 18. By necessity, those who do log in must be able to communicate in English.

The primary investigator joined these sites and solicited the informed participation of s/m couples who frequented the talker. This was done in one of two ways. First, on the "bulletin board" in the common room of the s/m dungeon, the investigator posted a solicitation for participants, to which interested individuals could respond via e-mail or by informing her of their interest while she was on-line (see Appendix CC). Second, the investigator approached individuals who were on-line at the same time that she was logged in, and solicited their participation. When approaching potential participants in this manner, the investigator introduced herself as a graduate student in psychology doing research on sadomasochism. She then requested their informed participation in the study, which required their permission for the private s/m encounter to be observed and the text "captured" for later analysis (see Appendix CC). Once consent was obtained, the investigator accompanied the participants to one of the many private "rooms" available at each site to observe their encounter. Transcripts of the sessions were electronically captured and hard copies were made. Names and other identifying information were changed so as to protect participants' privacy. However, an effort was made in the choice of alternate pseudonyms to preserve the informativeness of the original moniker (e.g. if the original selected pseudonym indicated a male gender and dominant role preference, such as "MasterDavid", a replacement name such as "MasterMichael" was selected). The transcripts were then content analyzed by two independent judges on a number of dimensions aimed at addressing the means by which power and status were established, validated, and maintained in each dyad.

Participants

A sample of eight interactions involving a total of 16 individuals was successfully collected. Of these eight pairs, six were reportedly heterosexual dyads, and two were reportedly female same-sex dyads. Of the heterosexual pairs, five took the form of female masochist - male sadist, and one took the form of male masochist - female sadist. A dependent groups t-test on ages comparing masochists to sadists was not significant, $t(4) = 1.36$, ns, indicating that sadists and masochists did not differ significantly on this characteristic. Ages ranged from 21 to 47 years, with a mean age of $M = 28.8$ years, $SD = 7.3$. Three of the eight dyads consisted of partners who had been together before, while for the remaining five the recorded scene was their first together.

Clearly this is not a random sample, and therefore the usual cautions and caveats regarding non-random samples pertain here. In particular, generalizability of results is at issue; those who volunteered to participate may well have been systematically different from other patrons of these s/m venues, thus yielding biased results. This possibility must be taken into account when interpreting the findings.

Materials And Measures

"Quick Link" (Sperling & O'Leary, 1989) is a computer program for interface between the modem, the personal computer, and the Internet system to which one connects. This program was used for this study. It is important to this research because, like many other such programs, it has a "capture text" function, which permits the obtaining of verbatim transcripts for later analysis.

Once the transcripts of s/m sessions were captured with the help of "Quick Link", hard copies were content analyzed by two independent judges on a series of dimensions

pertaining to power exchange. The coding categories were based on the literature pertaining to theories of interpersonal power.

Following their s/m encounters, participants were asked a series of post-scene questions, which provided such information as gender, age, familiarity with on-line and real-life s/m, and familiarity with their partner. Participants were also asked explicitly to describe how the dynamic of dominance and submission had been established and maintained. A complete list of the post-interview questions is provided in Appendix DD. After this, participants were debriefed (Appendix EE).

Content Analysis

Determining the Unit of Analysis

The transcribed sessions (see Appendix FF) were content analyzed with reference to the categories delineated in Appendix GG and described below (content analysis items). The unit of analysis was defined as an individual's utterance. Thus one unit consisted of a complete utterance by one individual, delineated at the start by the person's pseudonym, and ending with the start of an utterance from the other individual. Each utterance, or unit of analysis, was coded as either positive (scored as 1) or negative (scored as 0) on each category, depending on whether it contained instances of behaviours or language that corresponded each particular content analysis category.

Content Analysis Items Addressing Establishment of a Power Exchange

The items in this category were coded to reflect the ways in which the power exchange was established and maintained. Three types of items were contained in this category. The first was whether the individual utilized direct modes of communication, such as clear statements, commands, or requests, versus indirect modes of communication, including non-verbal strategies like moans or pouting and the use of

hints to guide the scene's progress. As has been discussed, theories of interpersonal power suggest that strategies for communication differ as a function of one's power level (e.g. Berger, Rosenholtz & Zelditch, 1980; Falbo & Peplau, 1980; Johnson, 1976). Thus the kind of communication used by individuals of either role may serve to validate the differing statuses of the participants (e.g. the masochist may refrain from direct statements, using non-verbal communication instead, while the sadist may prefer straightforward verbal statements).

Second, the provision of real-life personal information, such as a description of physiological arousal, body parts, real name, or geographical location, was noted. This may be interpreted as a means by which one partner asserts control over the other, by denying them the comfort and security of complete anonymity.

Third, expressions of caring and concern for one's partner were also coded for (e.g. tending to a partner's wounds, using terms of endearment such as "my love"). As has been discussed, the expression of tenderness and caring can be strategically used to indicate status (e.g. if one person concerns him- or herself with the other's comfort and safety, this implies their responsibility for that person, and therefore their superior proprietorial status) (see Appendix GG).

Content Analysis Items Indicating Mutuality in Creating a Power Exchange

A number of items were noted which indicate that the power exchange was mutually constructed, as opposed to being imposed by one partner upon the other. First, masochists' and sadists' relative use of status indicators was examined so as to determine whether both masochists and sadists were actively maintaining differential status within the dyad through the use of mode of address (e.g. the masochist calling the sadist "Sir" or "Ma'am"; the sadist calling the masochist "slave" or "pet"). As well, other status indicators, like obedience to commands and indicators of ownership, were looked at in

terms of the relative frequency with which they were invoked by masochists versus sadists.

Another category of behaviours examined was instances of stepping outside of the role so as to indicate pleasure or displeasure, suggest directions for the scene, or inquire into the partner's enjoyment. Instances of masochists' and sadists' deviation from their roles for these purposes were compared so as to determine whether one role was more likely to direct the scene in this way.

Post-Interview Information

In addition to the categories coded from the transcripts, participants were asked a number of other questions after the scene had ended (Appendix DD). The purpose of these questions was to obtain demographic information such as age and gender, and to obtain participants' own perceptions as to how a power exchange was initiated and maintained during the encounter.

Analyses

Inter-Rater Reliabilities

The categories derived from examination of the transcripts were independently coded by two independent judges not involved in other aspects of the study. Disagreements were resolved by discussion, and those that were not resolved were taken to a third judge. Inter-rater reliabilities before discussion were good, ranging from $\phi = .67$ to 1.00 (see Table 7).

Participants' scores on these variables were determined by counting the number of units that were positive for the category, then dividing that by the total number of units and finally multiplying the result by 100 to obtain a percent score. This was done so as to

enable comparisons across roles and dyads regardless of varying lengths of interaction for each of the dyads.

Criteria for Significance

Given the small sample sizes obtained and the resulting low power of analyses, effect size, specifically η^2 , was utilized as opposed to the “alpha < .05” rule commonly adopted in experimental research to determine whether a finding was meaningful. An η^2 of .10 or higher was considered meaningful, as recommended by Cohen (1988).

Results

Items Addressing the Initiating and Maintaining of a Power Exchange

Mode of Communication

A dependent groups t-test conducted on the use of direct modes of communication, comparing sadists to masochists was significant, $t(7) = 5.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .83$. Results indicated that sadists ($M = 10.01$, $SD = 3.04$) were far more likely than masochists ($M = 1.50$, $SD = 2.54$) to utilize direct modes of communication, such as directly expressing approval or disapproval, directly telling the partner to do something, etc. Relatedly, a dependent groups t-test conducted on indicators of indirect communication comparing sadists with masochists yielded significant results, $t(7) = -2.10$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .38$, indicating that masochists ($M = 9.71$, $SD = 6.32$) were more likely than sadists ($M = 5.74$, $SD = 3.60$) to utilize indirect forms of communication such as hinting and body language.

The Provision of Real-Life Information

A dependent groups t-test conducted on the provision of real-life information comparing the 8 dyads of masochists and sadists on this index was significant, $t(7) = -$

2.36, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .51$. Masochists ($M = 2.32$, $SD = 2.45$) were more likely than sadists ($M = 0.18$, $SD = 0.34$) to provide real-life information during the course of the scene.

Indicators of Caring

A dependent groups t-test conducted on indicators of caring and tenderness displayed to the partner comparing sadists and masochists was significant, $t(7) = 4.59$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .75$. Results indicated that sadists ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 3.17$) were far more likely than masochists ($M = 0.69$, $SD = 0.96$) to express caring towards the partner.

Summary of Power Exchange Findings

In sum, the sadists utilized direct communication more than did the masochists, who in turn favoured indirect means of communication. As well, masochists provided more real-life information than sadists. And finally, sadists were more likely to express tenderness and caring towards their partners. These findings are all consistent with the existence of a power differential such that the sadists have more power relative to the masochists.

Items Addressing Mutuality in Creating the Power Exchange

Relative Use of Status Indicators

A dependent groups t-test looking at the percentage of units containing indicators of status differential comparing sadists with masochists was not significant, $t(7) = -0.29$, ns, $\eta^2 = .09$. Sadists and masochists made equivalent use of indicators of status ($M = 33.50$, $SD = 6.25$).

Stepping Outside of the Scene

A dependent groups t-test looking at the percent of units containing instances of stepping outside of the role and the scene in order to comment on preferences, the progress of the scene, or to inquire as to the partner's enjoyment of it, comparing sadists and masochists, was nonsignificant, $t(7) = 0.59$, ns, $\eta^2 = .04$. Thus both sadists and masochists to an equivalent extent broke out of role so as to elucidate preferences and check on the progress of the scene ($M = 1.68\%$ of a participant's utterances, $SD = 1.98$).

Participants' Own Reports of Establishment of the Power Exchange

In addition to examining the above indices regarding the nature of the power exchange, the comments of participants on this matter were themselves illuminating. Those individuals who participated in the post-scene interview ($N = 13$) were asked to explain the aspects of the scene that, in their opinion, established the sadist's power over the masochist. Responses suggested that there were two basic means by which the power exchange was instigated and maintained: through specific actions and behaviours with a given scene, and through an understanding of the (sometimes tacit) rules that go with the roles of sadist and masochist.

The use of specific actions to delineate power and powerlessness was mentioned by six individuals (Prettybaby; Playfulman; LadyDomme; Honeygirl; Lily; Xanadu). Some discussed the sadist's use of high-power behaviours, like the administration of discipline, to signal greater status: e.g., "...when she didn't call me "Sir" I made sure she knew that was not going to be tolerated again" (Playfulman, Dyad C); and, "if I had to pick a moment there, I'd say [the power exchange was established] when I disobeyed him and he punished me. That's when you know who's the boss!" (Lily, Dyad G); and "well, I was chained to the wall! So I was totally helpless for most of it" (PrettyBaby, Dyad A). Others mentioned the use of low-power behaviours on the part of the masochist to

indicate relative status: e.g., "...I treat her with respect and I obey her" (Honeygirl, Dyad F).

The second, though by no means unrelated, general method by which participants indicated that power differential was established and was through an understanding of the implicit or explicit rules of conduct within an s/m scene. Five individuals made mention of such rules of general behaviour (Girlee; Playfulman; LadyDomme; Honeygirl; Xanadu). In some instances the rules of conduct were signaled by the specifics of the scenario: e.g. "I guess when she wanted me to call her Mommy. That's when I clued in to the kind of scene she was into" (Girlee, Dyad B). In two instances the rules were reported to be tacit, establishing the paradigm within which virtual sadomasochism exists: e.g. "It's like there are rules of behaviour you have to follow. There are things I do as a sub and there are things he does as a Dom" (Xanadu, Dyad H); and "The power thing is set up before it even starts" (Spiderwoman, Dyad B).

Three individuals indicated that the rules for behaviour as regards another individual could be signaled before conversing, through the use of informative pseudonyms (Spiderwoman, Toyboy, Mann): e.g., "my name is a Domme name. Like her name is submissive... so I knew I was going to be the top" (Spiderwoman, Dyad B); and "she seemed like the perfect one [to dominate me], judging by her profile and her name" (Toyboy, Dyad D); and "she knows what I want and expect from my profile" (Mann, Dyad H).

Five people also mentioned that the rules of conduct were established explicitly through dialogue prior to engaging in a scene (Spiderwoman; Toyboy; Alberto; Lily; Mann): e.g. "we talk before we do a scene, especially if it's the first time. We get to know each other, feel out our likes and dislikes" (Alberto, Dyad G); and "... before we ever went private we talked about what she wanted, what I wanted, limits - the usual" (Mann, Dyad H).

In addition to indicating the means by which the status differential was established and maintained, four participants' comments went farther, indicating an understanding of this power exchange as essentially illusory (LadyDomme; Submiss; Honeygirl; Alberto): e.g. "ultimately I only have power over him for as long as I'm turning him on" (LadyDomme, Dyad D); and "the only power he's got is what I let him have....We shop for what they have to offer. If we don't like it, then we don't play" (Submiss, Dyad E); and "I don't know if anyone really has any power or loses any power. I mean, it's not real" (Honeygirl, Dyad F); and "...to say I have the power and the control is misleading. We are out to please each other" (Alberto, Dyad G). Thus it seems clear that a number of the participants considered the power exchange to be mutually constructed, maintained by tacit and explicit rules and conventions, and, ultimately, illusory.

Summary of Findings Regarding the Creation of a Power Exchange

Both sadists and masochists made ample and equivalent use of indicators of status such as mode of address, obedience to commands, indicators of ownership, and physical coercion. As well, both sadists and masochists, to an equivalent extent, stepped outside of the role-play so as to comment on its direction or to inquire into the enjoyment of their partner. As well, participants' post-scene interviews indicated that both sadists and masochists were conscious of the use of high-power behaviours on the part of the sadist and low-power responses on the part of the masochist as a means of establishing and maintaining the power differential. Several also mentioned the existence of implicit and explicit rules of conduct within the context of an s/m scene, rules that established a clear power imbalance from the start. Finally, several participants (two sadists and two masochists) described the power exchange as being essentially illusory, the product of mutual consensual effort. Thus the power differential appears to be consciously and

consensually established and maintained. The resulting situation seems best described as a carefully constructed illusion of power differential.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to determine whether an understanding of s/m from within a power-exchange framework was viable. The findings support this view, in that evidence of a mutually constructed exchange of power was obtained. Specifically, both sadists and masochists made use of various techniques to delineate relative power and powerlessness. If s/m was more about the giving and receiving of pain, bondage, and humiliation as an end unto themselves, then it stands to reason that the elaborate role-plays and the scenarios would be unnecessary. Why not simply have a straightforward arrangement in which one individual ties and spansks (or whips, canes, paddles) the other to the mutual satisfaction of both parties? Why, instead, does one find elaborate scenarios involving role-plays that, by their nature, create a context of power and status differential? If masochists seek pain as a goal in its own right, and if sadists seek to administer pain as a goal in its own right, why not simply get on with it? The contextualizing of the encounter, the use of status-specific roles, the careful orchestration of events, all suggest that more is sought than the experience of pain. Rather it appears to be the case that scenarios are set up to accommodate the creation of a power differential. That is, roles are selected, behaviours are enacted, and language is utilized such that one partner is accorded higher status and ostensibly has control, while the other is rendered of lower status and ostensibly does not have control. Why would s/m participants bother with such carefully constructed scenarios if not so as to create a context for the creation of a power differential? Thus it appears that it is this power differential that is primarily sought.

This conceptualization of what is happening in a sadomasochistic encounter is quite different from views that seek to explain these behaviours as a function of a desire to give and/or receive pain, bondage and humiliation; for while pain, bondage and humiliation are common to s/m scenarios, this view asserts that they are not sought for their own sake, but rather are utilized as effective techniques for the creation of a particular power dynamic.

This study was descriptive in its purpose. There was, for example, no comparison group, no random sampling, and the sample size was small. The goal was to provide "thick" descriptive data in order to uncover ideas regarding the dynamics and context of power exchange within the s/m scenario. This approach was intended to yield a detailed "snap-shot". What this "snap-shot" revealed was that s/m interactions take place within a carefully manipulated context that involves the assuming of roles, behaviours, and language that serve to demarcate power and powerlessness. Much effort on the part of both partners goes into the creation and maintenance of the power differential, with attention to such details as the means by which each addresses the other and adherence to tacit and/or explicit rules of conduct. S/m interactions are not simply opportunities for one person to receive pain and for another to administer pain: if this were the case, one would expect s/m scenes to be relatively unencumbered by such carefully observed rules of conduct or the assumption of particular kinds of roles.

One must bear in mind the potential limitations to generalizability of these findings to real-life s/m participants. Although Study 2 established a general similarity between virtual and real-life sadomasochists concerning their sexual proclivities, these experiences differ in that virtual s/m does not involve the use of real pain and bondage, whereas real-life s/m typically does. Therefore the possibility exists that pain and bondage may play more important roles in real-life s/m than is observed in virtual s/m. It may be that virtual s/m focuses more on power manipulation than does real-life s/m,

perhaps because by virtue of the nature of the Internet medium the experience of pain as a desirable goal in its own right cannot therein be explored. Therefore, one must allow for the possibility that, while virtual s/m appears to be about the manipulation of power, real-life s/m may serve different goals.

However, the fact that real-life sadomasochists themselves tend to describe their encounters in terms of a power exchange suggests that these virtual scenarios may not be so very different from the real-life versions after all. As well, one must bear in mind that that these virtual scenes were created by sadomasochistically-inclined individuals with the goal of exploring and enjoying an s/m encounter. Further, the virtual medium eliminates restrictions to behaviour based on physical and social realities (e.g. legal, physiological restrictions). Given these facts, it stands to reason that those activities desired in real-life s/m would be the ones depicted in the virtual realm. Just as one can learn a great deal about a person's sexual palette from his or her sexual fantasies, so it is reasonable to expect that one can learn much about s/m from s/m fantasies. Virtual s/m scenarios are essentially fantasized s/m encounters; their contents, therefore, ought to reflect descriptions of idealized s/m encounters.

What is needed at this point is a replication of these findings with a real-life s/m sample. Such a sample would permit for an examination of the nature of the power exchange and yield a clearer picture of the importance of pain, particularly whether it is used for its symbolic power, for the physical sensations, or both. This is critical to an understanding of s/m because, as has been discussed, some current perspectives focus on the use of pain as the most important element of the encounter, the general conclusion being that one would have to be "sick" to want to inflict or receive pain. Of course, obtaining a real-life sample is typically difficult, as has been discussed previously and indeed was the reason why a virtual sample was used in the first place; however, data

from this population would undeniably be very helpful in examining the generalizability of the current study's results.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

This research was conducted with three goals in mind. The first was to evaluate whether s/m ought to be understood as a behaviour indicative of psychological dysfunction. A second goal was the evaluation of the usefulness of other theories that explain s/m as a function of cultural, historical, and interpersonal context, namely the escape-from-self and radical feminist views. Finally, if none of these theories found support, the third goal was to uncover indications of a more appropriate framework for understanding s/m. Study 1 was undertaken so as to meet the first two objectives.

In Study 1 sadomasochists and non-sadomasochists were administered a battery of measures selected so as to address the hypotheses specific to each of the four current academic theories (psychoanalytic, psychopathology, radical feminist, escape-from-self). Results failed to provide compelling evidence for any of them. Masochists were no more guilty about their sexual proclivities and sadists were no more likely to engage in id-driven behaviours than others, thus failing to support the contentions of the psychoanalytic view. As well, masochists' responses on various indices of mental instability were no higher than those of other groups, and sadists' scores on indices of psychopathy and related measures were no higher than others', contrary to the predictions of the psychopathology stance. Similarly, sadomasochists were no more likely than non-sadomasochists to report anti-feminist beliefs, as expected given the radical feminist perspective. And finally, while masochists were more likely to report being employed versus being unemployed compared to sadists and non-sadomasochists, other predictions of the escape-from-self view were not supported. Specifically, masochists were not more likely to engage in escapist behaviours or to report high internal loci of control to a greater extent than other groups; nor could evidence be found for the contention that most sadists actually want to take the submissive role (on the contrary, self-proclaimed sadists reported strongly pro-sadistic proclivities, while scoring as low as non-sadomasochists on

the Masochistic Proclivities Index). Further, the contention that sadists seek out experiences of interpersonal power because this is what they lack in every-day life was not supported; they did not differ from others in terms of job type, self-esteem, or social potency.

Therefore the first two goals of this study were met; the psychoanalytic, psychopathology, radical feminist, and escape-from-self views were evaluated, the result of which was a failure to find support for any of them. This research could not therefore endorse any of the currently espoused academic view on s/m. Obviously the findings do not rule out the possibility that s/m participants might score higher on measures of psychopathology, sexual guilt, id-driven behaviours, misogyny, escapism, need for control, and/or social impotence that were not assessed. At this point, however, the onus is on those who favour these views to provide empirical support for them.

Given that none of the four theories tested were supported, the third goal, to attempt to uncover a more appropriate framework for understanding s/m, was undertaken in Study 2 and Study 3. S/m participants themselves generally describe s/m as a consensual, ritualized exchange of power (e.g. Califia, 1983; Samois, 1991; Truscott, 1991; Tucker, 1991). This view contends that instead of bondage, humiliation, and pain in particular as being the *raison d'être* of the s/m encounter, power is the commodity of importance, and pain, bondage, and humiliation are simply tools for the creation and maintenance of a power differential. To see whether this view “fits” with observational data, a sample of virtual s/m interactions was obtained in Study 3. Study 2, of course, established a justification for using a virtual s/m group instead of a real-life group by demonstrating that real-life and virtual sadomasochists share highly similar sexual proclivities relative to non-sadomasochists and fantasy role-players. Study 2’s finding that sadomasochists and fantasy role-players do not share sexual proclivities in common also suggests that s/m is more than simply one variant of many different kinds of role-

play (i.e. that s/m is an activity that appeals to people with particular kinds of sexual preferences as opposed to people who enjoy role-playing in other contexts).

The observations of s/m scenes in progress conducted in Study 3 did indeed fit with the notion of s/m as a consensual and ritualized power exchange. Indicators of status such as using direct versus indirect communication, using specific and power-laden terms of address, manipulating on-line anonymity, and even utilizing expressions of caring and concern, all appeared to serve in the creation and maintenance of a context of power inequity. Sadists used direct communication while masochists used indirect communication. Masochists revealed more real-life information about themselves, while sadists' anonymity was compromised much less often. Sadists expressed caring and concern for their partners much more often than did masochists, taking on an almost parental role. All these role-specific behaviours created, enhanced, and maintained a situation such that one partner appeared to have all the power, status, and control, while the other appeared to be powerless, of low status, and without control. Further, this carefully constructed dynamic was found to be the result of both partners' efforts, indicating the mutuality of the experience. As well, both masochists and sadists reported afterwards that they were aware of tacit and/or explicit rules of conduct specific to their current role, indicating the existence of an s/m "schema" for appropriate behaviour. Thus the roles of masochist and sadist carry with them mutually understood standards of conduct that are to be obeyed if the dynamic of a power differential is to be established and maintained.

The implications of these findings for current understandings of s/m are significant. First, the medical model view of s/m was not supported, opening up the possibility that this perspective may well be inappropriate for understanding the vast majority of sadomasochistic activity. Because the psychopathology view of s/m is predicated on the assumption that masochists are lovers of pain, while sadists are lovers

of the infliction of pain, it misses the importance to the s/m encounter of ritual, of role-play, of the manipulation of interpersonal power. One may speculate that s/m is more concerned about the creation of a context amenable to the mutual exploration of power-based erotic fantasies than it is about pain specifically. This context is created in part through careful observation of ritualized role-specific rules as well as rules specific to and set by members of each individual dyad. Pain, according to this view, is simply one of several tools available (some others being bondage, humiliation, behaviours, language) for the creation and maintenance of the power dynamic.

Second, the psychoanalytic view was not supported, which in turn opens the door to the possibility that this perspective may itself be misguided in its conceptualization of s/m. The idea that masochists are guilty about their sexual desires and therefore can only enjoy sex when it is linked with punishment (e.g. Reich, 1933; Reik, 1939; Stoller, 1989) is itself built on the idea that masochists are people who crave pain as an experience unto itself. It appears that masochists may instead be people who seek the experience of powerlessness, in which pain may or may not play a part. According to this view, masochists will endure pain in carefully measured doses and under conditions that safeguard against physical damage (Baumeister, 1989) because it very effectively assists in the creation and maintenance of the power dynamic they seek. Likewise, the idea that sadists are driven by violent and aggressive id impulses is predicated on the assumption that they obtain sexual pleasure from the act of inflicting pain upon some victim. However, sadists may well be individuals who obtain erotic satisfaction not so much from the administration of pain as from the assumption of a powerful role; pain, in this view, is a means by which the desired power imbalance can be sustained.

The radical feminist view that s/m is a reflection of cultural misogyny (e.g. Dougherty, 1987; Hoagland, 1982; Meredith, 1982; Russell, 1982) is not itself inconsistent with a view of s/m as a power exchange. Indeed, these theorists are very

aware of the importance of power to the s/m scenario, and see this as a reflection of the gender-based power inequities inherent to patriarchal culture. Therefore framing s/m in terms of an exchange of power would not itself be damaging to the radical feminist argument. However, the radical feminist view has other problems, the null findings in Study 1 notwithstanding. For example, Califia's (1983) argument that if s/m were the product of patriarchy it would be an accepted mainstream form of sexual expression still goes unanswered.

The escape-from-self view of s/m is also not inconsistent with the power-exchange perspective. Indeed, Baumeister (1988; 1989) refers to pain as being important to s/m for what it symbolizes as well as for its ability to focus awareness on a lower-order sense of self. Pain is symbolic of powerlessness, which, to Baumeister, assists in that individual's escape from higher-level self-awareness. Powerlessness means lack of responsibility for what happens next; it means helplessness at the hands of one's partner. It reduces the individual to a sensing, feeling, vulnerable body. All this fits with the view of s/m as a power-exchange. However, Baumeister's theory did not find support in Study 1, with the exception of the finding that masochists are more likely to be employed than other groups. Other variables included to test his assertion that the desire for masochistic activities is due to a burdensome sense of self (i.e. a self that shoulders a great deal of responsibility and seeks control) did not uncover a difference between masochists and others. Likewise, his explanation of sadists as either would-be masochists or as individuals who lack power in the everyday world did not find support. Thus, although the escape-from-self theory is not contradicted by indications that a power-exchange perspective may be appropriate, Study 1 findings cast doubt on its viability and call for proponents of this view to provide compelling evidence to support it.

Although limitations to the present research have been discussed throughout, they bear repeating at this point. One potential problem is the generalizability of findings.

