

(Un)doing Youth Sexualities

Mapping young people's bodies and pleasures beyond 'sex'

Josie Austin

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Social Sciences
Cardiff University

February 2017

Acknowledgements

While for the purposes of the examiners' board, this entire thesis must be viewed as my own work, it is also the result of my relations and conversations with many others. First of all, I would have not been able to write this thesis had it not been for the enthusiastic participation of the young people who took part in this research project. My interactions with them were interesting, thought-provoking and often tremendous fun. My biggest thank you goes out to every single one of you!

Second, I would like to express enormous gratitude to my supervisors, Emma Renold and Sara MacBride-Stewart. The insights you gave me have changed not only my academic outlook, but have influenced my thinking about the world in general. Your work is inspiring and we need more academics like you! The last few years have not always been easy for me on a personal level, and I would like to thank you for supporting me throughout.

I would also like to thank my all my incredible friends who have supported me, and offered me hugs and kind words. Nate, thank you for encouraging me to apply to begin with. I am not sure that I would have had the confidence without you. I promised to mention you here, and I hope you noticed that I put your name first! Chris, you also deserve a special mention. Thank you for helping me through this, always being there for me, letting me use your spare room, and making me feel like I am lovable even when I am stressed and down. Svenja, thank you for being there for me when I need you, for your friendship, and for our endless phone conversations. To all my house mates over the last few years: Thanks for putting up with my late hours and dirty dishes, especially you, Merry. You were a big part of this journey. My gratitude also goes to Jen and Naomi. Thank you for your input. It was a pleasure to work with you.

My final thanks go to my family. I would like to thank especially my parents. You have always supported me, and it was invaluable to me that I could stay with you for some time whilst writing up. This thesis would not have been written if you had not taught

me throughout my childhood and my adult life - perhaps implicitly a lot of the time by living it - the value of feminism, open-mindedness, and being kind.

Abstract

This thesis explores some of the complexities of young people's sexual subjectivities by foregrounding their experiences during a range of bodily practices. While the majority of research in the field of youth sexuality has focused on negative outcomes, in my research I emphasise pleasure. I worked with a socio-economically and culturally diverse sample of 36 young women and men aged 16 to 18 from south Wales (U.K.). Together we explored their embodied experiences, and a range of different methods of researching these experiences. Rather than asking participants about specific sexual practices, I focused on what felt good (and bad) in and on their bodies in a wide variety of contexts. I used group and individual interviews, and object- and arts-based methods, to map what felt sexual and/or pleasurable to *them*. I explored the ways in which their sexual subjectivities emerged not only during activities normatively defined as 'sex', but also in their engagements with objects, technology, sports, dance, and when their bodies were still. Taking inspiration from feminist appropriations of the Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts of 'becoming', 'assemblage', 'affect', 'territorialisation', and 'deterritorialisation', I offer intricate mappings of the ways in which affective flows in specific encounters can limit or expand young people's (sexual) capacities. My data highlights how gendered violence, 'trophy sex', objectification and disembodiment remain significant forces in many young people's sexual lives, especially those of young women. However, my thesis also maps ruptures and 'alternative figurations' of youth sexualities (Braidotti 1994; see Renold and Ringrose 2008). I illustrate how young sexual subjectivities can move beyond normative notions of (hetero)sexuality, and how young people sometimes experience sexuality and pleasure in unexpected ways and places. My thesis points to the malleability and multiplicity of youth sexual subjectivities, and towards possibilities for re-imagined sexualities that exceed gendered bodies and phallogentric desire.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Chapter One: Setting the Scene..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Introduction..... | 1 |
| 1.2 What is ‘sexuality’? – Normative definitions and their fluidity..... | 5 |
| 1.3 Youth sexualities: Fears and fascinations..... | 8 |
| 1.3.1 Young people, sexual violence, and formal education..... | 8 |
| 1.3.2 Moral Panic: Youth sexualities and discourses of ‘sexualisation’ and ‘pornification’ | 12 |
| 1.3.3 The silences and discursive complexities surrounding youth sexual pleasures..... | 15 |
| 1.4 Researching youth sexualities | 17 |
| 1.5 Aims and research questions | 19 |
| 1.6 Chapter summary and thesis outline | 21 |
| Chapter Two: Mapping the academic field of youth sexualities: A journey through ideas and practices | 25 |
| 2.1 Introduction..... | 25 |
| Part One: Doing ‘Sex’: Youth sexualities, the discursive, and gendered experiences..... | 25 |
| 2.2 Introducing research on young people's sexual experiences | 27 |
| 2.3 Early social constructionist and discursive theories of sexuality | 28 |
| 2.3.1 Sexual scripts and heteronormativity..... | 28 |
| 2.3.2 Foucault's History of Sexuality..... | 31 |
| 2.3.3 Queer theory: Butler’s heterosexual matrix..... | 33 |
| 2.3.4 Significance of Butler’s and Foucault’s theories to my study..... | 33 |
| 2.4 Social constructionist, discursive, and psychological research on youth sexualities | 35 |
| 2.4.1 How and where is ‘sex’ constructed for and by young people? | 35 |
| 2.4.2 What does the feminist literature tell us about young people’s sexual experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure?..... | 42 |
| 2.4.3 Addressing complexities in critical psychological and discursive research on youth sexualities | 50 |
| 2.5 Moving beyond ‘sex’ and towards ‘bodies and pleasures’ | 54 |
| 2.6 Summary of part one..... | 57 |
| Part Two: Highlighting affect, movement, and complexity in youth sexualities: Theories and practices underpinned by the work of Deleuze and Guattari..... | 58 |
| 2.7 Introduction to part two..... | 58 |
| 2.8 The philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari..... | 58 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 2.8.1 Deleuze and Guattari's theory of sexuality | 59 |
| 2.8.2 Sexual subjectivities as process | 62 |
| 2.9 Foregrounding the bodily registration of affect..... | 68 |
| 2.10 The politics of research | 71 |
| 2.11 How do young sexualities emerge when thinking with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts?..... | 72 |
| 2.11.1 Foregrounding complexity, affect, and potential..... | 73 |
| 2.11.2 Youth sexualities and the more-than-human..... | 74 |
| 2.11.3 Reconceptualising desire and re-assembling sexuality | 77 |
| 2.11.4 Limitations of research exploring youth sexualities using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts | 78 |
| 2.12 Foregrounding pleasure with Deleuze and Guattari..... | 79 |
| 2.13 Conclusions..... | 83 |
| Chapter Three: "I thought it was just going to be sex!": Creating a deterritorialising methodology for sexuality research with young people..... | 85 |
| 3.1 Introduction..... | 85 |
| 3.2 Participants, research sites, and preparations..... | 88 |
| 3.2.1 Participants | 88 |
| 3.2.2 Research Sites | 89 |
| 3.2.3 Research preparations..... | 91 |
| 3.3 Devising a feminist Deleuzo-Guattarian research methodology for sexuality research with young people | 93 |
| 3.3.1 Research phases | 94 |
| 3.3.2 Addressing multiplicity | 104 |
| 3.3.3 Mapping rupture and alternative figurations of youth sexuality..... | 108 |
| 3.3.4 Researching affect | 110 |
| 3.3.5 Exclusions..... | 124 |
| 3.4 "Why are you here?" – A reflexive exploration of the role of the researcher..... | 125 |
| 3.4.1 My position as a white, middle-class woman in her late 20s/early 30s.. | 128 |
| 3.4.2 The Research Diary | 129 |
| 3.4.3 Blurring the distinction between participants and researcher | 130 |
| 3.5 Working with data, thinking with theory | 131 |
| 3.5.1 What is data analysis? | 131 |
| 3.5.2 Encountering data..... | 132 |
| 3.5.3 Aims of 'analysis'..... | 133 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| 3.5.4 Thinking with concepts: ‘becoming’, ‘assemblages’, ‘territorialisation’ and ‘deterritorialisation’ | 134 |
| 3.6 Conclusions..... | 137 |
| Chapter Four: “It was like a sensation of like pain and pleasure at the same time”: Young people, ‘sex’, and the complexities of human encounters | 139 |
| 4.1. Introduction..... | 139 |
| Part One: Young people and ‘sex’..... | 139 |
| 4.2 Young sexualities and the stickiness of appearances..... | 140 |
| 4.3 Trophy sex: Young people, sexuality, and the desire for status | 147 |
| 4.4 Young people and sexual violence | 151 |
| 4.5 The complexities of ‘sex’ | 154 |
| 4.6 Young people, human encounters, and sexual pleasure | 158 |
| 4.7 More-than-sex..... | 163 |
| 4.8 Foregrounding connectivity: Dan’s heartbeat-assemblage | 165 |
| 4.9 Brief summary of part one | 171 |
| Part Two: Sexuality beyond ‘sex’?..... | 171 |
| 4.10 Conclusions..... | 179 |
| Chapter Five: More-Than-Human Youth Sexualities..... | 182 |
| 5.1 Introduction..... | 182 |
| 5.2 Objects and more-than-human ‘sex’ | 184 |
| 5.2.1 Bearing sexualities and sexualising bears: Participants’ encounters with objects in the research setting | 187 |
| 5.3 Young sexualities and the media..... | 190 |
| 5.3.1 Erin meets Sherlock Holmes | 193 |
| 5.4 Young sexualities and technologies | 195 |
| 5.4.1 Young sexualities and smart phones | 195 |
| 5.4.2 Becoming-evil: Video games and the deterritorialisation of sexed bodies..... | 202 |
| 5.4.3 Becoming-queer? Assembling technology and sexuality research | 205 |
| 5.5 Deleuzo-Guattarian more-than-human sexualities | 208 |
| 5.6 Conclusions: Re-imagined youth sexuality-assemblages? | 212 |
| Chapter Six: Sexualities in Motion: The Pleasures of Movement | 215 |
| 6.1 Introduction..... | 215 |
| 6.2 Sexuality and the moving body | 216 |
| 6.2.1 The sporting body and sexual success..... | 217 |
| 6.2.2 The sexing of movement | 219 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 6.2.3 Deleuzo-Guattarian sexualities..... | 221 |
| 6.3 Dancing (sexual) pleasures | 222 |
| 6.3.1 Becoming-sexy | 222 |
| 6.3.2 Becoming-powerful | 228 |
| 6.3.3 Becoming-music..... | 232 |
| 6.4 “I’m in love with mud!”: Sports and the deterritorialisation of young sexual bodies | 237 |
| 6.4.1 “I didn’t feel dirty...it was really odd”: Bethan’s yoga-body..... | 240 |
| 6.5 The reterritorialisation of the moving body..... | 243 |
| 6.6 Bodies in (slow) motion: Sexuality and the still body | 247 |
| 6.7 Foregrounding singularity | 250 |
| 6.8 Conclusions..... | 251 |
| Chapter Seven: Youth sexualities undone? Discussion and conclusions..... | 253 |
| 7.1 Introduction..... | 253 |
| 7.2 How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?..... | 255 |
| 7.2.1 Young people and ‘sex’ | 256 |
| 7.2.2 Sexualities beyond ‘sex’: Objects, technologies, and the media..... | 260 |
| 7.2.3 Youth sexuality, sports, dance, and movement | 261 |
| 7.2.4 (Re)assembling youth sexualities | 263 |
| 7.2.5 What do my data tell us about sexual pleasure? | 265 |
| 7.3 Methodological possibilities and limitations..... | 266 |
| 7.3.1 Mapping affect, bodily experiences, and complexities | 267 |
| 7.3.2 Mapping multiplicity | 272 |
| 7.4 How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts allow for a reconceptualisation of the field? | 274 |
| 7.4.1 Mapping rupture and alternative figurations of youth sexuality..... | 274 |
| 7.4.2 Rethinking youth sexualities..... | 275 |
| 7.4.3 Re-imagined sexualities: What is lost and what is gained?..... | 276 |
| 7.5 Key contributions and implications for policy and practice..... | 279 |
| 7.5.1 Contributions to the field of critical sexuality studies..... | 279 |
| 7.5.2 Contributions to assemblage research and new materialism methodologies..... | 280 |
| 7.5.3 Implications for policy and practice, and further research | 282 |
| 7.6 Conclusions | 287 |
| References | 289 |

| | |
|------------------------|------------|
| Appendices..... | 316 |
|------------------------|------------|

List of Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| Table 1: Summary of data produced in each phase | 103 |
|---|-----|

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: Objects used in group discussions | 95 |
| Figure 2: Examples of 'pleasure object' brought in by participants | 98 |
| Figure 3: Hassan's painting | 120 |
| Figure 4: Bethan's 'pleasure objects' | 174 |
| Figure 5: Casey's collage | 190 |
| Figure 6: Participants' re-imagined sexuality-assemblage?..... | 214 |
| Figure 7: Anonymised still images from Sam's climbing video | 217 |
| Figure 8: Rhiannon's fox tail..... | 223 |
| Figure 9: Anonymised still images from one of Sarah's pop dance videos..... | 224 |
| Figure 10: Anonymised still images from Sarah's hip hop dance video | 231 |
| Figure 11: Sam's sketch of himself, his girlfriend Anna, and a sunset..... | 249 |

List of Appendices

| | |
|---|-----|
| Appendix 1: Extended table of data produced | 316 |
| Appendix 2: Project information for schools | 319 |
| Appendix 3: Participant information sheet..... | 321 |
| Appendix 4: Information sheet for parents/carers..... | 324 |
| Appendix 5: Participant consent form | 326 |
| Appendix 6: Parental consent form | 327 |
| Appendix 7: Information leaflet for art-based methods | 329 |
| Appendix 8: Example of a consent form for phase three..... | 331 |

Chapter One

Setting the Scene

1.1 Introduction

It is October 2003. I have just started university. Most of us are 18, though I am 20. I have gone to the pub with a new friend and two of her classmates. After a few pints, we start talking about sex. I hint at things that I like and pose generalised questions about masturbation. Not in a particularly intrusive way, I don't think? My friend thinks it's funny and joins in the conversation. Her classmates appear visibly uncomfortable. I don't think they are impressed with me. They leave. I am unsure whether to feel inappropriate, disrespectful, or like a successfully liberated sexual subject who is showing off. All three options seem embarrassing. I think to myself that perhaps next time I won't mention pleasure. But I do. It is just too appealing. (Diary entry by author)

Sexuality may be said to inhabit a convoluted and contested territory in contemporary Western culture. It presents as a pressing subject for discussion in many spheres, yet simultaneously is often considered a taboo. It is a source of both anxiety and fascination for many. It is considered powerful yet normal, and is viewed as dangerous, dirty, and beautiful, all at the same time. These fears and fascinations are perhaps heightened in relation to young people, and especially young women. While the assumption of the uncontrollable young sexual male is deeply entrenched in our cultural imagination, young women's bodies continue to dominate sexual imagery and much of the public debate on youth sexuality (Attwood 2009). Many of these assumptions and contradictions are perhaps recognisable in the anecdote with which I started this thesis: my own fascination with sexuality; my feelings of inadequacy at broaching the subject; the seeming discomfort of the women I was talking with. How could I make sense of these young women's discomfort, whilst some of the young men in university halls spoke about masturbation and their use of

pornography so freely? How did my own sense of pride at my sexual bluntness fit into this? Had I implicitly expected these young women to find pleasure in similar activities as me? And in what ways was all this linked with the casual sexual harassment I was observing in my student halls? The answers to these questions, I felt, were unlikely to be captured easily. In this project, I explore some of the complexities of young people's (aged 16 to 18) sexual subjectivities and their bodily experiences of sexuality, with an emphasis on pleasure.

My thesis is situated within the field of 'critical sexuality studies' (Fahs and McClelland 2016: 1). Much of this work has commented on how cultural ideas of sexuality are constructed in ways which are (hetero)sexist, and which produce and reproduce gendered¹ inequalities. The seeming normalisation of male pleasure compared to female pleasure that I experienced as a young person, for example, may be viewed as one way in which these inequalities manifest themselves. The normalisation of sexual harassment towards women which I observed may be viewed as another.

The majority of research in the field of youth sexuality has focused on negative outcomes such as unintended pregnancies and sexually transmitted infections (STIs; Gerressu and Stephenson 2008). However, over the last two decades, sexual pleasure has become an increasingly prominent topic of discussion amongst critical sexuality researchers, as well as sexual health professionals (e.g. Orenstein 2016; Fine and McClelland 2006; Tolman 2002). For instance, in 2009 the U.K.'s Centre for HIV and Sexual Health (CHIV) published a booklet entitled 'Pleasure: A Booklet for Workers on Why and How to Raise the Issue of Sexual Pleasure in Sexual Health Work with Young People' (CHIV 2009). The aim of this 16-page booklet is to support sex educators and health professionals in talking to young people about how they might have consensual enjoyable experiences. While many welcomed the booklet and it is

¹ I use the term 'gender' in this thesis to refer to the set of behavioural, cultural, psychological, and social characteristics and practices associated with 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. Leaning in Judith Butler (1990), I do not distinguish between 'gender' and the biological category of 'sex'. According to Butler (1990), the sex/gender distinction should be regarded as a regulatory apparatus that positions 'sex' as natural so as to make gender roles appear 'normal' (Buchanan 2010; see chapter two for further discussion).

to date the CHIV's most popular publication (Ingham 2014), a small but vociferous number of people vehemently condemned the booklet and its authors (Hirst 2014). Objections included the need to protect the (so-called) innocence of those young people below the age of consent, but also the potential promotion of an immoral lifestyle amongst young people more generally. The people viewed as accountable for producing the booklet were accused of inciting child abuse (Ingham 2014). The U.K. Branch of the Maranatha Community, a global evangelical Christian Organisation, formally (but unsuccessfully) demanded the withdrawal of the booklet, because it was "liable, ultimately, to corrupt the young" (Maranatha Community 2009, as cited in Hirst 2014, p. 37). When I heard about these reactions at a conference in my first year of my PhD programme, I was taken aback. It reminded me of my own experiences at university. What is it about young people's sexual pleasures that is so controversial?

In their influential work on young women's sexualities, Sara McClelland and Michelle Fine (2008) have noted that those researchers who have attempted to explore pleasure with young people, and young women in particular, have experienced challenges. McClelland and Fine (2008) commented on the potential methodological limitations of established research practices. Given that some young people seemingly did not even feel able to share their experiences with me in an informal setting such as a night out in a pub, it is perhaps not surprising that researchers, who may inevitably be perceived as being in a position of authority, may struggle. It was a combination of McClelland and Fine's (2008) writings, the reactions in response to the pleasure booklet, and my own experiences as a young person, which made it clear to me that in order to explore the complexities of young people's experiences, I needed to be creative and give young people space not only to explore difficult experiences, but also pleasurable ones. My project therefore contributes as much to the methodological literature as it does to the substantive literature in the field of youth sexualities.

In my research, I work with a socio-economically and culturally diverse sample of 36 young women and men aged 16 to 18 who were all from south Wales (U.K.). Together

we explore not only the lived complexities of their experiences of sexuality, but, following in the footsteps of other ‘critical sexuality’ researchers (see Fahs and McClelland 2016), also different ways of approaching this topic (e.g. Tolman 2002; McClelland and Fine 2008; McGeeney 2015a; Allen 2015). Rather than asking participants about specific sexual practices, I focus on what feels good (and bad) in and on their bodies in a wide variety of contexts. I use group and individual interviews, and object- and arts-based methods, to explore what feels sexual and/or pleasurable to *them*. I map the ways in which their sexual subjectivities emerge during activities normatively defined as ‘sex’², but also when they are engaging with objects, technology, sports, dance, and even when their bodies are still. I explore how young people’s sexual subjectivities are shaped by the dominant discourses³ that frame youth sexuality, but also how their experiences exceed and rupture these discourses. My project, then, evolved into thinking about sexuality and sexual pleasure in ways that are broader than what we are perhaps used to from research, TV programmes, and policy reports on young sexualities (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007).

Theoretically I take inspiration from feminist conceptual (Grosz 1994; Braidotti 2011; Fox and Alldred 2013) and empirical work (see chapter two and Fox and Alldred 2014 for an overview) that is underpinned by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. I would like to emphasise that it is not my intention to produce a theoretical thesis. I intend to focus on the experience of young people and how we can explore these experiences in a research setting. However, Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts proved to be useful to the ways in which I may think about my participants and my data. They allow for a conceptualisation of sexual subjectivity that is not tied to a specific set of practices, but is linked to bodily experiences that emerge through the

² I will put the word ‘sex’ in inverted commas throughout my thesis when I reference practices that are normatively defined as ‘sex’ (see chapters one and two). In this way, I highlight its constructed nature and its potential to become-other. I provide further definitions of ‘sex’, ‘sexuality’, and ‘sexual’ in a later footnote, once these concepts have been discussed in more detail.

³ I use the term ‘discourse’ here in the Foucauldian sense to refer to an abstract construct which is composed of systems of knowledge, and which produce specific ways of understanding the world (McNay 1994). See chapter two for a more detailed description.

complex relations between a wide range of bodies, movements, materials, contexts, ideas, and discourses. Their ideas allow for an exploration of how (hetero)sexist discourses can limit young people's sexual possibilities, but they also enable a focus on ruptures and how experiences may exceed these discourses. Their theory of sexuality as a free-floating and productive energy (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987) that emerges in all connections (see chapter two) also allows us to begin to re-imagine with young people a sexuality that is not tied to (hetero)sexism and gendered bodies.

In the remainder of this chapter I will introduce in more detail the cultural context in which young people experience sexuality. In particular, I will focus on the ways in which young sexualities are commonly represented in and by the media, in sex education classes and policy, and through academic scholarship. While the focus of my thesis was on lived experiences, these discourses and the cultural context they are embedded in may be understood as a point of departure. I provide an overview of the dominant and sometimes ambiguous ways in which sexuality is commonly defined, how youth sexuality is predominantly linked to negativity and abuse, and the complicated ways in which pleasure surfaces in these representations. In the final part of the chapter I outline my research questions and introduce the reader to subsequent chapters.

1.2 What is 'sexuality'? – Normative definitions and their fluidity

I will begin the chapter with a question which, I believe, is pressing in any research which situates itself within the academic field of sexuality studies: what do people mean when they refer to sexuality? In contemporary culture, the term 'sex', 'sexual' or 'sexy' can come to mean everything from physical intimacy and arousal, to something that is interesting or noteworthy. For example, politicians and educational programmes can be 'sexed' up (Attwood 2009). Our ability to articulate what we mean may not always be clear, and in this way the terms 'sex' and 'sexuality' may be viewed as somewhat slippery.

Zoe Peterson and Charlene Muehlenhard (2007) found that while researchers, educators, and media commentators commonly equate sexuality with 'sex' and assume that young people have clear definitions as to what qualifies as 'sex' or 'sexuality', young people themselves tend to express some ambiguity about their classifications. While penile-vaginal penetration is considered to be sex by most young people, there is substantial disagreement about anal and oral sex, with some respondents also counting kissing as sex (Sanders and Reinisch 1999; Pitts and Rahman 2001; Randall and Byers 2003; Richters and Song 1999; Taylor and Muscarella 2002). Peterson and Muehlenhard (2007) noted that young people's decisions about labelling an experience as 'sex' often seemed to be influenced by the consequences of applying this label. In addition, young people state that they adjust their views about what constitutes sex or sexuality by talking to peers and by paying attention to their own bodily experiences (McGeeney 2013).

These fluctuations and inconsistencies suggest that the constructs of 'sex' and 'sexuality' are more complex and fluid than some people may assume. Indeed, as I will discuss in chapter two, social constructionists (e.g. Simon and Gagnon 1973; Foucault 1978) have argued that anything has the potential to be defined and experienced as sexual. Deleuze and Guattari (1987; also see Braidotti 2013; Beckman 2011; Beckman 2013) are amongst those who have offered a radical re-theorisation of sexuality, where sexuality is about affect and connectivity, and not necessarily tied to our genitals or eroticism (see chapter two for further details).

Despite the potential to think about 'sex' and 'sexuality' in many ways, the language used by media commentators and researchers in relation to youth sexuality tends to imply that their audiences are clear on what they are referring to. Commonly the assumption tends to be that sexuality is unequivocally equated with (hetero)'sex', and that 'sex' first and foremost refers to penile-vaginal intercourse (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007). This assumption produces and reproduces narrow and heterosexist ideas about sexuality, and may be seen to counter the changing and more fluid definitions of sexuality in contemporary Western culture.

Narrow descriptions of what constitutes sex and sexuality persist in many cultural spheres. In U.K. law (see www.legislation.gov.uk), while anything that “a reasonable person” may view as sexual can be defined as such, examples that are emphasised are intercourse and genital touching. The Oxford English Dictionary (Simpson 2012) defines ‘sex’ (as it relates to a behaviour) in the following definition:

“Physical contact between individuals involving sexual stimulation; sexual activity or behaviour, *spec.* sexual intercourse, copulation. **to have sex (with)**: to engage in sexual intercourse (with).”

The focus on “intercourse” in these definitions, in addition to their linguistic link to sexed (male and female) bodies and “reproduction”, naturalises not only heterosexuality, but also a heterosexuality which prioritises penile-vaginal penetration, male ejaculation, and implicitly male pleasure. Medical language which refers to ‘sexual dysfunction’ further produces penetrative sex as ‘normal’ (Tiefer 1994; 2000; 2007; Tiefer, Hall, and Tavris 2002).

While in English and Welsh legislation on sex and relationships education (SRE) in schools the discussion of broader issues such as relationship dynamics is encouraged, only the topic of reproduction is compulsory (Department of Education 2000; Welsh Assembly Government 2010). Following this guidance, reproductive and phallogocentric definitions of ‘sex’ also continue to be reproduced in formal SRE and science classes (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998, Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. Talburt 2004; Fine and McClelland 2006; Allen 2011a; Ingham 2014; Hirst 2014). For instance, I recently came across a science book⁴ that was being used in a secondary school in the South-West of England in which sex was explicitly described as an act between a male and a female which involves the penetration of the vagina by a penis. Further, it noted that ‘sex’ involved movement of the penis by the (agential) man, and ends in male ejaculation. In the accompanying image, the man was shown in the top position. While recent popular sex education books commonly include information about clitorises and ‘normal’ female pleasures (I will return to a

⁴ This was a Key stage 3 science book in circulation in South West England in 2015.

discussion of the normalisation of certain pleasures later in this chapter; Ingham 2014; Hirst 2014), the labelling of the clitoris as a potential site of female corporal pleasure has, as was the case in the book described above, been identified as being frequently omitted in reproductive diagrams in educational science books (Diorio and Munro 2003). Not only are such discourses and depictions 'heteronormative' (Warner 1991), they also suggest that desire, pleasure, and agency are an expectation of male, but not female, sexual maturity.

1.3 Youth sexualities: Fears and fascinations

1.3.1 Young people, sexual violence, and formal education

In addition to being defined in narrow terms, youth sexualities have a long history of being represented in negative ways (Egan 2013). In the media, sex education, and research, the focus is commonly on negative outcomes such as sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unintended pregnancies (Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006; Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998; Tolman 2002; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Allen 2005; Kiely 2005; Bragg and Buckingham 2009; Allen 2011; Ingham 2014; Hirst 2014; Ollis 2014; Edwards 2016; Sundaram and Sauntson 2016). Over the last decade, there has increasingly been a focus in media discourses on levels of sexual violence. These have often been fuelled by an intense visibility of sexist bullying online (Shariff 2008) and the normalisation of sexual violence by a large section of the population (Wood 2001; Barter et al. 2004; Barter 2009; Holford 2012). Many feminist campaigners in the U.K. have published articles in which they discuss the rape threats they receive online (e.g. Criado-Perez 2013), and Donald Trump's recent election campaign in the USA has illustrated that bragging about sexual assault is constructed as a trivial male trait by a significant proportion of (American) society (Mason 2016).

The year 2015 saw the largest ever year-on-year increase in the U.K. in police reports of sexual violence (37%). A recent report commissioned by England's Children's Commissioner Anne Longfield (Silverman 2015) found that approximately one in five young women aged 18 to 25, and one in fifteen young men, reported experiencing

sexual abuse before turning 18 . Roughly 85,000 women and 12,000 men report being raped every year in the U.K. Most commonly this sexual abuse is perpetrated by male family members and in 90% of cases the perpetrator is known to the survivor. The conviction rate remains low at 6% (Silverman 2015).

While victim-blaming remains a widespread practice (Suarez and Gadalla 2010; Grubb and Turner 2012; Hayes et al. 2013; Krebs et al. 2016), intensive news reports on prominent cases of child sexual abuse (for example the Jimmy Saville case), as well as feminist projects such as the 'Slut Walks' and the 'Everyday Sexism Project', have emphasised the high levels of sexual abuse in contemporary Western societies and other countries (TUC 2016; Phipps et al. 2017). Other forms of gendered violence and inequalities, for example female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM⁵; Moruzzi 2005; Dustin 2010; Macfarlane and Dorkenoo 2015), trafficking for sexual exploitation (Voronova and Radjenovic 2016), domestic violence (Stanko 2001; Berns 2001; Walby and Allen 2004; Hester 2011; Lombard and McMillan 2012), the relative under-payment of women (Office for National Statistics 2015; also see Parken et al. 2014; 2016), and the under-representation of women in politics and leadership (Office for National Statistics 2015; also see Chaney 2008; 2011; Parken et al. 2014), have in recent years also increasingly been discussed in the mainstream media (Walsh 2016).

Sexual health services in the U.K. are increasingly struggling to cope with young people's demands. In the year 2010/2011 to 2011/2012 alone, funding to the sexual and domestic violence sector from local authorities was cut by 31%, and the vast majority of charitable organisations focused on sexual violence relating to young people (of which there are very few) have seen sharp funding cuts (Towers and Walby 2012; Robinson 2008). Although Wales provides free counselling services in secondary schools, these have been pushed to their limit by decreases in funding, high levels of sexual and gender-based violence, and increasing levels of anxiety due to increasing academic pressures (Holland 2015).

⁵ See Moruzzi 2005 and Dustin 2010 for a discussion of the complexities in addressing FGM.

Within the devolved Welsh government there tends to be a willingness to address the high levels of sexual violence. The recent ground-breaking ‘Violence Against Women, Domestic Abuse, and Sexual Violence (Wales) Bill’ (VAWDASV; Welsh Government 2015), for instance, requires Welsh schools, colleges, and universities to contribute to the reduction of non-consensual sexual acts in Wales. In addition, in 2016 the UK government published a strategy for the reduction of violence against women and girls (VAWG; www.gov.uk/government/policies). Other educational developments include the radical ‘Successful Futures’ report (Donaldson 2015), which is an independent review of curriculum and assessment arrangements in Wales. This report has recommended that schools should encourage the current and future well-being of all its pupils, including the promotion of mutually respectful relationships, and help them to become citizens who embody fairness and self-respect. This may be interpreted as an encouragement of schools to contribute to the reduction of sexual violence in Welsh communities. The ‘Best Practice Guide’, which was published in 2009 by the Welsh Assembly Government, showcases and encourages the inclusion of young people in decision-making in Welsh schools. Following on from this, Cardiff University has partnered with the office of the Children’s Commissioner, Welsh Women’s Aid, and NSPCC Cymru to create ‘AGENDA: A Young People’s Guide to Making Positive Relationships Matter’ (Renold 2016). This is an online resource co-produced with young people for young people (aged 11 to 18) on how they can safely and creatively promote gender equalities to address violence against women in their schools and communities (Renold 2016). This is a progressive development in how cross-curricular resources for the new curriculum are being produced. It includes youth-led case studies that address gender diversity through the ‘more-than-human’ (Lorimer 2013; see chapters two and five for further discussion) world, that promote feminist and LGBT youth groups in schools, and case studies that explore the potential of body movement workshops to explore healthy relationships (see the ‘Under Pressure?’ project below). In addition to these developments, the forthcoming curriculum in Wales will make Health and Wellbeing, which includes SRE, a core area of learning.

Together, these policy developments offer some real potential for feminist research to influence future SRE, and to offer creative avenues that may contribute to a reduction in gendered inequality and sexual violence. Renold (2017) has explored the use of art to communicate and raise awareness of sexual violence, and in the final parts of their paper, Holford et al. (2013) have written about the exploration of pedagogical practices which provide children with safe spaces to hold, stroke and embrace each other, or themselves, with material objects such as massage equipment. The aim of such practices is to provide children with the discursive repertoires to communicate what does and does not feel good on their bodies. Similarly, Justin Hancock (2014) has suggested the use of a handshake to explore and practice consent.

In their work on sexuality education, Alldred and Fox (2017) have pointed out that effective sexualities education should offer sexual bodies new opportunities for connection and pleasure. Several writers and researchers have made suggestions as to what such a sexuality education may look like. Kathleen Quinlivan (2014), for instance, has suggested the inclusion of artistic forms of expression, especially those that emphasise bodily pleasure, into SRE. Practices such as painting, she argues, provides a context where there are no 'right' answers.

However, while mindfulness and stillness are now taught in some schools (Crane, Jandric, Barnhofer, and Williams 2010), perhaps in part because it is considered compatible with the bodily control pervasive in schools (Youdell and Armstrong 2011), art and movement exercises are rarely regarded as educational tools outside of physical education or drama classes (Quinlivan 2014; Perry and Medina 2015). Moreover, in the current political climate of austerity (initially imposed by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition elected in May 2010, and since May 2015 by the (re)elected Conservative government), there is in practice little opportunity for educational settings to address this requirement (Towers and Walby 2012; Robinson 2008). Despite recent policy developments, and the repeated request by young people for a comprehensive sexuality education that is relevant to their lives, and that focuses on pleasure and affirmative approaches to SRE (e.g. Allen 2011a),

currently it is still the case that only the discussion of biological reproduction is mandatory within SRE legislation (Department of Education 2000; Welsh Assembly Government 2010). Consequentially, reproductive and phallocentric definitions of 'sex', as well as discourses that emphasise risk, continue to be reproduced in SRE programmes and science classes (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998, Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Fine and McClelland 2006; Allen 2011a; Ingham 2014; Hirst 2014).

1.3.2 Moral Panic: Youth sexualities and discourses of 'sexualisation' and 'pornification'

Given the high levels of sexual violence, and the inability of social services to deal with its impacts, it is not surprising that youth sexualities are commonly spoken and written about somewhat fearfully in media outlets. However, fears are also likely fuelled by cultural changes in sexual cultures in the UK since the 'second wave' of feminism (Egan and Hawkes 2010). With the wider availability of contraceptive products, sexuality has become more detached from reproduction, and there are some changing attitudes towards same-sex relationships (Ahmad and Bhugra 2010; McCormack 2012; De Boise 2015). Sexual imagery has become more easily accessible, and arguably this has led to an increase in acceptance of (some) female expressions of sexual desire (Gill 2007; Attwood 2009; Evans et al. 2010; Evans and Riley 2014). While the representation of women's bodies continues to be policed and is commonly accompanied by both 'fat-shaming' and 'skinny-shaming' (Gill 2007; Leadley 2015; Bruner et al. 2016), over the last two decades, women have rarely been portrayed as passive sexual objects. Instead, they are often depicted as empowered women who look sexy, and who adhere to dominant norms of beauty not because it appeals to men, but because it pleases *them* (Gill 2007). Adrienne Evans and Sarah Riley (2014) have noted that women can now publicly express sexual agency, as long as this expression happens to be in line with traditional notions of feminine sexiness.

These cultural changes, together with high levels of violence, have been met with a large number of media and policy documents which condemn this so-called 'sexualisation' and 'pornification' of culture, usually with a focus on the potential

negative outcomes this may have for girls and young women (e.g. Papadopoulos 2010; also see Tolman et al. 2015; Bragg 2015; Allen and Ingram 2015). The negative reactions to the CHIV's pleasure booklet are perhaps one example of how these fears manifest themselves. While anxieties relating to youth sexualities are not a new phenomenon (Egan and Hawkes 2010; Egan 2013), 'pornification' discourses in the media have increased in recent years. Over the last decade a steady stream of policy papers, news stories and opinion editorials chronicling the dangers of sexualisation have appeared in the Anglophone West (Attwood 2009; Egan 2013). Perhaps most prominently, in 2010 the U.K. government published a report compiled by Linda Papadopoulos which discussed the so-called 'Sexualisation of Young People' (Papadopoulos 2010).

However, reports on sexualisation rarely focus on issues traditionally associated with feminist approaches, such as media analyses, unequal social structures, or the impact of capitalism on young women's lives (Buckingham 2008; Gill 2007; Attwood 2009). Instead, most often authors turn their attention to individual practices, for example girls' clothing choices, and individual outcomes such as mental, physical, cognitive and relational problems (e.g. Papadopoulos 2010; Zurbriggen et al. 2007). Those perceived to be too sexual, or sexual in the wrong way (e.g. outside of a stable heterosexual relationship; engaging in sadomasochism), are often pathologised and their actions produced as wrong and even shameful. Manifestations are said to include binge drinking, eating disorders, lack of ability to form strong relationships, STIs, and early pregnancy (Egan 2013). Panics and intense media coverage relating to teen pregnancies persist despite continued reporting of the decrease in teen pregnancy rates of the last two decades (Office for National Statistics 2014).

While anxieties are particularly centred on white middle-class girls below the age of consent (Egan and Hawkes 2010; Egan 2013), the sexual behaviours of young women aged 16 to 18 also tend to be a popular topic of discussion in media outlets and policy reports. Their sexualities, for instance, are scrutinised not only in reports on teenage pregnancies, but also in those which argue for the dangers of the increase of so-called 'ladette culture' (Jackson 2006; Smith 2011). For example, in 2011 the photograph of

a young woman performing fellatio on a young man at a music festival was used in reports to illustrate how young women have become sexualised. While in many news reports, the young man was characterised as ordinary and even 'lucky', the young woman tended to be pathologised and/or victimised (Beck 2013; see Attwood 2009; Kehily and Lappe 2015; Tolman et al. 2015; Bragg 2015; Allen and Ingram 2015; Ringrose 2016; see Renold et al. 2015 for further critical discussions of 'sexualisation').

Although boys and young men are often excluded from 'sexualisation' debates, they are implicitly included in the group of those from whom young women need protection. Commonly they are produced as driven by desires for physical pleasures and as lacking interest in emotional intimacy (Egan 2013). Despite the relative dearth of empirical research and contradictory findings, young men's use of pornography, especially, is often cited as a cause for concern (McKee et al. 2008; Mulholland 2013). The focus of these concerns tends to be placed upon the potential effects pornography might have on young men's expectations of young women. In particular, pornography has been criticized for 'normalizing' stylized or 'pornified' forms of corporeality and self-representation for young women. While some have noted that the panic around pornography may be said to serve as a means of control by maintaining the status quo as to what counts as 'good' and 'normal' sex for young people (McKee et al. 2008; Mulholland 2013), academic researchers and popular commentators tend to emphasise a potential link between the increased accessibility of pornography and trends in women's self-grooming practices (specifically in shaping or removing pubic hair; e.g. Fitzpatrick 2007; Ramsey et al. 2009), as well as an increased prevalence of anal sex (e.g. Rogala and Tydén 2003; Schwyzer 2011; Mulholland 2013; Marston and Lewis 2014).

The moral panic around the 'sexualisation' and 'pornification' of young people may be said to be located within an era of general 'risk anxiety' (Giddens 1991; Jones 2001; Jones 2004; Egan 2013). Rather than born out of concerns about sexual violence or feminist desires, according to Danielle Egan (2013), 'sexualisation' and 'pornification' debates may be more reflective of wider cultural fears within rapidly changing sexual

cultures (e.g. the presentation of sex as a matter of recreation; greater acceptance of same-sex relationships; an apparent erosion of traditional authority over sexual behaviour; Weeks 2007). In addition, these fears may be born out of social changes and insecurities more generally (e.g. more women in work; less job security). The further integration of media and commerce into the ways in which intimate lives are conducted has added additional cause for concern for some (Bernstein 2007; Attwood and Smith 2011).

Following in the footsteps of the psychologist Stanley Hall (1904), who characterised adolescence as a volatile period of psychological and physiological change, young people are often positioned as particularly vulnerable to phenomena that are viewed as cultural threats, and as a danger to themselves and others. Sexuality is often viewed as a central source of this 'danger', manifested in young people's own hormonally driven bodies, especially within those of young men. In addition, in relation to sexuality, the perceived vulnerability of young people may be heightened because sex is seen to symbolically mark the boundaries between childhood and adulthood (Jones 2001; also see Janssen 2015). The liminal position of young people, in conjunction with fears around an increasingly uncertain and rapidly changing cultural context, may account for the continued widespread unease with young people's sexual practices which are broadly deemed safe (e.g. masturbation), as well as those which are not (e.g. unprotected intercourse; non-consensual sex).

1.3.3 The silences and discursive complexities surrounding youth sexual pleasures

The sections above highlight how within public debates, youth sexualities are commonly spoken about in negative terms. While the sexual pleasures of young people have in some spheres increasingly become an acceptable topic of conversation (e.g. see Orenstein 2016), the focus largely continues to fundamentally rest on negative outcomes. As I noted previously in this chapter, this negative focus is also reflected in sex education classes in the U.K. and across the Anglophone West, where pleasure and desire - especially in relation to young women - continue to be largely missing (Fine 1988; Fine and McClelland 2006; Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998, Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Allen 2005; Allen 2011a; Ingham 2014;

Edwards 2016). Within England and Wales, the teaching of sex and relationship education (SRE) beyond scientific aspects such as reproduction and STIs continues to be discretionary (Department of Education 2000; Welsh Assembly Government 2010). As I noted previously in this chapter, when pleasure is acknowledged in SRE, it tends to materialise in ways that perpetuate dominant discourses of male and female heterosexuality. For instance, male orgasms commonly emerge in discussion of puberty with reference to 'wet dreams', aligning pleasurable experiences with young men (Rolston et al. 2005).

At the same time, I have already implied that in contemporary Western culture, young women's desiring bodies are commonly represented in the media (Gill 2007; McClelland and Fine 2008; Evans et al. 2010; McClelland and Fine 2014). Often these bodies are equated with 'girl power', and are used to sell products. Some have argued that their pleasures are not only pervasive in media representations, but that they are caricatured (Fine and McClelland 2006). When female sexual pleasure is discussed directly, it is again often done so in normalising ways, for example that it is 'normal' for women to masturbate or to have wetness in their vaginas when aroused (Brick and Taverner 2001). While these discourses legitimise certain pleasures for young women, at the same time they produce certain sexual practices as something that *should* be pleasurable, not something that *might* be pleasurable. Only specific practices are commonly framed as 'naturally' pleasurable. These practices are based on a heterosexist model of sexuality, where pleasure is derived primarily from penile-vaginal penetration, as well as other forms of genital stimulation, within stable long-term relationships (Allen et al. 2014). Commonly, pleasure is implicitly produced as clear-cut and individualised for both women and men (McClelland 2011; Allen et al. 2014).

However, while the pleasures of young men are implicitly produced as relatively straightforward, the pleasures of young women occupy a more complicated position in public discourses. Broadly speaking, young men are expected to easily experience pleasure, as well as – once 'sexuality active' – to display experience in coaxing sexual pleasure from their partner (Farvid and Braun 2006). Failure on either of these counts

risks masculine status. Young women, on the other hand, are caught within ambiguous discourses of 'sexualisation' and 'girl power'. They are produced as sexually innocent, but are also expected to both want and achieve the 'right' sexual pleasures (e.g. 'real' rather than performed or caricatured; within stable heterosexual relationships), while concurrently not appearing 'slutty' (Aapola et al. 2005).

1.4 Researching youth sexualities

Over the last few decades, much of the research on young people's sexualities has reflected wider discourses which focus on negative outcomes such as STIs and unintended pregnancies. It is research with such foci which attracts the majority of the funding. As an indication, searching on Google Scholar (on the 15th of February 2017) for publications containing the words "'young people', 'sexual' and 'risk'", or "'young people', 'sexual' and 'health'" reveals 817,000 and 932,000 results respectively, whereas searching for publications which contain the words "'young people', 'sexual' and 'pleasure'" reveals only 123,000 results.

As I noted previously in this chapter, within the feminist literature on youth sexualities, there has increasingly been an interest in sexual pleasure. Most notably, Deborah Tolman's (2002) influential academic book 'Dilemmas of Desire', and more recently, Peggy Orenstein's (2016) populist book 'Girls and Sex', have explored young women's experiences of sexual pleasure in the USA. In her doctoral work, Ester McGeeney (2013) explored pleasure with young women and men in the U.K. As I will argue in chapter two, when pleasure has been emphasised in sexuality research with young people, especially with young women, it has commonly emerged only with difficulty and in hidden places (e.g. McClelland and Fine 2008; Tolman 2002). Much of the feminist research has aimed at normalising sexual pleasure for young women. It has mostly drawn on normative definitions of sex and sexual pleasure, with a heavy focus on genital stimulations. McClelland and Fine (2008) have argued that the difficulties of tapping into pleasure encountered by previous researchers may at least in part be due to the inability of established social science methodologies (e.g.

surveys; structured interviews) to allow for experiences to emerge which go beyond dominant sexual discourses that emphasise risk and danger.

In recent years, a number of publications have emphasised the importance of highlighting experiences which exceed normative notions of (hetero)sexuality and sexual pleasure (Lambevski 2004; Renold and Ringrose 2008; Fox and Alldred 2013; Renold and Ivinson 2014). This strand of scholarship avoids creating binaries between pleasure and pain, or real and performed pleasures. Instead, it is built on an assumption that young people's experiences are far more complex than such binaries suggest.

In my project, in order to address the complexities of young people's sexual subjectivities, I emphasise young people's lived experiences. I am especially interested in moments of rupture, where young people's experiences appear to go beyond normative discourses of gender and youth sexualities. Given the negativity attached to normative discourses, I foreground pleasure. This, I theorise, will allow me to explore pleasurable experiences, as well as the negative ones. By focusing on what feels sexual and pleasurable to young people themselves, I aim to open up what may count as 'sex' and sexual pleasure. I pay attention to what different pleasures *do*, especially the ways in which they solidify, or challenge and move, normative and oppressive notions of gender and sexuality.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, theoretically I take inspiration from feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (Grosz 1994; Braidotti 2013). While Deleuze and Guattari rejected the political potential of sexual pleasure (as cited in Beckman 2013) and argued that it has been co-opted by capitalism, in this thesis I illustrate the rupturing potential of pleasure. As this chapter has suggested, for young people, and young women in particular, sexual pleasure is not straightforwardly accepted, and may indeed be seen as radical.

In my project, I use Deleuze and Guattari's (1983; 1987) concept of 'becoming' to think about sexual subjectivity as always in motion rather than fixed. Their concept

of 'assemblage' allows researchers to think of such motion as emerging within a set (or 'machine') of fluctuating relations between a wide range of bodies, materials, contexts, ideas, 'affects' (see next paragraph), and discourses. My project explores the stabilisation – the 'territorialisation' – of youth sexual subjectivities, for instance by dominant sexual discourses. However, it also explores moments which offer a temporary destabilisation – or 'deterritorialisation' - from this territorialisation (see chapter two for a more extended introduction to these concepts).

Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) used the Spinozist notion of 'affect' to refer to the changes that occur when different bodies or elements come into contact. Affect is produced in the body as 'intensities' that are located outside the discourse of emotions or representation of feelings (Blackman et al. 2008; Blackman and Venn 2010). According to feminist writers such as Rosi Braidotti (1994; 2013), these affects and intensities are not straightforward. Their workings are complex and are felt in a profound way. In studying these experiences, my thesis maps some of the complex ways in which dominant discourses of youth sexuality are both embodied and exceeded.

While to the Deleuzo-Guattarian scholar, my use of their concepts may at times appear somewhat underdeveloped, my thesis will illustrate how Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts aided my exploration of the multiplicities of young people's (sexual) experiences. They allowed me to map youth sexual subjectivities in, at times, unconventional and rupturing ways. It is this creative potential, which for me, like for many others (e.g. Kaufman 2004) including Deleuze and Guattari themselves (1983; 1987), justifies their use.

1.5 Aims and research questions

Deleuze and Guattari's (1983; 1987) processual theory of subjectivity, as well as their theory of sexuality as free-floating energy, are especially helpful in meeting the broad aim of my thesis to contribute to a shift in sexuality research away from a specific set of practices which we have come to accept and understand as 'sex', and towards

bodily sensations as they are felt. As I noted earlier in this chapter, in my project, I explore the complexities of young people's experiences of sexuality⁶ and bodily pleasure as felt, understood, and communicated by young people themselves. As chapters two and three will illustrate in greater detail, my approach has not been explored extensively in previous research. Indeed, it may be said to be specific to this project. In line with the feminist approach of my project, I emphasise the input from the young people who took part in the research. Rather than creating hypotheses or approaching the research with specific expectations, I remained open-minded with regards to the ways in which the research could unfold. From these broad aims, as well as my engagement with participants and the literature, I developed a set of three specific research question, one of which has two sub-questions:

- 1) How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?
 - a. To what extent and in what ways are young people's sexual subjectivities affected by normative and gendered discourses surrounding (youth) sexuality, both in relation to sex and in relation to other practices?

⁶ Throughout my thesis, I use the term 'sexuality' to refer to a concept, a field of study, or an identity that within normative discourses is linked to genital arousal and gendered bodies, but which may also be re-imagined as something else, for example a free-floating energy that emerges in all connections and which is productive (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987; see chapter two).

I use the term 'sex' (when referring to the practice rather than the gendered category) throughout the thesis to refer to practices that are manifestations of 'sexuality'. I noted earlier in this chapter that I will use inverted commas throughout this thesis when I refer to 'sex', so as to highlight its constructed nature.

I use the term 'sexual' throughout this thesis to describe events, expressions, or experiences of 'sexuality'. Hence, using normative language, something 'sexual' would relate to events, expressions, or experiences that are tied to genitals and gendered bodies. However, using a Deleuzo-Guattarian conceptualisation of sexuality, it may also refer to a sense of connectivity and becoming-other. I acknowledge the normative definition of 'sexual' throughout my thesis, but each time I use it, I remain aware of its constructed nature, and of its potential to change and be and become something else.

