

An Exploration of Voyeurism and Upskirting

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Abstract

Background: Although it could be argued that upskirting is not a novel behaviour, available research exploring this type of offence is limited. This leaves gaps in knowledge, and therefore difficulty in understanding the acceptance, endorsement, and perpetration of upskirting offences as well as the impact on victims.

Aims: As upskirting offending is currently captured under the Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019, this thesis first aimed to understand what is currently known about voyeurism. It then aimed to explore psychological, motivational, and contextual factors that may be related to upskirting.

Methods: To begin to understand upskirting, a systematic review explored the available academic literature on voyeurism using narrative synthesis. Study 1 investigated potential psychological factors that could be related to upskirting acceptance and endorsement (UA/E) in a general public sample. Study 2 investigated potential motivational and contextual factors in relation to UA/E by gathering both qualitative and quantitative data from the same sample as Study 1. As the previous chapters highlighted the role of sexism in upskirting, a critique of a measure of sexism used in Study 1 was conducted to understand the confidence that could be attributed to the study findings and the wider use of the tool.

Results: Various psychological factors were found to be related to voyeurism and research appeared to focus predominantly on sexually motivated voyeuristic offending (Systematic Review). Ambivalent Sexism and Dark Tetrad traits were found to be independent predictors of UA/E amusement and excitement; however, Mating Effort was not. No factors were found to be independent predictors of UA/E acceptance and proclivity (Study 1). Contextual factors (offence type and setting) did not appear to have an effect on UA/E. Limited conclusions concerning motivations (e.g., humour and sexual) could be drawn due to levels of expressed UA/E (Study 2). The ASI could be considered a 'good' psychometric tool for measuring Ambivalent Sexism (Psychometric Critique).

Discussion: Personality, sexism, and victim harm are discussed in relation to upskirting. There was an indication that upskirting is a distinct, but related, behaviour to voyeurism despite its current conceptualisation in UK law. Accurate conceptualisation and further exploration/understanding of upskirting would be beneficial in relation to legal, social, and health contexts. Suggestions are made concerning and further research into upskirting.

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Chapter One

Chapter 1: Introduction

Main Topic

Voyeurism and Upskirting

This thesis explores both voyeurism, and upskirting. Voyeurism is conceptualised as both a criminal act in the UK law, and as a clinical diagnosis outlined in the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10, World health Organisation [WHO], 1992) and Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5, American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013). Voyeurism is captured by the Sexual Offences Act (2003) as behaviour involving the non-consensual observation or recording of someone engaging in a private act. The act also states that the observation is for the purpose of gaining sexual gratification. The diagnostic criteria for voyeuristic disorder/voyeurism are not required to meet the criminal criteria for committing a voyeuristic offence (e.g., as diagnostic criteria include frequency of the behaviour and distress experienced by the offender). Both legal and clinical conceptualisations include an element of sexual arousal/gratification.

There are some issues with the conceptualisation and categorisation of voyeuristic offences meaning it is difficult to ascertain accurate prevalence rates. These issues will be further discussed in Chapter 2. However,

prevalence rates for voyeurism appear to range from 8.6% to 42% in university student samples and from 6.3% to 35.2% in general population samples. It is not possible to report available statistics provided by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), as voyeurism and exhibitionism are grouped together. These statistics therefore would not clearly represent the number of people convicted of voyeuristic offences or the number of offences recorded by the police.

A broad range of behaviours are likely to fall within the current conceptualisations of voyeurism that could be driven by different motivations, have distinct contributing risk factors, and differing impacts on victims. Examples of behaviours include observing, capturing, and subsequently sharing, images of people undressing, engaging in sex, urinating etc. There are also behaviours that could be considered voyeuristic in nature (e.g., involve non-consensual recording or observing) that may not necessarily meet the legal criteria of being a 'private act', for example, 'creepshotting' (e.g., taking sexually suggestive images of clothed people without their knowledge or consent), upskirting (see following paragraph for definition), 'downblousing' (e.g., non-consensual capturing of images down/beneath the top half of someone's clothing), and breastfeeding voyeurism.

This gap in legislation contributed to the argument for a specific upskirting law to be passed, as certain instances of upskirting (e.g., conducted in public

places) did not meet the legal definition of voyeurism due to the 'private act' stipulation. In 2019 when this thesis was conceptualised, a new law had been passed in the UK that recognised upskirting as a distinct offence. Upskirting is now conceptualised in the UK law as the capturing of images under the clothing of a non-consenting person when the image is of "*genitals or buttocks (whether exposed or covered with underwear)*". The law also includes motivations of "*sexual gratification*" or to cause "*humiliation, distress or alarm*" and that the offender "*does so with the intention that (A) [themselves] or another person (C) will look at the image*" (Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019, s. 67a).

As the Voyeurism (offences) Act 2019 was passed fairly recently, and research into upskirting is currently in its infancy, available prevalence data is limited. The number of recorded cases of upskirting has increased over the years according to police and Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) statistics (Oppenheim, 2019; CPS, 2021) however, when accounting for underreporting, and victims potentially being unaware that an offence has been committed, it is likely that actual prevalence rates would be higher. It is reported that 46 men were prosecuted for upskirting offences between 1st April 2020 and 30th June 2021 and that 15 of the men were also charged with other sexual offences including "child abuse, sexual assault, extreme pornography, and wider voyeurism offences" (CPS, 2021, para. 3). Police statistics for 2018 (Oppenheim, 2019) and CPS statistics for 2020-2021 (CPS,

2021) indicated that people were targeted most commonly in shops, at work, at school, on public transport, in parks, and in the street.

Image Based Sexual Abuse and Non-Consensual Sexual Image Offending

There appears to be two streams of thought when approaching understanding upskirting and a range of other sexual image-based offences. This involves conceptualising these offences as Non-Consensual Sexual Image Offending (NCSI) or Image Based Sexual Abuse (IBSA).

Harper and Fido (2021) break down the phrase Non-Consensual Sexual Image Offending and offer an explanation of its component parts. In Summary, NCSI is defined as the non-consensual production and/or distribution of a range of media types (e.g., images, videos) that are reasonably assumed to not be within the public domain. The media depicts genitalia (however this also can include breasts), people involved in sexual acts and/or the media is produced and/or shared for the purpose of sexual gratification. Harper and Fido (2020) categorise Non-Consensual Sexual Image offending (NCSI) into 4 types by drawing on McGlynn et al.'s (2017) continuum of image-based sexual abuse. This includes revenge pornography, cyber flashing, deepfake pornography, and upskirting.

Image Based Sexual Abuse (IBSA) is defined by Powell et al. (2020) as "the non-consensual taking, sharing, or threats to share, nude or sexual images (photos or videos) of a person" (p.2). It refers to "a variety of digital harms"

(DeKeseredy, 2021, p.330) and behaviours that are included in McGlynn et al.'s (2017) continuum of image-based sexual abuse (e.g., deepfake pornography). Research and literature concerning IBSA appears to predominantly have been developed by social and legal scholars and largely focuses on behaviours that would have previously been termed 'revenge pornography'. The term 'revenge pornography' (which involves the non-consensual sharing of sexual images, often onto public forums) has been replaced by the term 'Image Based Sexual Abuse' as the former emphasises the offenders motivation rather than the experience of the victim and the harm caused. The word 'pornography' also implies consent. The majority of the literature on IBSA (referring to the above definition by Powell et al, 2020) appears to focus on motivations and drivers of power, patriarchy, control, and gender (DeKeseredy, 2021); although some scholars do also consider motivations of monetary gain, social status, and sexual gratification (Powell et al, 2020).

Harper and Fido (2021) argue that there is a disciplinary gap that needs to be bridged when considering behaviours that could be categorised as NCSI or IBSA offences. They posit that although IBSA scholars argue for these offences to be categorised as sexual offences (due to the modality of the offence), the predominant focus on patriarchy, control and power leads to the view sexual elements are not important when considering motivations. This creates an issue or gap when considering that psychological theories of sexual offending,

based on a large body of empirical evidence, include a sexual element such as arousal or interest (whilst still considering the interaction of other factors such as control etc). Harper and Fido (2021) advocate that these offences should be conceptualised in legislation as sexual offences, however, consider that these behaviours could be underpinned by multifactorial sexual and non-sexual motivations. They therefore proposed and utilised the broader label of NCSI to represent a multitude of potential motivations. They also suggest that differing NCSI offences may be underpinned by distinct motivations and driving factors and further propose hypotheses for each, rooted in existing empirical research. Considering these arguments and hypotheses, and the infancy of research on upskirting, this thesis will follow the NCSI conceptualisation and terminology utilised by Harper and Fido (2021).

Significance of Main Topic

Although it could be argued that upskirting is not a novel behaviour, the current academic literature exploring upskirting is limited. This could possibly be due to upskirting only recently being identified and conceptualised as a distinct offence. Prior to this, upskirting may have been discussed more broadly within the voyeurism literature. This also could be an indication that upskirting behaviour has increased or evolved more recently (e.g., taking and sharing images has become easier due to smartphones and the evolution of the internet). Attitudes towards upskirting may also have changed over time

(e.g., recognising the behaviour is harmful) which could have contributed to the perceived need for a distinct law, and an increase in research.

When compared to other sex offences, the non-contact nature of upskirting may have contributed to a perception of less, or minimal harm; particularly considering some victims may be unaware that an offence has been committed. The influence of mainstream media may have encouraged this perception. Over the years, voyeurism and upskirting behaviours have been normalised in the media. There are numerous references to the 'harmless' or acceptable 'peeping tom' in popular film/TV such as 'American Pie' and 'That 70's Show' (for further examples see McIntosh; 2022, March 22). Further examples of normalisation in different forms of media include material performed by comedians (e.g., Bill Hicks; Eshttzer, 2011), the 'iconic' image of Marilyn Monroe standing over a grate as her dress is blown up, paparazzi images capturing up the skirts of female celebrities as they exit vehicles, and a Calvin Kline advert which included a photograph up someone's skirt exposing their underwear with the tag line "I flash in #mycalvins" (Staufenberg, 2016). These examples arguably portray voyeurism and upskirting as behaviours that lead to minimal or no harm and therefore are acceptable and/or encouraged. However, testimonies from victims (discussed further in Chapter 2) evidence that these behaviours are harmful and distressing. The development of a specific law capturing upskirting gives an indication that perceptions of harm caused by non-contact sex offences (such as voyeurism and upskirting) may

be changing over time. However, this raises questions concerning how 'harm' is perceived in society and the impact of this in legal (e.g., jury perceptions), social (e.g., victim blame attitudes) and health (e.g., victim support services) contexts. It is therefore arguably important to gain a further understanding of upskirting, and factors that contribute to the acceptance, endorsement, and perpetration of upskirting offences.

Aim of the Thesis

Upskirting is a harmful behaviour, apparent in society, that has only recently been conceptualised as a distinct offence in the UK law. Due to limited current research concerning upskirting, there is a large knowledge gap to fill in understanding and addressing this specific type of offence. The aim of this thesis was to begin to understand factors that might influence acceptance, endorsement, and engagement in, upskirting behaviour.

Research Questions

To address the above aim, the following research questions and hypotheses were explored throughout this thesis:

Systematic Review

What is currently known about people who engage in voyeuristic behaviour?
What psychological factors are related to voyeuristic behaviour according to the available academic literature?

Study 1

Are people who have higher levels of Dark Tetrad traits, Ambivalent Sexism and Mating Effort more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences?

H1- people who have higher levels of Dark Tetrad traits are more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences.

H2- people who have greater endorsement of Ambivalent Sexism attitudes are more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences.

H3- people who score higher on a measure of Mating Effort are more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences.

Study 2

Does offence type and setting have an effect on ratings of upskirting acceptance/endorsement?

H4- Participants upskirting acceptance/endorsement ratings would differ depending on the offence setting (festival and shop).

H5- Upskirting acceptance/endorsement ratings would differ depending on the offence type (take/delete, take/keep, and take/share).

Psychometric Critique

Is the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) a 'good' psychometric measure of sexism? Can confidence be attributed to use of the ASI in Study 1 and within research more broadly?

Thesis Overview

Considering the limited research on upskirting, and therefore lack of existing understanding and theory, the thesis took a staged approach to exploring upskirting with previous chapters informing subsequent chapters.

As discussed above, there was limited available literature on upskirting, possibly due to its more recent conceptualisation in the UK law. As upskirting currently falls under the Voyeurism (Offences) Act (2019), this thesis began by exploring what was currently known about voyeurism to aid in understanding upskirting behaviour and to inform Studies 1 and 2. The Systematic Review in Chapter 2 began addressing the aims of this thesis by synthesising the existing empirical research on voyeurism (in relation to prevalence and psychological factors), to understand what was currently known about people who engage in voyeurism. Due the broad nature of the research question, a range of study types, measures of voyeurism, and measures of other psychological factors were found. Therefore, a narrative approach was used to synthesise the findings. The review revealed that multiple psychological factors were found to be related to voyeurism and research predominantly focused on sexually motivated offending. As the

research on voyeurism was limited and varied, further research on Non-Consensual Sexual Image offending (NCSI) and wider sex offending was drawn upon to inform Study 1 and Study 2.

Study 1 and Study 2 began to broadly investigate upskirting. Study 1 and Study 2 were conceptualised as a large overall study, using the same sample of participants. However, as the analysis and discussion of each study were conducted in separate stages, the findings from Study 1 inevitably fed into the understanding applied to Study 2. Study 1 investigated psychological factors (personality, sexism, and mating effort), in relation to Upskirting Acceptance and Endorsement (UA/E) (upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement and excitement) in a sample of the general public. Study 2 investigated potential contextual factors (offence setting), motivations (humour and sexual), and offence type factors (taking, keeping, and deleting images) in relation to UA/E (upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement) by gathering both quantitative and qualitative data.

Both studies 1 and 2 discussed sexism as a prominent factor in relation to UA/E. A critique of the psychometric properties of the sexism measure (ASI) used in Study 1 was therefore conducted to assess the extent to which confidence could be attributed to the use of the measure in Study 1, and more broadly.

Finally, Chapter 6 brought together the findings of the previous chapters in relation to the overall thesis aims, and discussed further issues raised throughout the thesis beyond the initial aims. The findings are discussed in the wider context of forensic psychology, and suggestions are made for future research.

Originality

It is acknowledged throughout this thesis that there is a large knowledge gap to fill in relation to understanding upskirting. This thesis began to address this gap by identifying some psychological factors that may be related to UA/E within the general population such as personality and sexism. It also highlighted views towards upskirting held by the general public, including perceptions of victim harm and potential victim blaming attitudes. All of these factors had not previously been explored in relation to upskirting offences.

At the time of the thesis conceptualisation there was no existing review of psychological factors in relation to voyeurism. The state of the literature was arguably therefore unclear. This thesis unified the literature on voyeurism, highlighted knowledge gaps, and presented suggestions for future research. It also provided an up-to-date critique of the psychometric properties of the ASI which has implications for its use within wider research.

Chapter Two

Chapter 2: Systematic Review

A Systematic Review of the Current Literature on Voyeuristic Behaviour using Narrative Synthesis.

Abstract

Background/Aims: Voyeurism is currently an under researched area of sexual offending. A systematic review was conducted to explore what was known about people who engage in voyeurism, by investigating psychological factors found to be related to voyeuristic behaviour according to the available academic literature. This would then help to inform relevant factors to investigate in relation to upskirting.

Methods: The inclusion/exclusion criteria were defined using a PICO structure. Voyeurism was defined using the following criteria: the behaviour must have a sexual element, involve the observation and/or recording of someone or something, and the intention is for the offending to be secret (excludes pornography). Participants must have engaged in voyeuristic behaviour. Quantitative studies, qualitative studies, and case studies were all included. Searches of various databases (including APA psychArticles, EMBASE & journals@OVID) and hand searches were conducted on 27/11/2020 using

voyeurism related terms. Studies were screened and quality assessed by a second researcher.

Results: 18 studies were included in the review after screening and quality assessment. This included 14 quantitative/prevalence studies, 1 qualitative study (IPA) and 3 case studies. Prevalence rates ranged from 6.3% to 42% in non-forensic samples and voyeuristic behaviour appeared to be more prevalent in men than women. There are several psychological factors that may be present for people who engage in voyeurism which are reported under the following categories: lifestyle, adverse experiences, mental health/emotional coping, personality, habit/obsession/compulsivity, and sexual/relationship factors.

Discussion: The current literature on voyeurism is sparse which poses a challenge for practitioners working with voyeuristic offenders. The review findings are discussed in relation to wider research and current knowledge gaps are identified.

Introduction

Caveat: This review discusses voyeurism as a criminal act rather than as a clinical diagnosis as outlined in the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-10, World health Organisation [WHO], 1992) or Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5, American Psychiatric Association [APA], 2013) as the diagnostic criteria for voyeurism is not required to meet the criminal criteria for committing a voyeuristic offence. The definition used in this review is stated in the methodology section and the terms voyeurism and voyeuristic behaviour/offences were used to reflect this definition.

Sexual offences can be thought of as falling into two categories: contact and non-contact offences. There appears to be no universal definition of each category, however, Gallo (2020) offers the following descriptions. Contact sexual offences are considered to involve a perpetrator making physical contact with a non-consenting person for sexual purposes (e.g., sexual assault, rape). Non-contact sexual offences involve a perpetrator engaging in inappropriate acts for sexual purposes, that do not come into physical contact with a non-consenting person (e.g., voyeurism, exposing genitals to a non-consenting person, being in possession of indecent images of children). It is important to note that these descriptions include the words 'sexual purposes'. This could imply sexual motivation however, there is evidence to suggest that

sexual offences are not always sexually motivated. Although it is difficult to provide a description that captures a wide range of complex offences, it could be argued that sex offences must involve a sexual element, referring to a sexual act, context, and/or motivation.

In comparison to contact sexual offences, the research on non-contact sexual offences, such as voyeurism, is limited. A suggested explanation for this is that non-contact sexual offences could have historically been viewed as less harmful or “nuisance behaviours” (Gallo, 2020). A large proportion of the research on people who engage in voyeuristic behaviour also appears to have been conducted decades ago. This presents issues when developing legislation as well as suitable risk assessment and intervention for people who engage in voyeuristic behaviour. As highlighted in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1), upskirting appears to be categorised as voyeurism in the UK law. Considering the limited available research on upskirting, it was determined a review of the voyeurism literature (although also limited) could give an indication of relevant factors to investigate in relation to upskirting.

Conceptualisation

Voyeurism is conceptualised by the Sexual Offences Act (2003) as behaviour involving the non-consensual observation or recording of someone engaging in a private act. The act also states that the observation is for the purpose of gaining sexual gratification. It is questionable however, whether the

motivation to commit a voyeuristic act is always sexual, for example Duff (2021) found that 22% of people who said they would engage in voyeurism reported motivations that could be considered non-sexual (e.g., curiosity). The Voyeurism Offences Act (2019) was passed, as the 'private act' stipulation in the Sexual Offences Act (2003) created a loophole for offences such as upskirting to fall through (Gillespie, 2019). The act also includes the motivation to humiliate, alarm or distress the victim. Although the Voyeurism (Offences) Act (2019) was passed in an attempt to address a gap in the legislation, neither act appears to capture the range and complexity of voyeuristic behaviour, including other potential motivations (e.g., financial gain, humour, curiosity). Gillespie (2019) presents further examples of behaviours that may not be captured by the current legal definitions. These conceptualisations of voyeurism reflect a lack of research and understanding of voyeuristic offending and highlight the need for further exploration. If offences are not captured or categorised accurately by legal frameworks offenders may be missed, or inaccurately risk assessed and offered ineffective treatment interventions.

Prevalence

It is difficult to gain an accurate understanding of how prevalent voyeuristic offences are due to problems with conceptualisation and categorisation. As previously mentioned, the legal definition of voyeurism is problematic,

meaning voyeuristic offences may not be categorised as such or offenders may not be prosecuted. The nature of voyeuristic offences also means that those caught in the process of engaging in a voyeuristic offence may be prosecuted for other offences such as trespassing. There are also members of the 'general public' who report engaging in voyeuristic behaviour (e.g., Langstrom & Seto, 2006; Baur et al. 2016; Bártova, Androvičová, Krejčová, Weiss, Klapilová, 2020) and have likely not been caught or prosecuted (possibly because victims can be unaware of the offence) meaning they will not be captured by national statistics. These points indicate that official statistics are likely to significantly underestimate the prevalence of voyeuristic offending. In addition to these issues, statistics that are provided by the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) group voyeurism and exhibitionism together meaning it is not possible to understand the extent to which voyeuristic offences are committed and prosecuted; even when considering offences that are recorded.

The Impact

Prevalence rates of voyeuristic behaviour are unclear, and it is therefore difficult to understand the size of the problem. However, it is still important to understand voyeurism considering the impact on victims, and how technology has changed the way offences are carried out potentially making it easier to both commit offences and evade detection.

Advances in technology have resulted in new ways of engaging in voyeuristic behaviour. For example, the ease of access to recording and image-capturing equipment has increased due to smartphones. This can allow for easy capturing of non-consensual images in public spaces (e.g., upskirting, creepshot), but also in private spaces (e.g., through residential windows, in private sections of public bathrooms). This could mean that less planning and effort is required to carry out an offence. There is also the ability to leave recording devices in private spaces (e.g., changing rooms) and retrieve them later which could minimise the risk of being caught in the act. The rise in accessibility to recreational drones has opened up new opportunities for offenders (Graham, Kutzli, Kulig, & Cullen, 2019). This can also allow for voyeuristic offences to be committed via a camera attached to the drone even when the perpetrator is miles away, potentially leaving no evidence to be found later, and allowing the perpetrator to easily escape.

One of the reasons for the lack of research into voyeurism when compared to contact sex offences may be that we do not fully understand the impact on victims. There also may be the perception that less harm is caused as, due to the nature of the offence, victims may be unaware that an offence has been committed. Although there is no known existing research into whether this attitude is held by those who do not engage in voyeuristic behaviour, a study of the experiences of 7 men who had committed voyeuristic offences revealed offence supportive beliefs that if the victim does not know they are being

offended against, there is little or no harm (Wood, 2019). Two studies also found that people were more likely to report that they would engage in voyeuristic behaviour if there were no chance of being caught (Rye & Meaney, 2007; Duff, 2021). Although these are hypothetical scenarios and do not necessarily indicate that offences would be carried out, this may indicate that the potential harm to the victim is perceived as low when the victim does not know there is an offence being committed. However, perceptions of victim harm were not reported in these studies therefore this conclusion is speculative. Participants also may not have considered, or be unbothered by, potential victim harm.

There is little published literature on the impact of voyeuristic behaviour on victims. Graham, Kutzli, Kulig, and Cullen's (2019) paper opens with an account of an experience of being followed by a drone with an attached camera and the feelings and fears this elicited. A French study on victimisation experienced at school (Joing & Vors, 2015) measured the self-reported prevalence of students experiencing voyeurism victimisation in the changing rooms. The potential impact of this was then discussed in relation to victims employing avoidance strategies following this, and the wider impact of having a shared space where students are expected to undress in front of their peers. Keats and Keats-Osborn (2013) reported the experiences of athletes who were victims of "digital voyeurism" and had sexualised photographs taken of them and posted to pornography websites. The article also discussed the impact

other types of voyeuristic behaviour had on victims which included feeling disrespected, violated, and having no control over images of themselves. The article also reported one victim feeling that “the most unsettling part” was that they did not know photos were being taken of them.

Although voyeurism is under researched and therefore not fully understood, it is a problem in society. New ways of engaging in voyeuristic behaviour are emerging with advances in technology potentially making it easier to commit voyeuristic offences and avoid detection. Research suggests that voyeuristic behaviour has a significant impact on victims, however, similarly to other offences, some voyeuristic offenders may not recognise, or minimise, the harm that is caused to enable them to continue offending. It is therefore important to understand this type of offending to be able to prevent further victimisation and have adequate assessment and interventions for those who engage in voyeuristic behaviour.

Aims

There is a large knowledge gap to fill in understanding voyeurism and upskirting. The current gap creates problems with conceptualisation and categorisation as well as limiting the ability to identify specific characteristics, risk factors and treatment targets for those who engage in voyeuristic behaviour. There is currently no known existing systematic review of the literature on voyeuristic behaviour, therefore the state of the literature is

arguably unclear. The aim of this review was therefore to systematically review and synthesise the existing literature on voyeurism to understand what psychological factors are related to voyeuristic behaviour. The findings may have implications for the assessment and treatment of people who engage in voyeuristic behaviour and highlight needs for future research. The findings would also help to guide future investigation specifically into upskirting.

Methodology

Protocol

An unpublished protocol (appendix A) was developed for conducting this review and detailed the following inclusion/exclusion criteria:

Population: People who have committed a voyeuristic offence or engaged in voyeuristic behaviour outlined by the following criteria: Must have a sexual element (not necessarily sexually motivated). Must involve the observation and/or recording of someone (e.g., someone undressing, partially clothed/undressed, engaging in sex), and the intention is for the offending to be secret (non-consensual, excludes watching pornography). Self-reports of engaging in voyeuristic behaviour were included (e.g., answering yes to - "Have you ever secretly watched people engage in sexual activity?").

Intervention: There must be the measurement of prevalence, psychological factors, risk factors and/or characteristics (e.g., clinical/social/lifestyle).

Comparator: People engaging in other types of offending or paraphilic behaviour, people with no offending or paraphilic behaviour, and studies with no comparator.

Outcome: Correlations and relationships between voyeuristic behaviour and psychological factors. In case studies, a measurement and/or structured formulation of factors.

Study Types: Include - qualitative, quantitative, case studies. Exclude - literature with no sample (e.g., opinion papers, editorials, commentaries).

Search Strategy

The following search engines were used to search databases, without date restrictions, by the author on 27th of November 2020: OVID (EMBASE, journals@OVID, APA psychInfo), Proquest (APA psychArticles, Proquest Dissertations and Thesis, Criminal Justice Database), Pubmed (Medline). Searches of Scopus, Web of Science databases and Nottingham Ethesis were also conducted as well as a hand search of identified studies reference lists (after initial screening was conducted).

Search terms were developed from the available literature on voyeurism. Although the term "peep" is used widely in the voyeurism literature, this term was removed due to the volume of non-relevant results it produced. The search strategy used was:

((voyeuris*) OR (up-skirt*) OR (upskirt*) OR (scopophilia) OR (creepshot) OR ("courtship disorder"))

Data Collection

Studies were screened, and data were extracted, using a screening tool developed by the author based on the PICOS (appendix B). 10% of the total studies were then screened by a second researcher.

The following information was extracted from each study:

- Population
- Study type
- Sample size
- Definition and measurement of voyeuristic behaviour
- Definition and measurement of any psychological factor
- Prevalence data
- Statistical analysis of factors
- Narrative and qualitative analysis of factors

Risk of Bias

A quality assessment was carried out on the included studies. As the included studies used a range of methodologies, 4 different quality assessment tools were used (appendix C). A review of tools by Ma et al. (2020) aided in the

identification of suitable quality assessment tools. The AXIS tool (Downes, Brennan, Williams & Dean, 2016) was used for quantitative studies, The JBI Checklist for Prevalence Studies (The Joanna Briggs Institute, 2017a) was used for prevalence studies, the CASP Checklist for qualitative research (Critical Appraisal Skills Programme, 2019) was used for qualitative studies, and the JBI Critical Appraisal Checklist for Case Reports (The Joanna Briggs Institute, 2017b) was used for case studies. 20% of studies were quality assessed by a second researcher. Both researchers agreed on 100% of the assessments conducted. The quality assessment was used to assess risk of bias at both the study and outcome level. Items included in the quality assessment related to selection bias, detection bias, attrition bias and reporting bias. Studies were only considered for inclusion in the review if they met at least 80% of the criteria outlined in each quality assessment.

Synthesis

A narrative synthesis was performed to synthesise the findings of the included studies. Narrative synthesis was chosen due to the range of different studies included in the review. Following the ESRC Methods Programme (2006) guidance on conducting a narrative synthesis, a preliminary synthesis was carried out to identify categories/themes of data and develop a framework.

Prevalence data was combined into a tabular form. Results of case studies, qualitative studies, and quantitative studies were divided into categories of

psychological factors (lifestyle, adverse experiences, mental health/ emotional coping, personality, habit/obsession/compulsivity, sexual/relationship factors). Due to the nature of the case study data, factors were only included in the synthesis if they had been measured using psychometric testing or if they had been discussed in depth in the psychological formulation and clear links were made between the factor and the voyeuristic offending. The only available data on interventions was provided by the 3 case studies and therefore was determined to be beyond the scope of this review due to the variability and complexity of the individual interventions delivered. The weight that should be given to each study was not included in the synthesis. All studies met the threshold for inclusion in the synthesis in relation to quality assessment (met at least 80% of the criteria) and were therefore of similar quality. Also, as multiple study types were included in the synthesis, it was difficult to determine the weight that should be given to each study in comparison to the other included studies.