Because Study 1 solicited s/m participants via the Internet, this may have biased the sample in favour of white, educated, non-strictly-heterosexual, non-religious Western-world males (see Appendix X), meaning that findings may not apply to ethnic minorities, people with less formal education and of lower socio-economic status, people who endorse some religious belief system, and people from non-Western countries. However, this problem is not unique to Internet sampling. It is often the case that, when obtaining survey samples of self-selected groups, it is difficult to ensure that the resulting pool of participants is representative of the population of interest. If the s/m sample had been obtained through some other technique, such as advertising in an s/m magazine or at s/m nightclubs, other problems of potential bias would unavoidably arise. Thus the findings from a single piece of survey research cannot be taken on their own as incontrovertible. This is especially true when the results are primarily null findings. Confidence in the findings can only be established through research endeavours that make use of various different sampling strategies yielding similar results. The same critique is pertinent to Study 3 and its use of virtual sadomasochists. The findings from Study 3 must be taken as provisional until such time as other research efforts, looking at real-life sadomasochists in various contexts (e.g. at-home scenes; night-club scenes) obtain similar results.

This is particularly important regarding speculations as to the role of pain in the s/m encounter. Since Study 3 looked at virtual s/m encounters, and since the virtual medium precludes the use of genuine pain, it is not clear that manipulations of “virtual pain” accurately depict the use of pain in real-life settings. While the fact that virtual and real-life sadomasochists share s/m sexual proclivities in common suggests that the sexual satisfaction obtained in virtual s/m must be similar to that obtained in real life s/m, it is certainly possible that important differences in these modes of experience exist. Perhaps, for example, since pain cannot be physically experienced by virtual participants, its presence is down-played in that medium. However, the same could be said for the role of

pleasure, or indeed, any action at all, since in the virtual realm all actions, verbalizations, non-verbal communications, etc., are essentially descriptions of real-life events and not the real-life events themselves.

In defense of the relevance of the Study 3 findings, it is important to note that these virtual scenes were constructed for and by sadomasochistically-inclined individuals, who enjoyed essentially free reign over how the scene was to proceed and which activities would or would not be included. Given this, one would expect that those activities desired in real-life s/m would be the ones depicted in these interactive fantasies. Indeed, these activities would reasonably be expected to be represented in their ideal form, since the restrictions inherent to real-life interactions (e.g. the physiological limitations of one's own and one's partner's body, or the need for props, equipment, etc.) do not apply. The Internet medium lends itself to the expression of sadomasochistic fantasies in a relatively pure form relative to real-life scenarios, in which social, legal, and physical restrictions might serve to constrain the activity. Therefore one might expect that the behaviours enacted in these virtual scenes would in fact reflect the kinds of activities and themes found in real-life s/m scenarios, and might, indeed, reveal more about the aspects of s/m that participants find compelling than would real-life observations. Given that virtual sadomasochists are people who have essentially the same s/m proclivities as real-life sadomasochists, as established in Study 2, and given that they are engaging in s/m in an environment that permits them freedom to explore their proclivities with relative impunity, their behaviours ought to be the expression of just those s/m activities that sadomasochists most desire and enjoy. After all, why would these individuals create an s/m encounter that did not contain the elements that make s/m appealing?

The current findings indicate that sadomasochism is, like any interpersonal social behaviour, a complex phenomenon. While sadomasochists did not differ from non-

sadomasochists on measures of psychopathology, sexual guilt, id-driven behaviours, anti-feminist beliefs, escapism, control, or interpersonal potency, those differences that were found may well be illuminating. Sadomasochists were found to differ from non-sadomasochists in that they reported having had more sex partners and a greater likelihood of having explored non-heterosexual experiences. Findings also suggested that they were more likely to be sexually active relative to non-sadomasochists. One might speculate, on the basis of these findings, that sadomasochists may be individuals for whom sex and sexuality plays a relatively important role in life; consequently, they may be more sexually adventurous and sophisticated, with a more developed sexual "palette". Perhaps, then, s/m is an activity engaged in by people who are sexually experienced and open to sexually diverse encounters. Given that a conceptualization of s/m as involving a consensual manipulation of power fits with the observations of s/m encounters collected from the Internet, perhaps s/m ought to be seen as a game explored by the sexually sophisticated and adventurous that involves the manipulation of power for erotic purposes. Further research is needed to determine whether these preliminary impressions are in fact accurate. In particular, research with samples collected from sources other than the Internet, and observations of s/m activity in real-life situations would be helpful.

In conclusion, the seeming paradox of s/m -- that pain can be pleasurable, that satisfying intimate encounters can involve activities that appear to be, on the face of it, cruel and tortuous -- has spawned a number of theories over the last century seeking to make sense of it. S/m participants themselves, however, caution that one ought not to rush to judgment. Look more closely, they say, and s/m reveals itself as amenable to more than one level of interpretation; what appears to be true on the surface may in fact be masking an entirely different dynamic. Researchers into this phenomenon might do well to take this advice to heart.

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Table 1

Cluster Analysis Dendograms - Complete, Single, and Average Linkage

Dendrogram using Complete Linkage

Dendrogram using Single Linkage

Dendrogram using Average Linkage (Between Groups)

Table 2Cluster Analysis:Plots of Fusion Coefficients by Number of Clusters for Each Linkage Method

Table 3

Breakdown of Clusters By Group Membership (Complete Linkage)**Cluster 1 (n=20)**

<u>Group</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of cluster</u>
Real-Life Sadists 0	0.0	
Real-Life Masochists	0	0.0
Real-Life Switchers	0	0.0
Virtual Sadists	0	0.0
Virtual Masochists	0	0.0
Virtual Switchers 0	0.0	
Role-Players	10	50.0
Internet Comparison	10	50.0

Cluster 2 (n=6)

<u>Group</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of cluster</u>
Real-Life Sadists	0	0.0
Real-Life Masochists	3	50.0
Real-Life Switchers	0	0.0
Virtual Sadists	0	0.0
Virtual Masochists	2	33.0
Virtual Switchers	1	17.0
Role-Players	0	0.0
Internet Comparison	0	0.0

Cluster 3 (n=4)

<u>Group</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of cluster</u>
Real-Life Sadists	2	50.0
Real-Life Masochists	0	0.0
Real-Life Switchers	0	0.0
Virtual Sadists	2	50.0
Virtual Masochists	0	0.0
Virtual Switchers	0	0.0
Role-Players	0	0.0
Internet Comparison	0	0.0

Cluster 4 (n=3)

<u>Group</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of cluster</u>
Real-Life Sadists	0	0.0
Real-Life Masochists	1	33.0
Real-Life Switchers	0	0.0
Virtual Sadists	0	0.0
Virtual Masochists	2	67.0
Virtual Switchers	0	0.0
Role-Players	0	0.0
Internet Comparison	0	0.0

Cluster 5 (n=7)

<u>Group</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>% of cluster</u>
Real-Life Sadists	1	14.0
Real-Life Masochists	0	0.0
Real-Life Switchers	3	43.0
Virtual Sadists	1	14.0
Virtual Masochists	0	0.0
Virtual Switchers	2	29.0
Role-Players	0	0.0
Internet Comparison	0	0.0

Table 4

Complete Linkage Cluster Analysis: Means and Standard Deviations for each Cluster

<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Group Membership</u>	<u>Dominant Proclivities</u>	<u>Submissive Proclivities</u>
1.	Internet comp. gp (10) Role-Players (10)	$\underline{M} = -0.82$ $\underline{SD} = 0.15$	$\underline{M} = -0.80$ $\underline{SD} = 0.15$
2.	Real-life s/m (mas.) (3) Virtual s/m (mas.) (2) Virtual s/m (switch) (1)	$\underline{M} = 0.32$ $\underline{SD} = 0.98$	$\underline{M} = 1.72$ $\underline{SD} = 0.42$
3.	Real-life s/m (sadist) (2) Virtual s/m (sadist) (2)	$\underline{M} = 1.92$ $\underline{SD} = 0.17$	$\underline{M} = -0.42$ $\underline{SD} = 0.52$
4.	Real-life s/m (mas.) (1) Virtual s/m (mas.) (2)	$\underline{M} = -0.87$ $\underline{SD} = 1.02$	$\underline{M} = 1.53$ $\underline{SD} = 0.32$
5.	Real-life s/m (sadist) (1) Real-life s/m (switch) (3) Virtual s/m (sadist) (1) Virtual s/m (switch) (2)	$\underline{M} = 1.83$ $\underline{SD} = 1.77$	$\underline{M} = 1.21$ $\underline{SD} = 1.42$

Table 5

Reliability Check Cluster Analysis Dendograms - Complete, Single, and Average Linkage

Dendrogram using Complete Linkage

Dendrogram using Average Linkage (Between Groups)

Dendrogram using Single Linkage

Table 6

Reliability Check: Plots of Fusion Coefficients by Number of Clusters for Each Linkage Method

Plot of Fusion Coeff. by # Clusters. Reliability Check: Complete Linkage

Plot of Fusion Coeff. by # Clusters, Reliability Check: Single Linkage

Plot of Fusion Coeff. by # Clusters, Reliability Check: Average Linkage

Table 7

Inter-Rater Reliabilities on Coding Categories

<u>Item</u>	<u>phi</u>	<u>% Agreement</u>
indicators of direct communication	.87	93%
indicators of indirect communication	.67	87%
provision of real-life personal information	1.00	100%
expressions of concern, caring for partner	1.00	100%
indicators of status differential	.85	91%

Appendix A

Introductory Statement

Hello,

My colleague Aida Hadziomerovic and I (Patricia Cross) are conducting research towards graduate degrees in psychology at Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. We are studying bondage/discipline/sadomasochism and related "exotic" sexual practices. What follows are a series of questionnaires aimed at addressing the validity of several theories regarding sexual behaviours such as these. Some of the questions are explicitly sexual in nature; others ask about various different experiences, attitudes, and personality traits.

If you would like to participate, the study requires people who are "into" bondage and/or discipline and/or sadomasochism, AS WELL AS people who are NOT "into" this kind of sexuality. The questionnaire takes about 2 hours to complete, can be completed over the computer, and then e-mailed back to us at the following address:

pcross@ccs.carleton.ca

Or, if you down-load the questionnaires and then print them up, they can be mailed back to at:

Patricia Cross or Aida Hadziomerovic
Psychology Department
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario Canada K1S 5B6

Let us stress that your responses are completely confidential and will only be used for research purposes by Aida and myself. Your name, e-mail address, and any other identifying information will be kept in strictest confidence and will NOT be shared with anyone else. Carleton University's Psychology Department has a strict and binding code of ethics which protect your rights as a research participant and which requires that confidentiality be protected and maintained at all times.

If you would prefer a hard copy of these questionnaires simply e-mail me at the above address with your address, and a copy will be sent to you. Also, in order to expand our sample of respondents, it is our hope that you will pass information about this study on to friends and other interested acquaintances. They can e-mail me or Aida requesting a questionnaire package which can be either e-mailed or sent via regular mail to them.

NOTE: You must be 18 years or older to participate in this study.

Please remember that this series of questionnaires will take you about 2 hours to complete. We realize this is a large investment of your time and energy. In return we will share the results of our research with you and provide you with feedback on your individual responses if you are interested.

Thank you in advance for your careful attention to the questions that follow.

Sincerely,

Patricia A. Cross, M.A. (pcross@ccs.carleton.ca)
Aida Hadziomerovic (ahadziom@ccs.carleton.ca)

Appendix B

Informed Consent

The purpose of the informed consent is to ensure that you understand the purpose of the study and the nature of your involvement. The informed consent is intended to provide sufficient information such that you have the opportunity to determine whether you wish to participate in the study.

Research Title: **Exotic Sexual Practices**

Research Personnel: The following people are involved in this research project and may be contacted at any time at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Patricia Cross (Primary Investigator, 613-520-2600 ext. 2683,
e-mail pcross@ccs.carleton.ca)

Aida Hadziomerovic (Primary Investigator, 613-520-2600 ext.
2683, e-mail ahadziom@ccs.carleton.ca)

Dr. K Matheson (Faculty Advisor, 613-520-2600 ext. 7513)

Dr. L. Paquet (Chair, Department of Psychology Ethics
Committee, 613-520-2600 ext. 7563)

Dr. W. Jones (Chair, Department of Psychology, 613-520-2600
ext.2684)

Purpose and Task Requirements: The purpose of the present study is to examine the personality and background characteristics of men and women who participate in exotic sexual behaviours. You will be asked to fill out questionnaires regarding aspects of your sexual life, your childhood experiences, facets of your personality, substance use, sexual values and attitudes, and additional background characteristics.

Potential Risk/Discomfort: This study may cause some anxiety because it deals with a topic of a sexual nature. If you feel uncomfortable at any time please do not feel obligated to complete the questionnaires.

Anonymity/Confidentiality: The data collected in this study are kept anonymous and confidential.

Right to Withdraw: Although your participation in this study is greatly appreciated, nevertheless it is entirely voluntary, and you have the right not to answer any questions or to withdraw at any time.

I have read the above description of the study concerning "exotic" sexual practices. The data in the study will be used in research publications or for teaching purposes. My name or pseudonym indicates that I agree to participate in the study, and this in no way constitutes a waiver of my rights.

Name or Pseudonym: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C

Debriefing

In this study, we are investigating various different theories that try and explain exotic sexual behaviours like sadomasochism, dominance and submission, and bondage. The questionnaires you filled out were aimed at assessing how well these theories really explain non-mainstream sexual behaviours.

It is the opinion of the researchers that participation in unusual sexual behaviours such as these is NOT related to psychopathology, psychopathy, or otherwise deviant personality disorders. Past studies have failed to access adequate samples in order to properly assess these theories. It is our hope that research through the Internet will provide a larger, more diverse sample, which will permit us to better evaluate these theories, and perhaps suggest new ways of looking at human sexuality in all its diversity.

If you have any ethical concerns regarding this research, please contact any or all of the following people:

Patricia Cross (Primary Investigator, 613-520-2600 ext. 2683,
e-mail pcross@ccs.carleton.ca)

Aida Hadziomerovic (Primary Investigator, 613-520-2600 ext.
2683, e-mail ahadziom@ccs.carleton.ca)

Dr. K Matheson (Faculty Advisor, 613-520-2600 ext. 7513)

Dr. L. Paquet (Chair, Department of Psychology
Ethics Committee, 613-520-2600 ext. 7563)

Dr. W. Jones (Chair, Department of Psychology,
613-520-2600 ext. 2684)

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix D

Internet News Groups to Which the Survey Package was Posted

Set 1: to solicit the sadomasochism sample

alt.personals.bondage
 alt.sex.voyeurism
 alt.sex.exhibitionism
 alt.sex.intergen
 alt.sex.fetish.scat
 alt.sex.spanking
 alt.sex.fetish.diapers
 alt.personals.spanking
 alt.sex.fetish.tickling
 alt.sex.wizards
 alt.sex.trans
 alt.personals.fetish
 alt.personals.spanking.punishment
 alt.sex.anal
 alt.sex.fetish.panties
 alt.sex.necrophilia
 alt.magazines.pornographic
 alt.homosexual
 alt.sex
 alt.sex.bondage
 alt.sex.fetish.feet
 alt.sex.moiss
 alt.sex.stories.d
 aus.sex
 alt.sex.wanted
 alt.sex.watersports
 alt.sex.strip-clubs
 alt.sex.fetish.fashion
 alt.sex.fetish.hair
 alt.sex.fat
 alt.sex.services
 alt.sex.homosexual
 alt.sex.enemas
 alt.sex.boredom
 alt.sex.fetish.fa
 alt.sex.cthulhu
 alt.sex.magazines
 alt.sex.femdom
 alt.sex.breast
 alt.sex.plushies
 alt.sex.erotica.marketplace
 alt.sex.fetish.amputee
 alt.sex.fetish.sportswear
 alt.sex.fetish.trent-reznor
 alt.magick.sex
 alt.sex.voxmeet
 alt.sex.bears
 alt.sex.sounds
 alt.sex.safe
 alt.sex.fetish.smoking

alt.sex.swingers
alt.sex.fetish.size
alt.sex.fetish.waifs
alt.sex.fetish.wrestling
alt.sex.fetish.robots
alt.sex.guns
alt.mostss.bisexual
alt.sex.brothels
alt.sex.fetish.heavy
alt.sex.sm.fig
alt.sex.girl.watchers
alt.sex.man.watchers
alt.sex.oral
alt.sex.super-size
de.talk.sex
alt.sex.college
alt.sex.grownups

Set 2: to solicit volunteers for the comparison (non-s/m) group:

can.org.misc
alt.romance.mature.adult
rec.gambling.misc
misc.fitness.misc
humanities.misc
misc.transport.rail.europe
misc.transport.rail.americas
misc.transport.rail.australia-nz
misc.transport.rail.misc
misc.business.consulting
misc.industry.quality
soc.history.what-if
rec.food.drink.beer
rec.food.drink.tea
misc.education.adult
misc.creativity
soc.history.war.misc
soc.org.service-clubs.misc
rec.travel.misc
soc.education.teachers
misc.education.medical
rec.photo.misc
misc.transport.urban-transit
alt.agriculture.misc
alt.manufacturing.misc
misc.invest.funds
misc.immigration.misc
soc.genealogy.misc
alt.support.single-parents
alt.support-parenting
misc.entrepreneurs.misc
misc.business.facilitators
sci.physics
sci.misc
sci.research
soc.culture.misc
soc.misc
soc.singles

talk.philosophy.misc
talk.politics.misc
talk.religion.misc
alt.technology.misc
misc.invest.canada
misc.invest.funds
misc.invest.stocks
rec.autos.misc
comp.home.misc
alt.home.economics
alt.misc
alt.restaurants
rec.food.drink
rec.food.restaurants
sci.philosophy.meta
alt.politics.british
alt.politics.clinton
alt.politics.correct
alt.politics.economics
alt.politics.libertarian
alt.politics.usa.misc
alt.politics.radical-left
alt.social.religion

Appendix E

Sexual Discomfort Scale (Kaplan & Harder, 1991)

Below you will find a series of statements about your experience of your sexuality. Please respond to each statement by placing an "X" by the response which best describes your experience. As you respond to the statements, please give the response which characterizes your RECENT experience of your sexuality IN GENERAL. If you are not currently in a relationship, please refer to the most recent relationships you have had when responding to the items below. Please answer each statement, even if you are somewhat unsure of your exact response. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. Take your time and please make sure to answer each question as accurately as possible.

EXAMPLE: i. When I am angry I take it out on those closest to me.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- X iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

=====

1. I know when I am attracted to someone sexually.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

2. My partner/s seem to have a stronger interest in sex than I do.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

3. I find it more pleasurable to have sex when I am using drugs or alcohol.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

4. When I am alone I have no desire for sex.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

5. I find it difficult to express my sexual desire for another person.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
6. Right before a sexual experience with a partner, I become anxious.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
7. During sex I ask for what I want.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
8. I enjoy having sexual fantasies when I am with a partner.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
9. During sex I am uncomfortable asking for what I want.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
10. When I masturbate, I enjoy it.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
11. When I am alone I don't feel comfortable fantasizing freely about sex.
 - i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently

12. I enjoy the feeling of being attracted to someone sexually.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

13. During sex with a partner I feel or become numb.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

14. I wish I could enjoy sexual arousal more than I do when I am alone.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

15. It's uncomfortable to me to have sexual fantasies when I am with a partner.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

16. During sex I feel free to ask for what I want.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

17. At this point in my life, I am fully interested in having a sexual experience.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

18. During sex with a partner, I feel as though something is being done TO me, not WITH me.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

19. I am uncomfortable with the feeling of being sexually aroused when I am alone.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
20. I find it easier to have sex when I use drugs or alcohol first.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
21. Wanting sex is an uncomfortable feeling for me.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
22. I enjoy the feeling of wanting to be touched sexually.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
23. During or after sex I become anxious.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
24. I enjoy how my body feels and responds sexually when I am alone.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently
25. During sex with a partner, my body's responses are less predictable than I would like.
- i) never
 - ii) rarely
 - iii) sometimes
 - iv) often
 - v) very frequently

26. During sex I have a hard time becoming as aroused as I would like.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

27. I feel entitled to experience pleasure fully during sex.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

28. Ordinarily, I feel free to initiate sexual activity with a partner.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

29. I feel that if I let go, I'll be overwhelmed by my own sexual desire.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

30. I am uncomfortable being sexually attracted to someone.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

31. Once a sexual encounter has begun, I feel trapped and unable to say no, or to stop the sex from going further.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

32. During sex I enjoy letting go and experiencing my body's sensations.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

33. I enjoy being sexually aroused when I am with a partner.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

34. I get high or drink before I have sex.

- i) never
- ii) rarely
- iii) sometimes
- iv) often
- v) very frequently

Appendix F

Sexual Behaviours Inventory

For the following sexual behaviours, please indicate in column (A) how often you engage in these behaviours on a scale from 0 (Never) to 6 (Frequently).

SCALE FOR COLUMN A:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
never		sometimes			very frequently	

Those behaviours you have not engaged in but would like to try, please mark with an "X" in column (B).

Please mark with an "X" in column (C) those behaviours which you think are morally wrong.

You may find that you feel some behaviours you have engaged in or would like to engage in are morally wrong. In these cases, please mark an "X" in column (C) as well as columns (A) and/or (B).

EXAMPLE:

	(A) frequency (0 to 6)	(B) would like to try	(C) morally wrong
--	------------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------

genital intercourse 6 X

This response indicates that the individual has genital intercourse very frequently, and also hold the view that genital intercourse is morally wrong.

=====

Please note that all acts are assumed to be consensual, that is, with all partner's permission, throughout this questionnaire.

	(A) frequency (0 to 6)	(B) would like to try	(C) morally wrong
--	------------------------------	-----------------------------	----------------------

1. french or deep kissing

2. petted above the waist,
clothed

3. petted above the waist,
unclothed

4. petted below the waist,
clothed	_____	_____	_____
5. petted below the waist,
unclothed	_____	_____	_____
6. genital intercourse	_____	_____	_____
7. oral sex (receiving)	_____	_____	_____
8. oral sex (giving)	_____	_____	_____
9. self-masturbation	_____	_____	_____
10. mutually masturbate
with a partner	_____	_____	_____
11. anal sex (being
penetrated)	_____	_____	_____
12. anal sex (penetrating
your partner)	_____	_____	_____
13. abrasion (e.g., use of
rough implements to abrade
or scratch parts of your
partner's body)	_____	_____	_____
14. abrasion (e.g., rough
implements used to abrade
your body)	_____	_____	_____
15. asphyxiation,
receiving (i.e., temporary restriction
of breathing during sexual activity)	_____	_____	_____
16. asphyxiation, giving
(i.e., restricting your
partner's breathing
during sexual activity)	_____	_____	_____
17. receiving a
beating from your partner	_____	_____	_____
18. giving your partner a
beating	_____	_____	_____
19. being blindfolded	_____	_____	_____
20. blindfolding your
partner	_____	_____	_____

21. being gagged (so you cannot speak)	_____	_____	_____
22. gagging your partner (so he/she cannot speak)	_____	_____	_____
23. being bitten	_____	_____	_____
24. biting your partner	_____	_____	_____
25. for women, having your breasts bound	_____	_____	_____
26. if your partner is female, binding her breasts	_____	_____	_____
27. for men, having your genitals bound	_____	_____	_____
28. if your partner is male, binding his genitals	_____	_____	_____
29. being branded (leaving a permanent mark on the flesh)	_____	_____	_____
30. branding your partner (burning the flesh so a permanent mark remains)	_____	_____	_____
31. having your wrists and/or ankles bound	_____	_____	_____
32. binding partner's wrists and/or ankles	_____	_____	_____
33. being lightly whipped (skin not broken or permanently marked)	_____	_____	_____
34. lightly whipping your partner (not breaking or permanently marking skin)	_____	_____	_____
35. being heavily whipped (skin broken and/or scarred)	_____	_____	_____
36. heavily whipping your partner (breaking and/or scarring skin)	_____	_____	_____
37. being urinated on	_____	_____	_____

38. urinating on your partner	_____	_____	_____
39. being defecated on	_____	_____	_____
40. defecating on your partner	_____	_____	_____
41. being caned on the buttocks	_____	_____	_____
42. caning your partner on the buttocks	_____	_____	_____
43. being catheterized (i.e., having a tube inserted into the urinary tract)	_____	_____	_____
44. catheterizing your partner (i.e., inserting a tube into his/her urinary tract)	_____	_____	_____
45. having your skin cut	_____	_____	_____
46. cutting your partner's skin	_____	_____	_____
47. wearing a butt-plug (anal dildo)	_____	_____	_____
48. making your partner wear a butt-plug (anal dildo)	_____	_____	_____
49. using such objects as a dildo or a vibrator on yourself	_____	_____	_____
50. using such objects as a dildo or a vibrator on your partner	_____	_____	_____
51. having your partner use such objects as a dildo or a vibrator on you	_____	_____	_____
52. receiving electric shocks	_____	_____	_____
53. giving electric shocks	_____	_____	_____
54. being given an enema	_____	_____	_____
55. giving your partner an enema	_____	_____	_____

56. having your partner pretend to rape you	_____	_____	_____
57. pretending to rape your partner	_____	_____	_____
58. having your partner penetrate your anus with his/her fist	_____	_____	_____
59. penetrating your partner's anus with your fist	_____	_____	_____
60. having hot wax dripped onto you	_____	_____	_____
61. dripping hot wax on your partner	_____	_____	_____
62. being verbally humiliated	_____	_____	_____
63. verbally humiliating your partner	_____	_____	_____
64. having one's partner wear nipple clamps	_____	_____	_____
65. being made to wear nipple clamps	_____	_____	_____
66. being spanked	_____	_____	_____
67. spanking your partner	_____	_____	_____
68. having parts of your body pierced	_____	_____	_____
69. piercing some part of your partner's body	_____	_____	_____
70. being treated as an animal	_____	_____	_____
71. treating your partner like an animal	_____	_____	_____
72. being suspended	_____	_____	_____
73. suspending your partner	_____	_____	_____

74. being tickled	_____	_____	_____
75. tickling your partner	_____	_____	_____
76. being paddled	_____	_____	_____
77. paddling your partner	_____	_____	_____
78. fantasized about sex	_____	_____	_____
79. fantasized during sexual
intercourse	_____	_____	_____

Appendix G

Five Categories of Sexual Behaviour Measured in the Sex Behaviours Inventory

1. Dominant mild-to-moderate (items 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 42, 48, 57, 61, 63, 67, 71):

- blindfolding one's partner
- gagging one's partner
- biting one's partner
- if the partner is female, binding her breasts
- if the partner is male, binding his genitals
- tying the partners wrists and/or ankles
- administering a light whipping (skin unbroken, no scarring) to one's partner
- having one's partner wear a butt-plug (anal dildo)
- caning one's partner
- paddling one's partner
- spanking one's partner
- applying hot wax to one's partner's skin
- verbally humiliating one's partner
- engaging in a "scene" where one pretends to rape one's partner
- having one's partner wear nipple clamps (usually metal, sometimes wooden, clothes- pin-like devices designed to pinch the nipples)
- treating one's partner like an animal (e.g. riding his/her back; requiring him/her to be on all-fours; feeding him/her from dog bowls)

2. Submissive mild-to-moderate (items 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 31, 33, 41, 47, 56, 60, 62, 65, 66, 70, 76):

- being blindfolded
- being gagged
- being bitten
- if female, having one's breasts bound
- if male, having one's genitals bound
- having one's wrists and/or ankles tied
- being lightly whipped (no scarring, skin unbroken)
- being made to wear a butt-plug (anal dildo)
- having hot wax applied to one's skin
- being spanked
- being paddled
- being caned
- being verbally humiliated
- being made to wear nipple clamps (usually metal, sometimes wooden, clothes-pin-like devices designed to pinch the nipples)
- receiving electric shocks (not dangerous)
- engaging in a scene where one is "pretend-raped"
- being treated like an animal

3. Dominant Extreme (items 13, 16, 18, 30, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 53, 55, 59, 69, 73):

- abrading one's partner's skin
- partially-asphyxiating one's partner
- administering a beating which results in marks and/or bruises
- branding one's partner
- administering a heavy whipping (where the skin is broken and/or scarred)

- urinating on one's partner
- defecating on one's partner
- catheterizing one's partner
- cutting one's partner's skin
- administering electric shock
- inserting one's fist into the partner's anus ("fisting")
- piercing some part of the partner's anatomy
- suspending one's partner either partially or totally
- giving one's partner an enema

4. Submissive Extreme (items 14, 15, 17, 29, 35, 37, 39, 43, 45, 52, 54, 58, 68, 72):

- having one's skin abraded by one's partner
- being partially asphyxiated
- being beaten such that marks and/or bruises are left
- being branded
- receiving a heavy whipping (skin is broken and/or skin is scarred)
- being urinated on
- being defecated on
- being catheterized
- having one's skin cut
- receiving electric shock
- having anus penetrated with partner's fist
- having some part of anatomy pierced by partner
- being partially or totally suspended by partner
- being given an enema

5. Non-s/m, vanilla (items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 49, 50, 51, 74, 75, 78, 79):

- deep kissing

- caresses above the waist, clothed
- caresses below the waist, clothed
- caresses above the waist, unclothed
- caresses below the waist, unclothed
- genital intercourse
- anal penetration of one's partner
- being anally penetrated
- receiving oral sex
- performing oral sex
- masturbation
- mutual masturbation with partner
- being tickled
- tickling one's partner
- using a dildo or vibrator on oneself
- using a dildo or vibrator on one's partner
- having one's partner use a dildo on oneself
- fantasizing about sex
- fantasizing about sex during sex

Appendix H

Social Personality Inventory (Hill & Wong, 1996)

This questionnaire examines peoples attitudes about themselves and others. There is no correct answer. Simply decide the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statement. Do not spend too much time thinking about your answer, just go with your first choice. Rate your answer from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree).