- b. To what extent and in what ways do young people's experiences exceed, affect, and move normative and gendered understandings of (youth) sexuality?
- 2) How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond 'sex', and map the complexities of young people's lived (sexual) experiences?
- 3) How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts within youth sexuality research contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the field?

I will implicitly address these research questions throughout my thesis, and will respond to them directly in the final chapter.

1.6 Chapter summary and thesis outline

In this introductory chapter I have outlined the cultural context in which my project emerged. I illustrated how within contemporary culture in the Anglophone West, sexuality is produced as risky and dangerous for young people, especially for young women. I also illustrated how such negative discourses co-exist with discourses which produce specific pleasures and practices as 'normal'. In chapter two I outline my theoretical approach in more detail and discuss previous research in the field of youth sexualities. Chapter three develops my methodological approach. Chapters four to six are empirical chapters, and chapter seven comprises my discussion and conclusions. I introduce these chapters in the sections below.

Chapter Two

In chapter two I discuss research that has explored young people's experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure, as well as a range of theoretical approaches to youth sexualities. I begin by outlining early social constructionist and discursive approaches. These approaches tend to imply that sexual discourses act to produce and reproduce

gendered inequalities. I argue that by using discursive, as well as psychological, approaches, and by drawing on normative definitions of 'sex', previous research may have unintentionally reproduced dominant understandings of what counts as sexuality. I also suggest that in order for sexuality to become disentangled from (hetero)gendered power, we need to allow ourselves and our research participants to re-imagine, to queer, the very core of what sex is. In the second part of the chapter I explore how feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, and their theory of sexuality, may help us to do just that. I outline Deleuze and Guattari's ontological approach and introduce the reader in more detail to feminist appropriations of the concepts of 'becoming', 'assemblage', territorialisation', 'deterritorialisation', and 'affect'. I also discuss sexuality research which has used these concepts.

Chapter Three

In chapter three the reader is introduced to the 'research-assemblage' (Fox and Alldred 2014; 2015): the different elements which assembled to produce my methodology. This includes the participants (N=36; 19 young women, 17 young men, aged 16 to 18), the three schools where my research was based, and the three phases of my data production. The latter included the following methods: in stage one, 36 participants took part in group discussions which included an object sorting task. This incorporated both objects related to normative understandings of 'sex' and objects relating to practices associated with bodily pleasure more broadly. In stage two, 24 out of the initial 36 participants took part in interviews which incorporated 'pleasure objects' that participants had brought in themselves. In stage three, ten out of those 24 participants took part in creative methods such as the production of collages, video clips, drawings and creative writing.

Chapter Four

Chapter four is the first of three empirical chapters. This chapter explores young people's experiences of their encounters with other human bodies, especially those encounters normatively defined as 'sex'. The chapter highlights how within encounters with other people - especially those normatively defined as 'sex' - young

people often appeared to be striated and limited by violence, achievement discourses, and the objectification of bodies. Young women's bodies, especially, often appeared limited in their possibilities for pleasure. The chapter illustrates how youth sexual subjectivities are shaped by the discourses I discussed in this chapter. However, the chapter also highlights moments of rupture and 'alternative figurations' of youth sexuality (Braidotti 1994), which Braidotti (1994, p.113) describes as "modes of expressing affirmative ideas, thus displacing the vision of consciousness away from the phallogocentric mode".

Chapter Five

In chapter five I extend my exploration of young people's experiences of sexuality to their relations with objects and other non-human elements such as discourses and technology. The chapter illustrates how affective capacities and sexual experiences are in no way limited to human relations. Specifically, the chapter illustrates how young people's sexual subjectivities and experiences are shaped by both human and non-human (or 'more-than-human'; Lorimer 2013; see chapter two) elements, and how participants' relations with objects, media, and technology can be associated with immense pleasures. At times, more so than the human encounters discussed in chapter four, such relations seemed to have the capacity to temporarily free young people's sexual bodies from the pressures linked to dominant notions of gender and sexuality.

Chapter Six

The final empirical chapter is themed around movement. I explore young people's pleasures as they emerge through bodily movement, and how such movement opened up possibilities for deterritorialisation from dominant notions of gender and sexuality. The chapter shows how when bodies moved through/within space, they were often shaped and affected by gendered achievement discourses. However, bodily movements could also offer possibilities for the deterritorialisation of young people's bodies from (hetero)sexist discourses. This possibility appeared to be particularly significant for young women. Indeed, often movement allowed young women to experience, and to pay attention to, an array of bodily sensations.

Movement opened up possibilities for some young women to feel sexy, powerful, connected and/or free. The chapter concludes that, using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, we can begin to recognise sexuality not as tied to specific practices or tied to genitals, but as associated with affect and connectivity, and as latent within the movement of relations within assemblages.

Chapter Seven

In the final chapter I summarise my conclusions and discuss how the data that emerged through the young people's engagement with the research addresses my research questions. I argue that the data that I presented throughout the empirical chapters not only point to the substantive contribution of my project to the field of youth sexualities, but also illustrates how my methodological approach advances the field of critical sexuality studies, as well as assemblage research. Indeed, this may be viewed as the most substantial contribution of my work. In the final parts of the chapter, I explore how my project might impact on educational policy and practices, and make some suggestions for future research.

Chapter Two

Mapping the academic field of youth sexualities: A journey through ideas and practices

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the research literature in the field of youth sexualities, and offer an introduction to the theoretical underpinnings that frame my project. Given the broad focus of my research, and the complexities of the theories that I worked with, my overview is inevitably non-exhaustive. My theoretical overview, in particular, is limited to the concepts and ideas that were useful for the purposes of my study. Nonetheless, it is a long chapter, and I have therefore divided it into two parts. While I considered presenting the theoretical and empirical literature separately, I chose to combine it here, mainly because my research questions are weaved through, and emerge within, both parts. Moreover, I chose to interweave the theoretical and the empirical literature here, in order to illustrate the ways in which theory informs the capacities and limitations of research.

In the first part of the chapter, I provide an overview of the (feminist) empirical literature on young people's experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure, and the theoretical approaches that underpin much of this work. The majority of this work has been situated within the fields of critical psychology and sociology, and has drawn on social constructionist and/or discursive theories. It is this work which I focus on here. In order to introduce the reader to the theoretical underpinnings of much of the feminist work in the field, and after a brief introduction to the wider body of research in the field of youth sexualities, I begin the chapter by providing a brief summary to social constructionist and discursive theories. I then explore what the feminist literature conveys about youth sexualities. In particular, I highlight how this research has reported gendered inequalities in the ways in which young people experience sexuality and sexual pleasure. However, feminist researchers (e.g. McClelland and Fine 2008; Renold and Ringrose 2008) have increasingly pointed to the shortcomings of the existing literature in accounting for complexity and

‘alternative figurations’⁷ (Braidotti 1994) of youth sexualities. I will argue that in part this may be due to the psychological and discursive theories that underpin much of this work. While these studies do commonly explore counter-hegemonic discourses, many risk falling into a trap of either biological or discursive determinism. I argue that by using and reproducing normative definitions of sexuality and sexual pleasure, this body of work has been limited in its capacity to allow it to become something else; something less tied to (hetero)sexist definitions.

In the second part of the chapter, I explore conceptual tools which were useful in my endeavour to research sexuality with young people in such a way that allows experiences to emerge that exceed narrow and normative discourses of youth sexualities. I will argue that feminist appropriations of the Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts of ‘affect’, ‘becoming’, ‘assemblage’, ‘territorialisation’, and ‘deterritorialisation’ are useful in understanding the complexities of young people’s experiences of sexuality and pleasure. I argue that these concepts may enable research that contributes to social change, because they offer a framework for experiences which are captured by dominant discourse, as well as those which exceed such discourses. Through highlighting both gendered patterns and ‘alternative figurations’ (Braidotti 1994), a Deleuzo-Guattarian approach allows us as researchers, as well as our young research participants, to enable youth sexuality and the (hetero)sexism it is attached to, to become-other, without denying its current problems.

The second part of the chapter begins by introducing the reader to Deleuze and Guattari’s alternative theory of sexuality, where sexuality is viewed as a free-floating and productive energy that is everywhere, but that has been limited to mean only certain things. I then discuss the capacities of feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to open up how we may think about youth sexualities. In the final part of the chapter, I introduce the reader to the small but growing body of

⁷ As I noted in chapter one, Braidotti (1994, p.113) describes ‘alternative figurations’ as “modes of expressing affirmative ideas, thus displacing the vision of consciousness away from the phallogocentric mode”.

research in the field of youth sexualities that has used feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts. While none of this research has specifically focused on pleasure, it provides some initial insight into the capacities of these concepts to explore both gendered inequalities and 'alternative figurations' (Braidotti 1994) of youth sexualities.

Part One: Doing 'Sex': Youth sexualities, the discursive, and gendered experiences

2.2 Introducing research on young people's sexual experiences

While in this chapter I focus on the feminist literature on youth sexualities, in order to contextualise this research, I will begin by offering the reader a very brief synthesis of the wider academic field of youth sexualities. Much of this research is situated within the fields of medicine and mainstream psychology. I was introduced to some of this work when I was studying (mainstream) psychology for my undergraduate and postgraduate degrees, where I took a keen interest in gender and sexuality.

Mekeda Gerressu and Judith Stephenson (2008) synthesised research findings on young people's sexual behaviours, and reported that the themes covered most commonly were by far STI transmission, 'risk-taking', and intervention studies on how to reduce STI transmission, followed by victimisation in relationships. In most studies, pleasure featured only as a footnote, if at all. The majority of articles used medical and normalising language. While research included both quantitative and qualitative research, most used quantitative research methods, which prioritises generalising statistics over nuance. Generalising statements included, for example, the assumption that teen pregnancies are always a negative outcome, and that delaying sexual activity is always positive (also see Allen et al. 2014). Gerressu and Stephenson (2008) noted that young people's lived experiences of sexuality tended to be largely absent from research. In a more recent study, the influential National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyle (NATSAL) also used quantitative methods to focus on

levels of unwanted pregnancies, STIs, 'sexual functioning', and non-consensual sex in the general U.K. population (Burkill et al. 2016).

During my undergraduate and postgraduate studies in psychology, I often felt disillusioned by the ways in which sexual desire and specific sexual practices were, within a vast section of the sexuality literature, naturalised, for instance by referring to evolutionary theory. This 'naturalisation' of sexuality has its roots in social purity, sexual hygiene, and the psychoanalytical movements of the first half of the 20th Century. Within these movements, certain (hetero)sexual practices were framed as 'normal' and 'healthy', but others, for example non-heterosexual relations, as 'perverse' and even 'dangerous' (Egan 2013).

2.3 Early social constructionist and discursive theories of sexuality

In my own time, and in the early phases of my doctoral work, I began to read sociological approaches to the study of 'sex' and sexuality. Many of the early sociological theories took a social constructionist or discursive approach to sexuality. While I do not directly use these theories in my own research, several of them warrant an introduction here due to their historical significance for Deleuzo-Guattarian theory (which I discuss in part two of this chapter). Moreover, since many feminist sexuality researchers have drawn on them, it is necessary to have an understanding of them in order to discuss the feminist literature on youth sexualities in a meaningful way.

2.3.1 Sexual scripts and heteronormativity

In chapter one I noted how despite the fluidity in the ways in which sexuality is defined by young people in contemporary Western culture (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007), those definitions of sexuality that are most widely accepted are those which are tied to heterosexuality, our genitals, and gendered bodies. 'Real' sex is still often defined as an act between an active male and a passive female, and as vaginal intercourse which ends with male orgasm (Jackson 1996; Sanders and Reinisch 1999; Pitts and Rahman 2001; Richters and Song 1999; Taylor and

Muscarella 2002; Randall and Byers 2003; Braun et al. 2003; Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007)

In the second half of the 20th Century, sociologists began to challenge these normative assumptions. Simone de Beauvoir (1949 [2014]), Luce Irigaray (1974 [1985a]; 1977 [1985b]), Monique Wittig (1980; 1982), and Adrienne Rich (1980) were amongst those who theorised that gender, sex, and sexuality are socially constructed, and who questioned how the ways in which they are constructed benefits patriarchal structures. Dominant definitions of 'sex', they argued, may be viewed not only as heteronormative, but also as prioritising male pleasure.

In their ground-breaking social constructionist work on sexuality, John Gagnon and William Simon (1973; 1987; 2003) popularised this shift away from essentialist notions of sexuality that had dominated the sociological field for decades. According to Simon and Gagnon, nothing in life is intrinsically sexual. Rather, anything could attain sexual significance given a specific social context. Sexual life, they argued, is subject to "socio-cultural moulding" (1973: 26). Further, they argued that, although there may be interpersonal and intrapsychic differences in their enactment, sexual practices are largely predefined by (hetero)sexist social scripts that define how sex should happen. Although items such as lingerie or porn magazines might incite desire, such a response is not intrinsic but learned. From this point of view the dominant sexual discourses that I discussed in chapter one could be interpreted as cultural resources which shape our understanding not only of what 'sex' is, but also how it should happen, including for young people.

Simon and Gagnon found that 'normal sex' is defined as heterosexual and the cultural resource for how (hetero)sex should happen is as follows: "Kissing, tongue kissing, manual and oral caressing of the body, particularly the female breasts, manual and oral contacts with both the female and male genitalia, usually in this sequence, followed by intercourse in a number of positions" (Gagnon and Simon 1987: 2). Virginia Braun, Nicola Gavey, and Kathryn McPhillips (2003) noted that while alternative discursive spaces do increasingly exist, there continues to be not only a

culture of 'heteronormativity' (Warner 1991), but also a 'coital imperative' in heterosexual relationships (Jackson 1996; Sanders and Reinisch 1999; Richters and Song 1999; Pitts and Rahman 2001; Randall and Byers 2003; Taylor and Muscarella 2002; Tolman 2002; Braun et al. 2003; Tolman 2006; Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007; Richardson 2010; Richardson 2016). Heteronormativity is noticeable in children's cultures even in their early primary school years (Renold 2004).

Wendy Hollway (1984; 1989) identified three overarching discourses in accounts of heterosexual sex: (i) a male sexual drive discourse, where men, once aroused, are seen to *need* to orgasm, (ii) a have/hold discourse, where women act as gatekeepers of male sexuality, and (iii) a permissive discourse, in which sexual activity is good and right for both women and men, and anything goes, as long as no one gets hurt. These discourses have also surfaced in more recent research with young people (e.g. Tolman 2002; McGeeney 2013).

Wittig (1980) and Rich (1980) argued that there is a link between normative sexual scripts and gendered inequality. They argued that the concept of sexual deviance serves as a means to stigmatise non-conformists and to upkeep the patriarchal social order. In her writings on 'compulsory heterosexuality'⁸, Rich (1980) argued that heterosexuality is a political institution which keeps women oppressed, and that seemingly 'normal' heterosexual practices such as marriage are in fact a socialisation that people have internalised.

Feminist writers (e.g. Kitzinger 1992; Epstein et al. 2003) have long argued that within dominant sexual discourses, gendered inequality and sexual violence is conceptualised as 'natural'. In this view, sexual violence may be viewed as a means of maintaining dominance and control over women, with cultural ideas of masculinity, femininity, and heterosexuality supporting and enabling gendered violence (Stanko 1985; Kitzinger 1992; Hester et al. 1995; Holford 2012; Coy et al.

⁸ The concepts of compulsory heterosexuality may be viewed as a forerunner to 'heteronormativity', a term popularised by Michael Warner in 1991 (Warner 1991).

2013). While sexual violence is in contemporary Western culture often professed to be unacceptable, underlying assumptions continue to construct it as normative from an early age (Barter et al. 2004; Barter 2009; McCarry and Lombard 2016). What is more, the construction of women as *sexually* passive has been linked to their construction as passive more generally. This in turn has been linked to their exclusion from high-standing public positions, which are generally seen to require agency and dominance (Fine and McClelland 2006b).

In her influential work on children and sexuality, Stevi Jackson (1982) noted that children tend to be excluded from sexual discourses. Jenny Kitzinger (1988), Debbie Epstein and Richard Johnson (Epstein and Johnson 1998), and Fine and McClelland (2006b) have all argued that the construction of childhood as innocent and pre-(hetero)sexual, positions young people in a particularly precarious and liminal position where sexual identities and experiences are seen to be newly established.

2.3.2 Foucault's History of Sexuality

In the early stages of my doctoral studies, like many critical sexuality scholars, I was particularly influenced by two theories that further developed social constructionist theories of sexuality: Michel Foucault's discourse theory, including his writings on the history of sexuality (1978), and Judith Butler's (1991) theory of performativity. These theories were crucial in the development of my project. What is more, since many researchers in the academic field of youth sexualities have drawn on these theories to make sense of their findings, discussion of these theories is vital if we are to think critically about previous research.

Foucault's writings on the 'History of Sexuality', especially volume one, entitled 'Will to Knowledge' (Foucault 1978), acknowledges the historicity of sexual discourses. In his study, Foucault explored the evolving social, economic, and political forces that have shaped our attitudes to sexuality. Foucault argued that sexuality is "an imaginary element" (1978: 156) which is produced through discourses, or 'systems of knowledge'. These, in turn, are constructed by loosely structured combinations of concepts, concerns, and types of statements termed 'discursive formations'. Such

discourses govern the ways in which sexuality can, at a particular historical moment, be meaningfully thought, talked, and reasoned about. This regulation, he argued, is determined by, and serves, those who have power, for example white adult men who identify as heterosexual. According to Foucault, subjectivities are shaped by regulating discourses because people necessarily position themselves in relation to them and internalise a disciplinary gaze. Subjectivity, then, is the experience of the lived multiplicity of positionings (Blackman et al. 2008). In this sense, Foucault argued that discourses shape people's experiences of the self and the body, including experiences of sexuality and pleasure.

In line with anti-essentialist notions of sexuality, Foucault contested the idea that sexuality is repressed in post-Victorian culture. In contrast, he argued that from the 17th Century, sex became a constant preoccupation for those wanting to control populations. This resulted in a multiplication of sexual discourses on an institutional level such as the medical professions, and the construction of sex as an essential part of our identity. Because sex became so integral to our understanding of who we are, Foucault argued that it now had the capacity to act as a dense transfer point for relations of power. Normalising discourses, he argued, functioned, and continue to function, to ensure the maintenance of compulsory heterosexuality.

According to Foucault, then, the dominant discourses relating to young people's sexualities described in chapter one are not a coincidence. They serve the specific aims of controlling and oppressing women and young people. Foucault argued that one of the most essential operating systems for maintaining a patriarchal and heterosexual social order is the 'naturalisation' and embodiment of specific sexual desires. Accordingly, the constitution of sex as naturally desirable establishes a widespread belief that by demanding liberation from sources which repress sex we free ourselves. However, in actual fact, our alignment with sexual discourses ties us to power and the hetero(sexist) deployment of sexuality even further. People's desires, including the desires of young people, are captured by the dominant (hetero)sexist discourses discussed in chapter one, and channelled in ways which

reproduce the social order. Sexual desire is therefore in no way to be described as a natural drive disobedient to power, but instead as entangled with it.

2.3.3 Queer theory: Butler's heterosexual matrix

Butler (1991) drew on Foucault's theory of subjectivity, and proposed that gendered identity does not precede actions. Instead, she argued, it is the result of the repeated performance of behaviours which dominant discourses define as masculine or feminine. Butler (1991) argued that gender and sexuality are linked through a 'heterosexual matrix', with the illusionary stability of gendered identities relying on the performance of heterosexuality. As such, for bodies to make sense there must be a stable sex, expressed through a stable gender that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality. People's enactment of heterosexual behaviour and desire is thus essential to the maintenance of gender binaries. The dominant sexual discourses I discussed in chapter one therefore shape young people's sexual behaviours, but at the same time these discourses are also shaped and maintained by the performance of (young) people.

2.3.4 Significance of Butler's and Foucault's theories to my study

The work of Foucault (1978) and Butler (1991) has been used extensively in feminist research on youth sexualities, and was also significant in the development of my project. In reading Foucault, I, like many critical sexuality scholars, became interested in thinking about how the sexual discourses that I discussed in chapter one are implicated in the ways in which young people experience sexuality and sexual pleasure. This is reflected in research question 1a: ***“To what extent and in what ways are young people's sexual subjectivities affected by normative and gendered discourses surrounding (youth) sexuality, both in relation to sex and in relation to other practices?”***.

However, as the following sections will illustrate, Foucault's theory may be said to be limited in exploring those experiences which exceed the discursive (McNay 1994). Although in his later work Foucault (1982) acknowledged that the body appears to

exceed its discursive construction (also see Butler 1999), in much of his work discourse appears to be all-encompassing, shaping actions and minds in their entirety. In this way, the complexities of experiences that are felt in our bodies, is somewhat lost. I will return to this point later in this chapter.

While Butler's theories were perhaps less influential than Foucault in the development of my specific research questions, her work was nonetheless hugely influential in the overall development of my project. Butler's theory, with its linkage of sexuality and gender, is relevant to my thesis not only because it renders gender and sexuality inherently unstable, but also because it highlights the enmeshment of dominant understandings of gender and sexuality. It indicates that any change in our understanding of sexuality may affect our understanding of gender, and vice versa. By challenging the construct of sexuality as it is normatively defined, we may also challenge the construct of gender, and hence unequal power relations between young women and young men. Conversely, by challenging normative definitions of gender, dominant notions of (hetero)sexuality are also potentially ruptured.

After reading Butler's early work (1990; 1993; 1999), I started thinking about the instability of dominant constructs of sexuality, and began to wonder how, as researchers, we may contribute to a movement where sexuality is allowed to become something less tied to (hetero)sexual norms. However, while Butler's theory of performativity highlights possibilities of resistance to dominant discourses, like Foucault's work, for Butler subjectivity is also tied to the discursive. According to Butler, all we can do is work critically with the systems that produce us as subjects. To perform as 'queer', for instance, is to deviate from expected norms, and to demand recognition for that which until now has not been culturally recognised. Queer performances are always defined in relation to, and dependant on, the normative: the heterosexual, the masculine and the feminine (Colebrook, 2009; Hickey-Moody and Rasmussen 2009). In this way, while Butler's Queer Theory has contributed to the explanation and creation of new sexual realities and has over the last two decades been developed and shaken up by Butler herself (Butler 2004; 2015) and others (including those working with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts; e.g. see

Nigianni and Storr 2005), its concepts (e.g. parody) still retain a necessary reference to the straight-laced (Massumi 2002).

2.4 Social constructionist, discursive, and psychological research on youth sexualities

Before returning to the development of my theoretical approach, I will introduce the reader to the feminist research - mainly (although not exclusively) that which has drawn on social constructionist and discursive theories – which has explored youth sexualities. Whilst from a wide variety of academic positions, generally this research has been underpinned by the theory that the inequalities young women face within their own sexual cultures are not inevitable. Instead, it is assumed that the sexual norms that are linked to gendered inequalities in power, status, agency, and sexual violence, have been socially and discursively constructed. Since research that is underpinned by social constructionist and discursive theories makes up the majority of feminist studies that are situated in the academic field of youth sexualities, this section may be viewed as outlining the (feminist) academic community's current 'knowledge' and assumptions about youth sexualities, and particularly sexual pleasure.

While it may be somewhat unconventional to interweave theory with empirical research in a single chapter, I chose this path with the intention of demonstrating the ways in which theory affects how youth sexualities may emerge in research. I will begin by outlining empirical and theoretical research that has explored how and where young people learn about sexuality, before discussing what the feminist literature conveys about young people's experiences of sexuality and pleasure.

2.4.1 How and where is 'sex' constructed for and by young people?

I argued in chapter one that youth sexuality is constructed in narrow ways in public discourses, and SRE and science classes. In this section I build on that argument to explore how research suggests that sexuality is constructed for and by young people in multiple spheres. I begin by exploring the role of schools, and then explore the role

of the media, as well as the more hidden spaces where young people learn about sexuality.

2.4.1.1 Young people, sexuality, and schools

In her extensive early work on young people's sexualities, Louisa Allen (2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2007) used Foucauldian discursive analysis to argue that within contemporary Western cultures, understandings of youth sexualities are shaped by discourses of 'privacy', 'shame', 'guilt', 'danger' and 'pleasure' in complex and contradictory ways. Allen (2005) argues that schools are one of the sites in which meanings about sexuality are discursively constituted and perpetuated for young people. Accordingly, schools reflect and constitute the broader socio-political discourses in operation (Ferfolja 2008), and discourses of sexuality are constituted and propagated through a multitude of schooling structures and processes. This includes the curriculum for formal SRE, although schools are also sites of learning for young people in less formal ways.

In relation to the curriculum for SRE, as I noted in chapter one, the knowledge included (and excluded) from this curriculum (as guided by official policy; Department of Education 2000; Welsh Assembly Government 2010) may be viewed as serving as a mechanism by which dominant (e.g. biological) discourses of sexuality are promoted or relegated (Allen 2005). In this way, the focus on negative outcomes such as unwanted pregnancies and STIs which I discussed in chapter one may be seen as combining and competing with sexual discourse in wider society to offer young people particular ways of being sexual and gendered subjects. While SRE teachers are increasingly willing to address diverse topics (Ollis 2014), the positions available for young women, in particular, are limited in that sexuality for them continues to be produced as risky. This is especially the case for those young women who do not fulfil the requirements of the 'good' (e.g. middle-class, heterosexual, monogamous, family-oriented) sexual reproductive citizen (Robinson 2012; Macleod and Vincent 2014). Young women from working-class and travelling communities, for instance, are commonly implicitly depicted as victims of premature sexualisation and male

oppression (Skeggs 1997; Walkerdine et al. 2001; Walkerdine and Ringrose 2006; Jensen and Ringrose 2014).

Any efforts in formal sex education classes which propagate sexual equality are pitted against a wider schooling context in which competition and hierarchy are cherished. Young people may be viewed as unable to exist outside of competition (Paechter 2002; Ollis 2014). Relations within the school context are highly heterosexualised, and there has been much research into the school as a site for sexual harassment, and abuse based on gender and sexuality. This gendered and sexualised abuse is found in early years education (Blaise 2005), continues throughout the primary school years (Renold 2004; 2013) and into the secondary school (Duncan 1999; Ringrose and Renold 2010; Ringrose 2011; Pascoe 2014)

2.4.1.2 Sexual learning beyond schools

Of course, the school is by no means the only site where unequal gendered and sexual relations are played out: relationships that may (or may not) originate in school are carried through into other spaces, and vice versa. Mary Jane Kehily (1999), Lynda Measor (2004), Sara Bragg and David Buckingham (2009), Amy Bleakly and colleagues (Bleakley et al. 2009), and Allen (2011) all found that young people acknowledge a wide variety of sources in how they learn about sexuality (also see Allen et al. 2014). This includes family, friends, music, television, films, magazines, and the internet, including pornography and social networking sites. In her recent doctoral research, McGeeney (2013) also noted the impact of community workers such as youth workers, and I already noted in chapter one how young people may change their definitions of 'sex' based on their sexual interactions with other young people (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007; McGeeney 2013). These relations all come together to inform how young people come to understand what counts as 'sex'.

McGeeney (2013) found that young people also have access to a range of discursive frameworks for making distinctions for what counts as 'good' and 'bad' sex. While sex in long-term relationships is commonly implied to be the ideal in SRE and the media (Robinson 2012; Macleod and Vincent 2014), these understandings are not

uniform. They vary according to the context in which an individual is questioned, as well as a person's specific background, including their gender identity, class, ethnic and religious background. Discourses of purity, for instance, might have more clout for those from strictly Christian backgrounds (Egan 2013), whereas those which hail individualised pleasures might speak in particularly deep ways to those from consumerist cultures (Rasmussen 2014).

Youth sexualities and the media

Anita Harris (2008) has noted that there is a range of sexual knowledges available within media outlets. Several writers have commented that, due to the focus on eroticised bodies rather than lived sexual experience, within the media, female sexuality is often linked with appearances (e.g. Gill 2007; 2008). This focus on appearance, as well as portrayals of heterosexual romance, tend to link feminine sexuality with consumption (Harris 2004; Fine and McClelland 2006b; Gill 2007; Gill 2008; Hulme 2016). Whilst increasing in TV shows such as the series 'Orange is the New Black', the portrayal of gay sexual relationships is still relatively unusual, and tends to co-exists with heteronormative assumptions (Buckingham and Bragg 2004; Saraceno and Tambling 2013; Lenskyj 2013; Hulme 2016). At the same time, Harris (2008) notes that online spaces, in particular, offer young women a wide variety of opportunities for learning about sexuality and expressing their sexual experiences.

While young people, and young women in particular, are sometimes implicitly produced as passive and innocent beings who need to be protected (see chapter one), this view has been challenged recently by scholars in the field of youth studies. Bragg and Buckingham (Buckingham and Bragg 2003; Buckingham and Bragg 2004; Bragg and Buckingham 2009), for example, promote a view of young people as autonomous, streetwise, and able to stand up for themselves. Contrary to popular belief, Bragg and Buckingham (2009), and more recently Emma Renold and Jessica Ringrose (2016), found that, rather than being passive viewers or a blank canvas, young people engage with sexual media critically. They are able to engage with information discerningly, including information about pleasure, which is often unavailable to them in other areas of their lives.

Harris (2008) notes that the ways in which young people may share experiences of sexuality and pleasure are context-dependent. The internet and zines for example may offer opportunities to act as marginal spaces in which young women can share desire and pleasure. Scarleteen, for example, is a feminist blog and website for young people with a large collection of responses from readers to a variety of questions that are related to relationships and sexuality. Harris (2004; 2008) explains that within these sites, some young women are able to engage in unregulated dialogue and debate with one another, to generate their own meanings and terminologies around sexual desire, and to respond with creativity and wit to the uses to which desire discourses are put. Similarly, in their recent research on photographic tagging on social networking sites, Renold and Ringrose (2016; also see Keller et al. 2016; Retallack et al. 2016) noted that while online spaces may offer new forms of objectification, they also offer young women new creative means to resist and undo oppressive behaviours. I will return to this study, which used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, in part two of this chapter.

Young people and pornography

Compared to young women, young men more commonly cite the prominent role of pornography in how they learn about 'sex' and sexuality (McKee et al. 2008; McGeeney 2013). While the proportion of young women watching pornography is increasing, in 2008, 82% of (Australian) consumers were found to be men. Some researchers have reported that where other sources of education are lacking, young people may be motivated to seek out pornography (Allen 2006; McKee 2007; Bale 2011; Albury 2014). For example, some young people gain access to detailed illustrations of genitalia or of bodies engaged in sexual acts (Kubicek et al. 2011). In addition, they may seek what Fine (1988) has termed a 'discourse of erotics', or instructions on how to initiate sexual activity and perform specific kinds of sex (Ingham 2005; Carmody 2005; Allen 2006; Carmody 2009; Kubicek et al. 2011; Bale 2011). Compared to other sources such as formal SRE, in pornography pleasure tends to be highlighted to a greater extent (Lamb 2014). However, to date there is little research on young people's use and experience of pornography, and academic

research does not present a unified picture of what porn teaches young people, or what porn audiences might learn from it.

Pornography has been criticized by many for normalising heterosexuality and for teaching young people to eroticise inequality with respect to gender (Crabbe and Corlett 2011). For instance, male orgasm is five times more likely to be a feature of pornography than female orgasm (McKee et al. 2008). In this way, pornography can be viewed as on a continuum of other media representations and educational sources, including advertising billboards, music videos, and school books, which prioritise male pleasure (Attwood 2002; Attwood 2009; McNair 2014). Researchers have sought to link young men's consumption of pornography with aggressive views towards women, although their definition of aggressive attitudes and behaviours has been challenged (McKee et al. 2008). Several studies in the fields of sexual health and psychology have linked the consumption of pornography to 'risky' sexual behaviours among young heterosexual men and women (Rogala and Tydén 2003; Tydén and Rogala 2004; Perrin et al. 2008; Štulhofer et al. 2010; Sinković et al. 2013).

However, other researchers and commentators have sought to question the link between young people's consumption of sexually explicit material and their actual sexual behaviours (McKee 2010; Hald et al. 2015). Many have argued that pornography can also be a significant source of education for diverse sexualities for young people. A range of studies indicate that pornography is a significant source of explicit information that supports both sexual confidence and positive community formation for same-sex-attracted people (Hillier and Harrison 2007; Kubicek et al. 2010; Kubicek et al. 2011). Indeed, the influential porn report, published by Alan McKee, Kath Albury, and Catherine Lumby in Australia in 2008, indicated that 98% of porn is non-violent. The most common category chosen by Australians was amateur porn, which represents a wide variety of body types. Many young people report watching pornography to learn about anatomy and non-normative practices.

There is little research on how young people feel about the availability of sexual material in the media. While the research that has been conducted indicates that

some young people feel negatively about it, many young people seemingly feel that online sexual material offers them options for actively seeking sexual pleasure and exploring sexualities (e.g. McKee et al. 2008; Döring 2013; Mulholland 2013). Mulholland (2013) found that despite their familiarity with pornography, young people maintain distance from it (for example in classroom contexts) through the use of humour and parody. Pornification discourses (see chapter one) and the outright demonisation of pornography, she argues, like SRE, function to normalise that which is considered 'good' sex within stable and loving heterosexual relationships (Mulholland 2013).

The hidden spaces of youth sexuality

Most young people seem to be aware of the controversies and surveillance surrounding their sexual behaviours (Hirst 2004). Julia Hirst (2004) found that, due to practical constraints and parental disapproval, many young people aged 15 to 16 report in interviews that they have sex outdoors. Many young people experienced outdoor sex as seriously hampering their ability to communicate sexual preferences, and hence their ability to experience pleasure. Research by Hogarth and Ingham (2009; Ingham 2005; 2014) also implies that, despite the increased availability of sex toys such as vibrators in the 21st Century (McCaughey and French 2001; Attwood 2009), masturbation remains a somewhat controversial topic, especially for young women. In their study, whilst many young women aged 16 to 18 reported that they engaged in this practice, few felt comfortable to talk about it. As I argued in chapter one, while male masturbation tends to be conceived as simply 'normal', Hogarth and Ingham (2009) found that in the U.K. general views of female masturbation (as they emerge in interviews) ranged from extremely positive to extremely negative. More recently, in the USA, Breanna Fahs and Elena Frank (2014) noted that female masturbation was largely invisible, and that young women's imaginations were influenced by phallogentric scripts, which, for example, emphasise penetration.

Recent research has pointed to other ways in which young people may experience sexual sensations. For instance, a survey-based study by Herbenick and Fortenberry (2011) illustrated how some young women report sexual arousal and even orgasm

whilst exercising. Moreover, as I will outline in more detail in part two of this chapter, some researchers have pointed to the ways in which sexual subjectivities emerge not only within those activities which are defined as sexual, but also within a range of (gendered) activities such as sports or dancing (e.g. Epstein et al. 2003; Fox and Alldred 2013).

Allen (2011b) has pointed out that while young people seemingly experience sexuality in many realms, little is known about the nuances of their embodied experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure. Many of the studies I have discussed in this section (although not all of them) have used quantitative methods such as surveys (e.g. McKee et al. 2008; Herbenick and Fortenberry 2011; also see Burkill et al. 2016) or traditional qualitative methods such as interviews (e.g. Hogarth and Ingham 2009; Fahs and Frank 2014) not so much to explore young people's embodied experiences, but instead the ways in which sexuality is socially constructed through discourse and social structures. Allen (2011b) notes that in order to explore the complexities of young sexual subjectivities, researchers need to uncover young people's unsanctioned and sometimes hidden practices. For this, she argues, researchers need unconventional and creative methodologies. I would add to this that to allow for the exploration of sexual subjectivities, and to highlight 'alternative figurations' (Braidotti 1994) of doing sexuality, a focus on bodily experiences and sensations is critical. I will return to these epistemological points later on in this part of the chapter, as well as in chapter three.

2.4.2 What does the feminist literature convey about young people's sexual experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure?

Over the last two decades, a number of feminist researchers - including Janet Holland (Holland et al. 1998), Michelle Fine (McClelland and Fine 2008), Sara McClelland (2010; 2011), Louisa Allen (2004; Allen et al. 2014; Allen and Ingram 2015), and Deborah Tolman (2002; Impett and Tolman 2006) - have prioritised young people's experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure in their research. This research has been situated in a range of fields within the social sciences. Whilst from a wide variety of academic positions, as I noted in chapter one, Fahs and McClelland (2016) have used

the term 'critical sexuality studies' to refer to research which shares the aims of working towards sexual justice for those who experience inequality, for example women, and exclusion from debates around sexual acceptability, including young people. In this section I focus mainly (although, again, not exclusively) on research situated within the fields of critical psychology or sociology that has drawn on social constructionist and Foucauldian discourse theory. It is this literature that I first encountered upon reading about young people's experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure.

Most of this experience-based research has focused on those practices normatively defined as 'sex', including activities such as intercourse, oral sex, anal sex, and sometimes kissing. Inspired by the phenomenologist⁹ Iris Marion Young (2005), critical sexuality researchers such as Holland et al. (1998) have commented on the entanglement of gendered discourses and subjective experiences, and the ways in which dominant (and contradictory) sexual discourses seem to be embodied. In addition, many have reported that young people often draw on these discourses to make sense of their experiences.

2.4.2.1 Sexual violence and gendered inequalities

In chapter one I commented on the high levels of sexual violence within contemporary Western culture, and how these are reflected in some of the ways in which youth sexualities are spoken and written about (Silverman 2015; Voronova and Radjenovic 2016; TUC 2016). Reports on sexual violence commonly use quantitative methods to highlight its prevalence (e.g. Silverman 2015). Other research has highlighted how young people who experience sexual violence, especially girls, commonly report fear and anxiety in the immediate aftermath. Many experience confusion, guilt, and self-blame in addition to experiencing the blame of others, and report trouble with dealing with routine aspects of living (Barter et al. 2004; Barter

⁹ Phenomenology is a diverse branch of philosophical study founded by Edmund Husserl in the late 19th Century. The object of phenomenology, namely intentionality, "bears a superficial resemblance to what is sometimes known as 'inner experience'" (Buchanan 2010: 366).

2009; Barter and Berridge 2011; Holford 2012; Lombard and McMillan 2012; Sundaram 2013; Sundaram 2016; Richardson 2016).

Compared to the considerable research that has focused on sexual violence, less research has explored gendered inequalities in relation to sexual pleasure, especially in young people, and how positive and negative sensations may be enmeshed. One of the first studies in the U.K. to explore young people's narratives of their sexual experiences (i.e. not just related to violence) were the 'Women, risk and AIDS project' and the 'Men, risk and AIDS project' conducted by Janet Holland, Caroline Ramazanoglu, Sue Sharpe, and Rachel Thompson (1998). In these two studies, Holland and her colleagues drew on structuralist and discursive theories. The authors hoped to build a detailed picture of the sexual practices and beliefs of young people in order to document their approaches to risk and responsibilities within sexual relationships, and their ability to communicate effectively within them.

Holland et al.'s (1998) analysis suggests that heterosexual masculinity and femininity contribute to sexual risk-taking. Masculinity was associated with active initiation, coupled with a lack of feelings of responsibility and care, whereas femininity was associated with passivity and a perceived social unacceptability to plan sex and any use of contraception in advance. Holland et al. (1998) reported that within this dynamic, young women often found it difficult to resist male dominance, putting them at risk of sexual violence. Instances of sexual violence were commonly associated with a sense of disembodiment.

Holland et al. (1998) also found that young men often considered their own orgasm to be an essential part of sexual activity, and tended to report an ease to experience one. Young women, on the other hand, often regarded their own orgasm, as well as their sexual satisfaction more generally, as unnecessary. Instead many defined their sexual satisfaction in terms of a general contentment with the relationship. Several young women reported that they experienced minimal physical pleasure, a bodily numbness, and an alienation from their body during sexual activity. Many were unable to refer to their bodies in their narratives.

Young (1990 [2005]) argued that young women live in discontinuation with their bodies, because for them to live their bodies openly and freely is to invite (sexual) objectification. Similarly, Holland et al. (1998) argued that the bodily alienation young women were reporting was linked to the objectification of female bodies in the media and a consequent dissatisfaction by girls with their own bodies. Holland et al. (1998) suggested that the young women had internalised a 'male gaze' (Mulvey 1975). In her recent research, Julia Coffey (2013) noted that most young women (and some young men) continue to be affected by concerns about their appearance. Most women seem to recognise the social pressures that guide their expectations of their bodies, and although many feel that this is inappropriate, this does not lessen their experiences of pressure to 'work on' their bodies. Holland et al. (1998) concluded that, by privileging masculinity, the construction of heterosexuality regulates young women and men's experiences, expectations and practices in unequal ways.

Holland et al. (1998), as well as Ken Plummer (2005), argued that the hegemonic model of male sexuality fosters gendered inequalities. Young men's reputations can suffer if they are not seen to push for sexual intercourse with numerous female partners (Flood 2008). Some young men report sexual experiences to their peers proudly and in exaggerated terms (Holland et al. 1998; Holland et al. 2000; Flood 2008). There is often a stigma and homophobic bullying attached to not having, or being unable to have, penetrative intercourse (Eyre, Hoffman, and Millstein 1998; Asencio 2002; Flood 2008). While young people generally do not seem to condone violence, they often appear to see it as a "normative aspect of young, adolescent and adult masculinity" (McCarry 2010: 25).

In more recent research with American undergraduate students, McClelland (2010; 2011) reported the emergence of similar narratives. She found that young women often used their male partners' evaluation of their sex lives in place of their own to determine their sexual satisfaction. In addition, like Holland et al. (1998), she found that young men put more emphasis on their own orgasms, which was regarded an essential feature of heterosex, whereas women stressed the importance of intimacy.

While female orgasm was constructed as desirable and a sign of male accomplishment, in practice male orgasms continued to be prioritised. McClelland (2010; 2011) argued that her findings demonstrated that young people's expectations and behaviours were in line with unequal dominant gendered discourses. The fact that many young people are having sex in public places and under time pressure, seemingly further limits the ability of young women to communicate their desires (Hirst 2004).

2.4.2.2 Dilemmas of desire: Young women and pleasure

While Harris (Harris et al. 2000; Harris 2004; Harris 2008) noted that young women are increasingly able to express their desires, for instance on online forums, she also notes that a host of gendered and contradictory discourses complicate their experiences. Jackson and Cram (2003), and more recently Fahs and Frank (2014), noted that young people continue to hold opinions which render the sexual desires of young men more acceptable than those of young women. However, Allen (2003; 2004b), as well as Fahs and Frank (2014), noted that some sexually active young women draw on discourses of female sexuality which legitimise women's desire, and resist being positioned as 'sluts' by constituting sexual desire as 'normal'.

In her influential book 'Dilemmas of Desire', Tolman (2002; also see Tolman and Szalacha 1999) noted that young women had to consolidate their desires with complicated discourses, as well as the very real prospects of sexual violence. Drawing on the narratives of young American women aged 16 to 18, she found that while young women did report desires of their own, they had to negotiate contradictory messages which required them to be neither 'prudes' nor 'sluts'. Often they described sexual encounters not as chosen, but as having "just happened" (Tolman 2002: 1). In a large scale survey, Tolman, together with Emily Impett (Impett and Tolman 2006), found that while most young women aged 16 to 19 report sex as a pleasurable experience, those with more positive self-concepts more commonly reported a sense of agency and sexual satisfaction. More recently McClelland (2011) found that those young women who consider their own pleasure to be important also report being more sexually satisfied than those who do not.

Several researchers have noted that the experience of having 'sex' for the first time is also gendered (Sprecher et al. 1995; Holland et al. 2000; Impett and Tolman 2006; Holland et al. 2010). Tolman and Impett (2006) noted that while many young women spoke about their 'first time' in positive terms, few reported physical pleasure. Similarly, while in Holland et al.'s (1998; 2000) study young British men reported their first time as an empowering moment, young women reported their feelings to be more complicated. While many spoke about feelings of pleasure and happiness, many also spoke about pain and with a sense of loss. Often these feelings were all experienced at the same time. Young people tended to define their 'first time' as intercourse. The ways in which young people had sex, as well as the ways in which young people thought about their experiences, seemingly prioritised male pleasure.

From these studies, it emerges that sexuality is often experienced as complicated by young women. Muehlenhard and Peterson (2005) noted that binary concepts such as good/bad, wanted/unwanted, are not useful for participants in making sense of the complex range of emotions that young people reported experiencing before, during, and after a sexual encounter. Instead, they found that young women in particular tend to experience ambiguity in relation to sex, rendering consent – especially the clear-cut ways in which it is often portrayed in media outlets, policy documents, and sex education curricula - a complicated issue.

Many have linked the complexity of young women's sexual experiences to the contradictory discourses surrounding the sexualities of young women which I discussed in chapter one. As I noted in that chapter, Evans and Riley (2014) argued that in contemporary Western cultures, young women may express pleasure and desire, as long as this is in line with those behaviours which are traditionally regarded as pleasing to men. Evans and Riley (2014; Evans et al. 2010) drew on discursive accounts to provide a framework for understanding how women make sense of their sexual identities in the context of the complexities and contradictions of contemporary sexual cultures. Using the notion of 'technologies of sexiness' they argue that discourses which emphasise female sexual agency make available to

women behavioural tools that enable them to subvert dominant sexual discourses. However, these subversions are possible only on the condition that their sexual choices adhere to previously established norms of a female sexuality which tend to please a large proportion of men.

In their research, Renold and Ringrose (2008) have argued that some (pre-)teenage girls in the U.K. reject the notion that girls' bodies exist only as heterosexual objects of desire. They refuse to silence the complexities of their experiences. In a later paper, Renold and Ringrose (2011) noted that teenage girls may negotiate competing discourses of sexual knowingness and innocence in creative and often rupturing ways. I will return to these studies in the second part of this chapter, where I discuss Renold and Ringrose's (2008; 2011) data and their approach in more detail.

2.4.2.3 Young men, masculinity, and (dys)embodiment

While much of the feminist literature on young people's sexual narratives has emphasised the experiences of young women, in some of her early work, Allen (2002; 2007) explored the accounts of young men aged 17 to 19 in New Zealand regarding their experiences of their bodies during sexual activity. Like Holland et al. (1998), she found that - in line with dominant discourses of male heterosexuality which emphasise guaranteed physical pleasure, facile bodily arousal and perpetual biological readiness for sexual activity - the young men in her study generally appeared to have few difficulties in experiencing sexual pleasure. This might be taken to imply that, in contrast to the young women in the Holland et al. (1998) study, they were 'sexually embodied'.

However, Allen (2002; 2007) argued that the young men in her sample were sexually embodied in a dysfunctional way. While many young men indicated that they experienced physical sensations with ease, they distanced themselves from their body and denied being consciously aware of it. In addition, they often implied - although usually not to begin with - that they had a negative relationship with their body. This relationship was distorted by dominant perceptions of masculine bodily 'perfection' and caused them feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Similarly, the young

men's narratives of physical sexual pleasure implied that their experiences were constrained by dominant discourses of (hetero)masculinity. They often presented their ability to orgasm even after brief penile stimulation as an achievement rather than a truly pleasurable activity. In this way, they portrayed their bodies as machine-like, automated and emotionally detached. Others have reported that some young men experience minimal pleasure, because they worry that they will be unable to maintain an erection, that they will ejaculate quickly, or that they will be unable to pleasure their partners (Holland et al. 2000; Middelthon and Aggleton 2001; Tiefer 1994; Tiefer 2000; Tiefer 2007; Tiefer et al. 2002). Allen (2002; 2007) borrowed Simon Williams' (1996) term 'dys-embodiment' to describe these young men's state during sexual activity, with the Greek prefix 'dys' translating to 'bad' or 'ill'.

Allen (2002; 2007) noted that her participants commonly drew upon dominant discourses of (hetero)sexuality in their narratives about their sexual selves. However, some took up subject positions that involved more resistant understandings of their sexual selves, albeit sometimes whilst simultaneously accommodating subject positions offered by dominant discourses of heterosexuality. For example, in opposition to dominant understandings of masculinity which highlight the sexual conquest of women and separation from emotional involvement, some young men in her sample denied sexual intercourse as a primary motive for entering into a romantic relationship. Instead, they emphasised the importance of friendship, communication, and equality.

Allen (2002; 2007) found that emotional closeness to their partners allowed some of the young men in her sample to resist dominant discourses which link masculinity and emotional detachment. Such scenarios seemingly allowed them to merge their bodily and emotional sensations. Allen (2002; 2007) described this phenomenon as functional, rather than *dysfunctional*, embodiment. This embodiment allowed for an intensification of pleasurable corporeal sensations. In this way, for these young men, pleasure was always context-dependent and specific to certain relationships.

2.4.3 Addressing complexities in critical psychological and discursive research on youth sexualities

Many of the studies I have discussed so far have illustrated how young people's sexual subjectivities and experiences are shaped by sexual discourses. They have shown how young people's subjectivities are moulded by multiple discourses - dominant discourses, as well as counter-discourses - which circulate within society and which socially construct sexuality. Researchers who use discursive theory have commonly suggested an alignment between young people's sexual experiences and these discourses, or an active resistance, that is, a reactive response and engagement with counter-discourses, on the part of a young person toward them.

In their book 'Changing the Subject', Henriques et al. (1984) disregarded the theory that a subject was simply the sum of discourses they encountered from birth, and theorised that multiple positions could be held together in complex ways by any one subject. In recent years, some empirical publications have emphasised how young people's sexual experiences are seemingly not fully captured by the discursive. In their research on young women's sexual experiences, Claire Maxwell and Peter Aggleton (2010) noted that their experiences are complex and cannot be generalised. While some young people express desire vividly, others feel ambiguous; while some lack confidence, others do not. I have already noted how Renold and Ringrose (2008) reported that some teenage girls in the U.K. reject the notion that girls' bodies exist only as heterosexual objects of desire, and refuse to silence the complexities of their experiences.