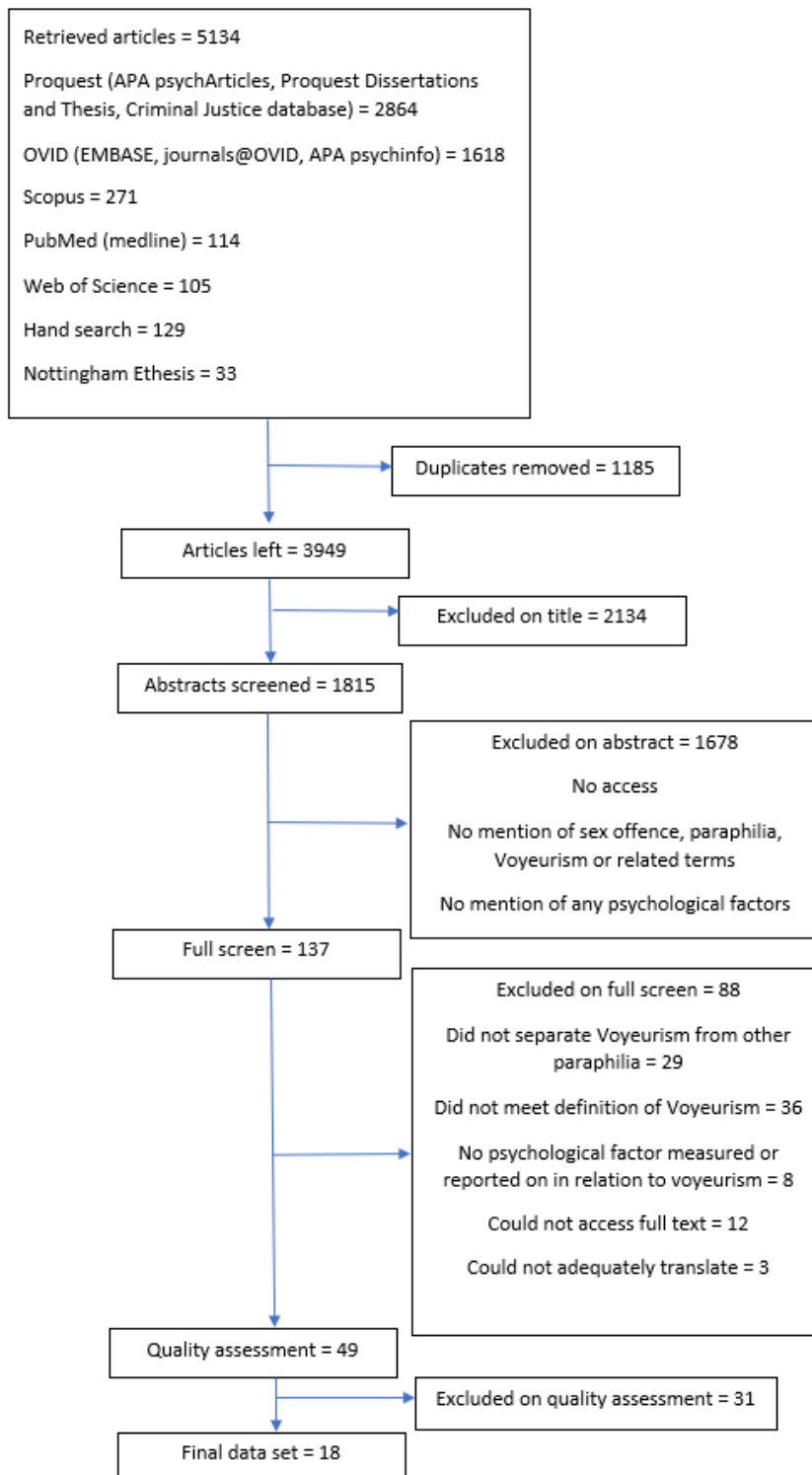
Results

Study Selection

The initial searches identified 5134 studies, after duplicates were removed, 3949 studies remained. 2134 studies were excluded on title and 1678 were excluded upon screening the abstracts. Reasons for exclusion were: no access, no mention of a sex offence or paraphilia or voyeurism, no mention of

psychological factors. A full screen was conducted on 137 studies. 88 were excluded on the full screen, reasons for exclusion were: not meeting the definition of voyeurism, not separating voyeurism from other paraphilic behaviours, factors were not analysed in relation to voyeurism, could not adequately translate, and no access. 49 studies were quality assessed and 31 were excluded. After quality assessment, 18 studies remained in the final analysis (Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Diagram to show study selection process.*



Study Characteristics

Studies included in the final data set were from 9 countries. Samples included males and females of a range of ages (including one adolescent sample). The sample sizes differed in each study and included the general public, university students, people with ASD, voyeuristic sex offenders, and other offenders. The final data set included published studies as well as unpublished doctoral thesis. All identified studies included different psychological factors (see Table 1).

Table 1. All studies included in the review.

Name/ reference	Study type	Population /country	Sample size (N)	Voyeurism measure	Factors measured (included in analysis)	Analysis/data type/ outcome
Abdullahi, Jafojo & Udofia (2015)	Quantitative (prevalence)	University Students (Nigeria)	Male (447) Female (394)	Questionnaire based on ICD- 10	Voyeurism behaviour	Frequency
Joyal & Carpentier (2017)	Quantitative (prevalence)	General Population (Quebec)	Male (475) Female (565)	Questionnaire based on DSM- V	Voyeurism behaviour Voyeurism desire Other paraphilic behaviour and desire	Frequency Chi-Square Correlation
Ahlers et al. (2011)	Quantitative (prevalence)	General population (Germany)	Male (367)	Q-SEB Questionnaire based on DSM- IV	Voyeurism behaviour Voyeurism fantasy Other paraphilic behaviour and fantasy	Frequency
Templeman & Stinnett (1991)	Quantitative (prevalence)	University Students (USA)	Male (60)	SHQ	Voyeurism behaviour	Frequency
Bártova et al. (2020)	Quantitative (prevalence)	General population (Czech Republic)	Male (5,023) Female (5,021)	Questionnaire based on ICD- 10	Voyeurism behaviour Other paraphilic behaviour	Frequency Chi-Square
Schottle, Briken, Tuscher & Turner (2017)	Quantitative (prevalence)	General Population	ASD (96) Male (56) Female (40) Control (96) Male (57) Female (39)	Q-SEB	Voyeurism behaviour Voyeurism fantasy Other paraphilic behaviour and fantasy	Frequency Chi-Square

Freund, Watson & Rienzo, (1988)	Quantitative (prevalence)	Sex offenders (USA)	Male: Voyeurs (60) Non-voyeuristic sex offenders (221) Student controls (69) Non-student controls (35)	EPES	Voyeurism behaviour	Frequency
Langstrom & Seto (2006)	Quantitative	General population (Sweden)	Male (1,279) Female (1,171)	Yes or no question	Voyeurism behaviour Employment Socioeconomic position Psychological health life satisfaction Psychiatric disorder Risk taking (<i>not measured at clinical levels</i>) Sexual abuse history Age first intercourse Number of sexual partners per active year Relationship history Paid for sexual contact Sexual life satisfaction Masturbation frequency Pornography use Sexual arousal Sexual fantasy to: voyeuristic behaviour exhibitionistic behaviour	Frequency Logistic Regression Odds Ratio

Watts et al. (2017)	Quantitative	University Students (USA)	Male and Female (608)	EPES	Psychopathy (PPI-R, LSRP & TriPM) Narcissism (NPI) Personality disorder (SCID-II-PQ)	Correlation/ Regression
Rinehart & McCabe (1998)	Quantitative	University Students (Australia)	Male (69) Female (93)	Sexual Behaviour and Desire Questionnaire	Voyeurism behaviour Voyeurism desire Other paraphilic behaviours and desires Depression (CES-D)	ANOVA
Castellini et al. (2018)	Quantitative	University Students (Italy)	Male (243) Female (532)	Questionnaire based on DSM-V	Psychopathy (SCL-90) Hypersexuality (HDSI) Male Sexual Functioning (IIEF) Female Sexual Functioning (FSFI) Gender dysphoria (GIDYQ-AA) Abuse (CECA.Q)	Frequency Chi-square t-tests
Baur, Forsman, Santtila, Johansson, Sandnabba & Långström (2016)	Quantitative	General population Twins (Finland)	Males (2,092) Female (3,898)	Questionnaire based on DSM-IV	Voyeurism behaviour Other paraphilic behaviour Sexually coercive behavior (SCS and one item from Hare SRP; "I had or tried to have sex with someone against their will")	Frequency Odds Ratio
Sikorski (2005)	Quantitative	Juvenile Offenders	Males (381)	MSI (Voyeurism scale)	Psychopathy (PCL-YV)	ANOVA
Freund & Seto (1998)	Quantitative	Sex Offenders (Canada)	Male: Sex offenders (127) University Students (483)	EPES	Voyeurism behaviour preferences	Frequency Chi-Square
Wood (2019)	Qualitative	Voyeuristic Offenders	Male (7)	Offence/self-report	Themes Surrogate intimacy –	Semi structured interview

		(UK)			Emotional loneliness affecting ability to relate Inability to develop intimacy Inability to maintain intimacy Escapism from reality – Avoidance from life’s problems Hiding negative emotions Distance from harm Overwhelming habit – Uncontrollable urge Uncontrollable addiction	using Interpretive phenomenological Analysis
Duff (2018)	Case study	Offender (UK)	Male (1)	Offence/self-report	Sexual/relationship factors Psychometrics- Personality (PAI) Psychological wellbeing (CORE, ISAC, STAXI-2) Trauma (TSI)	Assessment, Formulation and intervention
Stuyvesant, Mercierand & Haidle (2014)	Case study	Offender	Male (1)	Offence/self-report	Psychometrics – Sexual factors (ASSI) Mental Health (SADS, FNES, BAI, BDC)	Assessment, Formulation and intervention
Thorne (2015)	Case study	Offender	Male (1)	Offence/self-report	Sexual/relationship factors Compulsivity Psychometrics – Sexual compulsivity (SC)	Assessment, Formulation and intervention

^AAbbreviations: International Classification of Diseases (ICD), Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), Questionnaire on Sexual Experiences and Behaviour (Q-SEB), Sexual History Questionnaire (SHQ), Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), Erotic Preferences Examination Scheme (EPES), Psychopathic Personality

Inventory—Revised (PPI-R), Levenson Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (LSRP), The Triarchic Psychopathy Measure (TriPM), Narcissistic Personality Inventory (NPI), Structured Clinical Interview for DSM (SCID) the self-report SCID-II Personality Questionnaire (SCID-II-PQ), Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D), Symptom Checklist-90-Revised (SCL-90), Hypersexual Disorder Screening Inventory (HDSI), The International Index of Erectile Function (IIEF), Female Sexual Functioning Index (FSFI), The gender identity/gender dysphoria questionnaire for adolescents and adults (GIDYQ-AA), The Childhood Experience of Care and Abuse Interview (CECA.Q), Sexually Coercion Scale (SCS), Hare Self-Report Psychopathy Scale (Hare SRP), Multiphasic Sex Inventory (MSI), Hare Psychopathy Checklist: Youth Version (PCL-YV), Personality Assessment Inventory (PAI), Clinical Outcomes in Routine Evaluation (CORE), The Inventory of Altered Self-Capacities (ISAC), State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory 2 (STAXI-2), Trauma Symptom Inventory (TSI), Abel Assessment for Sexual Interest (AASI), e Social Avoidance and Distress Scale (SADS), Fear of Negative Evaluation Scale (FNES), Burns Anxiety Inventory (BAI), Burns Depression Checklist (BDC), Sexual Compulsivity Scale (SC).

Synthesis of Results

Prevalence Data

Quantitative studies that reported prevalence data are provided in Table 2 (qualitative and case studies had a prevalence rate of 100% therefore they were not included). Prevalence rates varied from 8.6% to 42% in the university student samples. They also ranged from 6.3% to 35.2% in general population samples. It is important to highlight that methodological differences create problems in directly comparing prevalence data. Different studies ask different variations of questions about paraphilic behaviour, and although all studies met the criteria for inclusion, participants may have interpreted questions asked differently or other study factors may have biased their responses to questions. Although all studies were assessed to be of adequate quality (and this considered sampling bias) cultural differences and differing sample populations mean that direct comparison of prevalence rates can be problematic.

Gender differences: Three studies compared the frequency of males and females self-reports of engaging in voyeuristic behaviour. They all found that men were more likely to report engaging in voyeuristic behaviour when compared to women. Schottel et al. (2017) found that there was higher reporting of voyeurism behaviour in males with ASD compared to males

without ASD, however, this difference was non-significant in females with and without ASD.

Co-occurrence of paraphilic behaviour: Joyal & Carpentier (2017) found that voyeuristic behaviour was not significantly correlated with any other paraphilic behaviours in a Canadian general public sample. Langstrom and Seto (2006) found that voyeuristic behaviour with exhibitionistic behaviour had the highest co-occurrence, when compared to voyeuristic behaviour with sadomasochistic behaviour and voyeuristic behaviour with transvestic-fetishist behaviours, however, significant odds ratios were found for all analyses. Baur et al., (2016) found co-occurrences of 5 types of paraphilic behaviour. These included voyeuristic, transvestic-fetishist, sadistic, masochistic, and exhibitionistic. The group that reported the highest frequency of voyeuristic behaviour was the exhibitionistic group (48.2%; 54 out of 112).

Table 2. Studies that reported prevalence data.

Study	Country	Population	Sample Size	Measure of voyeuristic behaviour	Prevalence of voyeuristic behaviour N (%)
Abdullahi, Jafojo & Udofia (2015)	Nigeria	University Students	Male = 447 Female = 394	ICD- 10	Male: 42 (8.8%) Female: 34 (8.6%)
Templeman & Stinnett (1991)	USA	University Students	Male = 60	SHQ	Male: 25 (42%)
Watts et al. (2017)	USA	University Students	Male & Female = 608	EPES	Overall: 79 (13.1%)
Castellini et al. (2018)	Italy	University students	Male = 243 Female = 532	DSM-V	Male: 65 (28%) Female: 66 (12.4%)
Ahlers et al. (2011)	Germany	General population	Male = 367	Q-SEB DSM-IV-TR	Male: 66 (18.0%)
Langstrom & Seto (2006)	Sweden	General population	Male = 1,279 Female = 1,171	Question ^b	Overall: 191 (7.8%)
Baur et al. (2016)	Finland	General population (Twins)	Males = 2092 Female = 3898	DSM - IV	Males: 375 (18.2%) Females: 243 (6.3%)
Joyal & Carpentier (2017)	Canada	General Population	Male = 475 Female = 565	DSM- V	Overall: 358 (34.5%)
Bártova et al. (2020)	Czech Republic	General population	Male = 5,023 Female = 5,021	ICD- 10	<i>1-9 instances</i> Male: 1,768 (35.2%) Female: 883 (17.7%) <i>10- 20+ instances</i> Male: 417 (8.3 %) Female: 101 (2.2%)

Schottle, Briken, Tuscher & Turner (2017)	Germany	Individuals with ASD diagnosis	Male ASD = 56 Male Control = 57	ICD- 11 QSEB	Male ASD: 16 (28.6%) Male Control: 2 (3.5%)
		General population (Control)	Female ASD = 40 Female Control = 39		Female ASD: 4 (10.0%) Female Control: 0
Freund, Watson & Rienzo (1988)	USA	Sex offenders	Male: Voyeurs = 60	EPES	<i>Voyeurism (Intercourse)^d</i> Voyeurs: 42 (70%) Sex offenders: 44 (19.9%) Student controls: 4 (5.8%) Non-student controls: 8 (22.9%)
		University students	Sex offenders ^c = 221 Student controls = 69 Non-student controls = 35		<i>Voyeurism (Undressing)^e</i> Voyeurs: 51 (85%) Sex offenders: 70 (31.7%) Student controls: 8 (11.6%) Non-student controls: 7 (20%)
Freund & Seto (1998)	Canada	Sex offenders	Male: Rapists = 127 Controls = 483	EPES	Rapists: 28 (22%) Controls: 52 (10.8%)
		University students General Public (Control)	Marker Rapists ^f = 28 Other Rapists ^g = 99		Marker rapists: 23 (82.1%) Other rapists: 7 (7.1%)

^aAutism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM), International Classification of Diseases (ICD), Erotic Preferences Examination Scheme (EPES), Questionnaire on Sexual Experiences and Behaviour (Q-SEB), Sexual History Questionnaire (SHQ).

^b Answering "yes" or "no" to a question asking about engagement in voyeuristic behaviour ("Have you ever spied on what other people are doing sexually and become sexually aroused by this?").

^c *non-voyeuristic sex offenders expressing courtship disorder problems (Frotteurism, Exhibitionism, Rape).*

^d *Voyeurism involving watching people have intercourse.*

^e *Voyeurism involving watching a female undress.*

^f *Rapists who have also engaged in exhibitionism.*

^g *Rapists who have not engaged in exhibitionism.*

Psychological Factors

As the studies explored and measured a variety of factors, they were split into the following categories, although it is acknowledged that some categories may overlap (appendix D). There was limited research for each category, and it should be noted that if a category had more research, this does not mean it should be given more weight, rather that the categories represent the available literature (appendix E for extracted data). The synthesis also does not comment on the weight that should be given to each study as all studies met the threshold for inclusion in the synthesis in relation to quality assessment and were therefore of similar quality. It was also difficult to determine weight given to each study considering the inclusion of multiple study types.

Lifestyle: Langstrom & Seto (2006) studied exhibitionistic and voyeuristic behaviour in a large general population sample. They measured the following lifestyle factors: not studying or working, socioeconomic position, life satisfaction and risk taking (sub-clinical levels) which included gambling, alcohol use, and drug use. They found that those reporting voyeuristic, but not exhibitionistic, behaviour had a higher socioeconomic position. People who engaged in voyeuristic behaviour were more likely to engage in risk taking behaviour (excluding gambling) than those who did not.

Adverse experiences: Langstrom & Seto (2006) also investigated abuse histories. They found that the association between being sexually abused and engaging in voyeuristic behaviour was only statistically significant when controlling for gender. There was a somewhat stronger association between experiencing sexual abuse before the age of 18 and engaging in voyeuristic behaviour for male participants. Castellini et al. (2018) found in their study of Italian university students that there were associations between physical abuse experiences and engaging in voyeurism for men (compared to those who reported no voyeuristic behaviour), however, there was an association between sexual abuse experiences and engaging in voyeuristic behaviour for women (compared to those reporting no voyeuristic behaviour). The relationship between neglect and engaging in voyeurism was not statistically significant. In both Duff (2018) and Stuyvesant et al. (2014) case studies there was no evidence of childhood abuse experiences.

Mental health difficulties/emotional coping: Langstrom and Seto (2006) found that people who engaged in voyeurism were more likely to have a current psychiatric disorder when compared to those who did not engage in voyeurism. In a sample of Australian university students Rinehart and McCabe (1998) found that those who engaged in high-frequency voyeurism (more than once a year) reported significantly higher levels of depression than respondents in the low-frequency group (0-1 time in 5 years) however, no effect size was calculated. All other measures in relation to voyeurism were

non-significant/not fully reported (appendix E). Castellini et al. (2018) found that gender dysphoria was significantly higher in men and women who engaged in voyeurism compared to those who did not engage in voyeurism. They also found higher gender dysphoria in all paraphilic behaviour groups when compared to those who did not engage in paraphilic behaviour. Wood's (2019) qualitative study of 7 convicted men who engaged in voyeuristic behaviour identified escapism from reality as a superordinate theme, with the subordinate themes of: avoidance of life's problems, hiding negative emotions and distance from harm. The analysis indicated that participants would engage in voyeurism to manage, cope with, and avoid existing difficulties such as life problems, pressure, stress, depression, and low confidence. Voyeurism helped them to feel calm, temporarily alleviate negative feelings and provide a sense of release. This then led to a persistent pattern of behaviour to aid in emotional coping, however, some participants reported that voyeurism also led to further stress. Voyeurism as a temporarily rewarding behaviour to cope with emotional problems, appeared to also lead to the development of offence supportive cognitions which allowed the continuation of the offending. Duff's (2018) case study reported no elevated scores on any psychometrics related to mental health difficulties and emotional coping other than a tendency to suppress anger. Stuyvesant et al. (2014) reported that their client had some evidence of depressed mood and elevated anxiety. He also had significant anxiety and difficulties in social

contexts with scores indicating significant apprehension about what other people thought of him.

Personality: Castellini et al., (2018) found in a sample of university students, that both men and women who engaged in voyeurism scored higher on measures of psychopathy compared to those who reported no voyeuristic behaviour. Similarly, Watts et al., (2017) study of university students found that the traits of psychopathy; disinhibition, meanness, LSRP factors 1 (selfish, uncaring, and manipulative tendencies towards others) and LSRP factors 2 (impulsivity and self-defeating lifestyle behaviours) were positively correlated with voyeuristic behaviour (they were also correlated with all measured paraphilic behaviours), however correlations concerning boldness and narcissistic factors were statistically non-significant. Entitlement/exploitativeness features of narcissism were related to all other paraphilias except voyeurism, although effect sizes were small. Castellini et al., (2018) also measured personality disorder (PD) and found positive correlations between voyeuristic behaviour and Schizoid, Schizotypal, Antisocial, Borderline, Narcissistic and Obsessive-compulsive PD, however the effect sizes were small overall (.14 -.16). Antisocial was the only PD to have a medium effect size (.30). Sikorski's (2005) study included juvenile sex offenders and non-sex offenders grouped into categories of high and low psychopathy. Offenders that were high in psychopathy had significantly higher scores on a measure of voyeuristic behaviour than those scoring low to

moderate in psychopathy however, the effect size was small (.03). Duff's (2018) case study found no indications of clinical psychopathology when assessing personality.

Habit/obsession/compulsivity: Wood (2019) identified the superordinate theme 'overwhelming habit' with the subordinate themes: 'uncontrollable urge' and 'uncontrollable addiction'. Participants described how they felt voyeurism developed from an overwhelming sexual urge into an uncontrollable addiction that became a part of them, their life, and daily routine. Participants felt that voyeurism became part of their thinking and was an automatic response that controlled their decisions. This urge led them to seek out new experiences for it to be satisfied. Some participants had no desire to control the urge whereas others experienced increased distress and stress due to being preoccupied by the thoughts and urges. The urge was viewed as an addiction as participants expressed continuing to engage in the behaviour despite the negative impact it had on their lives. They also reported that their lives began to revolve around voyeurism, and it became a part of their identity. In Thorne (2015) the client scored high on a measure of sexual compulsivity and reported a preoccupation with sex and voyeurism. The client also expressed the feeling that voyeurism was part of his identity and when beginning treatment to manage arousal, he was worried about the "gap" that would be left in his life if he did not have voyeurism. In Stuyvesant et al.'s (2014) case study it was suggested that a "conditioning process was

reinforced over time” which also led to offence supportive beliefs that allowed the client to continue offending.

Sexual/relationship factors: Langstrom and Seto (2006) found that people who engaged in voyeuristic behaviour, when compared to those who did not, were significantly more likely to have paid for sexual contact, have had a sexually transmitted infection, have had a higher number of sexual partners, report higher masturbation frequency, higher pornography use, be more easily sexually aroused, and report sexual fantasy to voyeuristic and exhibitionistic behaviour. Castellini et al. (2018) found that in a sample of university students, men and women that reported voyeuristic behaviour scored higher on measures of hypersexuality than those who did not engage in voyeurism. This was true for all paraphilic behaviours measured. There was no significant difference between male voyeuristic and non-voyeuristic groups on male sexual functioning, however the female voyeuristic group scored higher on the desire scale of sexual functioning indicating increased desire for sexual contact. Baur et al (2016) investigated sexually coercive behaviour using a sample of twins. They found that when they adjusted for age and gender, people who engaged in voyeuristic behaviour were more likely to report sexually coercive behaviour when compared to those who did not. This was also found when comparing voyeuristic twins with their non-voyeuristic twin.

When looking at offending samples, Freund and Seto (1998) found in their study on courtship disorder that rapists with the 'marker' (exhibitionism) reported engaging in voyeurism more than rapists with no marker. The authors suggest that voyeurism and exhibitionism mirror earlier stages of courtship behaviour (pre-tactile interaction with a potential partner) and the progression on to rape mirrors the final stage of healthy courtship behaviour (sexual intercourse). Wood's (2019) study identified the superordinate theme 'surrogate intimacy' which included the subordinate themes of 'emotional loneliness affecting ability to relate' and 'inability to develop and maintain intimacy'. Participants reported circumstances that affected their ability to learn adequate social skills and develop social confidence which in turn lead to difficulties in forming relationships and emotional loneliness. Voyeurism then served the function of achieving intimacy on their terms, in a way that made them feel safe from rejection and ridicule. Voyeurism was reported to help a participant feel connected to others which increased his self-esteem. Offence supportive beliefs that the victims were consenting and engaging in the interaction reinforced voyeurism as a way of safely achieving intimacy. Some participants were able to form relationships however, struggled to maintain emotional and sexual intimacy. Voyeurism again served the purpose of achieving intimacy on their terms without the complexity and 'hassle' of managing emotions.

When looking at case studies, the client in Stuyvesant et al. (2014) also appeared to have difficulties with social confidence, and self-esteem, and therefore would use voyeurism to achieve sexual gratification and connectedness without fear of rejection. Thorne's (2015) client engaged in voyeurism however, progressed onto contact sex offending as part of a wider pattern of deviant sexual interest and behaviour. The client reported social isolation, bullying, and finding engaging with females difficult. His voyeurism was initially driven by sexual curiosity, and due to his difficulties in relating to females, he would try to observe them in a state of undress. As a result of this he experienced humiliation and ridicule from females who noticed him trying to observe them. Voyeurism became a way of having a relationship, achieving connectedness and sexual gratification without fear of ridicule or rejection. The client in Duff (2018) appeared to engage in voyeurism through curiosity about women rather than being primarily motivated by sexual gratification. The case study identified that the client experienced social and relational difficulties from a young age. A negative experience with a sexual partner then created anxiety about sex and the avoidance of situations where sex may have occurred. This resulted in feelings of sexual incompetence and limited sexual knowledge/experience. Voyeurism then became a (ultimately unsuccessful) method of satisfying his curiosity and gaining knowledge and a sense of competence without having to have a sexual relationship which could leave him vulnerable to potential ridicule.

Discussion

This review identified multiple psychological factors that may be related to voyeurism by drawing on the currently available literature. Existing models of offending were considered when deciding on the most informative way of unifying the findings of this review. However, the broad range of factors identified, and the different samples/populations used, meant it was difficult to produce or use an existing model to help understand and structure the findings. The findings were therefore discussed in relation to wider research, using the structure of the categories defined in the synthesis.

The finding that voyeurism and exhibitionism were the most commonly co-occurring paraphilia (Baur et al., 2016; Langstrom & Seto, 2006) may offer an explanation as to why they are often discussed together in both academic research (e.g., 19 studies were excluded from this review due to grouping voyeurism and exhibitionism together) and official statistics (e.g., MoJ). It may be that voyeurism and exhibitionism have been viewed as presentations of the same underlying problems, despite being distinct offences with potentially differing motivating and driving factors (Hopkins et al., 2016; Langstrom & Seto, 2006). Alternatively, non-contact sexual offences may be discussed together more often, due to the relatively limited available research and the potential view that non-contact sex offences are less harmful or

“nuisance behaviours” (Gallo, 2020) and therefore require comparatively less attention.

The results of the synthesis highlighted multiple factors that are well established risk factors for sexual offending more broadly. Existing models of sex offending (e.g., Fisher, Beech & Browne 1999; Ward & Siegert, 2002) acknowledge how adverse childhood experiences may lead to specific deficits which contribute to the risk of sex offending. The case studies indicated early life experiences (e.g., bullying) led to longstanding social skills and intimacy deficits as well as difficulties with relating to others. Experiencing depression, anxiety, poor emotional coping, and low self-esteem were also identified. Social anxiety and deficits in social and intimacy skills in particular, were identified in multiple studies, which are widely acknowledged as contributing factors in the sex offending literature (e.g., Fisher, Beech & Browne 1999; Ward & Siegert, 2002). Voyeurism appeared to be both a way of coping with emotions and mental health difficulties as well as exacerbating them. Voyeurism also appeared to act as a way of achieving intimacy, knowledge, and sexual gratification without the risk of rejection or ridicule. Engaging in voyeuristic behaviour may help to relieve stress in the short term, however, stress may return following offending. It also appears to cause further emotional (e.g., depression, shame, low self-esteem, guilt) and life stress (e.g., relationship breakdown, loss of employment). Cognitive distortions (e.g., the perception of little/no harm if the victim was unaware) were also

identified by Wood (2019) which appeared to facilitate the maintain offending. There was mixed evidence to suggest a link between abuse histories and engaging in voyeurism, which also may differ between genders. When considering the wider research on sex offences, findings are also mixed in that some sex offenders have a history of abuse and others do not (e.g., Widom & Massey, 2015). The relationship between abuse histories and sex offending also has been suggested to be mediated by factors such as family disfunction, genetics (e.g., Jespersen et al., 2009) and personality (e.g., Christopher et al., 2007).

The synthesis identified some links between voyeurism and both risk taking (sub-clinical alcohol/substance use and sexual risk taking) and compulsivity. The results suggested that in general public samples, voyeurism may be linked to more general sexual risk taking and hypersexuality. However, higher ratings on self-reported measures of hypersexuality and arousal may have reflected a perception that unconventional or harmful sexual behaviours are perceived as a problem or excessive by those who have them, particularly if they cause that person distress. Overwhelming habit and compulsivity appeared to be present in samples of convicted offenders. These findings may therefore have captured people who engage in voyeuristic behaviour at a higher severity/frequency and may therefore meet the clinical criteria for voyeurism as outlined in the ICD-10 or DSM-5. Overwhelming habit and compulsivity may be seen more often in convicted voyeuristic offenders as the

higher frequency of the behaviours leads inevitably to more chance of being caught.

The analysis identified some links between personality factors and engaging in voyeurism. It was difficult, however, to distinguish specific personality difficulties that relate to voyeurism due to most studies using global measures of personality. Considering the findings that abuse history, risk taking, impulsivity, social deficits, and wider mental health difficulties may be related to voyeurism, it was somewhat unsurprising that personality factors were also found to be related to voyeurism. These factors may represent traits of personality difficulties (e.g., difficulties in relationships, impulsivity and risk taking), and factors found to be relevant to people who experience personality difficulties (e.g., mental health difficulties, adverse childhood experiences) (Craissati et al., 2020). It therefore would be informative to understand the specific personality traits or difficulties that might be related to voyeurism.

Studies found links between psychopathy traits and engaging in voyeuristic behaviour; however, this was seen in paraphilic behaviours more generally. There was also some indication that Antisocial PD (ASPD) in particular may be linked to engaging in voyeuristic behaviour, however, specific features were not identified. As ASPD and psychopathy are typically characterised by entitlement and a disregard for others (Craissati, 2020), this could explain their links with other types of sexual offending such as sexual coercion (Knight

& Guay, 2006; Zinzow & Thompson, 2015). As voyeurism involves invading the privacy of others, and disregarding boundaries, this could explain potential links with ASPD and Psychopathy. One study investigated personality features more specifically and found that entitlement/exploitativeness features of narcissism were related to all other paraphilias except voyeurism. These findings indicate that antisocial personality traits (e.g., disregard for others) may be associated with paraphilic behaviour more broadly, however the interpersonal features of psychopathy and narcissism (e.g., manipulation and exploitation) may not be linked to voyeuristic behaviour. This could be due to the nature of voyeuristic behaviour not requiring interpersonal skills to be able to carry out an offence, and that avoidance of interpersonal contact can be a driving factor in engaging in voyeuristic behaviour.