1. Planning things ahead of time takes away from the excitement.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

2. If someone pushes me, I'll push right back.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

3. I can get people to do whatever I want without them finding out.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

4. Sometimes it seems trouble finds me.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

5. I can usually bend people to my will.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

6. I can get whatever I want, when I want it.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

7. No matter how hard I try, I get into trouble.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

8. I can get most people to eat out of my hand.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

9. I'd rather tell a lie than explain myself to others.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

10. I like to think things through before I do anything.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

11. Even though I get into trouble, I keep doing the same things.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

12. Most people are followers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

13. It's ok to use someone to get what you want.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

14. Eventually people agree with me when I argue.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

15. Sometimes you have to hurt other people's feelings.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

16. Step-by-step planning makes things easier.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

17. If I'm not interested in something I think it's a waste of time.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

18. I'm a leader not a follower.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

19. Everybody is out for themselves.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

20. I can ignore tense situations.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

21. Sometimes it seems people are asking to be used.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

22. When I have a lot of things to do I tend to do something exciting.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

23. Stretching the truth doesn't really hurt anybody.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

24. Many people like to be told what to do.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

25. People get hurt because of their own stupidity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

26. People complain about their lives too much.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

27. It's all right to lie sometimes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

28. If you are strong you don't cry.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

29. I tend to be the life-of-the-party.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

30. If someone is being nice, they probably want something.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

31. People are easy to convince.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

32. I view myself as a rebel.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

33. Only saints tell the truth all the time.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

34. I can be very convincing in an argument.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

35. I don't feel obligated to anyone.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

36. I always come out on top.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

37. I like to have things planned out.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

38. People are easy to control.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

39. Everybody stretches the truth sometimes.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

40. Most people will do what you want if you treat them right.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

41. It's ok to lie to someone to get what you want.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

42. In arguments, I'm always right.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

43. Most people would rather tell a lie than explain themselves.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

44. I'm not afraid of an argument.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

45. It's all right to lie as long as nobody gets hurt.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

46. I'd rather have fun than do something serious.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
strongly						strongly
disagree						agree

Appendix I

Differential Personality Questionnaire (Subscales: Stress, Social Closeness, Social Potency, Danger-Seeking, Authoritarianism) (Tellegen, 1976)

In this section, you will find a series of statements a person might use to describe her/his attitudes, opinions, interests, and other characteristics. Each statement is followed by 2 choices, lettered (a) and (b). Read the statement and decide which choice best describes you. Then put an "X" in front of either the (a) option or the (b) option.

Please answer EVERY STATEMENT, even if you are not completely sure of the answer.

Read each statement carefully, but DON'T spend too much time deciding on the answer.

EXAMPLE:

- i. Of the two options, I generally prefer
 - a) chocolate chip cookies
 - X b) potato chips

=====

1. When I work on a committee, I like to take charge of things.
 - a) true
 - b) false
2. I frequently find myself worrying about something.
 - a) true
 - b) false
3. I usually prefer to spend my leisure time with friends rather than alone.
 - a) true
 - b) false
4. The surest way to a peaceful world is to improve people's morals.
 - a) true
 - b) false
5. Of the following 2 situations I would like LEAST:
 - a) running a steam presser in a laundry for a week
 - b) being caught in a blizzard
6. My feelings are hurt rather easily.
 - a) true
 - b) false
7. I don't like having to tell people what to do.
 - a) true
 - b) false
8. I could be happy living all alone in a cabin in the woods or mountains.
 - a) true
 - b) false

9. I am always disgusted with the law when a criminal is freed through the arguments of a smart lawyer.

- a) true
- b) false

10. Of the following 2 situations I would like LEAST:

- a) being in a bank when suddenly three masked men with guns come in and make everyone raise their hands
- b) sitting through a two-hour concert of bad music

11. I like to be in the spotlight.

- a) true
- b) false

12. I get "rattled" easily at critical moments.

- a) true
- b) false

13. As young people grow up they ought to try to carry out some of their rebellious ideas instead of just settling down.

- a) true
- b) false

14. When I am unhappy about something,

- a) I tend to seek the company of a friend
- b) I prefer to be alone

15. It might be enjoyable and exciting to experience an earthquake.

- a) true
- b) false

16. I perform in public whenever I have the opportunity.

- a) true
- b) false

17. I often become irritated over little annoyances.

- a) true
- b) false

18. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:

- a) attempting to beat a railroad train at a crossing
- b) spraining my ankle so that I can't walk on it

19. I'd be extremely embarrassed to tell people I'd spent my vacation at a nudist camp.

- a) true
- b) false

20. I prefer not to "open up" too much, not even to friends.

- a) true
- b) false

21. I usually prefer to let someone else take the lead on social occasions.
a) true
b) false
22. I suffer from nervousness.
a) true
b) false
23. I am very religious (more than most people).
a) true
b) false
24. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) standing in line for something
b) getting an electric shock as part of a medical experiment
25. I often monopolize a conversation.
a) true
b) false
26. I am a warm person rather than cool and detached.
a) true
b) false
27. What this country needs most are higher standards of conduct.
a) true
b) false
28. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) balancing along the top rail of a picket fence
b) walking up four flights of stairs
29. I am (or could be) a very effective sales person.
a) true
b) false
30. When I want to, I can usually put fears and worries out of my mind.
a) true
b) false
31. Of the following two statements I agree more with:
a) most parents today let their children get away with too much
b) most parents today do a pretty good job of raising their children
32. I am usually happier when I am alone.
a) true
b) false
33. I might enjoy riding to the top of an unfinished skyscraper in an open elevator.
a) true
b) false

34. I would not enjoy being a politician.
a) true
b) false
35. I often find it difficult to sleep at night.
a) true
b) false
36. I prefer working with people to working with things.
a) true
b) false
37. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) walking a mile when it's 15 degrees below zero
b) being near when a volcano erupts
38. I would prefer to see:
a) stricter observance of religious days
b) greater freedom in regard to divorce
39. I am quite effective at talking people into things.
a) true
b) false
40. My mood goes up and down.
a) true
b) false
41. I would not enjoy fighting a forest fire.
a) true
b) false
42. I have few or no close friends.
a) true
b) false
43. Most censorship of books and movies is a violation of free speech and should be abolished.
a) true
b) false
44. I have a natural talent for influencing people.
a) true
b) false
45. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) having to walk around all day on a blistered foot
b) sleeping out on a camping trip in an area where there are rattlesnakes
46. I sometimes feel "just miserable" for no good reason.
a) true
b) false

47. I consider it very important to have a good reputation in my community.
a) true
b) false
48. I am more of a "loner" than most people.
a) true
b) false
49. I am not interested in obtaining positions of leadership.
a) true
b) false
50. I often have a feeling of unworthiness.
a) true
b) false
51. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) having a pilot announce that the plane has engine trouble and he/she may have to make an emergency landing
b) working a week in the fields digging potatoes
52. I very much dislike it when someone breaks accepted rules of good conduct.
a) true
b) false
53. It is very important to me that some people are concerned about me.
a) true
b) false
54. It would be fun to explore an old deserted house at night.
a) true
b) false
55. People consider me forceful.
a) true
b) false
56. Occasionally I have strong emotional moods - anxiety, anger, gaiety, etc. - that seem to arise without much real cause.
a) true
b) false
57. People who think primarily of their own happiness are very selfish.
a) true
b) false
58. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) being out on a sailboat during a great storm at sea
b) having to stay home every night for two weeks with a sick relative
59. I can often go a whole morning without wanting to speak to anyone.
a) true
b) false

60. I am easily startled by things that happen unexpectedly.
a) true
b) false
61. With a little effort, I can "wrap most people around my little finger".
a) true
b) false
62. The church has outgrown its usefulness and should be radically reformed or done away with.
a) true
b) false
63. I would enjoy trying to cross the ocean in a small but seaworthy sailboat.
a) true
b) false
64. I do not like to be the center of attention on a social occasion.
a) true
b) false
65. For me one of the most satisfying experiences is the warm feeling of being in a group of good friends.
a) true
b) false
66. I am often nervous for no reason.
a) true
b) false
67. My parents' ideas of right and wrong have always proved to be best.
a) true
b) false
68. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) riding a long stretch of rapids in a canoe
b) waiting for someone who's late
69. I usually do not like to be a "follower".
a) true
b) false
70. I often feel fed-up.
a) true
b) false
71. I think people should observe moral laws more strictly than they do.
a) true
b) false
72. I prefer to work alone.
a) true
b) false

73. It might be fun to learn to walk on a tightrope.
a) true
b) false
74. When I am with someone else, I do most of the decision-making.
a) true
b) false
75. I sometimes get in a state of tension and turmoil as I think of the day's happenings.
a) true
b) false
76. I am disgusted by foul language.
a) true
b) false
77. I would rather have a house
a) in a friendly suburb
b) alone in a deep woods
78. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) being at the circus when two lions suddenly get loose in the ring
b) bringing my whole family to the circus and then not being able to get in because a clerk sold me tickets for the wrong night
79. Of the following two statements, I agree more with:
a) if a boy 6 or 7 years old lies or steals, he should be punished severely
b) lying and stealing aren't very serious in boys aged 6 or 7
80. I do not like to organize other people's activities.
a) true
b) false
81. I am often troubled by feelings of guilt.
a) true
b) false
82. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) having to drive alone for a day and a half without stopping for sleep because I stayed on my vacation too long
b) jumping from a third-storey window into a fireman's net
83. If I have a problem, I like to work it out alone.
a) true
b) false
84. I am a better talker than a listener.
a) true
b) false
85. I would describe myself as a tense person.
a) true
b) false

86. No decent person would ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
a) true
b) false
87. I would not like to try skydiving.
a) true
b) false
88. I often take it upon myself to liven up a dull party.
a) true
b) false
89. It is easy for me to feel affection for a person.
a) true
b) false
90. Of the following two statements I agree more with:
a) parents should ignore it when small children use naughty words
b) parents should punish small children who use naughty words
91. Minor setbacks occasionally irritate me too much.
a) true
b) false
92. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) finding out my car was stolen when I don't have theft insurance
b) riding a runaway horse
93. On social occasions I usually allow others to dominate the conversation.
a) true
b) false
94. I always make it a point when deciding anything to refer to the basic rules of right and wrong.
a) true
b) false
95. I am rather aloof and maintain distance between myself and others.
a) true
b) false
96. I get over a humiliating experience very quickly.
a) true
b) false
97. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) being chosen as the "target" for a knife-throwing act
b) being sick to my stomach for 24 hours
98. It is a pretty callous (unfeeling) person who does not feel love and gratitude toward her/his parents.
a) true
b) false

99. I am quite good at convincing others to see things my way.
a) true
b) false
100. I have often lost sleep over my worries.
a) true
b) false
101. I am happiest when I see people most of the time.
a) true
b) false
102. I like (or would like) to dive off a high board.
a) true
b) false
103. Of the following two statements I agree more with:
a) no child should be permitted to strike her/his mother
b) a mother should not be harsh with a small child who strikes her
104. I would enjoy being a powerful executive or politician.
a) true
b) false
105. I worry about awful things that might happen.
a) true
b) false
106. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) tying up a truck full of newspapers for a paper sale
b) seeing a tornado cloud moving toward me when I'm driving in the country
107. I tend to keep my problems to myself.
a) true
b) false
108. I dislike seeing religious authority overturned by so-called progress and logical reasoning.
a) true
b) false
109. I don't enjoy trying to convince people of something.
a) true
b) false
110. I have often felt listless and tired for no good reason.
a) true
b) false
111. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) being in a flood
b) carrying a ton of coal from the backyard to the basement

112. Strict home discipline would prevent much of the crime in our society.
a) true
b) false
113. I often prefer not to have people around me.
a) true
b) false
114. I would describe myself as a pretty "strong" personality.
a) true
b) false
115. I would enjoy learning to handle poisonous snakes.
a) true
b) false
116. There are days when I'm "on edge" all of the time.
a) true
b) false
117. I am not at all sorry to see many of the traditional values change.
a) true
b) false
118. Without close relationships with others my life would not be nearly as enjoyable.
a) true
b) false
119. People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made.
a) true
b) false
120. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) realizing the ice is unsafe when I'm standing in the middle of a frozen lake
b) finding that someone has slashed all four of my car tires
121. I am too sensitive for my own good.
a) true
b) false
122. High moral standards are the most important thing parents can teach their children.
a) true
b) false
123. On social occasions I don't particularly care to "run the show".
a) true
b) false
124. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) being sea-sick every day for a week while on an ocean voyage
b) having to stand on the ledge of the 25th floor of a hotel because there's a fire in my room

125. I could pull up my roots, leave my home, my parents, my friends, without suffering great regrets.
a) true
b) false
126. I sometimes change from happiness to sadness, or vice versa, without good reason.
a) true
b) false
127. I admire my parents in all important respects.
a) true
b) false
128. Of the following two situations I would like LEAST:
a) burning my arm badly by leaning against a hot water pipe
b) swimming where sharks have been reported

Appendix J

Neuroticism Scale, Short Form (Eysenck)

The following questions require only a YES or a NO answer.

EXAMPLE:

- i. Do you sometimes give money to street beggars?

YES

=====

1. Do you sometimes feel happy, sometimes depressed, without any apparent reason?
2. Do you have frequent ups and downs in mood, either with or without apparent cause?
3. Are you inclined to be moody?
4. Does your mind often wander while you are trying to concentrate?
5. Are you frequently "lost in thought" even when supposed to be taking part in a conversation?
6. Are you sometimes bubbling over with energy and sometimes very sluggish?

Appendix K

The Symptom Checklist 90-R

Below is a list of problems and complaints that people sometimes have. Read each one carefully and select one of the numbered descriptors that best describes HOW MUCH TROUBLE THAT PROBLEM HAS CAUSED YOU DURING THE PAST MONTH, INCLUDING TODAY. Place that number on the line to the right of the problem. Do not skip any items. Print your number clearly. If you change your mind, erase your first number completely. Read the example below before beginning, and if you have any questions, please ask the experimenter.

EXAMPLE:

i.	Bodyaches	<u>3</u>	<u>Descriptors</u>
0. Not at all
1. A little bit
2. Moderately
3. Quite a bit
4. Extremely |
|----|-----------|----------|---|

=====

HOW MUCH WERE YOU DISTRESSED BY:

0. Not at all
 1. A little bit
 2. Moderately
 3. Quite a bit
 4. Extremely

1.	Headaches	_____
2.	Nervousness or shakiness inside	_____
3.	Repeated unpleasant thoughts that won't leave your mind	_____
4.	Faintness or dizziness	_____
5.	Loss of sexual interest or pleasure	_____
6.	Feeling critical of others	_____
7.	The idea that someone else can control your thoughts	_____
8.	Feeling others are to blame for most of your troubles	_____
9.	Trouble remembering things	_____
10.	Worried about sloppiness or carelessness	_____
11.	Feeling easily annoyed or irritated	_____

12. Pains in heart or chest _____
13. Feeling afraid in open spaces or on the streets _____
14. Feeling low in energy or slowed down _____
15. Thoughts of ending your life _____
16. Hearing voices that other people do not hear _____
17. Trembling _____
18. Feeling that most people cannot be trusted _____
19. Poor appetite _____
20. Crying easily _____
21. Feeling shy or uneasy with the opposite sex _____
22. Feelings of being caught or trapped _____
23. Suddenly scared for no reason _____
24. Temper outbursts that you could not control _____
25. Feeling afraid to go out of your house alone _____
26. Blaming yourself for things _____
27. Pains in lower back _____
28. Feeling blocked in getting things done _____
29. Feeling lonely _____
30. Feeling blue _____
31. Worrying too much about things _____
32. Feeling no interest in things _____
33. Feeling fearful _____
34. Your feelings being easily hurt _____
35. Other people being aware of your private thoughts _____
36. Feeling others do not understand you or are unsympathetic _____

37. Feeling that people are unfriendly or dislike you _____
38. Having to do things very slowly to ensure correctness _____
39. Heart pounding or racing _____
40. Nausea or upset stomach _____
41. Feeling inferior to others _____
42. Soreness of your muscles _____
43. Feeling that you are watched or talked about by others _____
44. Trouble falling asleep _____
45. Having to check and double-check what you do _____
46. Difficulty making decisions _____
47. Feeling afraid to travel on buses, subways, or trains _____
48. Trouble catching your breath _____
49. Hot or cold spells _____
50. Having to avoid certain things, places, or activities because they frighten you _____
51. Your mind going blank _____
52. Numbness or tingling in parts of your body _____
53. A lump in your throat _____
54. Feeling hopeless about the future _____
55. Trouble concentrating _____
56. Feeling weak in parts of your body _____
57. Feeling tense or keyed up _____
58. Heavy feelings in your arms or legs _____
59. Thoughts of death or dying _____
60. Overeating _____
61. Feeling uneasy when people are watching or talking about you _____
62. Having thoughts that are not your own _____

63. Having urges to beat, injure, or harm someone _____
64. Awakening in the early morning _____
65. Having to repeat the same action such as touching, counting, or washing _____
66. Sleep that is restless or disturbed _____
67. Having urges to break or smash things _____
68. Having ideas or beliefs that others do not share _____
69. Feeling very self-conscious with others _____
70. Feeling uneasy in crowds, such as shopping or at a movie _____
71. Feeling everything is an effort _____
72. Spells of terror or panic _____
73. Feeling uncomfortable about eating or drinking in public _____
74. Getting into frequent arguments _____
75. Feeling nervous when you are left alone _____
76. Others not giving you proper credit for your achievements _____
77. Feeling lonely even when you are with people _____
78. Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still _____
79. Feelings of worthlessness _____
80. The feeling that something bad is going to happen to you _____
81. Shouting or throwing things _____
82. Feeling afraid that you will faint in public _____
83. Feeling that people will take advantage of you if you let them _____
84. Having thoughts about sex that bother you a lot _____
85. The idea that you should be punished for your sins _____
86. Thoughts or images of a frightening nature _____

Understanding Sadomasochism

87.	The idea that something serious is wrong with your body	_____
88.	Never feeling close to another person	_____
89.	Feelings of guilt	_____
90.	The idea that something is wrong with your mind	_____

Appendix L

Dissociative Experiences Scale (Carlson & Putnam)

This questionnaire consists of 28 questions about experiences that you may have in your daily life. We are interested in how often you have these experiences. It is important that you show how often these experiences happen to you when you are not under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

For each question, please indicate with a number from 0 to 100 (0 = never; 100 = all the time) the extent to which the experience described applies to you.

EXAMPLE:

i. Some people have the experience of suddenly craving chocolate and other sweets. Please indicate with a number from 0 to 100 to show the percentage of the time this happens to you.

answer: 65

=====

1. Some people have the experience of driving a car and suddenly realizing that they don't remember what has happened during all or part of the trip. Indicate with a number from 0 - 100 to show what percentage of the time this happens to you.
2. Some people find that sometimes they are listening to someone talk and they suddenly realize that they did not hear part or all of what was said. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
3. Some people have the experience of finding themselves in a place and having no idea how they got there. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
4. Some people have the experience of finding themselves dressed in clothes that they don't remember putting on. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
5. Some people have the experience of finding new things among their belongings that they do not remember buying. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
6. Some people sometimes find that they are approached by people that they do not know who call them by another name or insist that they have met them before. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
7. Some people sometimes have the experience of feeling as though they are standing next to themselves or watching themselves do something and they actually see themselves as if they were looking at another person. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
8. Some people are told that they sometimes do not recognize friends or family members. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
9. Some people find that they have no memory for some important events in their lives (for example, a wedding or graduation). Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
10. Some people have the experience of being accused of lying when they do not think they have lied. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.

11. Some people have the experience of looking in a mirror and not recognizing themselves. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
12. Some people have the experience of feeling that other people, objects and the world around them are not real. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
13. Some people have the experience of feeling that their body does not seem to belong to them. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
14. Some people have the experience of sometimes remembering past events so vividly that they feel as if they were reliving that event. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
15. Some people have the experience of not being sure whether things that they remember happening really did happen or whether they just dreamed them. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
16. Some people have the experience of being in a familiar place but finding it strange and unfamiliar. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
17. Some people find that when they are watching television or a movie they become so absorbed in the story that they are unaware of other events happening around them. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
18. Some people find that they become so involved in a fantasy or daydream that it feels as though it were really happening to them. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
19. Some people find that they sometimes are able to ignore pain. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
20. Some people find that they sometimes sit staring off into space, thinking of nothing, and are not aware of the passage of time. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
21. Some people sometimes find that when they are alone they talk out loud to themselves. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
22. Some people find that in one situation they may act so differently compared to another situation that they feel almost as if there were two different people. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
23. Some people sometimes find that in certain situations they are able to do things with amazing ease and spontaneity that would usually be difficult for them (e.g., sports, work, social situations, etc.). Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
24. Some people find that they cannot remember whether they have done something or have just thought about doing that thing (for example, not knowing whether they have just mailed a letter or have just thought about mailing it). Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
25. Some people find evidence that they have done things that they do not remember doing. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
26. Some people sometimes find writings, drawings, or notes among their belongings that they must have done but cannot remember doing. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.

27. Some people sometimes find that they hear voices inside their head that tell them to do things or comment on things that they are doing. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.
28. Some people sometimes feel as if they are looking at the world through a fog so that people and objects appear far away and unclear. Indicate the percentage of the time this happens to you.

Appendix M

Rosenberg's Self Esteem Scale

Instructions: Please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate option for each statement.

S= strongly agree
A= agree
D= disagree
SD= strongly disagree

1.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	SA A D SD
2.	At times I think I am no good at all.	SA A D SD
3.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	SA A D SD
4.	I am able to things as well as most other people.	SA A D SD
5.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	SA A D SD
6.	I certainly feel useless at times.	SA A D SD
7.	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.	SA A D SD
8.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	SA A D SD
9.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	SA A D SD
10.	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	SA A D SD

Appendix N

The Matheson Feminist Attitudes Questionnaire (1994)

Indicate how much you personally agree with each of the following statements by picking a number between -3 and +3 on the following scale. Type your answer in the space beside each statement.

- 3 disagree entirely
- 2 disagree somewhat
- 1 disagree a little
- 0 neither agree nor disagree
- +1 agree a little
- +2 agree somewhat
- +3 agree entirely

1. Women in traditionally male occupations do not face any more obstacles than men.
2. Women today do not suffer from the effects of discrimination on the basis of sex.
3. Many feminists are just complainers.
4. I do not think that major changes in social structure are required for women to hold positions of power.
5. The feminist movement is necessary to improve the status of women.
6. If women don't have the jobs they want, it is probably because they didn't work hard enough to get them.
7. Generally speaking women have very different abilities, compared to men, that are best suited to their traditional roles, and are unsuitable for most of what men do.
8. Women's traditional attributes and roles are something a woman should be proud of and try to maintain as women's domain.
9. In general, I support the efforts of women's movement groups.
10. As the primary "breadwinners", men should be given some preferential treatment in education and employment.
11. I believe in feminist ideals.
12. By nature women are happiest when they are making a home and caring for children.
13. If two working people within a family is not possible, even if their incomes are comparable, the woman should give up her job to care for the family rather than the man.
14. Men should receive most of the family inheritance since they "carry on" the family name.
15. It is more important to encourage sons from poor families to go to university than daughters.

Appendix O

The Spanos Attitudes Towards Women Scale (Spanos & Dubreuil)

For each item below please indicate with an x on the appropriate line the number between 1 and 5 that best describes how you feel. The number 1 means that you think the item is "Not at all true" while 5 means you think the item is "Very true". Numbers between 1 and 5 reflect differences between the two extremes.