Renold and Ringrose (2008) argued that in order to adequately explore young people's sexual subjectivities it is necessary to also look at the ways in which experiences may exceed (hetero)normative discourses. They suggest exploring 'alternative configurations' (Braidotti 1994) of youth sexuality. These are crucial if we are to map the complexities, malleability, and multiplicity of young people's sexual experiences and subjectivities.

2.4.3.1 Foregrounding desire, pleasure, and sensuality

McClelland and Fine (2008) have suggested that traditional research methods may encourage the rehearsal of dominant discourses, and are therefore inadequate in capturing complexities, and experiences which rupture or exceed (hetero)normative discourses. In their influential work, McClelland and Fine (2008) focused on the inadequacy of psychological and discursive research studies to allow for the emergence of young women's narratives of desire. They argue that our current cultural context, where young women's desires and pleasures are contested (see chapter one), makes it difficult for young women to express their own desires and pleasures. The majority of social research methods, they argue, are unable to neutralise these "cultural brakes" (McClelland and Fine 2008, p. 232). McClelland and Fine (2008) use the term 'methodological dilemma' to refer to this phenomenon. They argue that one of the ways in which to allow female adolescent desire to emerge in research is to further foreground desire, and to represent adolescent sexuality as normative, including for girls. This construction of sexuality as normative was born out of and suited their psychological approach.

Several feminist researchers found that foregrounding desire and pleasure in surveys (Impett and Tolman 2006; McClelland 2011; McGeeney 2013) and individual and group interviews (McClelland and Fine 2008; Tolman and Szalacha 1999; Tolman 2002; McClelland 2011; McGeeney 2013) did indeed seemingly allow for such experiences to emerge more commonly. However, Tolman (2002) found that desire often emerged subtly and in hidden places in individual interviews with young women. McClelland and Fine (2008) noted that accounts of desire and pleasure only surfaced in group interviews with young women once seemingly obligatory narratives of the dangers attached to sexuality, including potential pregnancy and STIs, had been discussed.

As well as allowing for the exploration of a broader range of experiences, McClelland and Fine (2008) argued that emphasising desire in research may act as an emancipatory strategy. Accordingly, sexual desire, and desire for equality more generally, are linked. Fine and McClelland (Fine and McClelland 2006a; McClelland

and Fine 2014) use the term 'thick desire' to refer to a sense of entitlement to a broad range of yearnings, including sexual and productive freedom; protection from racialised and sexualised violence; meaningful intellectual, political and social engagement; the possibility of financial independence; and a way to imagine living in the future tense. They argue that if young women are given a sense of entitlement to sexual desire and pleasure (for example in research), this may also incite political demands. Similarly, in order to increase young women's sexual wellbeing, young women may be encouraged to express and embody desire more generally.

For young men, given the discursive link between masculinity and emotional detachment, it may be beneficial to foreground emotional attachment and sensuality: an embodied, rather than a 'dys-embodied' pleasure. This may allow for experiences to emerge which exceed such dominant discourses. As I discussed above, using this technique, Allen (2002; 2007) found that, while narratives still tended to be dominated by cultural ideals of masculinity, such a focus did sometimes allow narratives of embodied pleasure to emerge in her research with young men.

2.4.3.2 Methodological Dilemmas in Psychological and Discursive Sexuality Research

Given the difficulties researchers have had in exploring pleasure and desire with young women, McClelland and Fine (2008) have argued that simply foregrounding 'missing discourses' in traditional research designs is insufficient. Instead, to overcome the rehearsal of dominant discourses relating to youth sexualities, they argue, we need "methodological release points" (p.232): methods which help us to elucidate those experiences which tend to be unspoken. They suggest that such methods may include creative methods, such as the production of videos, asking counter-intuitive questions, problematising 'facts', and encouraging participants to take a leading role in research. I will outline sexuality research which has used creative research methods in chapter three.

Fine and McClelland's (2008) suggestion of a need for new methods to research sexuality with adolescents resonates with the majority of feminist researchers.

However, Sharon Lamb (2010) has suggested that a more radical shift may be necessary to allow for an exploration of the complexities of young people's sexual experiences. Lamb (2010) argues that the ways in which feminist writers such as Tolman (2002), and Fine and McClelland (2008), have written about adolescent sexuality is once again controlling of young people's behaviours, this time by normalising desire, and defining for young people what constitutes 'normal' or 'good' sex.

In her recent work, Allen (2014) has noted that by emphasising sexual pleasure in SRE or research, there is a danger of certain pleasures not only being tied to a set of pre-defined practices, but indeed becoming mandatory. In this way such research may be linked to a culture in which, as Rosalind Gill (2008) has argued, young women often perform certain pleasures instead of actually experiencing them. For instance, within contemporary 'girl power' discourses, there is an expectation that young women should achieve orgasm, to the extent that some 'fake' it when they do not experience one (Aapola et al. 2005). Similarly, many young men report feeling pressure to maintain an erection for long periods of time and worry about the adequacy of their penis size (Marston and King 2006).

The quantification of sexual satisfaction in some feminist sexuality research (e.g. Impett and Tolman 2006; McClelland 2011) is problematic both in terms of feasibility and politically, and may be linked to the medicalised discourses of sexuality discussed in chapter one. In addition, Lamb (2010) has criticised the conceptualisation of sexual desire as 'normative' in the work of Tolman (2002), and McClelland and Fine (2008). The reclamation of a right to pleasure and desire in young women, she argues, has been beneficial in the political fight for sexual equality. However, by defining sexual desire as 'natural', its socially constructed character is denied. The dominant cultural understanding of sexual desire¹⁰, which is structured by lack in relation to a sexually and hierarchically differentiated other and hence tied to (hetero)sexism (Butler 1999), is propagated and legitimised.

¹⁰ This understanding is influenced by psychoanalytic theory (Deleuze and Guattari 1983).

Lamb's (2010) critique may be extended to past research on young people's sexuality more generally, including that which has taken a discursive approach and conceptualised sexual desire as socially constructed. This is because by embarking on a research project which focuses on 'sex', and by asking participants to inform us about their sexual practices, academic research may, instead of acting as a counterpoint, in fact reproduce the social order. Specifically, such research may reinforce narrow and (hetero)sexist definitions of what constitutes sexuality, and act as a means of surveillance of young peoples' sexual behaviours. Desire may consequentially be channelled even further into normative ways that reinforce unequal power relations between women and men. In my research, I wanted to explore young people's experiences of sexuality and pleasure without reinforcing established ideas about what counts as 'sex' or sexuality. I wanted to move beyond the exploration and reproduction of normative and (hetero)sexist discourses, and explore experiences which exceed such discourses.

2.5 Moving beyond 'sex' and towards 'bodies and pleasures'

Foucault (1978) argued that in order to escape the deployment of sexuality, an engagement with 'sex' and desire, which he argued has been linked to 'sex' to the extent that the two have become intrinsically linked, needed to be avoided. Instead, he argued, that we should focus on 'bodies and pleasures'. According to Foucault (1978), while sexual desire is tied to identity and heavily policed, pleasure is always free of meaning. It occurs outside of conscious experiences of identity. In this way, Foucault (1978) saw the possibility for bodies not to be experienced in terms of sexual difference, with sexuality being attributed to a sexed person, but instead simply representing a site for pleasures. A focus on 'bodies and pleasure', he argued, therefore allows for a move away from the culturally dominant insistence on sexual difference and its link to heterosexual desire, and provides the possibility of pleasure outside of hegemonic heterosexuality. This, he argued, allows for eroticism to be non-disciplinary and pleasures to be unplanned.

While Foucault's proposal of 'bodies and pleasures' offers hope for a counterpoint to the deployment of sexuality, he never expanded on his ideas. While his personal background as a gay man living with AIDS (Eribon 1991) may have contributed to his complicated relationship with his proposal, its misalignment with his broader theory of subjectivity may provide an additional convincing explanation for Foucault's failure to explore his proposal in more depth. One of the factors suggesting such a misalignment is the discursive determinism with which his theory has often been associated (McNay 1994). Although in his later work Foucault (1982) acknowledged that the body appears to exceed its discursive construction (also see Butler 1999), as I noted earlier in this chapter, in much of his work, discourse appears to shape actions and minds in their entirety. As such, his theory does not provide an adequate explanation for experiences which exceed discourses, or even why, or how, certain people take up or reject certain discourses to differing degrees (McNay 1994; Shilling 2003). Transformation, including a move towards 'bodies and pleasures', is therefore difficult to explain. The subject is always defined by discourses and hence captured by that which is defined as knowledge. This is because she or he always sees and negotiates the world from positions produced by a multiplicity of discourses.

In her text 'Revisiting Bodies and Pleasures', Butler (1999) points to some additional problems with Foucault's suggested break with 'sex-desire'. She argued that Foucault's insistence that "*not sex-desire, but bodies and pleasures* ought to be the rallying point against the deployment of sexuality" (p.157), creates a binary between the two nexuses. In this sense 'bodies and pleasures' and 'sex-desire' are linked, and bodily experiences remain captured by normative sexual discourses. In addition, Butler argues that, similarly to Tolman's (2002; Impett and Tolman 2006), Fine and McClelland's (2006a; McClelland and Fine 2008) and McGeeney's (2013) work, Foucault's reference to bodies and pleasures prescribes the pursuit of pleasure, and that mandatory pleasure may not always be the most pleasurable kind. In these ways, she argues, the riddance of regulatory sexuality through bodily pleasure is replaced with a different form of regulation.

While Butler's theory of performativity highlights possibilities of resistance to dominant discourses, as I noted earlier in this chapter, like Foucault's work, in Butler's theory, subjectivity is also tied to the discursive. According to Butler, all we can do is work critically with the systems that produce us as subjects. 'Queer' performances are always defined in relation to, and dependant on, normative understanding of gender and heterosexuality (Colebrook 2009; Hickey-Moody and Rasmussen 2009). Her idea of positionality may be said to subtract movement and the body's inherent potential for variation and change (Massumi 2002).

While both Foucault's (1978; 1982) and Butler's (1990; 1993) theories appear to be limited in accounting for that which exceeds the discursive, it was through my engagement with Foucault's ideas of a sexuality free of expectations that the first of my research questions initially emerged. I intentionally framed it broadly: ***"How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?"***. While Foucault, due to his belief in the enmeshment of experience with (oppressive) discourses, was sceptical of experience, I, like many feminist writers before me (e.g. Grosz 1994; Braidotti 2013), considered experience crucial in thinking about subjectivity.

I wanted to explore to what extent and in what ways young sexual subjectivities were tied to dominant discourses of youth sexuality (research question 1a: ***"To what extent and in what ways are young people's sexual subjectivities affected by normative and gendered discourses surrounding (youth) sexuality, both in relation to sex and in relation to other practices?"***), but also the extent and ways in which young people's experiences could exceed such discourses (research question 1b: ***"To what extent and in what ways do young people's experiences exceed, affect and move normative and gendered understandings of (youth) sexuality?"***). Apart from opening up possibilities for young people to imagine and re-imagine sexuality in their own terms, my broad approach links in with Fine and McClelland's (2006a; McClelland and Fine 2014) concept of 'thick desire'. This is because by focusing on and encouraging embodied pleasures in relation to a variety of practices, research

may open up possibilities for young people to experience a sense of entitlement in a multitude of areas.

2.6 Summary of part one

In part one of this chapter, I have discussed empirical and theoretical work in the field of youth sexualities, including research on sexual pleasure. Much of the literature has used quantitative methods to focus on negative outcomes such as levels of STIs, unintended pregnancies and sexual violence. Feminist researchers have often used psychological and discursive theories, and qualitative methods, to explore the nuanced experiences of young people. Increasingly, they have foregrounded pleasure. Discursive and psychological research has highlighted gendered inequalities in the ways in which young people experience sexuality. For instance, the pleasures of young women are often complicated by the risk of sexual violence and anxieties around their appearance. Conversely, young men sometimes feel limited in their capacities for pleasure due to pressures to perform and an intense focus on their genitals.

However, I have argued in this chapter that the use of either essentialist or discursive notions of sexuality in research has limited its ability to explore ‘alternative figurations’ (Braidotti 1994) of youth sexualities. Many researchers have struggled to highlight sexual experiences that exceed dominant discourses. In this way, young sexual bodies, and the concept of sexuality itself, have arguably remained trapped within narrow and normative understandings. In part two of this chapter I engage further with my argument that ruptures and ‘alternative figurations’ (Braidotti 1994; see Renold and Ringrose 2008) are crucial to map if we are to perceive the malleability and multiplicity of contemporary youth sexual subjectivity. Specifically, I explore how feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts may allow researchers to explore sexual subjectivities in ways which exceed heteronormativity and phallogentric desire (Renold and Ringrose 2008).

Part Two: Highlighting affect, movement, and complexity in youth sexualities: Theories and practices underpinned by the work of Deleuze and Guattari

2.7 Introduction to part two

In this part of the chapter, I explore how feminist appropriations of the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari not only lends itself to exploring complexity, but how indeed such writings offer a vision of sexuality free of its usual ties with genitals, sexual difference, and the (hetero)sexism attached to it. The work inspired by the philosopher Deleuze and the psychoanalyst Guattari is part of a move toward a realm of affectivity which re-introduces movement into what is taken to be the fixity and determinism of some constructionist perspectives (Massumi 2002).

This part of the chapter begins by introducing the reader to Deleuze and Guattari's theory of sexuality, which conceptualises sexuality as an abundant connective energy that in contemporary Western culture has been limited to mean only certain things. It then explores feminist appropriations of some core concepts which allow for sexual subjectivity to be conceived not as fixed or discursively determined, but as continually in process and able to exceed the discursive. The final part of the chapter explores the small body of empirical work which has used these concepts in sexuality research with young people. As I indicated in chapter one, the work of Deleuze and Guattari is notoriously complicated, and it is not my intention here to provide a comprehensive summary of their writings. Instead, I focus on the concepts of 'becoming', 'affect', 'assemblage', 'territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation', which offer a means to thinking about sexual subjectivity as always in motion.

2.8 The philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari

I first came across the work of Deleuze whilst reading Elizabeth's Grosz's chapter 'Intensities and Flows' in her book *Volatile Bodies* (Grosz 1994). I was indeterminately searching for a theory which acknowledged how discourse can affect young people's bodily experiences, without reverting to discursive or biological determinism. Grosz's

(1994) chapter, in which she discusses and develops Deleuze's ideas about the body, captured my attention. While Grosz (1994) contends that Deleuzian theory is disembodied and relates first and foremost to male experiences, she also illustrated how Deleuzian ideas can be useful to overcome discursive and biological determinism. Given that Deleuzo-Guattarian ideas are well-known to be difficult to comprehend (Colebrook 2002), I was initially hesitant to use them in my thesis. However, the more I learnt about these ideas, the more I sensed that they would be beneficial in addressing the aims of my research. Their concepts, I discovered, would help me to explore some of the complexities of young people's sexual subjectivities, and allow me to re-imagine sexuality with young people.

2.8.1 Deleuze and Guattari's theory of sexuality

Deleuze and Guattari's (1983; 1987) joint work was a response to psychoanalytic theory. Deleuze and Guattari took inspiration from Sigmund Freud's (1905 [2011]) theory of sexuality as a free-floating energy; what Freud described as an instinct energy, or 'libido' we are all born with. However, Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) argued that Freud made the mistake of naturalising the reduction of this energy onto traditional – what may be called 'Oedipal'¹¹ – familial relations. In this way, they argued, Freud produced heterosexuality and normative gendered relations as natural.

Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) offer an alternative theory of sexuality. Frida Beckman (2011) has summarised the sexual philosophy of Deleuze as outlined in his work with and without Guattari. Beckman (2011) writes that in an initial letter of support in the aftermath of the publication of the *History of Sexuality* (part one; Foucault 1978), Deleuze (2007) agreed with Foucault's thesis of the social

¹¹ Freud (1905 [2011]) claimed that 'normal' sexual development is tied to familial relations of the father, mother and the child, and ultimately translates into heterosexual desires. He used the term 'Oedipus complex' to refer to the unconscious sexual attraction of boys towards their mothers and of girls towards their fathers, which leads to identification with the parent of the same sex and ultimately to heterosexual desire in adulthood. In this way, psychoanalysis tied sexuality to the differences between the two sexes. Freud argued that in boys the process of identification with their fathers is ensured by boys' perception of girls as lacking a penis, and by the boy's anxiety of castration by his father. In girls, penis envy leads them to desire their fathers and his penis. Women, within Freud's theory, thus emerge as the lacking other of men (Egan and Hawkes 2010).

construction of sex. However, Deleuze and Guattari proposed a much more advanced alternative theory of sexuality than the somewhat wanting proposal of 'bodies and pleasures' proposed by Foucault. This is most likely in part because, as I will illustrate in this chapter, their affirmative ontology – which draws on Spinozian (see Deleuze 1988) philosophy - is much more suitable for a conceptualisation of potential and the emergence of new ways of being.

Specifically, Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) argued that we can understand sexuality not as emerging from individual bodies or as relating to specific practices. Instead, perhaps along similar tracks to those of Freud (1905 [2011]), they viewed it as something which is a matter of pre-personal flows and connectivity between bodies, including objects and ideas, which collide and interpenetrate each other. In their view, we can understand sexuality as 'intensities' which emerge in bodies. These, Deleuze and Guattari argued, are not linked to genitals and exceed the divisions of the sexes, as well as those of different species. While they may in some instances be 'life-destroying' (for example in the case of extreme pain), often the productive connectivity inherent in what they conceptualise as sexuality may be described as 'life-affirming', joyful, and as increasing one's capacities and potential. Developing these ideas, the feminist Braidotti (2013, p. 148) has described sexuality as a "complex, multi-layered force¹² that produces encounters, resonances and relations of all sorts".

In their first joint book, *Anti-Oedipus*, Deleuze and Guattari (1983) argued that sexuality has been coded into figures, especially by psychoanalytic theory which has moulded it into Oedipal figures that cherish heterosexuality and the rule of the father. In this way, it is allowed to mean only certain things. Critiquing psychoanalysis, Deleuze and Guattari (1983) argued that by linking sexuality to the family and sexual difference, Freud limited its potential. Like several feminists, for example Luce

¹² While Deleuze does not provide a clear definition of 'forces', his and Braidotti's use of this term implies that it refers to any capacity to produce a change or becoming (Stagoll 2010).

Irigaray (1974 [1985a]; 1977 [1985b]), they argued that the psychoanalytic model is phallogentric, as well as anthropomorphic. Accordingly, it ultimately recognises only one sex, the masculine, with the feminine signifying lack. However, Deleuze and Guattari argue that sexuality continues to be controlled by the Oedipal and heterosexual ideals (Bell, 2011) precisely because it has the capacity to proliferate indeterminably, be immensely powerful, and, as I will outline later, productive. Sexuality, they argued, is a force which can capture as well as liberate life: on the one hand it is restricted and reduced to repress its flows, and on the other hand it has revolutionary potential.

This revolutionary potential of sexuality is linked to Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualisation of desire. According to Deleuze and Guattari, desire is productive rather than born out of lack, which is how it is generally conceptualised in psychoanalytic theory and other dominant discourses in contemporary Western culture (e.g. see Žižek 2006). It is capable of getting us to new places (Probyn, 1995). However, they argue that desire has been captured by capitalism, and constituted as lack, in a bid to promote consumption (Deleuze and Guattari 1983). For Deleuze and Guattari, sexuality is latent in desire, and derives its energy from combining bodies, feelings, pleasure and pain into 'desiring-machines'. Sexuality is therefore not assembled into a clearly definable concept. Everything may potentially be sexualised, and any divide between sexuality and the social is dissolved. Sexuality is present throughout the social field as part of all flows (Deleuze 2004b). However, Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) argued that as long as sexuality is interpreted in terms of Oedipal relations, it remains caught up in a structure of desire that shapes it in accordance with predetermined and exclusively familial (hetero)sexist regulations.

In 'The Logic of Sense', Deleuze (1969 [2004a]) writes that at the beginning there is a pre-genital sexuality where the body is covered with erogenous zones, defined as spaces of intensities. These erogenous zones are initially overlaid with images of objects capable of assuring for this zone an autoerotic satisfaction, and then finally with Oedipal images. In this way, a (hetero)sexist desire and sexuality are produced. The body - capable of making infinite connections - is reduced to a body workable

only in limited ways that are based on the sexual differences of organic human bodies. In their work together, Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) argued that sexuality needs to be freed from the psychoanalytic understanding of desire. While in interpretations of the work of Deleuze sexuality has often been positioned as a force that closes bodies down (as cited in Beckman 2011), his theory also helps us to open up sexuality beyond gender distinctions and towards something that does not have to pass through sexed bodies or traditional family relations. Deleuze and Guattari's concept of sexuality has been critiqued for being rather abstract and verging on meaningless (see Beckman 2011). However, this project takes inspiration from Braidotti (2013), who has emphasised the feminist potential in Deleuze and Guattari's (1983; 1987) suggestion to radicalise sexuality and to return desire to its polymorphous force as 'becoming other' (Braidotti 2013: 149), and away from phallocentrism.

2.8.2 Sexual subjectivities as process

2.8.2.1 Introducing 'becomings' and 'assemblages'

While Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) did not disagree with discursive theorists that sexuality is in some ways affected by discourse, using their theory, subjectivity (a word Deleuze and Guattari seldom used themselves) may be conceptualised as far more fluid than it is in discursive theories. Unlike much of the previous work in the social sciences, which has traditionally concerned itself with 'being', Deleuze (alone and in his work with Guattari) views the world as 'becoming'. Taking his lead from Friedrich Nietzsche's early notes, Deleuze (1968 [2004c]) uses the term 'becoming' (French: *devenir*) to describe the continual production of difference immanent within the constitution of events, whether physical or otherwise. Becoming is the pure movement evident in changes between particular events. This is not to say that becoming represents a state between two states, or a range of terms or states through which something might pass on its journey to another state. Rather than a product, final or interim, becoming is the very dynamism of change, situated between heterogeneous terms and tending towards no particular goal or end-state (Stagoll

2010). It is for this reason that throughout my thesis I use the term 'becoming' without following it with a descriptor which points to what something has become.

Deleuze (1968 [2004c]) points to the particular singularity of each individual moment or thing. Even if moments or things might have similar attributes, Deleuze privileges the individual difference between them. This means that the subject – including the sexual subject - is not singular, bounded, closed and fixed. Using Deleuzo-Guattarian theory, subjectivity may be viewed as emerging through relationships with other bodies or objects which are always in flux, develop in unpredictable ways around actions or events, and make up what Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) call 'assemblages': complex constellations of bodies, objects, ideas, and expressions that come together for varying amounts of time to create specific ways of functioning. Assemblages have an existence which is independent from human bodies and which is productive. They are 'desiring-machines' (Deleuze and Guattari 1983) that "operate without our noticing them, to produce the desire that we do" (Ballantyne 2007: 27). Assemblages are processual, and may be quite fleeting, comprising elements that simultaneously contribute to many different assemblages (DeLanda 2006). Hence, within a network of assemblages, there is space for elements and assemblages to overlap, blend, and emerge. In this way, assemblage theory requires a logic that moves away from either/or thinking, which is arguably not easy to do. What is more, assemblages are not hierarchical. This means that none of the elements in an assemblage are considered more advanced, developed, or important than any other (Blaise 2013).

Within assemblage theory, 'sex/'gender' may be understood as a cultural assemblage which reduces individual bodies to two distinct categories, and which produces limiting sexual capacities for them. In this way, 'sex/'gender' may be viewed as implicated in the emergence of an Oedipal sexuality, and vice versa. Indeed, Nick Fox and Pam Alldred (Fox and Alldred 2013) have pointed out that, using this theory, we can understand sexuality as an assemblage that is constituted through a multitude of relations. A particular sexuality-assemblage may, for example, include an activity we recognise as sexual and the sexed bodies involved in this, but also the location in

which the activity takes place and the participants' past experiences. Similarly, the construct of normative sexuality may be understood as an assemblage which includes not only specific micro practices such as kissing, but also lingerie, valentine's cards, and culturally dominant (macro) theories of sexuality such as Freud's psychoanalytic theory. Sexuality-assemblages bridge 'micro' and 'macro', private and public, intimacy and polity, and establish the capacities of individual bodies to do, feel and desire (Fox and Alldred 2013; Alldred and Fox 2015). The ways in which different elements assemble may be said to shape the eroticism, sexual codes, customs and conducts of a society's members, as well as sexual categories (e.g. gay, straight). Researchers may ask what a body can do within a particular sexuality-assemblage, and how possibilities are constrained or opened up.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, the relations in assemblages change as they collide or come into contact with other elements (Colebrook 2002). This change may be physical, psychological, emotional or social. Deleuze and Guattari refer to these changes as 'affect'¹³. Using the concepts of 'affect' and 'assemblage', Fox and Alldred (2013: 769) have radically re-theorised sexuality as "an impersonal affective flow within assemblages of bodies, things, ideas and social institutions, which produces sexual (and other) capacities in bodies".

2.8.2.2 Introducing 'territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation'

While I will return to the concept of 'affect' later in this chapter, it is important to note here that, for Deleuze and Guattari, affects produce further multiple changes. In this way, social production is dendritic and coalescing - in Deleuze and Guattari's terms 'rhizomatic' (1983; 1987) - rather than linear. In other words, affects flow rhizomatically within assemblages. Desire, with its productive capacities, may produce specific affective flows. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987), affects may flow in ways which stabilise – 'territorialise' (Deleuze & Guattari 1983; 1987) - an assemblage in a certain way. Psychoanalysis, for instance, may produce (sexual) desires and affective flows which produces sexuality as tied to sexed bodies

¹³ I will return to the concept of 'affect' later in this chapter.

and familial relations. Such aggregative affects assemble into normative, 'molar'¹⁴, lines or power formations which shape the flow of becoming. They generate classificatory concepts such as gender, and underpin cultural formations such as patriarchy and heterosexuality (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987).

Territories are not sedentary spaces with fixed borders, but can be thought of as an assemblage that is always in the process of change (Message 2010). They are not fixed but malleable, and because of this property, assemblages can facilitate the movement of ideas and concepts (Message 2010). In contrast to the molar, singular affects (such as an individual sensation) may on occasion fragment, or 'deterritorialise', assemblages. This is seen as a productive and unpredictable movement away from the already-known. Singular affects may be micropolitical drivers, enabling bodies to resist molar forces and opening up new capacities to think, feel or desire. Although deterritorialisation is always followed by immediate *reterritorialisation*, often by recouping back to the norm, such 'molecular'¹⁵ singular lines ascribe capacities and may offer new possibilities for the elements within an assemblage. In this way, singular affects may act as 'lines of flight'¹⁶ from molar aggregating flows within an assemblage and contribute to transformation and social change (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987). This may include possibilities for the deterritorialisation of sexual bodies. Claire Colebrook (2002), amongst others, has written how it is difficult to think about subjectivity as a process. I will use the concepts of 'assemblage', 'territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation' throughout my thesis, where my data will illustrate in greater detail how we can understand these concepts, and what they can do (e.g. see chapter three).

¹⁴ Deleuze and Guattari (1987) apply 'molar', as well as 'molecular', to political bodies. Molar entities belong to the state or the civic world. They are well defined, and are "affiliated with a governing apparatus" (Conley 2010: 176).

¹⁵ The molecular counterparts to the molar are micro-entities. They are "politics that transpire in areas where they are rarely perceived" (Conley 2010: 176), for example in the "perception of affectivity, where beings share ineffable sensations" (Conley 2010: 176).

¹⁶ A 'line of flight' is a path of mutation from the molar. It releases new powers in the capacities of those bodies to act and respond (Lorraine 2010).

In his more recent work on his own, like others such as Butler (1990; 1993), Guattari (1992) argued that escaping the status quo is risky and requires an enormous amount of courage and effort, and that we can only escape it on a temporary basis. However, unlike discursive theorists, his (and Deleuze's) ideas offer hope that small incremental transcendental moves may lead to an accumulation of becomings which together have the power to shift the social order in specific ways. As researchers, in order to understand and contribute to such social change, and to understand how newness and change are generated, it is important to allow for the emergence and recognition of these moments (Grosz 2011).

2.8.2.3 The potential of adolescence

For Deleuze and Guattari (see Driscoll 2002; also note Guattari's reliance on Stern, Hofer, Haft, and Dore's 1985 work on 'affective attunement'), young people represent a particularly interesting demographic in terms of possibilities for deterritorialisation and becoming. According to this line of reasoning, childhood is used by adults as a way of containing confusing 'non-adult' aspects of our own identity. Childhood in this way represents features of humanity apparently lost to adults. However, adolescence does not clearly refer to ideas of innocence, origin, or moral security and is located not merely as 'other' to adulthood. It is a liminal space onto which a distinct dichotomy of desires or fears cannot easily be projected. Adolescence then is a less stable and a more fluid concept than either adulthood or childhood, defined by its in-between-ness and its transitional position between childhood and adulthood. Teenagers are constructed as being in a time of intense identity formation (Waller 2010). Particularly in his work on his own, Guattari (Guattari and Stivale 2009) argued, perhaps in a disproportionately romanticised way (Driscoll 2002), that this construction makes the teenage years an intense and sensitive period for possibilities of deterritorialisations and becomings.

However, in her research, McGeeney (2013) noted that many young people in their late teens report feeling like an adult with a stable identity, and indeed some might even value their newly established identities as adults more so than at a later stage in their life. In other words, their identities may appear fixed. Nonetheless, their in-

between-ness and exposure to first-time experiences, especially in relation to 'sex', may add unique dimensions to the potential for processes of deterritorialisation and becoming. I will return to the ideas of 'first times' throughout my empirical chapters, particularly in chapter four.

2.8.2.4 Reintroducing experiences of fixity

Anna Hickey-Moody and Mary Lou Rasmussen (2009) have described the inherent positivity, or 'compulsory optimism' as they call it, of Deleuzo-Guattarian theory as problematic. If we take seriously the work of scholars such as Young (2005; see part one), the body is also the place where social influence gets stuck, and where processes become regimented in ways that do much to facilitate the reproduction of (for example) class and gender inequality. Hickey-Moody and Rasmussen (2009) argue that we must not fail to consider how for many fluidity and multiplicity appears to co-exist with a stable and continuous exploitation, and how the body is a place where social influence gets stuck in ways which facilitate the reproduction of gendered, classed, and racialised inequalities. When emphasising fluidity and multiplicity, they argue, it is important not to fail to consider how they actually co-exist, for many, with "grinding stability and exploitative continuity" (Blackman et al. 2008: 19).

A Deleuzo-Guattarian theory of becoming must not be seen purely as an ontological move to positivity or a disregard for the dominance of the molar (e.g. heterosexuality). Instead, it may be viewed as an encouragement to focus on singular practices, where there is potential for change, but this potential is constrained, and not entirely random or endless (Coleman 2008; Nigianni and Storr 2005; Kofoed and Ringrose 2012). Similarly, Jette Kofoed and Ringrose (2012) have argued that we need to grasp both *becomings and fixity* in order to gain an understanding of how young bodies emerge that are experienced as gendered, classed, and racialised. Inspired by these authors, this project was built on a belief that to focus purely on the potential for change would disengage scholarship from some of the concrete particulars of lived experiences. I emphasise both the potentiality of experience *and* experiences of fixity. This is reflected in my first research question, which asks how young people's

experiences are shaped (or limited) by gendered discourses of youth sexuality, as well as how their experiences may exceed these.

2.9 Foregrounding the bodily registration of affect

As I indicated in the introduction to this part of the chapter, unlike the work of Foucault (1978) and Butler (1990; 1993; 2004; 2015), which was part of a 'discursive turn', Deleuze and Guattari's work is often framed as part of an 'affective turn' (Blackman et al. 2008). For those who value experience (e.g. Grosz 1994), this 'affective turn' may be seen as a re-emergent interest in bodily experiences, and how these may be affected by, but also exceed, the discursive (Blackman et al. 2008).

Affect has been conceptualised in a multitude of ways. For psychologists, affect often refers to emotional states and the distinctive perturbations they cause in the body and mind. Sometimes 'affect' includes every aspect of emotion, and sometimes it refers just to physical disturbances and bodily activity (e.g. arousal), as opposed to 'feelings' or more elaborated subjective experiences. These bodily experiences gesture towards something that escapes or remains in excess of the practices of the 'speaking subject', and which - unlike emotions - evades meaning (Stewart 2007; Blackman and Venn 2010; Wetherell 2012). In the psychological literature, affect tends to be defined as arising within an individual's body in response to another body or object (Wetherell 2012).

As I implied previously in this chapter, in relation to Deleuze (and Guattari), however, the turn to affect signifies a more extensive ontological and epistemological paradigm shift. As I noted above, for Deleuze, affect is generalised as making a difference. It signifies movement and change. We could, for instance, talk about being affected by an event, even if we are not clear about the impact it is having on us. Affect in this sense does not need to be confined to humans or even animate life. The affective capacity of inanimate objects has been pointed out especially by feminist 'new

materialists'¹⁷ such as Jane Bennett (2004; 2009), Karin Hultman and Helevi Lenz Taguchi (Hultman and Taguchi 2010; Taguchi 2013), and Donna Haraway (1991). For instance, Bennett (2004) points out that trash may affect a person's sense of being in the world. For Deleuze, affect is an active relation. It does not arise within an individual body, but instead is entirely relational and pre-personal. 'Intensities', for Deleuze, concern fluctuations, thresholds, or the resulting difference *within* bodies, objects or ideas.

Several feminist writers argue that, like the Deleuzo-Guattarian theory of sexuality, Deleuze and Guattari's conceptualisation of affect may be said to be abstract and disembodied (e.g. Grosz 1994; Braidotti 2011; Beckman 2011), and that there is a need to relate it to actual experience and lived bodies. Both Braidotti (2011) and Grosz (1994; 2011) have pointed out how Deleuzo-Guattarian theory does not adequately explain why things are felt differently by different people. Specifically, they point out that Deleuze and Guattari neglect the experience of sexual difference and what this means to people. Some (e.g. Sara Ahmed 1999) are hesitant about using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, because, whilst Deleuzo-Guattarian theory attempts to escape molar distinctions such as 'male' and 'female', it draws on an almost exclusively male literary tradition. It is underpinned by male experiences, and arguably uses masculine language.

Grosz (1994; 2005; 2008; 2011) has developed a Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired approach to subjectivity that incorporates the body, as well as an 'unconscious'. This may help researchers not only to maintain the notion of the psychic, but also to address the injunction that in Western society we experience ourselves as coherent, unified, and even fixed. Grosz (2005) has argued that affective forces are picked up on by individuals, and that experiences such as pleasure and pain are the corporal

¹⁷ 'New materialism' as a term was coined by Manuel DeLanda and Braidotti in the second half of the 1990's. New materialism shows how the mind is always already material (the mind is an idea of the body), how matter is necessarily something of the mind (the mind has the body as its object), and how nature and culture are always already "naturecultures" (Donna Haraway's 1991 term).

registrations of affective flows. It is therefore of utmost importance to pay attention to bodily experiences if we are to explore the materialisation of the social realm.

Braidotti (1994; 2006a; 2006b; 2013) has offered a feminist and markedly affirmative interpretation of the experience of affect. Braidotti (2006b) develops interpretations of affect as flows within assemblages, which register within bodies as 'intensities' (Deleuze 1968; Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987), and as something which - unlike emotions - evades meaning (Stewart 2007). She argues that affects that flow through human bodies are felt in a very profound way. Affect, then, may be viewed not only as changes in bodily capacities (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987), but also as a "feeling vector that transverses the body" (Renold 2014: 4), which give rise to subjectivity, and which is experienced in ways that exceed the discursive. Sexual difference, Braidotti argues, may be viewed as an affective space (Braidotti (1994; 2003; 2006; 2013), and patterns in affect may be gendered (Stewart 2007). However, the processes of affect working on our bodies are not straightforward, may be unconscious, and difficult to grasp. Therefore, the study of experience becomes crucial in order to explore how the social materialises differently in different bodies.

Braidotti (Braidotti 2006b; 2013) describes affectivity as that which activates an embodied subject, empowering this subject to interact with others. As such, for Braidotti (2006b) affect is intrinsically positive: it is a force which aims to fulfil the subject's capacity for interaction and freedom. It is joyful and pleasure-prone, and is immanent in that it coincides with the terms and modes of its expression. That is not to say that processes of becoming are always experienced as positive by embodied subjects; indeed, Braidotti argues that these processes can also be painful.

In my research, I use Braidotti's (2006b; 2013) notion of affect to redirect the focus in sexuality research with young people away from a specific set of sexual practices, and towards intensities as they are felt in the body. In so doing, research may highlight some of the complexities of young people's sexual subjectivities, and unearth figurations which exceed normative (hetero)sexuality. In the spirit of processual ontology, my data will illustrate in greater detail the ways in which my use

of 'affect', as well as the other concepts I introduced in this chapter, affected my research.

2.10 The politics of research

In their final co-authored piece 'What is Philosophy?', Deleuze and Guattari (2014) argued that instead of relating to some form of truth, concepts are historical and can always be viewed as having the capacity to affect us. As such, they may produce conditions under which a future that is different from the present becomes possible. While some concepts may act as a means of reinforcing dominant power relations, others may act as a line of flight from the social order (Stengers 2008). Following this line of argument, it is not necessarily important to use a concept in the ways that was intended by a philosopher or social scientist, but to ask ourselves what the use of a concept does. What matters is how a concept's use affects the world. First and foremost, I was therefore concerned with what the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts within my research could do to highlight complexities, how they could affect understandings of youth sexualities, and what capacities and limitations they would produce for young people. Braidotti (2005) has argued that the feminist engagement with concepts need not be critical, but can be inventive and creative.

Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) distinguish between 'tracing' and 'mapping'. While tracing highlights that which we already know, and keeps us locked within and reinforces that which is well-established, 'mapping' refers to the charting of unnamed territories. It involves the deterritorialisation of data. As such it may allow for the emergence of new understandings. While much of the previous research on young sexualities, especially that which has drawn on psychological and discursive approaches, has arguably used a process of tracing, I wanted to map 'alternative figurations' (Braidotti 1994; see Renold and Ringrose 2008) of youth sexuality. For this, using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts are useful, because they do not limit young people's experiences to the discursive, or pathologise their bodies, as is commonly done in psychological research (Lamb 2010). Instead, using their concepts, we may view young people's sexual bodies are territorialised by a (hetero)sexist sexuality-

assemblage, where bodies are objectified and the focus is on genitals. However, because the world is constantly in a process of rhizomatic change, there are nevertheless possibilities of escape and excess. Using such an ontology then, there is always potential for sexuality to become something else, at least on a temporary basis. In this way, an approach based on Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy - a philosophy which emphasises and allows for the rhizomatic flow of affect - may allow for, and produce, possibilities of unforeseeable expressions of sexuality. This has the potential to render more fluid and transformable the means by which female and male subjects are produced, and to generate a future in which affective flows align differently (Grosz 2005). The Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired conceptualisation of sexuality allows for the fluidification and re-assemblage of the academic discourse of sexuality (Lambevski 2004; Blaise 2013). The concepts of 'assemblage', 'affect', 'becoming', 'territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation' make it possible to explore both participants' experiences of discursive capture, and experiences which exceed signification.

2.11 How do young sexualities emerge when thinking with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts?

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in using feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian in empirical sexuality research. While empirical work has been argued to lag behind theoretical developments (Lorimer 2013), my research contributes to a small but growing corpus of work which uses feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts in empirical sexuality research with young people (Coleman and Ringrose 2013). Much of this work has focused on young children (Holford, Renold, and Huuki 2013; Blaise 2013; Huuki and Renold 2015), pre-teenaged ('tweenaged') girls, and young teenagers (Coleman 2008; Renold and Ringrose 2008; Ringrose 2011; Renold and Ringrose 2011; Kofoed and Ringrose 2012; Ivinson and Renold 2013a; Ivinson and Renold 2013b; Renold and Ivinson 2014; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Renold and Ivinson 2015; Renold and Ringrose 2016; see Fox and Alldred 2014). Some (Lambevski 2005; Coffey 2013; Alldred and Fox 2015) have used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to explore the sexualities of adults or young

people in their late teens. In this literature, youth sexual subjectivities have arguably emerged as more complex than in much of the discursive research that I discussed in part one of this chapter, and as harder to generalise and pin down.

2.11.1 Foregrounding complexity, affect, and potential

I noted in part one of this chapter, how in their early research together, Renold and Ringrose (2008) highlighted the ways in which some girls and young women refuse to allow the complexities of their experiences to be reduced to fit into a heterosexual matrix (Butler 1990). Rejecting neat binary positions, Renold and Ringrose (2008) highlighted the constant trespassing and transgression of femininities. These trespasses manifested, for instance, in the physically violent behaviour of middle-class girls, who refuse to adhere to 'niceness'. At the same time, since this violence was directed at a working-class girl, it may be seen to regulate the relative status of middle-class heterosexuality. Renold and Ringrose's (2008) research illustrates how trespasses may simultaneously strengthen and destabilise the deeply felt oppressions of a (hetero)sexist culture. They may be seen to both stabilise and destabilise normative social hierarchies.

In a later paper, Renold and Ringrose (2011) described young teenage girls' subjectivities as 'schizoid'. Drawing on Braidotti's Deleuze-inspired concept of the 'schizoid double pull' (Braidotti 2006b), which points to the ways in which gender and sexual norms can be simultaneously deterritorialised and reterritorialised, Renold and Ringrose (2011) map how girls negotiate discourses of sexual knowingness and innocence, often simultaneously. They illustrate how gender and sexual norms are difficult to read in contemporary Western society, and how sexual practices may have multiple effects. For example, they illustrate how sexual dancing may reinforce dominant notions of feminine sexuality, but at the same time function to reverse gendered power dynamics. Once again, sexual subjectivity, here, emerges as contradictory and always in motion. Renold and Ringrose (2008) found that what a sexual expression does is specific to each singular assemblage. This means that it is difficult, if not impossible, to predict the effects of any specific practice. In their research with young children, Naomi Holford, Renold and Tuija Tuuki (Holford et al.

2013), for instance, highlighted the multiple ways in which a kiss could limit or enable their sexual and gendered capacities.

In their work on the sexualities of young men, Alldred and Fox (2015) noted that one of the values of using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts in sexuality research rests in revealing sexuality not as an attribute of an individual human subject, but as emerging within assemblages that cut across cultural and natural realms. This may include young men's bodies, sexual partners, night clubs, and sports clubs. While normative forms of sexuality are produced and reproduced in these relations, resistance and a becoming-other are always possible. Applying Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to interview data collected for previous research, Alldred and Fox (2015) illustrate how for many young men, sexuality is often defined and experienced in conventional and narrow ways. Their sexual bodies, which Alldred and Fox call 'impoverished', are territorialised, for instance, by the genitalisation of sexuality, patriarchy, and heteronormativity. These territorialisations materialise in sexual behaviours aimed at increasing status. For instance, Alldred and Fox (2015) found that young men often framed sexual encounters in terms of competition with friends rather than the interaction with the person involved. However, by emphasising processes of deterritorialisation, Alldred and Fox (2015) also pointed to possibilities for new desires, pleasure, and capacities. This included unexpected experiences of emotional closeness that could change a young man's attitudes towards sex.

2.11.2 Youth sexualities and the more-than-human

While in their work, Alldred and Fox (2015) highlighted how practices and places such as sports and nightclubs, as well as discourse, affected young men's sexual subjectivities, others have used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to think about the ways in which *technology* is implicated in youth sexualities. Rebecca Coleman (Coleman 2008), for instance, has illustrated how media images are implicated in girls' and young women's becomings. Coleman (2008) argues that the relations between bodies and images produce particular affects, which create specific bodily capacities for young women. By mapping the ways in which affect is produced in the relations between young women and images, she explores "what becomings images [...] limit

or extend” (2008, p. 1). In this way, she extends the debates about media effects that I discussed in part one of this chapter. While such debates often focus on the homogenisation of female bodies (e.g. as heterosexual, thin, attractive, young, white), Coleman shifts the debate from how bodies are produced through particular relations between bodies and images. Media images, in this view, are neither good nor bad, and the affects which emerge in their relations with young women are complicated and potentially unpredictable. Moreover, Coffey (2013) illustrated how, while a focus on appearances within the media can fix young female (and sometimes male) sexualities (aged 18 to 35), if we view bodies as relational and in a constant process of becoming, we can begin to notice short moments of rupture, and potential for new experiences.

This is not to say that the ways in which young bodies emerge in research that works with the concept of ‘media-assemblages’ is not woeful. Indeed, in their work on the online social networking sites Bebo in the U.K. and Arto in Denmark, Kofoed and Ringrose (Kofoed and Ringrose 2012; also see Renold and Ringrose 2011) borrowed Ahmed’s term ‘sticky affects’ to point to the ways in which words such as ‘slut’ can stick to girls’ sexual bodies with such an affective force that it makes their lives temporarily unliveable. In her work on her own, Ringrose (2011) notes that online spaces are heterosexually striated. These assemble with other social spaces such as school to produce (sexual) capacities for young people. Social networking sites create new intensified gendered and sexualised identities. However, they may also offer a means of escape and rejecting classed and gendered ways of being that are encouraged in schools. Ringrose (2011) highlights the importance of both tracing discursive subjectifications and mapping the micro-movements which allow for temporary change.

In their paper ‘Selfies, relfies and phallic tagging’, which I briefly mentioned in part one of this chapter, Renold and Ringrose (2016) argue that new formations of sexual objectification can be seen when things other than human bodies are foregrounded, and when the ontological divide between the human and technology is blurred. This work takes inspiration from the new materialist literature, which argues that a focus

on only the human neglects the non-human elements that are at play in the world (e.g. Hultman and Taguchi 2010; also see Haraway's famous 1991 work on cyborgs). Jamie Lorimer (2010; 2013) makes reference to the 'more-than-human', which, he argues, reduces the divide between the human and the non-human, and better captures the open-endedness, relationality and fluidity of humanity which is posed in assemblage theory. Renold and Ringrose (2016) illustrate how teenagers' Facebook tagging operates as a form of 'coercive phallic touch' (p.1). It can be used to fix young women's bodies in sexist ways. However, once again, as I noted in part one of this chapter, Renold and Ringrose (2016) also showed how young people could use tagging in creative and rupturing ways.

In her recent work, Allen (2015) notes that by focusing on the more-than human in sexuality research with young people, the significance of mobile phones in young people's sexual lives became apparent to her. While Allen did not use Deleuzo-Guattarian theory, she used a new materialist approach inspired by Hultman and Taguchi (2010). She asked young people to take photographs that captured how they learnt about sexuality at school. While mobile phones were rarely mentioned explicitly, they featured heavily and implicitly in much of Allen's data. Allen notes that by foregrounding the more-than-human, youth sexuality can be seen as emerging through young people's unique relations with their phones.

Apart from highlighting the significance of technology and places such as night and sports clubs (Alldred and Fox 2015), some researchers have also pointed out how the history of places (Ivinson and Renold 2013a; 2013b; Renold and Ivinson 2014; 2015), and objects such as medication (Potts 2004), may be contained within and produce young sexuality-assemblages. In their work with young women (aged 12 to 14) from an ex-mining community in the Welsh valleys, Renold and Gabrielle Ivinson (2015) noted how affective responses "have deeply sedimented personal and social histories" (Moore 2013: 199). While they may surprise us, only rarely are they random. Renold and Ivinson (2015; Ivinson and Renold 2013a; 2013b) found that deeply ingrained in girls' talk were tensions that appeared to bear signs of industrial legacies of what girls and women were required to be. This was especially noticeable

in their talk of sexual violence, their experiences of implicit and explicit encouragements to keep boys out of trouble, and the prioritisation of boys' wellbeing over their own. Yet, using the concepts of 'queer becomings', Renold and Ivinson (2015) were also able to highlight alternative modalities of belonging, connectivity, and intimacy. Queerness here refers not to sexual identity, but instead to alternative modalities that trouble and extend normative models of gender and sexuality. For instance, one moment which could be described as opening up a 'queer becoming' was when one participant spoke about a visual image of a burning wedding dress. This image may be viewed as offering a line of flight from the compulsory coupledness witnessed in valley life, and as allowing for new affects to emerge.

2.11.3 Reconceptualising desire and re-assembling sexuality

Renold and Ivinson's (2015) work illustrates how a focus on becomings which trouble normative models of gender and sexuality offers the reader, participants, and the researcher an opportunity to think and research gender and sexuality differently. In her work with young children, Mindy Blaise (2013) argues that making generalisations about gender and sexuality is unhelpful, not only because such generalisations assume homogeneity, but also because they discourage a more open-ended way of thinking. Using six extracts of previously collected data on childhood gender and sexuality, Blaise (2013) illustrates how Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts allow researchers to re-assemble their own assumptions. Focusing on becomings, Blaise (2013) notes, allowed her for example to view a Spiderman belt not only as a gendered accessory, but also to highlight the new connections between boys and girls that it enabled. In this way, Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts may propel us out of traditional habits of thinking, and allow us to re-work ideas about young sexualities.

Others have used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to rethink adult sexual practices such as glory hole sex¹⁸ (Holmes et al. 2010) and the use of Viagra (Potts 2004). In an auto-ethnographical observation of people in night clubs, Sasho Lambevski (2005) noted

¹⁸ A glory hole is a hole in a wall, often in public lavatories, that may be used to engage in sexual activity.

how in thinking about sexuality as a force which may exceed identity models and the heterosexual matrix, he was able to notice how desires could flow rhizomatically and transgress sexual (e.g. gay) identities or conventional notions of beauty.