Exploring personality traits could give some insight into specific typology(s) of voyeuristic offenders. Considering the wider research into personality traits and sex offending, some studies have highlighted the presence of multiple paraphilias (Drury et al., 2017) and antisocial personality traits (Chan, Beauregard & Myers, 2015; Hill, Habermann & Briken, 2006) in high-risk sexual offenders and serial-sexual murderers. It could be hypothesised that those who engage in voyeuristic behaviour as part of a wider pattern of paraphilic interest and/or offending (e.g., contact sex offences) may represent those who score higher on ASPD and psychopathy measures. This may also partially explain the findings that sexual coercion was higher in those who

engage in voyeuristic behaviour, as research has identified a link between antisocial personality traits and sexual coercion (Knight & Guay, 2006; Zinzow & Thompson, 2015). However, more research is needed overall and on non-clinical/non-forensic samples to draw this conclusion. To draw any conclusions on typologies, it would be useful to investigate whether personality traits differ between people with different voyeuristic behaviour patterns and motivations for voyeuristic behaviour. There is also a need to investigate personality factors in more detail to explore this hypothesis and understand which specific traits could link to voyeuristic behaviour.

The review highlighted broad psychological factors that may be related to voyeurism such as social skills and intimacy deficits, personality factors, risk taking and sexual factors. Further research, however, would be needed to understand the intricacies of these deficits/factors, interactions between factors, and how they may lead to voyeurism. It is also unclear what specific factors may be contributing to different motivations for voyeuristic offending (e.g., there may be different deficits, drivers, and protective factors for people who engage in voyeurism for sexual gratification when compared to those who may be motivated by humour, curiosity, or emotional coping). More research into differing motivations (and specific deficits etc. that link to different motivations/trajectories) would therefore be helpful in determining specific risk factors and treatment needs for those who engage in voyeuristic offending. This would then allow for more appropriate assessment and

intervention for voyeuristic offending; as opposed to generic sex offending interventions that may not adequately meet the offenders needs (e.g., if the offending is not sexually motivated). For example, those who engage in voyeurism as a way of coping emotionally may benefit from learning alternative strategies to regulate and manage emotions. Those who report an uncontrollable compulsion to engage in voyeurism could benefit from intervention in managing sexual urge and arousal.

Drawing on models that identify differing risk factors, motivations, and drivers for offending such as Ward and Segert's (2002) Pathways Model, could offer a helpful structure for organising different typologies of voyeuristic offences. The Motivation Facilitation Model (Seto, 2019) could also offer a helpful structure for guiding research into contributing factors to each potential pathway or typology.

Conclusions

The introduction highlighted issues with the conceptualisation of voyeurism, and the overall lack of research into voyeurism (e.g., potential differing motivations). Considering these limitations, only the beginnings of a potential understanding of voyeurism could be generated from the findings of this review. Most studies included in the review specifically asked questions about sexual motivation. The findings of this review would therefore potentially only apply to sexually motivated voyeurism. It is also likely that the factors

identified may be a redescription of common factors identified in the wider sex offending literature, as the available research was too broad and sparse to generate a reliable understanding specific to voyeuristic offending. It was also not possible to utilise the findings to understand differing motivations for voyeuristic offending and trajectories, which would have implications for determining the most appropriate interventions. This review began to attempt to fill the knowledge gap in understanding voyeurism by unifying the current literature, however its main utility may lie in identifying suggestions for further research to address the knowledge gap.

As an aim of this review was to utilise the findings to aid in guiding investigations into upskirting, it may be suitable to consider some of the identified factors (e.g., personality, risk taking). However, due to the nature of the findings, it is clear that investigations would also need to be guided by further research.

Limitations/Sources of Bias

Excluding the word 'peep' from the search strategy may have led to missing research as this is a common word used in the voyeurism literature. It was, however, not feasible to include this term as it generated numerous results that were not relevant to this review (e.g., screening tool, evacuation plan etc.). When considering the use of the word 'peep' in the wider literature, it felt unlikely that the word 'peep' would be used in alone in research studies

without one of the other search terms accompanying it as it was often used when defining, or giving a description of, voyeuristic offences. This would suggest that it is unlikely a large amount of relevant research was missed.

The nature and variability of included studies meant that the most appropriate method of synthesising the data was through narrative synthesis. Although this approach is useful as it allows reviews to include all study types, the guidance on how to conduct a narrative synthesis is comparatively limited. It is also difficult to provide a completely transparent account of the synthesis and to assess how much weight each study's findings should be given. In the case study literature, it was difficult to integrate all available information reliably into the synthesis, therefore only factors that were measured via psychometric testing and/or clearly linked to voyeuristic offending in the formulation could be included. This means that the understanding of the offending may be biased to the author's interpretation.

Overall, the amount of data for each factor was small and study characteristics varied greatly. Findings from these studies may not be reliably generalised beyond the groups that that were conducted on. Most of the studies were conducted using university or general public samples in various different countries. In the offending samples, all participants were male, and in the case studies and qualitative data, all participants were white, male, mainly British, and committed offences against females. This means that any

understanding of voyeurism gleaned from this review is restricted to this population. Some studies did not have voyeurism as the primary focus and amount of people who reported engaging in voyeurism was small in most studies and therefore differences between groups were also small.

Recruitment of participants via survey means that people who are unlikely to engage in studies will have been missed. Similarly in some studies on offending populations, due to problems with the categorisation and conceptualisation of voyeurism offences, recruitment strategies will have only captured those with a conviction of voyeurism. However, it could be argued that the large amount of data on community samples may account for some of the people who would have been missed if the review only included those convicted of voyeurism offences.

Most studies included in the review were cross sectional therefore cause and effect cannot be drawn from the findings. The primary method of gathering data was using self-report measures which are susceptible to social desirability bias and may have led to respondents under or over reporting. Although a definition of voyeurism was included in the screening tool, self-report questions may have been interpreted differently by different people. Self-report questions used in the quantitative and prevalence studies asked if the person was sexually aroused whilst watching others. As highlighted in the introduction section, the motivation to engage in voyeuristic behaviour is not

always sexual, therefore studies may have missed people who have other motivations (e.g., curiosity, financial gain) for engaging in voyeuristic behaviour. The element of sexual arousal was included in most studies and therefore highlights that the focus of research is on the predominant view that voyeurism is a sexually motivated act.

Funding

There were no sources of funding for this systematic review.

Chapter Three

Chapter 3: Study One

Personality, Sexism, Mating Effort and Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement.

Abstract

Background: Considering the current research, little is known about factors that contribute to the perpetration, acceptance, and endorsement of upskirting. This has implications for how upskirting is managed/viewed in legal (e.g., prosecution of offenders), social (e.g., victim blame attitudes) health (e.g., victim support services) and justice (e.g., assessment and treatment of offenders) contexts. As research into upskirting is limited, the wider literature on voyeurism (Chapter 2), Non-Consensual Sexual Image (NCSI) offending, and sex offending was drawn upon to guide the current empirical study.

Aims: The aim of the study was to investigate factors that may contribute to the acceptance and endorsement of upskirting (upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement) in a general public sample by answering the following question: Are people who have higher levels of Dark Tetrad (DT) traits, Ambivalent Sexism (AS) and Mating Effort (ME) more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences?

Methods: The study was conducted online using a survey format. 214 participants (female=122, male=90, other=2) completed measures of DT traits, AS, ME and a measure of upskirting acceptance and endorsement (UA/E) (upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement). Pearson's correlational analysis was run on all variables to identify significant relationships and investigate multicollinearity. This analysis then informed the variables to be included a multiple regression to identify potential predictors of UA/E (upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement).

Results: Some support was found for all hypotheses, however all correlations between each factor and UA/E, although statistically significant, were small. ME was not found to be an independently significant predictor of UA/E. Also, when AS and DT subscales were investigated, only sadism and Hostile Sexism were found to be significant independent predictors of UA/E amusement and excitement. None of the factors were found to be significant independent predictors of upskirting proclivity or acceptance.

Discussion: Personality (particularly sadism) and sexism (particularly Hostile Sexism) are relevant factors in relation to UA/E in this sample, but only when considering upskirting excitement and amusement, not upskirting acceptance or proclivity. The relationship between these factors, however, appears to be complex. Homosociality, as opposed to ME, may also be a more relevant factor in contributing to the risk of upskirting.

Introduction

The previous chapter identified a wide range of factors that have been found to be related to voyeuristic offending. However, due to the broad nature of the findings, further research was conducted to identify the most relevant psychological factors to investigate in relation to upskirting. The following section discusses this research and the rationale for the current study.

Chapter 1 gave an overview of two conceptualisations of upskirting and a range of other sexual image offences. As stated in the introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1) the Non-Consensual Sexual Image offending (NCSI) terminology and conceptualisation proposed by Harper and Fido (2021) will be used. NCSI is defined as the non-consensual production and/or distribution of a range of media types (e.g., images, videos) that are reasonably assumed to not be within the public domain. The media depicts genitalia (this also can include breasts), people involved in sexual acts and/or the media is produced and/or shared for the purpose of sexual gratification. Harper and Fido (2020) categorise Non-Consensual Sexual Image offending (NCSI) into 4 types by drawing on McGlynn et al.'s (2017) continuum of image-based sexual abuse. This includes revenge pornography, cyber flashing, deepfake pornography and upskirting. It is also important to highlight that the term 'revenge pornography' appears to have been replaced by the term 'Image Based Sexual Abuse' (IBSA). Although some scholars utilise the terms IBSA to refer to a

number of offences, as this thesis adopts the NCSI terminology and conceptualisation, further use of the term IBSA in this chapter and thesis will refer specifically to 'revenge pornography'.

Upskirting refers to the capturing of images under the clothing of a non-consenting person when the image is of "genitals or buttocks (whether exposed or covered with underwear)" (Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019, s. 67a). Although 'upskirting' is not a novel behaviour, media interest appears to have increased over the last few years. This increase in media attention followed a campaign, initiated by Gina Martin, to make upskirting a specific sexual offence after she experienced a man taking photos underneath her skirt whilst at a festival (BBC News, 2019; Oppenheim, 2019). Following this campaign, a law against upskirting was passed in the UK in 2019 which now classifies the behaviour as a specific sexual offence under the Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019.

The number of reported and recorded cases of upskirting has increased over the years according to police and Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) statistics (Oppenheim, 2019; CPS, 2021) however, when accounting for underreporting, and victims potentially being unaware that an offence has been committed, it is likely that actual prevalence rates would be higher. Police statistics for 2018 (Oppenheim, 2019) and CPS statistics for 2020-2021 (CPS, 2021) indicated that people were targeted most commonly in shops, at

work, at school, on public transport, in parks, and in the street. In 2018, upskirting videos were also found to be “easily and freely available on mainstream pornography websites” (McGlynn & Vera-Gray, 2018, para. 2).

It is suggested that the improved ease of access to devices to take and distribute images could be a contributing factor to the increase in upskirting offending (Harper & Fido, 2020). The availability of upskirting pornography could also be attributed to the evolution of technology, and online cultural changes, in that it is easier to create platforms to share images. It also gives potential insight into how upskirting is/was viewed by society at that time (2018, prior to the change in law), in that it may have been seen as a “legitimate sexual practice” rather than an offence (McGlynn & Vera-Gray, 2018, para. 6). There is the question however, of whether upskirting offending has increased, or whether upskirting awareness and reporting has increased. It may be that upskirting offending has evolved with advances in technology which has an impact on prevalence (e.g., images are more easily captured and shared) but also changes in the law could have influenced attitudes towards upskirting, increased the recognition of harm, and subsequently increased the reporting of offences (e.g., victims may feel they will be taken more seriously).

Considering that upskirting may be increasing and/or evolving with advances in technology, there is a need to further understand this specific type of

offence. Currently the literature on upskirting is in its infancy and is therefore sparse. This leaves gaps in understanding in relation to both perpetrators (e.g., motivating factors) and victims of upskirting (e.g., victim impact) which hinders the development of appropriate assessment and intervention for offenders as well as support for victims. At present there is also little research investigating factors that may contribute to the acceptance and endorsement of upskirting (UA/E). Research into factors that influence attitudes towards NCSI offending seems to have focused on IBSA (Harper & Fido, 2020) however, for other NCSI offences, such as upskirting, this is largely unknown. This gap in knowledge has implications for both understanding offenders (potential motivating and facilitating factors) and wider societal views that could impact how upskirting is managed/viewed in legal (e.g., prosecution of offenders), social (e.g., victim blame attitudes), health (e.g., victim support services) and justice (e.g., assessment and treatment of offenders) contexts. This study therefore investigated factors that may contribute to UA/E in the general public. The available literature on voyeurism, NCSI offending, and wider sex offending was drawn upon to guide investigations.

The Dark Tetrad

Chapter 2 Identified personality factors as relevant in relation to voyeuristic offending. Harper and Fido (2020) also propose that certain personality traits could act as facilitators for upskirting offences. Personality traits have been

researched in relation to the perpetration of, and attitudes towards, sexual offending and offending more broadly. The Dark Tetrad (Buckels, Jones & Paulhus, 2013; Paulhus, 2014) in particular has been a focal point for empirical study. The Dark Tetrad (Buckels et al., 2013; Paulhus, 2014) encompasses socially aversive personality traits. It was first conceptualised as the Dark Triad (Paulhus & Williams, 2002) which comprised of subclinical levels of psychopathy, machiavellianism and narcissism. Psychopathy is characterised by high impulsivity, thrill seeking and low empathy (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Machiavellianism is characterised by deception and manipulation for personal gain, and narcissism is characterised by grandiosity and a sense of entitlement (Jones & Paulhus 2011). With the addition of everyday sadism; the enjoyment of cruelty towards others (Buckels et al., 2013), the Dark Tetrad was conceptualised. There are ongoing questions in the literature concerning the distinctive qualities of each personality type. Although each personality type has unique features, it is suggested there is a common 'core' to the Dark Triad/Tetrad (DT) where the traits overlap. Research into this common core suggests that it may be represented by low honesty-humility (Book et al., 2016) or general antagonism (Vize, Collison, Miller & Lynam, 2018).

When considering personality traits in relation to general and sexual offending there is evidence to suggest that DT personality types, particularly psychopathy, are related to antisocial online behaviour in general (Moor &

Anderson, 2019), intimate partner cyber stalking (Smoker & March, 2017), rape enabling attitudes (Jonason, Girgis & Milne-Home, 2017) sexual coercion (Knight & Guay, 2006; Zinzow & Thompson, 2015) and attitudes that are accepting of violence (Blinkhorn, Lyons & Almond, 2016). Chapter 2 highlights the potential role of personality in voyeuristic offences (e.g., Castellini et al., 2018; Watts, 2017). Psychopathy and other DT personality types/traits have also been found to be related to proclivity towards types of NCSI offending, such as IBSA (Pina, Holland & James, 2017) and sending unsolicited sexual images or 'cyber flashing' (March & Wagstaff, 2017; Moor & Anderson, 2019). One suggestion for the link between some NCSI offences and psychopathy, that could apply to upskirting, is that as those who are higher in psychopathy traits are more likely to seek out instant sexual gratification in an impulsive way, and the ease of access to mobile phones may help to facilitate this (Harper & Fido, 2020). Considering these findings, it was felt that investigating the DT may be beneficial in beginning to understand factors that could contribute to UA/E.

Ambivalent Sexism

Although it is acknowledged that upskirting is not necessarily a solely male perpetrated and female victim crime, statistics indicate that reported cases mostly involved a male perpetrator and a female victim (Oppenheim, 2019; CPS, 2021). It is unclear however, whether this is an accurate reflection of

the problem of upskirting due to likely underreporting. The apparent gendered nature of upskirting indicated that it would be beneficial to investigate attitudes that consider this dynamic in relation to UA/E; despite this not being an identified factor in relation to voyeurism in Chapter 2. This, however, is arguably due to a lack of research investigating factors relating to this dynamic, rather than due to relevance.

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) was created to measure traditional gender role attitudes towards women and has been used to demonstrate the link between sexist attitudes and the acceptance and perpetration of various forms of offending. Sexist attitudes have been found to be related to higher levels of rape myth acceptance towards both men (Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2008; Davies, Gilston and Rodgers, 2012) and women (Forbes, Adams-Curtis & White, 2004; Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2007), and higher levels of rape victim blame in women (Masser, Lee & McKimmie, 2010; Sakallı-Uğurlu, Yalçın & Glick, 2007). Sexist attitudes have also been found to be related to the perpetration and acceptance of non-consensual sharing of 'sexts' and dating violence (Morelli et al., 2016; Forbes, Jobe, White, Bloesch, & Adams-Curtis, 2005), cyberbullying (Martinez-Pecino & Duran, 2016), intimate partner violence (Renzetti, Lynch & DeWall, 2018). Pina et.al (2017) also found Ambivalent Sexism (AS) was related to IBSA proclivity in a non-clinical sample. This indicates that sexist attitudes may be

a relevant factor when investigating NCSI offending more generally and in relation to factors that contribute to UA/E.

Mating Effort

Chapter 2 identified that a range of sexual and relationship factors were found to be related to voyeurism (e.g., intimacy/relationship skills deficits, increased sexual risk taking, and increased engagement in sexual activities). The wider literature was explored to identify the most relevant, specific, sexual/relationship factors to investigate in relation to upskirting. Considering the wider literature on sex offending, personality and sexism towards women, Mating Effort (ME) appeared to be a potentially related concept. ME is described as the effort and resources put into acquiring short term mates for sexual activity (Rowe, Vazsonyi & Figueredo, 1997). Although high ME is not entirely antisocial, it has been found to be related to higher levels of sexual coercion (Lalumiere & Quinsey, 1996; Koscielska, Flowe & Egan, 2019) hostile sexism, and sexual aggression towards women (Malamuth et al., 1995). Seto (2019) draws upon the work of Malamuth and colleagues who found that both sexism/negative attitudes towards women, and concepts closely relating to ME, independently contributed to the risk of sexual aggression as did the interaction between the two.

Research has suggested that there may be some links between high ME and the DT (e.g., psychopathy; Lalumiere & Quinsey, 1996) as well as traits of the

DT personality types (e.g., impulsivity and sensation seeking; Rowe et al, 1997). Valentova, Junior, Štěrbová, Varella and Fisher (2020) found that DT traits were positively associated with ME and negatively associated with parental effort (investing resources in existing offspring). This association is somewhat unsurprising, considering traits of the DT personality types such as impulsivity, sensation seeking, interpersonal manipulation and entitlement are likely to lend themselves to a preference for particular mating strategies (e.g., psychopathy and short-term relationships/impersonal sex; Jonason, Luevano, & Adams, 2012; LeBreton, Baysinger, Abbey & Jacques-Tiura, 2013). The relationship between ME, personality, and different types of offending, however, may be complex. When investigating ME in relation to violence, Westhead and Egan (2015) found that the association between high ME and violence was not present when personality factors (low agreeableness and psychopathy) were accounted for. This suggests that other factors (e.g., personality) may need to be present for ME to contribute to the risk of violence.

There is currently no known research that investigates ME in relation to voyeuristic offences, however, as highlighted in Chapter 2, Langstrom and Seto (2006) found that members of the general public who engaged in voyeuristic behaviour, reported a higher number of sexual partners which could represent higher ME. It could also arguably represent high sex drive however, ME concerns novel sexual partners whereas this would not

necessarily be a requirement to satisfy high sex drive. Considering ME in relation to upskirting, it is acknowledged that due to the non-contact nature of the offence it may not accurately represent a driving factor. However, as upskirting offences appear to most likely involve targeting strangers, this may mirror the novel partner, short-term gain, of high ME. Also, as some voyeurism offences may be driven by a desire to meet a sexual need without the burden or 'hassle' of developing and maintaining relationships and intimacy (e.g., Wood, 2019), high ME may be related to this desire for novel, impersonal sexual encounters.

There is some indication that DT traits, sexist attitudes, and ME may be useful to investigate in relation to UA/E considering their links to other types of sexual aggression/offending towards women. There is an indication however, that personality factors may mediate the relationship between ME and forms of violence. Also, considering that ME is not an entirely antisocial behaviour, it may be that other factors such as sexism towards women and personality factors may need to be present to increase the risk of sexual offending and attitudes supportive of sexual offences such as upskirting. It is therefore unclear whether ME would be an independent factor that is related to UA/E.

Aims and Hypotheses

The study aimed to investigate psychological factors that may contribute to upskirting acceptance/endorsement. The study specifically addressed the following exploratory question and hypotheses in a general public sample:

Are people who have higher levels of Dark Tetrad traits, Ambivalent Sexism and Mating Effort more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences?

H1- people who have higher levels of Dark Tetrad traits are more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences.

H2- people who have greater endorsement of Ambivalent Sexism attitudes are more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences.

H3- people who score higher on a measure of Mating Effort are more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences.

Methodology

Participants and Sample

An a priori power analysis was carried out using G*Power Version 3 (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). Using a $p=0.05$ significance level, and a desired medium effect size (0.15) the power analysis indicated that $n=184$ participants would be needed to achieve a power of 0.80 when carrying out the multiple regression analysis. The sample consisted of members of the

general public recruited through online advertising using social media platforms (e.g., Facebook & Instagram), word of mouth, email, and the University of Nottingham Callforparticipants service (appendix F). Participants needed to have access to the internet to complete the survey and were required to be over the age of 18 as the study materials contained information of a sensitive nature. Overall, 219 participants took part in the study, however, 5 participants data were removed in the data cleaning process as their responses were invalid or corrupted. This left a total of 214 participants; $n=122$ identified as female, $n=90$ identified as male, and $n=2$ identified as other. Participant ages ranged from 18-64 years old ($M= 31$, $SD= 11.5$).

Materials

Vignettes (appendix G):

The study included vignettes to cover different variations of upskirting offence types and settings. Investigating the impact of offence type and setting was beyond the scope of H1-H3, therefore this is discussed in Chapter 4.

The Short Dark Triad (appendix H):

The Short Dark Triad (SD3; Jones & Paulhus, 2014) contains 27 items, with each subscale containing 9 items, and is a measure of machiavellianism (e.g., “*Make sure your plans benefit yourself, not others*”), psychopathy (e.g., “*I’ll say anything to get what I want.*”) and narcissism (e.g., “*I like to get*

acquainted with important people.”). Participants responded to each item using a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from “disagree strongly” to “agree strongly”. High scores indicated greater levels of DT traits. Each subscale was found to have adequate reliability (Jones & Paulhus, 2014) and stronger validity than other measures of the Dark Triad (Maples, Lamkin & Miller, 2014). The SD3 had good internal consistency ($\alpha=.86$)

The Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (appendix I):

The Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS; O’Meara, Davies, & Hammond, 2011) is a 10-item measure of sadism (e.g., *“I have fantasies which involve hurting people.”*). Participants responded to each item using a 5-point Likert-type scale, ranging from “disagree strongly” to “agree strongly”. High scores indicated greater levels of sadism. The SSIS had good internal consistency ($\alpha=.88$)

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (appendix J):

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) was created to measure sexist attitudes towards women (see Chapter 5 for critique). It comprises of 22 items: 11 items measuring Hostile Sexism, and 11 items measuring Benevolent Sexism. Hostile Sexism encompasses more typically recognised resentment, prejudicial views, and derogatory beliefs towards women (e.g., *“Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.”*). Benevolent Sexism contrasts Hostile Sexism and can be taken by

the perceiver as a positive, however, encompasses stereotypical views about women, and presents women as less powerful and inferior to men (e.g., *"Women should be cherished and protected by men."*) (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 1997). Participants responded to each item using a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from "disagree strongly" to "agree strongly". Higher scores indicated higher endorsement of sexist attitudes. The ASI had good internal consistency ($\alpha=.84$).

The Mating Effort Scale (appendix K):

The Mating Effort Scale (MES; Rowe, Vazsonyi, Figueredo, 1997) is a 10-item measure of Mating Effort. It includes items such as *"I would rather date several girls (or boys) at once than just one"*. Participants respond to the items using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree". The scale was adapted as informed by (Jones & Figueredo, 2007) to include responses from different genders and sexual orientations. Participants received the following instructions. *"The following questions contain information to include different sexual orientations and genders. Please read and answer the following questions according to your gender and sexual orientation. For example, someone that is interested in only female's would read and answer this question "I would start a relationship with another girl (or boy) before ending one with my current girlfriend (or boyfriend)" as "I*

would start a relationship with another girl before ending one with my current girlfriend". The MES had acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha=.80$).

Measures of Upskirting Acceptance and Endorsement (appendix L & M):

To understand participant's acceptance/endorsement of upskirting they were asked a series of questions. There was no existing measure of upskirting acceptance/endorsement therefore exploratory questions were used which were partially informed by the outcome measures used in Pina et al. (2017).

Baseline upskirting acceptance/endorsement questions (B-UAE): To get a baseline measure of participants acceptance and endorsement of upskirting they were asked the following questions. To measure upskirting proclivity participants were asked *"how likely is it that you would take a picture up a woman's skirt?"* (B-Proclivity). Participants rated their answers on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from "definitely would not do the same" to "definitely would do the same". This was followed by questions concerning level of amusement (B-Amusement), excitement (B-Excitement), and acceptance (B-Acceptable) which were also measured using a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., 1=not at all amused, 5=very amused). Participants were then asked to rate what they consider taking a picture up someone's skirt to be from "socially acceptable" to "a crime". Participants were also provided with a free response box to add comments about their answers with the prompt *"please provide additional information on why you chose this answer"* (appendix L).

Post-vignette upskirting acceptance/endorsement questions (V-UAE): The study also included questions measuring upskirting attitudes/endorsement (appendix M) following participants reading a randomly allocated vignette. These questions were beyond the scope of the hypotheses investigated in this study and will therefore be discussed in Chapter 4.

Design and Procedure

An online questionnaire was deemed to be the most appropriate format for the study as it allowed a large amount of data to be gathered. A small pilot was conducted on the overall study which informed the time taken to complete the study and the face validity of the measures and vignettes. The pilot indicated that the materials had good face validity and that it would take between 10-15 minutes to complete, therefore was an acceptable length of time considering potential participant fatigue. Participants were provided with a link to an online survey. Upon clicking the link, they were informed that the study would be investigating personality, attitudes and sexual images and were presented with further information about the study (appendix N). Participants were then asked to provide informed consent (appendix O). Once consent was given, they were directed to the study page. If consent was not provided, they were directed to the participant debrief (appendix P). Participants were asked to provide a unique identifier number (to maintain anonymity) and complete demographic questions (age, gender, and sexual

orientation). They were then asked to complete Ambivalent Sexism (ASI), Mating Effort (MES), Dark Tetrad (SD3 & SSIP) measures and Baseline Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement (B-UAE) questions in that order. Participants were then randomly allocated to one of 6 vignette conditions where they were asked to read a vignette (see Chapter 4) and answer upskirting acceptance/endorsement questions (V-UAE; see chapter 4) relating to the vignette (see appendix Q for details of how each of the materials was presented). Finally, participants received a debrief form (appendix P) which included information on data storage, support services, and a researcher contact details.

Ethical Considerations

The study was granted ethical approval by the University of Nottingham ethics committee (appendix R). Participants were informed that the content of the study was of a sensitive nature. They were not informed of the specific hypotheses prior to the study and the word 'upskirting' was not used, to limit potential bias. During the brief, participants were made aware that if they felt distressed, they should withdraw from the study and could do so at any time. After completion of the study participants received a full debrief which explained the study purpose. They also received contact details for relevant support organisations. Participants were able to withdraw their data up to two weeks after data collection ended by providing the researcher with their

unique identifier number. All data collected remained confidential and data protection/storage procedures were followed. This was also fully outlined to participants in the brief and included in the study data management plan (Appendix S).

Results

Dark Tetrad, Ambivalent Sexism, Mating Effort and Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement

Data were initially checked for normality and errors and analysed using IBM SPSS (version 27). To investigate H1, H2, and H3 a Pearson's correlational analysis was conducted to identify significant relationships between variables and address multicollinearity. A multiple regression was then conducted to observe the relationship between each scale and each of the B-UAE questions (B-Proclivity, B-Acceptable, B-Amusement, and B-Excitement). The final B-UAE question asking what participants consider taking a picture up someone's skirt to be (from "socially acceptable" to "a crime") will be discussed separately due to the measurement scale being inappropriate for inclusion in the correlations and regression. When investigating H1, the SD3 was combined with the SSIS to create a measure of the Dark Tetrad (D4). The new scale had excellent internal consistency ($\alpha=.91$).

Preliminary analysis:

Normality testing was carried out on each variable prior to conducting the analysis. Shapiro-Wilks tests, and examination of visual plots and skew and kurtosis values were conducted. It is suggested that acceptable skew and kurtosis values lie between -2 and 2 (George & Mallery, 2010). MES, ASI and D4 skew, and kurtosis values fell within this range, although D4 appeared to be slightly positively skewed when examining visual plots. The B-UAE questions; B-Proclivity, B-Acceptable, B-Excitement and B-Amusement were positively skewed due to the generally low level of upskirting acceptance reported by participants and therefore was not normally distributed. The B-UAE questions B-Proclivity, B-Acceptable, B-Amusement and B-Excitement were transformed using Log 10 data transformation and skew and kurtosis values improved. Significant Shapiro-Wilks tests were found for some variables; however, the Shapiro-Wilks test can be sensitive to large sample sizes and the sample used in this study was $n=214$. It is suggested that histograms should also be examined, particularly when sample sizes are large (Ghasemi, & Zahediasl, 2012; Marshall, & Boggis, 2016). Following the examination of visual plots and the skew and kurtosis values, it was decided that the parametric statistical test could be conducted.

Consistent with Pina (2017), participants who emphatically stated their disagreement with upskirting (scored 1 = definitely would not do the same) on the question measuring upskirting proclivity were thought to have no endorsement of upskirting. Those who scored >1 were therefore considered

to have some endorsement of upskirting. 15 out of 214 participants scored >1 on the proclivity question meaning 7% of participants expressed some proclivity for upskirting. When considering the other B-UAE questions 2.8% of participants expressed some level of finding upskirting acceptable, 8.4% expressed some level of amusement in relation to upskirting and 11.6% of participants expressed some level of finding upskirting exciting.

The final B-UAE question asked participants to rate what they consider taking a picture up someone's skirt to be from 5 response options. Responses to this question were as follows "socially acceptable" (n=1, 0.5%), "a joke/banter" (n=1, 0.5%), "it shouldn't be a crime" (n=2, 1%), " it should be a crime" (n=43, 19%), "a crime" (n=167, 78%).

Correlation and Regression:

A Pearson's correlational analysis was run on all variables to identify significant relationships and investigate multicollinearity. This analysis then informed the variables to be included a multiple regression to identify potential predictors of UA/E. To account for the number of correlations run, and address the increased risk of type 1 error, Bonferroni's correction was used to adjust the alpha level. The corrected alpha level was .002 (appendix T).