1. In general women are less trustworthy than men.

☐	1	not at all true
☐	2	
☐	3	
☐	4	
☐	5	very true

2. Women are more willing than men to be sneaky or underhanded in order to get what they want.

☐	1	not at all true
☐	2	
☐	3	
☐	4	
☐	5	very true

3. Lots of attractive women flirt and use their looks in order to get ahead.

☐	1	not at all true
☐	2	
☐	3	
☐	4	
☐	5	very true

4. A lot of women would probably be willing to sleep with their boss in order to get a promotion.

☐	1	not at all true
☐	2	
☐	3	
☐	4	
☐	5	very true

5. The old saying "hell hath no fury like woman scorned" contains an important psychological truth.

☐	1	not at all true
☐	2	
☐	3	
☐	4	
☐	5	very true

6. Even though they may appear sweet on the surface, women are often more spiteful and vengeful than men.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
7. Women often use tears as a tool to make men feel sympathetic towards them, and give them what they want.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
8. In a job or professional situation women often have an advantage over equally competent men, because women can use flirting and sex as well as competence to get ahead, while men have only competence.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
9. If they could get away with it, a lot of women college students who were doing badly in a course would have sex with the professor in order to get a better grade.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
10. If they thought it would work for them a lot of women would lie about using birth control in order to get pregnant and pressure their boyfriend into marrying them.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
11. Ideally, a woman should be a virgin when she marries.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true

12. Ideally, a woman should be less sexually experienced than the man she marries.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
13. It is more important for women to be sexually faithful in a relationship than it is for men.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
14. When it comes to a choice between career advancement and the needs of the children, wives should be more willing than husbands to make career sacrifices.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
15. Women who cheat on their husbands or boyfriends are likely to claim that they were raped if they think it will get them off the hook.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
16. Because women are physically weaker than men, it's important that they have a man around who can protect them
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true
17. Most women enjoy traditional displays of politeness like having doors opened for them, and pulling out the chair when they sit down.
- ___ 1 not at all true
 ___ 2
 ___ 3
 ___ 4
 ___ 5 very true

18. Basically it's no big deal if a man has casual sex with someone other than his wife, as long as he does his best to protect his wife's feelings by not letting her find out.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

19. A lot of so-called "date rape" involves women who consented to sex but later cried rape to protect their reputations.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

20. Casual sex before marriage is more acceptable for men than for women.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

21. I can see how a woman might have sex before marriage with a guy she really cares about, but a woman who has sex with guys she doesn't know well because she finds them physically attractive is a slut.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

22. Sometimes women play the role of sweet, naive, innocent just to hook men into giving them what they want.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

23. Women often play hard to get sexually in order to protect their reputation, even when they secretly feel sexually aroused.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

24. Frequently women want sex but won't admit it because they don't want the guy to think that they are cheap or easy.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

25. A lot of women are willing to hide their true beliefs and play whatever role they think will work in order to catch an attractive guy with money and a good job.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

26. It is a man's duty to protect and defend the honour of the woman he cares about.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

27. The worst thing a woman can do to a man is cheat on him sexually.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

28. A lot of women flirt with other men in order to let their boyfriend know that he had better give them whatever they want or they will leave him.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

29. The worst thing a man can do is not defend the reputation of the woman he loves.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

30. Although men and women may be equal in many ways, women feel safe and secure knowing they have a man around who can look after them and protect them.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

31. Probably a lot of so-called rape involves women who are trying to get back at a guy who they voluntarily had sex with but who then didn't want to see them again.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

32. A good woman is like a rare gem. A man who is lucky enough to find one should treasure and protect her.

☐ 1 not at all true
☐ 2
☐ 3
☐ 4
☐ 5 very true

Appendix P

Desirability of Control Scale (Burger & Cooper, 1979)

Below are a series of statements. Please read each statement carefully and respond to it by expressing the extent to which you believe the statement applies to you. For all the items a response from 0 to 7 is required. Use the number that best reflects your belief, given that the scale is defined as follows:

- 1 = the statement doesn't apply to me at all
- 2 = the statement usually doesn't apply to me
- 3 = most often, the statement does not apply
- 4 = I am unsure about whether or not the statement applies to me, or it applies about half the time
- 5 = the statement applies more often than not
- 6 = the statement usually applies to me
- 7 = the statement always applies to me

It is important that you respond to all of the items. In the space beneath each statement, type your response, which will be a number from 1 to 7.

EXAMPLE:

- i. I enjoy reading comic books.

 3

=====

1. I prefer a job where I have a lot of control over what I do and when I do it.
2. I enjoy political participation because I want to have as much of a say in running government as possible.
3. I try to avoid situations where someone else tells me what to do.
4. I would prefer to be a leader rather than a follower.
5. I enjoy being able to influence the actions of others.
6. I am careful to check everything on an automobile before I leave for a long trip.
7. Others usually know what is best for me.
8. I enjoy making my own decisions.
9. I enjoy having control over my own destiny.
10. I would rather someone else took over the leadership role when I'm involved in a group project.
11. I consider myself to be generally more capable of handling situations than others are.
12. I'd rather run my own business and make my own mistakes than listen to someone else's orders.
13. I like to get a good idea of what a job is all about before I begin.
14. When I see a problem I prefer to do something about it rather than sit by and let it continue.

15. When it comes to orders, I would rather give them than receive them.
16. I wish I could push many of life's daily decisions off onto someone else.
17. When driving, I try to avoid putting myself in a situation where I could be hurt by someone else's mistake.
18. I prefer to avoid situations where someone else has to tell me what it is I should be doing.
19. There are many situations in which I would prefer only one choice rather than having to make a decision.
20. I like to wait and see if someone else is going to solve a problem so that I don't have to be bothered by it.

Appendix Q

Selected Items from the Role-Play Scale (Fletcher & Averill, 1984)

For each question, please type an "X" under the response that best applies.

Responses:

SD = strongly disagree

D = disagree more than agree

A = agree more than disagree

SA = strongly agree

EXAMPLE:

- i. I like strawberries.

SA A D SD

X

=====

1. I like to imagine myself as being various types of people.

SA A D SD

2. After acting in a play myself, or seeing a play or a movie, I have felt partly as though I were one of the characters.

SA A D SD

3. I am able to exclude everything from my mind and construct a new, imaginary world, and feel for a time that it is real.

SA A D SD

4. While watching a movie or show I sometimes become so involved that I feel myself participating in the action.

SA A D SD

5. I am sometimes able to get so absorbed in fantasy that I forget about my present self and become someone else in my imagination.

SA A D SD

6. I have had the experience of imagining something so hard that it became almost real for me.

SA A D SD

7. If I wish, I can imagine (or daydream) some things so vividly that they hold my attention in the way a good movie or story does.

SA A D SD

Appendix R

Selected Items from the Day-Dreaming Scale (Singer & Antrobus, 1970)

For the next 5 items, indicate the option which applies best to you by typing an "X" beside it.

EXAMPLE:

- i. I floss my teeth
1. infrequently
 2. once a week
 - X 3. once a day
 4. a few times during the day
 5. many different times during the day
-

1. I daydream
 1. infrequently
 2. once a week
 3. once a day
 4. a few times during the day
 5. many different times during the day
2. When I am not paying close attention to some job, book, or television, I tend to be daydreaming
 1. 0% of the time
 2. 10% of the time
 3. 25% of the time
 4. 50% of the time
 5. 85% of the time
3. Instead of noticing people and events in the world around me, I will spend approximately
 1. 0% of my time lost in thought
 2. less than 10% of my time lost in thought
 3. 10% of my time lost in thought
 4. 25% of my time lost in thought
 5. 50% of my time lost in thought
4. I lose myself in active daydreaming
 1. infrequently
 2. once a week
 3. once a day
 4. a few times during the day
 5. many different times during the day
5. When I am at a meeting or show that is not very interesting, I daydream rather than pay attention
 1. never
 2. rarely
 3. sometimes
 4. frequently
 5. always

Appendix S

Rotter's Locus Of Control Scale

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered A or B. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Be sure to select the one you ACTUALLY believe to be more true, rather than the one you think you SHOULD choose or the one you would LIKE to be true. This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right and wrong answers.

Please answer these items carefully but do not spend too much time on any one item. Be sure to find an answer for every choice. Place an "X" beside either A or B depending on which you choose as the statement more true.

In some instances you may discover that you believe both statements or neither one. In such cases, be sure to select the one you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you are concerned. Also try to respond to each item independently when making your choices: do not be influenced by your previous choices.

EXAMPLE:

I more strongly believe that:

i. A. People are basically good.

X. B. People are basically amoral.

=====

I more strongly believe that:

1. A. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
B. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.
2. A. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
B. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.
3. A. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
B. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he/she tries.
4. A. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
B. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.
5. A. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
B. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

6. A. No matter how hard you try, some people just don't like you.
 B. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.
7. A. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
 B. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.
8. A. In the case of the well-prepared student, there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
 B. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless.
9. A. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.
 B. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.
10. A. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
 B. This world is run by the few people in power and there is not much the "little person" can do about it.
11. A. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.
 B. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.
12. A. In my case, getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.
 B. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.
13. A. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.
 B. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability; luck has little or nothing to do with it.
14. A. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand nor control.
 B. By taking an active part in political and social affairs, the people can control world events.
15. A. Most people can't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.
 B. There is really no such thing as "luck".
16. A. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.
 B. How many friends you have depends on how nice a person you are.

17. A. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.
 B. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.
18. A. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
 B. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things people do in office.
19. A. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
 B. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
20. A. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
 B. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.
21. A. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
 B. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people; if they like you, they like you.
22. A. What happens to me is my own doing.
 B. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.
23. A. Most of the time I can't understand why politicians behave the way they do.
 B. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as a local level.

Appendix T

Inventory of Childhood Memories and Imaginings

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

Inventory of Childhood Memories and Imaginings (ICMI)

by S.C. Wilson, Ph.D., and T.X. Barber, Ph.D.

The major purpose of this inventory is to determine how many adults remember themselves as very imaginative during childhood. A second purpose is to quantify the kinds of childhood imaginative activities, fantasies, and related experiences that can be remembered by adults. A third purpose is to determine to what extent childhood imaginings affect adult experiences or carry over into adult functioning.

Please place a check in front of each item below that applies to you. Please answer as honestly as possible and do not be concerned if you find that you are either checking almost all the items or almost none.

- ____ 1. When I was a child, I enjoyed active movement such as running and jumping.
- ____ 2. When I was a child, I enjoyed swinging (on a swing).
- ____ 3. When I was a child, I liked some kinds of music.
- ____ 4. When I was a child, I enjoyed cartoons (on TV or in movies).
- ____ 5. I can remember clearly one or more things that happened to me when I was two years of age or younger.
- ____ 6. When I remember back to when I was 6, 7, or 8 years of age, I can re-experience myself as a child; that is, I can "see" and "hear" what I saw and heard then and I can feel again the emotions and sensations I felt then.
- ____ 7. Although I have grown and I've had more experiences, I still feel basically the same as I did when I was a child.
- ____ 8. When I was a child, I believed in such beings as fairies, elves, or leprechauns, etc.
- ____ 9. Now that I am an adult, I still in some sense believe in such beings as fairies, elves, or leprechauns, etc.
- ____ 10. When I was a child, I would dream or imagine I was flying with such vividness that I felt as if I actually did fly.
- ____ 11. When I was a child, I enjoyed fairytales.
- ____ 12. As an adult, I would still enjoy fairytales.
- ____ 13. When I was a child, I was very imaginative.
- ____ 14. At the present time I am very imaginative.
- ____ 15. When I was a child, I was a "childhood philosopher". That is, I spent time thinking about such things as the meaning of life, and of death, about hypocrisy, levels of existence, etc.

- _____ 16. When I was a child (below age 12), I preferred playing make-believe games which require imagining or pretending, such as cowboys, school, house, etc. I preferred such make-believe games over realistic games which require skills such as hop-scotch, checkers, building things, ball games, etc.
- _____ 17. When I was playing make-believe games as a child, I usually would imagine so vividly that what I pretended seemed real to me.
- _____ 18. When I was a child, I lived in a make-believe world much or most of the time.
- _____ 19. As an adult, I still occasionally live in a make-believe world.
- _____ 20. When I was a young child, I believed that my doll(s) or stuffed animal(s) were alive.
- _____ 21. When I was a child I had an imaginary companion (or companions) such as an imagined person, animal, or object which I talked to, shared feelings with, or took along with me.
- _____ 22. When I was a child, I would at times pretend and in some sense believe I was someone else such as a fairytale character (e.g., Snow White, Peter Pan, Rapunzel, etc.), a prince or a princess, an orphan, etc.
- _____ 23. As an adult, I occasionally pretend I am someone else.
- _____ 24. When I was a child, I would have enjoyed or I did enjoy taking ballet dancing lessons.
- _____ 25. When I was a child or teenager, at times I was afraid my imagining would become so real to me that I would be unable to stop it.
- _____ 26. When I was a child or teenager, sometimes I was accused of lying when I was just reporting what I imagined.
- _____ 27. When I was a young (pre-teenage) child, I had sexual fantasies.
- _____ 28. I have had an orgasm (or orgasms) just by imagining only.
- _____ 29. When I was a child, I would spend at least half my total waking day imagining.
- _____ 30. Now as an adult, I spend a substantial part of my total waking day imagining.
- _____ 31. If I could not imagine anymore, besides other effects it would have on my life, I wouldn't be me anymore -- I would be a basically different person.
- _____ 32. At times, when I was a child or adolescent, it was difficult for me to determine whether something actually happened or whether I had imagined it happened.
- _____ 33. If given the opportunity, I would be very eager to experience an entirely new sensation -- a sensation such as vision, hearing, smell, or touch, but as different from all these as they are all different from each other.
- _____ 34. I have had a deeply moving personal religious, spiritual, or mystical experience.
- _____ 35. I have felt, heard, or seen an apparition (a spirit or ghost).

- ____ 36. I have had an out-of-the-body experience; that is, I have felt as if "I" (my mind or my spirit) left my body and existed for awhile independently of my body.
- ____ 37. I have experienced precognition (prophesy or foretelling the future) in a dream or while awake. That is, I have known something would happen even though there was no rational way I could have known.
- ____ 38. I have at times written poems, inspirational messages, short stories, or songs, etc., and I did not feel it was I who was creating them.
- ____ 39. I have at times felt unexplainably compelled to go somewhere, or to do something I wouldn't ordinarily do (such as call someone I wouldn't ordinarily call) and then later discovered there was a reason for my compulsion. (For instance, the person I called desperately needed me at that moment.)
- ____ 40. I believe reincarnation is possible, and I have become aware of a life (or lives) that I may have lived prior to this one.
- ____ 41. I have at some time in my life experimented with marijuana, psychedelic drugs (LSD, etc.) amphetamines ("uppers"), tranquilizers ("downers"), or other such drugs in order to experience an altered state of consciousness; that is, in order to experience the world in a new way, not just to relax or feel good.
- ____ 42. I would like to experience hypnosis.
- ____ 43. I think I am hypnotizable; that is, I think I could be hypnotized.
- ____ 44. I have at times thought something happened to me, developed physical symptoms but later found out that what I thought happened never actually occurred. (Some possible examples to illustrate this are as follows: (a) you thought something was in your eye, your eye became irritated, but you couldn't find anything in your eye; (b) or you thought you ate spoiled food, became ill, but later found out that others eating the same food were not bothered; (c) or you thought you touched poison ivy, developed an itch but the doctor said it wasn't poison ivy.)
- ____ 45. I have at some time in my life thought I was pregnant and in addition to not menstruating, developed other symptoms of pregnancy (e.g. morning sickness, abdominal enlargement, breast changes, etc.), only to find out later that I was not pregnant.
- ____ 46. While listening to my favourite music, in addition to experiencing mood changes (e.g., feeling calm, relaxed, energetic, mellow, etc.) I also often experience a transformation (e.g., a feeling of oneness with the music or being transported to the past or to another place or time, etc.)
- ____ 47. When I remember significant events in my life, in addition to thinking about them, I can also re-experience them. That is, I can see again what I saw then, hear again the sounds, voices, etc., as I heard them before, feel the emotions and sensations I felt then. I can re-live them -- not just think about them or see them in my mind's eye.
- ____ 48. I can vividly re-experience in my imagination such things as: the feeling of a gentle breeze, warm sand under bare feet, the softness of fur, cool grass, the warmth of the sun, and the smell of freshly cut grass.

- ____ 49. When asked to close my eyes and imagine holding a baby or an animal (dog, cat, etc.) on my lap, I can experience it as if it were actually there. That is, I can feel its weight and warmth, touch it, see it, hear it, etc.
- ____ 50. At times just before I fall asleep, I experience vivid images.
- ____ 51. Many or most of my dreams tend to be at least as vivid as actual life experiences.
- ____ 52. If I wish, I am usually able to finish or change a dream after I awaken.

Appendix U

Drug-Use Scale

1. For the following items, choose one of the following options to indicate the extent of your experience with it:

- (a) never tried it
- (b) tried it once or twice but do not expect to try it again
- (c) tried it many times, but am not a current user
- (d) use it occasionally
- (e) use it frequently

example:

i. aspirin

a b c d e
X

-
1. alcohol	a b c d e
2. marijuana	a b c d e
3. hashish	a b c d e
4. magic mushrooms	a b c d e
5. LSD (acid)	a b c d e
6. tobacco	a b c d e
7. caffeine	a b c d e
8. cocaine	a b c d e
9. crack	a b c d e
10. heroin	a b c d e
11. mescaline (peyote)	a b c d e
12. strong pain killers (e.g. morphine, codeine)	a b c d e
13. milder pain killers (e.g. Tylenol, Aspirin, Ibuprofen/Advil)	a b c d e
14. amphetamines (e.g. "Speed", Dexedrine/"Dexies", "Meth", "Uppers", "Crystal")	a b c d e
15. methaqualone (Quaaludes)	a b c d e
16. Benzodiazepines (Xanax, Tranxene, Librium, Valium, Ativan, Serax, "Tranks", "Downers")	a b c d e

17. Prozac a b c d e

18. Opium a b c d e

If there are other substances you use/have used in order to obtain an altered state, for recreation, or for temporary escape from the problems of every-day, please list them below, and indicate your frequency of usage with an "a b c d e" choice, where:

a = never tried it

b = tried it once or twice but do not expect to try it again

c = tried it many times, but am not a current user

d = use it occasionally

e = use it frequently

Other substances not listed above:

a. _____ a b c d e

b. _____ a b c d e

c. _____ a b c d e

d. _____ a b c d e

e. _____ a b c d e

Appendix V

Vital Statistics

Please answer the following questions in the spaces provided. Remember, your answers are completely confidential and will only be available to the researchers involved in this study.

1. Age: _____

2. Sex: male female

3. If gender differs from sex, please indicate gender:

4. Sexual orientation:

- _____ heterosexual
- _____ heterosexual with bisexual leanings
- _____ bisexual
- _____ homosexual with bisexual leanings
- _____ homosexual

5. Marital status: (check as many as appropriate)

- _____ single, not exclusively involved
- _____ single, but exclusively involved
- _____ cohabiting
- _____ married
- _____ divorced
- _____ separated
- _____ widowed
- _____ other (please specify) _____

6. Religious affiliation:

I was brought up:

- _____ Catholic
- _____ Protestant
- _____ Jewish
- _____ Agnostic
- _____ Atheist
- _____ Other (please specify) _____

I now consider myself to be:

- _____ Catholic
- _____ Protestant
- _____ Jewish
- _____ Agnostic
- _____ Atheist
- _____ Other (please specify) _____

7. Attendance at religious services when I was growing up:

- _____ on religious holidays only
- _____ several times a year
- _____ monthly
- _____ twice a month
- _____ every week
- _____ more than once a week

Presently I attend religious services:

- ☐ on religious holidays only
- ☐ several times a year
- ☐ monthly
- ☐ twice a month
- ☐ every week
- ☐ more than once a week

9. Educational background:

For the following levels of education, please indicate the level obtained by each parent and by you.

Mother Father Self

☐	☐	☐	high school or less
☐	☐	☐	technical school or college
☐	☐	☐	some university
☐	☐	☐	undergraduate university degree
☐	☐	☐	master's degree
☐	☐	☐	doctorate degree
☐	☐	☐	professional degree (e.g., M.D., Law, etc.)

10. Current employment (please indicate your current job)

11. Your estimated income in U.S. Dollars:

- ☐ 0 - 9,999
- ☐ 10,000 - 19,999
- ☐ 20,000 - 29,999
- ☐ 30,000 - 39,999
- ☐ 40,000 - 49,999
- ☐ 50,000 - 59,999
- ☐ 60,000 - 69,999
- ☐ 70,000 - 79,999
- ☐ 80,000 - 89,999
- ☐ 90,000 - 99,999
- ☐ 100,000 +

12. Do you belong to a minority group? If so, please specify _____

13. What is your country of residence? _____

Appendix W

The Sexual Activities Inventory (Spanos, unpublished)

The following questions concern the extent of your sexual activity to date.

Just type your response in the space below the question.

1. At what age did you first engage in sexual intercourse?
2. To date, how many different partners have you had sexual relations with (if unsure, please estimate)?
3. What is the length of the longest sexual relationship that you have had?
4. Overall, how would you rate your sex drive (type an "X" beside the option that best applies to you):
 - a) low
 - b) lower than average
 - c) average
 - d) above average
 - e) high
5. Overall, how would you rate your sex life?
 - a) not at all satisfactory
 - b) not very satisfactory
 - c) reasonably satisfactory
 - d) very satisfactory
 - e) totally satisfactory

Appendix X

Analyses of the Internet Comparison Group and the Non-Internet Group on Demographic and Sexual Variables

The university sample consisted of volunteers from an inter-session 1996 Introductory Psychology class, who received course credit for their participation. This group filled out hard copies of the questionnaire package. The university sample was obtained in order to determine whether the Internet-derived samples differed systematically from a non-Internet group. Specifically, the use of an Internet-derived comparison group served to determine those characteristics of the s/m sample that may have been due to the method of recruitment. It is important to be aware of the ways in which an Internet-derived respondent pool may systematically differ from respondent pools obtained via more traditional routes. To that end, the university sample's responses to demographic items were compared to the combined responses of the Internet-derived s/m and Internet comparison groups.

Demographics

A oneway between-subjects ANOVA comparing the Internet and non-Internet samples on age was significant, $F(1, 181) = 24.55$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Not surprisingly, the university sample was younger ($M = 24.69$, $SD = 7.93$) than the Internet-derived group ($M = 35.03$, $SD = 11.72$).

In terms of country of residence, a chi-square analysis looking at reported country of origin (Western-world versus Eastern/Middle-Eastern) was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 30.89$, $p < .001$. The pattern of results indicates that the Internet sample contained fewer people from eastern or middle-eastern countries (in fact, none) compared to the university sample, with 19.4% ($n = 7$). Thus, consistent with research that has examined the characteristics of predominant Internet users (e.g. Turkle, 1995), all the respondents in

the Internet sample were from Western-world countries, whereas a significant proportion of the university sample reported permanent residence in eastern/middle-eastern countries.

Similarly, examining self-reported minority status (minority/not a minority), a chi-square analysis looking at the Internet versus the university sample was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 7.37, p < .01$. The pattern of results indicated that there was a higher proportion of minority members in the university sample (22.2%, $n = 8$) than in the Internet sample (7.1%, $n = 11$).

In terms of sex composition, a chi-square analysis comparing the Internet group and the university sample was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 13.12, p < .001$. The university sample contained more females than expected, given the gender ratio of the Internet-derived group. The university sample contained 44.4% males ($n = 16$) and 55.6% females ($n = 20$), compared to the Internet sample, which consisted of 75.3% males ($n = 116$) and only 24.7% females ($n = 38$), a finding that is consistent with other studies of users of the Internet (e.g. Turkle, 1995).

In terms of religiosity, a chi-square analysis looking at adult religious affiliation (Judaio-Christian, eastern/mystical, or non-religious) was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 7.87, p < .05$, and the pattern of results indicated that the university sample had more Judao-Christians (55.9%, $n = 20$) and fewer non-religious persons (35.3%, $n = 13$) compared to the Internet-derived group, which displayed the opposite pattern, with more non-religious people (56.3%, $n = 87$) and fewer Judao-Christians (30.5%, $n = 47$).

Consistent with the above was the result of a oneway between-subjects ANOVA comparing the Internet and university samples on current religious service attendance. This analysis was significant, $F(1, 187) = 13.16, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. The university group ($M = 1.26, SD = .56$) reported attending religious services significantly more often than the Internet sample ($M = .58, SD = .70$).

Sexual Activity and Attitudes

To examine whether Internet-derived samples may differ from non-Internet samples on sexual activities and attitudes, the Internet comparison group was compared with the non-Internet university sample on several different indices of sexual behaviour and preference. The analyses in this section excluded the s/m sample, since it is reasonable to expect that this group might differ from others on measures of sexual activity for reasons other than simply having been solicited on the Internet.

A chi-square analysis looking at sexual orientation required a reduction in the number of original categories from five to two so as to avoid the problem of too few cases per cell. To that end, respondents who indicated that they were homosexual, homosexual with heterosexual leanings, bisexual, or heterosexual with homosexual leanings were re-categorized as "not exclusively heterosexual", while those who had originally responses as being heterosexual made up the second category. The chi-square analysis of reported sexual orientation using these categories and comparing the university sample to the Internet comparison group was significant, $\chi^2(1) = 4.60$, $p < .05$. Results indicated that the university sample reported fewer individuals in the non-heterosexual category (8.3%, $n = 3$) compared to the Internet-derived group (26.2%, $n = 40$).

To assess whether individuals defined themselves as being differentially sexually active versus sexually inactive, a chi-square analysis was conducted to compare the Internet comparison group and the university group. This was non-significant, $\chi^2(1) = 0.01$, ns. Thus despite age differences, the samples did not differ on this measure; overall, 13.4% of respondents ($n = 13$) reported not being sexually active, while 86.6% ($n = 84$) reported being sexually active. Similarly, a oneway ANOVA comparing the Internet comparison group with the university sample on reported strength of sex drive was

nonsignificant, $F(1, 93) = 3.27$, $p = .07$, partial $\eta^2 = .03$. Thus the Internet and non-Internet groups did not differ in terms of sex drive or degree of sexual activity.

Differences between the Internet comparison group and the university group on measures derived from the Sex Behaviours Inventory were also examined. A oneway between-subjects MANOVA comparing the Internet comparison group and the university sample on three indices from the Sex Behaviours Inventory (the Submissive Proclivities index, the Dominant Proclivities index, and the "Sex Is Bad" factor) was significant, Pillais = .48, $F(3, 91) = 21.67$, $p < .001$. Follow-up univariate F-tests revealed that the "Sex Is Bad" factor was significant, $F(1, 95) = 68.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .42$, with the university sample ($M = 1.38$, $SD = 1.35$) scoring higher on this measure than the Internet group ($M = -0.32$, $SD = 0.65$). The other indices were not significant (Dominant Proclivities, $F < 1$; Submissive Proclivities, $F(1, 95) = 1.40$, ns , $\eta^2 = .01$).