In their work with teenage girls from the Welsh valleys, Renold and Ivanson (2014) offer an explicit exploration of the radicalisation of sexuality with young people. They creatively explore Deleuze and Guattari's (1983; 1987) provocation to return desire to its polymorphous revolutionary source as 'becoming other' (Braidotti 2013: 149). Rather than focusing on desire as tied to an Oedipal sexuality or genitals, they highlight the often imperceptible moments of 'pure desire', and reconceptualise desire as life force. Focusing on girls' relationship with horses, they move away from phallogentric and heterosexualised interpretations of girls' desires for horseback-riding. Recovering affects which are often excluded when tracing what we already think we know, they highlight how horseback-riding may offer some young women a rare sense of freedom (and safety), where they can "go wherever" (p.370). Desire here emerges not as absent, as is often the case in the medical literature, nor as normative (and tied to genitals), as may be said in relation to much of the feminist psychological literature. Instead, desire here is entangled with the potential of new possibilities and being-otherwise.

2.11.4 Limitations of research exploring youth sexualities using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts

While the body of work which has used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts in empirical sexuality research with young people is limited in size, researchers have begun to offer insights into how these concepts may be useful to think of youth sexual subjectivities as complex and always in motion. They have also begun to map alternative configurations of youth sexuality. Highlighting alternative figurations of youth sexuality is not only vital in order to better grasp youth sexualities, it also contributes to the creation of a platform which allows sexuality to move beyond its (hetero)sexist ties. However, in a culture in which levels of sexual violence are endemic, in which funding pots are shrinking (see chapter one), and the focus is increasingly on straightforward evidence-based outcomes (Davies 2003; Clegg 2005;

Head 2010; Strassheim and Kettunen 2014), researchers have sometimes struggled to secure funding for sexuality projects that do not address sexual violence in a straightforward fashion, and which may seem somewhat abstract to funders (Beckman 2011).

Several researchers (e.g. Blaise 2013; Alldred and Fox 2015) have applied Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to research data that they produced for previous projects. Whilst this research highlights how such concepts may change the ways in which we think about youth sexualities, it has missed out on the opportunity to design this research with these concepts in mind (see chapter three for further discussion). Alldred and Fox's (2015) paper, for instance, relied on interview data from previous research projects (Alldred 2007; Visser and Smith 2004).

Other researchers (e.g. Renold and Ivinson 2014; Ivinson and Renold 2013a; 2013b; Holford et al. 2013) did have these concepts in mind when designing their research, and have used a range of creative methods to produce their data. However, while some have focused on young adults and people in their late teens (e.g. Coffey 2013), much of this research has explored the sexualities of children or young people below the age of consent. Many studies have foregrounded the experiences of girls (e.g. Renold and Ringrose 2011; Renold and Ivinson 2014), with Alldred and Fox's (2015) exploration of the sexuality-assemblages of young men being somewhat of an exception. Few papers have explored the different ways in which the multiple sexual bodies (multiple, because they are part of many different assemblages) of young women and young men may assemble.

2.12 Foregrounding pleasure and sexuality with Deleuze and Guattari

My PhD project offered an excellent opportunity to explore the nuances of the sexualities of young women and men creatively. It adds to the body of work which explores how Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts allow for a reconceptualization of the field of youth sexualities (this is captured in research question three: ***"How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts within youth sexuality research contribute to a***

re-conceptualisation of the field?”), and how research methodologies can map some of the complexities of youth sexualities (this is captured in research question two: “How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond ‘sex’, and map the complexities of young people’s lived (sexual) experiences?”).

As the previous sections show, in their projects, several researchers have focused not on pleasure, but on reconceptualising desire. Given the prominence of desire in the work of Deleuze and Guattari, and their emphasis on its productive potential, such a move may be intuitive. While Deleuze and Guattari believed in the productive potential of desire, in contrast to Foucault (1978), who favoured pleasure over desire, they were critical of pleasure. Deleuze (2001) in particular rejected the political power of pleasure, including sexual pleasure, in favour of ‘joy’, which he argued arises when a body’s capacities are increased (Deleuze and Parnet 2007). He argued that pleasure disrupts desire, and therefore hinders processes of becoming. Further, he argued that sexual pleasure has been captured not only by psychoanalysis which ties it to lack, but also by capitalist forces, which have liberated sexual flows only to reclaim and employ them in order to increase capital. In this way, the ‘pleasure imperative’ which I discussed in chapter one, for example, functions to increase the sale of products such as sexual imagery, sexual clothing, make-up, and sex toys (Evans and Riley 2014; Gill 2007; Gill 2008). Whilst being fond of the idea of rhizomatic plateaus, as part of his rejection of pleasure, Deleuze (as cited in Beckman 2013) viewed the orgasm as deplorable and as an ultimately unsatisfactory end point of linear pleasure. As long as pleasure is related to orgasm, he argued, it is also related to lack and the territorialisation of sexuality by (hetero)sexist psychoanalytic ideas and capitalism.

However, Beckman (2013) has argued that Deleuze takes as his starting point Oedipal and (once again) patriarchal definitions of pleasure, including in relation to orgasms. His understanding of them as an end-point is arguably influenced by phallogocentric ideas of sexuality, and his rejection of pleasure may stem from his privileged position as an adult man (Braidotti 2013). As I argued in chapter one, for young people, and

young women in particular, sexual pleasure is in no way straightforwardly accepted. It may be problematic to deny young women pleasure while such experiences are not considered entirely legitimate for them. While men's pleasures and orgasms may be normative and over-coded with an Oedipal sexuality, women's pleasures, and especially those of *young* women, have historically been denied. In the wider context of the silencing of young women's pleasures, the taboos surrounding it, and practices such as FGM (see chapter one), Deleuze's argument for a rejection of pleasure may not hold, and does not seem desirable. Indeed, for young women in particular, pleasure may be viewed as bearing rupturing potential.

In her book 'Between Desire and Pleasure', Beckman (2013) has constructed a more productive conceptualisation of sexual pleasure based on a Deleuzo-Guattarian ontology, which aims to reclaim sexual pleasure as a creative force and re-couples it with desire. Accordingly, to make Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy relevant to exploring sexuality, we need to explore how sexual pleasure can rupture molar formations such as capitalism and gender. She argues that instead of rejecting pleasure, it would be more productive to reject the common understanding of pleasure as relating to lack. Pleasurable events such as orgasm, which on first sight seemingly represent an end-point, may instead be perceived as part of a becoming composition, and as part of the essential positivity of desire. Indeed, Patricia McCormack (2011) has argued that ecstasy harbours great potential for escaping signification. Ecstasy, she argues, is outside of time, and cannot be reduced to subjectivity and signification. Therefore, despite being hijacked by capitalist as well as medical discourses (see Tiefer 1994; 2000; 2007; Tiefer et al. 2002), pleasure, including orgasm, may have the potential to expand what bodies can do (Grosz 2008).

In my project, I did not necessarily think about pleasure as something which represents an endpoint to desire. While roughly drawing on dominant definitions of (bodily) pleasure as something that feels good in and/or on the body, I also listened to participants' understandings, and viewed it as having the potential to be rhizomatic and latent in open-ended, mutually-expansive connections (Beckman 2103). Inspired by Beckman's (2013) and McCormack's (2011) argument that by

rejecting pleasure altogether we fall into a reactive trap, my project is built on a concern for the need of a place for pleasures in sexuality research with young people; albeit pleasures which are spontaneous and hold potential for progress, rather than ones which are prescribed and tied to gendered oppression. If we do not make such an allowance, we may risk being part of a force which controls young people, especially young women, and which contributes to the territorialisation of their sexual bodies in limiting ways. As I noted previously in this chapter, the re-interpretation of Deleuzo-Guattarian theory, in this case by putting pleasure back into their theory of sexuality, is entirely in the Deleuzo-Guattarian tradition. Indeed, Eleanor Kaufman (2004) has argued that any Deleuzian application needs to be unfaithful to the original to be truly Deleuzian.

In addition to rarely focusing on pleasure, Deleuzo-Guattarian sexuality scholars, as well as Deleuze and Guattari themselves, have rarely used the term 'sexuality'. Indeed, within the Deleuzo-Guattarian literature, 'sexuality' is often used to describe the capture of desire by the Oedipal (see Beckman 2013). While one might argue that sexuality has in contemporary Western culture been territorialised with such force that the term has lost its revolutionary potential, Beckman (2013) argues that like pleasure, the term 'sexuality' itself must be freed from the Oedipal. While other researchers in the field have begun to return 'desire' to its polymorphous revolutionary source, following Beckman (2013), in this thesis, I use the term 'sexuality' both to think about how sexuality has been limited and territorialised, but also to attempt to contribute to a disentanglement of sexuality and the Oedipal, and return it to its revolutionary free-floating force as which Deleuze and Guattari conceptualised it. While this thesis will illustrate how, due to sexuality's current territorialisations, this can be problematic and, indeed, at times dangerous (for example because it makes young people's experiences with older adults vulnerable to being captured by a paedophilic assemblage; see chapter four for further discussion), I agree with Beckman (2013) that this exercise holds significant potential to allow sexuality as it is normatively defined to move and become-other. While viewing sexuality in this way creates the potential of opening up sexuality beyond the gender distinction, in my project I was influenced by feminist Deleuzo-Guattarian

scholars (e.g. Braidotti; Grosz) and continue to emphasise the significance of sexual difference in such becomings.

2.13 Conclusions

This chapter has discussed a range of theoretical approaches to the study of youth sexuality, and has outlined previous research in the field. In part one, I explored discursive and psychological approaches, and discussed the feminist literature on youth sexualities that has been situated within such theoretical traditions. I argued that while this research has been valuable in highlighting gendered sexual inequalities, it has been limited in exploring bodily experiences which exceed dominant discourses, and in mapping alternative figurations of youth sexualities.

In part two of this chapter I introduced the reader to Deleuze and Guattari's theory of sexuality, and their conceptualisation of (sexual) subjectivity as always partial, non-linear, and unfinished. Specifically, I discussed feminist appropriations of the Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts of 'affect', 'becoming', 'assemblage', 'territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation'. I argued that these concepts may allow sexuality researchers to explore some of the complexities of young people's sexual experiences. They may enable us to illustrate how young sexual bodies are striated by dominant sexual discourse, but also to highlight (momentary) alternative ways of being (and reading) young gendered sexual subjects. Specifically, considering the difficulty of researchers to tap into pleasure, I wanted to allow for the emergence of pleasurable experiences, as well as those which may be difficult.

I argued in this chapter how methodological developments in the Deleuzo-Guattarian field of youth sexualities may be said to lag behind theoretical ones (Lorimer 2013). In the next chapter, chapter three, I illustrate how I used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts to devise a research methodology with young people aged 16 to 18 that allows for complex affective experiences to emerge, which ruptures established ways of doing sexuality research, and which offers up opportunities for me to re-assemble and re-imagine sexuality with young people.

To reiterate, through my engagement with the literature, the following research questions emerged:

- 1) How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?
 - a. To what extent and in what ways are young people's sexual subjectivities affected by normative and gendered discourses surrounding (youth) sexuality, both in relation to sex and in relation to other practices?
 - b. To what extent and in what ways do young people's experiences exceed, affect, and move normative and gendered understandings of (youth) sexuality?
- 2) How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond 'sex', and map the complexities of young people's lived (sexual) experiences?
- 3) How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts within youth sexuality research contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the field?

I will address these questions in subsequent chapters. I will begin, in chapter three, by addressing research question two through introducing the reader to my methodological approach, and exploring its capacities.

Chapter Three

“I thought it was just going to be sex!”: Creating a deterritorialising methodology for sexuality research with young people

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the methodological approach that I developed to map young people’s experiences of sexuality and pleasure. There is no blueprint for how to design a research project underpinned by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, in part because, as I noted in chapter two, empirical work in this area is still in its early stages (Lorimer 2013), but more importantly because a philosophy of difference encourages specificity. Nonetheless I took inspiration from other sexuality researchers who have engaged with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, as well as researchers who have developed creative methods to explore embodied experiences.

Central to my project was the post-structuralist¹⁹ rejection of the idea that there is a real world that can be gathered together as data and described within an analysis. Interpretative traditions in the social sciences prescribe to the idea that there is an underlying meaning in an already existing social world which interpretation can bring to light (St. Pierre 2013). My project, on the other hand, was framed by the assumption that so-called ‘data’ always emerges within a web of complex and moving assemblages; it is not separate from me, the researcher, nor is it ‘out there’ for me to collect. Rather than being a representation of an existing world, the choices that are made within research and analysis are always processes of making and unmaking (Jackson and Mazzei 2011). For example, the mere selection of pleasure as a subject in sexuality research with young people may offer a challenge to dominant notions which link young sexualities to risks and negative outcomes. In so doing, it may create possibilities for the deterritorialisation of sexual bodies.

¹⁹ Post-structuralism is a movement in social theory that is critical of structuralism. Its principal characteristic is scepticism towards any form of completeness of either knowledge or understanding. It accepts only those theories of being and knowledge that are premised on the final unknowability of these things (Buchanan 2010). Foucault, Butler, Deleuze and Guattari, and Braidotti are all associated with this movement.

By using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, the focus of inquiry in my research became about the multiplicity of processes and interactions that inhere within, constitute, and shape the complex flows and dynamics of the assemblages within which youth sexual subjectivities emerge. This ontological formation, with its focus on becoming, forces researchers to consider not only moments of stability within the relational nature of subjectivities, but to track changes of state and the capacities that these changes open up or close down. To focus on relational processes of becoming within my research, I engaged with the concept of 'research-assemblage' (Fox and Alldred 2014; 2015). This concept ties together what would previously be considered as distinct categories within the research process: different phases of data production, researcher and data, production and analysis, research subjects and locale. Indeed, through an unrelenting relationality the very idea of a unit is largely undone.

I aimed at creating a research environment which enabled the exploration of bodily experiences in relation to a variety of practices. Producing possibilities for rupture and 'deterritorialisations', that is, moments when sexual subjectivities or the capacities of sexual bodies changed, took precedent in designing the research. I was also interested in the ways in which young people's sexual bodies were territorialised, and what capacities and limitations for pleasure these territorialisations produced in their bodies.

Although in my research I acknowledged the critical role of the many relations which comprise young people's sexuality-assemblages, and the relational and multiple nature of their subjectivities, I wanted to give young people space to explore their bodily sensations as they were experienced and understood by themselves. Like many feminist writers who have developed the work of Deleuze and Guattari (e.g. Grosz 1994; 2005; Braidotti 2013), I felt that it was important to acknowledge the specific experiences of the young women and men who took part in my research. As I noted in chapters one and two, all too often young people's experiences have been ignored by sexuality researchers and policy makers. In the tradition of other feminist researchers who have used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (e.g. Renold; Ringrose), I

wanted young people to play a central role in the research. I wanted to take their experiences seriously.

My approach posed methodological challenges, and required me to think carefully about my research design. For example, my aim to open up sexuality beyond 'sex' was methodologically challenging, because on the one hand I had an ethical responsibility to be honest with participants that the research was situated within the academic field of sexuality, but on the other I had an ontological responsibility to avoid predefined definitions of 'sex' or sexuality. My approach also posed questions about the ways in which methodology chapters are conventionally structured. The development of my methods was iterative, and the final phase emerged through my engagement with participants. Data production and analysis were somewhat entangled. This chapter reflects this rhizomatic process, and, somewhat unconventionally, incorporates data that highlights the ways in which my methods functioned. In this way, the chapter allowed me to explore the capacities of my methodology (and address research question two). While I considered to explore this data in a separate chapter, I decided that its incorporation into my methodology chapter made more sense within an ontological approach that rejects the idea of linear processes.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first section, I introduce the reader to the participants who took part in the study, and the research sites where the research took place. In the second section I explore my methodological approach, especially the methods that I devised for the project. I then provide a reflexive account of my own role in the research process, before discussing my engagements with the data (what one might call my analytical process) in the final section.

3.2 Participants, research sites, and preparations

3.2.1 Participants

The research project was made up of three phases, and participants were invited to take part in some or all of the three phases. Thirty-six young people (19 young women; 17 young men) took part in the initial part of the study (phase one); 24 of the initial 36 young people (14 young women, ten young men) took part in phase two, and ten out of those 24 participants (five young women; five young men) also took part in the final part of the study (phase three). All participants were between 16 and 18 years old, and lived in urban or suburban areas of south Wales (UK). Although I made an effort to recruit a diverse sample, due to my means of recruitment via schools, all participants were placed within the formal education system²⁰. Twenty-two participants were enrolled in post-16 (A-Level²¹) education; 14 participants were in year ten of secondary school and taking their GCSEs²². Several of the GCSE students did not intend to continue with their secondary school or college education. None of the participants were looked-after, and all were able-bodied.

Other than age and location, there were no specific criteria for participation. However, I did try to ensure that there were significant numbers of both young women and young men, and that participants were from a variety of ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. While 92% of the Welsh population considers themselves to be white (Office for National Statistics 2011), and this was reflected in my sample, the sample also included two participants from an Afro-Caribbean background and one participant was from a mixed British/Middle Eastern background. While several participants identified as atheist, many were members of religious groups: one participant was a practicing Muslim, six participants practiced

²⁰ Those young people not attending an educational institution are at high risk of sexual exploitation (Berelowitz et al. 2012).

²¹ A-level stands for 'Advanced Level', and is a U.K. educational qualification obtained by a large proportion of those that go on to enter higher education.

²² GCSE stands for 'General Certificate of Secondary Education' and is obtained by the majority of U.K. pupils at the age of 16.

Christianity on a regular basis, and one was part of another strict religious group²³. Biographical details were not asked about in a formalised way, but emerged through my interactions with participants. At the end of individual interviews, I generally asked participants specifically about their family set-up, their parents' occupation, their relationship with family members, and their hopes and plans for their lives after leaving school. Inspired by researchers who work with queer theory (Butler 1990; see Nigianni and Storr 2005), I did not ask participants to categorise their sexual identity. However, many participants disclosed that they identified as heterosexual, at least one participant (a self-identified young man) identified as gay, at least one participant (a self-identified young woman) identified as bisexual, and at least one participant (a self-identified young man) described his sexuality as fluid. In order to protect the anonymity of the participants, throughout my thesis, I have at times remained vague about their backgrounds, and in some instances I have changed or added (fictionalised) some details about their personal lives (also see Campbell 2000).

3.2.2 Research Sites

Participants were recruited from one of three comprehensive schools which offer post-16-education and are situated in urban or suburban areas in south Wales (UK; see Appendix 2 for school information leaflet). The schools were located in areas which differed greatly in the socio-economic status of their student intake. This ensured that the sample was mixed in terms of class/socioeconomic background. To ensure anonymity for participants, all three schools, as well as participants themselves, were given pseudonyms²⁴. Ysgol Werdd is situated in an urban area with a mainly white working-class population; Ysgol Porffor is situated in a relatively prosperous and mainly white middle-class suburban location; and School Gwyn is located on the outskirts of a medium-sized city and its catchment area includes a population from a variety of mainly white backgrounds.

²³ I have remained vague here in order to protect the identity of the participant.

²⁴ The pseudonyms chosen for the three schools are the Welsh words for 'green' ('werdd'), 'purple' ('porffor'), and 'white' ('gwyn') - the three colours traditionally associated with feminism. 'Ysgol' is Welsh for 'school'.

3.2.2.1 Researching sexuality and bodily pleasure in schools

Schools are institutionalised hierarchical spaces, and pedagogical practices within them have often been argued to invoke power differentials, especially between staff and pupils (e.g. Evans et al. 2004). These power differentials are maintained through standardised practices, including the explicit judgement of pupils' abilities by teachers, and a requirement for pupils to adhere to regulations. The pupil's body tends to emerge through these practices as obedient and self-disciplined (Horton 2008). Given the authoritarian school context, in which young people are viewed as in need of guidance (Paechter 2002; Allen 2007b), power differentials between the participants and the researcher warranted special consideration in my research practices (Stanley and Wise 1983). I addressed this imbalance first and foremost by acknowledging it, but also by creating an informal environment for participants (e.g. using my first name, wearing informal clothing, etc.).

Sexuality and bodily pleasure are often viewed as diametrically opposed to academic schooling objectives, and are constructed as distractions which need to be managed. Allen (2007b) has argued that it is the function of schooling in Anglophone countries to produce a culture in which the mind is prioritised over the body. Similarly, Carrie Paechter (2002; 2006) has argued that schools privilege rationality and the mind, and marginalise the body and its desires. Paechter (2002; 2006) argues that schools are places where children's bodies, including or perhaps *especially* their sexualities, are side-lined or even erased as part of the disciplinary regime. This is reflected, for example, in the absence of narratives of bodily pleasure and desire within SRE, especially in relation to young women (see chapters one and two; Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998; Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Allen 2005; Fine and McClelland 2006; Hirst 2014; Ingham 2014).

The body-negative school environment may have created limitations for young people to talk about certain embodied pleasures within this context (Youdell 2005). For instance, while my empirical chapters will show how in my research narratives of pleasure did emerge, personal narratives of masturbation were rare (I will return to this point later in this chapter). Some participants were cautious about using terms

such as ‘fuck’ or ‘piss’. Perhaps not surprisingly given the competitive structure of schools (and society more generally; Paechter 2002; 2006; Ollis 2014), for some participants, the research was experienced and evaluated in terms of its contribution to academic success (e.g. future university applications). I will return to these points later in this chapter.

3.2.3 Research preparation

3.2.3.1 Ethical approval

The research was approved by the ethical committee of Cardiff University’s School of Social Sciences. The process of obtaining ethical approval was lengthy and reflected how youth sexuality, and especially pleasure, may be perceived as a potentially controversial topic. Understandably given the high levels of abuse and the discourses of ‘sexualisation’ that I discussed in chapter one, members of the ethics committee were not only concerned about safeguarding the participants, but also about ensuring that their parents and carers were comfortable with the research. Although participants were above the age of consent, I was advised to offer schools the option of obtaining informed parental (or legal guardian) consent, as well as informed consent from participants. Two schools, Ysgol Werdd and Ysgol Gwyn, requested that I do so (see Appendices 3 and 4 for participant and parental information leaflets, and Appendices 5 and 6 for consent forms).

Ethical considerations were made throughout the project. I met members of the ethical committee with my supervisors, Professor Renold and Dr MacBride-Stewart, not only before embarking on the first stage of the research, but also for a second time before the final part of the research to provide an update. This was important because the design of the final part of the research had not been determined in advance and emerged through my engagements with participants. In order to ensure that participants’ continued involvement was actively consensual rather than an assumed consequence of their previous involvement, those participants who decided to take part in the final phase of the research signed a second (customised) consent

form before embarking on that stage (see Appendix 7 for the information sheet and Appendix 8 for an example of a consent form for the final phase of the research).

Deleuze (1988) distinguished ethics from morality. Whereas morality is constituted by overarching pre-determined rules which limit potentiality, ethics preside within practices rather than above or outside them. To be an ethical researcher one must seek to evaluate relations as they emerge rather than merely judge them in advance (St. Pierre 1997; 2013). This responsibility was taken seriously throughout my research.

3.2.3.2 Getting participants involved

Once the study had been approved by the ethics committee, I began contacting institutions which work with young people aged 16 to 18. This included schools, colleges and a range of different youth clubs. While I got positive responses from the three schools I introduced above, all the youth clubs and colleges I contacted declined participation. Reasons given were a lack of time and/or, once again, an interpretation of the subject matter as risky or even inappropriate.

Access to Ysgol Werdd and Ysgol Porffor was aided by my supervisor's established relationship with the schools. My main contacts in the schools were an English teacher (Ysgol Werdd), a Religious Education teacher (Ysgol Porffor), and a Psychology teacher (Ysgol Gwyn). I introduced the research to potential participants in our first meeting, which took place either during one of the participants' lessons, or in a student common room.

Like many other feminist researchers in the field of young sexualities (e.g. Tolman 2002; McClelland and Fine 2008), as I noted earlier in this chapter, throughout the research process I tried to be informal, transparent, and approachable. Given the subjugation of pupils within school contexts and pupils' likely embodiment of obedience (Besten et al. 2008), I took special care to emphasise the voluntary nature of participation in the research. This was especially relevant given that in all three schools some pupils were encouraged to take part by their teachers, who by and large

were enthusiastic about the research. In our initial meetings, I informed participants that they could retract consent and terminate participation at any point without any negative consequences. As I stated in the introduction to this chapter, while I informed participants that I was interested in bodily pleasure more broadly, due to ethical reasons I also made them aware that the research was positioned as sexuality research. This meant that experiences emerged in the research which participants normatively defined as 'sex', as well as experiences which are not generally defined in these terms.

3.3 Devising a feminist Deleuzo-Guattarian research methodology for sexuality research with young people

The formal stage of data production commenced once participants had signed the consent forms. The methods I used were devised with my research aims in mind. This included a desire to trace and disrupt molar trajectories of gendered and sexual becomings, to map molecular lines of gendered and sexual becomings, and to allow for the emergence of lived bodily experiences. To explore young people's experiences of bodily pleasure within a variety of contexts, and to map some of the complexities of young people's sexual subjectivities, I used a multiplicity of methods (Fox and Allred 2014). This included group interviews which incorporated an object-sorting task (phase one), individual interviews which incorporated objects brought in by participants (phase two), and a range of arts-based methods (phase three).

Data was produced over a period of nine months from the autumn of 2012 until the summer of 2013. The longitudinal multi-phase design allowed me to establish trust and rapport with participants. I met participants at least once, and often twice, before embarking on the official research process. This generally included one meeting in which I introduced the research to participants and handed out information leaflets and consent forms, and a separate meeting in which participants could ask further questions about the research. I initially asked young people to participate in group interviews (phase one), and informed them that they could then decide whether to take part in the next phases of the research.

While the design of the study was largely determined in advance, as I noted above, I also paid attention to participants' ideas for the research process. This was especially the case for the final phase of the research, in which I asked participants to choose arts-based methods which suited them. In addition, participants brought in a 'pleasure object' of their choice to the individual interviews in phase two. While, as I will discuss later in this chapter, some participants may feel excluded by such a hands-on approach, Caitlin Cahill (2007a; 2007b) has written in detail about the benefits of using participatory methods in research with young people, and how their use can redistribute power within the research process.

Broadly speaking, my research was designed to map youth sexual subjectivities, and to rupture taken-for-granted assumptions as to what can be talked about in sexuality research. While I will discuss the rationale for my methodological approach throughout this chapter, I will begin by briefly outlining in more detail what each phase of the research entailed.

3.3.1 Research phases

Phase 1: Group interviews and object sorting task

The first phase comprised group interviews. Thirty-six young people aged 16 to 18 (19 young women, 17 young men) took part in one of nine group discussions. Each group interview lasted approximately between one and two hours. Groups were made up of two to six participants. All groups were composed of people who knew each other, usually friends. This, as well as the relatively small size of the groups, was intended to create an intimate and safe environment for the participants. Two of the groups were made up of young women, three were made up of young men, and four included both young women and young men. Although in several cases groups were formed by teachers, I encouraged participants to form groups themselves so as to ensure that they felt comfortable. Due to my previous meetings with participants, by the time the group discussions commenced I knew most participants by name.

However, in order to recognise each person's voice on the voice recorders, and to ease participants into the discussion, we started by introducing ourselves. These introductions included sharing one activity that we enjoyed. This immediately placed the emphasis on pleasure.

A variety of different objects were used to stimulate discussion (see figure 1). Participants were asked to sort the objects into categories of their choice, and to complete this task at least twice. Included objects were chosen after a lengthy period of careful consideration, in which I discussed my choices with my supervisors and in which I consulted a range of publications in the fields of sexuality, social science, embodiment, leisure studies, and psychology (Tiger 1992; Rowe 1995; Berenbaum 2002; Ekkekakis 2003; Attwood 2005; Gill 2007; Walkerdine 2007a; White and Dolan 2009; Riley et al. 2010; Del Busso 2011). All included objects were commonly used for recreational activities and hence had at least a loose (discursive or experiential) link with bodily practice (and possibly pleasure). While some of the objects had close discursive ties with normative definitions of sexuality (e.g. vibrator, condoms), others did not (e.g. running shoes, teddy bear). The following objects were included: a mini vibrator, hair gel, a red lipstick, a sports bra, women's lingerie, boxer shorts, a festival wristband, an empty bottle of beer, a dog lead, shower gel, chocolate pralines, running shoes (size seven, marketed as gender-neutral), a football, roll-on perfume (marketed as gender-neutral), condoms, a teddy bear, a soft scarf, a mini iPod with headphones, massage oil, and a games controller.

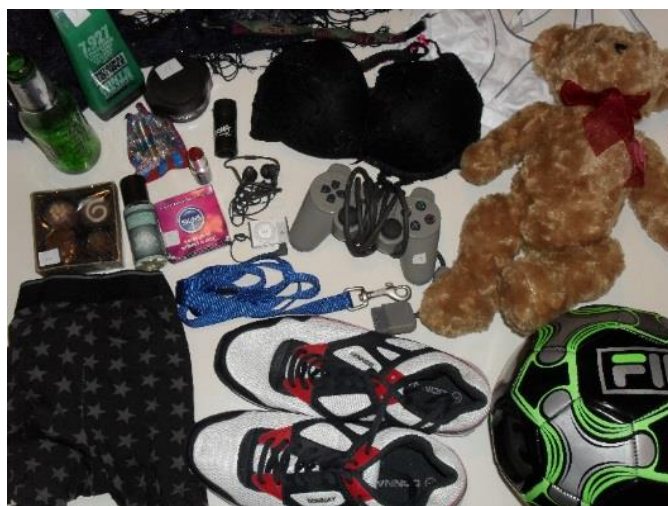


Figure 1: Objects used in group discussions

As I will discuss later in this chapter, the inclusion of this eclectic range of objects was intended to create an environment which challenged assumptions about what may count as sex and what may be legitimately talked about in sexuality research (also see MacLure et al. 2010). I also hoped that the inclusion of objects in the group discussions would contribute to the creation of an environment which felt safe for participants. This was grounded in a presumption that objects could serve as a means of diverting some attention away from participants' bodies and narratives, and shift attention onto their relations with the objects (De Leon and Cohen 2005).

The object sorting task tended to invoke lively discussions, which often included a lot of laughter (I will return to this point later in this chapter). The repetition of the sorting task was intended to allow for creative thinking in relation to the objects. Most significantly, I hoped that the objects would open up possibilities for participants to exceed culturally fixed boundaries between the sexual and the non-sexual. A range of notable categorisations emerged. One group, who initially sorted the objects into 'sexual' and 'non-sexual' categories, when repeating the task, sorted the items according to what they perceived as 'active pleasures' (e.g. running shoes, mini vibrator) and 'actions performed for the pleasure of others' (e.g. lipstick, hair gel). Another group attempted to divide the items into 'girl things' (e.g. lipstick, mini vibrator) and 'boy things' (e.g. games controller, hair gel), before deciding that this distinction rarely made sense.

One of the main aims of this research phase was to invoke curiosity about the research in participants, to get to know them in a relatively structured and safe environment (i.e. with their friends), and to spur an interest in them to take part in subsequent phases. Group interviews have often been linked to the emergence of normative public discourses (see Kitzinger and Barbour 1999; Smithson 2000) and a lack of narratives relating to personal experiences (e.g. Tolman 2002). At the beginning of each group discussion, it was agreed that everyone would treat shared information as confidential. However, given the relatively public nature of the group discussions, I did not ask questions that may have been construed as overly personal. Unsurprisingly then, in this phase specific experiences of bodily pleasure did not

emerge as commonly as it did in subsequent phases. This was the case especially when participants were not well-known to each other. It has, however, also been noted that, compared to individual interviews, group discussions allow for a less intimidating initiation into research on sensitive topics such as bodily sensations and sexuality (Farquhar 1999), and for the emergence of shared personal experiences (Michell 1999; McClelland and Fine 2008). Indeed, several participants noted that they preferred to talk with me in groups constituted of friends.

Once participants had completed the two parts of the sorting task, I consulted with them as to how they wanted to proceed with the research. Upon my suggestions, participants agreed that individual interviews would be a constructive way to discuss more personal experiences in depth. We also discussed the inclusion of arts-based methods. Two groups of participants asked to meet me as a group for a second time before taking part in individual interviews. Members of both groups expressed that they considered group interviews enjoyable and less intimidating than individual interviews. Participants freely chose an activity for these second group interviews, and in both cases participants chose to watch and discuss music and/or sports video clips relating to bodily pleasure. While these second group discussions were audio-recorded, their main aim was to give participants the opportunity to get to know me better in an environment that they experienced as safe before moving on to the next phases of the research.

Phase 2: Unstructured individual interviews and personal 'pleasure objects'

The second phase of the research comprised very loosely structured individual interviews. Twenty-four young people (14 young women, nine young men) participated in this stage of the research. Interviews lasted between half an hour and two hours, and were conducted in locations which allowed for privacy, generally classrooms or offices. Like the initial group discussions, the individual interviews also incorporated objects, but this time objects were chosen by the participants themselves, who were instructed to bring in an item which made them 'feel good in their bodies'. These personal 'pleasure objects' were used to initiate the discussion,

and again placed the emphasis on pleasure. It also meant that the initial focus of the discussion was determined by participants themselves.

Chosen objects included seven smart phones, two mp3 players with headphones, another pair of headphones, a baseball, mascara, a fake tooth (fixed to the participant's mouth), a woollen hat, a bar of chocolate, a condom, hand sanitiser, mints, a red lip stick, Vaseline, a pompom, three One Direction dolls, the CD 'Up All Night' by One Direction (signed by the band), the CD 'Pink Friday: Roman Reloaded - The Re-Up' by Nicki Minaj, a fashion magazine, hair spray, several concert tickets, a photo camera, a photograph a participant had shot himself, a home-made dance video, a Valentine's day card, a Christmas card sent by the participant's girlfriend, and a snow globe with the words 'I love you' engraved on it, which had been a present from the participant's boyfriend. Another participant had meant to bring in a teddy bear that had been a gift from his grandmother, but forgot and left it at his home (see Figure 2 for examples; see chapter five for photographs of all objects; see Appendix 1 for a list of pleasure objects brought in by each participant).



Figure 2: Examples of 'pleasure object' brought in by participants

In order to address research question one (“How do young people express and communicate their experiences of sexuality and pleasure?”), in my interview questions I focused on detailed micro processes of specific experiences so as to avoid the rehearsal of established discourses, and to instead allow for the emergence of narratives which related to lived bodily sensations (Del Busso and Reavey 2013). In-depth interviews have long been regarded as more effective than quantitative methods such as surveys for the exploration of the nuances of experiences (Letherby 2003). However, while Deleuze (2004c) contended that there is no reason to assume that language is entirely captured by the discursive, bodily sensations are not necessarily easily (and never fully) expressed using language. This was corroborated by many participants, who stated that they found it difficult to put their experiences into words. I therefore encouraged participants to use any means available to them to communicate their experiences. Many used sounds, movements, and facial expressions, as well as words. I will explore later in this chapter the ways in which I mapped and worked with affect.

The flexible and relatively unstructured nature of the interviews, together with the focus on singular processes, allowed the meetings to follow unexpected, rhizomatic pathways (Letherby 2003; Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). For example, in one interview a young man stated that he enjoyed sitting in the headmaster’s chair, and this led to his exploration of the intensities that registered in his body when he was sitting on the chair.

While a minority of participants seemed uncomfortable with the focus on lived experiences and bodily sensations, and rejected some of my questions, as has been reported in previous research (e.g. Tolman 2002), the majority seemed to experience the individual interviews as a safe space to discuss personal experiences. Several participants expressed that their feelings of comfort were related to the multiple-phase research design, in which they had the chance to meet me on several occasions prior to the interviews. One participant, for example, stated that “at first I was, like, arghh, I don’t know, but then now I’ve seen you about 500 times!” (Casey, aged 17).

Despite the focus on pleasure, on several occasions narratives of abuse or emotional distress emerged. In these instances, I provided as much emotional support as possible. My (limited) background in counselling practice proved useful for this purpose. I also reminded participants of the phone numbers of helplines that were printed on the participant information leaflet. This included numbers for the Samaritans, Brook, and Childline.

Phase 3: Arts-based methods and second interviews

In the third, final, part of the data production process, participants were given the opportunity to use creative forms of expression, and/or to take part in second interviews. In total, ten participants (five young women; five young men) took part in this phase of the research. Six participants (three young women; three young men) agreed to use arts-based methods and to discuss their creations in follow-up interviews²⁵. Four additional participants (two young women; two young men) took part in follow-up interviews only.

Phase 3a: Arts-based methods

After receiving a second information leaflet (Appendix 7), participants were invited to produce a piece of art work which either expressed their bodily pleasures, their feelings about sexuality, and/or the ways in which they felt in their body more generally. The information leaflet gave an array of suggestions as to what art forms might be used, but participants were also invited to consider other forms of artistic expression. Given the heavy focus on language in the majority of sexuality research, the inclusion of arts-based methods was aimed at disrupting established ways of doing such research (MacLure et al. 2010; McClelland and Fine 2008). Creative forms of expression offered participants a valuable means to express experiences in less moralistic ways than is possible through spoken language (Leavy 2015). Given the moralising tone with which young people's sexualities are commonly talked about (Bragg and Buckingham 2009), this was all the more relevant. In addition, as has been reported in previous research (see Leavy 2015), arts-based methods provided

²⁵ One participant, Sam, took part in two arts-based methods (climbing video and drawing).

possibilities for young people to communicate complex and contradictory bodily sensations, including those which they interpreted as pleasurable. In this way, they were able to address my first research question. The inclusion of these methods then, in conjunction with verbal methods, may be viewed as offering opportunities for exploring participants' multiple subjectivities as they emerged within specific research-assemblages. I will return to the capacities of arts-based methods later in this chapter.

Produced art work included home-made dance and climbing videos, photographs, a collage, paintings, and a short story (see Appendix 1 for more details; see figure 3 on page 120 for an example; other art work is discussed in chapters five and six). The participatory quality of this phase of the research was intended not only to produce rich data, but also to conduct research 'with' rather than 'about' participants (Cahill 2007a; 2007b; Pink 2007; Naughton et al. 2009). Participants were encouraged to create art work in their own time, away from my gaze (also see Mannay 2010; 2013), but were also offered the possibility of creating their art work during second research interviews. In all but one case, where a young man reconstructed a drawing he had created at home and forgotten to bring in, art work was created in participants' own time.

Phase 3b: Second interviews

Participants' art work acted as data in that I used it to think about young people's sexual subjectivities. In addition, art work functioned to invoke discussion about bodily sensations in follow-up interviews (also see Alfonso et al. 2004; Coleman 2008; Del Busso and Reavey 2013; Mannay 2010; Mannay 2013; Leavy 2015). Once again, since most participants had created art work that expressed bodily pleasure, often these discussions focused on pleasure.

While many of the participants were receptive to my suggestion of using creative means of expressions, others seemingly found the prospect of using arts-based methods daunting, noted that they did not have time to create a piece of art work, or that they would prefer to express themselves using spoken language. These

concerns were initially raised in early group discussions, and consequentially all participants were given the option of taking part in a second, more conventional unstructured follow-up interview. As mentioned above, four participants (two young women; two young men) took this route.

Similar to the initial individual interviews, all second interviews were only loosely structured, and, once again, in my questions I emphasised specific bodily sensations, especially bodily pleasure. I also used the second interviews, particularly the later stages, to pose follow-up questions that emerged from the earlier phases. Specifically, I often asked participants to elaborate on issues which confused me, or asked them about contradictory statements. These contradictory statements were valuable for the research, because they pointed to the ways in which participants' subjectivities emerged in different ways within different assemblages. I also asked participants how they had experienced the research and my encounters with them, and how the research had affected their lives (I will return to this point later in this chapter). Finally, I thanked participants for their participation, and assured them that they could contact me if they had any further questions about the research.

Data recording and storage

All interviews were, after consulting participants, recorded using two voice recorders. Recordings were transcribed verbatim and in full. Sounds, as well as pauses of three seconds or more, were included in the transcripts. All participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity. Digital versions of interview transcripts and art work were saved in three separate locations, and will be retained for a minimum of five years. Original hard copies of art work will be stored in a locked drawer for a minimum of one year upon completion of the project. A summary of produced data is given in table 1. The data produced by/with each participant is outlined in more detail in the table in Appendix 1.

Table 1: Summary of data produced in each phase

| | <i>Method</i> | <i>Number of participants</i> | <i>Type of data produced</i> | <i>Audio recordings: Total time (hours: minutes: seconds)</i> | <i>Transcriptions: Total number of words</i> |
|----------------|---|---|--|---|--|
| Phase 1 | Group object interviews | 36 (in nine groups; range: two to six participants) ²⁶ | Interview transcripts | 12:51:36 (average: 1:25:71; range: 1:03:01 to 1:47:56) | 161,995 (average: 17,999; range: 11,965 to 24,761) |
| Phase 2 | Individual object interviews | 24 | 'Pleasure objects' and interview transcripts | 29:00:17 (average: 1:12:31; range: 0:26:43 to 2:05:11) | 366,076 (average: 15,253; range: 4,449 to 25,467) |
| Phase 3 | Arts-based methods and follow-up interviews | 10 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Eleven²⁷ follow-up interviews - One collage (Casey) - One photography project (Dan) - One climbing video (Sam) - One drawing (Sam) - One dance video (Sarah) - One "erotica" written story (Erin) - One painting (Hassan) - Four participants participated in follow-up interviews only (Mark, Rosie, Rich, Kirsty) | 11:48:41 (average: 1:04:25; range: 0:31:22 to 1:49:00) | 143,722 (average: 13,065; range: 6,186 to 21,337) |

²⁶ Three groups wanted to meet up for a second time as a group before the individual interviews. This gave me the opportunity to get to know participants better.

²⁷ One participant, Sam, took part in two arts-based methods and two follow-up interviews.

3.3.2 Addressing multiplicity

My methodology was influenced by, and contributes, to other research that has combined creative methodologies with assemblage theory in order to explore multiplicities and movement rather than singularities (e.g. Mulcahy 2012; Lambert et al. 2016; Martin and Strom 2016). In chapter two, I wrote about the work of other researchers who have combined assemblage theory with creative methodologies in youth sexuality research (e.g. Renold; Ringrose). Other examples of work in this area include research by Adrian Martin and Kathryn Strom (2017), who experimented with multiple digital tools to explore how these technologies may help us to think about multiplicities and rhizomatic processes in teaching practices. Similarly, Dianne Mulcahy (2012) used a range of videos to explore how teaching practices are not the sole responsibility of the teacher, but are assemblages, with 'good' pedagogy the result of the creation of conditions of possibility for emergent connections.

In addition, in developing my methodology, I was inspired by the theoretical work of Fox and Alldred (2013; 2014; Alldred and Fox 2015), especially their call for methodological pluralism (Fox and Alldred 2015). A multi-phase approach, Fox and Alldred (2015) argue, is necessary to explore the many facets of sexuality-assemblages, including for example the public and the private, the micro (e.g. singular affects) and the macro (e.g. dominant discourses), and the human and non-human (or 'more-than-human'; Lorimer 2010; 2013; see chapter two). Accordingly, data from a variety of sources may offer a broader picture of the affective flows within sexuality-assemblages than would be possible using a single source. In her doctoral research, McGeeney (2013) noted that the narratives of pleasure could vary between different methods (group interviews, individual interviews, surveys).

In my research, I sought to map both molar and molecular affective flows within young people's sexuality-assemblages. While group interviews were especially valuable to highlight dominant discourses, individual interviews and arts-based methods allowed for the exploration of singular affects (I explore these methods in further detail later in this chapter). Not only was I attempting to track the varying configurations of youth sexualities, my multi-phase design also created an

opportunity for the presentation of these varying configurations of sexualities as being in-tension. In this way, sexuality could be viewed as processual, and I could focus on multiple openings of opportunities for the sexual subject. Group and unstructured individual interviews incorporating objects, and arts-based methods all sought to trace the complexities of what would come to emerge as youth-sexuality-assemblages. The multiplicity of methods in the research design provided the research participants with opportunities for re-emergence and re-connection in their engagement with their sexualities and bodily experiences, allowing for the continuous, but also the unruly disruptions, to emerge across the different phases of the research. This helped me to explore some of the complexities of young people's experiences of sexuality and pleasure and in this way allowed me to address research question one ("How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?").

The use of in-depth qualitative methods, rather than quantitative methods or surveys (which are useful to produce broad overviews; Lynn 2009) allowed me to explore the nuances of embodied experiences (which as I will argue later always exceed even detailed representations), and how experiences were contingent upon the complex relations between multiple variables. In-depth interviews and longitudinal designs in particular have been found to produce detailed and nuanced data (Letherby 2003; Brinkmann and Kvale 2014). My use of both linguistic (phase one and two) and non-linguistic methods (phase three), and my focus on affect throughout (which I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter), allowed me to explore both part a) and part b) of research question one:

- a) To what extent and in what ways are young people's sexual subjectivities affected by normative and gendered discourses surrounding (youth) sexuality, both in relation to sex and in relation to other practices?
- b) To what extent and in what ways do young people's experiences exceed, affect and move normative and gendered understandings of (youth) sexuality?

Because I met participants multiple times, I was able to establish a dialogue with them about their experiences of the research. While this has long been an established practice in feminist qualitative research (Letherby 2003), it was an invaluable opportunity for me to explore how my approach was experienced by the participants.

3.3.2.1 Mapping multiple sexual bodies

Participants emerged in different ways depending on the ways in which I engaged with them. Some participants, in their interviews, almost made explicit that using a multi-method design would make visible different versions of them. Mark²⁸, for instance, a young working-class man aged 16, acknowledged that he had emerged in different ways during different stages of the research. It was fascinating to me how some of Mark's narratives in the individual interviews contradicted those in the group interview. While in the group interview Mark contended that he would "do it without a condom" whenever possible, in the individual interviews he stated that he "always" wears a condom when he has sex and that he thinks it is important to "keep safe". In the data extract below, taken from his follow-up interview, I asked him about the incoherence in his position on the use of condoms²⁹:

Mark: I suppose it is, I just don't want people to like, em, judge me or get a bad impression, to be honest. [...] I want people to think he's really manly, he's really like good looking, really hench like, yeah.

JA: So was it more the guys or the girls do you think in the group interview?

Mark: The girls.

JA: The girls were who you wanted to give a good impression?

Mark: Yeah. Like when I have girls around I have to make a really good impression of myself.

JA: So the things about the condoms and stuff, like in front of the guys you would be more happy to say that you wore condoms?

Mark: No, no. I think I'd be more happy to say in front of the girls, cos the girls obviously want me to use condoms because the girls don't want to get pregnant. But then boys don't really want to use condoms cos it feels different. It's better without.

JA: Yeah so the boys being there made you sort of say that more?

²⁸ I will introduce all participants in more detail in the empirical chapters.

²⁹ Throughout this thesis, '[...]' signifies that part of the transcript has been omitted (e.g. parts that are not relevant to my specific argument).

Mark: Yeah.
 [...]
 Mark: Em, dunno, just feel like I, I, I can be more open when it's just me and one other person.
 JA: Do you think also like in the individual interview, do you think some of the things you said, you said to kind of please me, to kind of, to give me a good impression?
 Mark: No.
 JA: So like so when you said, oh I use condoms, you didn't say it just so...
 Mark: No.
 JA: ...you would look good in front of me or something?
 Mark: [laughs] No.

In this quote, Mark describes how in the group interviews he wanted “to make a really good impression of [him]self”, whereas in the individual interview he felt that he could “be more open”. Of course, based on Mark’s statements, it is impossible to establish his actual use of condoms (Hollway and Jefferson 2000). What this excerpt illustrates, however, is how Mark’s sexual body seemingly emerged in different ways in the group interview and in the individual interviews. His subjectivity seemingly emerged in his relationship with the objects included in the group discussions (i.e. condoms), me, and the other participants.

Within assemblage theory, Mark’s body may be viewed as part of, constituting, and produced by multiple social formations. For instance, it may be viewed as part of both a ‘sexual health formation’ and a ‘masculine formation’. Depending on the specific relations within a particular context, his body may emerge as a constituent part of either. In chapter one, I wrote about the focus in schools on sexual health (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998; Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Allen 2005; Ingham 2014; Edwards 2016). Given that the research took place in a school, Mark’s contention that he “keep[s] safe” may be viewed as following molar lines within a sexual health assemblage. The statement points towards a desire to come across to me – a potential figure of authority – as a responsible sexual citizen. Since Mark stated that he is “more happy to say in front of girls” that he uses condoms, this desire was perhaps further enabled by my identity as a woman. When relating to his male peers, however, Mark experienced a desire to be “manly”, and this manifested itself in his

rejection of condoms.

It has been documented how some young men's accounts of their sexual relationships are seemingly constructed in relation to the surveillance power of the male peer group (Holland et al. 1998). For me, this resonated with Mark's positioning in the group discussions, where his own body, the bodies of his peers, and the condoms which were part of the sorting task came together to produce his rejection of condoms. Different bodily experiences seemingly emerged for Mark within each phase of the research, and this manifested itself in contradictory narratives (also see Renold and Ringrose 2011). Mark's example illustrates how the research design, in conjunction with the concepts I used, allowed Mark's sexual body to emerge as multiple.