Table 3. Pearson's correlation analysis for all variables

	Correlations						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1) MES	-						
2) ASI	.416*	-					
3) D4	.423*	.424*	-				
4) B-Proclivity	.112	.084	.065	-			
5) B-Amusement	.176	.317*	.314*	.239*	-		
6) B-Excitement	.114	.223*	.225*	.297*	.724*	-	
7) B-Acceptable	.209*	.143	.194*	.364*	.312*	.449*	-

*Note: * $p < 0.002$ (Bonferroni corrected alpha)*

Table 3 shows that there were no significant positive correlations found between MES, ASI, D4 and B-Proclivity at the corrected .002 alpha level. Significant positive correlations were found between both MES and D4 with B-Acceptable. There were also significant positive correlations between both ASI and D4 with both B-Amusement and B-Excitement. This offers some support for H1, H2 and H3 however, correlations were small, and coefficients ranged from .194 to .317. When considering multicollinearity, no variables were highly correlated therefore all variables (MES, ASI and D4) could be included in the regression as predictors of UA/E (B-UAE questions).

D4 and MES were entered together into the regression as predictors of B-Acceptable. These variables explained 4% of the variance in B-Acceptable $F(2,208)=5.426$, $p=.005$ with an $R^2=.05$ and $R^2_{Adjusted}=.04$, however neither D4 ($\beta=.124$, $p=0.09$) or MES ($\beta=.139$, $p=0.06$) remained statistically significant independent predictors of B-Acceptable at the $p=0.05$ level.

D4 and ASI were entered together into the regression as predictors of B-Excitement. These variables explained 5% of the variance in B-Excitement $F(2,208)=6.83$, $p=.001$ with an $R^2=.06$ and $R^2_{Adjusted}=.05$; both ASI ($\beta=.195$, $p=0.04$) and D4 ($\beta=.165$, $p=0.05$) remained significant independent predictors of B-Excitement at the $p=0.05$ level.

D4 and ASI were entered together into the regression as predictors of B-Amusement. These variables explained 13% of the variance in B-Amusement

$F(2,208)=16.04$, $p=.000$ with an $R^2=.134$ and $R^2_{Adjusted}=.125$; both ASI ($\beta=.196$, $p=0.01$) and D4 ($\beta=.236$, $p=0.00$) remained significant independent predictors of B-Amusement at the $p=0.05$ level.

This offered some support for H1 and H2, in that AS and DT traits were independent significant predictors of B-Excitement and B-Amusement, however D4 was not a significant independent predictor of B-Acceptable. H3 was not supported as ME was not found to be a significant independent predictor of B-Acceptable.

Analysis of Subscales

A second exploratory analysis was carried out to investigate the subscales of ASI (Hostile Sexism; HS and Benevolent Sexism; BS) and D4 (psychopathy; D4P, narcissism; D4N, machiavellianism; D4M and sadism; SSIS) in relation to UA/E (B-Proclivity, B-Acceptable, B-Amusement and B-Excitement). The BS ($\alpha=.69$), HS ($\alpha=.81$), D4P ($\alpha=.70$), D4M ($\alpha=.88$), and SSIS ($\alpha=.88$) scales all had acceptable to good internal consistency. The D4N ($\alpha=.56$) scale however, had questionable internal consistency. The MES variable was not included in the regression as the previous analysis revealed it was not a significant predictor of UA/E.

Preliminary analysis:

Normality testing was carried out on each variable prior to conducting the analysis. Shapiro-Wilks tests, and examination of visual plots and skew and kurtosis values were carried out. The analysis revealed that all variables were normally distributed. When examining visual plots, HS and D4P were slightly positively skewed, however had acceptable skew and kurtosis values. The SSIS variable, however, was positively skewed meaning it did not have a normal distribution. Log 10 data transformation was therefore used to transform the SSIS variable. The normality tests were repeated, and skew and kurtosis values were acceptable. Shapiro-Wilks tests were significant for some variables however, following examination of the visual plots and skew and kurtosis values, it was decided that the planned statistical test could be conducted (Ghasemi, & Zahediasl, 2012; Marshall, & Boggis, 2016).

Correlations and Regression:

Pearson's correlation analyses were run on the subscale variables (HS, BS, D4P, D4N, D4M & SSIS) and B-UAE. To account for the number of analyses being carried out and the risk of type 1 error, a Bonferroni corrected alpha level was used ($\alpha=.001$) (appendix U).

Table 4. Pearson's correlation analysis for all subscale variables

	Correlations									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1) HS	-									
2) BS	.525*	-								
3) D4P	.285*	.360*	-							
4) D4N	.207	.265*	.540*	-						
5) D4M	.373*	.336*	.519*	.415*	-					
6) SSIS	.311*	.299*	.760*	.513*	.529*	-				
7) B-Proclivity	.111	.074	.125	.037	.044	.037	-			
8) B-Amusement	.374*	.201	.256*	.232*	.253*	.291*	.239*	-		
9) B-Excitement	.273*	.125	.179	.108	.176	.256*	.297*	.724*	-	
10) B-Acceptable	.144	.104	.204	.145	.140	.172	.364*	.312*	.449*	-

Note: * $p < 0.001$ (Bonferroni corrected alpha)

As shown in Table 4, none of the ASI or D4 subscales were significantly correlated with B-Proclivity or B-Acceptable. BS also was not significantly correlated with any of the B-UAE questions. HS, D4P, D4M, D4N, and SSIS were significantly positively correlated with B-Amusement at the corrected $\alpha=.001$ level. Only HS and SSIS were significantly positively correlated with B-Excitement at the $\alpha=.001$ level. All significant correlations were small, and coefficients ranged from .232 to .374.

When considering multicollinearity D4P and SSIS were highly correlated ($r=.760$, $p=.000$) and therefore were not entered into the regression together. As this was an exploratory analysis two regressions were run with SSIS and D4P entered separately. HS, D4M, D4N and D4P were all entered together into the regression as predictors of B-Amusement. These variables explained 13% of the variance in B-Amusement $F(4,209)=8.99$, $p=.000$ with an $R^2=.147$ and $R^2_{Adjusted}=.130$, however only HS was an independently significant predictor of B-Amusement ($\beta=.254$, $p=.000$). HS, D4M, D4N and SSIS were all entered together into another regression as predictors of B-Amusement. These variables explained 14% of the variation in B-Amusement $F(4,209)=9.634$, $p=.000$ with an $R^2=.156$ and $R^2_{Adjusted}=.140$, however only HS ($\beta=.224$, $p=.001$) was an independently significant predictor of B-Amusement. HS and SSIS were entered together into a regression as predictors of B-Excitement. These variables explained 9% of the variance in B-Excitement $F(2,211)=11.275$, $p=.000$ with an $R^2=.097$ and $R^2_{Adjusted}=.088$;

HS ($\beta = .203$, $p = .004$) and SSIS ($\beta = .181$, $p = .009$) were both independent significant predictors of B-Excitement.

Discussion

Summary of Findings

This study began to investigate psychological factors that may contribute to the acceptance and endorsement of upskirting by answering the following question: Are people who have higher levels of Dark Tetrad traits, Ambivalent Sexism and Mating Effort more likely to be accepting of, and endorse, upskirting offences?

Some support was found for all hypotheses, however, correlations between each factor and each UA/E question were small. None of the variables were positively correlated with upskirting proclivity (B-Proclivity). The regression analysis also indicated that only a small amount of the variance for the B-UAE questions (B-Excitement and B-Amusement) was accounted for by any of the variables, meaning a large amount of the variance could be explained by other factors or chance. Considering this, and that levels of UA/E were low in this sample, the findings should be interpreted with caution.

H1: The results offered some support for H1, in that there was a significant positive relationship between DT traits and some UA/E questions. DT traits were not found to be related to upskirting proclivity, but were found to be

related to upskirting acceptance, excitement, and amusement. The DT was also found to be a significant independent predictor of upskirting excitement and amusement. When the D4 subscales were examined; psychopathy, machiavellianism, narcissism, and sadism had no significant relationships with upskirting proclivity or acceptance. Significant positive relationships were found between psychopathy, machiavellianism, narcissism, and sadism with upskirting amusement. Only sadism was found to have a significant relationship with, and remain a significant independent predictor of, upskirting excitement.

H2: Support was offered for H2 in that there was a significant positive relationship between AS and some UA/E questions. There was no significant relationship between AS and upskirting proclivity or acceptance, however, AS was found to be significantly related to upskirting excitement and amusement. AS was also a significant independent predictor of upskirting excitement and amusement. When the ASI subscales were analysed, there was a significant positive relationship between HS and UA/E but not BS and UA/E. HS was found to be related to upskirting excitement and amusement, but not upskirting proclivity or acceptance. HS was also found to be an independent predictor of both upskirting amusement and excitement. BS was not found to be significantly related to any of the UA/E questions.

H3: Partial support was found for H3. There was a significant positive relationship between ME and upskirting acceptance only, however, ME was not a significant independent predictor of UA/E (any of the B-UAE questions).

Dark Tetrad, Ambivalent Sexism, Mating Effort and Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement

AS was found to be a relevant factor in relation to upskirting which is consistent with previous research into sexism and attitudes towards other types of NCSI offending (e.g., Morelli et al., 2016; Pina et al., 2017). A recent study on upskirting by Hall, Hearn & Lewis (2022) found that forums dedicated to sharing upskirting images fostered sexist attitudes towards women and normalised the sexual objectification of women. They also found themes of 'homosociality' and 'craftsmanship'. In Hall et al. (2022) 'homosociality' referred to heterosexual male bonding with key features of competitiveness for approval/status. Within this theme, there were sub-themes of gratitude, respect, risk taking, and advice seeking in conversations about upskirting material which acted to positively encourage and reinforce the behaviour.

Considering 'homosociality' in Hall et al., (2022) there may be some parallels with ME in that high ME partially represents sexual competitiveness and a desire for high status within same-sex peers. The presence of sexist/misogynistic attitudes (which can predicate homosociality) and 'homosociality' in the study therefore may highlight an interaction between

sexism and concepts relating to ME that contributed to the risk of upskirting endorsement and perpetration. It may also suggest that the relationship between ME and UA/E (upskirting acceptance; B-Acceptable) found in the current study was actually between upskirting and the facet of ME that represents homosociality (e.g., sexual competitiveness and status) rather than the desire for novel partners. This could also be supported by the finding that ME was related to upskirting acceptance and not excitement, in that it may be expected that if someone is motivated by competitiveness and status, sexual motivations could be less important. If homosociality is a more relevant factor in relation to upskirting than ME, this also could explain why ME did not remain a significant independent predictor of UA/E (any of the B-UAE questions). As suggested in the introduction, it appears that other factors may need to be present for ME to contribute to the risk of upskirting. Also, as ME was found to be related to upskirting acceptance, but none of the other questions, and HS was found to be related to upskirting excitement and amusement, but not upskirting acceptance, this could indicate that each factor could contribute risks and attitudes associated with upskirting in distinct ways. The results of the current study, and Hall et al. (2022), suggest that sexism and misogyny are relevant factors in relation to upskirting perpetration and acceptance/endorsement. However, the current study found that sexism was related to only upskirting amusement and excitement, not upskirting proclivity or acceptance. This indicates that although participants higher in sexism were

not found to be likely to say they would engage in upskirting; they were more likely to find a sexual offence amusing and/or exciting. This highlights a potential issue in society in relation to how upskirting offences are perceived and how victims are treated. Oliver (2015) discusses examples of how misogynistic humour that disregards consent links to offending including rape, sexual assault and 'creepshot' offences, highlighting further issues with the impact of sexist humour that may also be applicable to upskirting.

It was found that only HS (and not BS) was an independent predictor of upskirting amusement and excitement, but not acceptance or proclivity, in the current study. Due to the limited research on upskirting, voyeurism, and NCSI offending, potential explanations for this finding had to be drawn from the wider literature. Morelli et al. (2016) found that BS was weakly related to sexting and not significantly related to intimate partner violence (IPV). High HS also increased the relationship between sexting and IPV whereas high BS decreased this relationship. They suggested that this may be due to BS being based on a protector/protected dynamic, whereas HS may represent a dominator/dominated dynamic that may lend itself more to violence and offending. Renzetti, Lynch & DeWall (2018) also found no significant relationship between BS and IPV. Although this could not be established in their study, they discussed a potential link between BS and IPV only when a woman does not conform to traditional gender norms. Although this may provide an explanation as to why HS, but not BS, was found to be related to

some UA/E questions it is acknowledged that further investigation would be needed to establish the relevance of these potential explanations to UA/E more generally and in relation to the perpetration of upskirting, particularly considering the current study did not find that HS was related to upskirting proclivity. However, it may be that this was due to low levels of proclivity in this sample rather than relevance, particularly considering the wealth of research demonstrating links between HS and offending.

The current findings suggest that the DT was a relevant factor when understanding UA/E. DT traits appeared to be related to upskirting amusement and excitement but not upskirting proclivity. Only the global D4 scale was found to be related to upskirting acceptance. This differed from other NCSI offending studies such as Pina et al. (2017) who found that machiavellianism, narcissism and psychopathy, but not sadism, were significantly correlated with IBSA proclivity. Although narcissism, machiavellianism, psychopathy and sadism were found to be significantly positively correlated with upskirting amusement in the current study, only sadism was found to be correlated with, and a significant independent predictor of, upskirting excitement. Harper and Fido (2020), discuss entitlement as a potential facilitating factor in upskirting offending when sufficient motivating factors are also present; giving an example of the desire to humiliate the victim. It is unclear whether the study results support the role of entitlement as specific traits of the DT personalities were not measured,

however, the desire to humiliate, or harm the victim, could be supported by the finding that sadism was an independent predictor of upskirting excitement. It is however, acknowledged that the findings of the current study relate to a general population sample with low levels of proclivity, therefore that applicability of Harper and Fido's (2020) suggestion is limited.

The finding that psychopathy did not remain an independent predictor of any of the upskirting questions, and was only found to be related to upskirting was amusement, was somewhat surprising considering the literature indicates psychopathy is a relevant factor for a variety of offences (e.g., voyeurism: Castellini et al., 2018; Watts, 2017; IBSA: Pina et al., 2017). The finding that the D4 scale was an independent predictor of upskirting amusement, but none of the subscales were (although all were related), could indicate that the DT core of general antagonism (Vize et al., 2018) is most relevant to upskirting amusement rather than the features of specific personality types. This could also contribute to explaining the finding that HS was also an independent predictor of upskirting amusement, which represents antagonism specifically towards women.

The results of the current study could have been impacted by the generally low expression of DT and UA/E in the sample. Despite other proclivity studies (e.g., Pina, 2017) and the systematic review on voyeurism (Chapter 2) indicating that general population studies contain participants who expressed

that they would or have committed voyeuristic and other NCSI offences, levels of proclivity in this sample were low. This means that the applicability of these findings to understanding the perpetration of upskirting offences is limited. It does, however, give insight into the general public's attitudes towards upskirting in that those with DT traits (specifically sadism) and HS attitudes, although they may not report that they would engage in upskirting, still find it amusing or exciting.

Limitations

The design of the study was cross-sectional therefore cause and effect could not be inferred. Overall, low levels of UA/E were expressed by the study sample. This was potentially due to sampling bias in that the types of people who are likely to engage in/endorse antisocial activities may be less likely to volunteer for studies. The study also discussed upskirting as a gendered issue, therefore as the sample consisted of a majority of female participants (57%), this could have impacted levels of UA/E. However, upon inspection of the means, gender did not appear to have a large impact on differences in scores on UA/E questions (appendix V). Also considering that upskirting is a mainly male perpetrated, female victim crime it may be likely that sexual orientation would have an impact on scores if a large number of participants were not heterosexual. However, 81% of participants identified as heterosexual, 12%

identified as bisexual, 7% identified as homosexual therefore it is unlikely that this would have had a large effect on UA/E.

The age of participants varied from 18-64 years old ($M = 31$, $SD = 11.5$). Considering that attitudes towards upskirting may have changed over time, as evidenced by the specific law being passed fairly recently, it may be that older participants have a differing view towards upskirting. Older participants may have been influenced by media portrayals of upskirting and voyeurism as acceptable over the years (see Chapter 1 for examples). Younger participants may have grown up with one predominant view of upskirting as less acceptable (e.g., which could have particularly been influenced by Gina Martins campaign for the change in law and the media surrounding this). It would therefore be expected that age would influence views of upskirting, in that older participants might express higher levels of UA/E. As the sample of participants in the current study were mostly between the ages of 18-30 (70%) with the remaining participants being 31-40 (17%), 41-50 (6%) and 51-64 (7%) this may offer an explanation for the low level of UA/E in this study. This also may indicate that attitudes towards upskirting have changed since the law was passed in 2019, however, this is speculative as there was no measure of upskirting acceptance in this sample prior to the change. Also, as data were collected soon after the change in law, the increased media coverage at that time may have meant participants were particularly

aware/conscious of the issue of upskirting, and this may have accounted for the low levels of reported UA/E.

Conclusions

The findings indicated that personality (particularly sadism) and sexism (particularly Hostile Sexism) are relevant factors in relation to UA/E, but only when considering upskirting excitement and amusement not upskirting proclivity or acceptance. The relationship between these factors and UA/E, however, appears to be complex. Homosociality, as opposed to ME, may also be a more relevant factor in contributing to attitudes towards upskirting. Low levels of proclivity in this sample limit the applicability of the findings to an offender sample. The following chapter (Study 2) investigated further factors in relation to UA/E such as motivational, contextual, and offence type factors.

Future Directions

As sexism appears to be an important factor in relation to upskirting, further research could investigate the intricacies of these attitudes, and their relation to other factors such as ME and homosociality (e.g., desire for status vs short term sexual partners). Considering the low level of proclivity in this sample and that both HS and D4 traits were not related to proclivity but were related to amusement and excitement, this could be interpreted to mean that participants with these traits found upskirting amusing or exciting but would not report that they would perpetrate an offence. It therefore may be

beneficial to further understand the intricacies of these factors in relation to attitudes towards upskirting and the impact of these attitudes on victims (e.g., victim blame, jury attitudes). Considering the low level of proclivity in this general public sample, and therefore the limited applicability of the findings to offenders, future research could also focus on investigating specific personality traits as potential facilitators for upskirting, and potential motivating factors in offender samples (e.g., desire to cause the victim distress, entitlement to sex). It may also be interesting to further investigate whether specific DT traits relate to upskirting (particularly upskirting amusement) or if general antagonism (a suggested DT 'core') is the prime contributing factor. Future research could also focus on different subsections of the general public in relation to factors such as sexuality, age, and socioeconomic background. It may also be interesting to measure levels of UA/E in the general public now upskirting is less of a 'current'/prominent issue in the media.

Chapter Four

Chapter 4: Study Two

Contextual, Motivational, and Offence Factors in Relation to Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement

Abstract

Background: This study was part of a wider research project (Chapter 3) and focused on potential motivational and contextual factors in relation to Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement (UA/E) (upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement). As research into upskirting is limited, the wider literature on voyeurism, and sex offending was drawn upon to guide investigations.

Aims: The study was exploratory and aimed to answer the following question: Do offence type (taking/keeping, taking/sharing, or taking/deleting upskirting images) and setting (festival or shop) have an effect on ratings of upskirting acceptance/endorsement?

Method: The study utilised an online survey format. 214 participants (female=122, male=90, other=2) completed a set of psychological measures (Chapter 3) and were then randomly allocated to one of 6 vignettes depicting an instance of upskirting. They then completed further UA/E questions (proclivity, acceptability, amusement, and excitement). Free response

questions were also used to explore motivations and the influence of contextual and offence type factors.

Results: Contextual factors did not appear to affect UA/E in this sample. Offence type only appeared to affect UA/E between offence (take/keep & take/share) and delete (take/delete) conditions indicating UA/E did not differ between the different facets of upskirting (taking and sharing images).

Discussion: Limited conclusions concerning motivations and contextual factors could be drawn due to overall low levels of UA/E in this sample. The study did, however, highlight reasons for not endorsing/accepting upskirting. Reasons included perceptions of high victim harm and views concerning how moral the behaviour was. The results also indicated that upskirting may differ significantly to voyeuristic offending, and that upskirting may not be a phenomenon engaged in by the general public.

Introduction

The previous chapter (Study 1) examined potential psychological factors (sexism, personality, and Mating Effort) that could be related to the general public's acceptance and endorsement of upskirting by drawing on the wider voyeurism (Chapter 2), NCSI (Non-Consensual Sexual Image), and sex offending literature. The present chapter further investigated factors that may influence upskirting acceptance/endorsement (UA/E); specifically, potential contextual and motivating factors as well as offence type.

Potential Motivating Factors

As discussed in the previous chapters, it is argued that there are alternative motivations for voyeuristic offending that are not primarily sexual, which may also be the case for upskirting. The Systematic Review in Chapter 2 indicated that investigations into voyeuristic behaviour in the academic literature, appeared to predominantly consider only a primary sexual motivation (e.g., most studies asked questions specifically about sexual arousal). Failure to include other potential motivations leaves a gap in understanding and therefore difficulties in developing appropriate assessment, formulation, and intervention for offenders. This is not to say sexual motivation should be ignored, more it highlights the need for further understanding of the role of multiple motivations but also consideration/understanding of alternative primary motivations.

Sexual Motivation

It is clear that sexual motivations play an important role in voyeuristic offending. As highlighted in Chapter 2, studies investigating voyeuristic behaviour identified that reports of sexual fantasy to voyeuristic and exhibitionistic behaviour were higher in those who engaged in voyeuristic behaviour, than those who did not (Langstrom & Seto, 2006). Studies also found a co-occurrence of multiple paraphilic behaviours with voyeurism, including exhibitionistic, sadomasochistic, transvestic-fetishist, sadistic and masochistic (Baur et al., 2016; Langstrom & Seto, 2006). Although it could be argued that in certain cases other 'paraphilic' behaviours also may not be sexually motivated (as suggested for voyeurism), it is highlighted in Chapter 2, that the element of sexual arousal or sexual motivation was included in the studies. The results of the systematic review (Chapter 2) also suggested that in general public samples, voyeurism may be linked to more general sexual risk taking and hypersexuality, indicating a potential primarily sexual motivation.

In samples of convicted voyeuristic offenders, sexual compulsivity and overwhelming habit appeared to be a predominant feature of their offending. Offenders in Stuyvesant et al. (2014), Thorne (2015), and Wood (2019) appeared to have a 'uncontrollable' preoccupation with sex, indicating that the motivation for offending was sexual. Offenders in Thorne (2015) and Wood

(2019) also appeared to have convictions for other sexual offences such as sexual assault, rape and downloading indecent images as well as wider offending (e.g., murder and burglary). Other case studies/examples that did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the systematic review, (e.g., due to methodological reasons) reported similar findings of both a preoccupation with sex and wider sexual offending (e.g., Nelson, 1977; Satapathy et al., 2016). This indicates that offenders who report a preoccupation with sex, engage in voyeurism at a high frequency (therefore may be likely to meet the clinical criteria for voyeurism), and as part of wider sexual offending/harmful sexual interest are primarily sexually motivated.

Currently it is difficult to understand motivations specific to upskirting offences due to the lack of research into upskirting and legislative changes taking place fairly recently that specifically categorised upskirting as a distinct offence. The Crown Prosecution Service (CPS; 2021) reported that "at least a third" of people who have committed upskirting offences "are also committing other serious sexual crimes" (CPS, 2021, para. 1). It is also reported that 46 men were prosecuted for upskirting offences between 1st April 2020 and 30th June 2021 and that 15 of the men were also charged with other sexual offences including "child abuse, sexual assault, extreme pornography, and wider voyeurism offences" (CPS, 2021, para. 3). Again, as with voyeurism, it appears that some offenders may engage in upskirting as part of wider sexual

offending/harmful sexual interest and therefore may be more likely to be primarily sexually motivated.

Other Potential Motivations

Academic literature focusing on voyeurism as a whole, and specifically investigating the motivations for voyeuristic offending, is limited. However, in a study investigating motivations for people reporting they would hypothetically engage in voyeurism (watching someone undress or engaging in sex) Duff (2021) found that not all participants described voyeurism as sexually arousing. Some participants also indicated motivations that could be interpreted as not primarily sexual such as curiosity and managing concerns about their own body. In Duff's (2018) case study, some voyeuristic offending was primarily motivated by curiosity, gaining knowledge about females, and knowledge/skills about sex.

The Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019 takes a step in considering alternative motivations for upskirting by including both motivations of "sexual gratification" or to cause "humiliation, distress or alarm". Gillespie (2019) however, offers criticism of the legislation and highlights how it does not capture the full extent of upskirting behaviour. Possible alternative motivations that are not primarily sexual are discussed, such as humour, using the example of Gina Martin's experience (BBC News, 2019). Gillespie (2019) suggests that it could be possible for the humour motivation to fall under the

“humiliation, distress or alarm” stipulation. However, poses the question; if the victim does not know about the footage, can they be humiliated, distressed, or alarmed? Which raised a further question of, if not, would this be captured under the current law?

Humour as a motivation for upskirting, could be a further extension of misogynistic humour that disregards consent. Misogynistic/sexist humour has been linked to sexual harassment (Otsri, 2020), and rape proclivity (Thomae & Pina, 2015). Oliver (2015) discussed examples of how misogynistic humour that disregards consent links to offending including rape, sexual assault and ‘creepshot’ offences. Oliver (2015) also discussed humour and the desire to debase women which could be considered the motivation to humiliate. However, there is the potential that other forms of ‘humour’ motivated upskirting offending may not be driven by the intention to humiliate and instead, may represent the offenders ignorance about their own views and what causes harm. For example, an upskirting image of two women was posted by a social media page named “UK Cop Humour”. The page had been reported to have “strong links with Police Forces, for example winning the Police Twitter Award” (McGlynn, 2017, para. 7). The account defended the post by commenting that it was “harmless, and the accompanying writeup was funny” (McGlynn, 2017, para 6). Although it cannot be confirmed that the intention was not to humiliate, the description, nature of the page, and subsequent comments suggests it was driven by ‘humour’. This again

highlights the importance of Gillespe's (2019) argument in that only certain types of 'humour' motivated offending may fall under the current legislation (e.g., if the offenders intention was to humiliate). Although it appears that 'humour' could be a motivating factor for committing upskirting offences, this has not yet been explored in the academic literature.

The Voyeurism (Offences) Act includes the phrasing "obtaining sexual gratification whether for A or C" which suggests that the person taking the image does not have to be sexually motivated. This potentially captures other motivations such as financial gain, which takes a step in considering alternatives to a primarily sexual motivation for the offender. Since the conceptualisation of the current study, Hall, Hearn and Lewis (2021) conducted a study on forums dedicated to sharing upskirting images/videos. They identified 'homosociality' and 'craftsmanship' as prominent themes in the comments. This indicates that a need to belong or gain approval/status from peers could drive upskirting offending for some offenders, although again there is not sufficient detail to understand if motivations were primarily sexual. There is the potential that some offenders could engage in upskirting to achieve a sense of belonging in the absence of primary sexual motivation. When considering craftsmanship, Duff's (2018) case study indicated a desire to gain the 'perfect' image that could potentially relate to the concept of 'craftsmanship', although a predominant sexual element to this offending was identified, therefore it is difficult to determine the primary motivation. It may

indicate however, that 'craftsmanship' could be an important driving or maintaining factor for upskirting offending.

It appears that some people who engage in voyeurism and upskirting are clearly driven/motivated by sexual arousal. Offenders who engage in these behaviours at a high frequency, experience sexual preoccupation/compulsivity and/or engage in a wide range of sexual offending may be more likely to be primarily driven by a sexual motivation (or sexual motivation is a more present factor). Motivations may be different, or differently weighted, for offenders who engage in voyeurism or upskirting at a lower frequency, do not experience a sexual preoccupation, and do not engage in a wide range of sexual offending. There also may be some differences in motivational factors for people who solely engage in upskirting or engage in upskirting and a range of non-sexual offending.

Contextual Factors

Offence Setting

Previous research indicates that contextual factors can influence attitudes towards both the victim and the perpetrator of sexual offences. Studies investigating rape myths have found that members of the general public hold attitudes that tolerate, accept, and support sexual violence (e.g., Burt, 1980; Iconis, 2008; Leverick, 2020). Examples of rape myths that consider contextual factors include believing a woman is to blame for a sexual assault

if they were consuming alcohol, out late at night, and/or wearing 'revealing' clothing. Rape myths may also excuse the perpetrators behaviour (e.g., if they have consumed alcohol) (McMahon & Farmer, 2011). There is no known research that has investigated contextual factors that influence peoples acceptance/endorsement of voyeuristic or upskirting offences. However, considering the wider research on sexual offences, it is likely that contextual factors may influence UA/E.

The current study investigated the effect of the offence setting on the general public's acceptance/endorsement of upskirting offending. As mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 3, statistics indicate that the most common places for upskirting offences to take place were shops (CPS 2021; Oppenheim 2019 & 2020) therefore this setting was included in the study. The case of upskirting which was influential in encouraging legislative change (Gina Martin) took place at a festival. A festival setting is likely to include some common contextual rape myth factors (e.g., alcohol consumption, styles of clothing). The present study therefore included a festival setting to begin to investigate whether contextual factors may influence UA/E. Since the conceptualisation of the current study, Williams and Murray (2022) examined general public perceptions of a sexual assault at a festival in New Zealand whereby an unknown male grabbed a woman's breast. Comments on an article published in the *Daily Mail* were examined and the authors found a dominant theme of victim blame (e.g., that the victim was asking for it, deserved the assault and

wanted attention) particularly in relation to how the victim was dressed. They also found that the context and location contributed to the assault in that people were intoxicated therefore the responsibility of the perpetrator was diminished. Comments also reflected the view that no assault occurred, and evaluations of the victim's appearance. This highlights the relevance of contextual factors in a festival setting that contribute to attitudes towards sexual offences.

Offence Type

It could be argued that there are two distinct aspects of upskirting offences: 1) taking the image and 2) sharing and/or distributing the images. Along with outlining what constitutes an upskirting offence in the taking of an image, the Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019, s. 67a also stipulates that "person (A) commits an offence if... A does so with the intention that A or another person (C) will look at the image..." . As highlighted in the previous chapters, upskirting appears to have changed over the years, and this change could be attributed to advances in technology. Advances in technology have arguably made each of these aspects easier to carry out (e.g., accessibility to portable devices such as mobile phones that allow instant taking and sharing of images across a vast platform such as the internet). It was therefore decided that both facets of upskirting offending would be explored in the study to gain a representative view of the general public's views towards upskirting.