Summary of Demographic Findings: Internet Versus Non-Internet Samples

In sum, the Internet sample is different from the non-Internet group in a number of ways. Demographically, the Internet-derived participants are older (which is as one would expect given that the non-Internet sample consisted of first-year university students), with a greater male-to-female ratio. They are also less likely to be members of a minority group, are more likely to reside in the Western world, and are less likely to subscribe to a spiritual belief system. Many of these findings, specifically the preponderance of males and Western-world inhabitants, are echoed in research on Internet users (e.g. Turkle, 1995). In terms of sexual behaviours and preferences, the Internet-derived sample is more likely to report same-sex sexual encounters or preferences, a stronger sex drive, and greater proclivities for mainstream sexual activities and desires. The Internet group is also less likely to regard various sexual acts (vanilla as

well as sadomasochistic) as morally wrong; that is, they appear to be more sexually liberal than the university sample.

These findings suggest that groups obtained via Internet sampling may not be representative of the general population on these indices. Thus caution must be exercised when generalizing any findings to the real world. Specific to this study, it must be borne in mind that the sadomasochists obtained via Internet solicitation may differ systematically from sadomasochists more generally in any or all of the ways outlined above.

Appendix Y

Analyses of the S/M Group and the Internet Comparison Group on Demographic Indices

A oneway between-subjects ANOVA on participants' age comparing sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group was not significant, $F(3, 149) = 2.15$, ns, $\eta^2 = .01$. Therefore the sadomasochists and the comparison group members did not differ in terms of mean age (overall $M = 35.03$ years, $SD = 11.72$).

A chi square analysis looking at the sadomasochists and the Internet comparison group's gender ratio was not significant, $\chi^2(3) = 0.95$, $p = .81$. Thus sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group all have essentially the same male-to-female ratio: overall, 75.3% males compared to 24.7% females.

A chi square analysis on reported minority-group membership looking at sadists, masochists, switchers, and the Internet comparison group was not possible, since 50% of the cells in the chi-square matrix would have had expected values below 5. However, an examination of frequencies for each group indicates that minorities made up from 0% (switchers) to 14.7% (masochists) of each group. Overall, 7.1% of participants reported minority-group membership.

A chi square looking at subjects' geographical area of residence (North America, other Western countries, or Eastern/Middle-Eastern countries) and comparing the sadists, masochists, switchers, and Internet comparison group was non-significant, $\chi^2(3) = 0.58$, $p = .90$. Overall, 74.5% of respondents come from North America, while 25.5% report residence in other Western countries.

A chi square conducted on whether participants report, in adulthood, having religious beliefs versus not holding such beliefs, was not significant, $\chi^2(3) = 3.75$, $p = .29$. Thus the groups do not differ in terms of endorsing a spiritual belief system. Overall, 43.7% of respondents reported endorsing some form of spiritual belief system, while

56.3% reported holding no such beliefs. The reported frequency with which participants attend religious services in adulthood was also obtained. A oneway between-subjects ANOVA comparing the sadists, masochists, switchers, and Internet sample was not significant, $F(3, 150) = 1.35$, ns, $\eta^2 = .00$. Thus the groups do not differ in terms of how often they attend religious services. The vast majority, 80.6%, report never or occasionally attending services; another 12.9% report attending from several times a year to more than once a month; and the remaining 6.5% report attending weekly or more than weekly.

Appendix Z

News Groups Chosen to Advertise for Non-S/M Fantasy Role-Players

aus.games.roleplay
uk.games.roleplay
alt.games.frp.live-action
rec.games.frp.announce
rec.games.frp.dnd
rec.games.frp.misc

Appendix AA

Recruitment Notice For Non-S/M Fantasy Role-Players

Hello, my name is Patricia Cross, and I am a Ph.D. student in Psychology at Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I am conducting research towards my dissertation. As part of this research I am hoping to obtain a sample of adults (over 19 years of age) who like to engage in on-line role-play fantasy games. I have put together a series of questionnaires aimed at addressing several theories about the importance of role-play and fantasy. Some questions ask about past experiences, attitudes, and personality traits. Some are explicitly sexual in nature; therefore if you are considering participation, please be aware that some of the questions will be regarding sexual issues. please note that because of the nature of the study, IF YOU ARE INVOLVED IN SADOMASOCHISM you are not eligible for participation in this research. If this applies to you, please contact me at the e-mail address below.

If you would like to participate, please e-mail me at

pcross@ccs.carleton.ca

I will e-mail you back a copy of the questionnaires. The package takes about 2 hours to complete, and can be done over the computer and e-mailed back to me.

Let me stress that your responses would be completely confidential and would only be used for research purposes. Your name, e-mail address, and any other identifying information will be kept in strictest confidence and will NOT be shared with anyone else. Carleton University's Psychology Department has a strict and binding code of ethics which protects your right as a research participant and which ensures that confidentiality is protected and maintained at all times.

Please note that this series of questions takes about 2 hours to complete. This is a large investment of your time and energy. In return for our generous participation, I am willing to share the results of the research with you and provide you with feedback on your individual responses if you are interested.

Thank you,

Patricia Cross
M.A., Psychology
Carleton University
Psychology Department
Ottawa, Ontario
K1S 5B6

Appendix BB

Site Addresses for On-Line S/M Dungeons

- the Lintilla dungeon, Internet address lintilla.df.lth.se 5013
- the Sleepy dungeon, Internet address sleepy.sleepy.net 5013
- the Ironrose dungeon, Internet address ironrose.nai.net 3000
- the Crystal Palace s/m port, Internet address talker.com 9900
- the Trinity dungeon, Internet address 206.129.8.221 4070

Appendix CC

Text For Solicitation of S/M Chat Room Participants

Hello, I am a researcher in Psychology at Carleton University in Canada, and I am conducting a study on s/m scenes. I am looking for people who would not mind if I sat in on one of their scenes in order to observe. I would not participate or make comments. I would be capturing the text of the scene though, and using it later for my research. Whatever information or acts I might witness would be kept strictly confidential, and used only for research purposes. Any identifying details will be deleted from the text before analysis. Would you be interested in helping me with this research? If so, send me an email or say hello when I'm on-line.

Appendix DD
Post-Scene Interview Questions

1. How old are you?
2. Are you male or female?
3. How long have you been participating in s/m on the Internet?
4. What part or parts of that scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

Appendix EE

Debriefing, Study 3

Thank you for allowing me to observe your encounter. This information will be utilized for purposes of research only, and your anonymity will be assured. We are trying to better understand the nature of an s/m encounter, especially the role that power exchange plays. We hope that by observing s/m scenes here on the Internet, we can get a better idea of the key elements for s/m encounters, and therefore we will be better able to understand s/m as a sexual choice. If you have any concerns, questions, or comments, you can reach me at pcross@ccs.carleton.ca. Also feel free to contact: Dr. Lise Paquet, Chair of Ethics in Psychology, (613) 520-2600 extension 2692; or Dr. Bill Jones, Chair of the Psychology Department, (613) 520-2600 extension 2648. Thank you very much for your help with this research!

Appendix FF

Transcripts of Eight On-Line S/M Scenes

Dyad A

Masochist = Prettybaby/Sadist = Master John

PrettyBaby smiles

MasterJohn says: exactly where I wanted you

MasterJohn pulls you hard to me kissing you forcefully

PrettyBaby gasps

PrettyBaby submits to the kiss, face flushed

MasterJohn kisses you harder and deeper squeezing your hot body in my hands

PrettyBaby moans happily

MasterJohn says: belong to me

PrettyBaby says: I am here, now

PrettyBaby looks up at you with large eyes

MasterJohn pushes you hard against the wall kissing your exquisite lips biting them wildly sliding your hands up the wall chaining you there

PrettyBaby catches her breath - things are happening so fast -

PrettyBaby moans under your mouth

PrettyBaby tugs at the chains -

MasterJohn kisses you harder and deeper sucking your wonderful tongue sliding my hands up under your exquisite breasts squeezing them so indescribably hard

PrettyBaby writhes under your hands, feeling dazed and dizzy

PrettyBaby can feel where bruises will later appear on her flesh -

MasterJohn squeezes your wonderful titties harder and harder as I suddenly bite your exquisite neck tasting your indescribably wonderful sweetness

PrettyBaby trembles

PrettyBaby can feel the pain slicing through her, building from the bite, increasing, heating her -

PrettyBaby pulls at the chains, struggling like a caught rabbit -

MasterJohn sucks gently on your exquisite neck tasting you as I continue squeezing and massaging your wonderful breasts harder and harder

PrettyBaby moans, hair streaming down her shoulders

MasterJohn will possess you

PrettyBaby twists desperately against the restraints

MasterJohn kisses down your neck then begins kissing your exquisite little breasts passionately and intensely all over pushing them against my mouth and lips so indescribably hard

PrettyBaby 's eyes close - focusing her attention on her breasts, aching, tingling

PrettyBaby strains against the chains holding her wrists high on the wall

MasterJohn asks: you loving your Masters attention?

PrettyBaby blushes - yes Sir

MasterJohn presses you harder against the wall kissing your sweet breasts more passionately and wildly than ever before squeezing your wonderful titties so indescribably tight together kissing both your nipples at once

PrettyBaby yelps and whimpers - breasts on fire with their rough handling

MasterJohn kisses your hot hard nipples more intensely letting them into my mouth between my wanting lips

PrettyBaby squirms - breathing through softly parted lips - .

MasterJohn says: I want you

;MasterJohn says: I will possess you

PrettyBaby nods - breathless

MasterJohn suddenly begins spinning my awesome tongue wildly around your hot hard nipples faster and faster squeezing your titties together harder and harder

PrettyBaby moans, body pressed hard into the unforgiving wall

PrettyBaby 's nipples are throbbing, teased, hard and tight -

MasterJohn spins my tongue faster and faster all around your hot nipples as I entangle my tongue around your nipples and squeeze them as hard as possible squeezing your titties with my hands that own you

PrettyBaby 's legs tremble and she would sink to the floor if not for the shackles that hold her

MasterJohn says: be my possession

PrettyBaby moans out words of passion

PrettyBaby says: I am yours

PrettyBaby trembles

MasterJohn starts biting your hot titties and nipples wildly and passionately hard all over biting harder and harder letting my hands continue squeezing your titties and play with your body that belongs to me

PrettyBaby sobs - .feeling your bites marking her, owning her

MasterJohn puts my hands around your exquisite little neck kissing you so forcefully and intensely on your sweet exquisite lips kissing your very soul possessing you forever

PrettyBaby moans softly, submitting to your kiss sweetly

PrettyBaby presses her body against yours -

MasterJohn puts my collar around your neck and kisses you deeper kissing inside you

PrettyBaby makes little meowing sounds in her throat - kissing you back

MasterJohn says: you belong to me

PrettyBaby says: yes Sir

MasterJohn bites your lip tasting your sweet blood

PrettyBaby burns under the painful caress

MasterJohn says: call me Master

PrettyBaby says: yes Master

MasterJohn bites down your body wildly biting your sweet hot hard nipples so indescribably hard leaving my teeth marks all over your hot titties letting my hands touch and squeeze every part of your body that belongs to me

PrettyBaby 's skin bears many marks now, evidence of your ownership

MasterJohn says: you belong to me here and in reality

PrettyBaby looks up at you, wanting your touch -

MasterJohn continues biting your wonderful titties and hot hard nipples wildly hard all over squeezing your wonderful nipples so hard with my teeth letting my hands feel every part of you my fingertips brushing against your sweet precious pussy

PrettyBaby trembles, body quivering - - back arching against the hard wall

MasterJohn says: you are seriously mine

PrettyBaby says: I understand Master

MasterJohn says: you are my possession

PrettyBaby nods

MasterJohn bites your sweet nipples harder and draws sweet drops of your blood as I drag my long hair all over your exquisite body

PrettyBaby inhales as your teeth pierce her skin - such a sharp and wonderful feeling!

PrettyBaby cries out - the pain feels like heat -

MasterJohn asks: you love being possessed by me and wearing my collar?

PrettyBaby says: yes Sir, Master

MasterJohn bites your nipples harder sucking up all your sweet blood as my fingertips trace your exquisite little aching pussy lips

PrettyBaby is light-headed with sensations - her breasts on fire, her pussy wet

MasterJohn says: you are mine

PrettyBaby nods

MasterJohn presses my face hard against your wonderful breasts sucking them totally into my mouth pulling you to me pressing my hot stomach against your sweet pussy

PrettyBaby groans -

PrettyBaby presses her pussy against you, moaning
MasterJohn says: can you feel me doing everything to you my love
PrettyBaby says: yes, I can
MasterJohn says: kiss me
PrettyBaby kisses you passionately
MasterJohn squeezes your hot little ass hard kissing you back
PrettyBaby shivers with pleasure
MasterJohn says: you don't know how much I missed you
PrettyBaby offers her mouth for a kiss
MasterJohn says: you're part of me
PrettyBaby nods - wanting your kiss
MasterJohn kisses my precious PrettyBaby so intensely kissing your very soul
MasterJohn asks: you miss your master?
PrettyBaby says: uh huh, very much
MasterJohn kisses you more forcefully sliding my hands down around your sweet ass pulling you so hard against me setting you on fire
PrettyBaby whimpers softly into your mouth
MasterJohn says: you belong to me
PrettyBaby says: I'm yours Master
MasterJohn kisses you hard and deep entangling my tongue with yours in a kiss that lasts forever
PrettyBaby 's arms slip around your waist
MasterJohn spins my angel around the room kissing your exquisite face everywhere squeezing your wonderful ass in my hands
MasterJohn asks: you love wearing my collar precious?
PrettyBaby nods, touching it lightly
PrettyBaby says: yes, I think it becomes me
I love being with you so indescribably much
PrettyBaby says: I am yours, all yours
MasterJohn says: yes it makes you look more beautiful than anything in the world
MasterJohn says: kiss me
PrettyBaby smiles, blushing
PrettyBaby kisses your mouth softly
MasterJohn says: its black with a little diamond in it
PrettyBaby smiles

MasterJohn nibbles on your exquisite lips spinning you around pressing you up against the wall pressing my hot hard body into yours

PrettyBaby catches her breath, moaning

PrettyBaby arches her body against yours

MasterJohn slides my hands down your arms sliding them into your wonderful hands entangling my fingers with yours sliding your arms back up the wall as I lick your exquisite neck slowly all over

PrettyBaby tips her chin back, eyes closing, purring deep in her throat

MasterJohn continues licking your sweet delicious neck pushing your arms up higher into the chains again pressing my body harder into yours

PrettyBaby whimpers, feeling the hard wall rough against her skin -

PrettyBaby 's body is on fire for her Master

MasterJohn pulls your legs up around my back chaining your wrists up as my tongue spins wildly all over your exquisite face and neck

PrettyBaby 's long slim legs go around your waist - she is panting

PrettyBaby nods, moaning - .

MasterJohn presses my hot body harder and harder into you pressing my throbbing heat into your throbbing heat from your hot pussy biting your exquisite neck wildly all over sliding my hands up and down your legs

PrettyBaby presses her hips hard against yours, hungry for your possession

MasterJohn bites your sweet neck harder and harder sliding my hands under your legs lifting you slightly letting my throbbing hot monster cock loose from within my pants

MasterJohn asks: what's my love wearing?

PrettyBaby says: a short black skirt, stockings, black panties, red silk shirt

MasterJohn says: you do belong to me

PrettyBaby 's hips gyrate a little - her pussy is hot

MasterJohn bites down your sweet neck down to the middle of your chest biting your sweet breasts wildly hard through your shirt sliding my hands up your sweet stocking covered legs up under your skirt where your hot skin shows for me

PrettyBaby groans - .her body offering itself to you every way it can

PrettyBaby presses her crotch hard against your hand - moaning in her need

MasterJohn slides your skirt up around your waist as I continue biting your hot sweet titties and hard nipples harder than ever sliding my hands all over your sweet panties rubbing your hot pussy hard as my hot cock brushes against your leg

PrettyBaby strains against the chains on her wrists, wanting so badly to touch your cock, to touch her own pussy, to bring you inside her

MasterJohn says: just us as one

PrettyBaby 's thighs are trembling around your waist

MasterJohn comes back up and kisses you forcefully on your exquisite
lips letting you feel everything I feel for you

PrettyBaby 's lips part and she offers you her mouth

MasterJohn says: let me feel everything you feel for me

MasterJohn kisses you with indescribably hot fiery passion

PrettyBaby kisses you wildly, her tongue tangling with yours, her moans stifled

MasterJohn says: I feel you

MasterJohn kisses you more passionately sliding my tongue down your throat giving you everything I have
and more

PrettyBaby sucks your tongue hungrily -

MasterJohn says: you are mine here and in reality

PrettyBaby nods - yes, yes -

MasterJohn sucks back against your sweet mouth sliding my hands down around your ass sliding them
around to your sweet pussy rubbing your fiery pussy harder than ever my big monster cock throbbing so
fucking hard against your sweet leg

PrettyBaby says: please, oh please

PrettyBaby moans

MasterJohn kisses down your neck down to your shirt ripping off your shirt with my teeth eating your
sweet exposed breasts as my hands grab your sweet panties and pull them up so tight in your pussy letting
you feel my cock brush your pussy and stomach

PrettyBaby trembles, gripped by a powerful desire

PrettyBaby 's hips press against you

MasterJohn pulls your panties up tighter and tighter into your hot pussy that's all my biting your hot nipples
so hard pulling your nipples into my mouth so deep pressing my throbbing cock against your sweet soft
throbbing hot clit lips letting you feel its

PrettyBaby is moaning loudly - feeling the silky material of her panties cutting up into her pussy

MasterJohn says: extra large head throb against your stomach and drip little droplets of my hot pre cum
trickle down your tummy to your sweet pussy

PrettyBaby moans - .her tone pleading -

MasterJohn pulls your panties up harder and harder into your pussy your sweet lips building out around
your panties until they rip and you feel the entire length of my cock sliding up and down against your sweet
clit lips our juices joining together as I bite

PrettyBaby moans desperately - writhing, pressed between the wall and your body

MasterJohn says: your hot nipples harder and harder producing droplets of your sweet heavenly blood that I lovingly lick and suck off of you pressing my hot throbbing rod harder and harder into your sweet pussy slit
PrettyBaby sobbingly screams!!

MasterJohn says: I possess you

PrettyBaby nods, feverish

MasterJohn bites your sweet heavenly breasts harder and harder spreading your sweet legs wide opening your hot pussy wider and wider for me letting you feel more and more of my monster cock as it slides through your pussy lips sliding faster with our juices combining

PrettyBaby trembles all over - feeling her pussy stretching to accommodate your cock

MasterJohn says: you indescribably hot and wet for me in reality my love?;)

PrettyBaby nods - oh yes

MasterJohn says: I will possess you completely

PrettyBaby says: yes, please

MasterJohn says: no other may have you

PrettyBaby says: I am yours Master

MasterJohn bites your breasts harder and harder tasting more of your blood sucking every bit of you into me as I press my monster cock so hard against your sweet pussy leaving marks

PrettyBaby whimpers - wondering if her pussy will fit your cock - or whether she will be torn

MasterJohn slides my hands up under your breasts so hard squeezing them tight squeezing out more of your sweet blood to taste as you feel my hot cock and balls pressing and rubbing indescribably hard against your pussy that's all mine

MasterJohn loves you

MasterJohn kisses you more passionately on your exquisite lips then kisses down your wonderful breasts to continue sucking out your exquisite sweetness pressing my throbbing cock harder against your sweet pussy letting my balls inside you

PrettyBaby is dizzy with need, with pain, with desire

MasterJohn slides my hands down beneath your sweet ass raising you up slowly while I continue biting sucking and eating your exquisite breasts placing your hot dripping clit directly above my throbbing cock head pressing the head against your sweet hole

PrettyBaby whispers, yes, please - yes, please - .

MasterJohn loves the feel of your sweet clit dripping its exquisite wetness down all over my super hard big cock head and down my hot shaft as I press my cock harder against your sweet hole letting you feel the pre cum ooze out of me onto you

PrettyBaby can feel her pussy hole stretching as you press against it - .

MasterJohn continues biting your wonderful hot breasts wildly everywhere sliding you down just a little letting my big cock head penetrate inside your hot pussy that's all mine ripping you a little

PrettyBaby yelps a little, feeling impaled!

MasterJohn bites and nips at your sweet titties and exquisite hard nipples licking up all your blood just letting my throbbing cock head of fire throb inside your hot wonderful pussy

MasterJohn says: I possess you

PrettyBaby whimpers

PrettyBaby says: I am yours

MasterJohn presses my face against your breasts harder sucking and biting them wildly letting you fall down a little more letting 2 more inches inside your hot pussy being opened - possessed by you -

PrettyBaby 's pussy canal is being opened by you

PrettyBaby moans again, her world made of pain and pleasure

MasterJohn rocks slowly from side to side letting my wonderful cock throb inside you so intensely hot as I kiss up your bleeding breasts to your sweet neck continuing to squeeze your wonderful breasts in my hands driving my mouth hard against your neck biting you

PrettyBaby 's head tips back - her neck exposed for you -

PrettyBaby 's hips begin to move against your cock - pressing up against you, pressing you in

PrettyBaby 's breasts are becoming sticky with trails of blood

MasterJohn drives my teeth deep into your neck making you bleed down your sweet neck as I suck so hard letting 2 more inches slide deeper inside you ripping a little more your sweet cum and blood covering my cock

PrettyBaby closes her eyes tight, the tears squeezing out and wetting her cheeks

PrettyBaby moans like a little animal

PrettyBaby twists against the chains that hold her wrists

MasterJohn sucks your sweet neck harder than suddenly rams the remaining 3 inches of my cock totally inside your hot pussy filling you completely ripping a little more

PrettyBaby screams!!!

MasterJohn continues pumping you up the wall as I slide your legs higher up my back as I lick and bite your wonderful neck tasting you

PrettyBaby is totally impaled -

PrettyBaby almost passes out, the pain is so intense

MasterJohn says: you are my possession here and in reality

PrettyBaby looks down and sees your enormous cock disappearing into her tight pussy - its shaft slick with her juices and her blood

PrettyBaby moans - beginning to move with your thrusts

MasterJohn slides my monster cock in and out of your wonderful tight little pussy so indescribably hard and fast kissing the sweet wound on your neck kissing your sweet chin finally kissing your sweet lips forcefully loving your pussy around my cock

PrettyBaby 's mouth opens to accept your tongue, her slim hips bang against yours rhythmically, her ass becoming scraped and raw against the rough wall

MasterJohn says: I'm serious my love you are my possession here and in reality

PrettyBaby says: I understand Master

PrettyBaby says: I'm yours

MasterJohn continues ramming every inch of me into your hot sweet tight little pussy kissing you forcefully and intensely sucking all your breath out of you breathing my own back into you

PrettyBaby breathes your air

PrettyBaby says: I'm yours Master

MasterJohn slides my fingers through your hair kissing you with all the fire within my soul as my hot throbbing monster cock impales you

PrettyBaby 's body is exhausted- she hangs from the chains. -moaning softly

MasterJohn says: you love being my possession?;)

PrettyBaby nods

PrettyBaby says: yes Master I do

MasterJohn suddenly impales you harder and suddenly explodes the biggest load of my hot sweet cum everywhere inside your wonderful pussy the explosion rocking you indescribably hard shooting shot after hot shot into you covering your sweet pink pussy walls white

PrettyBaby feels your sudden explosion and it makes her suddenly cum!

PrettyBaby spasms hard against you, shuddering

PrettyBaby gasps repeatedly as her pussy contracts around your cock

MasterJohn continues shooting into you filling you to overflow letting all

my hot juice absorb into you filling you even more letting our juices intermingle letting it drip down your sweet pussy and legs

PrettyBaby 's legs are wet with your cum, with her cum, with her blood

MasterJohn let's every drop fill you

MasterJohn says: you truly are mine

PrettyBaby smiles at you. aching, but filled with satisfaction

{ The scene ends shortly thereafter. I ask PrettyBaby the follow-up questions immediately, but MasterJohn logs out. I catch up with him some days later and his follow-up questions are conducted at that time. }

Follow-up

PrettyBaby: Age 21, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: For almost 4 months

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: No I've never even had sex in real life yet

Q: Would you like to try s/m in real life?

A: I think so, hopefully with MasterJohn.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: Yes, a few times. He has collared me. (I ask for more details) It means I'm his slave. I can't play with anyone else. (I ask her is she abides by that rule.) So far, yes. Cuz he's always on when I get on, so I'm never tempted away.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with him in the future?

A: Yes, he's my on-line Master. He also sends me emails and I have to obey him that way too. He wants to call me and one day meet with me.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: That scene there? Well, I was chained to the wall! So I was totally helpless for most of it.

MasterJohn, Age 30, Male

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: 3 or 4 years

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: No but I'm planning to take this to real-life with her.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: Yes, she's one of my slaves here. She's my favorite. We're going to meet soon and take things to the next step. (I ask for further details.) We're going to do these things physically, not just mentally.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: We meet here about 4 times a week. I've known her for about a month now.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: She gave me her self. I own her. I have power over her because I own her.

Dyad B

Masochist = Girlee/Sadist = Spiderwoman

Girlee smiles

Spiderwoman asks: where are you right now?

Girlee says: I'm in my room at home...

Spiderwoman asks: do you live alone?

Girlee asks: no, I don't, do you?

Spiderwoman asks: no, I'm a student, and yourself?

Girlee says: student too

Girlee says: philosophy

Spiderwoman asks: what do you study?

Girlee asks: and you?

Spiderwoman walks over to you and brushes your hair back

Girlee catches her breath

Spiderwoman says: senior,

Girlee says: I see

Spiderwoman says: 3-D computer animation

Girlee exclaims: sounds interesting!

Spiderwoman asks: what do you look like?

Spiderwoman asks: what's your real name, if you don't mind me asking?

Girlee says: 5'5", 130 lbs, blond hair, hazel eyes

Spiderwoman says: beautiful

Girlee says: Penny

Girlee says: I don't like it much

Spiderwoman exclaims: I love it!

Girlee grins

Spiderwoman says: you sound beautiful

Girlee says: thank you

Girlee says: you do too

Spiderwoman leans over and softly kisses you on the lips

Girlee flushes, receiving the kiss obediently

Girlee 's lips part slightly

Spiderwoman gently caresses Girlee's soft skin and lightly kisses her on her cheek

Spiderwoman asks: what are you wearing in real life?

Girlee says: a white t-shirt, no bra, old torn jeans, red panties

Spiderwoman asks: nice penny, or do you want to be called Girlee?

Girlee says: I prefer Girlee

Girlee smiles self-consciously

Spiderwoman says: Girlee it is

Spiderwoman asks: what are you doing?

Spiderwoman asks: do you have any toys?

Girlee asks: you mean right now?

Spiderwoman asks: yes?

Girlee says: oh I have a vibrator but I'm not using it

Spiderwoman asks: do you have it with you?

Girlee says: batteries are dead :(

Girlee says: luckily I still have my fingers

Girlee laughs softly

Spiderwoman asks: you can get off with your hands, right?

Girlee says: oh yes

Spiderwoman says: do me a favor Girlee

Girlee says: all right

Spiderwoman says: slide your hand down into your panties and rub your clit softly

Girlee does so

Spiderwoman asks: are you wet?