3.3.3 Mapping rupture and alternative figurations of youth sexuality

I noted in chapter two how we may think of research as always political (Law 2004). Within a post-structuralist framework, rather than treating research as being a process of representing an existing world, the research process may be viewed as the production of knowledge. Since this knowledge inevitably makes a difference in the world, research can be treated as an ethical responsibility where the impact which is made ideally contributes to social justice (Ringrose and Renold 2014). Braidotti (2006a) has argued that in order to be ethical, one must cultivate and facilitate encounters which themselves allow for processes of (feminist) transformation. Non-established ways of doing research might provide greater possibilities for such transformative processes. This is because unusual methods may be more likely to rupture taken-for-granted assumptions. MacLure, Rachel Homes, Christina McRae, and Liz Jones (MacLure et al. 2010) have pointed out that by failing to interfere with 'everyday banality' (Deleuze 2013) and taken for granted assumptions, established research methods such as (semi-)structured interviews and observations may in fact collude with the status quo, and in this way contribute to the production and reproduction of established inequalities. In order to open up possibilities for change, they argue, researchers have a political responsibility to break established thought patterns. In order to do so, researchers must ideally not only develop different ways

of engaging with data (Fox and Alldred 2014), but also develop means of data production that disrupt established thought patterns. MacLure et al. (2010) offer one promising example of this. In their study, their use of videos and films was explicitly designed to challenge the ways in which children in classrooms are usually portrayed. The videos were put together with no aim other than to disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions.

One of the ways in which I hoped my research would make such an impact was by challenging taken-for-granted assumptions that tie sexuality to a specific set of (hetero)sexist practices. As I noted previously in this chapter, the inclusion of an eclectic range of objects was intended to create an environment which challenged assumptions about what may count as sex, and what may be legitimately talked about in sexuality research (MacLure et al. 2010). This experimentation with objects, together with my focus on affect (see following section), helped me to explore research question two (“How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond ‘sex’, and map the complexities of young people's lived (sexual) experiences?”).

Many participants expressed their surprise at the selected objects, and, as is reflected in the title of this chapter, some expressed their relief that it was not “just [...] sex” (Sarah, aged 17). The following discussion is an extended quote of the one I used in the title of this chapter:

JA: So how did you find this with the objects and stuff?
Layla: It was cool. When you said objects first of all I thought 'Oh Lord'!
JA: So they were less scary than you expected [laughs]?
Layla: Yeah [laughs].
JA: Was that good?
Layla: Yeah.
JA: Do you think it's good that they were mixed and stuff?
Layla: Yeah I think so.
Sarah: It brought a different angle to it, I thought it was just going to be sex.

In this quote, Sarah describes how the incorporation of an array of different objects

into the group discussions “brought a different angle to it”. She welcomed that it was not “just [...] sex”. Sarah’s surprise that there was a range of objects may be read as pointing to how in her experience, conversations about sexuality are heavily focused on those practices normatively defined as ‘sex’, perhaps especially in the school environment. I wrote in chapter one how in SRE classes, for instance, there is a focus on biological processes of reproduction, and, by association, on heteronormative sexual practices which emphasise penile-vaginal penetration (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Kiely 2005; Allen 2005; Ingham 2014; Edwards 2016). The objects, however, in their specific formation, for Sarah seemingly produced capacities to think sexuality differently by making a “different angle” visible (Law and Urry 2004).

3.3.4 Researching affect

John Law (2004) argues that since bodily sensations have traditionally escaped social sciences, mapping such sensations in research settings may be viewed as a rupturing political act. In chapter two I pointed out how, given the negativity with which young people’s sexualities are commonly talked about, a focus on positive bodily sensations may be viewed as particularly disruptive in sexuality research with young people.

The concepts which frame my work suggest that experience can never be truly or fully represented through sociological inquiry, and that affect, rather than coming from within, is always relational and works on the body (see chapter two; Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987). However, as I argued in chapter two, Grosz (1994) and Braidotti (2013) have emphasised the importance of thinking about embodiment, and how affects are felt through the body in a profound way, and in ways that exceed the discursive. For those who challenge positivist principles, mapping ‘intensities’ (see chapter two) as they are felt in the body is a challenge. This is the case especially for researchers working in the representational social sciences.

Language-based research in particular has the capacity to reduce the complexities of individual experiences and sensations to a level of explanation (Leavy 2015). While Deleuze (2004c) rejected the notion that language is entirely captured by the

discursive and may indeed express affect, in creating descriptions of affective sensation, their embodied sense is necessarily somewhat lost.

The impossibility of capturing affect has been documented extensively in the literature that we may broadly classify as part of the 'affective turn' (e.g. Blackman et al. 2008; Grosz 1994; Braidotti 2013). This conundrum requires creative ways of conducting research. Previous research, as well as Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired concepts, especially the use of the concepts of 'affect' and 'research-assemblage' (Fox and Alldred 2014; 2015) offered insights as to how I may research affect. This consideration of affect, I felt, was critical in order to address research questions one ("How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?") and two ("How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond 'sex', and map the complexities of young people's lived (sexual) experiences?").

3.3.4.1 'Affective hotspots' and 'moments of bafflement'

The phenomenologist Linda Martín Alcoff (2000) noted that highlighting *specific* bodily sensation (e.g. a specific instance of an increased heart rate) in research may be particularly effective in making visible experiences that may exceed taken-for-granted assumptions. Accordingly, while the discursive simplifies experience, by focusing on specific bodily sensations opportunities are presented to think the body differently. Liliana Del Busso and Paula Reavey (2013), are amongst those researchers who have used this approach in interviews with young people. Inspired by their work, as I noted above, I asked participants questions about specific affective experiences. For example, a detailed description of one participant's experiences of kissing his girlfriend emerged after I had asked him: "What did it feel like in your body when you were kissing?". However, by using language to describe such bodily experiences, their complexity is still inevitably somewhat reduced.

Thinking with the concept of 'research-assemblage' (Fox and Alldred 2014; 2015), the researcher herself is one constituent within a network of relations. In this formation, affects arise not in individual bodies, but instead circulate in encounters between

researcher and participants. While affects may be viewed as operating on and through bodies in complex and divergent ways (Braidotti 2013), the affects which registered in my own body must not be viewed as separate from the participants. In their research on the famous 'Slut Walks', Ringrose and Renold (2014) illustrated the centrality of affect in meaning-making. They showed how interpretation is always already entangled in complex affective ethical and political relationalities that circulate within the research encounter. Ringrose and Renold's work was inspired by MacLure (2013), who argues that, rather than denying the entanglements between the interpretations of data and the intensities researchers experience in their bodies, it may be useful to embrace 'affective hotspots'.

In her pioneering work, Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre (1997) argued for the importance of a researcher's acknowledgement of her own body as one of the relations within research-assemblages. Some sexuality researchers working with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts have incorporated their bodily experiences into their research processes (e.g. Walkerdine 2010; Ringrose and Renold 2014). Ringrose and Renold (2014), for instance, used this strategy in their work with young women to explore the potential effects of the phrase 'fuck rape'. St. Pierre (1997) also emphasised the value of paying attention to emotional data, including, for instance, dreams. I too paid attention to my own affective experiences in the exploration of others' subjectivities. I explored emotional and sensual data that I felt in my own body, and paid attention to 'affective hotspots' (MacLure 2013). I paid special attention to 'moments of bafflement', in which sexual formations were seemingly moved. One 'moment of bafflement' (St. Pierre 1997: 248), for instance, emerged in an interview with Mark:

Mark: Having sex you *release*, like you get horny and then you have sex.

JA: When you say 'release', what do you mean?

Mark: Er

JA: Like orgasm or...?

Mark: Yeah.

JA: So what about if you didn't have an orgasm when you were having sex do you think?

Mark: Then it's crap [...] like you have to be pleased like at the same time [...]

Josie: How do you think you'd feel?

Mark: Disappointed.
 JA: Why do you think you'd be disappointed in that situation?
 Mark: Dunno, it'd be boring [...] making her orgasm, it makes you feel good about yourself.
 JA: Oh so you'd be disappointed if *she* didn't have an orgasm!
 Mark: Yeah
 JA: What about if you didn't have one?
 Mark: I don't really mind [...] as long as I've made her have an orgasm, as long as I've made her feel good I don't really mind [...] [being close together and pleasing her], those are the most important things.

Within this conversation, initially Mark's narrative appeared to me as though it was *his* orgasm which he considered important. However, as the interview went on, it emerged that Mark in fact seemingly interpreted his partner's orgasm to also be his, and that it was "her orgasm" that mattered to him. His partner's orgasm is framed here as an achievement and a source of pleasure for Mark, and I will discuss in chapter four the ways in which this may be viewed as problematic. It is in part this construction of her orgasm as his achievement that offered, what to me appeared like, an affective hotspot. However, while problematic, the narrative also struck me because it ruptured my biased assumption that Mark – as a young man - was primarily concerned with his own orgasm. The example then illustrates how the research moved me and my own prejudices. This I regarded as valuable data, and as an opportunity to make visible formations of youth sexuality that exceed normative expectations.

3.3.4.2 Listening to affect

In the feminist tradition (Letherby 2003), throughout the research I listened carefully to these affects that registered in my body. For example, there was one situation in which I wanted to ask one participant, Bethan, a young Christian woman aged 18, about her feelings in relation to masturbation. As I will discuss in more detail in chapter four, Bethan spoke about how touch felt "dirty" to her and how even when she touched her own head, for example, she experienced a sense of "dirtiness". The following extract is taken from the research diary I kept:

In my interview with Bethan today, she told me in detail how touch makes

her feel “dirty”, even her own touch. I wanted to explore whether this extended to sexual touch, and whether masturbation, or the thought of masturbation, made her feel dirty. However, even though I was curious and felt that a question relating to masturbation would have been really relevant, I did not ask it. I had a strong sense in my body that Bethan might consider it inappropriate or that it would make her feel uncomfortable. I imagine that this sense was emphasised by the age difference between us, and by the fact that the research took place in a school. So instead of asking her directly, I skirted around the issue for a short while, kind of trying to point towards it indirectly, but abandoning that plan due to the discomfort I sensed. I do ask myself why I was so interested in asking that question. Was it an intrusive curiosity? Was it because it is a taboo and I find pleasure in saying things that often remain unsaid, especially in relation to sex? But the fact that I felt blocked in asking the question is also interesting and highlights how masturbation, and perhaps especially female masturbation, is produced as hidden and silenced.

The research diary entry illustrates how within my interview with Bethan, in relation to the topic of masturbation, affective flows appeared to circulate which registered in my body as curiosity on the one hand, but discomfort on the other. Such bodily sensations may, once again, be regarded as ‘data’ (St. Pierre 1997; MacLure 2013), and perhaps point to the ways in which masturbation is produced as shameful, especially for young women (McClelland and Fine 2008; Ingham 2014). The incident reminded me of the anecdote with which I began this thesis in chapter one. Once again, I felt that sexual pleasure was silenced, and that this silencing worked through the complex interplay between different elements which also included myself. It did not feel like the responsibility of any one individual element: me, Bethan, the school, or wider sexual discourses. Rather, it seemed as though in the dynamic coming-together of all these elements, affects were produced which made the emergence of the topic of masturbation almost impossible. It affected what could legitimately be talked about (Ivinson and Renold 2013). In this way, sexual subjectivity did not appear to belong to one individual, but emerged through the machinic interplay of a range of human bodies, discourses, and locales (Fox and Alldred 2013).

While this example may be viewed as telling us something about Bethan’s sexual subjectivity and wider sexual cultures, it also highlights the ethical responsibility researchers have to pay attention to their own bodily experiences. We may view the

hesitation that I felt as the bodily registration of an affective flow that emerged as Bethan and I were 'in-relation' (Allen 2015). By being attentive to the ways in which these affects registered in my body, I was able to respect Bethan's limitations within any given moment (Braidotti 2013).

3.3.4.3 'Thing power': Foregrounding pleasure

The objects which were part of the group and individual interviews also offered opportunities to invoke and feel specific affects that circulated in research encounters. Researchers have often used object interviews to explore lived experiences. De Leon and Cohen (2005), for instance, used object probes such as trophies to allow for the emergence of specific embodied memories.

Susan Nordstrom (2013) has argued that the object interview may be viewed as a Deleuzian space where affects flow rhizomatically within subject-object-researcher assemblages. Nordstrom (2013) argues that rather than asking what an object *is*, one should consider what it *does*; how it connects with other things, and what narratives it might invoke in its relations with participants. In thinking about object interviews then, we must not necessarily think about whether they may in some way contribute to our attempts to capture affects, but about what affects the objects may produce in their relations with participants. I already noted how the objects which I included in the group discussions could disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions about what may be talked about in sexuality research.

In her influential paper on 'thing power', Bennett (2004) wrote about how objects have the capacity to act, engender effects, and modify circumstances. Bennett (2004) observed how objects could be implicated in the production of specific bodily experiences in human bodies. For example, she noted how objects collected together as trash could produce senses such as disgust or fear. Like the trash in Bennett's (2004) work, the objects collected together for the group discussions may be viewed as capable of producing affects that circulate in research-assemblages.

As I noted previously in this chapter, the inclusion of objects in the initial group

discussions and individual interviews in my research was intended not only to disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions, but also to lay the focus on a range of bodily practices. In addition, they were intended to produce and legitimise pleasure. Indeed, the expressions of pleasure which emerged as participants engaged with objects often seemed powerful. Overall there was a lot of laughter which surfaced in these encounters. The following exchange occurred when a group of four A-level students aged 16 to 18, all of whom were friends, encountered the objects in the sorting task:

Molly: You brought objects, yes, right.
Kevin: [American accent] Condom!
[Group laughter]
Cassia: Now you've gone American, like [American accent] "condom"!
Kevin: Lipstick!
Jade: Gorilla perfume!
Kevin: What are those then?
Cassia: Oh it's a bullet!
[Group laughter]
Kevin: Is it like a mini vibrator?
Cassia: Yes! Not like bullet, gun bullet!
[Group laughter]
Molly: Oh [laughter] I got one of those, my Play Station One controller!
Kevin: Massage oil, I'm into that! Music! Are these what I think they are?
Jade: [American accent] I thought that was a G-string, my bad!
[Group laughter]
Kevin: Can I keep these?
[Group laughter]
JA: Uh, no, sorry! [laughs]
Jade: I used to have one of those [ipod]. It crashed though.
Molly: Oh, this is confusing. What is it?
Cassia: It's like a lip balm I used to have, it sort of like took my breath away, that did!
[Group laughter]
Jade: Could do sport.
Kevin: I think the chocolate should go with the pleasure
[Group laughter]
Kevin: And the music should go with the pleasure!
Jade: And obviously we got this [mini vibrator] as well, so...
[Group laughter]
Kevin: Should go with the pleasure...
Molly: Drinking
Kevin: Pleasure!
Cassia: This is also pleasure, um, gaming!

In this discussion, pleasure and laughter emerged when participants were 'in-relation' (Allen 2015) with the objects and each other. In observing participants in the interview, listening to a recording of the interview, and in reading the transcript, pleasure also registered in my own body.

I further emphasised pleasure by focusing on it in interviews questions. Other researchers (e.g. McClelland and Fine 2008) have noted that pleasure commonly only surfaces in sexuality research, especially with young women, once negative experiences and potential dangers have been discussed. My focus on pleasure meant that pleasurable, as well as difficult, experiences emerged. Indeed, due to the use of 'pleasure objects' in the early stages of the interviews, pleasure often emerged before negative experiences such as abuse were discussed (see chapter four for further discussion).

The inclusion of objects in the individual and group discussions also appeared to contribute to the creation of an environment which felt safe for participants. This assumption was grounded in an observation that some participants appeared to experience their encounters with objects as a means of diverting some attention off their bodies and narratives, and shift attention onto their relations with the objects (see De Leon and Cohen 2005).

3.3.4.4 Affect and arts-based methods

In the same way that objects may be viewed as beneficial to my study because as they assembled with participants they co-produced specific affective flows within research-assemblages, so can arts-based methods. As I noted previously in this chapter, while Deleuze (2004c) contended that there is no reason to assume that language is entirely captured by the discursive, language-based research, when treated in an interpretive way, inevitably reduces the intangible complexities of bodily experiences. It can never fully represent an experience, and, indeed, within a Deleuzo-Guattarian framework should be thought about in terms of its productive

capacities.

Patricia Leavy (2015) suggests arts-based methods as a worthwhile alternative or addition to language-based methods. According to Leavy (2015), art can not only disrupt traditional ways of doing research, but also offer resonance and profound possibilities to force people to see things differently (also see Alfonso et al. 2004; Mizen 2005; Mannay 2010; Mannay 2013; Rose 2016; Renold 2017). Art may be viewed as inviting us to think outside of the boundaries of molar formations such as normative definitions of sexuality (Hickey-Moody 2013; Perry and Medina 2015).

In choosing to offer arts-based methods to my participants, I took inspiration from other feminist researchers. While arts-based methods have recently been applied to Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired research (see Fox and Alldred 2013; Perry and Medina 2015), such methods have historically been used more commonly in other areas of social science, including anthropology and psychosocial studies. Collages, photographs, fiction-writing, dance, drawings, and videos have all been used as methodological tools in these fields of study (see Leavy 2015 for an introduction and overview; Harris 2016).

Several research studies that have used these tools resonated with my own aim to map the complexities of young people's lived experiences. One such study was conducted by Del Busso and Reavey (2013). In an attempt to explore bodily sensations, Del Busso and Reavey (2013) used participant-produced photographs as a means to invoke memories of specific embodied experiences rather than narratives which seemingly repeat dominant discourses about the body. Del Busso and Reavey (2013) argued that photographs may evoke feelings, as well as memories (also see Harper 2002). Others have used participatory visual methods, including collages and drawings, to glimpse the complexities of participants' experiences and to invoke empathic understandings of these experiences (e.g. Vaughan 2005; Mannay 2010; 2013). Celeste Snowber (2012) has argued that incorporating the moving body into research can also be a powerful way of rendering visible the multiple and fluctuating dimensions of the self. Dance has long been a methodological device amongst

anthropologists, who have treated it as a means to study culture (e.g. Freedman 1991). Snowber (2012) argues that dance can be incorporated into a multi-methods design, where the different methods can inform each other.

Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired scholars have increasingly been drawn to arts-based methods to map young people's sexual subjectivities (see chapter two). Coleman (2008), for instance, used image-making sessions, in addition to focus groups and individual interviews, with teenage women to explore the bodily experiences which different types of media images make possible. In their study of teenage girls living in an ex-mining community, Iverson and Renold (2013a; 2013b; Renold and Iverson 2014) used film-production, photography and walking tours to explore the affective capacities of young teenage girls, and the revolutionary potential of desire. They also explored dance and movement as a methodology in posthumanist³⁰ research, where dance-assemblages are viewed as having the capacity to deterritorialise young women's bodies (Renold 2014). Iverson and Renold (2013a) argued that arts-based methods (for example dance) offer a productive way to communicate and express pleasurable experiences relating to the body, especially for young women, who may be limited in the ways in which they can legitimately talk about corporeality.

While the studies discussed above are illustrative of the emerging field of creative methodologies within Deleuzo-Guattarian sexuality research, and provide useful insights into how the abstract ideas of Deleuze and Guattari may be put to work, the empirical research in this field is limited in size. Indeed, as I noted in chapter two, combining empirical data with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts in the field of youth sexuality may still be considered to be an exception. To date, no-one has foregrounded pleasure in Deleuzo-Guattarian sexuality research with young people.

In my research, for some participants, arts-based methods seemingly allowed for the

³⁰ Posthumanism critically questions humanism, which emphasises the value and agency of human being, and which asserts that human nature is unique in its autonomy, rationality, and capability of free will. Posthumanism is premised on the idea that humans are neither knowable nor reasonable, and rejects the idea that humans are the only agent of the fate of the world and all its other non-human inhabitants (Buchanan 2010).

communication of contradictory experiences of sexuality. Some participants stated that they preferred using arts-based methods over interviews, and that they found it easier to express complex or confusing bodily experiences using arts-based methods. In the quote below, Hassan discusses with me how he found it easier to express his “confusing” feelings by painting rather than by using words (see figure 3):



Figure 3: Hassan's painting

JA: So do you find it easier to, kind of, express yourself through art rather than, like, words or writing?

Hassan: Yes.

JA: Yes?

Hassan: Hmmm, that's why I thought you might be confused when I brought this today.

JA: No, why?

Hassan: I don't know. You might see the person and think why is there a person in the middle of a big massive...I don't know. I just thought you maybe wouldn't understand it.

JA: No, no, well, you explained it to me. [Three second pause] So, yes, in general you find it easier to express yourself with that?

Hassan: Yes.

JA: Why do you think that is?

Hassan: You're just used to drawing and expressing yourself through, like, painting and all different methods, so you just like art afterwards.

JA: So, do you find it more difficult with words; to express yourself with words?

Hassan: Sometimes. It depends what the subject is.

JA: Yes, so what kind of subjects would you find it hard to express

yourself do you think?

Hassan: Just life in general sometimes.

JA: What, how you're feeling about it and stuff?

Hassan: Yes.

[...]

JA: So when you drew the person how did you feel in that moment?

Hassan: Painting him, confused a bit.

JA: Confused?

Hassan: Hmmm, because you don't know who it's going to be, like, I didn't even know who it was going to be. I just wanted it to be a random person just standing.

JA: So, you were confused?

Hassan: Hmmm, a bit.

JA: Were you confused whether it should be you or not you, or something like that?

Hassan: No, I was just confused whether I painted this, you won't understand it or even I wouldn't understand it. But, after I painted it then I sort of got it in the end.

Hassan was a young man aged 16 from a mixed Middle Eastern (Muslim) and Welsh (non-Muslim) background. Hassan himself considered himself to be a Muslim. When I first saw the picture, I felt a sense of emptiness. The dark figure in the middle of the picture, which is surrounded by colour, stood out to me. While Hassan rejected the idea that the figure represented him, I wondered whether this empty figure in some ways expressed Hassan's sense of being in the world. In his interviews, Hassan spoke about how he felt torn between his Muslim background, and the Western culture he lived in. He rarely used the word 'I', instead using the more generalised 'you'. He seldom expressed his own opinions, and when he did, he seemed unsure of them. Hassan talked about how he rejected "sex outside of marriage", but at the same time on several occasions expressed a desire to be "normal" and that he felt being "normal" inevitably included "having a girlfriend". The picture with the "random person", which "confused" Hassan, may be viewed as expressing his confused sense of identity. The gendered/sexual symbols that surround the black figure suggest that this includes his *sexual* identity. The example illustrates how the arts-based methods - together with the interviews, assemblage theory, and an approach in which I paid attention to how the affects which circulated in the research encounter registered in my own body - helped me to empathise with how Hassan may experience his world. It helped me to contextualise his narratives, and to explore how his sexual subjectivity

emerged through complex relations which included his parents, his faith, and his peers.

In the data extract, Hassan describes how when he painted his picture, at first this felt confusing to him and that he was worried that neither I nor he would “understand” what he was painting. Hassan’s narrative suggests that what he was painting was not a conscious choice that had been formulated in advance or scrutinised according to whether it made sense within established ways of thinking. Rather, the picture seemingly emerged as an immanent expression of intensities as Hassan felt them in his body. Since Hassan did not appear to like to express himself using words, including arts-based methods made the research more inclusive, and gave a greater range of young people the opportunity to explore their feelings around sexuality.

Hassan noted that for him painting was associated with pleasure. He noted that he generally feels “happy when [he is] painting”, and that he also felt “happy” painting his painting for the research. Another participant, Sam, stated that drawing could bring him “back to the feeling” of happiness that he felt when he spent time with his girlfriend. This ability of art to remind participants of specific bodily experiences has also been reported in phenomenological research, for example by Del Busso and Reavey (2013; also see Leavy 2015).

However, while some participants enjoyed the arts-based methods, for others, they seemed to be associated with a fear of failure. Many had a sense of not being “good” at art. These findings perhaps illustrate the intense culture of competition in contemporary Western societies (Paechter 2002; Ollis 2014). The definition of arts-based methods in terms of success may have been exacerbated by the school environment, where, as I noted in chapter two, competition, hierarchy, and the concept of success are encouraged (Paechter 2002; Paechter 2006; Ollis 2014). The inclusion of multiple methods in the research (and offering the participants the chance to take part in follow-up interviews rather than arts-based methods) gave participants the opportunity to use a method that they felt comfortable with.

3.3.4.5 Lingerin*g* affects

Several participants indicated that the research increased their ability to pay attention to the bodily registration of affect beyond the research encounter. One participant, Dan, for instance, imagined that the research would encourage him to pay even greater attention to bodily sensations within everyday life events. Another participant, Sam, also claimed that the research had encouraged him to pay greater attention to his “feelings”. Interestingly, he also claimed that the research would encourage him to pay greater attention to the “feelings” of others:

- JA: How do you think taking part in the research has affected you, or your life?
- Sam: It's made me open up a lot of things, opened me up to a lot of things even more. It's making me think a lot more about my actions and feelings and why they're happening. Just something I never thought of looking at, to be honest. [...] How many different feelings I am feeling. Er, when I go through difficulties, back at home, with [my girlfriend] Anna, and how I'm experiencing them. It's been great.
- JA: So you're kind of more reflective? You kind of think about it more and you, kind of understand more, kind of explore more where they're coming from? Um hm.
- Sam: I'll do this with other people I hope as well. I can hopefully do this with other people. With dad, just seeing how they feel and then understanding.
- JA: Um, and you think the research has helped you with that?
- Sam: Definitely!
- JA: So do you think it would make you explore other people's feelings? Take that into account more, in a way, as well as your own?
- Sam: Yeah! Definitely!

In this quote, Sam is describing how through his engagement with the research affects emerged that manifested in a desire to explore his own “feelings”, as well as the “feelings” of the people around him, including his girlfriend Anna and his father. For Sam, the research seemingly had the capacity not only to increase attention to the ways in which affect registered in his own body, but also to the ways in which affect appeared to register in the bodies of others. Another participant, Sarah, also noted that taking part in the research had helped her to make the decision to choose a specific career path, because she realised that for her it is what she “enjoys most”. These examples highlight how the research had the potential to affect participants’

experiences and subjectivities in every-day life. It challenges the assumption that is particularly rife in positivist traditions that research is (or should be) a neutral process. Instead, as I argued previously in this chapter, they suggest that research may be viewed not merely as a representation of the world, nor as a means to highlight new or interesting aspects of young people's lives solely for members of the academic and policy-producing community. Instead it may be viewed as an event which affects participants themselves (Law 2004; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Perry and Medina 2015; Renold 2017)³¹. In this case, the research was seemingly able to support a continued focus on affective flows and pleasure for some participants.

3.3.5 Exclusions

While I already noted how some participants felt unable to engage with some of the methods (e.g. arts-based methods), others seemingly experienced the entire process as uncomfortable. Nicola, for example, a young woman aged 16 from a white working-class background, was quiet in the group discussion, and appeared to be disinterested in the subsequent stages of the research. For Nicola, the research did not seem to emphasise pleasure, but instead produced a sense of discomfort. In general, Nicola tended to answer my questions in short answers, and sometimes simply replied "don't know". In addition, her flat tone of voice and her body language (e.g. diverted gaze) seemed to suggest that she was disengaged. After the first individual interview (phase two) I arranged to meet Nicola again in order to discuss with her how she could be involved in the next phase of the research. Since she did not appear comfortable with the intimacy of a one-on-one interview, one idea I had was that she could show me around her school. However, Nicola did not attend this meeting, despite being reminded by her teacher on the day. Perhaps, given that she was told by her teacher to meet me, she felt pressurised, and seemingly the methods I had used so far had not been able to enthuse her. As I noted earlier in this chapter, although at every stage of the research I emphasised that participation was voluntary, it was a common occurrence for participants to be encouraged by teachers to take part. Nicola

³¹ As I will argue later in this chapter, and as my empirical chapters will illustrate, my research questions and the format of the thesis did, however, force me to treat data not only as a productive expression, but to also treat it interpretively.

appeared to feel negative about school in general, and told me that she was worried about “failing [her] exams”. Although Nicola did not say so herself, perhaps she considered the research as additional and unwelcome work. Perhaps, as is common in schools, she, once again, felt limited in her agency - and under surveillance - by people who had authority over her.

Nicola’s example illustrates how my research methodology did not work for everyone. Indeed, many participants told me that they did not want to participate in any part of the research, often because they felt that they were too busy with school work. While some may of course not have wanted to take part for other reasons, for some of these young people the pressure of school meant that anything other than school work was out of the question (Paechter 2002).

3.4 “Why are you here?” – A reflexive exploration of the role of the researcher

Feminist researchers have long acknowledged the significant role of the researcher in encounters with participants (Letherby 2003). My engagement with the concept of ‘research-assemblage’ presented an opportunity to map the ways that I myself affected the research process. As I noted previously in this chapter, within the research-assemblage, the researcher herself is one constituent within a network of relations. When observing this, I noted that I had to recognise the ways in which my own body had been territorialised. My background, my expectations of the research, and the questions I asked within the research context may all be viewed as part of the assemblage within which my data emerged. Of course, I did not embark on my project in a neutral manner. I had specific aims (see chapter one). I came from a background of positivist psychology and had a (limited) background in counselling. My position as a white middle-class woman around the age of 30 produced significant potential for power imbalances, especially given the authoritarian school context (see Paechter 2002; Holland et al. 2010).

Some participants acknowledged that I and the way in which I conducted the

interviews affected the data that was produced. I have already shared the example in which Mark's narratives of his use of condoms emerged differently in individual interviews and the group interview. Another participant, Rosie, a young woman aged 16, acknowledged in her follow-up interview that she had consciously made an effort to appear like an "emotional" person, especially in her relationship with her boyfriend Rich:

JA: So, when we were talking about sexuality, there was quite a lot of, um, you were talking quite a lot about you only care about the feelings or something?

Rosie: Yeah.

JA: Um do you think, would you be worried if I was to think 'oh she cares about the physical side of it'? Would that worry you, if I were to think that, do you think?

Rosie: Probably, yeah.

JA: So, do you think that I might think 'oh, that that's weird or wrong'?

Rosie: Yeah.

JA: So would you say that you were to some degree concerned about wanting to appear like that as well?

Rosie: Probably, yeah. When you think about it, when you say that, it does.

JA: I'm only asking, I'm not saying it's like that.

Rosie: Yeah.

JA: It was a thought that crossed my mind.

Rosie: Yeah

JA: And, rather than going away and thinking about it, I thought I'd ask you.

Rosie: Yeah, no, yeah, yeah, definitely, yeah thinking of it, yeah you're completely right, yeah.

JA: So what do you think I would think if you were to sort of say 'oh, I really enjoy the physical part', what do you think I would potentially think of you?

Rosie: I dunno, I'm not a very emotional person, but like I'm just, I don't know, I don't love Rich...

JA: [laughs] mm

Rosie: ...and just in it for the physical part of it, like, not emotionally attached to him at all, just, just don't care. Just not very emotional, just completely dead! [laughs]

JA: Yeah, um, obviously, I'm sure you don't think that I would actually think that you were dead!

[Both laugh]

Rosie: Yeah, no.

JA: But there was a sort of concern that you wanted to come across as emotional and caring, sort of?

- Rosie: Yeah, because I believe that I *am* emotional and caring and I don't want you to think that I am *dead* inside! Obviously.
- JA: [laughs] Obviously I don't!
- Rosie: You don't think that like, but I just wanted to get across to you, like, how I do actually feel, like, I wouldn't want you to go away and think like, have concerns, like, questions in your head about what I've been saying, that's why I just wanted just to be like *completely* honest and straight with you, like, I don't want you to get the wrong impression.
- JA: So you're kind of emphasising certain parts of you that you wanted to convey in a way?
- Rosie: Yeah, emphasising certain things so you know that I'm not like that, I *am* emotional.

In this data extract, Rosie talks about how she made an effort in her interviews to “emphasis[e]” that she is “emotional” in her relationship with Rich, and that she wanted to prevent me from thinking that she is “just in it for the physical part” and “dead inside”. Rosie’s efforts to “get across” a specific image of herself - how she “actually feels” – is in line with psychosocial writings which have argued that participants’ narratives often emerge through a desire to be perceived as a successful (sexual) subject (Hollway and Jefferson 2000). However, like in the example of Mark’s condom use, using assemblage theory, I was able to think of Rosie’s sexual subjectivity as emerging differently in different assemblages.

Rosie’s statement that she did not want me to think that she is “dead inside” was particularly interesting to me. She appeared to associate a lack of emotion with death, and conversely emotion with life. It is through appearing “emotional”, she seemingly felt, that her existence as a subject was granted. This significance of being an “emotional” sexual subject is of course also recognisable in dominant discourses relating to women’s sexualities (Allen 2003; McClelland and Fine 2008; 2014). Through an interplay between me as an older woman in a potential position of authority, discourses which produce it as desirable for women to take on a “caring” role, and discourses which shame young women who “are in it for the physical side”, a desire seemingly emerged that produced Rosie as coming across like a “caring” person who “love[s]” her boyfriend Rich. This desire appeared to also manifest in the object which Rosie brought in to the interview, which was a present from her

boyfriend Rich. Both Rosie's words and her 'pleasure object' produced her as "emotional". Rosie's example illustrates how what the research was capable of doing – its potential impact on participants, but also the data it produced – was intrinsically entangled not only with the specific methods participants engaged with, but also with participants' relationships with me.

3.4.1 My position as a white, middle-class woman in her late 20s/early 30s

Several young people commented on how their perception of me as a middle-class woman affected their participation. One participant from a white working-class background, Casey, describes how - partially because I am a university student, but likely partially also due to my middle-class accent - she perceived me as "posh". This, she said, meant that she had not wanted to come across as "really mouthy" or "in your face" in her interviews. Beverly Skeggs, Nancy Thumim, and Helen Wood (2008) have argued that since interviews privilege the verbal narrative, and the forms of narration open to people are bound up with dynamics of privilege and power, they are intrinsically problematic. As I noted earlier in this chapter, despite my use of objects and my focus on affect, the interview format may still be perceived as encouraging reflexive discussion of the individualised self. Skeggs et al. (2008) argue that such self-reflexivity is a resource that is available to and deployed disproportionately by middle-class people. Middle-class young people may well often have more experience and confidence in speaking to unknown adults and shaping their own narratives in a way they think is appropriate for adult listeners. For Casey, who was from a white working-class background, my middle-class background may have further hindered her capacity to feel confident in her narratives. She appeared pleased to take part in the arts-based methods in the final part of the research, where she produced a collage (see chapter five). Interestingly, there was no mention of my (white) ethnicity by any participant, which may suggest that this was perceived as the norm (Haviland 2008; McCarthy 2014).

Other participants commented on my gender identity as a woman. Rosie, for instance, noted that she had found it easier to talk about sexuality to a woman. Another participant, Sam, noted that he initially thought that he would prefer speaking with a

man, and that he might have questioned my intentions had I been close to his age or “like 50”. However, another participant, Rich noted, that ultimately the most important factor in producing a comfortable and productive research environment was that participants perceived me as “open”, empathic and non-judgemental (also see Allen 2011a).

3.4.2 The Research Diary

As I noted earlier in this chapter, throughout the research I paid attention to ‘affective hotspots’ (MacLure 2013; Ringrose and Renold 2014). I also mentioned how I made notes in a diary on how my body was affected before, during, and after my encounters with participants. In addition, I kept a record of my impressions of participants’ bodily responses. As I also stated earlier in this chapter, I took special notice when research encounters baffled me, or challenged any of my implicit assumptions. Although within the research I wanted to focus on the specificity of singular experiences, I also wrote about themes which seemingly emerged repeatedly. While I acknowledged that no two experiences were ever the same, and my main focus was on molecular experiences, this process helped me to trace (gendered) affective patterns (Stewart 2007; Jackson and Mazzei 2011) and molar (as well as molecular) (gendered) lines of becomings within sexuality-assemblages. I also used the research diary to make notes on any background information that participants had shared with me.

Underpinned by Deleuze’s theory of becoming (Deleuze 1969), I treated my notes as productive, rather than as a mere representation of what had happened. In writing the diary, often new ideas emerged, and this inevitably affected my encounters with participants. In this way, the diary bridged and challenged distinctions commonly made between ‘data production’ and ‘data analysis’ (St. Pierre 1997; 2013). Indeed, as I noted in the introduction to this chapter, the entire research process may be viewed in this way.

3.4.3 Blurring the distinction between participants and researcher

I mentioned in chapter two how assemblages are not hierarchical. This means that none of the elements in an assemblage are considered more advanced, developed, or important than any other. When we attempt to flatten the hierarchical structure between researcher and participants, this may challenge assumptions rife especially in positivist research as to who is the researcher and who is the researched (St. Pierre 1997). I have already mentioned in this chapter that I paid attention to affects as they registered in my own body. If we view the research not only as an attempt to produce data which tells us something about young people's experiences, but also as a productive process, we may question whether it makes sense to view the research process as having a more significant impact on participants (for example by highlighting affect beyond the research encounter) than on the researcher. Of course, given my much greater involvement with the project, the opposite is perhaps likely to be the case. The entanglement between the data which emerged on the one hand, and myself and my relations with participants on the other, must not be viewed as unidirectional. Not only did this entanglement affect the data which emerged, but of course the data which emerged and the affects produced in my relations with participants also affected my own experiences within and beyond the immediate research process. Indeed, one of the reasons I had wanted to embark on this project was to address my own sadness and anger about our misogynist culture, as well as the subjugation of young people.

One example of the ways in which the research affected me related to an experience in which, following an interview in which a participant, Dan, discussed his experience of feeling his partner's heartbeat during a sexual encounter (see chapter four), I had a similar experience. This example suggests that the research process not only had the capacity to increase participants' attention to specific bodily sensations, but also opened up such possibilities for me. It illustrates well the blurred boundaries between researcher/researched. The link between Dan's narrative and my experience appeared to function on an unconscious level (Braidotti's 2013; see chapter two), and the effects of the data, in Deleuzian language, were somewhat rhizomatic (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987).

3.5 Working with data, thinking with theory

In the final section of this chapter I will explore my analytic process in more detail. I will begin by discussing how to make sense of the concepts of 'data' and 'analysis' within a Deleuzo-Guattarian onto-epistemology, before discussing what my aims for this stage of the research were, and outlining the specific practices and processes which constituted it.

3.5.1 What is data analysis?

I discussed in part one of this chapter that within poststructuralist traditions there is an assumption that there is no real world that can be gathered together as data and described within an analysis (St. Pierre 2013). Just like data may be understood as emerging through the complex relations between different elements in a research-assemblage, that which emerges in a researcher's encounters with data may also be understood as produced through a multitude of relations. This includes of course, once again, the researcher's own background and aims for the research. Like the means of data production, the analytic process can be treated as an ethical responsibility where the impact which is made ideally contributes to social justice (Ringrose and Renold 2014; Law 2004).

In chapter two, I described how Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) distinguished between 'tracing' and 'mapping'. Tracing is akin to coding, highlights that which we already know, and keeps us locked within and reinforces well-established paradigms. 'Mapping', on the other hand, refers to the charting of unnamed territories, and involves paying attention to processes of deterritorialisation. While a tendency to explain the world according to established ideas is inherent in much of Western thought, the concept of 'mapping' gives a new purpose to the process of analysis. Within such a process, the focus is not on what data *is*, but on what it can *do* (e.g. offer opportunities for readers to think youth sexualities differently). Within such a framework, the analytic phase of research remains an immensely important tool, because we may use it to explore and emphasise moments of possibility and change,

as well as gendered inequalities, and bring them into our society's collective consciousness and/or unconsciousness (Hodgson and Standish 2009). In this way, like the means of data production, the analytic process may extend perceived realities and help us to think the world differently. That is not to say that these realities are arbitrary or that social scientists are all-powerful, but rather that research may strengthen certain realities or erode others (Law and Urry 2004).

3.5.2 Encountering data

Recent methodological (Deleuzo-Guattarian) discussions have focused on the need for creative ways of engaging with data (Lury and Wakeford 2012; MacLure 2013; Ringrose and Renold 2014; Renold 2017). I have already noted how, inspired by writers such as St. Pierre (1997) and MacLure (2013), I paid attention to the ways in which affects registered in my body in research encounters and when engaging with data. While I paid attention to affects as they registered in my own body, and affects may be viewed as operating on bodies in complex and divergent ways (Braidotti 2013), I have already noted that I did not view these sensations as separate from the participants. I viewed affect as relational and as circulating within research-assemblages (see Fox and Alldred 2014; 2015).

Although I paid attention to affects as they registered in my own body, like many other feminist researchers, throughout my encounters with data, I wanted to foreground the participants themselves (Letherby 2003). I listened carefully to accounts of their experiences, re-read their transcripts many times, and spent a lot of time engaging with the art work that they had produced. I also made notes, read my research diary entries, and talked about the data with my supervisors. As I noted previously in this chapter, like many qualitative researchers (Letherby 2013), I treated my 'analysis' as ongoing, and paid attention to the ways in which data moved me throughout the entire research process. However, once I had recorded data, there was a period in which I engaged with my data in an intensive and sustained way.

Given the focus of my thesis, I paid close attention to what appeared to be expressions of pleasure. I was also attentive to what seemed like expressions of hurt

or pain. Rather than framing my analysis in terms of my own experiences, I used 'data hotspots' (MacLure 2013) to guide me to data which I felt emerged as intense and significant for both me and the participants themselves. I paid particularly close attention to instances that participants described as unusual, and to experiences they struggled to put into words. This helped me to recognise how participants' experiences sometimes exceeded discourse, and normative figurations of gender and sexuality.

Aside from paying attention to data which excited or challenged me, or which seemed significant to participants, I also acknowledged instances when data or themes appeared to repeat themselves or bored me. This allowed me to bring attention to that which was seemingly ordinary. I used these data to trace what appeared to be molar (gendered) lines of becomings for young sexual bodies.

I paid attention to participants' biographical data in order to make sense of their experiences, including their gender, their religion, and their ethnic and class background. However, as I noted earlier in this chapter, biographical data emerged through my interactions with participants in interviews, and was always partial and inevitably affected not only by participants' desires to come across in particular ways, but also by my own interests, assumptions and biased perceptions. For instance, I was especially interested in the role of gender in young people's experiences. In other words, my inclusion of specific biographical data was guided not only by the need to protect participants' anonymity and their specific desires, but also inevitably by the ways in which certain data affected me. Indeed, my descriptions of participants' entire identities may be viewed as an assemblage that emerged within the specific research context.

3.5.3 Aims of 'analysis'

The section above illustrates that I was interested in tracing gendered patterns and inequalities, and molar lines in youth-sexuality-assemblages, but also in mapping singular affects and rupture. Fox and Alldred (2015) have pointed to two tasks for empirical social inquiry that flow from Deleuzo-Guattarian ontology: to explore

specific assemblages and map the desires and capacities that they may produce in bodies; and to take an experience and explore the relations and affects which produced it. Given my interest in pleasure, I paid special attention to the ways in which specific assemblages opened up or closed down experiences of pleasure for young people. Similarly, when data appeared to suggest that a young person was experiencing pleasure (or pain), I explored the conditions which seemingly produced this experience.

Unlike much of the previous literature in the field of youth sexualities (e.g. Tolman 2002; McGeeney 2013; 2015b), I was not only interested in the ways in which human bodies and the practices normatively defined as 'sex' produced desire and pleasure in young people. I was also interested in how participants' relationship with the more-than-human (Lorimer 2013) - for example discourses, objects or music - affected young people's sexual subjectivities and their capacities for pleasure. A second aim of my 'analysis', then, was to avoid focusing solely on sexualities that emerged in expected places. I wanted to think about sexuality not only as a set of specific practices tied to sexed bodies, but move towards a conceptualisation of sexuality as affect, intensities, and bodily sensations (see chapter two; Deleuze and Guattari 1987; also see Beckmann 2011; 2013).

3.5.4 Thinking with concepts: 'becoming', 'assemblages', 'territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation'

In this final section of this chapter, I will illustrate what it meant to think with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts throughout my encounters with data, and directly address research question three ("How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts within youth sexuality research contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the field?). I use a short example to explicate how these concepts may act as a tool to map complexities and alternative figurations of youth sexualities. The data extract I use is a short quote taken from an interview with Sarah, who we met earlier in this chapter. Sarah was a young white woman aged 17 from a strict Christian background. She talked about experiencing her religious backgrounds as somewhat restrictive. For example, she talked about how she was "not allowed" to have sex outside of marriage. Although

Sarah contended at the start of the research that she had never kissed anyone or been in a romantic relationship, throughout the research it emerged that Sarah did consider many parts of her life to be sexual. In particular, this related to dance, which she loved and which took up a substantial amount of her free time. As her 'pleasure object' in phase two of the research, Sarah brought in a video clip of herself dancing. For phase three of the research, Sarah produced an additional four dance videos. In the quote below, Sarah speaks about the bodily sensations she experiences in the context of dancing with another person in a dance studio:

Sarah: I quite enjoy Cuban dancing [...] it's bumping and grinding, you're not really bumping and grinding [...] you're moving your hips and your like, your legs and stuff [...] you're flicking your hair [...] it makes me feel a bit more sexier, and it just feels more, I don't know, fun. [...] I've danced with people, and I think like Latin and stuff and that's like, that movement towards like tummy like, bringing you close together like that yeah it feels, it feels good [laughs].

In this quote, Sarah talks about how when she is dancing she emphasises her "hips", her "legs", her "hair", and her "tummy". Some of Sarah's movements, "flicking [her long straight] hair" for instance, were intrinsically gendered and racialized. Sarah even talked about how dance made her feel "girly". Through a discursive or performative analytic lens, one might argue that Sarah's narratives may be read as illustrating how within dance she is performing a feminine sexuality in line with popular portrayals in pop music videos, and that her feelings of sexiness emerge through internalising and embodying a male gaze. Drawing on Evans and Riley's (2014; Evans et al. 2010) work on 'technologies of sexiness', one could continue this analysis by arguing that Sarah's experiences illustrate how while within contemporary Western culture young women are able to display sexual agency, this display must remain within established notions of feminine conduct. Within such an approach, the focus is on what Sarah's dance *is* or *means*: how we can make sense of it and what it says about culture. Whilst highlighting gendered inequalities, it arguably downplays the specificity of Sarah's context, and traces that which has already been established within (feminist) discourses about sexuality.

Thinking with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, the focus shifts somewhat from what Sarah's dance *is* or *means*, and towards what it can *do*. Specifically, the focus is laid on what capacities a specific dance produces, for example what capacities it produces for Sarah. The concepts of 'becoming', 'assemblage', territorialisation' and 'deterritorialisation' enable thinking about the productive capacities of Sarah's dance as complex and multiple. This is because using these concepts affective capacities can be thought of as unfolding rhizomatically, as branching out in different directions, and as emerging differently within specific assemblages. While within a discursive theory Sarah's dance may be interpreted as reproducing specific notions of femininity, using Deleuze and Guattari, we may think about the multiple capacities of dance as they emerge in different assemblages. For instance, we can think about Sarah's sexual body in many everyday-life situations as stabilised by her robust relationship with religious sexual discourses, which limit her capacities for sexual pleasure. Dance-assemblages, on the other hand, seemingly had in certain constellations the capacity to momentarily deterritorialise Sarah's sexual body, and in this way open up possibilities for Sarah to experience sexual pleasure. Sarah spoke about how to her this felt like something was actually being "remove[d]" from her body.

The multi-phase approach of my research project allowed me to map many of the relations which produced Sarah's sexual subjectivity (e.g. her religious belief, music videos), and how different dance-assemblages territorialised her body in different ways. Exploring Sarah's experiences of dance in a range of assemblages allowed me to map how the affective capacities of dance varied between contexts. Sarah spoke about how she does not feel pleasure when dancing in front of her class mates, and how in certain dance-assemblages her pleasure seemingly becomes detached from her physical appearance (see chapter six for further discussion of Sarah's experiences). Thinking with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, then, dance may be viewed as producing different capacities in Sarah's body in different assemblages, and, indeed, as producing multiple effects within any given constellation. Sarah's subjectivity emerges as always in flux. Her experiences are not fixed by discourse, nor

are they determined by biological responses. In this way, rather than closing down possibility, a Deleuzo-Guattarian approach looks towards possibilities of change.

Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, then, allow researchers to take an approach to the study of youth sexualities which differs from psychological and discursive approaches (see chapter two). In order to respond to my research questions (especially research question one), like the work of psychologists and discourse analysts, my empirical chapters offer an interpretive account of my data, as well as treating it as productive. However, what sets my analysis apart is its ability to highlight multiplicity and movement. As I noted in chapter two, this is important not only to explore the complexities of youth sexualities, but also to legitimise ways of experiencing sexuality that exceed normative expectations and representation, and to make visible potential for change.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter discussed the methodological approach of my research project, which, due to its novelty, must perhaps be viewed as an experiment that is exploratory. My non-linear, and potentially rupturing, approach to research was reflected in this chapter by my somewhat unusual decision to include empirical data in it. Using such data, I illustrated how my methods and concepts allowed me to work with affect, to map alternative figurations of youth sexuality, and to address complexity and multiplicity. I also explored the role of myself and the research sites within the research-assemblage, and how I viewed the analytic process as productive.

The chapter highlighted some of the strengths and weaknesses of my approach, and I will illustrate these in more detail throughout the empirical chapters (chapters four to six). Specifically, the empirical chapters will illustrate in more detail how, while my research was still in many ways dependent on spoken language, it allowed for the emergence of rich data which pointed towards complex subjectivities that were always in motion. This included experiences of both pleasure and pain, and territorialisations as well as deterritorialisations. While I had initially considered

writing separate chapters on the ways in which sexual bodies were territorialised in painful ways, and on the possibilities for sexual bodies for processes of deterritorialisation and pleasure, I quickly noticed that these processes were far too entangled to be artificially separated. Instead, I chose to structure the empirical chapters in such a way that with each chapter the reader may think about sexuality and sexual subjectivity in ever more creative ways.