When considering potential motivations for upskirting, offence type could have some bearing on how the potential motivation is perceived, and in turn how likely people are to acceptance/endorse the behaviour. For example, if an offender takes an image and keeps it, the motivation could be construed as sexual and conjure up stereotypical images of a sexual 'creep'. Alternatively, if an offender shares an image, this may open up the possibility that the offender could be sexually motivated but also they could be motivated by financial gain, a desire to gain/maintain status, or humour.

Aims and Hypotheses

The current study investigated motivational and contextual factors that may have an effect on UA/E. Motivational factors included finding upskirting exciting and amusing whereas contextual factors included the different facets of upskirting offences (taking and sharing images) as well as different offence settings (shop and festival). The study specifically aimed to explore whether offence type and setting had an effect on ratings of a UA/E measure (which included questions exploring upskirting proclivity, acceptance, and motivations of excitement and amusement). To address this, hypotheses 4 and 5 investigated the following question: *Does offence type and setting have an effect on ratings of upskirting acceptance/endorsement?*

Considering the limited literature on upskirting and the exploratory nature of the study, it was hypothesised that:

H4- Participants upskirting acceptance/endorsement ratings would differ depending on the offence setting (festival and shop).

H5- Upskirting acceptance/endorsement ratings would differ depending on the offence type (take/delete, take/keep, and take/share).

Methodology

Participants and Sample

An a priori power analysis was carried out using G*Power Version 3 (Faul et al., 2007) to inform the number of participants needed for the planned quantitative analysis (MANCOVA). Using a $p=0.05$ significance level, and a desired medium effect size (0.15) the power analysis indicated that $n=206$ participants would be needed to achieve a power of 0.80. The sample used for this study consisted of members of the general public recruited through online advertising using social media platforms (e.g., Facebook & Instagram), word of mouth, email, and the University of Nottingham Callforparticipants service. Overall, 219 participants took part in the study, however, for the statistical analysis, 5 participants data were removed in the data cleaning process as their responses were invalid or corrupted. This left a total of 214 participants ($n=122$ identified as female, $n=90$ identified as male, and $n=2$ identified as other). Participant ages ranged from 18-64 years old ($M= 31$, $SD= 11.5$). The study included both quantitative and qualitative data which is outlined in the

following sections. 81 participants did not provide responses to the free text questions, therefore qualitative data was provided by 133 participants.

Materials

Vignettes (appendix G):

The study included vignettes to depict variations of upskirting offence types and settings. Vignettes depicting an upskirting offence committed by a male perpetrator against a female victim were used in this study. Although it is acknowledged that upskirting is not solely a male perpetrated/ female victim offence (Jones, 2021), current statistics indicate that this appears to be the most commonly occurring offence dynamic (CPS 2021; Oppenheim, 2019). Future research should also consider other offender and victim characteristics. There were 6 vignettes used in the study to investigate 2 settings and 3 offence types. The two settings were a shop or a music festival to represent common places that upskirting offences may take place (CPS, 2021; Oppenheim, 2019). The three offence type conditions were used to represent different facets of upskirting. Two were offence conditions and involved someone: taking an image (Take/Keep; T/K), taking and sharing an image (Take/Share; T/S). The third condition involved someone unintentionally taking and subsequently deleting an image (Take/Delete; T/D). The vignettes depicted a hypothetical situation where a male perpetrator takes a picture up a female victim's skirt (in a shop or at a festival) and, in the two offence

conditions, either keeps the picture or shares the picture. The third condition involved the perpetrator unintentionally taking a picture and subsequently deleting it. The following vignette is an example of the festival T/S condition:

"Chris is at a music festival with his friends. The act they want to see is due on stage soon, so they decide to move closer to the front. The front is really crowded and there is little space to move around. Chris notices a woman stood in front of him wearing a skirt. He uses his mobile phone to take a picture up her skirt without her knowledge. Chris sends this image to his friend."

Measure of Upskirting Acceptance and Endorsement (appendix M):

Post-vignette Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement questions (V-UAE): The study included questions measuring UA/E following participants reading their randomly allocated vignette. Participants were asked a question measuring upskirting proclivity *"In this situation how likely is it that you would you do the same as Chris?"* and rated their answers on a 5-point Likert-type scale from "very unlikely" to "very likely". This was followed by questions investigating level of acceptance, amusement, and excitement (e.g., *"In this situation how amusing is Chris' behaviour?"*) which were also measured using a 5-point Likert-type scale (e.g., 1=not at all amusing, 5=very amusing). . Due to the exploratory nature of the study, the information provided in the vignettes was purposefully minimal. Participants were provided with a free response box to add comments about their answers with the prompt *"please*

provide additional information on why you chose this answer". The purpose of this question was to allow participants to provide insight into their views on how contextual factors (setting and offence type) may have influenced their interpretation of the offence (e.g., potential motivations, perpetrator, and victim characteristics) and in turn, their acceptance/endorsement ratings.

Other measures (appendix H, I & J):

The statistical analysis for this study included a measure of sexism: the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) and a measure of the Dark Tetrad personality traits (D4), which combined the Short Dark Triad (SD3) and the Short Sadistic Impulse Scale (SSIS), as covariates. The ASI and D4 were discussed in Chapter 3 and therefore this will not be repeated in the present chapter; please see Chapter 3 for an overview.

Design, Procedure, and Data Analysis

As the study discussed in this chapter was part of a larger overall study, the full design, procedure, and ethical considerations were discussed in Chapter 3, therefore only a brief overview will be provided here. A small pilot was conducted on the overall study which informed the time taken to complete the study and the face validity of the measures and vignettes. Participants were provided with a link to an online survey. Upon clicking the link, they were informed that the study would be investigating personality, attitudes and sexual images and were presented with further information about the study

(appendix N). Participants were then asked to provide informed consent (appendix O). Once consent was given, they were directed to the study page. If consent was not provided, they were directed to the participant debrief (appendix P). Participants were asked to provide a unique identifier number (to maintain anonymity) and complete demographic questions (age, gender, and sexual orientation). They were then asked to complete Ambivalent Sexism (ASI), Mating Effort (MES), Dark Tetrad (SD3 & SSIP) measures and Baseline Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement (B-UAE) questions in that order (Chapter 3). Participants were then randomly allocated to one of 6 vignette conditions where they were asked to read a vignette and answer upskirting acceptance/endorsement questions (V-UAE) relating to the vignette. Finally, participants received a debrief form which included information on data storage, support services, and a researcher contact details (see appendix Q for details of how each of the materials was presented).

Due to the exploratory nature of the study, quantitative and qualitative questions were used to measure and gain insight into UA/E. MANCOVA was used to analyse the quantitative data. A review of the literature and consultation with research professionals was carried out to determine the most appropriate method for handling the free-text response data. Braun and Clarke, (2020) discuss how approaches such as Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA) and Qualitative Content Analysis can be applied to various data types and there is no “hallowed” method for qualitative analysis. However, they

emphasise the importance of ensuring there is an alignment of the research method/principles of the approach and the question being addressed. LaDonna, Taylor and Lingard (2018) highlight issues with applying qualitative research methods to free response questionnaire responses. They argue that free response questions which are an addition to a quantitative analysis, rather than being addressed as a separate research question, do not produce data that meets the standard of 'richness' required for qualitative research methods to be applied. They suggest 'rich' data should have "context, personal meaning, emotional and social nuances, and layers of detail" (LaDonna et al., 2018). Considering the characteristics of the data gathered in the current study, it was determined that it would be best represented as a narrative, which could inform future in-depth qualitative research.

Results

Quantitative Analysis

Data were initially checked for normality, outliers, missing data, and errors and then analysed using IBM SPSS (version 27). To investigate H4 and H5 the data were analysed using MANCOVA to explore the effect of offence type (Take/Share, Take/Keep & Take/Delete) and offence setting (festival and shop) on post-vignette upskirting acceptance/endorsement ratings (V-UAE; V-Proclivity, V-Acceptance, V-Amusement, and V-Excitement) whilst controlling for factors identified in Study 1 (Chapter 3). Study 1 found in

correlational and regression analysis that measures of sexism and personality related to and independent significant predictors of UA/E ratings. Although the questions in Study 1 (B-UAE) differed slightly to the questions used in the current analysis (V-UAE), it was determined that the measures were similar enough that these factors should still be controlled for. Considering this, the HS scale of the ASI; Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and the D4; Dark Tetrad (SD3: Short Dark Triad; SSIS: Short Sadistic Impulse Scale) were included in the MANCOVA as covariates. The D4 global scale was used as all of the subscales were found to be related to at least one of the B-UAE questions. See Table 5 for groups and sample sizes.

Table 5. Conditions and sample sizes for quantitative analysis.

		Offence Type		
		Take/Share	Take/Keep	Take/Delete
Offence	Festival	^a FTS (n=35)	^c FTK (n=48)	^e FTD (n=32)
Setting	Shop	^b STS (n=28)	^d STK (n=39)	^f STD (n=32)

^aFTS= Festival (offence setting) Take/Share (offence type)

^bSTS= Shop (offence setting) Take/Share (offence type)

^cFTK= Festival (offence setting) Take/Keep (offence type)

^dSTK= Shop (offence setting) Take/Keep (offence type)

^eFTD= Festival (offence setting) Take/Delete (offence type)

^fSTD= Shop (offence setting) Take/Delete (offence type)

Preliminary analysis:

Normality testing was carried out on the covariates (HS & D4) in Study 1 (Chapter 3) and both variables had a normal distribution. It is suggested that acceptable skew and kurtosis values lie between -2 and 2 (George & Mallery, 2010). Normality tests were conducted to investigate whether each V-UAE question (V-Proclivity, V-Acceptable, V-Excitement, & V-Amusement) was normally distributed across each of the 6 conditions. Skewness and kurtosis values were acceptable across FTD and STD conditions for all questions, however, were positively skewed across the other 4 conditions due to the overall low level of reported UA/E. Shapiro-Wilks tests were also significant however, the Shapiro-Wilks test can be sensitive to large sample sizes (>20) (Ghasemi, & Zahediasl, 2012; Marshall, & Boggis, 2016). Considering the sample sizes of each condition, and the question being examined in this study, it was decided that the analysis could be continued.

Scatter plots were used to investigate the linearity of the relationship between the covariates and the individual V-UAE questions. Upon inspection of the scatter plots, the relationship between the 'proclivity' question and both covariates appeared to deviate from linearity which may have reduced the power and reliability of the analysis. It was determined that the analysis could be run however, this potential assumption violation should be held in mind when interpreting the results. MANCOVA tests were run to investigate

homogeneity of variance-covariance. The Box's test of Equality of Covariance Matrices was statistically significant; therefore, Pillai's Trace criterion was used. Statistically non-significant results were found for the interactions between Condition (offence setting and type) and D4 and HS covariates. When testing for homogeneity of the covariate and IV regression slopes, there were no statistically significant interactions meaning this assumption of MANCOVA was likely met.

MANCOVA and post-hoc:

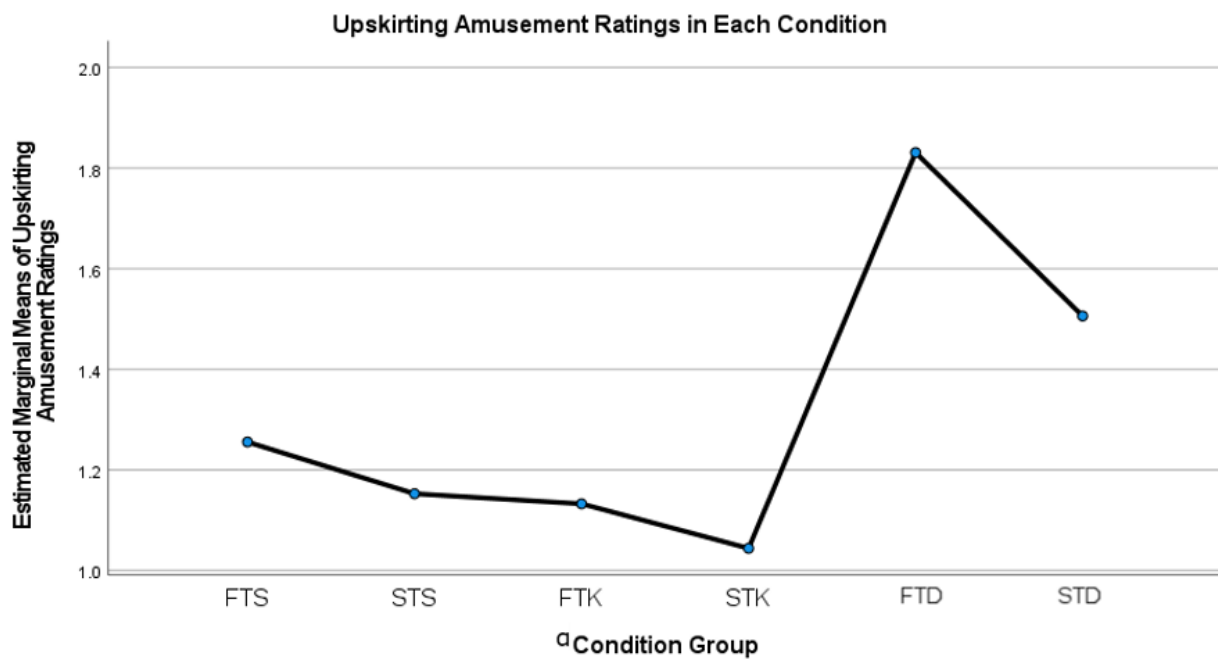
The Box's test of Equality of Covariance Matrices was statistically significant therefore Pillai's Trace criterion was used. The MANCOVA found that both HS $F(4,200)=3.56$, $p=.008$ and D4 $F(4,200)=3.41$, $p=.010$ had a statistically significant effect on the V-UAE question scores. HS appeared to only have a statistically significant effect on upskirting V-Excitement $F(1,203)=12.30$, $p=.001$ $\eta^2 = .057$ and D4 only had a statistically significant effect on upskirting V-Amusement $F(1,203)=12.46$, $p=.001$, $\eta^2 = .058$. Condition (offence setting and type) had a statistically significant effect on upskirting V-Proclivity $F(5,203)=104.87$, $p=.000$ $\eta^2 = .721$, V-Amusement $F(5,203)=6.87$, $p=.000$ $\eta^2 = .145$ and V-Acceptance $F(5,203)=77.64$, $p=.000$ $\eta^2 = .660$ questions but not upskirting Excitement $F(5,203)=.398$ $p=.850$ $\eta^2 = .010$ when controlling for HS and D4.

Bonferroni-adjusted post-hoc tests revealed that there were only statistically significant differences between both delete conditions (FTD and STD) and the other four offence conditions (FTK, STK, STS and FTS) for questions asking if participants would do the same, and how acceptable they found the behaviour. Upon inspection of the means and visual plots, participants found the behaviour in the FTD and STD conditions more acceptable and agreed they would do the same (delete the image) when compared to the 4 offence conditions. The offence type therefore impacted ratings but only between the offence and delete conditions; there was no significant difference between taking/sharing and taking/keeping. The offence setting (festival vs shop) however, appeared to have no effect on whether participants would do the same or found the behaviour acceptable. Offence type and setting also did not appear to influence ratings of excitement as there were no statistically significant differences between groups. Upon investigating means and visual plots, levels of excitement appeared to be low across all conditions.

The post-hoc tests revealed that there were significant differences between amusement ratings in the FTK, STK, FTS and STS conditions when compared to the FTD condition. Inspection of the means and visual plots indicated that there were significantly higher rated levels of amusement in the FTD condition than in the FTK, STK, FTS and STS conditions. There was however no significant difference between STD and FTD meaning when the image was deleted, the offence setting did not impact how amusing participants found

the behaviour. There were also no significant differences between the other 4 conditions indicating that offence setting did not impact amusement ratings. However, there was a somewhat contradictory finding in that there were significant differences between only FTD and the 4 offence conditions but not STD and the 4 conditions. The results therefore indicated that when someone accidentally took an upskirting image at a festival and then deleted it, this was significantly more amusing than any of the 4 offence conditions, but there was no difference in how amusing this would be if it happened in a shop. However, when someone accidentally took a photo in a shop, this was not significantly more amusing than the 4 offence conditions (Figure 2).

Figure 2. *Ratings of upskirting amusement in each condition.*



^aFTS= Festival (setting) Take/Share (offence type)

STS= Shop (offence setting) Take/Share (offence type)

FTK= Festival (setting) Take/Keep (offence type)

STK= Shop (setting) Take/Keep (offence type)

FTD= Festival (setting) Take/Delete (offence type)

STD= Shop (setting) Take/Delete (offence type)

The mean scores for male and female participants were inspected for each V-UAE question in each of the 6 conditions. Similar scores were found for each gender (appendix V).

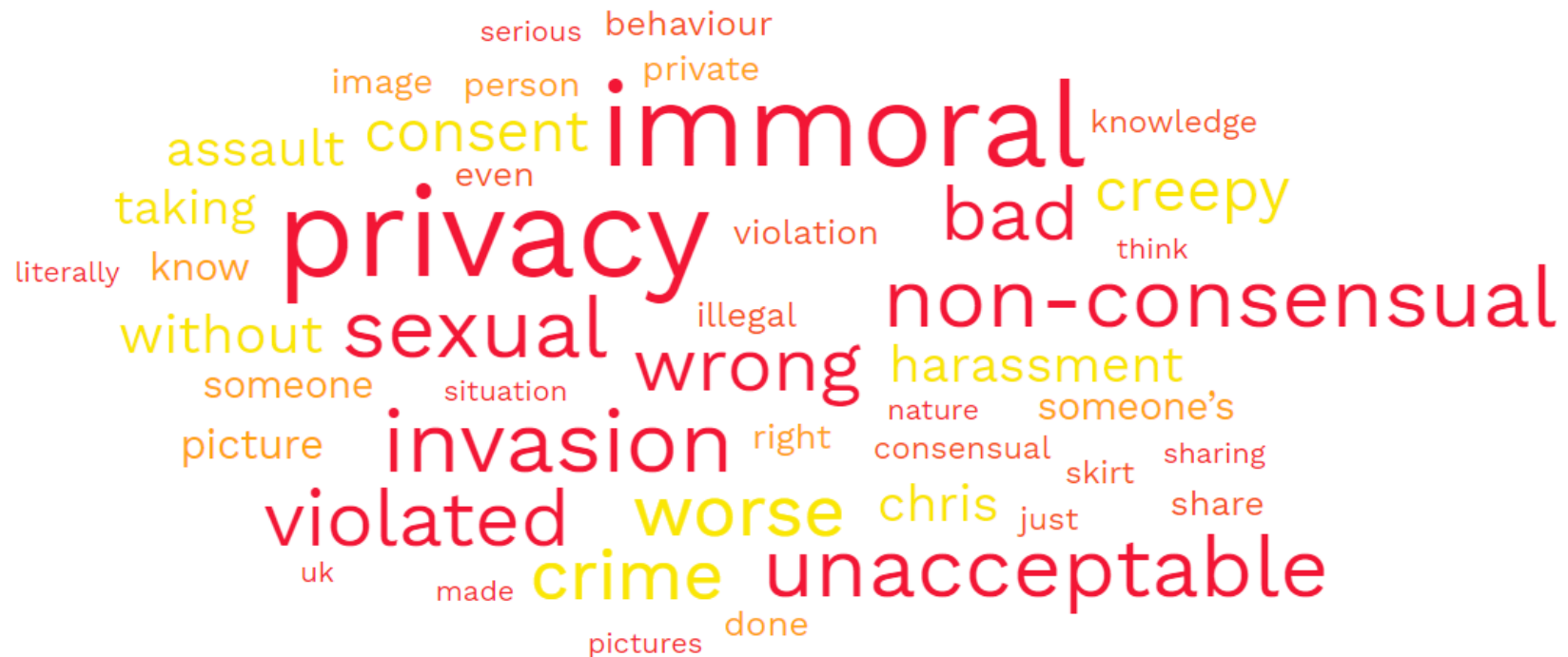
Qualitative Data

The content of the qualitative responses only appeared to clearly differ between the offence (STK, FTK, STS & FTS) and the delete conditions (STD & FTD). In line with this, a word cloud generator (Free Word Cloud Generator; <https://www.freewordcloudgenerator.com>) was used to present predominant key words and themes in the combined offence conditions (STK, FTK, STS & FTS) and the delete conditions (STD & FTD). It is important to acknowledge that word clouds are useful for generating a visual representation of qualitative data, however, they are generated based on the frequency of words used not on the weight or importance of those words. The below word clouds are intended to be used to show a summary of the trends (frequency of top 40 words) in the data and not as a method of qualitative data analysis or synthesis. The size of the words in the word cloud represent the frequency of the words used; larger words indicate more occurrences of the word in the data.

Figure 3. Word cloud representing the frequency of words in the delete (FTD and STD) conditions.



Figure 4. Word cloud representing the frequency of words in the offence (FTK, STK, FTS, STS, FTD and STD) conditions.



In the offence conditions there appeared to be comments that could broadly fit into themes of offence type, consent, offender characteristics, and perceptions of harm. In the delete conditions, comments appeared to fall into themes of behaviour descriptions, and characteristics of the offender. In all conditions there were some comments on whether the scenario was a crime, acceptable, amusing or exciting/arousing. This was likely due to the UA/E questions (B-UAE and V-UAE) specifically asking about this.

The majority of the responses in the offence conditions discussed the upskirting behaviours as a type of sexual offence "*sexual harassment*", "*assault*", "*invasion of privacy*" and the importance of consent. There were also a number of responses that discussed characteristics of the offender, describing the punishment they deserved, their character (e.g., "*bad person*", "*creepy*") and specifically their morals (e.g., "*immoral*", "*know right from wrong*"). Participants also commented on the offenders potential perception "*Chris believes his actions are a joke. Although it is more serious*", "*I think the blame has to put in miseducation. Chris should know better, but clearly doesn't*". 4 participants in the T/S conditions commented on the offence type in that they felt that sharing the image made the offence "*worse*". 4 participants in the T/K conditions reported that not sharing the image "*doesn't make it right*" even if "*nobody knows*". However, 2 participants in the T/K conditions felt "*the harm is minimal*" when the image was not shared, and that the behaviour is "*inappropriate*" but "*should not be a crime*". Participants

generally appeared to view the behaviour as unacceptable, however 3 commented that they still found the behaviour arousing *"I find upskirts exciting, but it is a crime"*, *"Morally, it's a violation but I can't help but find the thought somewhat arousing"*, *"I would find it exciting in a sort of 'thrill of the chase' sort of way, but it is completely unacceptable"*. One participant also commented on a potential humour motivation *"Can be a joke if friends but highly unlikely anyone would find it acceptable/be confident enough for it to not bother them"*. Participants also commented on the harm experienced by the victim and compared this to other sexual offences *"Without permission it's like raping someone"*, *"Without consent of that person [it] potentially inflicts harm [in] the same as a physical assault would."*, *"this is no different to peeping in windows...very common when I was a teenager"*.

In the delete conditions, the majority of participants comments described the behaviour as an *"accident"*, or *"unintentional"* and therefore acceptable. They also commented on the person in the vignette as *"good"*, *"admirable"* and *"responsible"* as they did the *"right thing"* by deleting the image. A number of participants stated that if the person had not deleted the image or looked at the image for an extended period of time this would not have been acceptable. One participant said that *"it wouldn't be acceptable to keep the photo, assuming she isn't flashing up her skirt on purpose"*. Participants also commented in the FTD condition that the situation could have been *"funny"* as it was unintentional.

Discussion

Summary of Findings

The findings of the MANCOVA need to be interpreted with caution as UA/E ratings were generally low and the preliminary analysis indicated that due to slight assumption violations, the power and reliability of the analysis may have been reduced. The study began to investigate potential contextual factors that may contribute to UA/E (proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement) in the general public by answering the following question: Do offence type and setting have an effect on ratings of upskirting acceptance/endorsement? The study included questions addressing potential motivations for upskirting (excitement and amusement). Some support was found for the hypotheses; however, findings were mixed.

H4: The results did not offer support for H4. Ratings on questions measuring proclivity, and how exiting, amusing, and acceptable the behaviour was, did not appear to differ whether the behaviour occurred in a shop or a festival.

H5: Partial support was found for H5 in that some ratings significantly differed between the conditions. Participants rated that they were more likely to do the same (proclivity) and find the behaviour acceptable when someone accidentally took a picture and deleted it than when someone purposefully took a picture and either kept or shared it. There was no significant difference in V-Acceptable and V-Proclivity ratings between someone keeping or sharing

the picture. There were also no significant differences in rated levels of excitement in all of the conditions, meaning offence type did not have an effect on excitement however, excitement was generally rated as low across the conditions. There were some contradictory findings for ratings of amusement, in that only one of the delete conditions (festival) was found to be more amusing than the take/share and take/keep conditions.

As UA/E was low, qualitative responses generally highlighted the reasons why people did not endorse upskirting. There were clear differences in responses between the offence and delete conditions. Some insight was gained into perceptions of upskirting offences (e.g., offender characteristics and perceptions of victim harm).

Contextual and Motivating Factors

The current study did not appear to support the findings of previous research on contextual factors that influence attitudes towards, and endorsement of, sexual offences. Context (shop or festival) did not appear to influence upskirting acceptance/endorsement in this sample of the general public. This may have been due to methodological factors in that the vignettes did not explicitly include factors (e.g., clothing type, alcohol use) discussed in the introduction that may have elicited views that accepted or excused upskirting. The qualitative responses, however, did highlight an attitude that could be construed as victim blaming. In the festival T/D condition a participant

reported that *"it wouldn't be acceptable to keep the photo, assuming she isn't flashing up her skirt on purpose"*. This implies that if someone purposefully was "flashing" up their skirt, it would be acceptable for people to both take and keep images of this. This may link to Williams and Murray's (2022) findings that the victims perceived desire for "attention" excused the perpetrator's behaviour. Similarly, when considering upskirting, there may be the attitude that if someone is deemed to want purposeful "attention" then they are removing their right to not be photographed. This attitude however cannot reliably be attributed to the festival context as the participant did not explicitly mention the festival setting or any of the factors highlighted in the introduction (e.g., alcohol use, clothing choice).

The different facets of upskirting offences (taking and sharing images) did not appear to have an effect on UA/E as consistent differences were only found between the offence and delete conditions. However, qualitative responses indicated that victim harm was generally perceived as high and equal to contact sex offences. This potentially contradicts the question raised in previous chapters, which considered whether the non-contact nature of voyeurism offences leads to perceptions of less harm. One respondent however, in the FTK condition expressed they felt the harm was minimal when the image was not shared. Further exploration of perceptions of victim harm may be useful in understanding the implications of this in relation to jury perceptions, victim blame attitudes, and victim support services.

Considering the findings of the current study, it is difficult to draw further understanding of motivations and contextual factors that might influence UA/E due to the low level of expressed UA/E. The Systematic Review of the voyeurism literature in Chapter 2 found prevalence rates for self-reported engagement in voyeurism ranged from 8.6% to 42% in university student samples and from 6.3% to 35.2% in general public samples. Duff (2021) and Rye and Meaney (2007) both found that members of the general public reported they would engage in voyeurism if there was 0% of being caught. Duff (2021) found this was the case for 75% of female participants and 75% of male participants whereas Rye and Meaney (2007) found this was the case for 84% of males and 74% of females. This indicates that voyeuristic behaviour and/or interest is relatively apparent in the general population. Despite this, the sample used in this study were not likely to accept/endorse upskirting.

The low levels of reported UA/E in this sample may have been due to methodological factors. The sampling method may have recruited participants that were not likely to accept/endorse upskirting. It was hypothesised that the use of a mixed gender sample could have accounted for low levels of UA/E considering statistics indicate that the most common offence dynamic is male perpetrator and female victim. Inspection of the means for each gender however, revealed little difference in scores (appendix V). Also, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the majority of participants identified as heterosexual (81%)

therefore this may have limited the potential impact of sexuality on UA/E scores. Factors in the vignette scenarios may have elicited particularly negative views (e.g., due to responses being collected at a time when campaigns for legislative changes concerning upskirting were prominent in the media). A larger pilot could have been conducted to further gauge participant responses to the vignettes. Focus groups could also have been used to develop the vignette content, which would have given further insight into potential reactions to the material. This would be an important consideration for future research. Alternatively, when considering the findings highlighted in the introduction to this chapter whereby some upskirting offenders had also engaged in wider sex offending, it may be that upskirting is a precursor to, or part of, a particular offending trajectory and therefore it is unlikely that upskirting offenders would be captured in a general public sample. The low level of UA/E may also reflect differences between attitudes towards, and likeliness to engaged in, watching versus recording/photographing someone. Voyeurism (involving watching people undress or engage in sex) and upskirting therefore may be related but distinct behaviours rather than existing on a continuum. This raises the question of whether upskirting should be categorised under voyeurism in the law if underlying mechanisms that drive the behaviour differ significantly, although further research would be needed to understand this. Upskirting may be better thought of as part of NCSI offending, although Harper, Fido and Petronzi (2021) offer criticism for the

view that the that NCSI offences fall along a continuum and have similar, rather than distinct, underlying motivations

Limitations

Some methodological factors may have influenced the results of the current study: As an independent measures design was used, individual differences between participants may affect the reliability of direct comparisons between conditions. Social desirability factors may have reduced participants likelihood of reporting UA/E. The self-report design of the study (as opposed to conducting interviews) relied on participants being both willing and able to reflect on and articulate their behaviour/attitudes in line with the study aims. As the study asked about someone else's behaviour, and if the participant would do the same, this may not have accurately measured participants UA/E (e.g., considering the difference between reporting versus doing, and attitudes towards own versus others behaviour).

As a hypothetical scenario was used, rather than a real-life event (e.g., as in Williams & Murray, 2022) participants may not have felt the situation was realistic, and this could have subsequently affected UA/E ratings. As this was an exploratory study, minimal information was used in the vignettes to avoid biasing participants, considering the factors discussed in this chapter that have an effect on perceptions of offences (e.g., alcohol use). If real-life events were used, it is likely that participants would have been biased towards the

wider information that was known about that event (e.g., selective media coverage) which could be inconsistent and difficult to control for. However, using a real-life event, as well as measuring wider factors that could bias opinion (e.g., political views, socioeconomic status, media consumption, prior knowledge of the event), would generate findings more applicable to understanding public perceptions and reactions to upskirting and potential proclivity.