Girlee says: yes

Spiderwoman says: slide your finger inside your cunt and taste yourself, tell me what you taste like

Girlee says: I know the taste well, its musky and sexy

Spiderwoman asks: have you ever been with a woman in real life?

Girlee says: yes

Girlee asks: have you?

Spiderwoman asks: how often?

Spiderwoman says: yes

Girlee says: many times

Spiderwoman asks: nice isn't it?

Girlee exclaims: uh HUH!

Girlee grins

Spiderwoman asks: I bet your clit's nice and stiff right about now, isn't it?

Girlee says: yes it is, I'm very aroused. Just finished a pretty intense scene.

Spiderwoman asks: what happened?

Girlee says: I mustn't kiss and tell.
Girlee smiles
Spiderwoman says: you can if you don't name names
Girlee says: well, I can tell you that it was our first time together and she is marvelous.
Spiderwoman moves down Girlee's neck and softly sucks her soft skin
Girlee says: she is a Domme.
Girlee moans.
Spiderwoman asks: who?
Spiderwoman exclaims: You're killing me!
Girlee asks: I thought I wasn't to name names?
Girlee laughs
Spiderwoman grabs Girlee by the back of the neck and presses her close against her
Spiderwoman asks: do you want to play games with me little girl?
Spiderwoman's body pressed close
Girlee gasps, feeling Spiderwoman's body pressed close
Girlee says: I think I do, yes
Spiderwoman asks: will you do exactly as I say?
Girlee asks: yes Mistress. shall I call you Mistress?
Spiderwoman says: call me mommy
Girlee says: yes Mommy
Girlee smiles softly
Spiderwoman says: you've been a bad little girl today Girlee
Girlee asks: what did I do, mommy?
Girlee pouts
Spiderwoman says: take your shirt off Girlee
Girlee reluctantly pulls her shirt off over her head and drops it to the floor
Spiderwoman says: I caught you fondling yourself you little pervert
Girlee wraps her arms around her chest
Girlee blushes dark red
Girlee says: no I didn't
Spiderwoman asks: what do your breasts look like?
Spiderwoman asks: then what were you doing, little missy?
Girlee says: they're 36C, big but not enormous.
Girlee says: I was, um, I was just fixing my panties

Spiderwoman walks up behind you as you type and slowly runs her hands over your shoulders and down to your breasts, leaning over you and sucking on your ear

Girlee shivers

Spiderwoman says: you can tell mommy you enjoy touching yourself

Spiderwoman says: don't you

Girlee says: sometimes

Spiderwoman asks: you do it a lot , don't you Girlee?

Girlee is blushing and looking at the ground

Girlee says: not a lot

Girlee says: well, some

Spiderwoman caresses your breasts as she continues to suck harder on your bare neck

Girlee asks: Mommy why are you doing that?

Spiderwoman asks: doesn't it feel good honey?

Girlee says: well, yeah but -

Girlee moans softly

Spiderwoman runs her hands down Girlee's belly and slips them under her jeans

Girlee squeals. That's tickling!

Spiderwoman says: undo your jeans

Spiderwoman exclaims: oooh, you're so warm down there baby!

Girlee unbuttons her jeans

Girlee says: ohhh, Mommy

Spiderwoman asks: are your panties stained?

Girlee sighs sweetly

Girlee says: no Mommy, they're clean

Spiderwoman slides her hand down and gently rubs your crotch over your panties

Girlee groans

Spiderwoman says: show me how you touch yourself honey, show me what feels good

Girlee puts a hand into her panties and begins to touch herself

Spiderwoman exclaims: good girl!

Girlee says: this is how I do it

Spiderwoman asks: do you do it that slow, or are you just shy?

Girlee rubs her clit quickly

Girlee says: no, its fast like this, really.

Spiderwoman says: good girl

Spiderwoman asks: you are very wet dear, does that feel good to you?

Girlee nods as her body becomes excited

Girlee says: it feels good Mommy, yes.

Spiderwoman asks: do you ever feel really good? like electricity runs through you?

Girlee falls back onto the bed

Girlee says: yes, like electricity

Girlee 's hand is busy between her legs

Spiderwoman asks: is it building up now?

Girlee says: uh huh

Girlee is breathless

Spiderwoman says: you're such a nasty girl Girlee

Girlee says: I know Mommy but I cant help it

Spiderwoman says: you're a dirty slut

Spiderwoman says: pull your pants down young lady

Girlee nods, yes I am

Girlee pulls her panties down

Spiderwoman says: show mommy what feel s good

Spiderwoman slides her fingers inside your wet hole, you take them in easily

Spiderwoman asks: does that feel good?

Girlee lies there with legs widely parted, showing you her bare pussy, her finger stroking quickly between the lips

Girlee exclaims: yes yes yes!

Spiderwoman says: cum for me Girlee, cum hard for mommy

Girlee 's body moves, fucking your fingers

Spiderwoman thrusts her fingers in deep

Girlee cums hard

Girlee exclaims: ohhhh!

Spiderwoman exclaims: that's a good girl!

Spiderwoman says: you've made mommy's pussy wet now

Spiderwoman asks: do you want to see what a big girl's looks like?

Girlee says: yes Mommy

Spiderwoman asks: are you shaved Girlee?

Girlee nods

Girlee says: bare

Spiderwoman says: come here

Spiderwoman says: take mommy's pants off for me

Girlee stands up and unbuttons your pants
Girlee tugs your pants down your hips
Spiderwoman says: good girl, now, take my panties off
Girlee pulls your pants and panties off you, grunting with the effort
Girlee says: there Mommy
Spiderwoman says: good girl now, come here and sit in my lap
Girlee climbs onto your naked lap
Girlee can feel your pussy hairs tickling her bottom
Spiderwoman says: put your hand here
Girlee gives you her hand. where?
Spiderwoman takes Girlee's hand and puts it on her mound
Spiderwoman asks: feel how wet mommy is?
Girlee exclaims: oooh, yes!
Spiderwoman asks: isn't it hot too?
Girlee 's fingers press into the flesh of your pussy mound
Girlee says: uh huh
Girlee giggles
Girlee slips a finger between the lips
Girlee says: wow, really wet in here
Spiderwoman says: rub mommy like you just rubbed yourself, it feels good to me too
Girlee 's finger fingers your clit and begins to rub it lightly
Girlee asks: like this?
Girlee 's finger presses a little harder rubbing a little faster
Spiderwoman says: oooh, ...yes, that's good honey keep doing that
Girlee begins to move herself around on your thigh, her own pussy rubbing against you
Spiderwoman says: oooh, I love that Girlee
Girlee strokes your clit while fucking your thigh
Spiderwoman says: stick your fingers inside me
Girlee slips her fingers inside your hot pussy
Spiderwoman quivers
Girlee gasps as she feels another orgasm coming on
Girlee 's fingers fuck your pussy quickly
Spiderwoman says: rub on me harder
Spiderwoman says: oooh good
Girlee rubs harder, quicker

Spiderwoman feeds her dildo in to her dripping cunt, about to orgasm
Girlee bends forward, touching her mouth to your pussy
Spiderwoman says: oooh
Spiderwoman says: cumming
Spiderwoman says: taste mommy's cum
Girlee 's tongue strokes your clit wetly
Spiderwoman says: suck on it
Girlee sucks your clit into her mouth, lips working at it, tongue stroking it
Spiderwoman exclaims: oh god!
Girlee 's own pussy explodes against your thigh again. she moans as she cums.
Spiderwoman exclaims: I'm cumming so hard!
Girlee moans.
Girlee exclaims: yes, please, Mommy, cum!
Girlee can feel your pussy shivering
Spiderwoman pushes you down harder against it for friction
Girlee moans again, louder, still licking at your pussy
Spiderwoman says: my cum is so thick

{The participants ask me to leave at this point. later I as them the follow-up questions.}

Follow-up

Girlee, Age 24, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: About 6 months

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: No but I'd like to try it

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: No

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Probably, I liked it

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: I guess when she wanted me to call her Mommy. That's when I clued in to the kind of scene she was into.

Spiderwoman, age 21, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: Around a year

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: Well I've had kinky sex but I don't know if it was s/m. I don't know if what I do here is s/m really. More just kinky stuff.

Q: Would you like to try s/m in real life?

A: Sure, I'm open to just about anything.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: No

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Sure. I play with a lot of people. She wasn't bad.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: What? It's all arranged in advance. The power thing is set up before it even starts. My name is a Domme name. Like her name is submissive. And she told me she was having a scene with a Domme so I knew I was going to be the top which I mostly am anyway.

Dyad C

Masochist= Candi/Sadist= Playfulman

PlayfulMan smiles...hello there..

Candi kneels quietly

Candi says: hello Sir

PlayfulMan says: very nice...describe yourself bitch

Candi smiles up at you

Candi says: 5'2", brown-black hair and flecked green-gray eyes, 110 lbs

PlayfulMan nods

Candi says: slim, pale skin, pretty face

Candi blushes slightly

PlayfulMan smiles...and?

PlayfulMan asks: do you like humiliation?

Candi says: thank you

PlayfulMan asks: excuse me.. what did Candi say?

Candi says: yes Sir, when applied by a good Dom

Candi says: thank you Sir

Candi says: pardon me Sir

Candi blushes

PlayfulMan nods....everyone is entitled to a mistake....you just made yours

Candi nods, face red

PlayfulMan says: now.. stand up...I wish to inspect you

Candi stands up quickly

Candi keeps her eyes turned to the floor

PlayfulMan walks around you...His eyes looking you up and down

Candi bites her lower lip

PlayfulMan stops behind you.. and you feel him grab the top of your pants...

Candi trembles, holding her body stiff

PlayfulMan pulls them out a bit...and then down...an over your ass...

Candi takes a deep breath, trembling slightly

Candi can feel the cool air on her skin

PlayfulMan runs His fingers up and down your ass cheeks...

PlayfulMan says: nice firm ass you have...

Candi says: thank you Sir

Candi draws another shaky breath

PlayfulMan pulls in close to you...and whispers into your ear "I bet it marks rather nicely" you feel His breath against your ear as He talks

Candi shudders, closing her eyes for a moment as your breath tickles her ear

PlayfulMan whispers to you again "Spread your legs...so I can better see your cunt

Candi obeys, legs moving to spread far apart

Candi 's face is flushed as she feels herself on display for you

U hear Him chuckle a bit in your ear "that's a good little bitch...."

Candi moans softly

PlayfulMan uses His right hand to go between your cheeks....then he fingers your lips..

Candi 's legs tremble

PlayfulMan spreads your lips....and enters you

Candi gasps, her flesh stretching to accommodate the invasion

PlayfulMan pulls His fingers out of you.....and reaches around to your front with both hands

PlayfulMan asks: how are you dressed in real life?

Candi says: I'm wearing a short nightgown, blue cotton

Candi says: Sir

PlayfulMan slides His arms up you....and away from your cunt....towards your tits

Candi groans, her body responding to your touch, nipples hardening
PlayfulMan reaches up your body....and unbuttons your blouse....first button...and then the second button
Candi watches your fingers, dazed and aroused
Candi is breathing fast
PlayfulMan stops...and grabs your blouse....His right hand holding the right part...his left hand holding the left part...
U hear his laugh again...and He pulls hard...ripping your blouse apart... spraying the room with the buttons....
Candi watches in the mirror on the wall, gasping, face pale, when her shirt tears
PlayfulMan releases you from His grasp...
Candi 's breasts heave with her sudden gasp for air
PlayfulMan says: show Me how much of a slut you are...finish removing your clothing
Candi turns to face you
PlayfulMan looks at you...smiles...and steps back
Candi lets the torn shirt slide off her shoulders, baring her breasts for you to see
Candi 's shirt continues to slide down her arms until it falls off, puddling on the floor
PlayfulMan says: no bra...just like a true slut so far
Candi kicks it over to her pants, already discarded
Candi 's crotchless silk panties are the only garment she still has on
PlayfulMan asks: what did I tell you to do?
Candi begins to slip them down her hips
Candi kicks them off and stands naked before you
Candi says: yes Sir
PlayfulMan asks: how wet are you in real life?
Candi says: very wet Sir
PlayfulMan looks you over....very good.. I see your nipples are hard already...
Candi 's pussy is pouting and damp and hot
Candi nods. yes Sir
PlayfulMan says: get back on your knees...and present your tits to me
Candi kneels before you and cups her breasts in her hands, raising them up for your inspection
PlayfulMan smiles...and walks toward you....grasping one nipple in each hand...and pulling out on them
Candi 's hard pink nipples tighten even more.
Candi whimpers.
PlayfulMan looks down at you...and smiles as you whimper...
PlayfulMan releases your nipples...get on all fours.. and present your ass to Me again

Candi gazes up at you. then turns and gets on all fours, her bottom facing you

PlayfulMan says: pull your ass cheeks apart, bitch

Candi reaches back and pulls apart her ass cheeks, revealing her tight virgin asshole

Candi trembles

PlayfulMan smiles....running His eyes over you

Candi swallows nervously

PlayfulMan says: now...turn onto your back...and present your cunt for inspection

Candi moves onto her back, knees up, parting her thighs widely

Candi blushes as her wet little pussy is exposed

PlayfulMan says: now...spread your lips with your hands....

Candi spreads her cunt lips with her fingers, revealing the dark pink inner flesh of her pussy

PlayfulMan says: now...tell Me what you are...while you are in that humiliating pose

Candi says: Sir, I'm a whore

PlayfulMan says: and I believe a cockslut as well...

Candi says: yes Sir

Candi says: and I am your property for as long as you want me Sir

PlayfulMan smiles...back on your feet....

Candi rolls over and stands up, facing you

PlayfulMan has some presents for you....

Candi looks up at you, half-smiling

Candi asks: yes Sir?

PlayfulMan produces a pair of nipple clamps

Candi looks at them, biting her lower lip

The spring kind...

PlayfulMan asks: are you still dressed in real life?

Candi nods, shuddering slightly

Candi says: yes Sir

PlayfulMan says: remove your clothes in real life

Candi nods. its done Sir

PlayfulMan reaches forward.....and puts the left clamp on your left tit

Candi squirms, gasping

Candi 's nipple is squeezed painfully

PlayfulMan smiles.. and puts the right clamp on your right tit

Candi whimpers again as the clamps dig in to her pretty nipples

PlayfulMan smiles at your exquisite pain...

Candi 's eyes brim with tears

PlayfulMan asks: what toys do you own in real life?

Candi says: a vibrator, a dildo, some cuffs Sir

PlayfulMan nods

PlayfulMan says: get your vibrator.....and your dildo in real life

Candi says: yes Sir

PlayfulMan waits..

Candi says: Sir my computer tells me I need to log in again

PlayfulMan nods...

Candi says: I ca go find the toys and then try to get back on-line Sir

PlayfulMan says: that would be good..

Candi nods and curtseys

{Candi did not return: session ended after PlayfulMan got tired of waiting for her}

Follow-up

Playfulman, Age 27, Male

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: 2 years, maybe more

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: Yes, when I can find a partner

Q: Why do you engage in s/m on-line then?

A: Because s/m partners in my town are hard to find.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: No

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Seeing as she didn't come back I doubt it.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: You have to be in control from the start. For example when she didn't call me Sir I made sure she knew that was not going to be tolerated again. You have to demand respect and submission from the beginning, which is what I did.

Dyad D

Masochist: Toyboy/Sadist: LadyDomme

LadyDomme says: Remove your clothes darling pet

LadyDomme smiles

Toyboy instantly obeys. He quickly tears off his jeans, the only clothes he was wearing.

LadyDomme says: You may remain standing for now

Toyboy drops back to his knees.

Toyboy stands up.

LadyDomme grins

Toyboy smiles, eyes cast to the floor.

LadyDomme circles you slowly, hands caressing your skin

Toyboy trembles at your feather-touch.

LadyDomme moves behind you -- she whispers in your ear, "Raise your arms above your head, love"

LadyDomme says: Wrists together, sweet one

Toyboy complies, raising his hands up, crossing his wrists.

LadyDomme clamps the ceiling shackles to your wrists, binding them together. she draws the chain tight, until your wrists are high above your head, arms extended

Toyboy 's cock starts to grow...

LadyDomme asks: comfortable, sweet?

Toyboy gasps, but lets his arms relax. He nods at you.

Toyboy says: As comfortable as I need to be, mistress.

LadyDomme 's fingers trail lightly down your arms, toying with the hairs nestling in your armpits

LadyDomme circles you again, until she stands in front of you

Toyboy stifles a giggle.

LadyDomme laughs gently

LadyDomme says: My pet...

LadyDomme says: I know well how you love to be chained up for me, right my pet?

LadyDomme raises an eyebrow

Toyboy says: Being chained like this makes me feel very vulnerable, Mistress.

LadyDomme 's palms stroke your chest smoothly

LadyDomme says: Good.

Toyboy says: And being vulnerable to you excites me.

LadyDomme crouches until her face is on a level with your cock

LadyDomme says: I know your sweet cock likes it

;Toyboy 's cock is as hard as steel now.

;Toyboy says: Yes, it does, mistress.

LadyDomme 's hand wraps around the shaft at its base

Toyboy cries out at your touch.

LadyDomme squeezes gently, testing its hardness

LadyDomme says: You will not cum until I permit it, not today.

Toyboy rolls his head around on his shoulders. His knees get weak.

LadyDomme asks: Understand?

Toyboy nods. Yes mistress.

LadyDomme parts her robe, baring her breasts. Her nipples protrude like pebbles.

She gently rubs your engorged cock head against her right nipple.

Toyboy closes his eyes as your hard nipple scrapes his soft purple head.

LadyDomme says: I want your sweet pre-cum to coat my nipples, pet. And I want you to watch me today.

Toyboy tries desperately not to stare at your beautiful breasts.

LadyDomme says: You remember my rules well, but I want your eyes on them, for now, dear boy.

Toyboy glances downward, drinking in the sight of his cock between your breasts.

Toyboy smiles. It is so easy to obey you mistress.

LadyDomme rubs your cock head repeatedly against her pink-red nipple -- until a sticky clear fluid coats both the head and her nipple

LadyDomme smiles up at you, noting your flushed face

Toyboy moans unabashedly as you milk his thick cock.

LadyDomme asks: Do you find my breasts pretty, pet?

LadyDomme moves, applying your cock to her left nipple now -- rubbing in slow circles

Toyboy breathes, Oh yes mistress.

Toyboy says: I have longed to see them.

LadyDomme asks: Are you imagining your mouth on them, pet?

LadyDomme cups them both, raising the pale globes even higher

Toyboy says: Yes mistress. I would love very much to serve you by kissing them, sucking them, licking them.

LadyDomme asks: Are you imagining suckling at them, darling?

Toyboy says: Oh yes.

Toyboy says: Yes

Toyboy says: Yes

LadyDomme smiles -- Good boy

LadyDomme says: One day, I will take you to my bed and permit you to suckle at my breasts like a baby

LadyDomme says: If you are a good boy

Toyboy says: I long to worship your breasts almost as much as I long to worship your lovely ass, my mistress.

Toyboy blushes at his indiscretion.

Toyboy says: Oh, I will be good. Yes, my mistress.

LadyDomme stands up, hands still cupping her tits -- she moves close to you, until a deep breath from you would bring your chest into contact with them

LadyDomme breathes slowly, deeply -- and you feel her hard nipples just grazing your skin ever so lightly

Toyboy keeps his eyes locked on your firm globes. He is memorizing every detail, every freckle. His cock throbs with excitement.

Toyboy shivers as your nipples touch him.

LadyDomme steps back and pulls her robe closed

Toyboy 's face is clearly disappointed. He tries to hide it and fails.

LadyDomme smiles gently --all in good time. We are still new to each other.

LadyDomme moves behind you again

LadyDomme says: Stand very still, my boy

Toyboy closes his eyes and stands perfectly still.

LadyDomme says: I don't want you moving, understand? Even a hair.

Toyboy holds his breath and nods...once.

LadyDomme pats your ass cheek -- Good pet

Toyboy smiles to himself at the complement. He does not move

LadyDomme kneels behind you -- you can feel her breath on your ass cheeks

Toyboy grows giddy with anticipation.

LadyDomme 's hands cup and stroke your ass cheeks gently

LadyDomme says: You have a pretty little ass, my pet

Toyboy struggles to keep from speaking.

LadyDomme 's finger slips down between your ass cheeks, her touch soft but persistent

Toyboy is determined to remain standing.

LadyDomme 's finger seeks and finds your little puckered hole

LadyDomme says: You will be glad, pet, that I have trimmed my nails for this

LadyDomme laughs softly

Toyboy is slightly afraid, but curious.

LadyDomme removes her finger -- you hear her wetting it in her mouth

LadyDomme says: Don't be afraid, darling. You are very precious to me.

LadyDomme says: But I must do this. I want this hole today. I've been gentle with you thus far but now is the time. Tonight, while our little scientist friend watches us.

Toyboy takes a shallow breath.

LadyDomme parts your ass cheeks with one hand and lays the pad of her forefinger against the tight little gash

LadyDomme says: You may even like it, pet

LadyDomme presses gently--- her finger tip sinks in

Toyboy struggles to remain motionless--and fails. He whimpers slightly as you penetrate him.

LadyDomme presses a light kiss to your ass cheek

LadyDomme says: You are doing very well.

LadyDomme presses again -- and her finger slowly sinks in to the first knuckle

LadyDomme says: Good boy

Toyboy moans softly as your sender finger draws deeper into his body. A new kind of pleasure washes over his body.

LadyDomme 's free hand slips around your hips to cup your balls, fondling them tenderly

LadyDomme pushes again -- and her finger presses inside you to the hilt

LadyDomme sighs with satisfaction

LadyDomme wiggles her finger a little

LadyDomme says: You are impaled on my finger, pet

Toyboy cries out as the sensations move from balls to ass. Ass to balls.

LadyDomme asks: Not so terribly unpleasant, hmmm?

Toyboy stammers, "No. No mistress. Not too bad."

LadyDomme 's finger finds and agitates your secret male gland, buried high in your ass-hole

LadyDomme says: Shhhhh. You mustn't speak. You mustn't move. You may moan. But that is all.

Toyboy whimpers again, arching his back, not being able to help himself.

LadyDomme chuckles softly

Toyboy holds still.

LadyDomme begins to slide her finger out until just the tip resides in you

Toyboy bites his lip as your finger scrapes against his tender ass.

LadyDomme pushes back in, this time with two long slim fingers

LadyDomme says: I want you to feel it, pet

LadyDomme says: I want you to feel stretched

Toyboy cries out loudly... Pain mixes with pleasure this time.

LadyDomme says: I want your anus to know it has been violated

LadyDomme pushes two fingers inside you to the knuckles

LadyDomme growls softly as she begins to slowly piston her fingers in and out of your ass

LadyDomme says: And now -- I permit you to speak -- tell me how this feels

LadyDomme 's fingers slowly and mercilessly fuck your ass
Tears start to roll down Toyboy's face as the pleasure starts to subside, and pain takes over.
Toyboy stammers again, "Good. It feels fine, my mistress..."
LadyDomme kisses your ass cheek again, tenderly, sweetly
LadyDomme says: My brave pet
LadyDomme rams her fingers in and holds them there, impaling you
LadyDomme says: Feel this and remember it. This is me possessing you.
Toyboy nods, almost imperceptibly.
LadyDomme pushes her fingers into you with little pulses, going impossibly deep
LadyDomme asks: Tell me, pet. do you feel it?
Toyboy feels your fingers in his stomach.
LadyDomme 's fingers press deep into you
Toyboy says: Yes mistress. I feel it. I am impaled on you.
LadyDomme smiles. Good boy
Toyboy says: You have violated my innocent flesh.
LadyDomme withdraws her fingers gently -- deposits a gentle licking kiss on your throbbing, aching little
anus
LadyDomme says: Yes, pet
LadyDomme stands and comes round to face you
Toyboy 's formerly-tight asshole burns.
LadyDomme offers her fingers to your mouth
LadyDomme says: Taste.
Toyboy drops his head, ashamed of his tears.
LadyDomme makes an impatient noise in her throat.
Toyboy says: Mistress, that is outside my limits. Please don't make me do this
LadyDomme sighs. All right pet.
LadyDomme shakes her head. I have perhaps gone too far too fast after all.
Toyboy is ashamed of his frail limitations.
LadyDomme kisses your wet face.
LadyDomme says: My error, pet, not yours. Perhaps I wanted to show you off to our friend in the corner.
Toyboy says: Someday, mistress. You will bring me out of my shell. Some limitations may be pressed,
but not others.
LadyDomme reaches up and unshackles your wrists.
Toyboy looks scared!
Toyboy asks: Am I being punished, Mistress?

LadyDomme asks: Why are you frightened, pet?

Toyboy leaves his arms crossed above his head.

LadyDomme laughs quietly

Toyboy grins. Mistress...

Toyboy asks: ?

LadyDomme says: I am not a monster, love. I can be lustful, and crude, and stern -- but I am also very loving.

Toyboy says: Perhaps I was not clear... It is my fault...

LadyDomme says: It distresses me to have trampled on your limits so soon and so clumsily.

Toyboy says: I will do anything for you mistress.... Anything but three things

Toyboy says: Excrement, homosexuality, and severe pain.

LadyDomme says: Sit down, my dear. And tell me. This time I will take good note.

LadyDomme says: Well, I am a woman, I assure you. Thus anything we do is heterosexual.

LadyDomme says: And as for excrement, your ass was beautifully clean.

Toyboy blushes. I was thinking of your other slaves, mistress.

Toyboy says: You might wish to... share me some day.

LadyDomme strokes your face. I promise I will never test that limit, pet.

LadyDomme says: Not with my other boys, at any rate.

Toyboy says: Watch me with your other slaves.. Share me with other masters in your circle.

LadyDomme says: You have my promise.

LadyDomme asks: All right?

Toyboy smiles. Yes mistress. Words cannot describe how much you please me, mistress. I will try if you wish...

LadyDomme bids you to sit beside her with a gesture of her hand.

Toyboy beams at you.

LadyDomme says: Come here, angel.

Toyboy instantly complies.

Toyboy drops and sits next to you.

LadyDomme draws you against her, arms around you.

LadyDomme kisses your forehead sweetly

Toyboy smiles at you.

Toyboy says: I have always dreamed of a mistress like you...

LadyDomme says: You are precious to me. And taking your ass was beautiful, to me.

Toyboy says: I am glad you took my virginity mistress.

LadyDomme says: And you were very brave.

LadyDomme says: But I will not repeat it if it displeases you, pet.

Toyboy blushes. I hope you will take it again, mistress.

Toyboy grins. Permission to speak freely mistress?

LadyDomme cups your chin in her hand and holds your gaze. "You are sure you mean that?"

Toyboy exclaims: YES!

LadyDomme says: Yes, pet, speak your mind

Toyboy beams at you, wriggling his hard little butt.