Whilst it was difficult for me to artificially divide data that were inevitably entangled, three chapters emerged. In chapter four I highlight young sexual subjectivities as they emerged in encounters with other people, especially those encounters normatively defined as 'sex'. This chapter highlights gendered patterns of inequality, but also emphasises experiences that exceed normative representations of youth sexuality. In chapter five I foreground the 'more-than-human' (Lorimer 2013), and explore young people's sexual subjectivities as they emerged in their engagements with objects, the media, and technologies. Chapter six is themed around the moving body, and explores how youth sexual subjectivities emerged during dance and sports. I bring together the conclusions from chapters four and five to rethink sexuality as something not tied to individual bodies, but as something that can be understood as impersonal affective flows which travels across and through bodies. In the final discussion chapter, once the reader has been introduced to a greater proportion of my data, I will also explore in more detail the limitation of the use of linguistic methods, and the educational implications of my methodology's capacities to influence participants' attentiveness to bodily experiences and connectivity in their every-day lives.

Chapter Four

“It was like a sensation of like pain and pleasure at the same time”: Young people, ‘sex’, and the complexities of human encounters

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter I explore young people’s experiences of encounters with other young people. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I explore the complexities of young people’s experiences during those encounters normatively defined as ‘sex’. I trace gendered patterns in the ways in which young people experience sexuality. However, I also map alternative figurations of youth sexuality (Brown 2006; Nigianni and Storr 2005; Colebrook 2009; Renold and Ringrose 2011; McCallum and Tuhkanen 2011; Renold and Ivinson 2015; see chapter two). I focus on those data which emerged as painful, pleasurable, or baffling ‘hotspots’ (MacLure 2013) for me. This included narratives relating to appearances, status, and violence (which are themes which emerged repeatedly), as well as narratives in which pleasure and connectivity were emphasised. I also explore the implications of these affective flows for sexual consent between young people. In the second part of the chapter, I explore how we can recognise sexuality in human encounters which are not normatively defined as ‘sex’.

While in my research I used an array of methods, data concerning specific human encounters mainly surfaced in participants’ individual interviews (group interview data and art work are discussed in chapters five and six). Given that participants had sacrificed their time to take part, and many had seemed keen to provide input for my thesis, I felt an ethical responsibility to include the voices of many young people, rather than focusing on only one or two participants.

Part One: Young people and ‘sex’

Despite the focus of my project on pleasure, when participants spoke about their engagement in practices normatively defined as ‘sex’, experiences of sexual pleasure tended to be embedded within complex stories which incorporated an array of other

bodily sensations (also see Tolman 2002). Often participants' narratives were populated by stories of anxiety, experiences of hurt and pain, violence, and a sense of limitation in relation to pleasure. I begin this chapter by tracing some of these patterns. I pay attention to the ways in which participants seemingly experienced these patterns as fixed and inescapable, but also to those moments in which participants' experiences appeared to temporarily divert from them. I focus on three themes which surfaced repeatedly, and which appeared to feel significant to many participants: appearances, status, and violence. I then explore in greater detail some sexual encounters in which pleasure emerged for young people.

4.2 Young sexualities and the stickiness of appearances

Bodily appearances often seemed to be experienced as a source of anxiety by young people. I will begin this section by discussing the experiences of Rosie, who I introduced in chapter three. I will illustrate how Rosie appeared to experience her body as defined by its appearance, and how this complicated and limited her possibilities for sexual pleasure. Rosie was 16 years old at the time of the research, and was in the final year of her GCSEs. She had only attended her current school for two years. Rosie stated that she had come to this school because she had been excluded by her friends - the "popular crowd" - at her previous school. Whilst now she did not consider herself to be popular, she said that she was "happy" in her new school. She had a boyfriend, who she had been going out with for a year, and some good friends. However, whilst being "a size 8 to 10", she felt that she was "too big", and her interviews were dominated by her anxieties about her weight. She talked about how she felt unable to stop counting calories and that for her the most significant moments of pleasure were those when she discovered that she had lost weight. She began and ended each day by standing on scales. After finishing school, Rosie aspired to become a therapist, so that she "could help others with eating disorders". Rosie spoke at length about how her concern with her weight affected her sexual encounters with her boyfriend Rich. In the quote below, Rosie describes the sensations she experienced within many of these encounters:

Rosie: I'm worried about it, like, I'm kind of having to juggle both things, like, try to enjoy it but try not to think about [...] I wouldn't want to be [...] doing something in a certain way that would make me look bigger [...] we could be doing something sexual and it will just pop in my brain, like, oh my God, what do I look like, and I'll just look down and be like, ok, suck in type thing, or something and like, just like judge myself from looking down. Like sometimes we do something sexual and it doesn't come in my head once and it's just like completely not there but others, it's like all I can think about and then like that limits, like that makes me wanna stop doing anything sexual then because it's just not what I, I don't feel like, relaxed and comfortable, I feel like minging. I just want to go to sleep and wake up and then I don't wanna, I just wanna like not think about anything.

JA: So does that sometimes happen, like, you get that and then you just wanna stop?

Rosie: Yeah there has been times when I've let Rich know, like, I can't do it. I wouldn't say, oh, I don't wanna do it because I feel fat [laughs] because he might just be, like, what are you on about, like, you're not fat. Like I would just make up an excuse, I dunno what I would say, just like, 'oh, I've got work to do', or 'I'm tired', or, you know. [...] Not like always, like, every time we do something sexual I'm not always thinking about it, but most of the time. The majority of it I am thinking, I'm either looking good today, I'm looking bad today.

JA: And does that affect how turned on you are and stuff?

Rosie: Mmm, yeah definitely, it affects everything. [...] I hate it so much, I find it so, like, I dunno, I hate it with a passion, I would do anything to get rid of it.

JA: What, you hate that you're kind of always looking at yourself from the outside?

Rosie: Yeah, I hate that I'm feeling, like, you know, that I need to lose weight and stuff, and that I'm fat and stuff. I hate it, but there's nothing I can do about it. I've just got it in my brain that it's always gonna be there, so, but there's no point me worrying about it, cos I'll feel exactly the same when I'm like fifty [laughs].

Rosie's quote touched me immensely. When listening to her in her interview, Rosie's narratives of frustration and stuck-ness, and the affects which circulated in the research encounter, created a sense of sadness and stuck-ness in myself. While in the interviews I tried to focus on pleasure, Rosie kept returning to her anxieties about her body weight. She repeatedly spoke about her disappointment about not feeling able to move beyond these anxieties. She appeared to feel caught within a longing to be thin, and this seemingly limited her capacities to feel connected with her

boyfriend, to feel turned on, and to “enjoy it”. The quote suggests that for Rosie pleasure tended to emerge when she did not feel “minging”, and perhaps when she experienced her body as at least moderately attractive (also see Wiederman 2000; Pinquart 2010). Her desires, as well as her capacities for sexual pleasure, may perhaps be viewed as captured by a market economy that objectifies young women’s bodies and that thrives on their bodily insecurities (Fine and McClelland 2006).

While Rosie contended that she feels that “there’s nothing [she] can do” about her concerns with her size, at the same time she stated that she felt unable to share her experiences with her sexual partner, and that she “tr[ies] to enjoy it”. She appeared to feel a sense of pressure to experience pleasure. As I argued in chapter one, while within contemporary Western culture young women’s bodies, and increasingly young men’s bodies, continue to be objectified and commodified (McClelland and Fine 2006; Gill 2008), this objectification is complicated - perhaps transformed into ‘subjectification’ (Gill 2008) - by the image of the powerful and independent woman who performs both ‘sex’ and sexiness for her own pleasure (Evans et al. 2010). This pleasure imperative appeared to assemble with discourses that emphasise bodily appearance (especially size), as well as the materiality of Rosie’s body and that of her boyfriend, to produce affective flows which registered in Rosie’s body as passivity, anxiety, and “hate” towards her feelings. Rosie stated that for her, change seemed almost unimaginable and that she will “feel exactly the same when [she is] like fifty”.

Appearances also tended to feature heavily in other participants’ narratives. Young women, in particular, often spoke directly about how anxieties relating to their appearance limited their capacities to connect with sexual partners and to feel pleasure. Erin, for example, who described herself as “big”, spoke about the ways in which she experienced her bodily capacities during “intimate” encounters as limited. Erin was a young white middle-class woman aged 17, who stated that she “hate[s] [her]self”. While Erin contended that she had good friends, she spoke in detail about her sense of inadequacy, insecurity and of being unloved. This was the case not only in school, but also in her home. Erin lived with her parents and a sibling, who Erin felt was “prioritise[d]” by her parents. Erin “could not wait” to leave her home town and

go to university. Reading and writing were the two main practices which provided an escape for Erin from her sense of unhappiness (see chapter five for further details). In the following quote, Erin speaks about her anxieties around sexual encounters:

Erin: I'm *very* worried, especially when it comes down to bein' intimate with someone. I've never taken off my shirt to have intercourse with someone, ever! [...] I've never taken off my shirt, because I'm so worried that they won't like what they see. I'm always constantly worried that I'll disappoint them and they'll leave me for someone else.

In this quote, Erin speaks about how during “intercourse” she continually worries about her appearance, and how this prevents her from “tak[ing] off [her] shirt” within such scenarios. Erin’s use of the word “intercourse” is interesting here, because it may be viewed as producing and reproducing penetration (especially penile-vaginal penetration) as the sexual norm. Given the dominance of this phrase in SRE (Ingham 2014; see chapter one), its emergence in the research may be viewed as linked to the school environment, myself (as an older adult), and Erin’s robust relationship with these entities. Her use of the word “intercourse” is perhaps particularly interesting since Erin defined her sexuality as “bi”. It may be then, that Erin is referring specifically to her experiences with men. Erin’s quote suggests a sense of responsibility not to “disappoint” her partner, and to maintain her relationships. Her experiences are reminiscent of the have-hold discourses reported by Wendy Hollway (1984; 1989; see chapter two), according to which women must act as gatekeepers of male sexuality. We can recognise here how Erin’s body emerges as always in danger of being objectified and judged. This makes her “letting go” (of concerns about her appearance and about taking her clothes off) risky.

Erin’s worries about her appearance extended to other encounters with young people, and seemed to be especially pronounced in relationships she regarded as “sexual”. In the following quote, Erin speaks about the ways in which she felt restricted when she went clothes-shopping with her former boyfriend:

Erin: I was so self-conscious that he'd find out that I was like a size 16 and leave me because he can get better girls. I always thought to myself, that was niggling in the back of my head, they could *always* find someone better than you. That was what I thought every single time I was with a guy or a girl.

Erin's narrative points to a belief and fear that much of her sexual value is determined by her appearance and her body's conformity to definitions of beauty that are constructed around dress size. As the research progressed, it surfaced that these fears seemingly emerged within an assemblage which included not only relations between her body, sexual partners and gendered discourses, but also past social experiences. For example, Erin spoke about how her fears had become more intense following a scenario in which a young man had refused to dance with her at a nightclub because he considered her to be "fat" (see chapter six for further discussion of this event). As I indicated in chapter one, within the mainstream media, young women's lack of confidence is often pathologised and there tends to be an implicit assumption that it is their responsibility to work on their insecurities. However, Erin's example shows that the affects which registered in Erin's body as fear, insecurity and inhibition were indeed produced through the complex relations of her social world.

In the previous example, Rosie stated that she "always think[s] about" the way she looks, no matter what specific practice she is engaging in. However, for Erin it seemed to be especially scenarios in which she was "intimate with someone" where affects emerged which registered in her body as anxiety. Similarly, Casey, a young white working-class woman aged 17, stated that she is "more conscious about [her] body being perceived by [her] boyfriend more than anyone else". Like Erin, for a long time, Casey would not "take [her] top off" when engaging in sexual practices with her long-term boyfriend. It seemed like it was their *sexual* body in particular that these young women experienced as risky and prone to judgement, and which consequentially limited what they could do (also see Wiederman 2000; Pinquart 2010).

As has been reported in previous research (e.g. Coffey 2013), anxieties around appearances emerged much more frequently in relation to young women than it did

in relation to young men. Given the limited ways in which young women are able to legitimately talk about sexuality in positive ways (Tolman 2002; Iverson and Renold 2013), as well as the gendered patterns in the media surrounding the topic (Gill 2008), this may not seem surprising. However, anxieties also emerged when some young men spoke about their appearances, albeit sometimes after they initially denied such concerns (also see Allen 2002). One such example surfaced in an interview with Mark, who I introduced in chapter three. Mark was a young white working-class man aged 16, who throughout the research was very open about his feelings. He contended that he is very social, and that, unlike his academic achievements, his friends are of utmost importance to him. On several occasions, he indicated that his popularity with other young people, and his sexual appeal to young women, were intrinsically enmeshed with his sense of identity and wellbeing. He noted that he had had several girlfriends, and some one night stands. In the quote below, he talks about the sense of anxiety that registered in his body when he undressed in front of a girlfriend for the first time:

Mark: Like at the start I never really, I never really knew her that well. I was conscious then cos I didn't know what she'd think of my body.

Throughout the research, Mark talked in detail about his desires to be perceived by his peers and sexual partners as “manly”. For him, having a toned body was a prerequisite for this. Mark’s anxieties relating to his body shape are reminiscent of previous research with young men, which has attributed the potential for such anxieties to an increase in the visibility of toned male bodies in the media (Allen 2002; Gill 2008).

However, some participants’ narratives suggested that within encounters with other young people, including those they defined as *sexual* encounters, anxiety-invoking affective flows were sometimes momentarily ruptured and dispersed. At times this deterritorialisation appeared to extend beyond the immediate encounter. In the quote below, Sam, a young working-class man aged 16, speaks about his experiences of his “first time” with his girlfriend:

Sam: I had some really, really bad issues with taking my top off, taking my clothes off, like before, like in a pool I wouldn't take my top off.

JA: What were you insecure about?

Sam: I guess just like the shape of me, I didn't like anyone seeing underneath my clothing at all [...] and [when we were having sex] I just got up, I didn't care, honestly [...] there was the mirror [...] So I saw myself, and I was thinking, hang on, how am I doing this? [laughs] I'm seeing [my girlfriend] and myself in the mirror and I'm not getting all depressed about it.

In his interviews, Sam spoke about his own and his father's wants for him to be "manly", as well as his excitement about having fallen "in love" and gotten together with his girlfriend. As I will discuss in chapter six, Sam was a keen climber, and liked having a toned body. We can understand Sam's body in everyday life as somewhat striated by gendered notions of attractiveness, and this appeared to register in his body as anxiety. However, within the specific encounter he is describing here, his body seemed to emerge in a different way. Here a sexual encounter (and perhaps sexual pleasure) seemingly offered up a line of flight from the normative territories that his body inhabited. Here his appearances became irrelevant and he "didn't care". This process of deterritorialisation seemed to open up new possibilities, for example of comfort, for Sam. However, it is worth noting here that Sam's body was male, white, slim and toned, and that he stated that he very much "trusted" his girlfriend. These specific conditions seemingly opened up possibilities for change. I will return to this point later on in this chapter.

Some young women also hinted at the potential of certain practices to rupture their investment in appearances. Often these were practices that are not normatively defined as 'sex', and indeed commonly involved being physically removed from other human bodies (a point I will return to in chapters five and six). However, certain sexual encounters also appeared to produce the conditions necessary for such moments of deterritorialisation to emerge. In the example given below, Jade, a young woman aged 17, who was from a strict Afro-Caribbean Christian background, speaks about how being with her boyfriend affected her preoccupation – what we may understand as the territorialisation of her body – with appearances:

Jade: I was very self-conscious about my body [...] I'm fine now, I can run around naked [...] [sex with my boyfriend] kinda takes your mind off things.

Jade spoke about how her parents disapproved of sex outside of marriage, and how she kept her sexual relationship with her boyfriend secret from them. She also noted how good she felt around her boyfriend. In the quote above, Jade expresses how sexual encounters between her and her boyfriend seemed to take her “mind off things”, and how this allowed her to become less “self-conscious”. Sam’s and Jade’s examples exceed and extend findings reported in previous research on young sexualities and appearances, which has focused on the ways in which bodily insecurities limit young people’s capacities for sexual pleasure (e.g. Wiederman 2000; Pinquart 2010). These examples highlight how ‘sex’ and sexual pleasure can sometimes positively affect young people’s relationship with their bodies, and increase their bodily capacities.

4.3 Trophy sex: Young people, sexuality, and the desire for status

Young people often spoke about how they associated sexual encounters with status, competition, and achievement. Whereas young women more commonly spoke about perceived pressures to look attractive, narratives of sexual status and competition more commonly emerged in my interviews with young men. In the example below, Mark speaks about the sensations of emptiness which he could feel in his body during a “one off” sexual encounter, and how this perhaps related to the “pressures” he felt to “have sex”:

Mark: It didn’t really mean that much to me, I didn’t really get like a feeling inside, any buzzing, yeah.

JA: It wasn’t like emotional?

Mark: No. It was just physical, like porn.

JA: Uh-huh, and do you know how the girl felt about it?

Mark: Oh she was screaming, so probably liked it [laughs]. [...] I told [my mates] I had sex and all the details and she was screaming her head off and they were like ‘oh, you’re a legend’. [...] I would say porn puts a lot of pressure on sex I’d say. And peers, like, they are

having sex, so it peer pressures me to have sex too, a lot of pressure to have sex.

In this quote, Mark speaks about the emptiness he experienced during a sexual encounter with a young woman – how he “didn’t really get like a feeling inside” - and he described the encounter as one which emerges through “peer pressures”. Mark implies that for him the encounter, rather than being about pleasure or a sense of connection, is about social status: about becoming “a legend” and being able to communicate his exploits to his “mates”. This becoming-legend was based on making this young woman “scream”, with her expressions interpreted as pleasure and this pleasure produced as his personal accomplishment. While Mark points out that his partner “probably liked it”, we are left guessing as to whether she did indeed enjoy the encounter. Mark’s use of the word “probably” suggests that he himself did not feel very confident about his interpretation. However, he did not ask the young woman how she felt. If her screams were an expression of something else – pain or performative pleasure for example – this act becomes something quite different; potentially something non-consensual and violent. Mark’s main concern was, however, not with the young woman’s consent. Instead the encounter was seemingly dominated by the pressures he felt to impress his “mates”, and by the anxieties relating to his abilities as a lover. These affective intensities seemed to produce a desire which propelled forward Mark’s status, but which limited his and his partner’s potential for pleasure. It appeared to me that, like the sexual encounter, Mark’s narrative also emerged through a desire to impress others, in this case me. The story surfaced in my first interview with Mark. While in his second interview there was a greater focus on connectivity, here he may have felt unable to move beyond the patterns of speech which were seemingly dominant in his communications with his “mates” (also see Alldred and Fox 2015).

While the potential for emotional connection featured heavily in some young men’s narratives, several other young men, from a variety of classed backgrounds, also spoke about ‘sex’ in conquering ways. For example, sexual practices were described by one young male participant, Kevin, as “victory” and “getting what you want”, and

several of the young men talked about a need to “perform well” (e.g. Sam, aged 16). Within these narratives, sexual encounters emerged as about something other than connectivity and pleasure: about performance and status. Young people’s bodily capacities for pleasure seemed limited by the affective flows which circulated within these encounters.

As I mentioned previously in this section, the relationship between ‘sex’ and status appeared to be gendered, with some of the young women speaking about sexual practices in terms of “giving” (Casey, aged 17) something to a man. Although some young women spoke about wanting to make their partners “feel good” (Rosie, aged 16), none of them explicitly constructed their partner’s pleasure as their personal achievement, and often their idea of ‘being good in bed’ was linked to appearing attractive for their partner. Many spoke about persisting double standards. Through either multiple sexual partners, or a single long-term sexual partner, young men became “manly” or even a “legend”. On the other hand, the risk of slut-shaming, as well as being called “a fridge”, continued to be experienced as very real by many young women (also see Ringrose and Renold 2012; Phipps and Young, 2015). For young women, being in a committed sexual relationship often seemingly offered the lowest risk of sexual harassment and bullying (also see Tolman 2002).

While what constituted sexual success for young women tended to differ from that which was constituted as success for young men, both were intrinsically linked to hierarchical thinking, gendered notions of status, and ultimately gendered inequalities in relation to ‘sex’ (also see McClelland 2010). Pleasure, whether in relation to ‘sex’ or other practices, was often described as something linked to being “good at something” (e.g. Sarah, aged 17), and in this way dependant on the devaluation of others. Such thinking may of course be viewed as produced, reproduced and promoted by schools (as well as Western culture more generally), which habitually rank pupils in terms of their perceived capabilities (Ringrose 2007; Walkerdine and Ringrose 2006). It is significant then that these narratives emerged within a school context.

However, while young people often spoke about their desires for a high social status, and this included being sexually “successful” in one way or another, within specific assemblages, sexual experiences also appeared to have the capacity to offer a line of flight for young people’s bodies from these territorialisations. For example, Mark, who so vehemently spoke about the sense of achievement that registered in his body during some sexual encounters, described one specific encounter in which his body appeared to momentarily exceed achievement discourses. In the quote below he speaks about his “first time”:

Mark: The first time I like done it and I hadn’t told anyone about it, cos that was my first time and it was really special to be honest, and I just done it and I never told anyone.

JA: And who was it with?

Mark: A girlfriend. [...] I done that cos I wanted to and I felt like dunno it made me feel like really special to be honest, and it made her feel really special, too.

JA: What things about it did you like?

Mark: Before I felt like all that was going through my head was what if I mess up? What happens if I do it wrong? What happens if I only last for two minutes? I dunno, like a lot of things going through my head.

JA: You were just really nervous?

Mark: Really nervous yeah. And then it was all good, yeah, it was perfect.

JA: So what was perfect about it do you think?

Mark: Because she was there, yeah. [...] I just felt like a really strong bond and like, dunno, if I’m honest I can’t put it into words.

The “nervous[ness]” Mark is describing here about “do[ing] it wrong” or “only last[ing]” for two minutes” is reminiscent of previous research with young men on first-time sexual encounters (Muehlenhard et al. 2002; Pinquart 2010). However, Mark describes here how when he was with his girlfriend, his nervousness faded. In addition, this encounter produced intensities which felt “special” to him, and which he thought also felt special to his partner. Following this encounter, he experienced no need, or perhaps lacked the “words”, to share the specifics of the encounter with his friends. What is more, here a sense of closeness and connectivity, a “bond”, emerged instead of the emptiness which registered in his body during the sexual encounter that I discussed earlier in this chapter. Here sexual connectivity appeared

to have the capacity to undo Mark's perceived need for social status. Here achievement may be viewed as becoming detached from hierarchical thinking, and about what bodies can realise when they come together.

Mark's inability to put these experiences "into words" illustrates the limitations of language, at least in the form of "words", to fully capture his bodily experiences. Christopher Bollas (1987) calls such inarticulable bodily sensations the 'unthought known'. Since this was Mark's "first time", he was not able to compare his experience to anything, and this perhaps made it even more difficult for him to articulate what he was feeling. While Mark is unable to put the sensations he experienced into words, in listening to him, it was possible for me to sense the intensity of this encounter, and its significance for Mark.

Much of the literature which has linked young men's sexual experiences to status has relied on structured interviews and surveys (e.g. Muehlenhard et al. 2002; Impett and Peplau 2003; Pinquart 2010; McClelland 2010), with some qualitative researchers using a discursive approach to illustrate how some young men negotiate and resist such associations (e.g. Allen 2002). Mark's example illustrates how by paying attention to singular affects and intensities in unstructured interviews, I was able to highlight his embodied experiences of connectivity. I was able to illustrate the ways in which young people's sexual bodies may be limited by wider gendered socio-political discourses (e.g. those that equate masculinity with emotional detachment), but also how young people's relations with these discourses are not fixed, and how young people's experiences may exceed such discourses.

4.4 Young people and sexual violence

In the previous section on trophy sex, I alluded to how the linking of 'sex' with competition, hierarchical structures, and masculine status may in some instances have painful and violent consequences. Indeed, many young women spoke about instances of hurt, pain and/or violence. Given the high levels of sexual violence in the U.K. (Silverman 2015), this was something that I had expected and that I had

discussed with the ethics committee and my supervisors (see chapter three). Rhiannon, for instance, a young white woman aged 16, spoke in detail about the sexual violence she had encountered. Rhiannon lived with her mother and her three brothers in a middle-class neighbourhood. Rhiannon's single individual interview was one of the longest I conducted. While the earlier portions of the interview focused mainly on Rhiannon's pleasurable experiences of contemporary dance, in the second half of the interview, hurt and fear were the more dominant themes. In the quote below, Rhiannon speaks about the ways in which she had been affected by sexual violence³²:

Rhiannon: Last year in year ten I got raped. [...] The boy was [someone I knew]. So at that point [...] everyone hated me, because everyone thought 'oh yeah, you had sex with [this person who is in a relationship with someone else]'.

JA: What, so he told everybody that, or how did they know?

Rhiannon: Um, [his girlfriend] found out. She found out because I didn't wanna tell anyone, because I thought if I tell everyone, everyone's gonna hate me. Everyone's gonna blame me. It's not my fault, so I tried to just forget about it and just pretend that it never happened. [...] I never knew anything, and the next day he told me what he did to me, and, he said oh, basically 'I had sex with you'. [...] I didn't even know [...] I was drunk and passed out. [...]

JA: So did you call the police?

Rhiannon: My mum phoned the police. [...] There wasn't enough evidence [...] and he didn't get charged with anything. [...] I was absolutely distraught, and he lives 'round the corner from me as well, so every day, like he's walking past my house and stuff and, even 'til now, like I try my hardest not to be scared, but like, I'm still terrified.

Rhiannon's narrative illuminates powerfully the destructive potential of the gendered ways in which 'sex' is constructed, as well as the difficulty of articulating and providing evidence for the criminal justice system when sex has been experienced as non-consensual (also see Robinson 2012; Silverman 2015). For Rhiannon, like for so many young people, especially young women (Silverman 2015), experiences of 'sex'

³² I made an effort to be supportive throughout the interview, provided Rhiannon with phone numbers for the Samaritans and Childline. She seemed to be in a stable condition before leaving the interview room.

were linked with violence. While other young women and men spoke about 'sex' in pleasurable terms, it is experiences like Rhiannon's which illustrate the need for allowing 'sex' and sexuality, with their links to gendered inequalities and violence (see chapters one and two), to move beyond its current territory.

The rape that Rhiannon experienced affected her beyond the immediate event, and produced her body and her daily life as dominated by fear. "Every day" she fears his presence. Silence, taking responsibility for sexual violence, and bearing the consequences of it (being scared, but also feeling "hated"), were normalised for Rhiannon. Her fears were fuelled further by the suspect not getting "charged with anything", him remaining not only within her neighbourhood, but just "round the corner", and by his pretence that nothing had happened (also see Hlavka 2014). The fears that Rhiannon experienced affected what she could do, with Rhiannon stating that she can rarely leave her home without feeling "terrified". The affects which circulated when Rhiannon left the house seemed to be limiting. Ben Anderson's (2009) concept of 'affective atmospheres' helps us to understand how for Rhiannon everything becomes tainted by a rape that she does not remember, but which is an ever present source of fear and upset. Rhiannon also talked about the ways in which the experience of rape was part of encounters with "boy[s]" who were actual or potential sexual partners:

Rhiannon: That's why then, when it comes to like sex and stuff, I don't want to do it very often. [...] In my head I thought I'm not going to be with anyone ever again, because I thought I'll never be able to trust anyone ever again. I'll never be able to trust another boy, just in case he does it to me as well.

JA: Yeah.

Rhiannon: And I thought I can't ever flirt or anything like that, because, just in case they take it the wrong way. I never ever thought to myself there's the same person again.

Rhiannon's quote suggests that her experience of rape was part of many of her encounters with "boy[s]". The affects which circulated in her encounters with the offender may be viewed as enduring and 'sticky', and as being (temporarily) 'glued' to her body (Kofoed and Ringrose 2012; also see Ahmed 2004). When she met other

“boy[s]” she felt unable to “flirt” or to be “the same person”. Her capacities for such engagements were shut down. Instead, her sexual body emerged as restricted and cautious. In a cultural context where victim-blaming is rife (Ullman 2010; Grubb and Turner 2012; Coy et al. 2013), the responsibility for young men not to misinterpret the signs, to not “take it the wrong way”, was produced as hers. Rhiannon’s example highlights the affective dimensions of rape and how sexual violence can close down what bodies can do well beyond the immediate event (also see Gidycz and Koss 1991; Tolman 2002; Holford 2012).

It is interesting to note here that Rhiannon shared her experience of sexual violence with me in the second half of the interview. As I will illustrate in chapter six, she also spoke in detail about pleasurable experiences, especially in relation to dance. This may be attributed at least in part to the initial focus of the research on bodily pleasure. In this way, Rhiannon was able to talk about pain *and* pleasure. Her world emerged as complex and Rhiannon became more than a survivor of rape.

4.5 The complexities of ‘sex’

Rhiannon stated that she can “never trust another boy”. Her sexual experiences were further complicated by discourses which produce ‘sex’ as both a duty and something which she has to enjoy (see chapter one). In the following quote, Rhiannon speaks about the multiple and complex sensations which tended to register in her body when with her boyfriend:

Rhiannon: I don't wanna say no. I don't wanna do it, because I know that all his friends are, and I don't wanna say to him no. I don't want to say we're not doing it, but then I don't wanna, I don't wanna say yeah we'll do it and then I'll start to feel like I don't want to.

JA: So it's as if you're torn between, almost, like.

Rhiannon: Yeah, a little bit. Sometimes I feel like I don't want to, but I don't wanna let him down. And then sometimes I feel like I want to, but I feel like there's something's gonna happen, something wrong's gonna happen, like as if it's gonna, like say something's gonna hurt. I feel like it's gonna hurt a lot. [...] It all depends on the circumstances whereas to how I'm feeling

that day. If I feel good that day then it'll feel better, if I don't then I probably won't wanna do it. [...] If the emotion's there then everything feels better. [...] Sometimes I think to myself, well, it's supposed to be for me as well, and then sometimes I think that, does he think I look stupid, so it just all depends how everything is, like, how everything is that day.

Rhiannon's narrative was painful for me to hear. The repetition of the words "I don't wanna" may be read and felt as a constant and rhythmic confirmation of non-consent. It is a sense of not wanting – first and foremost of not wanting to have 'sex', but also not wanting to let her boyfriend down, not wanting to say no, not wanting to "look stupid" – which almost feels overwhelming here. She is concerned about it "hurt[ing]" and that "something's gonna happen". In addition, she contends that it is "supposed to be for [her] as well". Rhiannon's narrative suggests that she feels limited in her attempt to express and affirm that she does "not want" 'sex', and illustrates how she is caught up in a fluctuating affective flow of consent and non-consent (also see Huuki and Renold 2015). Like the work of Muehlenhard and Peterson (2005), Rhiannon's examples suggests that binary concepts such as wanted/unwanted are not useful for us to make sense of the complex range of emotions that young people may report in relation to a sexual encounter. It also illustrates how consent is complicated and may emerge despite feelings of discomfort.

'Sex' is produced as painful and coercive (by social narratives about what is expected of Rhiannon, amongst other things) here. Amongst the complex interplay between affective forces, little space is left for Rhiannon to feel free in her decisions. Her sense of consent/non-consent almost appears to follow her engagement in the sexual encounter. Although Rhiannon's quote perhaps hints at moments of desire and pleasure – she states that within certain moments she "want[s] to" have 'sex' and that sometimes it "feels better" - for the vast majority of time her body's capacities for such experiences seemed limited. Rhiannon's contention that her experience "depends how everything is [...] that day" points to how the sexual encounter emerges through the interplay and enmeshment of multiple entities (e.g. Rhiannon, her boyfriend, the location, the time of day) that assemble in specific ways.

Another participant, Sam, spoke about how for him these relations included the "future" and the past. In the quote below, Sam speaks about how both affected him when he was kissing his girlfriend:

Sam: Our future together [...] like if I feel guilty for doing something. [...] It always comes in. [...] Just flashes through. [...] This is all happening at the same time!

Sam's quote suggests that the affects which registered in his body during this encounter emerged through the relations between many elements, with many things "happening at the same time". Sam's contention that he can feel "flashes through" alludes to a sense of fluctuating affects. If the relations within assemblages may be understood as always fluctuating, this opens up the potential for Rhiannon's sexual body to become deterritorialised, and for the potential of trust and pleasure which emerged in her interview to actualise.

While Rhiannon's quote perhaps hinted at the fluctuation of intensities of pleasure, as well as pain, other young women spoke in greater detail about the complex interplay and entanglement of pleasure and pain. In the quote below, Erin speaks about her "first time", which for her was a "one off" with a family friend who was a similar age to her:

Erin: I was very young when I lost my virginity and my experience with it wasn't very good [...] I was *almost* 15. But it was just like, I think that might have something to do with that, that I don't take my, my t-shirt off [in front of anyone].

JA: So how was it, what happened?

Erin: Em well, we were kinda, we went for a walk [...] and then we just, it was against a tree and it was just like, it wasn't anything special and [...] I don't understand why I did it when I did it. I wish I'd waited. I honestly don't know why I picked that time. I don't know why, because I think it was just, I think when I was like 14, in year ten, nine, I felt the most confident I ever did about my body [...].

JA: So with that first time you did it against a tree how, how was it like? Did it, did you enjoy it at all?

Erin: Not really, I think it's all a bit of a blur, because it was like a sensation of like pain and pleasure at the same time, because it *really* hurt for a bit and then it was like, it was quite pleasurable for me, and then, I don't know, I just felt really weak and like, my head started to spin a bit as well and it was like, it was *really* weird cos I can't remember most of it, it was a very long time ago as well. [...] After the pain was gone it was quite nice, but then it just felt like it was over so quickly and as soon as I started to enjoy it, it was over and I was there like 'ok', so I never really like engaged in sex with another guy until I was about 16. [...] I do just wanna be loved and treated nicely, but it seems to be impossible right now [laughing].

Within Erin's narrative, regret, pain, and pleasure all surfaced. Erin's narrative suggests that she had expected the experience to be more "special". Love and 'doing it with someone special' are within dominant sexual scripts often a pre-condition for women's "first time" (Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Piquart 2010). This expectation for Erin perhaps created a sense of regret when the experience was *not* "anything special". Regret and ambivalence in young women's stories of their "first time" has been reported by others (e.g. Tolman and Szalacha 1999; Tolman 2002; Piquart 2010; Holland et al. 2010). However, although Erin describes the experience as "not very good" and as painful, she also states that it was "quite pleasurable" and "quite nice" in certain moments. The affective flows which circulated in the initial encounter, and in my encounter with Erin, were complex. Reminiscent of the work of Tolman (2002; Tolman and Szalacha 1990) on young women's desires, while mainly negative sensations appeared to emerge within Erin's narrative, pleasure also surfaced for short moments after I had asked Erin about the possibility of "enjoy[ing] it".

Erin's contention that she would like to be "treated nicely" suggests that she did not feel cared for in or after this sexual encounter. This perhaps contributed to the emergence of her feelings of regret and pain as more dominant than those of pleasure. We of course get little sense of how the encounter was experienced by the young man: whether his apparent lack of care perhaps was born out of embarrassment over the brevity of the encounter (Holland, Ramazanoglu, Scott, Sharpe, and Thomson 1992; Holland et al. 1998; Marston and King 2006), or whether

perhaps he enjoyed it and prioritised his pleasure above hers (Holland et al. 1992, 1998; McClelland 2010).

Erin describes here how one of the main factors which made it possible for her to have 'sex' in this instance was that at this moment in time she felt "the most confident [she] ever did about her body". Since, as I stated earlier in this chapter, Erin experienced her body as "big" and "unattractive", once Erin felt somewhat free from this constraint, having 'sex' became a possibility, even if the circumstance did not seem "special" to her. Both Rhiannon's and Erin's narratives suggest that consent emerges through the complex interplay of a multitude of affective intensities (e.g. desire, fear, etc.). While previous research (e.g. Pinquart 2010) has often focused on specific demographics (e.g. young age) and personal attitudes (e.g. less positive body image) in producing ambivalence, these examples highlight how these affective flows are felt in complicated and profound ways in the bodies of these young women.

4.6 Young people, human encounters, and sexual pleasure

While the possibility of sexual pleasure surfaced only for short moments in my interviews with Rhiannon and Erin, others spoke about sexual pleasure in more extended and more direct ways. Sam, for instance, spoke in detail about how much he enjoyed being sexual with his girlfriend, who he was "head over heels" in love with. He spoke about how every time he kisses her "everything fades" and it is immediately "one hundred percent". He also spoke about the pleasure he felt when he had his "first time" with her. We already saw earlier how appearances seemed to fade from Sam's experiences within his "first time". He also spoke about how he enjoyed the interplay between one person being "in charge" and "snuggl[ing] and "bonding":

Sam: It was weird, like it felt like she was in charge [...] I was thinking, ok she's enjoying this [...] I just went with the flow.

JA: So sometimes you didn't think about what you should do?

Sam: No, just bonding, yeah just a really, really, really warm feeling going throughout your body [...] she bit my neck a few times [...] and then all of a sudden we just stop and just cuddle and snuggle each other

and kiss each other. So I found that odd, I didn't think anything would happen like that.

JA: What, so you didn't think it would happen that you would stop and cuddle, you mean?

Sam: Yeah. I didn't think we'd have sex at all.

JA: So you liked being dominated?

Sam: Now and again I can tell [her] what to do [...] it's very brief when I want to change [...] when I wanted to change over for a little bit [...] very brief [...] being dominant.
[...]

JA: So you're both submissive and...

Sam: Switcher or something like that, that's the nickname for that.
[...]

Sam: So yeah, I was pretty impressed with how the hell I performed the first time...ever.

JA: What so you think you were sort of proud or something?

Sam: Yeah, I was proud of it, I guess.

In this quote, Sam speaks explicitly about the specific practices he and his girlfriend were engaging in, for example that his girlfriend "bit [his] neck a few times". Throughout giving this detailed account, Sam's body language seemed enthusiastic, his pace of speech was fast, and he was smiling a lot. I sensed enjoyment and pride emerging from his expressions. In certain moments, I felt that for Sam his engagement in these practices was to some extent about his self-image as a successful young man, and Sam confirmed that the encounter, and how he "performed", made him feel "proud". It also seemed like his girlfriend became a tool for his individualised sexual arousal (see chapter five for further discussion). These descriptions are reminiscent of Mike Ward's (2014; 2015) work on young Welsh masculinities, which documents how some young working-class men from south Wales negotiate performances of 'soft' masculinities with those of more hegemonic masculinities, which are linked to the objectification of women and the obtainment of status through sex.

In the first part of the quote Sam is describing an encounter in which it felt to him "like [his girlfriend] was in charge". However, Sam also described how he had the capacity to "change" and become dominant when he wanted to. It therefore remains unclear whether Sam's partner was really "in charge". As I wrote in chapter one,

Evans and Riley (2014) have argued that within contemporary Western culture, young women can express sexual agency, as long as this is in line with dominant (and male-centric) ideals of heterosexuality (also see Attwood 2005). In some ways, these processes may also be recognisable in this encounter.

However, given my methodological approach, I was also able to recognise the singular affects that registered in Sam's body during the encounter which seemingly exceeded the discursive. Specifically, Sam spoke about how intermittently moments emerged within this encounter in which he became focused in the sensations that the encounter produced in his body, and in which he experienced a "really, really, really warm feeling" and a "bond". Sam appears to be surprised by, and describes as "odd", the alternating between power plays, "cuddl[ing]", "snuggl[ing]", "kiss[ing]", and his "warm feeling". The consensual power relations that were part of this encounter opened up possibilities for experiences which were very different from the pride that Sam spoke about, or those experiences that emerged during forced sexual encounters which I discussed earlier in this chapter. Sam's contention that he went "with the flow" points towards the significance of the relational for the emergence of these experiences. His "close" relationship with his girlfriend may also have been significant, as it may have allowed him to feel embodied rather than 'dys-embodied' (Allen 2002; 2003).

Another participant, Jade, also spoke about the pleasure which she experienced during practices normatively defined as 'sex'. As I noted earlier in this chapter, Jade was from an Afro-Caribbean background. Her parents were Christians, believed in "no sex before marriage", and were very "protective" over Jade. Often, she had to "leave parties early" while her brothers were allowed to stay out late. Jade told me how she had been adamant not to have 'sex' with anyone before she was sure that she wanted to. She had now been in a relationship with a young man for about a year, and the two seemed to be close. Her parents did not know that Jade and her boyfriend were "sexually active" and Jade was adamant that they would be disappointed if they found out. In the quote below Jade speaks about the ways in which she experiences 'sex' with her boyfriend:

- Jade: The whole addictive part, I kinda see where people's coming from [...] my friends were like 'what it's like' and I'm like, you really can't explain it, you actually have to feel it to understand, it's like a doing thing.
- JA: So you can't really put it into words basically?
- Jade: Yeah, it's not something you can really explain, "does it feel nice?" I'm like it kinda depends on the person. [...] Hand on heart, I'm a very sexually active person.
- JA: You are?
- Jade: Yeah, I am a very sexually active person, um I make jokes, like if we had a house we'd probably never leave [laughs]. [...] We have fun.

While within many of the participants' narratives, especially those of young women, sexual encounters emerged as painful and full of anxiety, as the quote above illustrates, Jade spoke about the pleasure she "feel[s]" in the "doing" of 'sex'. As I discussed in chapters one and two, such frank discussion of sexual pleasure in research with teenage women is relatively rare (McClelland and Fine 2008; Tolman and McClelland 2011; Tolman 2012). Given the exclusion of pleasure from many debates in the field of young sexualities, especially in relation to young women, the inclusion of this data here is crucial (also see Tolman 2002; McClelland and Fine 2008). Jade's repeated assertion that she is "a very sexually active person", which she said with a smile on her face, also brought with it affective intensities which I interpreted as pride. In this way, Jade's assertion may also be viewed as reproducing neoliberal discourses which produce certain sexual pleasures for women as desirable (and even essential) as long as these are in line with dominant (hetero)sexist scripts (Evans and Riley 2014; see chapter one). However, Jade's quote hints at her awareness of the exclusion of pleasure from debates around young women's sexualities, and her statement may also be viewed as acting as a reclamation of sexual pleasure. This is all the more relevant given Jade's Christian background and the sense of restriction she felt about 'sex' when she was growing up.

In addition, while Jade herself did not speak about her Afro-Caribbean background in detail, and instead focused much more on her Christian upbringing, the combination of her Christian background with her Afro-Caribbean background likely affected her

sense as a sexual being at least to some extent, especially given the overwhelmingly white population of the school. For example, racist representations of female sexuality commonly portray black female sexualities as excessive and dirty, whilst simultaneously linking normative notions of beauty to white skin (Rattansi 2000; Baker 2005; McClelland and Fine 2008). These representations, together with Jade's strict Christian parents', may be seen to further limit Jade's possibilities for her sexual positioning (Rattansi 2000), and to contribute to the power of her reclamation of her sexual body and her sexual pleasure.

Jade describes the intensities that she feels in her body during sexual encounters as "not something you can really explain", and that it is something that you have to "feel" and "do" to understand. Once again, Jade's quote suggests that bodily experiences exceed linguistic descriptors (Bollas 1987). "Feel[ing]" and "do[ing]" are linked here (also see McGeeney 2015a; 2015b), and Jade contends that the specific sensations depend "on the person". Within these statements both bodily knowing and specificity are produced as significant.

Jade's experience of 'sex' as "addictive" points to the significance for her of repetition. However, Jade also spoke about how pleasure and joy often appeared to be born out of encounters which included spontaneity, improvisation, and in which bodies listened to each other:

Jade: Like one time something happened, [...] we were intimate and I just rolled over on the bed and really started laughing and then he started wetting himself. [...] It's kinda relaxed.

For me this quote felt not only full of joy, but also light and free. Here "laughing" and positive intensities emerge within an assemblage in which bodies assemble in a "relaxed" fashion in a kind of improvised dance. Joy seemingly emerges through the deviation of expected sexual pathways, but is perhaps nonetheless also dependant on the repetition within which the unexpected emerges (see Guattari's [2010] work on the refrain in 'The Machinic Unconscious'; also Deleuze and Guattari 1987). For Deleuze (Deleuze and Parnet 2013), this joy may be linked to the increase in bodily

capacities, in this case Jade's sexual capacities. Jade's sexual experiences seemed to have the power to affect forces which produced 'sex' outside of marriage as "wrong" for her:

Jade: Things started to change for me. [...] For a while it was kind of a conflict. [...] I think it was the whole fact that the way I was brought up [...] but then [...] I realised [...] that I was allowed to make my own kinda decision. [...] If you love the person, then what's wrong with being intimate with them?

The quote suggests that Jade experienced sexual pleasure as having the capacity to produce change. In some ways, "being intimate", now, rather than being framed by religion, may be viewed as becoming acceptable only/particularly "if you love the person". In this way, Jade's statement is reminiscent of sexual discourses prevalent in sex education, which produce 'sex' as ideally taking place in committed and loving long-term relationships, especially for young women (Spencer, Maxwell, and Aggleton 2008; see chapter one). While Jade's sexual body left its religious territory (which in Jade's case may be viewed as entangled with her Afro-Caribbean background), it remained limited, albeit in different ways. However, the intensities which for me felt dominant when hearing her statement were nonetheless ones linked to freedom and processes of deterritorialisation.

4.7 More-than-sex

Jade also spoke about how within one specific moment when after "something happened in [her] family and [she] was super upset" she was having 'sex', it was not only her sexual body that changed, but how 'sex' itself became something that was "not just [...] sex":

Jade: I'm not saying every time something upsets me we go and have sex, but it was just that one time I actually did feel better, it kinda took my mind off it and I think it kinda showed that he cared, like, at that moment it wasn't just that we were having sex at that moment, I think it kinda just showed he cared about what was going on.

Within the academic field of youth sexualities, it has often been reported that young people have 'sex' for a variety of reasons, including peer pressure, to show their partner love, to feel wanted, to avoid relationship tension, to relax, and to take their mind off other worries (Muehlenhard et al. 2002; Tolman 2002; Muehlenhard and Peterson 2005). In this quote, Jade describes how in one specific moment, "sex" became something which took her "mind off it" and which "showed that he cared". Jade's contention that "it was just that one time [she] actually did feel better" suggests that this was a one-off singular event which perhaps was somewhat unexpected. 'Sex' momentarily became something else. As Jade stated, "it wasn't just that [they] were having sex at that moment"; what was happening was more than sex-as-she-knew-it. 'Sex' was no longer defined by what it *was*, but by what it *did* - the affective flows which emerged within it. For Jade, this experience appeared to be pleasurable and made her "feel better". Rather than being tied to specific practices defined as "sex", or "fun", pleasure seemingly emerged as entangled with feeling "cared" for and connectivity.

While Jade's quote expressed bodily experiences within a singular event, others spoke about how for them 'sex' was about showing each other care more generally. Rosie, for instance, spoke about the significance of "love" for her in her sexual encounters with her boyfriend Rich, who, like Rosie was 16, and who Rosie had been going out with for about a year:

Rosie: For *me* it's more emotional and like you know, more romantic thing, it's not about *actually* ma..., sex like you know, the physical part of it is just like showin' that we love each other. [...] Obviously it feels nice and all stuff like that and it's like pleasurable, but the emotion is a lot more important than the pleasure for me. Like knowin' that he's comfortable doin' it with me and he wants to do it with me and, you know, showin' how much he loves me and stuff like that.

While Jade spoke about sex-as-care as a singular event, in this quote Rosie emphasises how for her 'sex' is generally not so much about "pleasure", but about showing "each other" "love". In this way for Rosie sex-as-care was a molar event

which appeared to be experienced by Rosie almost as a sense of duty. I already noted in chapter three how in her interviews Rosie had emphasised her emotionality. As I noted previously in this chapter and in chapter three, love and care within a long-term committed relationship are within SRE and the media commonly produced as the desired norm for young women (Spencer et al. 2008; Hickman and Muehlenhard 1999; Pinquart 2010). As has been reported by others researching sexuality with young women (e.g. Tolman 2002; Ivinson and Renold 2013), within the research Rosie did not become willing, able, or interested in discussing pleasure in detail; she simply stated that "it feels nice and all stuff like that" and "pleasurable". Perhaps she lacked the language to share more details, or perhaps she felt limited in the extent to which she could legitimately discuss sexual pleasure (Ivinson and Renold 2013).

Rosie's separation of "emotion" and "pleasure" is interesting here. For Rosie, "pleasure" is seemingly linked to emotionless physical stimulation, whereas "emotion" and "love" are not described using the word 'pleasure'. Pleasure is produced as individualistic (and perhaps localised) here rather than associated with affective intensities or connectivity (see chapter two for a Deleuzian critique of pleasure). As I noted in chapter three, Rosie stated that it was important for her to convey that she is "emotional" and not "just in it for the physical part of it" (also see Tolman 2002; Spencer et al. 2008). She did not want me to think that she is "dead inside". She seemed to associate a lack of emotion with death, and conversely emotion with life. Emotion (or perhaps affective intensities) may in this way be viewed as something akin to a life force for Rosie. This is reminiscent of the positive ways in which Braidotti (2011) conceptualises affect, where affects may be viewed as a revolutionary life-affirming force. For Rosie, these affects, however, are entangled with molar forces that, whilst making her feel alive, also simultaneously shut down possibilities for her (e.g. to experience "physical" pleasure).