Chapter 2 found differences in prevalence rates between the general public and student samples. Socioeconomic background and culture also had an effect on voyeurism prevalence rates. Demographic factors such as age, culture, occupation, and socioeconomic background are likely to have had an impact on participant perceptions of the vignettes and upskirting in general (both perceptions and proclivity). As discussed in Chapter 3, participants age may result in differing views of upskirting considering changes in societal views (e.g., media portrayals, changes in the law). Questions about socioeconomic background, occupation, ethnicity, and culture were not asked in the current study, however, could have had an effect on participant perceptions and proclivity (e.g., due to different laws and societal views across cultures). It would therefore be important to further consider how these factors may affect perceptions of upskirting and upskirting proclivity in future research.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The overall low level of expressed UA/E in this sample made it difficult to draw conclusions about the effect of offence setting and offence type on UA/E and potential motivations for upskirting. The study did, however, highlight reasons for not endorsing/accepting upskirting. Reasons included perceptions of high victim harm and views concerning how moral the behaviour was. The results also indicated that upskirting may differ significantly to voyeuristic offending, and that upskirting may not be a phenomenon engaged in by the general public.

As the findings of the current study may have indicated that upskirting is not a phenomenon engaged in by people who would be captured in a general public sample, offender samples may offer more insight into motivations for upskirting. In depth qualitative interviews may be helpful in gaining insight into motivations and maintaining factors for upskirting offending. Interviews or analysis of online comments (as in Williams & Murray, 2022) may also give insight into potential victim blame attitudes held by the general public. Demographic factors such as age, gender, culture, socioeconomic background, political beliefs, and occupation would all be important to explore in relation to perceptions of upskirting, and upskirting proclivity. The focus of the current study was on sexual and humour motivations. Future research could also include other motivations highlighted in the introduction such as

financial gain and homosociality/status (e.g., using vignettes depicting an offence where each motivation is clear). Contextual factors and victim blaming could also be measured more explicitly.

Chapter Five

Chapter 5: Psychometric Critique

A Critique of a Psychometric Measure of Sexism: The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Abstract

Background: There is evidence to suggest that sexism is a relevant factor in relation to upskirting. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) was utilised in Study 1 (Chapter 3) to investigate sexism in relation to upskirting.

Aims: The aim of this chapter was to critique the psychometric properties of the ASI, to assess the extent to which confidence can be attributed to the findings from Study 1, and the wider use of the measure. A critique of the ASI was published in 2015 (Fiske & North, 2015) therefore this critique also aimed to further build and expand upon these findings.

Method: Kline's (1999; 2015) criteria outlines the characteristics of 'good' psychometric tests. These criteria were used as a structure to investigate the psychometric properties of the ASI.

Results: The critique demonstrated that overall, the ASI appears to mostly meet Kline's (1999; 2015) criteria of a 'good' psychometric.

Discussion: Confidence can be attributed to the use of the ASI in Study 1 and in its applications to further research with appropriate samples. Further investigation into its external validity, internal reliability of the BS subscales, predictive validity utilising prospective studies, and cross-cultural standardised norms would aid in further understanding the quality of the ASI's psychometric properties and would inform its appropriate use more broadly.

Introduction

Background

The previous chapters highlighted that sexism is a relevant factor in relation to upskirting. Study 1 (Chapter 3) found that sexist attitudes, measured using the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) were significantly positively related to higher levels of self-reported Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement (UA/E) (upskirting amusement and excitement). Ambivalent Sexism (AS) also remained a significant independent predictor of upskirting amusement and excitement. Study 1 and Study 2 (Chapters 3 and 4) both further discussed the role of sexist attitudes in relation to upskirting. For example, Hall, Hearn and Lewis (2022) found that 'homosociality' (predicated by sexist and misogynistic attitudes) appeared to be a predominant theme in their analysis of online upskirting forums. In the discussion of Study 1's findings it was suggested that there may be a potential link between sexist attitudes and facets of mating effort that may relate to homosociality (e.g., competitiveness, status). Study 2 (Chapter 4) also discussed the role of misogynistic humour as a potential motivating factor for upskirting offending.

Aims

Considering sexism is a relevant factor in relation to upskirting, the aim of this chapter was to critique the psychometric properties of the ASI (Glick & Fiske,

1996), to assess the extent to which confidence can be attributed to the findings from Study 1, and the wider use of the measure. A critique of the ASI was published in 2015 (Fiske & North, 2015) therefore this critique also aimed to further build and expand upon these findings.

Method

Kline (1999; 2015) outlined the characteristics of 'good' psychometric tests. These criteria were used as a structure and basis for the following critique to investigate the psychometric properties of the ASI and will be discussed in more detail throughout the critique. Kline (1999; 2015) suggested that for a psychometric test to be 'good' it must be measured on at least an interval or ordinal scale. It also must be internally and externally reliable in that it has acceptable internal consistency and test-retest reliability. A test must be internally and externally valid in that it has acceptable construct, face, concurrent, and predictive validity. Finally, a good psychometric test should have appropriate standardised norms.

Overview of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

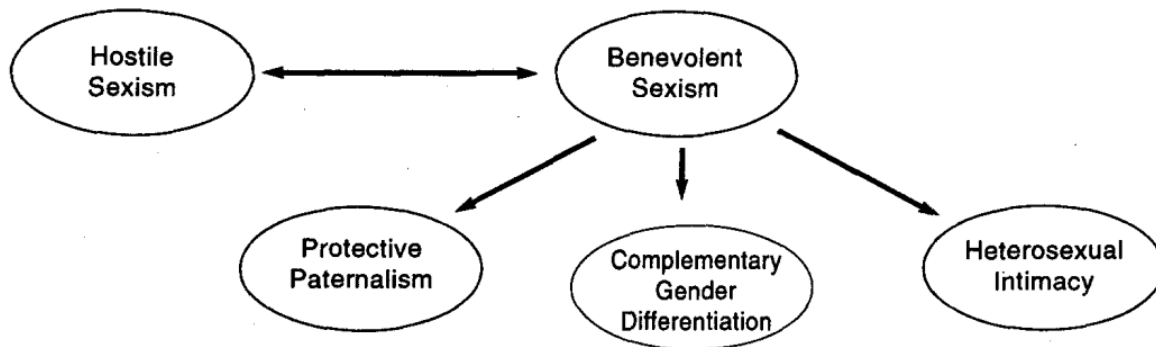
The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996) was created to measure sexist views towards women. Glick and Fiske (1996, p.504) reported that the "*ASI is intended to capture the ambivalent sentiments expressed in the oft-heard lament of men about women: 'Can't live with them, can't live without them'*". The ASI measures 3 proposed components that underpin

sexism towards women (Heterosexuality, Gender Differentiation, and Paternalism). These 3 components were initially conceptualised as shared underpinnings of the proposed, distinct but related, facets of Ambivalent Sexism: Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS).

Hostile Sexism represents more typically recognised resentment, prejudicial views, and derogatory beliefs towards women (e.g., Item 4: "*Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist*"). Considering the three previously mentioned components, HS was initially suggested to be underpinned by Dominative Paternalism (e.g., the view that women are not fully competent adults and therefore are subordinate), Competitive Gender Differentiation (e.g., the idea that only men have the necessary traits to be in powerful social positions) and Heterosexual Hostility (e.g., men depend on women sexually, therefore women use this to emasculate men and achieve dominance). Benevolent Sexism (BS) encompasses views which can feel more 'positive' in tone, however, represent stereotypical views towards women and male dominance (e.g., Item 9: "*Women should be cherished and protected by men.*"). Benevolent Sexism is underpinned by Protective Paternalism (e.g., women need to be protected by men as they are weaker), Complimentary Gender Differentiation (e.g., men and women possess differing and complimentary traits, therefore women 'complete' men by compensating for the traits they lack) and Heterosexual Intimacy (e.g., happiness only comes from romantic involvement with the opposite sex). Following further analysis

of each scale, Glick and Fiske (1996) found that the three components hypothesised to underpin AS (Heterosexuality, Gender Differentiation, and Paternalism) only appeared to be represented in the data for the BS scale, meaning the HS scale appeared to be unidimensional (Figure 3).

Figure 5. *Diagram from Glick and Fiske (1996) illustrating the facets of the preferred (full) model underpinning the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.*



The ASI contains 22 items: 11 items measuring Hostile Sexism, and 11 items measuring Benevolent Sexism (Table 6). The ASI items are rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from “disagree strongly” to “agree strongly” (0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly).

Since the conceptualisation of the original scale, a 12-item (6 HS items, and 6 BS items) ASI short version (Glick & Whitehead, 2010) was created along with the Ambivalence towards Men Inventory (AMI; Glick & Fiske, 1999) and the 12-item AMI short version (Glick & Whitehead, 2010). The ASI has also been translated into a number of languages. Glick et al. (2000) conducted a large-scale validation study of the ASI which involved 15,000 participants across 19 nations.

Table 6. The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Item	Statement
1.	No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2.	Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
3.	In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
4.	Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
5.	Women are too easily offended.
6.	People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
7.	Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
8.	Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
9.	Women should be cherished and protected by men.
10.	Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
11.	Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
12.	Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
13.	Men are complete without women.
14.	Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
15.	Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
16.	When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
17.	A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
 19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
 20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
 21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.
 22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.
-

Hostile Sexism Items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21. Benevolent Sexism Items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22. The following items are reverse scored: 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21.

Other Measures of Sexism

The ASI appeared to continue to be the most widely used measure of sexism towards women; over 25 years since its initial conceptualisation. This further highlighted the utility of an up-to-date critique of its psychometric properties. At the time the ASI was conceptualised, existing measures of sexism included the Attitudes Towards Women Scale (AWS; Spence & Helmreich, 1972) and two other 'new' measures of sexism developed by Swim et al. (1995). These measures were the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS), which measures attitudes thought to be related to 'subtle' or 'covert' sexism; and the Old-Fashioned Sexism scale (OFS), which measures more 'overt' sexist attitudes towards women. Glick and Fiske (1996) suggested that these measures of sexism did not measure BS and instead appeared to focus on concepts more closely relating to HS.

Gothreau, Arceneaux and Friesen (2022) offered a summary defining the different types of sexism measures that appeared to be most commonly utilised in current research. This included the previously mentioned measures; the MSS, the OFS and the ASI subscales; HS and BS. Gothreau et al. (2022) also included a measure of Implicit Sexism (sexist attitudes measured at an unconscious level of awareness) in their study which was the Gender-Career Implicit Association Test. In their discussion Gothreau et al. (2022) highlighted that the items in each of the sexism scales, although related

conceptually, measure different forms of sexism (e.g., sexism motivated by antipathy toward women, purity of women, opposition to gender equality etc.) and therefore suggest that careful consideration should be taken when deciding on the best measure(s) to use depending on the issue or question being explored. This indicates that available sexism measures are complimentary to each other, rather than measuring the same construct.

Critique

Reliability

Internal reliability:

According to Kline (1999) Cronbach alpha coefficients of .70 indicate acceptable internal consistency. As reported in Fiske and North (2015), the original six ASI studies found Cronbach alpha coefficients between .83 and .92 for the full ASI, .80 and .92 for the HS scale and .73 and .85 for the BS scale indicating the scales had acceptable to good internal consistency in samples of both students and the general public. Study 1 (Chapter 3) also found the full-scale ASI ($\alpha=.83$) and the HS subscale ($\alpha=.80$) had good internal consistency; however, the BS subscale was questionable ($\alpha=.69$) in an English general public sample. Glick et al. (2000) in their large-scale cross-cultural study found Cronbach alpha coefficients between .68 - .89 for HS and .53 - .84. for BS. They explained that internal consistency was generally lower for BS than HS, and that this was to be expected, due to the multidimensionality

of the BS scale. They also examined the BS subscales (Figure 3) and found the following mean alphas across cultures; Protective Paternalism =.54, Complementary Gender Differentiation =.61, and Heterosexual Intimacy =.54. BS alphas appeared to be lowest (and questionable) in their Cuban and African studies with other samples achieving higher alphas ($\geq .64$).

Fiske and North highlighted further evidence that the ASI had acceptable internal consistency cross-culturally, beyond Glick et al.'s (2000) initial wide scale study (e.g., Turkish version, ASI: $\alpha=.85$; Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002). Since their critique, studies have also found similar results. For example, in German (HS: $\alpha=0.91$, BS: $\alpha=0.83$; Schrödter, Laborde & Allen, 2021) and Portuguese (ASI: $\alpha=.86$; Gonçalves, Orgambídez-Ramos, Giger, Santos & Gomes, 2015) samples. In a Turkish sample, the BS scale had higher internal consistency than HS (ASI: $\alpha=.79$, HS: $\alpha=.64$, BS: $\alpha=.84$; Bozkur & Gündoğdu, 2018) highlighting potential cultural differences in expressions of sexism. Also, in a Portuguese sample, Goncalves et al. (2015) investigated a 4-factor model of the ASI, which included the BS subscales, and found higher alphas than those found cross-culturally by Glick et al. (2000) (HS: $\alpha=.84$, Benevolent Paternalism: $\alpha=.71$, Heterosexual Intimacy: $\alpha=.83$ and Complementary Gender Differentiation: $\alpha=.67$).

Considering Kline's (1999) suggested cut off scores for acceptable internal consistency, overall, it appeared that the ASI full scale, and HS and BS

subscales, generally have been found to have acceptable or good internal consistency across a range of cultures and samples, indicating that the concepts of HS and BS were apparent cross-culturally. There do, however, seem to be differences cross-culturally when investigating the BS scale and BS subscales. The BS subscales have been found to have questionable internal consistency in some samples indicating that these constructs may not be robust cross-culturally.

External reliability:

Test-retest reliability concerns whether a measure of a construct is stable for the same participant at separate time points assuming there has been no intervention. Limited studies have investigated and reported test-retest reliability of the full version of the ASI. As reported in Fiske and North (2015), a test-retest reliability coefficient of .87 was found in a Turkish sample (Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002). This, however, was conducted over a 21-day interval whereas a 3-month time period is suggested for suitable test-retest reliability assessment (Kline, 1999). In a New Zealand sample of female students, Sibley, Overall and Duckitt (2007) found test-retest correlation coefficients of BS = .71 and HS = .69 over a 6-month period (n=117) and BS = .76 and HS = .61 over a 12-month time period (n=76). Kline (2015) suggests that correlation coefficients for satisfactory test-retest reliability are $\geq .70$ (an identical score would be indicated by a coefficient value of 1). The available

evidence suggested that the test-retest reliability of the full-scale ASI was therefore satisfactory in a Turkish sample. However, the time period between measurements poses a potential issue in the suitability of these findings as evidence for assessing test-retest reliability. Also, only the BS scale yielded a satisfactory test-retest stability coefficient in a New Zealand sample. Considering the limited available evidence, it is difficult to accurately determine the test-retest reliability of the ASI.

Validity

Face validity:

Face validity involves how much a scale appears to measure what it intends on measuring. Although face validity is not related to true validity, high face validity can increase the likelihood that respondents will meaningfully engage with the measure. It also, however, can lead to more socially desirable responding (Kline, 1999; 2015). There are no known reported measures of the ASI's face validity, however Glick and Fiske (2011) comment on participants' reactions to items during the scale development. As the aims of this critique included evaluating the use of the ASI in Study 1, it is appropriate to comment on face validity in relation to the study. During the pre-study pilot respondents reported that all items appeared to have good face validity. As high face validity can increase engagement with the scale this may have improved the accuracy of responses. However, as this can also lead to socially

desirable responding, it is important to note that Study 1 was conducted as an 159incent159as online survey which was specifically intended to reduce the Likelihood of socially desirable responding.

Concurrent validity:

As reported in Glick and Fiske (1996) and Fiske and North (2015) the ASI has been found to be positively correlated with other measures of sexism. Positive relationships have been found particularly between HS and other sexism measures (AWS, MSS & OFS). The HS scale was found to be as strongly correlated with the other sexism measures as the global ASI measure. However, the BS scale was less positively correlated with the sexism measures and this relationship disappeared when HS was controlled for. Glick and Fiske (1996) propose that other sexism scales do not capture the concept of BS, and this partially formed the rationale for the development of the ASI scale.

The ASI scale was developed by drawing on the literature on ambivalent racism. Fiske and North (2015) highlight that the ASI (particularly HS) also positively correlated with measures of ambivalent racism and measures of acceptance of various forms of stereotyping. Since the last known critique of the ASI in 2015, limited studies have investigated the ASI in relation to other sexism measures. Schaffner (2022) found that HS items loaded strongly onto a measure of Modern Sexism ($\geq .66$) however, reverse scored items loaded less strongly. Schaffner (2022) suggested that this is typically seen for reverse

scored items and may reflect difficulty in interpreting the items. Loadings for BS items were less strong, which appears to be in line with the findings of previous studies.

Predictive validity:

A large amount of research has been conducted using the ASI, demonstrating its ability to predict various related concepts. Glick et al. (2000) found that HS and BS mean scores increased as measures of gender equality decreased. Participants were also asked to spontaneously report up to 10 stereotypical traits they would ascribe to women and rate how positive or negative they were. As expected, HS generally appeared to predict negative trait ascriptions and BS predicted positive ones (considering HS concerns antipathy and BS can be viewed as positive). Fiske and North (2015) further highlighted the independent predictive validity of BS and HS. They gave examples of BS predicting victim blaming towards acquaintance rape victims when the victim did not conform to stereotypical feminine 'purity' norms, and a preference for submissive and home-orientated mates. They also gave examples of HS predicting female subservience, male dominance, and acceptance of male violence. These findings demonstrated that BS taps into gender role expectations, protectiveness, and heterosexual interdependence, whereas HS relates to concepts expected to be underpinned by antagonism, degradation, and resentment towards women.

Further examples of studies beyond Fiske and North's (2015) review that demonstrate the ASI's predictive validity include, Acar and Sümer (2018) who found in a Turkish sample that HS predicted males choosing females for leadership positions in companies with poor outcomes (e.g., explained to be due to punishing women seen to be in male roles) however, BS did not. In a study using the Spanish version of the ASI, Martinez-Pecino and Durán (2019) found that HS predicted male cyberbullying of their female partners whereas BS did not; likely because HS appears to be related to aggressive hostile responses whereas BS appears to represent more subtle undermining (e.g., women are weak and need to be protected). Nisar et al. (2021) found that different components of the ASI 4-factor model (see Figure 3) were related to different rape myths in a sample of students in Pakistan. For example, the rape myth "she lied" was positively predicted by HS (e.g., due to the view that women misinterpret or exaggerate men's actions) and protective paternalism (e.g., the view that men only try to protect women).

Ideally, a test of predictive validity would employ a prospective design however, these types of studies can be difficult to conduct (e.g., due to drop out, resources, the question being explored). There appeared to be limited studies of the ASI utilising a prospective design. Hammond, Overall and Cross (2016) found that females (but not males) perceptions of their partners BS predicted their own BS increase and stability over a period of 9 months, and a year, however, only the short form ASI was used. Although the ASI and its

subscales appear to have good predictive validity in relation to various factors, the majority of studies measured these factors at the same point in time. Prospective studies using the full ASI would give further insight into its predictive validity.

Construct validity:

Construct validity concerns how well a measure assesses the underlying construct. In the initial conceptualisation of the ASI, 140 items were used (Glick & Fiske 1996). Items with extreme means were then removed leaving 122 items. Exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis were conducted to select the final items for the scale. The exploratory analysis reduced the number of items to 22 and suggested that the initially proposed 6-factor model (see overview of the ASI earlier in this chapter) was not represented in the data. The 3 subfactors were only represented in the data for BS whereas HS was unidimensional. Confirmatory factor analysis was used to define the final full model (Figure 3) and then 5 replications were carried out with samples of students and the general public. The 2-factor model fit the data better than the 1-factor model in all studies revealing HS and BS as distinct constructs. The full model fit was stronger than the 2-factor model in only some of the studies, with the authors attributing this to sample size. The factor loadings, however, were reported to have still remained high in these studies. Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) values were as follows across the 5 studies: 1-

factor model (.62-.76), 2-factor model (.74-.87), and full-factor model (.75-.93). Glick and Fiske (1996) reported that AGFI values $\geq .85$ indicate a good fit, therefore, only the 2-factor and full factor models met these criteria for some of the studies. This was also found cross culturally; 1-factor model (.67-.90), 2-factor model (.81-.93), and full-factor model (.86-.95) (Glick et al., 2000). When considering factor loadings, various cut off scores are suggested. Field (2009) discusses different recommended acceptable values for factor loadings. It is suggested that regardless of sample size, for factors with 4 or more loadings, values $\geq .06$ are acceptable. It is also suggested that in sample sizes larger than 150, for factors with 10 or more loadings, values $\geq .04$ are acceptable. The factor loadings for the ASI items appeared to generally meet these suggested cut off values for both the 2-factor model and the full model (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Overall, there is evidence to suggest that the ASI has good construct validity.

Standardised Norms

Representative standardised norms are important for determining a measures suitability for use with a target population. The ASI was first developed using an American student sample (n=833; Female: n=480, Male: n=353). The subsequent 5 studies consisted of majority students and some general public samples. There appeared to be some differences between the samples of the general public and students (e.g., correlations between HS and BS were not

found in male general public samples; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Research utilising the ASI has also consistently demonstrated that females tend to score lower than males on HS in particular, but also BS (Fiske & North, 2015; Glick et al., 2000). Further studies have been conducted to collect normative data for different versions of the ASI (e.g., in a Spanish population; Garaigordobil & Aliri, 2013). Considering the sample used in its development, the ASI may not be appropriate for use beyond student and general public samples (e.g., forensic populations). Considering there is some evidence of cross-cultural differences when utilising the ASI (Glick et al., 2000) further development of standardized norms may be needed for each version of the ASI.

Implications for the use of the ASI in Research Study 1

The ASI appeared to be a widely used measure of sexism. It is argued that other measures do not tap into the facet of sexism captured by the BS subscale. The selection of sexism measures should reflect the question intended to be investigated by the researcher. Considering the aims of Study 1 (Chapter 3) were to explore sexist attitudes towards women, the ASI appeared to be an appropriate measure. As the nature of Study 1 was exploratory, the inclusion of BS allowed for the consideration of a further dimension of sexism over solely measuring antipathy/antagonism towards women. Other, or a combination of, measures (such as those mentioned in this critique) could have been used if Study 1 aimed to explore

alternative/more specific research questions (e.g., attitudes related to the denial of gender discrimination and disapproval of related policies).

The critique demonstrated that the ASI and its subscales were generally found to be internally reliable. However, due to its multidimensionality, BS was generally found to be less internally reliable than HS. Research suggested that less confidence can be attributed to the internal reliability of the 3 BS subscales. Study 1 however, did not investigate the BS subscales; it only investigated the full ASI and the separate HS and BS scales. The lack of research into the external reliability of the ASI, however, could undermine the findings of Study 1.

When considering validity, evidence suggested the ASI effectively measures the underlying construct of Ambivalent Sexism. It was found to be related to other measures of sexism in line with what would be expected considering the distinct but related theoretical underpinnings of HS and BS. There was also a wealth of evidence that demonstrated the ability of the ASI to predict constructs that would be expected to be related to sexism (e.g., gender inequality). Little of this evidence, however, employed a prospective design. Overall, the evidence included in this critique demonstrated that the ASI could be considered an internally and externally valid measure. This suggests that some confidence can be attributed to its use in Study 1 and the subsequent findings.

As the ASI was developed using general public and student samples, it was appropriate for use in Study 1 which also used a general public sample. It is important to note that the sample in Study 1 was primarily female, and the critique highlighted that women generally score lower than men on the ASI. This could partially account for the overall low level of sexism measured by the ASI within the study.

Conclusion

The ASI has been researched extensively since its conceptualisation. This critique demonstrated that overall, the ASI appears to mostly meet Kline's (1999; 2015) criteria of a 'good' psychometric therefore, confidence can be attributed to its utility in Study 1 and in applications to further research with appropriate samples. Further investigation into its external validity (e.g., test-retest), the internal reliability of the BS subscales, predictive validity utilising prospective studies, and cross-cultural standardised norms would aid in further understanding the quality of the ASI's psychometric properties and would inform its appropriate use more broadly.

Chapter Six

Chapter 6: Thesis Discussion

The overall aim of this thesis was to begin to address the large knowledge gap in understanding upskirting. Specifically, this thesis explored factors that might influence the acceptance, endorsement, and engagement in, upskirting. A summary of each chapter and its findings is provided below to demonstrate how the thesis addressed these aims. This chapter then goes on to discuss the interpretation and implications of these findings in the wider context of forensic psychology and offers suggestions for future directions.

Summary of Findings

Systematic Review

Considering upskirting falls under voyeurism in the UK law, the aim of the systematic review was to examine what was known about people who engage in voyeuristic behaviour; by investigating what psychological factors were related to voyeuristic behaviour, according to the available academic literature. The findings of the systematic review would then inform the subsequent empirical exploration of upskirting. The review revealed that prevalence rates of engagement in voyeuristic behavior varied from 8.6% to 42% in university student samples and from 6.3% to 35.2% in general population samples. Men were also more likely to engage in voyeurism when

compared to women. A wide range of psychological factors were identified in relation to voyeurism, which were grouped into the following categories using narrative synthesis: lifestyle, adverse experiences, mental health difficulties/emotional coping, personality, habit/obsession/compulsivity, sexual/relationship. Limited research was available for each individual psychological factor and category. The majority of the research also focused on sexually motivated voyeurism. The review began to address the knowledge gap in understanding voyeurism by unifying the current literature and identifying suggestions for further research. In relation to guiding investigations into upskirting, the review identified potential factors that could be explored. However, due to the nature of the review findings, further research was needed to guide investigations.

Study 1

The aim of Study 1 was to investigate psychological factors that may be related to the acceptance and endorsement of upskirting (UA/E), specifically upskirting proclivity, acceptance, amusement, and excitement, in a general public sample. Study 1 utilised the findings of the systematic review and wider research on NCSI and sex offending to inform the most relevant factors to explore. These factors were sexism, personality, and Mating Effort. It was found that Ambivalent Sexism (ASI global scale), the Hostile Sexism (HS) subscale, Dark Tetrad personality traits (D4 global scale) and the Sadism

(SSIS) subscale were independent predictors of upskirting excitement. D4, ASI and the HS subscale were also found to be independent predictors of upskirting amusement. Mating Effort was not found to be an independent predictor of any UA/E questions, although was found to be related to upskirting acceptance. No factors were found to be related to, or independently predict, upskirting proclivity. It was suggested that future research could focus on investigating personality, sexism, and UA/E more specifically to understand the intricacies of these relationships, as well as the potential role of concepts relating to homosociality (e.g., belonging and status).

Study 2

Both Study 1 and Study 2 were conceptualised as a large overall study therefore, included the same sample of participants. The aim of Study 2 was to investigate motivational, contextual, and offence type factors in relation to UA/E by gathering both qualitative and quantitative data. Context (festival or shop) did not appear to have an effect on UA/E and offence type only had an effect on some U/AE ratings. Participant's ratings indicated that they found the behaviour more acceptable, and were more likely to do the same, when an upskirting image was taken by accident and deleted, when compared to the offence conditions (purposefully taking and sharing images). UA/E excitement ratings did not differ significantly between any of the conditions and UA/E

amusement ratings were only found to be significantly higher in the festival take/delete (accidental) condition. It was difficult to gain a further understanding of potential motivations for upskirting due to low levels of expressed UA/E in the sample. The qualitative data however, highlighted reasons for low expressed UA/E, such as perceptions of victim harm. Although perceptions of harm were mixed, victim harm was generally perceived as high and equal to contact sex offences. The results also revealed an attitude that could be construed as victim blaming in that if someone purposefully was “flashing” up their skirt, it would be acceptable for people to both take and keep images of this behaviour. Study 2 highlighted that in contrast to voyeurism, upskirting may not be a behaviour engaged in by people that would be captured in a ‘general public’ sample. This raised questions about whether upskirting is a distinct but related behaviour to voyeurism. It was also acknowledged however, that the low level of expressed UA/E could have been due to methodological factors therefore, this would need to be explored further.

Psychometric Critique

Given that Study 1 and Study 2 highlighted that sexism was a particularly relevant factor in relation to upskirting, a psychometric critique of the sexism measure used in Study 1 was conducted. The aim was to critique the psychometric properties of the ASI (Glick & Fiske, 1996), to assess the extent

to which confidence could be attributed to the findings from Study 1, and the wider use of the measure. The critique also aimed to further build upon the findings of an existing critique (Fiske & North, 2015). The ASI was found to be a 'good' psychometric measure of sexism according to Kline's (1999, 2015) criteria therefore confidence could be attributed to its use in Study 1 and in research more broadly.

Interpretation of Findings and Implications

The aim of this thesis was to begin to understand factors that might influence the acceptance/endorsement of, and engagement in, upskirting behaviour. Whilst accounting for limitations discussed later in this chapter, this thesis highlighted the role of sexism and personality in relation to the acceptance and endorsement of upskirting (upskirting amusement and excitement) in a specific general public sample.

Considering the predominant gendered nature of upskirting (male perpetrator, female victim) it was expected that sexism would have some relevance in understanding upskirting. Although this offence dynamic also seems to be common in voyeurism offences more generally, sexism does not appear to have been extensively investigated in relation to voyeurism (as defined in the systematic review). However, it is acknowledged that the systematic review revealed a number of female participants who reported engaging in

voyeurism, which could indicate differing dynamics that need to be considered. As the law capturing upskirting came into force fairly recently, statistics concerning offenders and victims are limited. More time would be needed for gathering further statistics to understand the extent to which females engage in upskirting and potential offender/victim dynamics. As it is suggested that concepts linked to mating effort and/or homosociality may also relate to UA/E (e.g., status, belonging), this could have implications for further dynamics to be considered in relation to upskirting (e.g., links between homosociality and sexism in relation to victim and perpetrator gender and sexuality).

The systematic review found some evidence that personality factors may be related to voyeurism (Castellini et al., 2018; Sikorski, 2005; Watts et al., 2017), however the specific personality traits were largely unclear. There was an indication that the interpersonal features of psychopathy and narcissism (e.g., manipulation and exploitation) may not be linked to voyeuristic behaviour (Watts et al., 2017). It was hypothesised that this could be due to a lack of necessity for the use of interpersonal skills to carry out voyeuristic offences. Study 1 found that the global D4 measure was a significant independent predictor of UA/E amusement and excitement. Interestingly, psychopathy was found to be related to upskirting amusement but was not a significant independent predictor of any UA/E questions, which was somewhat surprising considering the links identified between psychopathy and

voyeurism in the systematic review. Considering Watts et al.'s (2017) findings, the inclusion of questions used in study 1 that tap into both interpersonal and non-interpersonal personality features may have led to the findings of Study 1. Potential lower scores on questions focusing on interpersonal features of and psychopathy, may have reduced the overall scale scores. However, further investigation would be needed to draw this conclusion.