LadyDomme smiles

LadyDomme laughs

Toyboy exclaims: God you are hot!

Toyboy grins.

LadyDomme grins

LadyDomme says: Don't be impertinent, pet

Toyboy asks: Sorry mistress. Forgive me?

LadyDomme says: Yes. I am being very indulgent with you, you know.

LadyDomme says: My other pets would be very surprised.

LadyDomme laughs

Toyboy says: I apologize mistress. I mistook your permission as permission to drop my pretense.

LadyDomme asks: Pretense, my boy?

LadyDomme says: That is a shame

Toyboy says: Role, fantasy,

Toyboy says: Poor choice of words mistress. Forgive me.

Toyboy says: Please to not mistake that fact for lack of desire.

LadyDomme says: All right my boy. Enough for one night I think.

Toyboy pouts, visibly.

LadyDomme holds your face still and kisses your mouth

LadyDomme says: Now now -- it is clear I must go lightly with you. I mustn't rush.

Toyboy shakes his head.

Toyboy says: Do mistress, please do not.

LadyDomme says: Though I may want to devour you alive, I must begin with a nibble.

Toyboy says: No mistress, please do not.

LadyDomme laughs

LadyDomme asks: Are you telling me now, pet?

Toyboy is not being clear, tonight.

LadyDomme says: Yes you are, darling.

Toyboy exclaims: Mistress, I will do _anything_ for you. Your will, mistress!

LadyDomme says: You want it all -- and fear much of it.

LadyDomme says: Which is an excellent state to be in.

Toyboy says: Anything within my limitations. I did not realize my ass was clean.

LadyDomme laughs softly

LadyDomme says: Let me tell you some of *my* limitations.

Toyboy smiles. But do not mistake my fear for lack of desire...

Toyboy nods at you.

LadyDomme says: I do not eat shit, even the shit of delectable little pets.

LadyDomme says: Nor do I drink their urine.

Toyboy nods.

LadyDomme asks: Clear?

Toyboy says: Yes, mistress.

LadyDomme says: Good.

LadyDomme says: I *do*, though, enjoy the taste of every orifice, when clean

LadyDomme says: Including a sweet virgin bottom

Toyboy grins.

LadyDomme smiles

LadyDomme says: And now, enough.

LadyDomme says: I will find you again, soon, and we'll see how it goes.

Toyboy asks: Mistress, are you sure you do not wish to play with me some more?

LadyDomme kisses your mouth again.

LadyDomme says: No, tonight was enough for now.

Toyboy nods, sadly.

LadyDomme smiles.

Toyboy smiles back.

{here the session ended}

Follow-up

Toyboy, Age 29, Male

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: 1 and a half years, but this always as a Dom. Its only with LadyDomme that I'm submissive.

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: Sure, I've had some experiences, all as a Dom though.

Q: So why do you engage in s/m on-line?

A: Lots of reasons. I get to explore being a sub, for one thing, which I haven't been able to do in real life. (I ask why not.) Because real-life Dommies are pretty rare, at least where I live.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: Yes, one previous session.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Yes, she's the best! I hope we develop a long long relationship.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: She's always been in control. I approached her when I saw her on-line and I asked her to please take me on. I suddenly wanted to know what it would be like to be dominated. And she seemed like the perfect one, judging by her profile and her name. I was right. She's the best!

LadyDomme, Age 37, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: 2 years

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: I've had occasional experiences. One relationship was pretty s/m-ish but I was the submissive. I play sub too on-line but I prefer topping.

Q: Why do you engage in virtual s/m instead of just having the real thing?

A: Because its not always easy to find partners in real life. Plus I don't have the time to prowls the clubs, and I don't really like them anyway. This is a good place to find a partner. If it's someone you really click with, then traveling for a real-life encounter isn't out of the question.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: Yes, he's my latest pet.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with him in the future?

A: Definitely. He's pretty rare in my experience. He's smart and creative and responsive.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: I know what you're trying to get at, but that's actually an odd question. He knows his place and I know my place even before we get in a room together. So I have the power already. I maintain it by making sure he knows who's boss. I make him submit to me. There are no doubts who's in control if one person is penetrating another's ass. I give him orders and he obeys them. If he doesn't obey then I get angry and I inflict pain or I humiliate him. Sure he can leave whenever he wants, but he's loving it! He can't remember

the last time he was so hard. I guess ultimately I only have power over him for as long as I'm turning him on.

Dyad E

Masochist: Submiss/Sadist: Lizard

Submiss curtsays

Lizard says: Good evening

Submiss says: good evening Sir

Lizard says: How are you this evening?

Submiss says: I'm well thank you

Submiss smiles serenely

Lizard says: Turn around, let me see all of you.

Submiss turns in front of you, slowly

Submiss slowly comes to face you again

Lizard says: Turn your back to me.

Submiss turns her back to you, shoulders straight, back slightly arched

Lizard walks up behind you and slides his hand over your tight ass cheeks...

Submiss jumps slightly, not having expected your touch

Lizard says: Sorry...

Submiss says: no Sir, it is quite all right. your privilege

Lizard says: Remove your pants please.

Submiss says: I am a bit nervous

Submiss tugs her pants down and off

Submiss's ass is covered only by her small silk panties

Lizard kicks the pants aside and again slides his hand over your ass.. continuing down the back of your thigh, and along the inner surface...

Submiss trembles

Lizard says: Bend over please.

Submiss bends from the waist, legs apart and straight

Submiss's bottom arches up

Lizard says: Lose the sweater now.

Submiss pulls her sweater off over her head and lets it fall to the floor

Lizard slides his hand across your shoulder and down the center of your back, to your ass... his fingers press between your cheeks and slide down further...

Submitt moans

Lizard says: Stand up.

Submitt stands straight, face flushed

Lizard says: Move over to the pin table.

Submitt goes to the table, frowning slightly

Submitt touches the pins with her fingertips

Lizard pulls an adjustable chair to the end of the table... "Have a seat."

Submitt flashes you a grateful smile and sits in the chair

Submitt says: thank you Sir

Lizard smiles...

Lizard moves your chair in close to the table... he presses a button and the chair rises slightly...

Submitt catches her breath

Submitt grips the chair's arm rests

Lizard walks to the other side of the table, looking across at you from 3 feet away... "Squeeze your lovely tits for me."

Submitt's hands go to her breasts and she cups them, squeezing them together

Lizard smiles... "Move your chair in closer, lay your tits up on the table."

Submitt hesitates, then brings her chair in close and leans forward until her breasts touch the pin-pricks on the table-top

Submitt whimpers in pain

Lizard leans across the table and places his hands gently on your breasts, he smiles as he looks deeply into your eyes.

Submitt holds her breath, gazing at you with a silent plea

Lizard squeezes your perfect tits in his hands and begins to pull them, stretching them toward him...

Submitt moans, leaning forward as far as she can without losing her balance

Lizard leans in and presses down on your stretched tits, pushing them down onto the pins of the table...

Submitt can feel her tender skin scratching against the semi-pointed pin-tips

Submitt lets escape a prolonged whimper

Lizard lets go... "Stand up."

Submitt tries not to struggle, but falls back when you release her

Submitt stand up, her breasts red on their undersides

Lizard says: Bend over, and press your tits down onto the table.

Submitt hesitates

Lizard says: Now.

Submitt slowly bends forward from the waist until her chest lies lightly on the table top

Lizard places his hand on your back and pushes you down HARD!
Submiss's hard nipples press down against the pin-pricks
Submiss's soft breasts are pressed heavily into the pins and she screams
Lizard leans over you, bearing down on your back with his hard body.... "Does it feel good my slave?"
Submiss sobs. "please, Sir its too much"
Submiss can feel the pin points breaking through her skin in several places
Lizard reaches forward and grabs your waist, he pulls you mercilessly across the table, pins scratching along your flesh, until your head hangs off the edge!
Submiss's screams ring out, echoing off the walls
Submiss wriggles helplessly on the table, every move adding to her pain
Submiss can feel the pins all over her, from her neck to her hips
Submiss begins to struggle, trying to get off the table
Lizard walks around to the other side of the table... he grabs your panties and tears the roughly from your body... he presses his hands down on your ass heavily... "DO NOT MOVE!"
Submiss quivers, sobbing. she forces herself to be still
Submiss moans with pain and fear
Lizard grabs your ankles and pushes down on them as he spreads them wide open, scraping your thighs over the pins!
Submiss says: please Sir...!!!
Submiss's plea ends in a scream
Lizard walks around to your face and kneels before you. His hand lifts your chin and he looks lovingly into your eyes... "Too much Darlin?"
Submiss squirms, writhing in pain
Submiss nods
Submiss's face is wet with tears
Lizard leans in and kisses your soft lips gently.
Submiss moans against your mouth
Lizard stands and flips a switch, the pins retract into the table leaving you lying on a flat surface.
Submiss immediately curls up into a ball on her side
Submiss's front is raw and bleeding, long wicked scratches streaking her skin
Lizard says: Lie on your back My love.
Submiss trembles as she uncurls and slowly rolls onto her back
Submiss moans quietly as the scratches are stretched by her movements
Lizard approaches with a bucket. He reaches into the bucket and pulls out a damp cloth. Gently he begins to wash and soothe your wounds... the cool liquid seems to ease the intense pain...

Submiss closes her eyes

Submiss says: thank you Sir

Submiss slowly relaxes

Lizard slides the cloth lightly over your body, gently touching your neck, your chest, over your sweet nipples and down your stomach, continuing along your thighs and gently caressing the soft, firm mound between your legs.

Submiss sighs with relief

Lizard moves to the foot of the table and continues to rub the cloth slowly up and down over your sweet pussy... pressing lightly as he rubs up and down, back and forth,,

Submiss groans, this time with arousal

Submiss's pelvis tilts upwards as her back arches

Lizard grabs your ankles carefully and pulls your body down the table until your hot, wet cunt reaches the edge... he sits in the chair and pushes your thighs wide apart, lifting your legs into the air slowly...

Submiss shivers, the liquid cooling her skin

Lizard slips his fingers between your thighs and spreads your wet pussy-lips apart...

Submiss trembles with excitement, eyes opening

Lizard leans in and licks along you glistening lips... dipping his hot tongue into your pinkness and gently probing inward...

Submiss's hands press down onto the table

Submiss moans

Lizard presses his tongue flat against your cunt as his fingers pull your lips wide apart... he drags his tongue up and down over your inner flesh over and over...

Submiss's pussy is tight and wet

Lizard thrusts his fingers hard and deep up inside you... ramming them deep into your insides and twisting them around in your body!

Submiss's legs tense

Submiss squirms desperately, suddenly very much awake

Lizard stretches your cunt apart with his fingers, thrusting the fingers of his other hand in next to the first ones... he pulls and tugs, stretching you to the point of pain!

Submiss's thighs defensively tense, wanting to close and protect her

Submiss bites her lip HARD to stop from screaming again

Submiss's body is squirming on the table, moving her away from you as fast as possible

Lizard makes a fist with one hand and pushes it hard against your open cunt, pushing and twisting and forcing it up into your pussy!

Submiss screams then, having never been so invaded

Lizard grabs your thigh with one hand and keeps you from moving!

Submiss says: no, please!

Submiss says: please!

Submiss's body is painfully invaded, stretching her pussy beyond endurance

Submiss struggles to get away

Lizard twists his fist inside your stretched cunt as he uses his other hand to spread the cheeks of your fine ass... his index finger suddenly drives up into your asshole as his fist twists and turns in your tortured cunt!

Submiss screams again, the sound shrill and full of pain and fear

Submiss twists her body fiercely, trying to evade your hands, your fingers

Lizard pulls his hands quickly away... and stands next to the table, gazing down at you.

Submiss immediately retreats to the other end of the table, knees hugged to her chest

Submiss angrily brushes tears from her face

Lizard says: Lie flat on your back.

Submiss glares mutinously at you

Lizard smiles... "Care for more?"

Submiss shivers

Lizard says: Then do as I say.

Submiss starts to cry as she reluctantly lies back down

Lizard says: I will not hurt again, if you do everything I say.

Submiss nods stiffly, frightened

Lizard says: Slide back until your head hangs backward over the edge of the table.

Submiss obeys

Lizard walks to the head of the table, finally he drops his robe and his huge cock pops out, semi-erect as he gazes over your naked, tortured body...

Submiss whimpers, wondering what is to come

Lizard takes his huge member in his hand and drags the wet head over your face...

Submiss closes her eyes and tries not to grimace

Lizard says: Open your mouth wide... keep it open!

Submiss's soft pink lips open

Lizard moves his massive rod to your lips, circling your mouth over and over... he pauses and then moves forward, touching your tongue with his wet head...

Submiss's lips close around the thick shaft and her tongue strokes the engorged head in her mouth

Lizard pulls his cock back... "Open wider..."

Submiss strains to open her mouth further

Lizard arches his back and watches as his cock throbs... he moves the head right to your mouth, and smiles as he his cock floods hot piss into your mouth!

Submit gags, mouth closing reflexively

Lizard says: Open your mouth Bitch!

Submit climbs off the table, spitting repeatedly

Submit says: no

Submit says: there's a limit, right there

Submit wipes her mouth

Lizard smiles.... "Knew I would find one."

Submit swears at you

Lizard says: One never knows till one tries! :-)

Submit starts to dress

Lizard says: Leaving so soon?

Submit says: yes

Lizard grabs your clothes away from you! "I think not!"

Submit growls at you

Submit says: I only obey when I want to

Submit says: as I told you

Lizard smiles evilly... "I think you would like to continue..."

Submit laughs shortly

Submit says: I don't think so

Submit says: you are all brutality with no tenderness

Lizard moves toward you, his powerful body inches from you as he looks into your eyes... "That is not true."

Submit says: yes it is

Lizard slides his fingers along your cheek... "Are you so sure I cannot give you the pleasure you desire?"

Submit sniffs angrily

Submit says: I am not sure, but I doubt it

Lizard slides his arms tenderly around your waist, tentatively holding you and pulling your body against his own... the heat of his flesh burning you as it touches...

Submit resists your embrace, angry, hurt, feeling badly treated

Lizard whispers softly... "I want to give you pleasure, I want to make your body shudder uncontrollably, I want to make love to you."

Lizard leans in, quickly kissing your soft lips, his hot moist tongue just barely touching them...

Submit studies your face skeptically

Submiss turns her head, hiding her mouth from yours

Lizard steps back and stares into your eyes... "I leave it to you... anything you desire can be yours... you need only ask."

Submiss frowns

Submiss says: is it so hard to find what I want...? a Master who will protect me and adore me, see to y safety, while at the same time... the SAME time... taking me to places and to pains I have never been... if I put my trust in someone....

Lizard frowns... "I am sorry I was cruel. I regret not being what you desire. I leave you to yourself. My sincere apologies."

Lizard goes to the gaming_tower.

Follow-Up

Submiss, Age 34, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: About 8 months

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: I have done, with one partner some time ago. (I ask for more details). It lasted about 3 months, ended 4 years ago. I'm married now, so I don't play in real life, just on-line.

Q: Is your partner today one you've had scenes with before?

A: Nope. We have talked but never played.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with him in the future?

A: Absolutely not! (I ask why not). He really surprised me. He went way past my limits, ad we had even talked about them. He was psycho. He's all into humiliation and serious pain and I'm not into that. Once I saw that that's his thing, I ended it.

Q: What part(s) of the scene were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: You saw for yourself that the only power he's got is what I let him have. If you think the Top has the control then you don't get it. (I ask for more details). We (i.e. submissives) shop for what they have to offer. If we don't like it, then we don't play. Simple.

{Lizard was not willing to discuss the scene, indicating that he was upset it had ended badly.}

Dyad F

Masochist = Honeygirl/Sadist = Goddess

Goddess enters the room

Honeygirl smiles

Goddess says: is it private my pet

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Goddess says: good girl Honeygirl

Goddess says: Honeygirl

Honeygirl nods, smiling, studying you quietly

Honeygirl asks: yes Ma'am?

Goddess says: As you see we are not alone. I am permitting this person to observe us.

Honeygirl says: Yes ma'am, she has asked my permission as well. I told her, of course, that your will is my will.

Honeygirl kneels belatedly

Goddess says: come close let me look at you

Honeygirl shuffles close to you on her knees

Honeygirl looks up at you, smiling sweetly

Goddess says: describe your self in detail my Honeygirl

Goddess says: head down for now my Honeygirl

Honeygirl says: I am 22 years old, 5'3", 117 lbs.... shoulder length brown hair, brown eyes, olive complexion

Honeygirl says: petite body, pretty face

Goddess says: are you fit my dear

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Goddess says: and your breasts let me see them

Honeygirl unbuttons her blouse, pulling the material back to reveal her breasts... they are small and round with hard little nipples

Goddess says: Honeygirl they will do

Honeygirl blushes

Goddess says: do my Honeygirl do you want me to touch them

Honeygirl nods

Goddess says: not yet Honeygirl maybe later if you are very obedient

Honeygirl nods again, blushing

Goddess says: come and disrobe for me Honeygirl slowly and tell me in detail what your body looks like my pet

Honeygirl stands up
Goddess says: disrobe my pet
Honeygirl slips her shirt the rest of the way off...
Honeygirl 's skin is tanned and soft...small titties with tan lines... flat tanned belly
Honeygirl unbuttons her jeans and slides out of them, revealing white panties
Honeygirl steps out of her jeans... legs slim and tanned, shaved to the crotch
Goddess says: you have lovely legs my pet
Honeygirl blushes before beginning to pull her panties down... thank you Ma'am
Honeygirl smiles at you
Honeygirl takes off her panties, kicking them to one side
Goddess says: describe your self
Honeygirl asks: my body Miss?
Goddess says: yes between your legs my pet
Honeygirl giggles... oh, of course
Honeygirl says: my pussy is lightly covered with brown silky curly hair...
Goddess says: you are very pretty my Honeygirl come here and give me your neck
Honeygirl goes to you and kneels before you
Honeygirl bows her head
Goddess says: your neck child give me your neck
Honeygirl tilts her chin back, baring her throat
Honeygirl asks: like this Ma'am?
Goddess says: I wrap a red ribbon around it and tie it into a bow there is a long silk leash attached to it that I keep firmly in my hand
Honeygirl grins, very happy
Honeygirl asks: may I kiss your hand?
Goddess says: yes
Honeygirl softly kisses the hand holding the leash
Goddess says: and taste my fingers Honeygirl
Honeygirl licks your strong beautiful fingers one by one
Goddess says: hmmm you listen well my Honeygirl
Honeygirl smiles, pleased she had pleased you
Goddess says: I need you to disrobe your mistress Honeygirl
Honeygirl asks: yes Ma'am... may I ask what you are wearing?
Goddess says: I am wearing a red silk shirt open to the navel black silk riding pants that cling to my body and tall leather boots my pet

Honeygirl stands and untucks your shirt quickly and gently

Goddess says: now disrobe me slowly tell me how much you enjoy it my pet

Honeygirl slips your shirt off your shoulders, sliding it down your arms slowly...eyes devouring the naked skin that is revealed

Honeygirl removes your shirt at last and folds it neatly, placing it on a chair

Goddess says: I must step out for 30 minutes my pet

studies your breasts, your body, from beneath her lashes

Honeygirl studies your breasts, your body, from beneath her lashes

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Honeygirl hands you your shirt again, smiling sadly

Goddess says: I will return and reward you if you are here my Honeygirl

Honeygirl nods quickly

Goddess says: and if you are not I will be sad and miss you my Honeygirl you are so obedient

Goddess says: I take my shirt and slowly put it back on my pet :)

Honeygirl watches you happily

Goddess says: tell me my Honeygirl tell me what you want to do

Honeygirl says: I want to kiss you all over Ma'am...

Honeygirl says: I want to bury my tongue inside you...

Goddess says: do you want to do that badly my Honeygirl

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Goddess says: how badly Honeygirl tell me

Honeygirl says: very very badly Ma'am

Goddess says: good Honeygirl I will reward you when I return my Honeygirl think of what your reward might be my pet

Honeygirl exclaims: yes Ma'am, I will!

Goddess says: and if you are very very good and bring me pleasure more than you have you shall be greatly rewarded my Honeygirl

Honeygirl nods again, smiling

Goddess says: I will let you curl up on the bed until I return my Honeygirl
thank you Miss

Honeygirl says: thank you Miss

Goddess says: I will be back shortly my pet I tie the leash to a corner of the
bed I will be back soon my Honeygirl

Honeygirl says: I will be waiting Mistress

Honeygirl slips between the black satin sheets and falls into a light sleep...

Goddess's eyes glaze over...

{ We wait for Goddess to return. During this time I do not talk with Honeygirl. 30 minutes or so pass. }

Goddess has RETURNED!

Goddess says: hello my pet did you miss me my Honeygirl

Goddess says: I undo the leash from the side of the bed and tug gently on it

Honeygirl exclaims: hello!

Honeygirl wakes up, rubbing her eyes

Honeygirl smiles up at you

Goddess says: hello my pet did you have a nice nap

Honeygirl nods, stretching

Honeygirl says: yes Miss

Goddess says: good for you you have been so obedient my Honeygirl

Honeygirl slips out of bed to kneel before you

Goddess says: you shall be rewarded

Honeygirl says: thank you Ma'am

Goddess says: come and disrobe me my pet so I can lay on the bed

Honeygirl stands and untucks your shirt again...slipping it down your arms and off

Goddess says: mmm you have lovely fingers my Honeygirl

Honeygirl blushes as she tries not to stare at your body... so close...

Honeygirl 's fingers quickly undo your pants...

Goddess says: keep your head down my pet not yet can you stare

Honeygirl keeps her eyes lowered...and tugs gently on your pants, pulling them down your long legs

Honeygirl helps you step out of them... after gently pulling your long riding boots off, one at a time...

Goddess says: yes my Honeygirl that makes me so comfortable and the boots my child

Honeygirl tugs the boots off one at a time, letting you balance on her shoulders as she pulls them off

Goddess says: all I have on are my silk cut panties with ruffles all around them

Honeygirl asks: may I Ma'am?

Goddess says: not yet my Honeygirl maybe if you are very obedient

Honeygirl nods

Honeygirl fights to keep her eyes lowered

Goddess says: now for your reward

Honeygirl trembles with anticipation

Goddess says: come let me put this black silk cloth around your eyes my Honeygirl

Honeygirl nods, moving close to you

Honeygirl closes her eyes

Goddess says: I wrap the cloth around your eyes so that you can see nothing
Goddess says: I tug at it firmly to make sure
Honeygirl whimpers
Goddess says: are you frightened my pet
Honeygirl says: a little, Ma'am
Goddess says: don't be my Honeygirl don't be
Honeygirl nods hesitantly
Goddess says: come and kneel beside me in the bed my Honeygirl
Honeygirl finds the bed and gets on it, kneeling...
Honeygirl asks: here Miss?
Goddess says: my Honeygirl you tell me your wishes that you would love to do to your mistress and I may grant you one for a reward
Honeygirl gulps
Honeygirl says: Ma'am, I want to.. to put my mouth on your breasts... kiss them... suck them...
Honeygirl says: and I would love to kiss you, between your legs, Miss...
Goddess says: then my Honeygirl your reward is to make love to my breasts my Honeygirl make them hard and erect Honeygirl and tell me how much you enjoy it
Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am, thank you
Honeygirl reaches a hand out blindly, trying to find you...
Goddess says: I gently take your hand and place it on my right breast
Honeygirl moans softly
Honeygirl shifts, moving closer...
Honeygirl 's hand strokes your silky breast
Goddess says: make love to them Honeygirl bring me pleasure
Honeygirl 's two hands are on you now, one on each breast, stroking, gently squeezing
Honeygirl says: ohhhh, Miss, they feel so beautiful
Goddess says: yes they are Honeygirl would you like to see them
Honeygirl 's fingers find the nipples, teasing them until they become hard
Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am
Goddess says: not yet Honeygirl we shall see
Honeygirl nods....gently rolling your nipples between her fingers
Goddess says: mmmmm
Honeygirl leans forward...her hair touches your skin, falling forward
Goddess says: mmmm Honeygirl your hair is so soft my dear
Honeygirl 's mouth finally contacts your flesh.... on your right breast, above the nipple

Honeygirl kisses your skin softly
Goddess says: yes my pet your lips are soft
Goddess says: does this bring you pleasure my dear
Honeygirl sucks your nipple into her warm, wet mouth
Honeygirl nods ... sucking you like a baby
Goddess says: do you want to look
Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am, please
Goddess says: not yet my pet soon
Honeygirl says: as you wish Mistress
Goddess says: are you wet my dear
Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am I am... I can feel my juices on my inner thighs
Goddess says: I want you to share the juices Honeygirl make my breasts shine with your wet warm nectar
Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am
Honeygirl puts her hand between her legs, wetting her fingers
Honeygirl paints your right breast with her juices, using her fingertips
Goddess says: would you like to look now my pet
Honeygirl says: oh yes Miss
Goddess says: how bad my pet
Honeygirl 's hand returns to her pussy, bringing sweet wetness to cover your breasts with
Honeygirl says: very bad
Goddess says: you have been so obedient I reach down and pull the cloth from your eyes
Honeygirl massages your breasts gently...blinking for a few moments, staring down at your naked body, your face, your beautiful wet breasts
Goddess says: make them shine with your nectar Honeygirl
Honeygirl rubs her hand back between her legs... it emerges soaked... she spreads the honey over your skin
Honeygirl says: Miss, if I touch myself down there again I fear I might cum...
Goddess says: then wait my dear
Honeygirl nods
Goddess says: and you can lick the nectar off my breasts my Honeygirl
Honeygirl says: thank you Ma'am
Honeygirl brings her mouth to your flesh again...licking your nipples, first one then other...
Goddess says: you are welcome my pet
Honeygirl 's teeth nibble your left nipple...sucking passionately...
Goddess says: lick all the juices my pet
Honeygirl 's own breasts touch your body as she leans forward

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Goddess says: mmm your nipples are hard my Honeygirl

Honeygirl licks your breasts clean with long, soft flat strokes of her hot tongue

Honeygirl nods... I know Mistress..

Goddess says: how does it taste my pet

Honeygirl says: very good... very very good...

Goddess says: take a finger my pet and bring to my lips some of your nectar bring it till your finger almost touches my lips

Honeygirl wets her forefinger in her tight little pussy and brings it to your lips

Goddess says: I take your wrist and hold it tight my tongue slides out and gently licks some of the sweet nectar from your pussy and the I take your finger and slowly rub once across my lips

Honeygirl moans

Goddess says: my Honeygirl are you happy

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Honeygirl smiles sweetly

Goddess says: I am pleased

Honeygirl asks: have I made you happy?

Goddess says: yes my Honeygirl I am happy did you enjoy your reward

Honeygirl says: ohhh yes yes yes

Goddess says: come stand above my face my pet

Honeygirl stands on the bed.... moves to stand above your face, blushing

Honeygirl asks: like this Miss?