4.8 Foregrounding connectivity: Dan's heartbeat-assemblage

So far, this chapter has highlighted how young sexual bodies were territorialised by multiple and fluctuating affective flows which limited or opened up their capacities

for pleasure. The patterns of affects which circulated in sexual encounters – and young people's relations with violence, and discourses of status and appearances – appeared to be gendered. However, the ways in which bodies were territorialised was also situational and often shifted. Within the narratives I discussed so far, pleasure was often embedded in other narratives, hidden, tied to specific practices, individualised, and/or separated from emotions (also see Tolman 2002). Many found it difficult to communicate pleasurable experiences which emerged within sexual encounters. In this part of the chapter, I focus on one participant, Dan, for whom a focus on affect, and an ability to communicate bodily experiences eloquently, seemed to be the norm. Unlike Rosie, for Dan, there appeared to be no separation between physical and emotional pleasure. Compared to many of the other participants, Dan seemed more able to recognise human encounters, including those normatively defined as 'sex', as singular events, to pay attention to the affective flows which registered in his body within them, and to make a decision as to whether he liked these sensations. In my engagement with my data, Dan's narratives often emerged as 'affective hotspots' (MacLure 2013; see chapter 3).

Dan was a young man aged 16 who was from a working-class background. His maternal grandmother was originally from a travellers' community and Dan stated that he grew up with some belief in the supernatural: that it was possible for things to exist which science cannot explain. Dan was very close to his mother, who emphasised her heritage as a traveller and although Dan did not grow up on a traveller's site himself, he spoke about strongly identifying with travellers' culture. Dan lived with his parents, his sister, and his brother. His close-knit family spent a lot of time together. While, unlike some of his peers, his body was not slim or toned, and he had previously been bullied at school, he came across as confident and had a group of friends he was close to. Throughout the research, he spoke eloquently and in depth about the affects that registered in his body, often with minimal prompting from me. In the quote below, Dan speaks about his "first time" with a young woman who he was seeing for a while and who he "liked":

Dan: The one thing which I'll try and remember forever, is I could feel her heartbeat, if that makes *any* sense. [...] That's gotta be like one of the most intense things I've felt. [...] I could feel it everywhere. [...] Boom, and then it went all the way through [...] and it's almost as if that my heartbeat matched hers. [...] This is exactly what I felt, it went boomph and then through my body as well and that's one thing I'll always remember.

JA: So did it feel like you became one or something almost?

Dan: Yeah. [...] It was *really intense* as it, when it got faster and faster, cos then I started beating faster and faster and faster, and I was just getting more and more into it, but that's the *one* thing about the whole experience [...] that blew my mind was I could feel every single heartbeat which she did. [...] I was feeling it, it was if I could hear it and [...] she could feel the same cos she felt my heartbeat. [...] She'd never had that before. [...] She said 'I could do the same for you'; I was like 'oh my God that's quite weird', and she goes, she, she was more surprised than I was cos obviously it was my first time. I obviously afterwards expected it to happen every time, but it didn't, that was like the only time.

While in this quote Dan speaks about an encounter normatively defined as 'sex', noticeably he does not talk about the specific practices in which he and his partner are engaging. Instead, there is a focus on the affective dimension of the encounter: on what happens when these two bodies meet. Dan's use of the sounds "boom" and "boomph" - in addition to the linguistic descriptors "intense" and "weird" – indicates that his experiences are not easily captured by language, and do not necessarily make sense within dominant discourses. Although public discourses and educational guides surrounding the sexualities of young men increasingly emphasise the emotional aspects of committed sexual relationships (Redman 2001; Allen 2002; Allen 2007; Hancock 2014), dominant discourses simultaneously continue to produce sexual pleasure for young men as primarily linked to the physical stimulation of the genitals (Allen 2002; 2007). While 'doing romance' is no longer constructed as inferior to 'hard' masculinities (Allen 2007), emotional literacy and 'soft' masculinity are often produced as currency for 'sex' (Allen 2002; 2007). As I indicated earlier in this chapter, in his work on young south Welsh masculinities, Ward (2014; 2015) reported that some young men who reject hegemonic masculinities (e.g. self-identified geeks) sometimes perform such a rejection alongside a performance of hegemonic masculinity which produces 'sex' as masculine status. Contrary to hegemonic

discourses, to his own “surprise”, for Dan the thing that “sticks out” the most within the encounter is the sense of a shared heartbeat. While the heartbeat has close discursive links within Western culture to romantic ideals, love, and sexuality, Dan’s level of attention to the affective, and his ability to communicate this, was unique not only when compared to other participants in my study, but also when compared to the wider literature in the field of young sexualities. Unlike Ward (2014; 2015), at least in my specific encounters with Dan, I could not see any evidence of a concurrent performance of masculinity which produces ‘sex’ as masculine status (although it is of course worth pointing out that my engagements with Dan were relatively limited in time).

Dan’s capacity to pay close attention to and communicate singular bodily experiences, to exceed established discourses, and to connect with other human bodies, emerged within an assemblage that included a supportive family, a close circle of friends, and a “nan” with a “gypsy³³” background. The term “gypsy” may refer to one of a variety of groups, including Romani and Irish travellers, and Dan did not specify the exact background of his “nan”. However, we may assume that his grandmother’s travellers’ background - where family and community are often central to people’s lives, and where practices that exceed Western science have often persisted (Okely 1983; Kiddle 1999; Griffin 2002; Levinson and Sparkes 2003; Levinson and Sparkes 2006; Cemlyn et al. 2009; Casey 2014; Tong 2015) - affected Dan’s engagement with other people and with the world more generally. While Dan did not grow up directly in a travelling community, given his identity as a “gypsy boy”, it is worth noting that Dan’s experiences are counter to some of the empirical and theoretical literature on travellers’ cultures, as well as media portrayals, which often emphasise ‘hard’ masculinities, male stoicism, and the objectifying and sexist treatment of women (Levinson and Sparkes 2003; Levinson and Sparkes 2006; Cemlyn et al. 2009; Jensen and Ringrose 2014; Casey 2014). Given this cultural

³³ While the term “gypsy” is perceived as derogatory by many people from travellers’ communities (Richardson and Ryder 2012), I am using the term here, because Dan used it to refer to his background.

portrayal, and Dan's identification with the travelling community, Dan's narrative is all the more rupturing.

Unlike many of the quotes I have presented in the previous sections of this chapter, especially in relation to young men, in Dan's narrative there was a noticeable lack of reference to sexual status. While Dan did speak about the pleasure he derived from being "good at something", the encounter he is describing here seemingly allowed for an escape for his body from molar flows which define human bodies, including their sexual bodies, in terms of success. Rather than being concerned with individual achievements, Dan describes the encounter in terms of a connectivity that has a deeply pleasurable resonance, and where a heartbeat is shared. Within this encounter, it does not make sense for either body to emerge as superior.

In my encounters with Dan there was not only a lack of narratives relating to sexual status, Dan also rarely spoke about appearances, both in relation to himself and in relation to his partners. Whereas in many of the examples I discussed in previous sections, sexual bodies appeared to be stratified according to narrow definitions of beauty, in Dan's heartbeat-assemblage such a stratification became nonsensical, as individualised identities appeared to have given way to shared becomings and connectivity. Within these process, no longer was it possible for people to be ranked individually against culturally accepted standards of beauty. Dan stated that what he cared about in a sexual partner was that he "connect[s]" with them and that they are "compassionate", not whether they are considered to be "pretty".

The affects which seemingly circulated in Dan's encounter with this young woman registered in Dan's body as "one of the most intense things [he's] felt". Dan noted that he can feel it "everywhere", not in particular parts of his body, and not even in *his* body – "it went all the way through [...] and it's almost as if that [his] heartbeat matched hers". These expressions hint at how Dan's experience may rupture not only molar flows within sexuality assemblages which produce sexuality as something tied to genitals, status and appearances, but also of molar flows which tie it to individualised subjectivities and pleasures. Overall then, within Dan's narrative we

can recognise an encounter where each body leaves its own individualised identity – its ‘territory’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987) - to produce something new. Dan and his partner’s individual lives give way to what Deleuze (2007: 390-391) calls “an impersonal and yet singular life [...] that has been liberated from [...] subjectivity and objectivity”. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) use the example of an encounter between an orchid and a wasp to illustrate such (queer) molecular becomings (Brown 2006; Nigianni and Storr 2005; Colebrook 2009; Renold and Ringrose 2011; McCallum and Tuhkanen 2011; Renold and Ivinson 2015). Together, they argue, the orchid and the wasp become something else: the wasp becomes part of the orchid’s reproductive system, whereas the orchid leaves its own territory by imitating the appearance of the wasp. As I argued in chapter two, for Deleuze and Guattari, sexuality - rather than being limited to a set of specific practices which are tied to sexed bodies - may be recognised as an active free-floating force which is the source for such becomings. This kind of sexuality is also recognisable in Dan’s narrative.

Dan spoke about how, although he expected his experience to “happen every time”, this was the only time that he sensed his partner’s heartbeat in an intense way during a ‘sexual’ encounter. Rather than being repeatable, it was singular and unexpected: what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) call ‘molecular’ (see chapter two). Once the preponderance of the shared heartbeat became to be expected, ‘sexual’ encounters were seemingly territorialised by these expectations. This seemed to hinder the potential for the shared heartbeat to emerge. Dan implicitly described the experience as pleasurable, and the affects which circulated in my interview with Dan were experienced as pleasurable by myself too. Dan’s narrative, in combination with the concepts I used, illustrates the potential role of pleasure in escaping individual subjectivity and signification (MacCormack 2011), in rupturing dominant notions of ‘sex’, and in offering sexual becomings which do not fetishise women.

While for Dan paying attention to the affects that registered in his body appeared to give rise to pleasure, and was seemingly part of his mode of being within social encounters, the previous sections of this chapter illustrate how for many young people the social was overwhelming, and, especially for young women, sometimes

violent and painful. While Dan was confident, and felt safe and able to “let go” in social situations, others, especially young women such as Rhiannon, had to deal with the very real risks of sexual violence. Young (2005, p. 44; also see Renold and Ivinson 2015) has written how for young women to open their bodies is to “invite objectification”. In the sections above we saw how many young women appeared to feel this in profound ways. Dan’s white and masculine body on the other hand - as situated in our current racist and sexist contemporary Western culture - together with his supportive family and good friends, to some extent seemed to protect him from the risks of exploitation.

4.9 Brief summary of part one

This part of the chapter focused on young people’s experiences of those encounters normatively defined as ‘sex’. I illustrated how affective flows often followed gendered patterns: fears of violence, objectification, and rejection commonly emerged in interviews with young women, whereas the notion of ‘sex’ as a status symbol commonly featured in interviews with young men. These experiences were reminiscent of previous research (Tolman 2002; Allen 2002; Longfield 2015; Ringrose and Renold, 2012; Phipps and Young 2015). However, although I illustrated how for many, especially young women, sexual encounters were often difficult, I also emphasised less expected ways of how young people experience ‘sex’. I illustrated how sometimes – at least for short moments - sexual bodies could escape and exceed those forces which limited their capacities for pleasure and connectivity in gendered ways.

Part Two: Sexuality beyond ‘sex’?

The examples given so far made it possible to explore the ways in which young people’s sexual bodies were territorialised, and to explore some ruptures of the molar affective flows that circulated within young-sexuality-assemblages. In addition, perhaps most noticeably in relation to Dan’s heartbeat-assemblage, it was possible to begin to re-imagine sexuality as an affect and a force for becoming-other, rather than something defined by a limited set of practices and sexed bodies. However, so

far, the becomings I have discussed occurred within assemblages which are, according to normative understandings, easily recognisable as 'sex' or 'sexual'. As argued by Deleuze in some of his work on his own (1964 [2000]; 2004b; 1969 [2004]), there is political value in mapping how such 'sex'-assemblages sometimes open up unexpected and new possibilities for sexual bodies. However, one of the aims of my thesis was to map the sexuality latent in desire, becomings, and connectivity that Deleuze described in his work with Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987; Guattari 1992) within a broader range of practices. In doing so, the boundaries of how we can think about sexuality are pushed further yet, allowing it to become something less tied to phallocentric desires and sexed bodies.

Dan's experience of the shared heartbeat, and Jade's encounter with her boyfriend, where she felt that they were not "just having sex", already suggested that 'sex' always had the capacity to become more-than-sex. Some participants spoke openly about how when human encounters were not defined as 'sexual', this opened up possibilities of pleasure for them that encounters defined as 'sex' could not offer. In the example below, Bethan, an 18-year-old Christian woman, speaks about her relationship with her boyfriend, who she had been seeing for two and a half years:

Bethan: We're not touching each other all the time, when we do [...] it's more like affectionate rather than like sexual. [...] Better for me, I prefer that, I feel fulfilled and comfortable.

JA: So what does that feel like when he hugs you like that in that sense?

Bethan: I do feel love, I'm happy. Like it's nice, like it's a happy feeling, but em so it's like when he drapes himself over me it's just, I don't like it, I feel like aw leave me alone, like I wanna be left alone.

We can understand Bethan's narrative here as pointing to a situation where, compared to those encounters defined and experienced as "sexual", encounters with her boyfriend that are defined and felt as "affectionate" make Bethan feel "comfortable" and "happy". Bethan's experiences hint at how for some young women, 'sex' is territorialised in such a way which hinders pleasure. This may be

especially pronounced for Bethan, who was from a religious background where 'sex' for young women tends to be defined in negative terms.

Indeed, it appeared as though for Bethan even 'touch' lost some of its pleasurable potential when it was defined as such. I noted in chapter three that in her interview Bethan stated that she did not like to have her head touched by anyone, including herself. She was very concerned with cleanliness and told me that she showers or bathes at least twice a day. As one of her pleasure objects, she had brought in hand sanitiser (see figure 4 on page 174). Touch, especially on her head, to her felt "dirty". Mary Douglas (2003) has written how dirt is something which is out of place. For Bethan, it was seemingly someone else's skin on hers which felt out of place. In the quote below Bethan speaks about how after an "outer body experience" during hot yoga, the touch of her yoga teacher became momentarily unobjectionable, and perhaps even pleasurable:

Bethan: I felt the first touch by [my temples] and she was playing with my head and normally I wouldn't like that, normally I wouldn't like it, but then after she'd left was when I was like aw [...] I was like she's touched me, like I was coming back if you get what I mean. And then she left and I was like [...] 'oh my god she just touched me' and I didn't even realise, you know. [...] It was weird.

This quote suggests that here the rubbing of Bethan's temples became about itself, and was no longer defined as "touch". Unlike "normally", when she would not "like that", here the movement on her head did not feel discomforting. Indeed, she described it as "exciting". However, while for a short moment for Bethan touch seemed to be deterritorialised, this appeared to be the case only for a very specific moment. Once Bethan was "back" in her own organism, shock seemed to register in her body at the thought of having been touched without her consent. Bethan's example illustrates how moments, which may from certain perspectives and in certain moments appear personally or collectively revolutionary, must always be treated with caution, and are indeed potentially subject to abuse. The quote acts as a reminder for how consent must always be negotiated in relation to experiences before, during, and after an encounter. Making love includes both the larger

aggregates that construct our identity and non-denumerable desiring-machines that exceed this identity (Bell 2011). I will return to this example in chapter six.



Figure 4: Bethan's 'pleasure objects'

Bethan's experiences – especially her preference for the “affectionate” over the “sexual” (and perhaps “touch”) - are reminiscent of Foucault's assertion that an emphasis on ‘sex’ (rather than ‘bodies and pleasures’), may limit the potential for unexpected pleasures. In providing a theoretical framework for understanding such processes, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) wrote how encounters less stabilised and defined by molar affective flows that mould them in a particular way open up greater possibilities for the rhizomatic movement of bodies and subjectivities within them. Such movement also became recognisable in the quote below, where Dan speaks about an encounter with his traveller grandmother which did not seem to fit any categorisation neatly:

Dan: [My nan] put two fingers on [my temple] and then she just rubbed it and I just sit and wait. [...] I just (snapping fingers) boom like that and I'd be completely stress-free. [...] Like some people would say aw that's, that's like magic or something. I'd say it's just, I don't know, I don't really know what to call it. [...] I don't think it's something ridiculous, [...] but em no it was like when she'd done it for the first few seconds it was really nothing and then after that it,

it felt like a small tingling feeling [...] like a very low electric shock. [...] It felt like that for like for a second or two, my eyes would go blurry and I'd be fine. [...] It's kinda hard to describe. [...] I could feel my legs and my arms and everything, but I couldn't like move them at all just cos I was completely taken by this. [...] It was weird.

Within the encounter Dan describes here, Dan's body and the body of his grandmother emerge within an assemblage where the circulating affects for him are "weird" and unexpected, and which had the potential to distress Dan's body. Dan's experience of being touched on his head is in stark contrast to that of Bethan, for whom touch, due to her identity as a woman and Christian background, was perhaps at greater risk of being associated with discomfort.

Dan's data extract became a baffling 'affective hotspot' (MacLure 2013; St. Pierre 1997) for me, and I considered its inclusion in this thesis as potentially rupturing. The way in which Dan speaks about the encounter is almost reminiscent of an orgasmic experience: he experiences a feeling like a "low electric shock" for "like a second or two", his eyes "go blurry", he is "completely taken by this", and then he feels "fine" and "stress-free". Dan appears to experience the encounter as a release of tension. He can feel these intensities in his entire body, including his "legs" and "arms", and he is "completely taken by this".

Dan's experiences unfolded after his grandmother rhythmically³⁴ rubbed his temples. Within Western culture, the head, including its temples, is considered a personal and intimate body part, which may only be touched by those close to us. Often being touched on the head signifies care or authority, and is considered appropriate only for a sexual partner or an older family member (Brannen, Heptinstall, and Bhopal 2000). However, while the touching of a person's head by an older family member is a common expression of intimacy in many cultures, within the U.K. such practices are rarely constructed as desirable intimate experiences for teenage men (Seidler 2006). While Dan's sense of intimacy in response to his grandmother's touch may be unusual in itself, the arousal – the "small tingling feeling" and the "low electric shock" - in

³⁴ I will return to the significance of rhythm in chapter six.

response to the rhythmic rubbing of his temples by his grandmother makes even less sense within dominant discourses about young men. These discourses produce arousal and intimacy for young men as something which emerges in response to young bodies, especially those approximating narrow standards of beauty, and which is tied to genitals (Hollway 1994; 1989; Kitzinger 1995; Jackson and Cram 2003; Gill 2008). Although arousal in response to old people is somewhat commodified within the sex industry (Vannier et al. 2014), Dan does not make sense of his experiences within these parameters. Dan appeared to read the experience as both sensual and pleasurable. Within this 'moment of bafflement' (St. Pierre 1997), the intimacy between Dan and his grandmother, Dan's subjectivity, and notions of arousal - and necessarily its discursive sister 'sex' - transform.

Using Deleuze and Guattari's theory of sexuality, we can recognise sexuality in all becomings, including here. However, rather than it being tied to genitals, here we can recognise sexuality as an active force that emerges through connectivity with a trusted family member. Just as in Dan's heartbeat-assemblage and Deleuze and Guattari's example of the wasp and the orchid, we can understand Dan's body and his grandmother's body as assembling in molecular (and 'queer'; see chapter seven; Renold and Ringrose 2011; Renold and Ivinson 2015) becomings. In this way, the example may help us to imagine sexuality as a free-floating energy that emerges in the connection of bodies.

However, linking Dan's encounter with his grandmother with the term 'sexuality' may be viewed as problematic. Indeed, due to it involving an older family member, in doing so, it risks being interpreted as paedophilic. Given the sexual discourses that I discussed in chapter one, this example would have perhaps been even more problematic and risky had Dan identified as a young woman and his grandparent as a man. I return to this point in chapter five, where I argue that the cultural, discursive, and experiential ties between sexuality and abuse (see chapter one) might be too strong for this example to be straightforwardly useful for the re-imagination of sexuality.

Dan seemed to be aware that his experience might be baffling and appear “weird” to other people, and he noted that he rarely talks about it:

Dan: It’s not one of those things that I just tell anyone. [...] I don’t really tell people. [...] I wouldn’t want somebody to try and logically tell me why that’s happened. I don’t want that sort of reaction to it. I’d rather just leave it as it is.

JA: You want the magic?

Dan: Yes, I just want that little bit of weird in there. I don’t know what word I can use.

This quote suggests that Dan is wary of other people’s reactions to his experience. Guattari (1992) has argued that exceeding the status quo requires courage, effort and taking great risks³⁵. However, while Dan’s guardedness may in part be due to the potential for others (including myself) to judge him as “weird”, or an awareness of the potentially troubling and painful ways in which the encounter may register in other people’s bodies (Braidotti 2006), Dan is also wary of an attempt by others to make sense of the experience by trying to tie it to defined discursive categories. Dan, however, prefers to keep “that little bit of weird in there”. Rather than it becoming stabilised in a particular way, he wants the experience to remain undefinable, and in this may retain its rupturing potential³⁶.

As we already saw in the heartbeat-assemblage, Dan was able to communicate the intensities that he felt in his body with relative confidence. However, he stated that he did not “know what word [he] can use” to refer to the affects which flowed through his body. Like in the heartbeat example, Dan used a sound (in fact very a similar sound to the one he used in the heartbeat example - “boom”) to refer to these intensities. His narratives again suggested that the intensities he felt in his body

³⁵ Guattari (2006) has argued that stepping out of overarching societal norms can therefore only be achieved momentarily.

³⁶ Although Dan consented to the inclusion of his narrative in my thesis, my discussion of it and the coupling of it with ‘sexuality’, whilst useful to my argument, also risks territorialising the encounter (potentially by a paedophilic assemblage) and reducing its complexity. However, I decided that its rupturing potential justified my inclusion of it. Nonetheless, I ask the reader to remain open-minded about Dan’s experience, rather than fixing it in a specific way.

exceeded “word[s]”, with sounds more appropriate to express them. Although Dan found it difficult to find a linguistic descriptor to communicate his experiences, he did suggest that the circulating flows registered in his body in pleasant ways. He noted that afterwards he “just felt relaxed [...] slightly happier”. Once again, this experience appeared to have a pleasurable resonance.

Interestingly, although Dan contended that the experience was unique and “special”, he explicitly compared the affective sensations which registered in his body in this encounter to the sensations that registered in his body during his “first kiss”. This, he said, was the “only time” he had had a similar experience:

Dan: My first kiss I ever had with [my former sex partner] had a *very, very* similar effect to what my nan did. [...] The day had just been bad [...] and I went to see [my former sex partner] and [...] she just came on and kissed me straight away, you know, just like that and cos I was like this, cos I was quite, I was like quite tense and angry and my hands just went, I just dropped them completely and I couldn't move.

JA: Was that a good feeling then?

Dan: One of the best feelings I've ever had, and then afterwards, it's just like, I don't even know how I can describe it, like just a *massive* rush to my head and that's it to be honest, I just [laughs], it's quite weird.

Dan's comparison of his encounter with his grandmother to his first kiss is interesting, because it illustrates how the affects which circulate in those encounters normatively defined as 'sexual', and those which are not, may be experienced in “similar” ways. By focusing on these affects rather than a specific set of practices, and by helping us to do so too, Dan, with his extraordinary abilities to put bodily experiences into language, facilitates the recognition of sexuality as latent within the connectivity between bodies. While the example helps us to begin to think sexuality differently, in the following two chapters I will illustrate how we can recognise sexuality as a productive force in a range of practices, not only encounters with other human bodies, those described as a “rush” or a release of tension, or which are reminiscent of orgasmic experiences.

4.10 Conclusions

“I love people, that’s always good...people, people, people.” (Rich, aged 16)

I opted to begin this conclusion with a quote in which one participant, Rich (aged 16), spoke about the significance and pleasures of people in his life. I chose this quote to remind the reader how, despite the territorialising and often painful affective flows in human encounters, for many, human encounters appeared to be immensely pleasurable.

The first part of this chapter explored young people’s experiences of those practices normatively defined as ‘sex’. The affective flows that circulated within these encounters appeared to be complex, multiple, and fluctuating, and ‘sex’ was felt by young people in various moments as coerced, as achievement, as painful, and/or as pleasurable. The ways in which these affects flowed across my sample gestured towards gendered patterns. Coercion, and a fear of being objectified were common (molar) experiences for many young women. A fear of being perceived as unattractive was prominent in my interactions with both young women and young men, although young women more often appeared to feel that such fears limited their possibilities for pleasure. A desire for sexual status and a fear of ‘not doing well’ was a molar event for many young men. Similar patterns have been written about in other research on youth sexualities (e.g. Tolman 2002; Allen 2002; Ringrose and Renold 2012; Phipps and Young 2015; Silverman 2015). Together with this work, this chapter highlights the ways in which sexuality inhabits a territory that is defined by gendered inequalities, and illustrates some of the ways in which young people deal with these difficulties in their everyday (sexual) lives. The significance of human connection for many young people perhaps makes the territorialisations and limitations within these encounters all the more tragic.

While this chapter traced gendered patterns that are well-known to feminist scholars, the methodology and concepts I used also allowed me to advance the existing

literature on youth sexualities. As I argued in chapter two, much of the literature on youth sexualities, and especially the literature on sexual pleasure, has been underpinned by psychological and discursive onto-epistemologies. By paying attention to affective flows in research encounters, I was able to highlight some of the complexities of young people's experiences that perhaps exceed binary discursive categories. For instance, I was able to highlight some of the entanglements of pleasure and pain. While Muehlenhard and Peterson (2005) have reported that young people are often ambiguous about whether they want sex, my research vividly highlighted how, due to multiple affects, consent emerged as potentially complicated and fluctuating. It illustrates how consensual 'sex' requires careful and continual communication about bodily sensations.

Using a processual (Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired) theory of subjectivity, I was able not only to highlight how youth sexual subjectivities are complex, but also to foreground becomings and alternative figurations. While for some, for example Rosie, sexual bodies were often experienced as fixed in limiting ways, the chapter highlighted the possibilities for this experience of fixture to be ruptured. While appearances often featured in the sexual stories of young people (also see Allen 2002), at times, 'sex' could also seemingly undo young people's anxieties about their appearances. While 'slut-shaming' and narratives of 'trophy sex' continued to be normative and gendered (see Ringrose and Renold 2012; Phipps and Young 2015), the bodily excesses of sexual encounters appeared to also sometimes open up possibilities for young people's bodies to become deterritorialised. Although for some early sexual experiences felt difficult, for others, first time experiences appeared to have the potential to be particularly rupturing. For some, such as Dan, the intensities that he felt within such encounters had not been expected, and had not been captured by the discursive (yet). While "letting go" (Dan, aged 16) and paying attention to connectivity during sexual encounters was possible for some, most notably Dan, for many young people this appeared to be experienced as risky.

The second part of the chapter developed the existing literature on youth sexualities by illustrating how sexuality could also be recognised in encounters not normatively

defined as 'sex'. I used an encounter between Dan and his grandmother to illustrate how sexuality may be thought about as free-floating energy that emerges when bodies assemble: as untied from genitals, heterosexuality, and ultimately gender. The chapter was not only about exploring how young people experience sexuality as it is normatively defined, but is also intended to offer a line of flight for how we think about young sexual bodies. While the examples I gave in this chapter perhaps risk being territorialised by molar sexuality and paedophilic assemblages (see chapter one), I continue to address this aim in the following two chapters. In the next chapter, I explore the role of 'more-than-human' (Lorimer 2010; Lorimer 2013; see chapter two) elements within youth sexuality assemblages, and how young people's engagement with objects, technology, and arts-based methods allowed for moments of deterritorialisation for their sexual bodies, and for the emergence of sometimes unexpected (sexual) pleasures.

Chapter Five

More-Than-Human Youth Sexualities

5.1 Introduction

“Every boy is like, when they’re little like, *bang* their teddy!” (Mark, aged 16)

“The woman that I’ve been seeing, Samantha...she’s an operating system...I feel really close to her...does that make me a freak?” (Theodore, ‘Her’, 2013)

While chapter four mapped youth sexualities as they emerged in encounters with other human bodies, this chapter explores how non-human – or ‘more-than-human’ (Lorimer, 2013) - elements may be viewed as co-constituting young people’s sexualities. The chapter takes inspiration from the new materialist literature such as the work of Hultman and Taguchi (2010), who argue that a focus on only the human neglects the non-human elements that are at play in the world. As I mentioned in chapter two, Lorimer (2010; 2013) makes reference to the ‘more-than-human’, which, he argues, reduces the divide between the human and the non-human, and better captures the open-endedness, relationality and fluidity of humanity which is posed in assemblage theory.

I chose two quotes to introduce this chapter. The first quote, by Mark, emerged in the very first group discussion I conducted, whilst the group was engaging with the teddy bear which was included in the object sorting task. While I discuss this quote in more detail later in this chapter, I have included it here because it highlighted for me very early on in the research the significance of more-than-human elements in how young people experience sexuality. The second quote is taken from Spike Jonze’s film ‘Her’. I watched ‘Her’ just after I had finished my main phase of data production, and it reminded me of Mark’s quote. I was struck by how the film resonated with my ponderings about the significance of the more-than-human in young people’s sexualities. ‘Her’ is a love story in which the protagonist Theodore engages in a

romantic relationship with Samantha, who is his computer operating system. Apparently mechanic, yet undeniably conscious, Samantha collapses the dichotomy intrinsic to Western culture between the organic and the technical (Haraway 1991; Henderson 2014). By portraying a sexual relationship between a human body and a non-human interface, 'Her' challenges the humanist assumption that sexuality is tied to skin and flesh. However, by making this a love story between a human male and an operating system which takes on a female identity, the film ultimately fails to reinvent a sexuality outside of gendered relations. This point is emphasised for example in an intimate moment in which Samantha groans that she wants Theodore inside her. Since Samantha does not have a physical body, we are left to assume that her intended meaning is that she is desirous of Theodore's penetrative potential. The implication of this is that Samantha has constructed for herself an identity of a 'normal' cisgendered woman who either has heterosexual desires or performs these for male pleasure. Instead of utilising Samantha's fleshless body to offer a reinvention of sexuality, ultimately the film reverts to a sexuality which is recognisable as such by the audience (Braidotti 2013; Henderson 2014). 'Her's' reversion to the portrayal of sexuality as something which is tied to gendered bodies, together with Theodore's wariness of being labelled a "freak" for describing his relationship with an operating system as sexual, demonstrates how deeply humanist assumptions about sexuality are engrained in Western cultural representations, including within the science-fiction genre. The blacking out of the screen in 'Her' during apparently sexual moments is perhaps testament to the difficulty of imagining a sexuality which exceeds, and which is not tied to, physical (and sexed) human bodies (Henderson 2014).

This chapter begins by exploring more-than-human elements, for example whips, teen magazines and public discourses, in young people sexual experiences. In the film 'Her', Samantha asserts that she represents a conglomeration of all her human programmers' recombinant personalities. Here, building on previous chapters, I will illustrate how, using the Deleuzo-Guattarian concept of 'assemblage', we can also recognise *human* bodies and subjectivities as constituted through relations with an array of non-human (or more-than-human) elements, as well as other human bodies.

I trace the ways in which objects, the media, and technologies could limit young people's sexual possibilities, but I also add to the existing literature by paying attention to the ways in which these more-than-human elements opened up new and sometimes unexpected possibilities for young people's sexual bodies. Like chapter four, as this chapter progresses, the focus shifts further towards the affective dimension of a sexuality as conceptualised by Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987; see chapter two): a sexuality which is not tied to sexed human bodies, and which, as we saw to a limited extent in 'Her', perhaps somewhat exceeds dominant cultural imaginations.

While the chapter focuses on how young sexualities may be viewed as 'more-than-human' (Lorimer 2010; 2013), it continues to put the young people who took part in the research at the centre of the analysis. It is *their* experiences which I continue to focus on. However, unlike chapter four, where the data which was presented focused almost entirely on participants' narratives, here photographs of the objects participants brought in and their art work become more dominant. As I noted in chapter three, Deleuze (as cited in Beckman 2011) contended that different kinds of artistic expressions enable different ways of thinking. While artistic images are of course still potentially subject to discursive reductionism (Del Busso 2011; see chapter three), the presentation of an array of artistic images may therefore nonetheless have the potential to expand the ways in which we understand, think, and feel sexuality. As was the case in chapter four, rather than focusing on just a small number of case studies, again I felt an ethical responsibility to include the experiences and artistic creations of many of the participants who took part in the study.

5.2 Objects and more-than-human 'sex'

In chapter four I suggested that young people's sexual subjectivities and experiences emerged through the complex relations between a multitude of entities. While in chapter four I mainly focused on people, in this section I shift my attention towards inanimate objects. Some participants spoke directly about how their experiences of

'sex' included objects. In the example below, Sam speaks about how his "first time" incorporated not only his body and his girlfriend, but also a "collar" and a "whip":

Sam: She bought this collar for me as well, for a joke, and she told me to go put it on and within the first ten minutes it wore in. So it became actual leather, not really um, like a bendy ruler around your neck it felt like at first. But with all the heat and the movement of it, it became loose, it felt more comfortable after that. And er, it was just odd, I haven't, I've seen stuff like that before, but I didn't think like that. I kind of thought it would...I'm still thinking about it now.

JA: What the collar, or?

Sam: Everything. Poor Anna though, she couldn't walk, I felt so guilty for her [...] just imagine how I was feeling when I did that much damage to her.

JA: Do you think she enjoyed it?

Sam: Definitely, just with all the climax on me, I didn't realise how much she enjoyed it. I was thinking while I was up, did I do good, did I do good, did I do good? And that was around the first time when she wanted more. I wanted more as well.

[...]

Sam: There was one more thing that happened as well. She brang [sic] a whip. What was it? A nine tail whip, yeah. She wanted to experiment with that, and so we did. [...] She just grabbed it from under the pillow and whacked it straight over my back. I pounced on her instantly, I don't know what the hell came over me.

JA: So that hurt, did it?

Sam: Yeah, but I didn't take account of the pain. I just pounced on her straight away.

JA: What like in a sexual way you mean?

Sam: Uh-huh.

JA: Oh right, so you liked it?

Sam: I guess, yeah. Then she wrapped it around the back of my neck and forced me to kiss her, I guess. It's weird, she's not very strong and I can over-power her very easily, but I just gave in. So it was a very weird feeling for me, but I enjoyed every second.

JA: So did it like turn you on?

Sam: Yeah. It was a tingle more than anything, cause the adrenaline kicked in. So imagine, tingle of the cold, whilst...Yeah, tingle of the cold on your back, but nowhere else. Then that shiver going from the back of your hand all the way up your arm and to the back of your neck. And just getting angry if you will.

JA: So you got angry?

Sam: I guess, but I was thinking 'bitch!'

JA: So you got angry, but turned on at the same time?

Sam: Uh-huh. I think she paid the price for that though.

JA: You think she paid the price?

Sam: Oh yeah!

JA: In what way?

Sam: She couldn't walk when she got up that day!

Sam's quote illustrates very vividly how experiences of 'sex' are not limited to encounters with human bodies. Instead, they may emerge within assemblages which also include other elements, in this case a "collar" and a "whip". The affects which register in Sam's body – the "weird" feeling, the "enjoy[ment]", the "tingling" feeling, the "shiver", the anger, and the arousal – emerge through the fluctuating relations between Sam, his girlfriend Anna, the "collar" and the "whip": the ways in which these elements move together, and how they affect one another (also see Fox and Alldred 2013; Alldred and Fox 2015).

In the quote, Sam talks about how both him and the collar changed as they interacted with each other. He talks about how the collar becomes softer, more "loos[er]" and more "comfortable", and how wearing it made him feel "odd". While previously Sam had talked about how he also liked being "dominant" and "manly" in his relationship with Anna, here, in his relation with her and the collar, he described how he momentarily became "submissive" and his girlfriend Anna appeared to be "in charge". I noted in chapter four how we may question the extent to which Anna herself felt in charge and I will expand on this point later in this section. However, it is nonetheless interesting for the argument I am making here how the introduction of a "whip" and a collar" into the encounter affected the power dynamics between Sam and Anna, and the "odd" - perhaps rupturing - experiences which emerged. Others have written how young people's sexual experiences may emerge through their relations with non-human (or more-than-human) elements, for example mobile phones (Allen 2015; see chapter two). While much of the literature has focused on the role of technology, Sam's example illustrates how other objects, too, could affect gender relations and the ways in which sexual subjectivities, and molecular becomings, emerged.

However, the rupture of the power dynamics between Sam and Anna only seemed to last for a short amount of time, and Sam appeared to remind himself very quickly

that he can “overpower her very easily”. As I already suggested in chapter four, Anna ultimately appeared to emerge as objectified. While Sam initially noted that he felt sorry for “poor” Anna, because their session hindered her ability to walk, this quickly becomes a form of punishment for her: a “price” she had to pay for overpowering him. Anna becomes something akin to Sam’s property which he controls. Sam also explains that with “all the climax on [him], [he] didn’t notice how much she enjoyed it”. He seemingly did not check with her, and instead ‘sex’ was apparently about his own pleasure and, as I noted in chapter four, used by Sam to construct his “manly” identity and as a means for “do[ing]” and feeling “good”. Although Sam contended that Anna did enjoy it, his apparent lack of communication nonetheless produced the potential for non-consensual sex. Anna emerged as a tool for Sam’s pleasures. Rather than being granted human status and the respect that this is supposedly associated with in Western culture (Donnelly 2007), we may view her as emerging as disrespected and accorded the status of an object.³⁷ Of course his contention must not be taken at face value and as I mentioned in chapter four, drawing on Ward’s (2014; 2015) work on young south Welsh masculinities, Sam’s reversion to a narrative of a more hegemonic masculinity may also be thought of as a complex performance of masculinity that includes both sensitivity and submissiveness (in his interviews Sam often rejected “macho men”) and a “manly”, dominant self.

5.2.1 Bearing sexualities and sexualising bears: Participants’ encounters with objects in the research setting

The group discussions, which involved an object sorting task, as well as the ‘pleasure objects’ which were brought into the individual interviews, proved especially useful in exploring how objects could be implicated in young people’s sexual experiences and becomings (Allen 2015). The mini vibrator, which was included in the group discussions, emerged as somewhat of an ‘affective hotspot’ (Holland et al., 1998; see chapter three). While for some the mini vibrator was “normal” (Leah, aged 18), for many participants the imagination of women using it was “disgusting” (Rhiannon,

³⁷ This example may be viewed as pointing towards the relevance of retaining a sense of humanism, which privileges the welfare and agency of humans (Buchanan 2010), within a (posthumanist) Deleuzo-Guattarian approach (also see Braidotti 2006c).

aged 16; Casey, aged 17). As was the case in the anecdote with which I started this thesis (see chapter one), participants' engagement with this object in the research setting often produced and reproduced sexual pleasure – or at least masturbation – as controversial and even unacceptable for young women. However, there were moments in which the encounters between participants and objects produced intensities which seemingly pushed the boundaries of how sexuality can be thought and talked about. I am thinking here, for example, of Mark's quote about the teddy with which I introduced this chapter. While Sam's example included objects, as well as another human body, Mark spoke about sexual relations in which a teddy bear appeared to take centre stage for him. The following quote is an extended version of Mark's discussion with his classmates during the object sorting task:

Heather: Your teddy bear goes on your bed.
 Mark: What are you doing with your fucking teddy bear then?
 Hassan: You think the teddy bear is watching you grow up?
 Heather: What?
 Mark: What's the teddy bear doing?
 Heather: I'm just saying, don't worry, do you know what, just forget it.
 Mark: Do you mean like, fucking teddy bear?
 Heather: No!
 Mark: Every boy is like when they're little like *bang* their teddy!
 Heather: What!?
 Nicola: What!?
 Mark: Haven't you heard that before?
 Sam: No!
 Hassan: A piece of fur!
 Sam: Teddies! [...] I think it should just stay in the conventional area...
 Mark: What about like...
 Sam: ...before Mark gets an idea.
 Mark: It's part of growing up like you know.
 Heather: No, it isn't!
 Sam: I don't *think* it is! Okay...

While in one way we can recognise Mark's comments here as following molar lines in that they produce and reproduce young men as always up for it (also see Holland et al. 1998; Hollway 1984; 2001), simultaneously his statements are rupturing. The other participants' words suggest surprise, and their body movements in this scenario were animated and excited. The comments also registered in my own body as

baffling. I speculate that our surprise was born out of the rupture of sexuality as a purely human and adult sphere (Renold 2004; Robinson 2008). Within Western culture, there is a discursive association between teddy bears and childhood, and within Mark's narrative, where he describes his experiences of "bang[ing]" his teddy bear, the boundaries between childhood and 'sex' are blurred. Both sexuality and the teddy temporarily change: the teddy bear (and with it perhaps childhood) momentarily becomes sexual, and sexuality momentarily becomes childlike.

The surprise which registered in my body, and seemingly the bodies of the other participants, may also be linked with the rupture of ties between 'sex', especially 'sex' with an object, and the private sphere (Paechter 2006; Attwood 2009). This may have been exacerbated by the school environment, which, as I have discussed in chapter three, tends to prioritise the mind over the body (Youdell 2004) and commonly silences and rejects sexual pleasure (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998; Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Allen 2004; Ingham 2014; Edwards 2016). Mark's comment seemingly acted as an affective hotspot because it did not follow the norm and because it did not "stay in the conventional area".

Interestingly, none of the young women who took part in the research spoke about their personal experiences of masturbation. Indeed, while some young women described masturbation as 'normal' for both young men and young women, Rhiannon described masturbation for young women as "worse [than for boys]". Mark's implication that he – like "every boy" (but not every girl) – has used his teddy bear to masturbate, perhaps, once again, illustrates how masturbation emerged as more acceptable for young men than it did for young women. Nonetheless, Mark's comments still appeared to be somewhat controversial and rupturing, and illustrate what the use of objects in research could do. It affected us and perhaps temporarily changed how I and the other participants felt and thought about sexuality and childhood.

5.3 Young sexualities and the media

Like objects, media stories, too, appeared to have both territorialising and deterritorialising potential. These stories, again, may be viewed as more-than-human: they emerge through the relations of human bodies and other elements such as newspapers, and take on a life of their own (Grosz 2008). In this section I use empirical data to explore some of the ways in which youth sexual subjectivities emerged through the continual relations between the physical materiality of their bodies and such media. A collage created by Casey appeared particularly poignant to me in illustrating how young sexual subjectivities emerged within assemblages that included media discourses. The collage was created using magazine snippets, and is shown in figure 5.



Figure 5: Casey's collage

Casey told me that she had spent “a lot of time” making the collage, as she wanted everything that was included in it to be “meaningful”. As I noted in chapter three, she had told me that she had been worried about appearing “mouthy” in the interviews, because she thought that I seemed “posh”. She said that she had been anxious about talking to me, and that, especially at the beginning of the research, she had felt “nervous” to talk to me about personal experiences. The collage, however, appeared

to facilitate discussion (see Mannay 2010; also see chapter three), and offered Casey the opportunity to engage in the research in a way that seemed to feel comfortable to her.

We may read many of the statements which Casey chose to include in this collage as linked with some of the experiences that I discussed in chapter four. The focus on “diet secrets”, and stories about “bully[ing]” about women’s “curves” reminded me of Rosie’s emphasis in her life on her body size. The focus on being “hot”, and the story about a person (perhaps a man?) who has “slept with 2,000 women” reminded me of my writings on ‘trophy sex’ and its risks for sexual abuse. The word “love” was reminiscent of the link that some young women made between sex and love, where sex without love was constructed as “slutty”. While one of the statements read “thrilling stuff”, and arguably “kiss” and “love” may be understood by some as being linked to pleasure, overall there is very little reference to embodied pleasures. Far greater is the emphasis on appearing attractive, both for young men (“guy candy”) and young women, but perhaps especially for young women. As I discussed in chapter four, young sexual bodies were seemingly commonly stratified in this way.

Mark Hansen (2004) sees the media as working primarily through affectivity (rather than through the interpretation of meaning for example). This view moves us beyond representational thinking towards an engagement with embodiment. Like Hansen (2004), I was also interested in the ways in which participants felt in their bodies when engaging with the media. Casey, for instance, spoke about “feel[ing] tense in [her] body” when encountering articles which emphasised women’s appearances. Since Casey told me that the magazine snippets were taken from “girly magazines”, we may read her collage as an expression of a girl-sexuality-assemblage: an expression of a machine which produces young women’s desires in very specific ways. Indeed, Casey directly spoke about how these magazine snippets – as well as other magazine articles – appeared to affect her sexual subjectivity. For instance, Casey noted how in teen magazines discourses produce both “big” and “skinny” bodies as undesirable, and how this was frustrating to her:

Casey: You can't win, because if you are too skinny they're complaining and then if you're too big they complain you're not skinny enough.

As I noted in chapter four, Casey also talked about how for a long time she felt unable to “take her top off” during sexual encounters with her boyfriend. She attributed this at least in part to the ways in which young women's bodies are talked about in the media. She spoke about her fear of judgement, and how media stories about rape made her “scared”, which in turn resulted in her limited ability to “let go” and to “leave the house at night”. At the same time, Casey spoke in detail about her desire to “tone” her body for an upcoming beach holiday, so that she would look “more like the women in magazines”. We can recognise Casey's sexual subjectivity here as not ‘belonging’ to her human body, but instead as more-than-human: it emerges in fluctuating and inconsistent ways through the complex interplay of Casey's body with multiple (and contradictory) media discourses (also see Renold and Ringrose 2011; Braidotti 2006).

However, while Casey's experiences are of course to be taken seriously and warrant substantial attention, in chapter two I discussed how falling into a trap of discursive determinism may not be conducive for the exploration of experiential complexities and for advocating social change. Moreover, I discussed how it may be problematic to assume that young people are passive consumers of the media. I drew on Buckingham and Bragg's work to argue that many young people critically engage with the media (Buckingham and Bragg 2004; Bragg and Buckingham 2009; Bragg 2015). Using the concepts of ‘assemblage’, we can understand youth sexualities not as influenced or even determined by the media, but instead as emerging through the fluctuating relations of multiple entities, including their physical bodies (i.e. skin, genitals, etc.) and media discourses. Together these may be viewed as an assemblage which produces and moves young sexualities and propels them forward. As I will illustrate in the following section, the affects which circulated when participants were ‘in-relation’ (Allen 2015) with the media sometimes seemed to register in their bodies in unpredictable ways (Braidotti 2006). While much of what Casey spoke about allowed me to trace dominant gendered patterns in affective flows, and similar

experiences have been written about extensively in both public and academic media (e.g. Tolman 2002; McClelland and Fine 2008; see chapters one and two), in the following section I focus on the potential role of the media in processes of deterritorialisation.

5.3.1 Erin meets Sherlock Holmes

While Casey used magazine snippets to create a collage for the final stage of the research, Erin wrote what she called “erotica”. She had written several stories prior to the research, but “patched up” a section especially for the research. The story is “fan fiction” based on the recent BBC series ‘Sherlock’, in which Benedict Cumberbatch portrays a modern version of Sherlock Holmes. In her writing, Erin created a character “based on [her]self”, and we may recognise this character as a re-imagined version of herself. While Erin considered herself to be “overweight”, “too loud”, and told me that she “hate[s]” herself, her character had a “perfect body” and was “mute”. What is more, she created her character as sexually desirable to Benedict Cumberbatch’s Sherlock - a character Erin said she felt “immense” sexual attraction towards. The following quote is an excerpt from her story, in which the character based on herself, Thea, and the detective Sherlock Holmes share an intimate moment:

Sherlock looked into the woman’s eyes and his body began to react, he tensed and felt a warmth, a chemical reaction sparked in his body he didn’t understand. [...] “You’re not normal, Thea.” Sherlock stepped further towards her until he almost towered over her mere 5 feet and 4 inches. “And I like that in people.” He said softly. [...] Thea stayed still, feeling his warm touch on her cheek, she reached up for the hand that was on her cheek and held it in her own, her heart beating faster than usual. Sherlock leaned closer into her space and she into his, their lips met, engaging in a kiss. The first kiss lasted for an eternity until he began to kiss her again, she responded with another until their lips were in sync. Each of them wanted more of each other’s sweet kiss (Erin, aged 17).

On first reading this extract, we can recognise Erin’s prose as reproducing traditional notions of (hetero)sexuality. Not only does she describe an encounter between a man and a woman in which they engage in a kiss, it is also the man, Sherlock Holmes, who

takes the active role in pursuing the “still” and passive female character. While Cumberbatch’s Sherlock Holmes has been conceptualised as offering possibilities for the queering of masculinity - for example his moodiness and affectionate relationship with his counterpart Watson are seen to challenge traditional notions of masculinity - his stoicism, rationality and lack of emotion represent characteristics traditionally defined as desirable male qualities (Restrepo 2012; Reh 2012; McClellan 2014; Sheehan 2015). In her story, Erin, too, produced these characteristics as desirable. In addition, Erin’s description of her character as having the “perfect body” once again links femininity and appearances. When we consider, as we saw in chapter four, how the link between young women’s sexiness and their appearance can be limiting and frustrating for some, Erin’s imaginations of how only the “perfect body” can lead to fulfilling sexual experiences is problematic. Similarly, her muteness is reminiscent of the silencing of women, which continues in the media, including the social media (Jordan 2013).

However, while in many ways Erin’s story may be viewed as reproducing dominant notions of gender and sexuality, when putting the story into the broader assemblage of Erin’s life, we can also understand Erin’s writing as opening up possibilities for the deterritorialisation of her sexual body. As I noted in chapter four, Erin spoke in detail about how she felt insecure about her body and her personality, especially when spending time with a sexual partner. She also spoke about how she felt under constant danger of being judged. While Erin usually experienced her body and her “weirdness” as undesirable, within her story she is able to re-imagine her body and her sexual possibilities. Here not being “normal” and being a “mere five feet and four inches” were attractive to Sherlock Holmes. Here she was able to feel sexy and to legitimately and safely express sexual desire. Erin spoke about her story in a proud and confident way, and the affects which circulated when she was ‘in relation’ (Allen 2015) with her story registered as pleasure in my body too. While Erin’s imaginations speak perhaps of the limited ways in which some young women feel able to be sexy in contemporary Western culture (Evans et al. 2010), at the same time the craft of story-telling offers Erin a line of flight from the ways in which her body is usually fixed, with new desires propelling her forward into new territories.