Only sadism was found to be a significant independent predictor of UA/E (excitement). The sadism measure used in Study 1 did not appear to ask questions that involved the use of interpersonal skills, further indicating that interpersonal features of the D4 may not be related to upskirting. However, these findings could also indicate that the desire to hurt and/or humiliate people could be particularly important for upskirting. Considering the DT 'core' is hypothesised to represent general antagonism (Vize et al., 2018) the finding that the global D4 measure was a significant independent predictor of UA/E amusement and excitement may offer a potential explanation for the findings that sadism (excitement) and Hostile Sexism (amusement and excitement) were also independent predictors. As sadism is conceptualised as the desire to hurt, and enjoyment of hurting, others, and Hostile Sexism represents antagonism specifically towards women, it could be argued that both concepts relate more closely to general antagonism (e.g., 1-way directive hostility) when compared to the other D4 traits (which contain more items considering

2-way interpersonal dynamics such as manipulation) and Benevolent Sexism (which is based on concepts such as protectiveness; see Chapter 5). This may therefore further imply that antisocial or antagonistic attitudes and personality traits could be most relevant for UA/E excitement and amusement whereas interpersonal features could be less relevant. Sadism did not appear to have been measured by studies included in the systematic review therefore it is unclear if this is also a relevant factor in relation to voyeurism.

The sadism subscale was found to be related to upskirting amusement and excitement, however, remained an independent predictor of only upskirting excitement. The subscales machavelianism, narcissism, and psychopathy were not found to be independent predictors of any UA/E questions and did not have significant relationships with upskirting excitement. Research has found links between deviant sexual interest and D4 personality types. However, these links appear to be varied and contrasting (Lodi-Smith et al., 2014) indicating that other factors likely play an important role in these relationships. The findings of the current study therefore may indicate that sadism is particularly relevant in relation to finding upskirting arousing, but this should be interpreted with caution due to the overall low level of UA/E in the sample and the potential interaction of other factors. As the global D4 scale and HS were also found to be independent predictors of upskirting excitement, it may be that HS and Sadism, or general antagonism towards women, could specifically contribute to finding upskirting arousing.

All of the D4 subscales were found to be related to upskirting amusement, although none were independent predictors. Dark tetrad traits have been found to be related to humour styles such as insulting and enjoying laughing at others (e.g., psychopathy; Proyer et al., 2012) which may explain this link. It also may suggest that people with high D4 traits find humiliation in relation to upskirting amusing, however this would need to be investigated further to draw this conclusion. HS was also found to be related to, and an independent predictor of, upskirting amusement. As discussed in Chapter 4, misogynistic/sexist humour has been linked to sexual harassment (Otsri, 2020), and rape proclivity (Thomae & Pina, 2015). Misogynistic humour that disregards consent also links to offending including rape, sexual assault and 'creepshot' offences (Oliver, 2015). Humour as a motivation for upskirting (such as in Gina Martin's experience), could be a further extension of misogynistic humour that aims to humiliate women and disregards consent. HS remaining an independent predictor of upskirting amusement in the current study could therefore indicate a desire to laugh at/humiliate women, which could in turn be fulfilled by observing or engaging in upskirting. Again, this would need to be investigated further, particularly in samples that express higher upskirting proclivity and higher UA/E in general. A recent study by Li et al. (2023) found some links between D4 traits, HS, and appreciation of sexist humour. Considering this and the findings of the current study, people with both HS attitudes and relevant D4 traits may be at a particular risk for

finding upskirting amusing and may be driven by a desire to laugh at or humiliate victims.

The findings of this thesis have implications for the assessment and treatment of offenders. Personality and sexism factors may contribute to, and maintain the risk of upskirting offending, highlighting these factors as potential treatment targets. However, considering the low level of proclivity and UA/E in general in this sample, further studies on forensic samples would be needed to draw this conclusion. When considering the general public, sexist attitudes and personality related factors may impact the way victims are viewed and treated and in turn, the support they receive. These societal attitudes also may affect the likelihood victims will report upskirting offences (e.g., due to how likely they feel they will be believed by professionals within the criminal justice system). As sexist attitudes and personality factors appear to be related to upskirting amusement and excitement in particular, links between sexism, personality, humour (e.g., sexist, aggressive), harmful sexual interests, and sexual offending may be an important focus for social campaigns and educational efforts directed at members of the general public, and potentially those who are likely to come into contact with both victims and perpetrators (e.g., professionals within the criminal justice system). This could both act to reduce harmful views in society, and in turn, allow victims to feel more supported and more likely to be taken seriously.

It was difficult to draw any conclusions concerning motivations for UA/E. Study 2 also found that contextual factors unexpectedly did not have an effect on UA/E. It was likely that this was due to the low levels of UA/E expressed in Study 2. This could be due to methodological factors discussed later in this chapter, however, it could indicate that upskirting is generally seen to be unacceptable, and is not engaged in, by the 'general public'. This contrasts the findings of the systematic review concerning prevalence rates of voyeurism in general public samples. It could be hypothesised that this difference may reflect attitudes towards the different features of voyeurism and upskirting, such as looking versus recording, and perceived intent. Voyeurism offences could be viewed as more easily conducted 'by accident' (e.g., if someone happens to look in someone's window) when compared to upskirting; unless someone then chooses to record what they have witnessed. Upskirting however, could be considered to require more planning and preparation (e.g., it is arguably more difficult to 'accidentally' record/photograph up someone's skirt). There is no known research that has investigated perceptions of how acceptable planned, opportunistic, and accidental voyeuristic behaviour is. However, Hogue and Peebles (1993) found that participants attributed more blame and responsibility, as well as rating the offender as being more deserving of punishment, in a planned rape scenario when compared to an opportunistic rape scenario. Biggs et al., (2021) qualitative study of the general public's attitudes towards sex offences

also revealed that the intention to cause harm was viewed to be an important factor for consideration during sentencing. However, other participants felt that actual victim harm was more important regardless of the intent of the offender to cause harm. This indicates that if upskirting is viewed as a more purposeful and planned behaviour, that requires multiple steps and choices, it may be that members of the 'general public' could be less likely to see this behaviour as acceptable and/or engage in it. Although upskirting may be similar to voyeurism, these findings could indicate that upskirting is more likely to be a precursor to, or part of, a particular offending trajectory. This therefore would mean it is unlikely that upskirting offenders would be captured in a general public sample.

Study 2 gave some insight into reasons for low UA/E which included perceptions of victim harm. Qualitative data revealed that, although perceptions of harm were mixed, upskirting offences depicted by the vignettes (appendix G) were generally perceived as being harmful and on a similar harm level as a contact sexual offence. These findings are similar to Tan (2021) who also found mixed views (online comments) of harm concerning voyeuristic offences. Some attitudes reflected the view that no contact led to minimal harm whereas others equated the harm from voyeuristic offences to that of contact sex offences. However, it is unclear if the majority of comments reflected high harm, as was found in Study 2. Biggs et al., (2021) found that members of the general public viewed all sexual offences as harmful to

victims. Victim impact appeared to be particularly relevant for some participants who felt that different sexual offences could be equally as harmful, due to the differing impact on victims. Other participants however, felt that contact sex offences were more harmful than non-contact sex offences (e.g., voyeurism and exhibitionism). When additional information was provided to participants concerning victim impact/harm (e.g., feeling scared, no longer wanting to use public transport) some participants felt that a harsher sentence should be imposed on an offender (who had committed a contact sexual assault). These findings highlight that victim harm appears to be a predominant factor that influences perceptions/judgements of sex offences, including voyeuristic and upskirting offences. It is unclear whether victim harm is perceived differently for upskirting offences when compared to voyeuristic offences. Research, however, indicates that attitudes towards offences (including upskirting) in relation to victim harm appear to be complex and mixed.

The qualitative data in Study 2 indicated a potential victim blaming attitude in that if someone purposefully “flashed” their underwear, it would be OK to take and keep a photo. This could indicate that a behaviour construed as wanting attention leads to the perception of consent. However, consent in this situation would entirely focus on the observer/potential perpetrators perception, rather than the persons explicit expression. It also may mean that behaviour perceived as wanting attention removes the person’s right to consent;

whether that be consent to looking or consent to preserving a moment in time (e.g., by recording it). Alternatively, it may be that perceptions of responsibility affect perceptions of whether a behaviour is acceptable. For example, if someone 'flashes' their underwear on purpose, does the recipient then feel less responsible for their actions following this (e.g., which could include recording the person)? All of these potential dynamics may reflect similar attitudes seen in victim blaming towards contact sex offences and rape myths (e.g., that the victim "asked for it"; McMahon & Farmer, 2011). This indicates that victim blame towards non-contact sex offences such as upskirting and voyeurism may share some similar underpinnings to victim blame attitudes towards contact sex offences such as rape.

The chapters within this thesis revealed further issues and questions worthy of exploration in relation to upskirting beyond the initial aims. Issues with the conceptualisation of voyeuristic offences and upskirting creates difficulties in multiple contexts. The inaccurate or overgeneralised categorisation of voyeuristic offences (e.g., grouping voyeurism with exhibitionism) creates problems when understanding the prevalence of these distinct behaviours. This also has implications on the appropriate and effective assessment and intervention for offenders. Inaccurate conceptualisation and categorisation could lead to ineffective intervention (e.g., if behaviours with different drivers and risk factors are addressed by the same generic intervention) and ultimately reoffending and further harm. Issues with conceptualisation also

lead to difficulties in conducting research, for example, if conceptualisations are inconsistent, results of research can become unclear and lead to inaccurate interpretations and applications.

This thesis also discussed 'loopholes' or gaps in the current law that behaviours which could be considered voyeuristic, could fall through. Offences that are committed against people who are not engaging in a 'private act' would not meet the criteria for voyeurism under the Sexual Offences Act (2003). Also, behaviours that do not meet the criteria for upskirting under the Voyeurism (Offences) Act (2019) are likely to be missed (e.g., 'creepshotting' and 'downblousing'). Since the conceptualisation of this thesis, there has been an amendment to the voyeurism legislation which includes capturing/recording non-consensual images of people breastfeeding children. Although it is a positive step to have legislation that covers these distinct offences, it raises questions about the approach towards developing legislation. Although all of these 'voyeuristic' behaviours are potentially underpinned and motivated by different factors, taking the approach of amending and creating new specific laws takes a large amount of time, meaning offences continue to be missed. However, creating overarching laws that cover the broad extent of voyeuristic behaviour may prove to be difficult and arguably would rely on societal attitudes being congruent with viewing behaviours as harmful, which also could take some time.

Future Directions

The systematic review highlighted the predominant focus on sexually motivated voyeurism in the current academic literature. Future research could focus on understanding alternative and/or additional motivations for voyeurism. This would aid in understanding potential different typologies of voyeuristic offenders and would therefore inform specific risk factors and treatment needs. This would then allow for more appropriate assessment and intervention for voyeuristic offending.

Future research could also investigate each of the psychological factors explored in Study 1 in more detail to understand the specific potential contributing factors. Investigations could focus on specific personality traits as potential facilitators for upskirting (e.g., interpersonal vs antisocial features of psychopathy) as well as motivating factors (e.g., desire to cause the victim distress, humour, humiliation, entitlement to sex). There is an indication that sadism could be linked to upskirting arousal (excitement), but it is likely other factors might mediate this. Considering HS was also an important factor in relation to upskirting excitement, it could be beneficial to further explore this and potential interactions between HS and sadism in relation to upskirting arousal. Also, considering the low level of reported upskirting excitement in Study 1 and Study 2, it may be interesting to investigate all D4 traits in a sample with higher reported excitement considering the links between the D4

and deviant sexual arousal/interest. Furthermore, it may be beneficial to investigate whether specific DT traits relate to upskirting, or if general antagonism is the prime contributing factor. As sexism, and potentially some components of ME, appear to be important factors in relation to upskirting, research could focus on gaining an in depth understanding these links (e.g., homosociality, ME, and victim blaming in relation to upskirting). HS appeared to be particularly relevant to upskirting amusement. HS attitudes might therefore be an important focus for social and educational campaigns targeted at the general public, which would likely have an effect on victim experiences of support and criminal justice system processes.

It would also be beneficial for research to include clinical/forensic samples as well as different subsections of the general public (e.g., sexuality, age, socioeconomic background). In depth qualitative interviews could help to gain insight into motivations and maintaining factors for upskirting offending. Interviews or analysis of online forums/comments may also give insight into potential victim blame attitudes held by the general public. Qualitative studies could inform future research aiming to further understand motivations and contextual factors as well as attitudes towards upskirting and potential victim blaming. Future research could explore perceptions of victim harm in relation to upskirting considering this may have an impact on criminal justice processes (e.g., jury perceptions, sentencing decisions).

Finally, the psychometric critique (Chapter 5) highlighted That the ASI could be considered a 'good' tool for measuring sexist attitudes, in terms of its psychometric properties. However, it would be beneficial to conduct further investigation into its external validity (e.g., test-retest), the internal reliability of the Benevolent Sexism subscales, predictive validity utilising prospective studies, and cross-cultural standardised norms. This would aid in further understanding the quality of the ASI's psychometric properties and would inform its appropriate use more broadly.

Limitations

There were some methodological limitations identified throughout this thesis. The main limitation related to Study 1 and Study 2 in that overall, low levels of UA/E were expressed by the study sample. This has implications for the reliability of the findings concerning factors found to be related to UA/E. The findings also may not be generalisable beyond the study population.

Although low UA/E could indicate that upskirting is not a behaviour engaged in by participants who would be captured in a general population sample, methodological factors could have also led to low levels of UA/E. For example, the sampling method may have captured people who were not likely to accept and endorse upskirting, therefore, the sample may not have accurately represented the 'general public'. The use of a questionnaire to measure

attitudes towards upskirting may have meant that participants were susceptible to social desirability bias, which could have been further compounded by the time in which the study was conducted. The data collection phase of the study was conducted shortly after the change in law, therefore the increased media coverage at that time may have meant participants were particularly aware/conscious of the issue of upskirting. The direct nature of the UA/E questions (e.g., "*How likely is it that you would take a picture up someone's skirt?*"), could also have elicited more reflexive and/or defensive responses.

The self-report design of the study relied on participants being able to reflect on, and articulate, their behaviour/attitudes in line with the study aims without the guidance that could have been provided if an interview method was used. Regardless of levels of expressed UA/E, using an interview method could have explored the nuances of attitudes towards upskirting and UA/E in more depth such as specific to motivations, contexts, offence factors and potential victim blaming.

In relation specifically to Study 2, participants were asked about someone else's behaviour, and if the participant would do the same. Considering the difference between reporting versus doing, and attitudes towards own versus others behaviour, the measure used may not have accurately captured participants UA/E. However, there was also low UA/E reported in Study 1

which specifically asked about the participants behaviour (although not if they had engaged in upskirting before, but how likely it was that they would).

Conclusion

This thesis established that despite the importance of understanding voyeurism and upskirting, currently there is a large knowledge gap to fill. It would be beneficial to further understand alternative motivations for voyeurism considering the literature currently appears to have predominantly explored sexually motivated voyeurism. When considering upskirting specifically, there is a sense that multiple areas of future research would be beneficial due to the infancy of current research. There may be benefit in further exploring the intricacies of sexist attitudes and personality factors, as well as concepts relating to homosociality, considering this thesis highlighted the relevance of these factors. Perceptions of harm appeared to generally be high in relation to upskirting, however, some mixed views and potential victim blaming attitudes were also found. This highlighted an important area of future research which could have implications for victims of upskirting, the support they receive, and the criminal justice processes both victims and perpetrators experience and are subjected to.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Unpublished Systematic Review Protocol.

Systematic review protocol – A review of psychological factors related to Voyeurism.

1. Define your question using PICO:

Population: People who have committed a voyeuristic offence or engaged in voyeuristic behaviour outlined by the following criteria: Must have a sexual element (not necessarily sexually motivated). Must involve the observation and/or recording of someone (e.g., someone undressing, partially clothed/undressed, engaging in sex), and the intention is for the offending to be secret (non-consensual, excludes watching pornography). Self-reports of engaging in voyeuristic behaviour were included (e.g., answering yes to – “Have you ever secretly watched people engage in sexual activity?”).

Intervention: There must be the measurement of prevalence, psychological factors, risk factors, and/or characteristics (e.g., demographic/clinical/social/lifestyle).

Comparator: People engaging in other types of offending or paraphilic behaviour, people with no offending or paraphilic behaviour and studies with no comparator.

Outcome: Correlations and relationships between voyeuristic behaviour and psychological factors. In case studies, a measurement and/or structured formulation of factors.

2. Type of study – methodology List specific qualitative search terms or filters:

Include – qualitative, quantitative, case studies.

Exclude – literature with no sample (e.g., opinion papers, editorials, commentaries).

3. List main topics and alternate terms from your PICO question that can be used for your search:

Voyeurism- Voyeurism, upskirting, scopophilia, creepshot, courtship disorder. (peeping was removed due to the amount of non-relevant results)

4. Write out your search strategy:

((voyeuris*) OR (up-skirt*) OR (upskirt*) OR (scopophilia) OR (creepshot) OR ("courtship disorder"))

5. List any limits that may apply to your search:

Exclude editorials, conference posters, commentaries. Must have a sample. Must discuss or measure at least one psychological factor and/or prevalence rates.

6. List the databases you will search:

OVID (EMBASE, journals@OVID, APA psychinfo)

Proquest (APA psychArticles, proquest Dissertations and Thesis, criminal justice database)

Pubmed (Medline)

Scopus

Web of Science

Nottingham Ethesis

Hand search – Google Scholar and Reference lists of identified studies in initial screening.

Appendix B: Screening Tool.

Study name:

Inclusion criteria	Criterion met?	Comments
Study design - Include – quantitative case study qualitative Exclude – commentaries, anything without a sample or study design.	Yes Unclear Consider No	
Population – Include: Adults and adolescents, any gender. Must be described as a voyeuristic offender or must have self-reported engagement in voyeuristic behaviour – e.g. Answering yes to – “Have you ever secretly watched people engage in sexual activity? Voyeurism definition must be met – Must have a sexual element (not necessarily sexually motivated), involve the observation and or recording of someone, and the intention is for the offending to be secret (non-consenting).	Yes Unclear Consider No	
Intervention – Is there a measure of prevalence? Is there at least one psychological factor measured using a valid tool/scale? If it is qualitative or a case study,	Yes Unclear Consider No	

is there at least one psychological factor discussed. Examples of psychological factors: Paraphilia, High sex drive, high mating effort, Poor impulse control, hostile masculinity, Antisocial personality, Substance Use, Negative Affect, mental health difficulties etc. How are they measured? Is the measure an observation or using a reliable tool?		
Comparator – Is there a control sample e.g., non-offenders, non-voyeuristic offenders? There does not necessarily need to be a comparator.	Yes Unclear Consider No	
Outcome – what is the analysis? e.g. Correlation ANOVA Regression Qualitative If the study is a case study, is there a full formulation that clearly makes links between psychological factors and voyeurism? Is there any psychometric assessment?	Yes Unclear Consider No	

Appendix C: Quality Assessment Tools.

L. The Appraisal tool for Cross-Sectional Studies (AXIS tool; last introduced on December 8, 2016)			
Major Components	Response options		
Introduction			
1. Were the aims/objectives of the study clear?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
Methods			
2. Was the study design appropriate for the stated aim(s)?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
3. Was the sample size justified?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
4. Was the target/reference population clearly defined? (Is it clear who the research was about?) / was there a control group	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
5. Was the sample frame taken from an appropriate population base so that it closely represented the target/reference population under investigation?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
6. Was the selection process likely to select subjects/participants that were representative of the target/reference population under investigation?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
7. Were measures undertaken to address and categorise non-responders?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
8. Were the risk factor and outcome variables measured appropriate to the aims of the study?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
9. Were the risk factor and outcome variables measured correctly using instruments/ measurements that had been trialled, piloted or published previously?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
10. Is it clear what was used to determined statistical significance and/or precision estimates? (eg, p values, Cis)	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
11. Were the methods (including statistical methods) sufficiently described to enable them to be repeated?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
Results			
12. Were the basic data adequately described? Are the results described in enough detail	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
13. Does the response rate raise concerns about non-response bias?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
14. If appropriate, was information about non-responders described?	Yes/ NA	No	Do not know/ comment
15. Were the results internally consistent?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
16. Were the results for the analyses described in the methods, presented?	Yes	No	Do not know/ comment
Comments:			

P. The Joanna Briggs Institute (JBI) Critical Appraisal Checklist for Case Reports (last amended in 2017)				
Major Components	Response options			
1. Were patient's demographic characteristics clearly described?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
2. Was the patient's history clearly described and presented as a timeline?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
3. Was the current clinical condition of the patient on presentation clearly described?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
4. Were diagnostic tests or assessment methods and the results clearly described?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
5. Was the intervention(s) or treatment procedure(s) clearly described?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
6. Was the post-intervention clinical condition clearly described? (Outcome)	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
7. Were adverse events (harms) or unanticipated events identified and described?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
8. Does the case report provide takeaway lessons?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
9. Are the findings biased by factors (such as the age of the paper? Views and context of society at the time, outdated therapy or intervention techniques). (If findings are biased choose NO as question is reverse scored)	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
10. Does the case study use any methodology (choose no if it is just a narrative or case illustration)?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
11. Is the data used first hand data? (e.g. quotes, measures)	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
Overall appraisal: Include ☐ Exclude ☐ Seek further info ☐				

M. The Joanna Briggs Institute (JBI) Critical Appraisal Checklist for studies reporting prevalence data (last amended in 2017)				
Major Components	Response options			
1. Was the sample frame appropriate to address the target population?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
2. Were study participants sampled in an appropriate way?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
3. Was the sample size adequate?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
4. Were the study subjects and the setting described in detail?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
5. Was the data analysis conducted with sufficient coverage of the identified sample?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
6. Were valid methods used for the identification of the condition?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
7. Was the condition measured in a standard, reliable way for all participants?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
8. Was there appropriate statistical analysis?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
9. Was the response rate adequate, and if not, was the low response rate managed appropriately?	Yes	No	Unclear	Not applicable
Overall appraisal: Include ☐ Exclude ☐ Seek further info ☐				
Additional Q				
Major Components	Response options			
1. Define the source of information (survey, record review)	Yes	No	Unclear/ NA	
2. Describe any assessments undertaken for quality assurance purposes (e.g., test/retest of primary outcome measurements)	Yes	No	Unclear/ NA	

E. The Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) Checklist for qualitative research (last amended in 2018)			
Study:			
Major Components	Response options		
Section A: Are the results valid?			
1. Was there a clear statement of the aims of the research?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
2. Is a qualitative methodology appropriate? And is a valid framework/ method used?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Is it worth continuing?			
3. Was the research design appropriate to address the aims of the research?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
4. Was the recruitment strategy appropriate to the aims of the research? Was there clear information about the methods that were used to collect the data? Was the sample representative?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
5. Was the data collected in a way that addressed the research issue?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
6. Has the relationship between researcher and participants been adequately considered? / is there information that indicates the perspective of the researcher	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Section B: What are the results?			
7. Have ethical issues been taken into consideration?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
8. Was the data analysis sufficiently rigorous?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
9. Is there a clear statement of findings? / have the results been verified by the kinds of people who participated? / do the results answer the research question?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Section C: Will the results help locally?			
10. How valuable is the research?	Yes	No	Can't Tell
Areas of concern:			

Appendix D: Factors measured in the qualitative and quantitative studies divided into themes (excluding case studies).

Study	Langstrom and Seto (2006)	Castellini et al., (2018)	Baur et al., (2016)	Freund and Seto (1998)	Watts et al., (2017)	Rinehart and McCabe (1998)	Sikorski (2005)	Wood (2019)
<i>Lifestyle factors:</i>								
Socioeconomic position	X							
Employment	X							
Life satisfaction	X							
Alcohol/ drug use	X							
Gambling	X							
<i>Adverse experiences:</i>								
Sexual abuse	X	X						
Physical abuse		X						
Neglect		X						
<i>Mental health/Emotional coping:</i>								
Depression						X		
Anxiety								
Gender dysphoria		X						
Psychological health	X							
Psychiatric disorder	X							
Emotional coping								X
<i>Personality:</i>								
Psychopathy		X			X		X	
Personality disorder					X			
Narcissism					X			
<i>Habit/obsession/compulsivity:</i>								

Habit								X
Impulsivity								X
Obsessive urge								X
<i>Sexual/ relationship factors:</i>								
Sexual risk taking ^a	X							
Arousal ^b	X	X						
Sexual fantasy	X							
Satisfaction	X							
Relationship stability	X							
Wider sexual offending				X				
Sexual coercion			X					
Sexual functioning		X						
Fear of intimacy								X

^apaying for sex, STI, number of sexual partners

^bhypersexuality, self-reported arousal, masturbation frequency, pornography use,

Appendix E: All quantitative and qualitative studies measuring voyeurism in relation to psychological factors.

Study	Population	Total sample size	Group sample size ^a	Factors measured	Analysis/ Outcome	Data ^b
Langstrom & Seto (2006)	General population (Sweden)	Male n=1,279	No n=2,243		<i>Odds ratio's</i>	<i>No group, Yes group, OR, CI</i>
		Female n=1,171	Yes n=191	Not studying or working (%)	Voy ^c higher	8.3, 11.8, 1.48, .92–2.37
				Socioeconomic position M(SD)	Voy higher	1.67(.69), 1.80(.74), 1.28, 1.03–1.59
				Psychological health M(SD)	Voy lower	5.18(.97), 4.95 (1.05), .81, .71–.93
				Satisfaction with life in general M(SD)	Voy lower	4.84(.96), 4.56(1.06), .77,.67–.88
				Current psychiatric disorder (%)	Voy higher	1.3, 4.2, 3.34, 1.50–7.71
				Substantially drunk last month (%)	Voy higher	21.3, 39.8, 2.45, 1.80–3.33
				Ever illegal drug use (%)	Voy higher	7.4, 18.3, 2.80, 1.88–4.17
				Problematic gambling behaviour (%)	Voy higher	6.4, 9.5, 1.54, .92–2.58
				Ever sexually abused before age 18 (%)	Voy higher	5.4, 7.3, 1.38, .76–2.51

Ever sexually abused (%)	Voy higher	19.4, 19.9, 1.03, .71–1.50
Age first intercourse (years) M(SD)	Voy lower	17.02(2.94), 16.39(2.39), .92, .86–.97
Number of sexual partners per active year M(SD)	Voy higher	.71(1.31), 1.16(1.33), 1.16, 1.07–1.27
Ever stable relationship (%)	Voy lower	95.8, 95.3, .90, .44–1.81
Ever paid for sexual contact (%)	Voy higher	6.1, 15.3, 2.79, 1.81–4.30
Ever STD infection (%)	Voy higher	17.8, 26.9, 1.70, 1.20–2.39
Satisfaction with sexual life M(SD)	Voy lower	4.44(1.35), 4.12(1.41), .85, .77–.94
Number of times masturbated last month M(SD)	Voy higher	3.00(5.19), 6.87(9.14), 1.08, 1.06–1.10
Number of times used pornography last year M(SD)	Voy higher	6.54(22.16), 22.03(59.93), 1.01, 1.01–1.02
More easily aroused than others (%)	Voy higher	21.9, 45.5, 2.98, 2.20–4.04
Number of sexual partners last year M(SD)	Voy higher	1.27(1.69), 1.56(1.47), 1.06, 1.00–1.13
Sexual fantasy ...to voyeuristic behavior (%)	Voy higher	11.6, 53.4, 8.74, 6.40–11.94

			...to exhibitionistic behavior (%)	Voy higher	3.9, 10.5, 2.90, 1.74–4.83
Castellini et al., (2018)	University students (Italy)	Male n=243	Male: No n=120	<i>Men</i>	<i>No paraphilia group, Voyeurism group</i>
		Female n=532	Yes n=65	Psychopathy (SCL-90) M(SD)	t-test 0.38(0.39), 0.70(0.60)
				Hypersexuality (HDSI) M(SD)	t-test 4.97(4.33), 10.40(6.02)
			Female No n=317	Male Sexual Functioning (IIEF) M(SD)	t- test All subscales non significant for both groups
			Yes n=66	Gender dysphoria (GIDYQ-AA)	t-test 4.63(0.23), 4.49(0.25)
				Sexual abuse (CECA.Q) %	X2 N=20(10.6%), N=6(9.2%)
				physical abuse (CECA.Q) %	X2 N=39(20.7%), N=23(33.8%)
				father neglect (CECA.Q) M(SD)	t-test 19.09(6.50), 18.86(6.27)
				mother neglect (CECA.Q) M(SD)	t-test 14.61(5.97), 14.09 (4.46)
				<i>Women</i>	
				Psychopathy (SCL-90) M(SD)	t-test 0.63(0.55), 1.05(0.78)
				Hypersexuality (HDSI) M(SD)	t-test 3.41(3.88), 8.77(6.19)
				Female Sexual Functioning (FSFI) M(SD)	t-test <i>Only FSFI desire subscale significant</i> 4.41(1.11), 4.77(0.95)

				Gender dysphoria (GIDYQ-AA) M(SD)	t-test	4.57(0.21), 4.35 (0.42)
				Sexual abuse (CECA.Q) M(SD)	X2	N=82 (19.5%), 20 (30.3%)
				Physical abuse (CECA.Q) M(SD)	X2	N=82 (19.5%), N=19 (28.8%)
				Father neglect (CECA.Q) M(SD)	t-test	19.28 (7.75), 21.17(7.93)
				Mother neglect (CECA.Q) M(SD)	t-test	14.22(6.14), 14.94(5.89)
Baur, Forsman, Santtila, Johansson, Sandnabba & Långström (2016)	General population (Finland)	Male n=2092 Female n=3898	No n=5283 Yes n=618	Sexually coercive behaviour (SCS) and one item from Hare Self-Report Psychopathy Scale; "I had or tried to have sex with someone against their will"	<i>Odds ratio</i> Full sample Paraphilia discordant twins ^d	<i>Yes group, No group, OR, CI</i> 25.9%, 6.9%, 3.17 (2.53–3.97) 25.9%, 6.9%, 3.10 (1.78–5.42)
Freund & Seto (1998)	Sex offenders (Canada)	Men committed or attempted rape n= 127	Rapists with marker (exhibitionism) n= 28 Rapists without marker n= 99	Voyeurism Prefer secretly watching someone over sexual contact Masturbated to orgasm while secretly watching someone	<i>Chi square</i> X2 X2 X2	<i>Marker group, no marker group, X2</i> 82.1%, 7.1%, 68.18 (marker sig higher) 34.6%, 21.6%, 1.3 (non sig) 46.2%, 11.2%, 16.59 (marker sig higher)

Watts et al (2017)	University Students (America)	Male and female n= 608		Correlation	Voyeurism group
			<i>Psychopathy (PPI- R, TriPM)- Boldness</i>	r	.05
			Disinhibition	r	.39
			Meanness	r	.42
			LSRP Factor 1	r	.42
			LSRP Factor 2	r	.34
			<i>Narcissism (NPI)- Leadership/ Authority</i>	r	.13
			Entitlement/ Exploitativeness	r	.33
			<i>Personality Disorder Features (SCID-II-PQ)-</i>		
			Paranoid	r	.13
			Schizoid	r	.16
			Schizotypal	r	.17
			Antisocial	r	.30
			Borderline	r	.16
			Histrionic	r	.13
			Narcissistic	r	.20
			Avoidant	r	.06
			Dependent	r	-.07
			Obsessive-Compulsive	r	.14
			Passive-Aggressive	r	-.14
			Depressive	r	-.03

Rinehart & McCabe (1998)	University Students (Australia)	Male n=69 Female n= 93		Depression (CES-D) obsessive-compulsive behaviour (Padua) Impulsiveness (EIQ) The Fear of Intimacy Scale State and trait anxiety	ANOVA	(F(1,32) = 5.37, p < 0.01)^e All other measures were non-significant and statistics were not reported.
Sikorski (2005)	Juvenile Sex Offenders and Juvenile non-Sex Offenders	Male n=381	High psychopathy n = 99 Med/low psychopathy n = 270	Psychopathy (PCL:YV)	ANOVA	(F(1,347) = 8.692, p < .004)^f
Wood (2019)	Prison sample (UK)	Male n=7	Yes n=7	Themes (IPA)	Themes	Surrogate Intimacy: -Emotional loneliness affecting ability to relate -Inability to develop intimacy -Inability to maintain intimacy Escapism from reality: -Avoidance from life's problems -Hiding negative emotions -Distance from harm Overwhelming habit: -Uncontrollable urge -Uncontrollable addiction

^aYes groups reported engaging in voyeurism, No groups reported no engagement in voyeurism.