Honeygirl rests her hands on the wall for balance

Goddess says: I look up and I see your very wet nectar filled pussy and your strong legs and full breasts

Goddess says: yes like that my pet

Honeygirl nods, standing as still as she is able...

Goddess says: would you like to lower your pussy closer to my waiting mouth

Honeygirl asks: ohhh yes I would.. may I?

Goddess says: no not today my pet but you can bring your self to an orgasm while you are above me

Honeygirl says: thank you Miss

Honeygirl 's finger begins to stroke her hard clit

Honeygirl moans..

Goddess says: let me see you come my pet make yourself come for me it will bring me pleasure

Honeygirl slips a finger inside her pussy...

Honeygirl says: yes Miss...

Honeygirl is breathless... she finger-fucks herself... strumming her clit quickly...

Honeygirl suddenly shudders....groaning....pressing her hand tight to her pussy

Honeygirl says: I'm cumming Mistress...

Goddess says: yes my pet come to me

Goddess says: ohhh my Honeygirl

Honeygirl says: ohhhhh....

Goddess says: some of your nectar falls to my lips

Honeygirl 's pussy is streaming with her juices... wetting her hand, her thighs...

Goddess says: I lick it inside and taste the sweetness

Honeygirl 's legs tremble...she opens her eyes, face hot....

Goddess says: some more falls gently upon my chin and dribbles down to my neck

Honeygirl says: Mistress, thank you

Goddess says: you are welcome my Honeygirl

Honeygirl says: may I sit down now? my legs are shaking....

Goddess says: I have some nectar on my chin and neck my dear come lick it off yes sit beside me

Honeygirl sits beside you on the bed...she lovingly leans forward and licks the honey from your chin...

letting her tongue trail down your throat till all is Goddess says: my Honeygirl you are very obedient you have brought me pleasure my pet

Honeygirl says: thank you Miss

Honeygirl smiles, happy

Goddess says: would you like to wear my red ribbon for all to see

Honeygirl says: Ma'am, I am a new and young submissive...I have been advised not to take a Mistress or a Master until I have had many experiences....

Honeygirl blushes.... but I feel a wonderful warmth for you Miss...I feel love for you, already...

Goddess says: yes my child you still need to learn you can wait then

Honeygirl says: thank you Miss

Goddess says: come let me hold you in my arms my Honeygirl before I must leave

Honeygirl falls into your embrace, thrilled to feel her flesh touch yours

Goddess says: this is another reward for being so obedient my Honeygirl

Honeygirl rests her head on your shoulder, feeling so so happy...

Honeygirl says: thank you, you're very kind

Goddess says: I stroke your brown hair and whisper you did bring me pleasure my dear I am happy

Honeygirl presses a little kiss to your shoulder.. hoping its ok

Goddess says: not yet my child

Goddess says: no kisses

Honeygirl says: pardon me, I'm so sorry...

Goddess says: you have to earn those rewards my Honeygirl

Honeygirl says: yes Ma'am

Honeygirl is almost in tears...

Goddess says: you should be punished for being so forward with your mistress

Honeygirl says: please, Miss, I'm sorry

Goddess says: you do have a lot to learn my Honeygirl a lot to learn

Honeygirl nods... yes Ma'am, I'm very new...

Goddess says: Honeygirl

Honeygirl asks: yes Miss?

Goddess says: it is only because you are so new that I will not punish you today and because you were very obedient and you brought me pleasure but the next time you will be punished my pet

Honeygirl says: I understand Ma'am...

Honeygirl hangs her head, ashamed

Goddess says: come here my child

Honeygirl comes nearer

Goddess says: I take your head in my hands and lift it till you are looking me in the eyes

Honeygirl meets your gaze remorsefully, pupils big and black

Goddess says: I look deep into your eyes Honeygirl and tell you you will make a mistress very happy one day Honeygirl you have the potential you are very obedient and Honeygirl that mistress will be very lucky to have you

Honeygirl blushes... thank you Miss, you're very kind!

Goddess says: I kiss you on the forehead and tell you it is time to dress and time to go my pet

Honeygirl nods

Goddess says: I will be back later tonight and tomorrow during the day if you want to serve me send me some mail my Honeygirl

Honeygirl exclaims: thank you, I will Mistress!

Goddess says: now I must leave

Honeygirl nods, smiling...you're so kind...thank you Mistress... I feel very lucky...

Goddess says: you are very lucky my Honeygirl you are

Honeygirl nods

Goddess says: now I must go you may kiss my hand before I leave

Honeygirl tenderly kisses your hand, her lips lingering on the flesh

Honeygirl says: goodbye Ma'am

Goddess says: bye my Honeygirl as I pull my hand away and disappear

{Goddess logs out. I ask Honeygirl the follow-up questions and I send mail to Goddess wit the questions. Unfortunately she never replied.}

Follow-up

Honeygirl, Age 22, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: Not long, about 2 weeks

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: No {I ask, do you think you would like to?} I don't know, I'm just kind of exploring this side of me. It's all pretty new to me.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: No, this was our first meeting.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Maybe. She wanted me to become her slave but I don't think I want to do that yet. There are a lot of people who want to play with me.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: Well I behaved submissively. So I gave her some power over me. {I ask for more information.} For instance I treat her with respect and I obey her. She gets to make decisions for me. She gets to decide if I can touch her and how I can touch her. If I didn't like it I could just leave. So I don't know if anyone really has any power or loses any power. I mean, it's not real. In a way it is, I guess, but in a way its not.

Dyad G

Masochist = Lily/Sadist = Alberto

Lily smiles

Lily says: good afternoon

Alberto eyes you up and down...yes, it might be a good afternoon

Lily blushes.. smiles at you shyly

Alberto squeezes your breasts rudely...hmmm this are nice

Lily gasps

Lily says: umm, thank you Sir

Alberto throws you on your knees...but I got better uses for you!

Lily gasps again, kneeling in front of you
Alberto sticks his finger in your mouth...feeling your soft lips...mmmm these are going to well used!
Lily trembles
Alberto unzips his pants and reveals his half hardened cock
Lily looks up at you, eyes big and dark
Alberto asks: are you going to suck me nice like or do I have to get rough?
Lily opens her mouth obediently
Alberto exclaims: mmmm...that's it slut!
Lily licks her lips and opens wider
Alberto crams his thick cock in your mouth....loving your hot tongue on it!
Lily closes her lips around your cock and begins to suck
Lily closes her eyes
Lily whimpers a little, frightened of you
Alberto grabs your head and crushes it against his crotch...driving his cock down your throat
Lily gags, choking
Lily struggles a little to back away
Alberto doesn't let you pull away.. he pounds against your lips.. bruising them.
Alberto exclaims: SUCK IT !
Lily moans, sucking obediently, trying not to choke
Alberto fucks your mouth roughly...sliding his cock in and out quickly...working your little mouth
Lily squirms on her knees before you, whimpering
Alberto slaps you suck harder you slut!
Lily 's mouth is stretched around your thick cock. she whimpers
Lily sucks hard
Alberto exclaims: mmmm...make me cum!
Lily increases her speed, sucking quickly, her mouth tight around you
Alberto feels his balls tighten and squirts a little pre cum
Lily can taste you in her mouth
Alberto shiver and moans as he explodes in your mouth...shooting his hot cum all over you
Lily gulps it down, tears springing to her eyes
Alberto squirts it all over you face and hair...
Lily squirms back, moving slightly away
Lily wipes her mouth with her hand
Alberto laughs...hahaha...that's how a good slut look like!
Lily 's lower lip trembles.. her eyes are angry, but she is quiet

Alberto exclaims: you ain't nothing but a little cock sucker!
Lily growls softly, edging away
Alberto exclaims: come here!
Lily shakes her head no, mutinously
Alberto exclaims: I sad crawl your cheap ass over here!
Lily trembles but stays put
Alberto walks over angrily!
Alberto towers over you shivering in anger....you dare defy me?
Lily cringes, but her mouth is set firmly
Lily looks up at you silently
Alberto grabs you and slams you against the wall!
Lily gasps, winded
Alberto flips you on your belly and hikes up your skirt!
Alberto exclaims: I'll show you!
Lily begins to struggle, squirming violently
Lily 's legs are kicking wildly
Alberto snaps off your panties and finger your pink anal walls
Lily screams, angry and scared, as she feels your invasion
Lily struggles to turn over, to dislodge you
Alberto pins you down under his weight and rubs his cock head on your tight ass
Lily 's struggles fade away as she exhausts herself
Alberto rams your tight ass...stretching it over his throbbing cock!
Lily shrieks when her ass is invaded and stretched
Alberto exclaims: mmmm baby...you are so tight!
Lily 's only response is a little whimper
Alberto pounds in and out...his cock squeezed and gripped by your firm muscles!
Lily moans with the pain. her anus is far too tight to take your cock comfortably
Alberto thrusts madly...not caring if you rip or if you feel pain...he is loving
your tightness
Lily 's body twists under your weight, her soft little ass cruelly abused
Alberto begins to choke you as your ass satisfies him...he moans
Lily struggles for breath. She starts to feel dizzy.
Alberto feels his cock jump...he is going to burst!
Lily feels herself blacking out
Alberto digs his fingers into your neck as he floods your ass.. his cum coating your raw ass

Lily goes limp, passing out completely for a few moments, her ass twitching as it fills with your cum

Alberto sighs as he lets you go....his limp cock still lingering on your ass he s strokes out the last droplets...

Lily takes several deep raw breaths....moaning raggedly

Alberto leans back to relax and enjoy the damage he has done...you look so pretty now! hehe

Lily can feel your juices oozing out of her

Alberto exclaims: was it good for you? hahaha!

Lily closes her eyes and wishes for a tiny scrap of kindness

Alberto kisses your closed eyes...

Lily sighs softly

Alberto licks

Alberto wraps his arms around you...you were great...

Lily smiles at you thank you Sir

Alberto says: but next time, I won't be so gentle

Lily almost -- but not quite -- laughs

Alberto says: if you defy me, I have to punish you...if you submit, I'll reward you

Lily says: I understand Sir

Lily says: I'm sorry I disobeyed

Alberto says: it's okay...I enjoy punishing you

[session ends because Lily either gets caught in lag or loses her link. I ask Alberto the follow-up questions. Soon after, Lily logs back in and I ask her the questions too.]

Follow-up

Alberto, Age 25, Male

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: Maybe 2 years

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: No. The woman I'm involved with isn't interested in it. {I ask, would you try it in real life?} Yeah, I'd like to try it.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: Yeah, we've played together a few times.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Probably. She likes it rough and there aren't that many who do. {I ask, So are you different with different kinds of partners then? } Of course. With some people I'm downright gallant! I try to give them what they want.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: {He asks for clarification. I say, "I'm trying to get at how it's established that you are the one with the power and she is the powerless one. How does it happen that you have the control?" } I don't know if you know this but we talk before we do a scene, especially if its the first time. We get to know each other, feel out our likes and dislikes. With Lily she told me when we first met that she likes rape scenes. So I know it's ok to do certain things with her I wouldn't do with someone else. Once we meet for a scene all that stuff is settled. So if she struggles I know it's ok to force her. So to say I have the power and the control is misleading. We are out to please each other.

Lily, Age 29, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: A year or so

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: I had one partner who was into it but we broke up. Since then I've been exploring it over the Internet. {I ask, Would you try it in real life again if you found a partner? } I'm picky about my partners. Also I'm involved with someone now who doesn't know about all this. I guess the short answer is maybe.

Q: Is your partner today one you have had scenes with before?

A: Yes, we've had a few encounters.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Yes, I think so. {I ask her what she likes about him.} He's not scared to get nasty.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: Well, you were there! He was totally in control of it. When I fought him he didn't back off. He wasn't afraid to overpower me. That's what a good Dom is all about. He knows that's how I want it, too. We had a long talk when we first met about our fantasies and stuff. {I ask for more details.} If I had to pick a moment there, I'd say when I disobeyed him and he punished me. That's when you know who's the boss!

Dyad H

Masochist = Xanadu/Sadist = Mann

Xanadu kneels

Mann says: hello

Mann says: you may stand

Xanadu says: hello

Xanadu stands

Mann sets down a leather satchel

Xanadu keeps her gaze lowered

Mann opens the bag and takes out some candles

Xanadu watches covertly from beneath her hair

Mann lights the candles and grins

Mann walks behind you and slaps your ass

Xanadu yelps, startled

Mann asks: what are you wearing right now?

Xanadu says: black jeans and a t-shirt Sir

Xanadu says: no bra, white panties, no socks

Mann nods

Mann says: thank you

Xanadu nods obediently

Xanadu smiles

Mann says: take your shirt off

Xanadu grasps the bottom of her shirt with her fingers and pulls it off her , over her head

Xanadu tosses it to the floor

Xanadu stands with shoulders back, hands clasped behind her back

Mann grins as he reaches around you and pinches your nipples slightly

Xanadu bites her lower lip

Xanadu can feel her nipples hardening

Mann walks in front of you and begins to lick your nipples with the tip of his tongue

Xanadu moans

Mann nibbles on your nipples as he unbuttons your jeans

Mann slides your jeans down over your hips

Mann says: step out of them please

Xanadu shivers a little and steps out of them

Xanadu stands only in her panties

Mann slides his hands down your thighs
Xanadu licks her lips, getting goosebumpy
Mann runs his tongue down your chest
Xanadu arches her back
Mann slides his hands back up your thighs and caresses your pussy as he passes it on his way to the waistband of your panties
Xanadu trembles, moaning
Mann slides your panties down over your slender hips
Xanadu 's fingers are tightly interlocked behind her back and she wants very much to reach forward and touch you
Mann says: you may touch me
Xanadu 's hands lightly touch your chest
Mann grins as he kisses your lips tenderly
Xanadu 's hands roam over your chest and torso, feeling your body through your shirt
Mann unbuttons his shirt and lets it slide off of his broad shoulders
Xanadu says: mmm
Mann grins
Xanadu smiles
Mann walks behind you
Xanadu clasps her hands together again, in front of her
Mann says: bend over
Xanadu bends from the waist, legs straight
Xanadu 's fingers touch the floor
Mann takes out two clamps from bagthey are connected by a thin chain
Mann slaps your ass
Xanadu tries to see what you are doing - she yelps sharply when you slap her
Mann says: you like to be spanked don't you
Xanadu says: yes Master Mann
Mann slaps your ass again a little harder
Xanadu 's howl echoes off the wall
Mann reaches around you and slips the clamps over your nipples
Xanadu can feel her ass flesh reddening, heating
Xanadu groans as the clamps bite into her soft nipples
Mann tugs on the chain, pulling on your nipples

Xanadu starts to cry

Mann slaps your ass again

Xanadu 's nipples are dark red, evidence of the torture

Xanadu 's ass trembles with the force of your hand

Mann takes a candle and tilts it over your ass, letting wax drip down onto your tight, slender ass cheeks

Xanadu yelps with each drip of the hot wax onto her delicate skin

Xanadu 's hips start to gyrate

Mann sets the candle down and kneels down behind you

Xanadu holds her breath

Mann slides his tongue from your clit all the way up to your tight asshole and teases it....making it quiver slightly in anticipation

Xanadu 's body jumps slightly and she moans again

Xanadu says: ohhhh...!

Xanadu 's ass wriggles

Mann slides his tongue slightly inside your tight asshole, moving it in circles quickly

Xanadu 's knees buckle, feeling your devilish tongue on her ass

Mann slides his tongue deeper inside your tight asshole

Xanadu presses back against you hungrily

Xanadu whimpers with desire. Her pussy is throbbing

Mann slides his tongue out of your ass and asks you "do you want more?"

Xanadu nods breathlessly

Xanadu says: yes please Sir

Mann says: tell metell me what you want my tongue to do

Xanadu 's knees give out and she slips to the floor, kneeling

Xanadu says: Master Mann, I want you to treat me like I am your own personal slut

Mann follows you to the floor

Mann says: where do you want my tongue...tell me

Xanadu moans, feeling shy

Xanadu says: my body is yours Master Mann

Xanadu says: it is at your disposal

Mann slides his tongue down to your swollen clit and licks it slowly

Xanadu shivers falling onto her back on the cold floor, legs apart

Mann pulls a suede cat o' nine tails from his bag and flicks it against your pussy

Xanadu quivers, feeling the sting of the whip

Xanadu 's pussy is quite wet

Mann slides a finger into your tight asshole as he flicks the whip against your pussy quickly again and again

Xanadu 's moans fill the room as her body writhes on the floor

Xanadu 's thighs try to close

Mann stands and slides his leather pants off

Xanadu looks up at you, panting

Mann kneels before you and slaps your clit with his cock

Mann asks: would you like to suck my cock?

Xanadu snys: Master Mann, I would be honored

Xanadu licks her lips, gazing at your big gorgeous hard cock

Mann turns around and kneels over you, his large 10" cock hanging over your face

Mann says: 10" n real life

Xanadu 's tongue starts at the base and working up

Mann tugs on the chain connecting your nipples

Xanadu licks it all over obediently

Xanadu groans as her tongue circles the swollen head

Mann moans as he slides his tongue over your clit again flicking it quickly back and forth

Xanadu 's hips rise to meet your tongue

Xanadu 's hands encircle your hips, caressing your ass cheeks as she manages to take most of you in

Mann slides his finger back into your tight, hot asshole as he nibbles your swollen clit

Xanadu begins to suck you

Mann moans

Mann says: good

Mann says: good pet

Xanadu responds with a moan, sucking your cock hard

Mann slides his finger deeper into your asshole, but not yet all the way as his tongue finds its way into your dripping pussy

Xanadu can feel you right to the back of her throat and still you are not all inside her mouth

Mann stands and tells you to do the same

Xanadu gets to her feet

Xanadu is shivering

Xanadu wipes her wet mouth with the back of her hand

Mann says: turn around and put your hands on the table

Xanadu obeys you

Mann moves behind you

Xanadu 's hands rest on the table-top
Mann slaps your asshole with the head of his huge, hard cock
Xanadu leans farther forward until her chest rests on the table top, legs spread far apart
Xanadu 's ass is tilted up for you
Mann slaps your asshole harder with his cock
Xanadu 's hips wriggle
Mann slides the head of his cock into your tight asshole and begins to fuck you with just the tip
Xanadu moans, her asshole hurting -- but something in her voice tells you she loves it
Mann asks: do you want more?
Xanadu nods, moaning
Xanadu says: please, yes Master Mann
Mann slides his cock a little deeper up your asshole moving his hips in a circular motion
Mann asks: do you want it deeper?
Xanadu has never been ass-fucked before by such an enormous cock
Xanadu says: I am in your hands Master Mann
Mann slides his cock all the way in, pumping your asshole slowly
Xanadu feels almost split in two by you
Mann slides his cock out of your asshole and into your wanting pussy
Xanadu groans loudly as her pussy is entered
Mann asks: are you playing with yourself?
Xanadu says: yes Sir
Mann asks: pussy and ass?
Xanadu nods
Mann asks: how many fingers in your ass?
Xanadu says: one Master Mann, its very tight
Mann nods
Mann says: very good
Mann slams his cock into your pussy deeper and deeper every stroke
Mann plays with your clit as his cock fills your pussy
Xanadu gasps again and again feeling her orgasm coming on
Xanadu asks: Master Mann, may I cum?
Mann says: you may cum....yes
Xanadu starts to cum
Mann slides a finger up your asshole as you cum all over his cock
Mann pumps your pussy furiously as his balls begin to swell

Xanadu 's orgasm goes on and on
Xanadu can feel your cock pulsing inside her -- she whispers for you to cum in her
Xanadu says: please, cum in me Master Mann
Mann slams his cock deep inside you and convulses as he cums in your wet cunt
Xanadu moans along with you as her cunt fills with your cum
Xanadu says: thank you Master Mann, yes, yes
Mann moans
Mann shudders with pleasure and drives his cock deep into you
Xanadu lies soft and still under you
Mann asks: did you enjoy yourself?
Xanadu says: yes Master Mann
Xanadu asks: did I please you?
Mann asks: did you cum in real life?
Mann says: yes...you pleased me a great deal
Xanadu says: I am close, I will later
Xanadu smiles
Mann smiles and kisses you
Mann asks: will I see you again?
Xanadu kisses you back, grabs her clothes, curtsies
Xanadu says: yes please, Master Mann, if you want to
Mann says: I would be honored

{ Session ends. Both log out. Several days later I come across them again on-line and manage to ask the follow-up questions. }

Follow-up

Xanadu, Age 28, Female

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: Since last summer, so maybe 7 months.

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: No. But I never say never. (I ask if she has plans to try it in real life.) I might. I want to but I'm a little scared. Maybe if I really get to know someone here I'll feel comfortable with meeting them. I don't know.

Q: Is your partner (the one I observed you with) one you have had scenes with before?

A: No, that was our first time but since then we've had encounters every day.

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Yeah, as it is now we plan to be on-line at the same time. I'm not playing with anyone else right now, just him.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: {She asked for clarification. I said, "What was it about the scene that made it clear that he was the Dom and you were the sub?"} Well we both knew who was what. I don't Dom. I'm very submissive. {I ask for more information.} It's like there are rules of behavior you have to follow. There are things I do as a sub and there are things he does as a Dom. Like, I would never tell him to kneel and I would never touch him without permission, but he can do that stuff to me.

Mann, Age 47, Male

Q: How long have you been participating in s/m on the net?

A: Years and years. I don't know, maybe 4 years.

Q: Do you engage in real-life s/m as well?

A: Yes, didn't you read my profile? I'm a real-life Dom. {I ask him why he engages in on-line s/m} You can't always get together with your slaves. For instance my slaves both live in different cities. We get together when we can. {I ask how often.} Maybe 6 times a year total. {I say, "So you use the on-line s/m as a substitute?"} In a way. I also met my slaves this way.

Q: Is your partner (the one I observed you with) one you have had scenes with before?

A: At the time, no

Q: Do you plan to have scenes with her in the future?

A: Actually we've gotten together a couple times since then.

Q: What part or parts of the scene do you feel were critical to establishing the roles of dominant and submissive? That is, how and where did the dominant establish power over the submissive?

A: She knows what I want and expect from my profile. And before we ever went private we talked about what she wanted, what I wanted, limits - the usual. {I ask him if there was anything specific to that scene that established his domination.} I can't remember the details but generally you have to set up control right from the start. The trick is to be in control and have your own needs met and also make it good for her.

Appendix GG

Content Analysis Items Addressing The Power Exchange Hypothesis

(1). Stepping Out Of The Role To Check On Scene Progress

- individual expresses limits (i.e. boundaries of activity beyond which the individual does not wish to explore)
- individual breaks out of role to discuss preferences for where the scene should go next or to inquire as to partner's enjoyment

(2). Kind of Communication.

(a). Direct Communication. Specifically:

- expressions of direct disapproval (e.g. "I don't like how this is going" or approval (e.g. "This is just what I had in mind.")
- direct commands given (e.g. "Lie down", or "Remove your clothing".)

(b). Indirect Communication. Indicators for this style of communication were as follows:

- expressions of indirect approval, disapproval (e.g. erotic moans can be used to indicate approval of the scene, while such behaviours as pouting can be used to indicate disapproval)
- the use of hints about preferred direction of the scene (e.g. Jane emoting that "Jane wishes her hands were untied so she could touch you" is a hint as to the direction Jane would like the action to take.)

(2). Provision of Real-Life Information.

Indicators of the provision of real-life information were as follows:

- partner asks the individual for real-life information (e.g. name, age, body characteristics, job, geographic location) and individual provides the requested information

- individual spontaneously gives real-life information to partner (e.g. name, age, body characteristics, job, geographic location)

(4). Expressions of Caring and Concern.

Indicators of caring and concern were as follows:

- uses terms of endearment (e.g. "darling", "sweetheart", "my love", "pet", "my child")
- demonstrations of tenderness (e.g. tending to partner's physical ailments)

(5). Indicators of Status Differential.

A number of indicators of status differential were coded for, from manner of address to the issuing and obeying of commands.

Indicators of Masochist's Deference

- use of a "title", such as Sir, Ma'am, Master, Mistress, Mommy, Daddy
- bows, kneels, curtsies
- averts eyes
- smiles "up" at the partner (highlighting physical or positional inferiority)
- apologizes
- nods in agreement
- asks permission to touch, kiss, speak, sit, orgasm, etc.

Indicators of Masochist's Fear:

- trembles (in fear as opposed to passion, pain)
- whimpers (in fear as opposed to passion, pain)
- quivers (in fear as opposed to passion, pain)
- shakes (in fear as opposed to passion, pain)
- shudders (in fear as opposed to passion, pain)
- bites lip (in anxiety)

- emotes fear (e.g. "Jane cowers in fear")
- specifically says he/she is afraid (e.g. "Mistress, I am frightened")

Indicators of Masochist's Pain:

- moans, groans, whimpers, yelps, cries out (in pain as opposed to fear, passion)
- cries tears (in pain as opposed to fear)
- grits teeth
- goes pale/goes red (in pain as opposed to fear, passion)
- sweats (in pain as opposed to fear, passion)
- writhes, twists, struggles (in pain as opposed to fear, passion)
- pleads for cessation of pain or for mercy

Indicators of Masochist's Obedience:

- obeys a direct "active" command (e.g. gets undressed, kneels, touches, when told to do so)
- obeys "control" command (e.g. stops him/herself from moving, looking, making a sound, orgasming, when told he/she must not)

Indicators of Masochist Being Owned

- expresses partner's ownership (e.g. "I am yours")
- wears a collar/leash
- is branded or tattooed by partner
- expresses adoration, devotion of partner (e.g. "You are my world")

Indicators of Masochist's Sexual Submission:

- is undressed by partner
- undresses partner or self when told to do so
- is penetrated by partner (via mouth/vagina/anus, with finger/tongue/penis/other)
- penetrates partner when told to do so (with finger/tongue/penis/other, in partner's mouth/vagina/anus)
- kisses partner when given permission or told to do so

Indicators of Sadist's Superiority

- uses parental or derogatory form of address regarding partner (parental, e.g. pet, little one, my child; derogatory, e.g. slut, whore)
- smiles or looks "down" at partner (indicating relative superiority of physical stature or position)
- humiliates partner
- touches partner (no permission necessary)
- orders partner to assume a position, move to a different location

Indicators of Sadist's Use of Physical Coercion, Restriction, Infliction of Pain

- ties, shackles, or otherwise binds partner
- blindfolds partner
- uses violence or threats of violence to ensure compliance and/or subdue partner
- spansks, canes, whips partner
- bites, pinches, squeezes partner, or parts of partner's body
- penetrates partner's orifice (vagina, anus) and thereby stretches it (with penis, finger(s), fist, other object)
- uses hot wax on partner's skin to inflict pain
- scratches partner, tears partner's flesh (in penetration, biting, whipping)

Indicators of Sadist's Ownership of Partner

- states ownership of partner (e.g. "You are mine")