^bsignificant analysis are in bold.

^c *Voy higher = people who reported engaging in voyeurism had higher scores on the measure compared to people who did not report engaging in voyeurism. Voy lower = people who reported engaging in voyeurism had lower scores on the measure compared to people who did not report engaging in voyeurism*

^pParaphilia discordant twins= One twin reports engaging in voyeurism and the other twin reports no engagement in voyeurism.

^e Main effects of depression in the high frequency voyeurism group and the low frequency voyeurism group. Respondents who engaged in high-frequency voyeurism were significantly more depressed than respondents in the low-frequency group.

^f Main effects measure of voyeuristic behaviour in the high psychopathy group and med/low psychopathy group. Respondents who were high in psychopathy reported significantly more engagement in voyeurism than respondents in the med/low psychopathy group.

Appendix F: Participant Recruitment Advertisement.

Research on personality and sexual images:

This is an invitation to take part in a piece of academic research investigating personality and attitudes towards sexual images. There is evidence to suggest that individual factors such as personality types and one's beliefs may have an impact on attitudes towards sexual images. The purpose of the study is to develop a wider understanding of this. This study is being carried out for the purposes of academic research only. As the study will contain content of a sensitive nature, I ask that participants be over the age of 18.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary and you are under no obligation to take part. You are free to withdraw at any point during the study and participation is anonymous. You are able to withdraw your data at any point up until 2 weeks following the completion of the data gathering phase of the study. All data collected will be kept confidential and will be stored securely in a password protected document on a secure device.

If you wish to take part, please click on the link below. You will then be directed to an online information sheet followed by a consent form. After reading the information sheet and giving consent to take part you will be directed to the online questionnaire. The questionnaire should take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Appendix G: Vignettes.

Festival image take/ delete (1):

Chris is at a music festival with his friends. The act they want to see is due on stage soon so they decide to move closer to the front. Chris takes a photo and realises that you can see up the skirt of a woman in front of him. Chris looks at the photo then deletes it.

Festival image take/keep (2):

Chris is at a music festival with his friends. The act they want to see is due on stage soon so they decide to move closer to the front. The front is really crowded and there is little space to move around. Chris notices a woman stood in front of him wearing a skirt. He uses his mobile phone to take a picture up her skirt without her knowledge. Chris then keeps this picture for himself.

Festival image take/share (3):

Chris is at a music festival with his friends. The act they want to see is due on stage soon so they decide to move closer to the front. The front is really crowded and there is little space to move around. Chris notices a woman stood in front of him wearing a skirt. He uses his mobile phone to take a picture up her skirt without her knowledge. Chris sends this image to his friend.

Shop image take/delete (1):

Chris is in a shop and he uses his mobile phone to take a photo. He realises that you can see up the skirt of a woman in front of him. Chris looks at the photo then deletes it.

Shop image take/keep (2):

Chris is in a shop and he notices a woman stood in front of him wearing a skirt. He uses his mobile phone to take a picture up her skirt without her knowledge. Chris then keeps this picture for himself.

Shop image take/share (3):

Chris is in a shop and he notices a woman stood in front of him wearing a skirt. He uses his mobile phone to take a picture up her skirt without her knowledge. Chris then sends this image to his friend.

Appendix H: The Short Dark Triad.

- It's not wise to tell your secrets.
- I like to use clever manipulation to get my way.
- Whatever it takes, you must get the important people on your side.
- Avoid direct conflict with others because they may be useful in the future.
- It's wise to keep track of information that you can use against people later.
- You should wait for the right time to get back at people.
- There are things you should hide from other people to preserve your reputation.
- Make sure your plans benefit yourself, not others.
- Most people can be manipulated.
- People see me as a natural leader.
- I hate being the centre of attention. I
- Many group activities tend to be dull without me.
- I know that I am special because everyone keeps telling me so.
- I like to get acquainted with important people.
- I feel embarrassed if someone compliments me. I
- I have been compared to famous people.
- I am an average person. I
- I insist on getting the respect I deserve.
- I like to get revenge on authorities.
- I avoid dangerous situations. I
- Payback needs to be quick and nasty.
- People often say I'm out of control.
- It's true that I can be mean to others.
- People who mess with me always regret it.
- I have never gotten into trouble with the law. I
- I enjoy having sex with people I hardly know
- I'll say anything to get what I want.

Appendix I: The Short Sadistic Impulse Scale.

- Hurting people would be exciting.
- I have hurt people because I could.
- I wouldn't intentionally hurt anyone. I
- I have hurt people for my own enjoyment.
- I have humiliated others to keep them in line.
- I would enjoy hurting someone physically, sexually or emotionally.
- I enjoy seeing people hurt.
- I have fantasies which involve hurting people.
- Sometimes I get so angry I want to hurt people.
- People would enjoy hurting others if they gave it a go.

Appendix J: The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
3. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
5. Women are too easily offended.
6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
13. Men are complete without women.
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own wellbeing in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Reverse the following items (0 = 5, 1 = 4, 2 = 3, 3 = 2, 4 = 1, 5 = 0): 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21. Hostile Sexism Score = average of the following items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21. Benevolent Sexism Score = average of the following items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22

Appendix K: The Mating Effort Scale.

1. When I see an attractive girl (or boy) with their boyfriend (or girlfriend), I might try to get their attention.
2. I would rather date several girls (or boys) at once than just one.
3. I think girls (or boys) find me naturally attractive.
4. I like girls (or boys) more for their good looks than for their companionship.
5. I would get back at someone who looked at my girlfriend (or boyfriend) in the wrong way.
6. I would start a relationship with another girl (or boy) before ending one with my current girlfriend (or boyfriend).
7. My friends respect me because they know I'm a little wild and crazy.
8. If other guys (or girls) think I am attractive to girls (or guys), they will stay away from my girlfriend (or boyfriend).
9. Other guys (or girls) respect me because they know I have a lot of friends who would support me.
10. If other guys (or girls) think I am 'tough', they will stay away from my girlfriend (or boyfriend).

Appendix L: Baseline (B-UAE) Questions.

How likely is it that you would take a picture up someone's skirt?

5- Very unlikely

- 2- Unlikely
- 3- Not sure
- 4- likely
- 5- Very likely

How amusing would it be to take a picture up someones skirt?

5- Not at all amusing

- 2- Not amusing
- 3- Not sure
- 4- Amusing
- 5- Very amusing

How exciting would it be to take a picture up someones skirt?

5- Not at all exciting

- 2- not exciting
- 3- Not sure
- 4- exciting
- 5- very exciting

How acceptable would it be to take a picture up someones skirt?

5- Not at all acceptable

- 2- Not acceptable
- 3- Not sure
- 4- Acceptable
- 5- Very acceptable

What do you consider taking a picture up someones skirt to be?

- 1- Socially acceptable
- 2- A joke/ banter
- 3- It shouldn't be a crime
- 4- It should be a crime
- 5- A crime

Please provide more information on why you chose this answer.

Appendix M: Post- vignette (V-UAE) Questions.

In this situation how likely is it that you would you do the same as Chris?

5- Very unlikely

2- Unlikely

3- Not sure

4- likely

5- Very likely

In this situation how amusing is Chris' behaviour?

5- Not at all amusing

2- Not amusing

3- Not sure

4- Amusing

5- Very amusing

In this situation how exciting is Chris' behaviour?

5- Not at all exciting

2- not exciting

3- Not sure

4- exciting

5- very exciting

In this situation how acceptable is Chris' behaviour?

5- Not at all acceptable

2- Not acceptable

3- Not sure

4- Acceptable

5- Very acceptable

What do you consider this situation to be?

1-Socially acceptable

2-A joke/ banter

3 -It shouldn't be a crime

4- It should be a crime

5- A crime

Please provide more information on why you chose this answer.

Appendix N: Participant Information Sheet.

Study Title: Personality, attitudes and sexual images.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Research Ethics Reference: 05-0420

We would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read this carefully.

What is the purpose of the research?

You are invited to take part in a study investigating personality and attitudes towards sexual images. The purpose of the study is to develop a wider understanding of individual factors such as personality and beliefs and how these factors may influence attitudes towards sexual images. This study is being carried out for the purposes of academic research only. Please make sure you read the instructions carefully to ensure you have a full and clear understanding of what will be asked of you in this study before giving consent to take part.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have been invited to take part in this research because you are over the age of 18 and are a member of the general public. The study covers content of a sensitive nature and may be uncomfortable for some individuals.

Do I have to take part?

No. It is up to you to decide if you want to take part in this research. If you agree to participate, we will ask you to give your consent. However, you would still be free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without any negative consequences. To do this you must provide an identifier number at the beginning of the study and then send this number to the researcher so they can withdraw your data. You can withdraw at any point by closing the browser. The data will only be uploaded on completion of the questionnaire by clicking the SUBMIT button. Once you have finished the questionnaire and SUBMITTED your answers you can also withdraw up to two weeks after data collection has been completed. Any personal data will be destroyed.

What will happen to me if I take part?

After reading this information sheet you will be asked to give consent to take part. You will then be directed to the online questionnaire. The questionnaire should take approximately 10- 15 minutes to complete.

Firstly, you will be asked to complete two questions asking for your age and gender. Then you will complete 3 questionnaires, asking questions about your personality and your attitudes towards relationships between men and women in society. You will then be asked 5 short questions about sexual

images. Following this you will be given one short vignette (scenario) around the use of sexual images and will be asked to answer 5 questions regarding your views in relation to the vignette. After answering the questions, you will be given the opportunity to elaborate on your answer. Following the completion of the study you will be provided with some more information around the research.

Are there any benefits in taking part?

There will be no direct benefit to you from taking part in this research, but your contribution may help to understand how different personalities and attitudes regarding sexual images.

What happens to the data provided?

The researcher and supervisor will have access to the research data. Other people who are part of the University of Nottingham may have to view the data collected however this is to ensure that the study is being carried out in accordance with the university's codes of conduct. Your answers will be completely anonymous, and we will use all reasonable endeavours to keep them confidential. All research data and records will be stored for a minimum of 7 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

Data will be used for research purposes only and in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulations. All such data are kept on password-protected databases sitting on a restricted access computer system.

Under UK Data Protection laws, the University is the Data Controller (legally responsible for the data security) and the Chief Investigator of this study (named above) is the Data Custodian (manages access to the data). This means we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly. Your rights to access, change or move your information are limited as we need to manage your information in specific ways to comply with certain laws and for the research to be reliable and accurate. To safeguard your rights, we will use the minimum personally-identifiable information possible.

You can find out more about how we use your information and to read our privacy notice at:

<https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/utilities/privacy.aspx/>

What will happen to the results of the research?

The research data will be analysed and written up as a doctoral thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research.

Who has reviewed this study?

All research involving people is looked at by an independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given favourable opinion by the Faculty of Medicine and Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee (reference number: 05-0420).

THANKYOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION

If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to the researcher Abigail Thickett or the supervisor Prof. Vincent Egan who will do their best to answer your query. If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the FMHS Research Ethics Committee Administrator, Faculty Hub, Medicine and Health Sciences, E41, E Floor, Medical School, Queen's Medical Centre Campus, Nottingham University Hospitals, Nottingham, NG7 2UH or via E-mail: FMHS-ResearchEthics@nottingham.ac.uk.

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Supervisor: Prof. Vincent Egan

Email Address: vincent.egan@nottingham.ac.uk

Researcher: Abigail Thickett (DforenPsy student)

Email address: abgail.thickett@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix O: Participant Consent Form.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT

Division of Psychiatry & Applied Psychology

School of Medicine, Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences

Project Title: Personality, attitudes and sexual images

Researcher: Abigail Thickett abigail.thickett@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: Prof. Vincent Egan 242incent.egan@[nottingham.ac.uk](mailto:242incent.egan@nottingham.ac.uk)

Ethics Reference Number: 05-0420

Please, tick each box to continue:

- ☐ I confirm that I have read and understood the information on the previous page.
- ☐ I am 18 years old or older.
- ☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary, and I can end the study at any time and withdraw my data by clicking the NO button or closing the browser.
- ☐ I understand that my answers will be anonymous.
- ☐ I understand the overall anonymized data from this study may be used in the future for research (with research ethics approval) and teaching purposes.
- ☐ I know how to contact the researcher if you have questions about this study.

I have read and understood the information provided on the information sheet and I confirm that I am 18 years old or older and by clicking the YES button to begin the online questionnaire, I indicate my willingness to voluntarily take part in the study.

YES– I consent to take part NO - I do not give consent

Appendix P: Participant Debrief.

PARTICIPANT DEBRIEF

Division of Psychiatry & Applied Psychology

School of Medicine, Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences

Research Ethics Reference: 05-0420

The purpose of the study is to develop a wider understanding of individual factors such as personality, traits and beliefs and how these factors may influence attitudes towards upskirting. This study is being carried out for the purposes of academic research only.

What is upskirting?

Upskirting is a colloquial term which refers to the capturing of images under the clothing of a non-consenting person. There has been an increasing level of media interest in upskirting following a campaign to make upskirting a specific sexual offence by a woman who had experienced this whilst at a music festival. Following this campaign, a law against upskirting was passed in the UK in 2019 which now classifies the behaviour as a specific sexual offence under the Voyeurism (Offences) Act 2019.

How did I contribute to this research?

In undertaking the study, you completed personality and attitudinal scales, followed by attitude ratings in relation to a vignette depicting an occurrence of upskirting. As research on upskirting is in its infancy the study wanted to understand some individual factors that may be linked to upskirting. The studies aim was to assess the extent to which individual factors (personality, beliefs, and attitudes) within a sample of the general public are related to attitudes towards upskirting to help to better understand upskirting.

What happens now?

We will ensure that your information will be kept anonymous and confidential. Please be aware that you now have the right to withdraw your data up to 2 weeks after the data gathering phase of the study has ended. If you wish to do so, please contact the researcher and quote your unique identifier number that you have provided, which will be used to identify your data for the purposes of withdrawing it for the study.

THANKYOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

If you have experienced distress caused by any of the issues addressed in this study please contact Samaritans on 116 123 (UK) or Victim support on 08 08 16 89 111.

If you have any queries or questions, please contact the researcher Abigail Thickett at abigail.thickett@nottingham.ac.uk. If you have any further ethical issues or concerns relating to this project, please contact the supervisor Prof. Vincent Egan at vincent.egan@nottingham.ac.uk.

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you can do this by contacting the FMHS Research Ethics Committee Administrator, Faculty Hub, Medicine and Health Sciences, E41, E Floor, Medical School, Queen's Medical Centre Campus, Nottingham University Hospitals, Nottingham, NG7 2UH or via E-mail: FMHS-ResearchEthics@nottingham.ac.uk.

Appendix Q: Questionnaire previews of each measure in order of presentation.

Demographics

What is your gender?

☐ Female
☐ Male
☐ Other

What is your age?

What is your sexual orientation?

Please enter a random 5 digit number (unique identifier number) which will be used to identify your data and maintain your anonymity if you wish to withdraw your data.

ASI (Ambivalent Sexism Inventory)

Relationships between men and women Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement

	disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	disagree slightly	agree slightly	agree somewhat	agree strongly
No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Many women are actually seeking special favours, such as hiring policies that favour them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feminists are making entirely	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

MES (Mating Effort Scale)

The following questions contain information to include different sexual orientations and genders. Please read and answer the following questions according to your gender and sexual orientation. e.g. A male that is interested in only female's would read and answer this question "I would start a relationship with another girl (or boy) before ending one with my current girlfriend (or boyfriend)" as "I would start a relationship with another girl before ending one with my current girlfriend".

	1 = strongly disagree	2 = disagree	3 = neutral	4 = agree	5 = strongly agree
1. When I see an attractive girl (or boy) with their boyfriend (or girlfriend), I might try to get their attention.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. I would rather date several girls (or boys) at once than just one.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. I think girls (or boys) find me naturally attractive.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. I like girls (or boys) more for their good looks than for their companionship.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. I would get back at someone who looked at my girlfriend (or boyfriend) in the wrong way.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

D4 (SD3: Short Dark Triad & SSIS: Short Sadistic Impulses Scale)

Please indicate how much you agree with each of the following statements:

	strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	disagree	Strongly disagree
People would enjoy hurting others if they gave it a go.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Many group activities tend to be dull without me.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I enjoy seeing people hurt.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People often say I'm out of control.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People see me as a natural leader.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
It's true that I can be mean to others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I'll say anything to get what I want.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sometimes I get so angry I want to hurt people.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Most people can be manipulated.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
I avoid dangerous situations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Payback needs to be quick and nasty.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B-UAE (Baseline Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement questions)

How likely is it that you would take a picture up someones skirt?

- ☐ 1- Very unlikely
- ☐ 2- Unlikely
- ☐ 3- Not sure
- ☐ 4- likely
- ☐ 5- Very likely

How amusing would it be to take a picture up someones skirt?

- ☐ 1- Not at all amusing
- ☐ 2- Not amusing
- ☐ 3- Not sure
- ☐ 4- Amusing
- ☐ 5- Very amusing

One of the vignette conditions

Please read the following information:

Chris is at a music festival with his friends. The act they want to see is due on stage soon so they decide to move closer to the front. The front is really crowded and there is little space to move around. Chris takes a photo and realises that you can see up the skirt of the woman in front of him. Chris looks at the photo then deletes it.

< Previous

Next >

Note, this text was changed in the final survey to read: "Chris is at a music festival with his friends. The act they want to see is due on stage soon, so they decide to move closer to the front. Chris takes a photo and realises that you can see up the skirt of a woman in front of him. Chris looks at the photo then deletes it."

V-UAE (Post Vignette Upskirting Acceptance/Endorsement questions)

In this situation how acceptable is Chris' behaviour?

- ☐ 1- Not at all acceptable
- ☐ 2- Not acceptable
- ☐ 3- Not sure
- ☐ 4- Acceptable
- ☐ 5- Very acceptable

What do you consider this situation to be?

- ☐ Socially acceptable
- ☐ A joke/ banter (light-hearted)/horseplay
- ☐ It shouldn't be a crime
- ☐ It should be a crime
- ☐ A crime

Please provide additional information on why you chose this answer.

Appendix R: Ethical Approval Confirmation.



**University of
Nottingham**
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Faculty Hub
Room E41, E Floor, Medical School
Queen's Medical Centre Campus
Nottingham University Hospitals
Nottingham, NG7 2UH
Email: FMHS_ResearchEthics@nottingham.ac.uk

15 July 2020

Abigail Thickett

Forensic Psychology Doctorate (Top-up)
c/o Dr Vincent Egan, Associate Professor
Centre for Forensic and Family Psychology
Psychiatry and Applied Psychology, School of Medicine
Yang Fujia Building
Jubilee Campus
Wollaton Road
Nottingham
NG8 1BB

Dear Ms Thickett

Ethics Reference No: 05-0420 – please always quote	
Study Title: Personality, attitudes and sexual images.	
Chief Investigator/Supervisor: Dr Vincent Egan, Associate Professor, Dr Simon Duff, Director of Stage II Training and Placement Manager, Centre for Forensic and Family Psychology, Psychiatry and Applied Psychology, School of Medicine.	
Lead Investigator/student: Abigail Thickett, Forensic Psychology Doctorate (Top-up)	
Proposed Start Date: 28.03.2020	Proposed End Date: 15.07.2021

Thank you for submitting the above application which was considered by a sub-committee meeting on 24 April 2020 and the following documents were received:

- FMHS REC Application form and supporting documents version 2.0: 13.03.2020

These have been reviewed and are satisfactory and the study is approved.

Approval is given on the understanding that:

1. The protocol agreed is followed and the Committee is informed of any changes using a notice of amendment form (please request a form).
2. The Chair is informed of any serious or unexpected event.
3. An End of Project Progress Report is completed and returned when the study has finished (Please request a form).

Yours sincerely

Dr Bethan E Phillips, Associate Professor
Clinical, Metabolic & Molecular Physiology, Medical Sciences & Graduate Entry Medicine
Acting Chair, Faculty of Medicine & Health Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Appendix S: Data Management Plan.

Personality, attitudes and sexual images.

Data description

What data will you create?

Demographic data (age and gender) qualitative and quantitative data will be generated from an online survey. All data will be anonymous. The online survey will be created using JISC (JISC online surveys). Data will be stored on a secure spreadsheet using Microsoft Excel on One Drive and will be analysed using SPSS. I will be saving SPSS files (.sav) on a secure password protected computer. A power analysis indicated that 135 participants would be needed to detect a medium effect size. The power analysis was carried out using G*Power (Version 3). This will be used as a sample size target.

Data collection / generation

What are your methodologies for data collection / generation? How will you ensure data quality? What data standards will you use?

Quantitative and qualitative data will be collected through an online survey using social media (Facebook). New data is needed in this area as there is little empirical research focusing on Upskirting and no existing research investigating personality, sexism and mating effort in relation to upskirting offences. As the study contains questions and a hypothetical scenario depicting an upskirting offence participants may find this distressing therefore participants will be over the age of 18 and informed of this before starting the survey. I have included in both the consent form and participant information form a section outlining the sensitive nature of the study and how participants privacy and confidentiality will be ensured. I have also included how I will ensure that the data will be kept securely in line with the universities policies and codes of conduct. The questionnaires and vignettes used have been reviewed following consultation with supervisors and others who are representative of potential participants. The information from the survey will be downloaded to an excel spreadsheet and then will be transferred to SPSS for analysis. The Qualitative data will be analysed using IPA methods. I will keep a record of the statistical tests and the qualitative analysis used to analyse the data and this will be reported within the final research project.

Data storage and security

Where and how will data will be stored, backed-up, transferred, and secured during the active phase (short to medium term) of research?

I will use UoN-provided storage for the working data. UoN licenses Microsoft OneDrive, an ISO 27001 information security management compliant service that allows secure and controlled sharing of data. University of Nottingham OneDrive encrypts data both in transit and at rest and is approved against the University's Handling Restricted Data Policy. The service provides continual failover support. This service provides up to 5TB free-at-point-of-use, and as we do not anticipate generating more than 5TB we will not require any additional costs for use of this service.

The researcher and supervisor will have access to the research data. Other people who are part of the University of Nottingham may have to view the data collected however this is to ensure that the study is being carried out in accordance with the university's codes of conduct. Participants will be informed of this before taking part in the study.

Data will be used for research purposes only and in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulations. All such data are kept on password-protected databases sitting on a restricted access computer system. All research data and records will be stored for a minimum of 7 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

Under UK Data Protection laws the University is the Data Controller (legally responsible for the data security) and the Chief Investigator of this study (named above) is the Data Custodian (manages access to the data). This means we are responsible for looking after your information and using it properly.

Data management, documentation, and curation

What are your principles, systems, and major standards for data management and creation? What metadata and documentation will you keep?

All data will be managed by the researcher and the research supervisor will have access to the data. The data will be collected using an online survey (using JISC online) and statistical analysis will be performed on the data using SPSS. IPA analysis will be conducted on the qualitative data. All methods used to generate and analyse the data will be documented in the research study.

Ethics & Privacy

What are your principles, systems, and major standards for data management and creation? What metadata and documentation will you keep?

Only myself and my supervisor will have access to data. All data will be fully anonymised and stored securely on a university, password-protected OneDrive account. To protect the privacy of participants, no other researchers will have access to the data unless requested and required from the University. This is to ensure that the study is being carried out in accordance with the university's codes of conduct. Participants will be informed of this prior to participation in the study. All research data and records will be stored for a minimum of 7 years after publication or public release of the work of the research. To help ensure privacy, participants will be asked to provide a unique identification number this will allow their data to be easily identified if they wish to withdraw.

Data preservation

How will you ensure the long term storage and preservation of data?

Data will be stored on a university, password-protected OneDrive account. Access to this account will not be possible after completion of the course therefore it will also be stored on an encrypted USB memory stick. At the end of the project the data will be archived through the university repository to ensure it complies with the RDM policy. Data will be stored for a minimum of 7 years as outlined by University policy.

Data sharing and access

How will the data generated be shared and published?

The research data will be analysed and written up as a doctoral thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. At the end of the project the data will be archived through the university repository to ensure it complies with the RDM policy. If the result of the study are informative the study will be written up as a research publication.

Roles & responsibilities

Who will be responsible for managing data, data security, data quality, and data security both during the award and post-award?

Under UK Data Protection laws the University is the Data Controller (legally responsible for the data security) and the lead researcher of this study/the project supervisor (Prof. Vincent Egan) is the Data asset owner. Data will be collected and analysed by the researcher/ Data Steward (Abigail Thickett) and will have primary access to data. The research supervisor (Prof. Vincent Egan) will also have access to the research data. All will have a duty of confidentiality to you as a research participant and we will do our best to meet this duty. The research data will be analysed and written up as a doctoral thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research.

Relevant policies

What are the relevant institutional, departmental or study policies on data sharing and data security?

I will ensure that the research aligns with the requirements of the University's Research Data Management Policy, Information Security Policy, Code of Research Conduct and Research Ethics.

IPR

Who will own the copyright and IPR of any data that you will collect or create? Will you create a licence(s) for its use and reuse? If you are planning to use existing data as part of your research, do any copyright or other restrictions determine its use?

As this research is being carried out by one researcher within the University of Nottingham, the intellectual property of the data generated will remain with the University of Nottingham. I am not using any existing data therefore there are no copyright restrictions.

Budgeting

What are the costs or funding required for capturing, processing, storing, and archiving your data?

The storage, analysis, processing and archiving of the data should not incur any costs.

Appendix T: Bonferroni corrected alpha calculation for correlations between D4, MES, ASI and B-Proclivity, B-Acceptable, B-Amusement, B-Excitement.

p-value/ by the number of analyses

$$0.05/21 = 0.002$$

Appendix U: Bonferroni corrected alpha calculation for correlations between subscales.

p-value/ by the number of analyses

$$0.05/45 = 0.001$$

Appendix V: Male and female participant means for each V-UAE question in each condition.

	Male n=90					Female n=122			
	^a Same	^a Amusing	^a Exciting	^a Acceptable		^a Same	^a Amusing	^a Exciting	^a Acceptable
^b FTK n=28	M=1.1 SD=0.4	M=1.1 SD=0.3	M=1.3 SD=0.8	M=1.2 SD=0.6	^b FTK n=19	M=1 SD=0	M=1.1 SD=0.2	M=1.2 SD=0.5	M=1 SD=0
^b STK n=13	M=1.4 SD=1.1	M=1.1 SD=0.3	M=1.5 SD=1.2	M=1.1 SD=3	^b STK n=26	M=1 SD=0	M=1 SD=0	M=1.1 SD=0.4	M=1 SD=0
^b FTS n=15	M=1 SD=0	M=1.4 SD=1.1	M=1.6 SD=1.2	M=1.1 SD=0.4	^b FTS n=20	M=1.0 SD=0.2	M=1.2 SD=0.7	M=1.1 SD=0.2	M=1.1 SD=0.4
^b STS n=13	M=1 SD=0	M=1.2 SD=0.4	M=1.3 SD=0.9	M=1.1 SD=0.3	^b STS n=14	M=1 SD=0	M=1.1 SD=0.3	M=1.1 SD=0.3	M=1.1 SD=0.3
^b FTD n=11	M=5 SD=0.5	M=1.8 SD=1	M=1.2 SD=0.4	M=3.6 SD=1.5	^b FTD n=21	M=4 SD=1.5	M=1.8 SD=0.9	M=1.4 SD=0.7	M=3.6 SD=1.2
^b STD n=10	M=3.7 SD=1.4	M=1.7 SD=0.7	M=1.6 SD=0.8	M=2.9 SD=1.7	^b STD n=22	M=4 SD=1.7	M=1.5 SD=0.9	M=1.2 SD=0.5	M=3.6 SD=1.4

^aSame= "In this situation how likely is it that you would you do the same as Chris?", Amusing= "In this situation how amusing is Chris' behaviour?", Exciting= "In this situation how exciting is Chris' behaviour?", Acceptable= "In this situation how acceptable is Chris' behaviour?".

^bFTS= *Festival (setting) Take/Share (offence type)*, STS= *Shop (offence setting) Take/Share (offence type)*, FTK= *Festival (setting) Take/Keep (offence type)*, STK= *Shop (setting) Take/Keep (offence type)*, FTD= *Festival (setting) Take/Delete (offence type)*, STD= *Shop (setting) Take/Delete (offence type)*.