While, as I noted above, BBC's *Sherlock* has by some been praised for its queer elements (Restrepo 2012; Reh 2012; McClellan 2014; Sheehan 2015), it has also been criticised by some for incorporating sexist elements (Reh 2012; Sheehan 2015). Besides from *Sherlock*'s normative masculine characteristics, especially its lack of female characters and the sexist attitudes of the protagonist have been highlighted. The series has amassed a huge (largely female) fan base, and Erin's story is part of a large body of fan fiction based on the programme. Many of these stories have addressed gendered elements within the series, and have re-imagined and explored *Sherlock* as inhabiting a female body. Sometimes the ways in which this has been done has reproduced dominant (and binary) notions of gender, but in other cases *Sherlock* has acted as a means for critiquing the status quo (Sheehan 2015). Together with this body of work, Erin's story illustrates how the affects which circulate when young people are 'in relation' (Allen 2015) with the media are potentially multiple and somewhat unpredictable. The act of engaging with media is far from a straightforward unidirectional relationship. Erin's case shows, how, far from being passive consumers, some young people engage with the media creatively, and how the affects which emerge in their relationship with specific programmes may be limiting in some ways, but also simultaneously open up new possibilities for them. The arts-based methods I offered in my research appeared to be instrumental in allowing these possibilities to emerge.

5.4 Young sexualities and technologies

5.4.1 Young sexualities and smart phones

As I noted earlier in this chapter, much of the literature on more-than-human elements in young people's sexual lives has concerned itself with young people's use of technology. The significance of technology in young people's sexual relations also repeatedly surfaced across my data. Throughout the research process it emerged that technology was pervasive in all parts of young people's (sexual) lives. In the individual interviews, many participants brought in their smart phones as their

'pleasure object'. These phones were used for an array of purposes, including to contact friends and family, to update Facebook and Instagram profiles, to take pictures, and to listen to music. Several participants spoke about their interactions with (potential) sexual partners via their phones or laptops, using software such as Facebook, Snapchat, or FaceTime. As has been reported in previous research focusing on digital technologies (Hillier and Harrison 2007; Macintosh and Bryson 2008; Van Doorn 2010; Raun 2012; Downing 2013; Duguay 2014; De Ridder and Van Bauwel 2015; Renninger 2015; Duguay 2016; Albury and Byron 2016), some participants spoke directly about the ways in which mobile phones and digital technologies were implicated in their romantic experiences, their experiences of intimacy, and their sexual subjectivities. Sarah, for instance, who decided to engage in a short romantic relationship with a young man after taking part in the first two phases of the research, noted how using her phone to change her Facebook status to 'single' immediately after the break-up made her feel like it was "really over" (also see Ellison, Steinfield, and Lampe 2007; Nosko, Wood, and Molema 2010; Ringrose and Harvey 2015a).

While young people's use of technology is often demonised within the mainstream media (Allen 2015), the majority of participants spoke about technology in positive terms. Many participants stated that their phones, especially, were incredibly important to them. Mark, for example, stated the following:

Mark: My phone [...] it just holds my life basically [...] I use it to hook up with friends, take pictures with, it's just my life to be honest. [...] It holds up all my secrets. [...] I tell like everyone my secrets over the phone.

Far from pointing out the negative potential of technology, Mark experiences his phone as giving him privacy; a place which "holds" his "secrets", away from the gaze and surveillance of older adults (Giroux 2015). In the quote, Mark describes his phone as his "life". We can understand this to mean not only that technology is important to Mark, but that his life actually emerged through the relations between Mark's physical body (i.e. skin, etc.) and the phone. Without this relation, there would be no Mark as we know him, or the becomings and intensities he experiences. His

subjectivity, including his sexual subjectivity, emerges through and within this relation (also see Ringrose and Harvey 2015a). By recognising this entanglement, sexuality is necessarily moved away from the humanist belief that it resides within an essentialist sexed subject (Fox and Alldred 2013). Instead, when thinking about sexuality as more-than-human and relational, rather than fixed to specific bodies and practices, possibilities are opened up for rethinking sexuality as a productive force that emerges within the relations between human bodies and other elements.

In her influential 'Cyborg Manifesto', Haraway (1991) wrote about how human bodies are not separate from technology. Rather than there being a binary divide as is commonly conceptualised within Western culture, she argues that human bodies come together with technology to produce cyborgs. It is this melding of elements which produces our capabilities. Some (e.g. Currier 2003) have critiqued Haraway's work for unintentionally reproducing the divide between humans and technology by writing about these elements as pre-existing separately. Braidotti (2006c), on the other hand, has noted that there is no need to create overly critical and binary distinctions³⁸. Using assemblage theory (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987), and combining it with Haraway's grounding of the subject in material practice (Braidotti 2006c), we can perhaps most adequately understand sexuality as only coming into being through the relations of multiple elements (Allen 2011), where more-than-human elements such as mobile phones, as they are in-relation with physical bodies such as Mark's, are implicated in all sexual becomings (Allen 2015).

Much of the literature on the use of technology to 'modify' the body (e.g. plastic surgery, Viagra) has framed these 'modifications' as 'unhuman' or 'unnatural' (Pitts 2003; Clarke and Griffin 2007; Gimlin 2007; Gimlin 2010; Braun 2010; Ugrina 2014; Sisco and Martin 2015). Mark's example illustrates not only how technology can be associated with pleasure and an increase in (sexual) possibilities, but also how sexual bodies may be viewed as always emerging through multiple and more-than-human

³⁸ Braidotti (2006c) has called the cyborg and her nomadic subject (which is inspired by Deleuze and Guattari's processual theory of subjectivity) 'companion species'.

relations. Rather than being 'modified' by technology, we may view them all as assemblages which comprise a multitude of relations (Coffey and Ringrose 2016). Indeed, as I will illustrate with the case study of Courtney later in this chapter, some participants spoke directly about how their sexual capacities emerged through such relations.

Some participants mentioned negative experiences with technology and mobile phones. For example, in one group discussion with five young women, the participants spoke about how they sometimes unwillingly had to negotiate requests for naked pictures from young men:

Adriana: They text [a naked picture] to you. So I'll open up a text in the morning and it'll just be there.

Layla: If they just got your number or something and they're interested in you, they're gonna send a picture.

JA: If they're interested in you, they send you a naked picture?

Layla: Some people, some guys.

Adriana: Yeah because then he was like 'Can I have one now?' And it's like 'No, I don't send photos', he was like 'ah, oh, ok'.

Bethan: It's not cool and it's not funny.

Adriana: The next day he never spoke to me ever again then cos I wouldn't send one back to him.

JA: So why do you think they want that picture?

Adriana: Because so then they can be like to their friends like 'look what I've seen'.

In this conversation between myself, Bethan (the young Christian woman who we met in chapter four), Adriana (an 18-year-old young woman from a conservative Christian background), and Layla (17-year-old young woman who was from a Christian Afro-Caribbean background), we can recognise experiences of sexual violence and coercion. As Adriana points out, in some instances the picture will "just be there" without them agreeing to it in advance³⁹. For Adriana and Bethan this appeared to be upsetting. Adriana seemed to experience herself here as a potential tool for the increase in status of the men requesting a "naked picture". These young

³⁹ This is, of course, how text messaging works.

women seemed to feel that there was a risk of punishment (with silence and rejection) for non-compliance.

Social media and the use of mobile phones, including 'sexting', are a relatively new phenomenon, and the body of work on young people's experiences of such practices is limited (Hasinoff and Shepherd 2014; Allen 2015). While the prominence and risks associated with 'sexting' have perhaps commonly been exaggerated by the mainstream media, Ringrose, Livingstone, Gill, and Harvey (2012; 2013; Harvey and Ringrose 2015; Ringrose and Harvey 2015b) have discussed the gendered risks and inequalities associated with the sexual image sharing in groups of young people. The risk of 'slut-shaming' for young women, they found, contrasted with the use of images as currency for status for young men. In my example above, these differences are perhaps recognisable in young women's disapproval. Renold and Ringrose (2016) have suggested that when technology and the more-than-human are considered, and even foregrounded, we are able to see new formations of sexual objectification. While in this particular paper, Renold and Ringrose (2016) focused on the tagging of pictures on Facebook (see chapter two), the example above may be viewed as highlighting how the request for naked pictures can also function as means of masculine control over women's bodies (also see Handyside and Ringrose 2017 for a discussion of the gendered aspects of Snapchat).

However, for Layla, it appeared to be important to point out that it is only "some guys" who request naked pictures. Indeed, by focusing on subversion and processes of deterritorialisation in my research, as has previously been reported by Kofoed and Ringrose (2012), Renold and Ringrose (2016), and others (Hillier and Harrison 2007; Macintosh and Bryson 2008; Van Doorn 2010; Raun 2012; Downing 2013; Duguay 2014; De Ridder and Van Bauwel 2015; Renninger 2015; Duguay 2016; Albury and Byron 2016), technology, as it was in-relation with young people, also emerged as opening up possibilities for molecular, and sometimes queer, becomings. Dan, for instance, who we met in chapter four, emerged as sensitive and in touch with affect and his bodily sensations when he spoke about his use of FaceTime. The following quote emerged when Dan was talking about a photograph that showed his girlfriend

Asha (pseudonym) on FaceTime, which he had taken for the final arts-based phase of the research⁴⁰.

Dan: That's [my girlfriend] Asha on my, on FaceTime [...] She really listens, she really does take consideration of what you say. [...] At the minute, I feel I miss her. I wish she were here right now, just cause, that's the only real thing, looking at it right now all I can think of is how happy she makes me feel when she's here, I miss her that much.

Lauren Berlant (1998) asserts that intimacy may operate at a distance and that the “kinds of connections that impact on people, and on which they depend for living (if not “a life”), do not always respect the predictable forms” (p. 284). As has been reported by others (e.g. Livingstone 2008; Albury and Byron 2016; Kofoed and Charlotte 2016), Dan’s narrative illustrates how for him intimacy may operate when he is spatially removed from Asha, whether through FaceTime or by looking at a picture of her. Moreover, given Dan’s identity as a “gypsy boy”, his narrative, in which he emphasises the importance to him of “listen[ing]” and how much he misses his partner, once again, may be viewed as subverting and exceeding dominant notions of masculinity (e.g. see Ward 2014; 2015), as well as travellers’ masculine identities (Levinson and Sparked 2003). Furthermore, his words do not corroborate media panics about young people’s use of technology within sexual relationships (Bragg and Buckingham 2009). Instead, technology, and Dan’s relation with it, allows for the emergence of feelings of happiness, love, and pleasure.

As I noted in chapter four, Dan’s attention towards the affective and his ability to communicate this was, compared to other participants, extra-ordinary. His focus on affect and specific bodily experiences rather than dominant discourses almost always appeared to exceed and rupture the normative territory of young “gypsy” masculine identities. Some other participants also hinted at how technology seemed to open up new possibilities for them to inhabit their gendered bodies. In the following quote,

⁴⁰ I did not include an anonymised version of this photograph here, because Asha did not take part in the study, and did not formally give me permission to include an image of her in my thesis.

Courtney, a young woman aged 18 from a white middle-class background, explains how her phone camera means that she can avoid being bullied for her appearance, whilst not missing out on “see[ing]”:

Courtney: If it’s a really nice view, I’ll take like a panorama photo of it all [...] I can’t see anything [laughs]. [...] I used to wear [my glasses] at school but like everyone, it’s always judgement, they’re always bullying, especially if you’re a girl. [...] I got a camera! [laughs] And I can look at them later!

As I will explain in more detail in chapter six, due to her rejection of dresses and make-up, and her love of sports, Courtney was sometimes called a “lesbian” by her class mates in derogatory ways. While she was not particularly unpopular, she feared the comments from her class mates, and her bad eye sight added to the potential of being bullied. We can read Courtney’s quote as implying how since her phone camera enables her to “see”, her body is not dependent on glasses, and how consequentially she can avoid the (sexist) bullying of her class mates. Of course the incessant “judgement” she talks about may be viewed as highly problematic. We already saw in chapter four how this judgement may be gendered and how for some it makes the social world a difficult place to inhabit. At the same time, though, Courtney’s quote illustrates the creative potential of technology. While Courtney does not describe her relationship with her phone camera in sexual or gendered terms, in her quote we can recognise its connection with Courtney’s experiences of inhabiting the social world as a young woman. Once again it becomes apparent here how we can understand a multitude of relations as constituting the assemblages within which young sexual subjectivities emerge (also see Alldred and Fox 2015).

The examples I have included in this section highlight how neither mobile phones, nor young people’s use of them, is either ‘good’ or ‘bad’, ‘risky’ or an ‘opportunity’ (see Livingstone 2008; Livingstone 2013). Instead, using assemblage theory, we may understand sexual experiences as emerging in potentially unexpected ways, which open up or close down possibilities for sexual bodies. In her work on mobile phones,

Allen (2015) made a similar argument, and my data provides rich empirical examples to illustrate this line of thought.

5.4.2 Becoming-evil: Video games and the deterritorialisation of sexed bodies

The potential for unexpected becomings that follow molecular lines also emerged in relation to other technological spheres. Erin, for instance, who felt insecure about many aspects of her life, spoke about how for her video games allowed her to produce an identity for herself which exceeded her sexed/gendered body:

Erin: I'd like the opportunity to be just so evil, but I can't do it. I mean I do it all the time in video games. [...] I just love being evil, evil in game characters.

JA: So how does it make you feel when you're being evil?

Erin: I feel awesome. I feel like there's nothing stopping me. [...] Yeah I can do this! [...] In this one game [...] I killed an entire legion. [...] I just killed them all, I don't know why, I just went in and then I went right dead, dead, dead. [...] I killed them all with my guns and it made me really happy. Like that day was really like I've achieved something.

JA: So what's stopping you in everyday life then from being mean or evil?

Erin: I don't have the heart. I really don't. If I was completely evil people would hate me and what people think about me really matters cos I wouldn't have any friends.

JA: But do you think deep down you kind of would like to? Like if people wouldn't judge you for it, do you think that's what you'd do?

Erin: Yeah, be evil! If I was a guy I would be evil, I would take over the world [laughter]! That's what I would do. Cos men don't tend to judge each other as much as females. [...] Yeah, I'd be an absolute tool if I was a guy. I'd just be there like 'I don't like you, I don't like you'. But with being a girl you've gotta be like quite careful about how you say it.

In this quote, Erin talks about how while in everyday life, due to the risk of judgement and isolation for “females”, she cannot be “evil”, video games open up this possibility for her. Here she can be(come) like “a guy”. Much has been written in the feminist literature about the naturalisation of unapologetic behaviour of young men (Connolly 1997; Miedzian 2002). ‘Boys will be boys’ is a phrase which is commonly used to justify any unethical behaviour of young men. For Erin, on the other hand, it appeared

as though that “being a girl you’ve gotta be like quite careful” about how you behave. Her contention is reminiscent of Valerie Hey’s (1997) classic study on girls’ friendships, which illustrated the extent to which niceness is characteristic of bonds between middle-class girls and how this connection leads to the minimisation of conflict through self-policing. In contrast to Casey’s quote which I included earlier in this chapter, which implied that young women “can’t win”, to Erin it almost seemed to appear as though young men cannot lose even when being “evil”. While of course for many of us being “evil” may appear undesirable, and I agree that it is largely ‘life-destroying’ rather than ‘life-affirming’ (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Renold and Ringrose 2011), Erin’s becoming-evil nonetheless may be understood as a process of deterritorialisation which opens up new possibilities for what she can do. As I noted in chapter two, Young (2005) argued that young women live in discontinuation with their bodies, because for them to live their bodies openly and freely is to invite objectification. We saw in chapter four how the risks of objectification and sexist bullying were very real for Erin, and the quote above illustrates how the risks of what is often considered an inadequate femininity also included the potential of isolation. In the game, on the other hand, these risks of being-girl were somewhat diminished for Erin.

Valerie Walkerdine (2004; 2006; 2007a; 2007b) has written that video games are one site for the reproduction of masculinity, and about what this means for young women’s engagement with them. She argues that girls are disadvantaged when playing video games, because these games tend to be coded as male and young women must therefore negotiate a masculine performance with a feminine performance. This requires them to invest more effort, which in turn hinders their performance. Looking at Erin’s experiences and using Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, we can also recognise video gaming not as a means to ‘achieve’ in the traditional sense, but also as offering opportunities for feminist becomings. We can recognise achievement here as something entirely different. In chapter four I wrote how competition featured heavily in young people’s experience of the social world. While in this quote Erin once again speaks about “achieve[ment]”, perhaps here it is not really the killing of virtual troops which she achieves. While Erin does not say so

herself, perhaps here we may recognise her achievement as a rupture of the gendered status quo, and an ability to exceed her gendered identity. For Erin, this appears to be easier in the virtual world of gaming, where the risks appear far lesser to her than in her social life.

There is a large body of literature which celebrates cyber technologies, because, the argument goes, they provide possibilities for humans to rid themselves of their physical bodies (Brians 2011). The fantasy is that technology, especially cyberspace, will finally deliver what philosophy and religion have only dreamed off: to free us all from the earthly bonds of the flesh, including its gendered limitations. On first sight, Erin's example may be viewed as supporting this fantasy. Indeed, another participant, Dan, stated that "you can do anything in the game", and included a photograph of his video games in the final stage of the research⁴¹. However, I would argue that it is precisely because of Erin's physical body, which was coded as "female", that Erin's experience is significant. For her, her video game opened up new possibilities, and her experiences functioned as a rupture to the gendered status quo. The video game then may be viewed not as offering a 'virtual reality', as is often claimed, but a 'mixed reality' (Brians 2011), where multiple elements, including the video game and Erin's physical body, constitute an assemblage. Within this assemblage, Erin emerges in new ways.

Erin's example suggests that while technology has commonly been coded as male in the feminist literature (Daniels 2009), and women commonly continue to be excluded from technological spaces (Allen, Armstrong, Riemenschneider, and Ried 2006), when technology and young people assemble, its effects are multiple and rhizomatic. Renold and Ivinson (2015) have in their work written about how the video games 'Saints Row' and 'Dead or Alive 4' offered a 13-year-old girl the possibility of being in the water and swimming with dolphins; something she was, due to economic constraints, denied in her everyday life. The authors argued that they could recognise

⁴¹ I have not included this photograph here, because it shows Dan's bedroom, which could have made him identifiable to those known to him.

a moment of transcendence where this participant became “what she could do” (p.251, also see Renold 2013). Erin’s quote is perhaps reminiscent of this work, but also adds to it by pointing explicitly to the significance of gendered experience for Erin in these particular becomings. The data which emerged here also extends the work by Harris (2008; see chapter two), which has highlighted the feminist potential - as well as the limiting effects - of technology for young people.

5.4.3 Becoming-queer? Assembling technology and sexuality research

As Dan’s use of photography already suggested, several participants used technology as a means of data production. While Dan used photographs, as chapter six will show, others used video technology. I noted in chapter three how such art work allowed for the emergence of a multitude of affects, which often registered in participants’ bodies as pleasure and/or joy. Sarah, for instance, who produced dance videos for the final stage of the research, noted that dancing, filming herself, and watching the videos, made her feel “confident”, “happy” and “sexy” (I will return to this in chapter six). Similarly, Dan, when looking at the picture of his girlfriend on FaceTime, noted that it made him “happy”, and that it made him “miss” her. As Dan engaged with the photograph that featured his girlfriend Asha, sexuality was produced in a very specific way. This sexuality focused on connectivity, and subverted and exceeded normative representations of youth masculinities (e.g. see Ward 2014; 2015), and representations of young “gypsy” masculine identities (e.g. see Levinson and Sparkes 2003).

Nonetheless, this data, with its focus on heterosexual love, may be viewed as remaining within the normative territory of (hetero)sexuality. The focus of the research on affect and bodily sensations, and what made participants feel good in their bodies, rather than “just sex” (Sarah, aged 17; see chapter three), in combination with photography, also allowed for an instance in my interview with Dan in which heteronormativity was exceeded. This event emerged when Dan spoke

about one of the photographs he had taken for the final phase of the research, which showed Dan's "best friend" Justin (pseudonym) doing a hand stand on grass⁴².

Dan: It reminds me how much of a babbling idiot he is, but how much of a best friend he is. But he never gives up, he tries again and again. Plus, after that he sort of lands straight on his face. After this I almost like fell to the floor, I was just rolling over laughing.

JA: What so did he actually hurt himself?

Dan: He hurt his face, but [laughter] he didn't hurt himself much, so it was just like, the stupid things. [...] I love him to bits. [...] We can always rely on each other as pretty much, as pretty much like having a relationship with a girl, apart from he's a boy and we don't do anything, sort of thing wise, sexual or anything like that. Hugging-wise, I do hug him, but no kissing or stuff like that, but you can rely on each other. You can tell each other stuff, you can go out and it'll be fine. You can do all that, it's that pers., he's to me everything that [my girlfriend] Asha is but not as, ah, it's like, the same way Asha makes me feel, is what he does, but not as much as what she does. Does that make sense?

In Dan's quote, sexuality appears to become fluid. While Dan identifies as 'male' and 'heterosexual', here he is describing how his (male) best friend creates sensations in his body similar to those created in his relationship with his sexual partner. The differences between these sensations no longer seem to be dividable into the binary categories of 'sexual' and 'non-sexual'. Whereas many of the other young men who took part in the research emphasised their heterosexuality and this phenomenon has also commonly been reported in other sexuality research (e.g. McClelland 2011; McGeeney 2015a), here Dan appeared to have a complete disregard for such an assertion. Once again, this was especially significant considering his "Gypsy" identity, with travellers' masculinities commonly produced as homophobic within the literature and media representations (Levinson and Sparkes 2003; Cemlyn et al. 2009; Jensen and Ringrose 2014; Casey 2014).

Crucially, Dan's comments emerged in an assemblage which included multiple human bodies and non-human (or more-than-human) elements. They emerged when Dan

⁴² I did not include an anonymised version of this photograph here, because Justin did not take part in the study, and did not formally give me permission to include an image of him in my thesis.

was in relation with me, the photograph, and the image of Justin, and were made possible through Dan's use of a camera. Moreover, while in the quote Dan focuses on his best friend Justin, Hultman and Taguchi (2010), in their new materialist work on photography, point out that when we take a step back and de-centre our humanist eye, we can recognise other elements within the photograph as significant too. Dan's amusement at the hand stand emerges through the relation between Justin's body and the grass (as well as, perhaps, Justin's clothes, the trees in the background, etc.). While Justin's hands flatten the grass, the grass cushions Justin's hands as he stands, and affects the way Justin's hands are positioned. What is more, when he falls over, the grass cushions Justin's face, allowing for the emergence of amusement rather than sympathy or concern for Dan. In this way, it is not only Dan, myself, the photograph, Justin, and the camera that are in-relation (Allen 2015) in this assemblage; the materiality of the grass is also in relation with the other elements, and cannot be separated from the affects which emerge. While it is not my intention here to describe these relations in detail, this example can be used to once again illustrate how young sexualities emerge in the entanglement and relationality of young people's bodies with the more-than-human. In particular, it illustrates how technology, when it was in relation with other bodies in a research process, could open up possibilities for figurations of youth sexuality that exceed heteronormativity and gendered bodies.

The cheap and easy processes of photography in contemporary Western culture, where photography is increasingly understood as a means of communication rather than record-taking (Dijck 2008), and where photography is increasingly used in research (e.g. Holford et al. 2013; Ivinson and Renold 2013), of course makes this a historical phenomenon. In addition, implicated within Dan's fluidification of sexuality was also my research approach, which focused on pleasurable sensations in the body, rather than "just sex" (Sarah, aged 17). For Dan, who seemed to be so sensitive towards the ways in which affects registered in his body, this approach really seemed to work. As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, Deleuze (as cited in Beckman 2011) contended that different kinds of artistic expression enable different ways of thinking. While artistic images are of course still potentially subject to discursive

reductionism (Del Busso 2011; see chapter three), for Dan, photography nonetheless seemingly had the capacity to expand the ways in which he understood, thought, and felt sexuality.

5.5 Deleuzo-Guattarian more-than-human sexualities

As I have written throughout this chapter and in chapter four, Dan, due to his focus on affect and his ability to describe the ways in which affects registered in his body, was an unusual participant. However, I would like to use one more quote by him here. In the quote, Dan speaks about the capacities of his teddy bear, which had been his grandmother's "when she was a little girl", and which was given to him by her shortly before she died, to affect his body. Dan had meant to bring the teddy bear in to the interview as his 'pleasure object', but "forgot to grab it" on his way out.

Dan: [The teddy] was like a little piece of [my nan] which I still had left. [...]. It just feels like a teddy but then it also feels like my nan's here. [...]. The weirdest thing is when I do lift it up, it, I just like lose all sort of strength. [...] My hands will just go like jelly, it's like I can't do anything with them, just un-tense and everything.

JA: So it's un-tense.

Dan: Yeah.

JA: So is that a good feeling?

Dan: Yeah, it's good. It's like a relief. An optimum in certain situations. [...] It's just like I completely lose strength or my head will just go blank. Anything I was worried about is just gone and that sort of thing.

JA: Mm so can you say a bit more about like, I don't like, so would you say that that's pleasurable or I mean like?

Dan: It's a bit of both really. I find it pleasurable. If I'm in a happy mood, I'll see it and then it just makes me laugh and happy and everything. [...] I chose that cos it's the only real thing I have a real connection to, it's like out of everything which I have I'd be most devastated about it if my house got burnt down, that's the one thing I'd never be able to get over. [...] I remember first using it around a year ago when I had some bad problems here [at school] and I used it and I did go really, really dizzy; even more dizzy than when my nan used to do it and I was at first taken back by it. [...] But em the same effect happened, I just lost all stress. [...] I was completely fine.

JA: Yeah and then all the tension of your body was just gone?

Dan: Mm

JA: Mm and you said it was relief?

Dan: Mm

JA: As in a relief from the stress?

Dan: Yeah. So it was just the fact that just like everything's gone and just, and just sit there and enjoy the moment. I was like stressless, stresslessness. And then you just get on with whatever you're doing.

JA: And is that something that you would enjoy, like that moment when the stress has gone?

Dan: Yeah, it's like it's the right after-effect where I haven't got no worries in my head. I ain't angry, I ain't tense. I'm just there and I'm completely fine. There's not a worry in the world.

JA: Yeah. So that kind of situation, is there a word for how you could describe that like, if you had to describe it with one word, the feeling of that?

Dan: To be honest, I can't really think of just one word. It's more complex. Actually there's more than one thing...

JA: That's ok if you can't. I was just wondering.

Dan: One word to describe everything, so like the history, the feeling afterwards: special!

JA: Special?

Dan: Just special. Just because it's that one moment where there's no worries, there'll be no worries in the world. How much link it has to me and my nan and after everything and yeah. [...] I don't know how it works.

While earlier in this chapter, I wrote about how Mark talked about “bang[ing]” his teddy bear, the teddy bear reappears in this quote, albeit in a very different way. We can also see the reappearance of Dan’s stress-relief scenario which I discussed at the end of chapter four. In the quote above, Dan describes how the encounter with his teddy bear registers in his body as a “weird” sensation very similar to the one he experienced when his grandmother rubbed his temples, and, presumably, the kiss he compared that sensation to.

While Mark’s remarks about his teddy bear were rupturing in some ways, they were in obvious ways linked to normative understandings of sexuality in that they, for instance, referred to “bang[ing]”. Dan’s experiences with the teddy bear, on the other hand, in conjunction with a Deleuzo-Guattarian conceptualisation of sexuality, once again allows us to re-imagine sexuality in altogether new ways. Rather than being tied to genitals or gendered bodies, like the wasp and the orchid in Deleuze and Guattari’s example (1987; see chapter four), both Dan and the teddy bear in this instance leave

their territory to become something else: Dan becomes “jelly”, and the teddy becomes Dan’s “nan” and a jelly-maker. Whereas using the normative framework of sexuality we can more easily recognise Mark’s teddy-assemblage as sexual, using Deleuzo-Guattarian theory, we can in some ways also recognise Dan and his teddy bear as making love.

As I noted in chapter four, Dan’s experiences with his grandmother – due to them involving a person, and what is more, an older family member – when combined with Deleuzo-Guattarian theory and linked with ‘sexuality’, risked being interpreted as paedophilic. Too strong are the cultural and experiential ties between sexuality and abuse, and too difficult the disentanglement of sexuality from unequal relations between people. By talking about a teddy bear, perhaps here we are freer to ponder about how we may re-imagine sexuality. Just like Erin seemed to feel freer in her sexual fantasies away from her social life, Dan’s encounter with his teddy bear allowed me to think about a different kind of sexuality in less risky ways. Here we can see more clearly how a Deleuzo-Guattarian sexuality, instead of it being about ‘sex’ as it is normatively defined, is about bodies leaving their territories to produce something new. The teddy bear becomes-nan only as it meets Dan; and Dan becomes stress-free only in his relation with the teddy bear. In their encounter, affects circulate which propel both to new territories. For Dan, in this particular instance, this is an intense experience. We can, however, also imagine such events in more mundane instances, for example when Dan spoke about how sitting in his headmaster’s chair, while “not a big deal”, made him feel “happy”, as well as “tall” (see chapter three).

Dan’s description of his experiences with the teddy bear resonated with me for several reasons. In some ways, of course, this might have been due to their link with his experiences with his “nan”, which, as I noted in chapter four, emerged as an affective hotspot. It is, however, also interesting to me, and particularly in the context of this chapter, because it blurs the lines between the human and the non-human. While Dan described the teddy as a “thing”, he also described it as a “little piece of [his nan]”. The teddy bear co-constitutes Dan’s grandmother, and Dan’s grandmother

co-constitutes the teddy bear. Together with Dan they form a desiring-machine that removes the sensation of stress from Dan's body. Once again, we can see how, given the prosthetic nature of bodies, sexuality can never be human or non-human, and emerges through the relationality of human bodies and other elements.

Dan's description of the teddy as "a little piece of [his nan]", which, in its relation with him, could evoke affects which registered in his body in ways similar to those which he experienced when he was with his grandmother, also illustrates how objects can carry affect. I outlined in chapter three the literature on 'thing power' (Bennett 2004). Bennett (2004) wrote about how objects have the capacity to act, engender effects, and modify circumstances. Bennett (2004) observed how objects could invoke affective experiences in human bodies. For example, she noted how objects collected together as trash could evoke senses such as disgust or fear. Dan's example to a large extent supports Bennett's thesis. What is interesting here, however, is how the affective power of the teddy bear is entirely entangled with Dan's grandmother.

Ann Weinstone (2004) has theorised how for human bodies the connectivity with other human bodies is special in that these connections bear the greatest affective potential. In light of the co-constitution of the teddy bear and Dan's grandmother, Dan's assertion that the teddy is "the only real thing [he] has a connection to" perhaps also implies that human touch – a reaching out from one human body to another – is, at least for Dan "special". For Dan, the teddy bear is the one object he would be sad to lose, and the affective capacities of the teddy bear on his body appear far greater than those of other objects. Similarly, I indicated in chapter four that another participant, Rich, described people as the "most important thing". We can therefore theorise that, at least for Dan and Rich, human connectivity has particularly great affective capacities (Weinstone 2004). The seeming "special[ness]" of human touch for some participants perhaps makes the limiting ways in which their bodies were sometimes territorialised in the social world all the more tragic. However, given the prosthetic nature of human and non-human bodies, this connectivity does not require a fleshy human body as we know it. Rather, human touch and connectivity can also involve other elements such as objects. It is this

enmeshment which makes both human bodies and non-human elements 'more-than-human' (Lorimer 2013).

5.6 Conclusions: Re-imagined youth sexuality-assemblages?

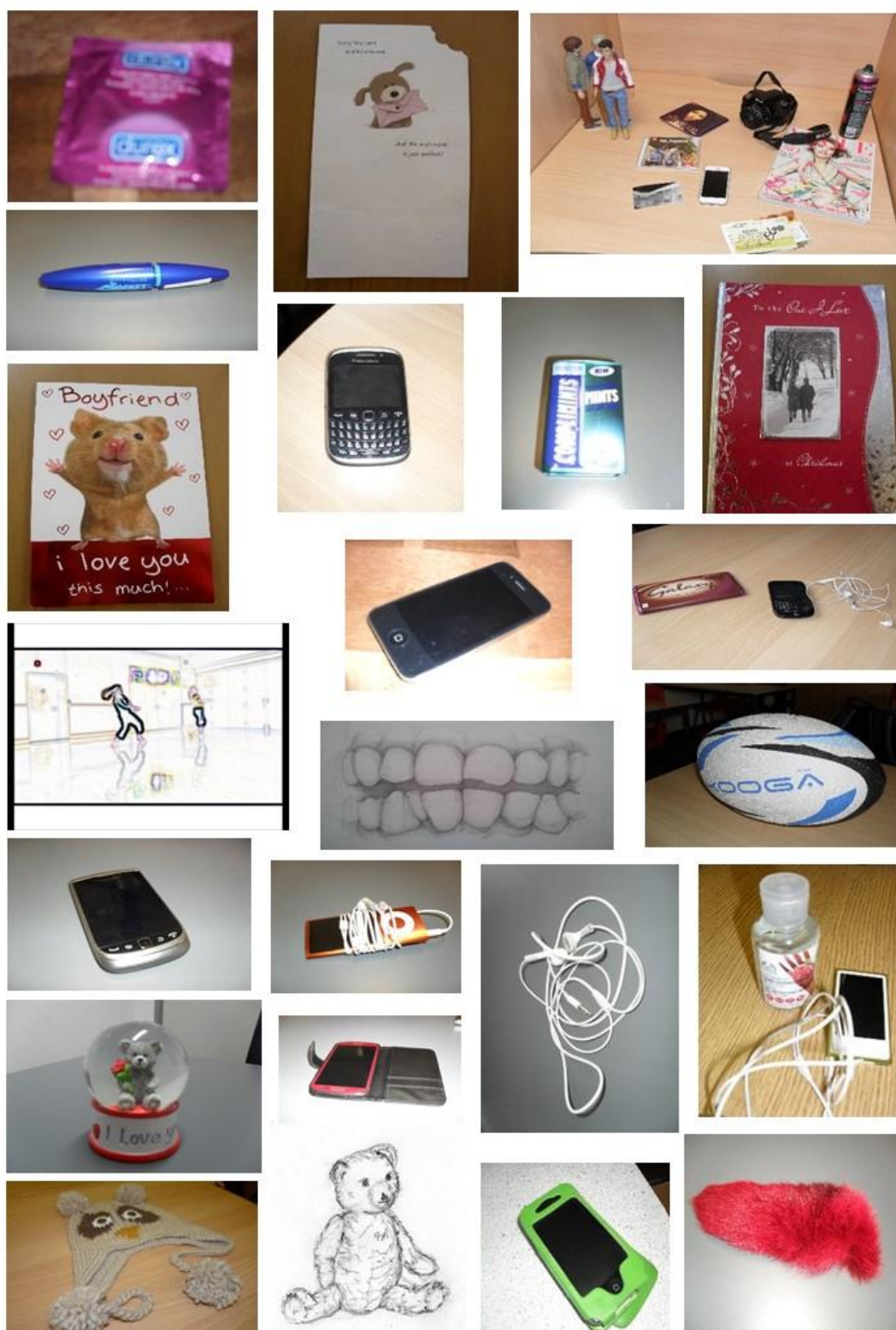
This chapter explored the ways in which young sexual bodies emerged when we shift our attention to the more-than-human. Specifically, I mapped the ways in which young sexualities emerged when participants were in-relation with objects, media discourses/stories, and technologies. We saw how young sexual bodies are not limited to human skin and flesh, but how sexual subjectivities emerge through a complex web of relations which included not only people, but also 'things' (Bennett 2004) such as phones, video games, whips, and teddy bears. The chapter offers rich empirical data and in this way extends Fox and Alldred's (2013; 2015) work on young people's sexuality-assemblages. I traced the ways in which young sexual bodies were territorialised in gendered and limiting ways in encounters with these elements, but also mapped processes of deterritorialisations which emerged when young bodies were 'in-relation' (Allen 2015) with them.

Within the media, debates often focus on whether certain objects, media stories or technological devices, or young people's use of them, is either 'good' or 'bad' (Allen 2015). As I suggested in chapter one, technology and especially online media are often portrayed as dangerous for young people (Bragg and Buckingham 2009). While young people did mention the ways in which technology could be problematic, they mostly spoke about it in positive terms. The chapter illustrated young people's creative engagement with technology, and how technology, objects or media stories are neither good nor bad for young people. Rather multiple effects may emerge from their encounters, and these may be experienced as limiting and/or liberatory, pleasurable and/or painful. The chapter suggested that in some cases young people's relations with media, technology, or objects opened up possibilities for young sexual bodies which felt impossible for them in the social world. For some participants – for example for Erin - as they moved away from the social, the gendered ties, limitations, and risks which they experienced in the social world appeared to loosen.

While these are conclusions that are significant to the argument of this thesis, I would like to end the chapter not by using words, but by inviting the reader to connect with the images on page 214 (figure 6), which I arranged randomly. These images are photographs of all the object participants brought in to their interviews, and which made them 'feel good in their bodies'⁴³. We may understand these objects as forming a kind of re-imagined sexuality-assemblage, shaped by and allowing for the emergence of pleasure rather than, as is common within sexuality research, specific practices which are normatively defined as 'sex'. While the photographs must not be understood as a mere representation of the objects that participants brought in, but as carrying their own affective potentials, it is my hope that by meeting these images – by being touched by them – we may be affected in how we think and feel about sexuality in yet-to-be-determined ways. I do not have the space here to discuss each of these images in detail, and the images will affect each reader in a different way. I would therefore like to leave the images to do their own communication, although I would like to throw one element into the mix: my hope that while many of these images would not normatively be regarded as sexual, when encountering them with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts and their theory of sexuality in mind, they open up new ways of thinking and feeling sexuality. It is with this thought and with these images that I would like to close this chapter and leave it to do its rhizomatic (but hopefully in some way feminist!) affective work.

⁴³ I have also included an anonymised snapshot of Sarah's dance video (see chapter six), and drawings of – and reminders – that Dan's teddy bear, and Tom's front tooth, which I did not photograph, were also part of this assemblage.

Figure 6: Participants' re-imagined sexuality-assemblage?



Chapter Six

Sexualities in Motion: The Pleasures of Movement

6.1 Introduction

Dancing...it is like sex in a way [...] it's hard to explain. [...] it kind of like gives you that like vibe and that pleasure of like of knowing that you're both enjoying it, you're both enjoying dancing to the music and moving and stuff [...] it's just fun. (Sarah, aged 17)

Desire is movement, it is the body in movement. How can there be movement without desire, when every desire implies a moving toward and any movement implies a desire to move? (Manning 2013: 36)

Chapters four and five mapped young sexual subjectivities as they emerged in encounters between young human bodies, and more-than-human assemblages, respectively, and opened up sexuality beyond 'sex' and the human. This chapter is themed around movement. The body as it moved through space featured heavily in young people's narratives and artistic expressions, especially when the focus was on pleasure. One example of such a narrative is given in the first quote at the beginning of the chapter, where Sarah speaks about her love for dance, and indeed compares dance to "sex"⁴⁴. While the prominence of the body moving through space within the research in itself warrants the production of a chapter solely devoted to this topic, such an in-depth exploration is also justified from a theoretical perspective. Philipa Rothfield (2011) has argued that the moving body, as it shifts through space, is especially interesting from the point of view of mapping becomings, because it requires the generation of visible change. When a body moves through space we can actually see how, with every moment, it becomes something else.

Drawing on participants' narratives and video clips, the chapter begins by mapping sporting and dancing bodies. I explore how these bodies were implicated in youth sexualities. Sarah's quote at the beginning of the chapter has already hinted at how some young people may live and experience sexuality through dance, and this

⁴⁴ I will return to Sarah's quote later in the chapter.

chapter will explore such experiences in more detail. While sexual experiences beyond 'sex' are commonly excluded or missing from the sexuality literature (see chapter two), my study contributes to the field by highlighting such experiences. Moreover, I explore how sports and dance may open up possibilities for the deterritorialisation of gendered bodies, and how for some young people still bodies open up molecular lines of becoming.

Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) did not think about movement as something which is of the human body, but as something which cuts across bodies (Manning 2013): as the movement of relations within assemblages, as change. Erin Manning (2013) has pointed out that when we do not pay attention to how bodies move, they seemingly become stabilised into preordained categories such as 'man', 'woman', 'heterosexual', 'gay', or 'lesbian'. However, Manning (2013) argues that really there is no stable body that exists before it moves. In the dynamic flows of assemblages, there can never be stability, there can never be non-movement. As Manning's quote at the beginning of the chapter suggests, this movement is intrinsically linked to productive desire; there cannot be one without the other. In its final sections, this chapter builds on chapters four and five to illustrate in more detail how I found desire and movement, and the free-floating sexuality which according to Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987) is latent within it, everywhere in young people's experiences, even when their bodies were still. Within both motion and stillness, sexuality sometimes emerged in new and unexpected ways.

6.2 Sexuality and the moving body

I begin this chapter by sharing a progression of anonymised still images from a video clip that Sam produced as part of research phase three (arts-based methods)⁴⁵. The video clip shows Sam at a climbing wall, and three still images taken from it are shown in figure 7.

⁴⁵ The inclusion of the video clip in this thesis would have been useful to aid discussion. However, after lengthy consideration, I decided not to include it here, as it may have jeopardised my promise of anonymity.

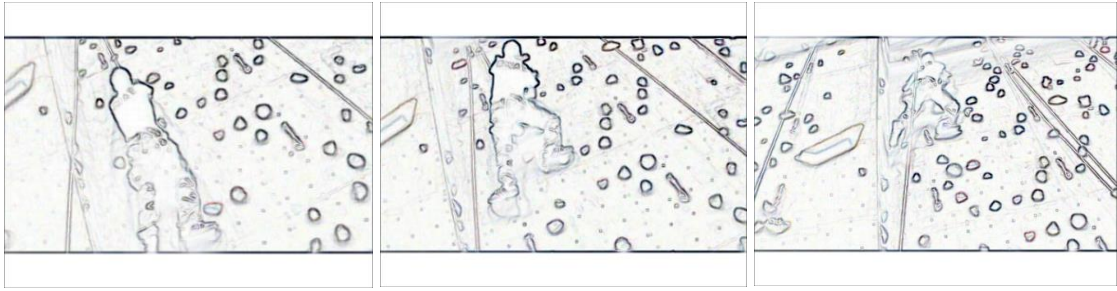


Figure 7: Anonymised still images from Sam's climbing video

In the video clip (and in the still images), Sam can be seen climbing up a climbing wall with the help of his belay partner. This is the case at least when we look at the event with our usual humanist eye. When we read the event horizontally instead of prioritising Sam's bound physical body, we are able to recognise that Sam and the climbing wall are doing something to each other simultaneously (Colebrook 2002; Hultman and Taguchi 2010). They transform as an effect of the encounter. While Sam races up the climbing wall, the foot holds wear down very slowly, and move ever so slightly when they come into contacts with Sam's feet, giving Sam's body a very slight bounce. Meanwhile the arms of Sam's belay partner are moving in rhythm with Sam's body. The rope that connects Sam and his belay partner moves, and in this way creates the capacity for Sam's body to move towards the top of the climbing wall. Simultaneously, the rope is periodically tightened by the weight of Sam's body. In this way, climbing is constituted through multiple relations, with all elements within the assemblage changing continually. Within the assemblage, all the different bodies affect one another, and become machinic as they are 'in-relation' (Allen 2015). In the following sections I will argue that sexuality, too, may be viewed as being part of this assemblage. While on first sight it may be difficult to recognise a relationship between Sam's climbing video (and the still images in figure 7) and sexuality, when brought together with other data in a data-assemblage (Fox and Alldred 2014), as well as a Deleuzo-Guattarian theory of sexuality, we can recognise their entanglement in at least three ways.

6.2.1 The sporting body and sexual success

First, when bringing the video together with Sam's narratives, it emerges that Sam's climbing body was seemingly inseparable from his sexual subjectivity. Specifically,

whilst watching the video, Sam spoke about how his girlfriend Anna, and his relation to her, were enmeshed with his experience of climbing:

Sam: If I'm [...] climbing and I think this is gonna get me closer to Anna and I'll zoom right up there! [...] Then you think 'well done'!

This quote suggests that, like the climbing wall, Sam's relationship with his girlfriend was part of the machine which moved Sam's body. Simultaneously, Sam's movement affected his perceived relationship with Anna, getting him "closer" to her. This appeared to be the case even though Anna was not actually present at the climbing wall. It was his imagination of her that, he claimed, propelled him to the top. This idea reminded me of Grimm's fairy-tale Rapunzel, which was made into the blockbuster 'Tangled' by Disney in 2010. Like the fairy-tale, in which Rapunzel is rescued by a love interest from a tall tower, here Sam is inspired by the imagination of his efforts being rewarded with his girlfriend's intimacy. While more recently there has been a slight trend towards a more egalitarian representation of gender roles in Disney films (Gillam and Wooden 2008; England et al. 2011; Towbin et al. 2004), 'Tangled', like most Disney films, has been criticised for the promotion of stereotypical and traditional gender roles (Gillam and Wooden 2008; Towbin et al. 2004). Sam's narrative too, may be viewed as reproducing cultural fantasies which produce women as in need of rescuing, and men as rescuers. We might read Sam's narrative as suggesting that the reason why his reaching the top would bring him closer to Anna was because it produced him as successful, and this success seemingly gave Sam hope of experiencing sexual intimacy. In this way, Sam's climbing body may be viewed as one element in a machine that produces Sam's sexual subjectivity. This finding adds to and extends – not least by providing a multimodal example – Fox and Alldred's (2013) work, in which the authors argued that sporting activities and success may be viewed as co-constituting young men's sexual bodies.

Sam was not the only participant who spoke about sporting activities in ways which linked them to sexual success. Mark contended that "playing rugby makes [him] feel like a man". Similarly, Sarah alleged that dance had the capacity to make her feel

“girly”. I was struck by how strong the link appeared to be throughout the research between sporting achievements and the sense of being a successful (gendered) human being. One participant, Tom, who described himself as a “rugby guy”, noted that he experienced rugby as “horrible”, but nonetheless continued to play, because he enjoyed the praise and “status” he received as a result. It rarely seemed possible for young people to exist outside of competition, and this competition appeared to be gendered. As I noted in chapters three and four, this focus on success may have been exacerbated by the school environment, which emphasises competition (Paechter 2002).

6.2.2 The sexing of movement

The second, but related, way in which we may recognise the enmeshment of Sam’s climbing video with sexuality, emerges when we focus on how Sam’s body posture and his specific movements in the video may be gendered. The video (and, to a lesser extent, the still images in figure 7) show Sam’s bum and genitals squeezed and highlighted by the strap he is wearing. His pelvic movements are almost thrusting as he moves up the wall. His arms are extended. These aspects may make climbing a potentially riskier activity for some young women. As I noted previously in this thesis, Young (2005) argued that young women live in discontinuation with their bodies, because for them to live their bodies openly and freely is to invite objectification. Women, Young (2005) argued, therefore adopt an inward posture, where, for example, their arms may cover their upper body or their legs may cover their genitals. As has been reported by others (e.g. Renold and Ivinson 2015), in my research, too, young women spoke about how identifying as young women hindered their capacities and willingness to engage in some physical activities. Heather, for instance, who was a young white woman aged 16, a member of traditional religious group, and spent much of her time helping out her mother in the house, noted the following:

Heather: I often like, in the summer, there's like goal posts on the fields and I used to hang out with people. [...] There's one of my friends, she has a boyfriend and he always climbs on the poles. And like, he's very macho you know, kind of 'aw I'm so, you know, strong' and stuff like that.

JA: Yeah.

Heather: But in a funny way, he's alright, he's not like a show off or anything. And em like climbs onto the poles and stuff. And I have done it before, because I've just felt like 'aw I can do that'. Why not, because like this other girl was having a go. She wasn't getting very far. I was like 'okay, I'll try then' and I was able to do it and stuff. I was like 'yes, this is so cool! I can this!'

JA: Mm.

Heather: And they started wiggling then. I'm like 'ah stop, I'm gonna fall off!' Get down. Em also I like, I don't do it anymore, because I think I'm too old, which is really sad. But em I loved climbing trees so much, like there was a tree in my park. I got like so high once! It has a really high branch.

JA: Mm. So why do you think you're too old now?

Heather: Because I'm too old! I'm supposed to be a young lady! I can't go climbing trees! Yeah, I think if I was on my own with just some friends and they were like climbing trees I'd do it too, but if nobody else was doing it then it's kind of weird. 'Hey guys, I wanna climb this tree'.

JA: Do you think guys would climb trees more?

Heather: I think more, because boys can just do basically what they want and nobody's gonna tell them not to, which is kinda annoying!

JA: Mm, so when you were climbing up and they were wiggling, were they doing that to the guy that was doing it before, or were they just doing it to you?

Heather: Em, they did it a little bit to him, but not much, because like he joined in wiggling.

JA: Yeah, so they did it more when you were up there?

Heather: Yeah.

JA: Was that annoying?

Heather: Not really, it was alright, it was just a laugh.

In the quote, Heather explains that because she is “supposed to be a young woman”, she feels that she can no longer climb trees; an activity she seemed to enjoy a lot when she was younger. As Sam’s video clip (and the still images in figure 7) suggests, climbing involves exposure of the body, and Heather did not seem to think that this was “lady”-like. For her, becoming a woman involved new limitations, and a reduction in her freedom of movement. Due to identifying as a “woman”, the capacities of her body were seemingly limited. Indeed, Heather talked about how, unlike her male acquaintance, at one point she was physically stopped from climbing by being shaken off the pole. As has been reported in other writings (Blackmore 1995), this was normalised as “just a laugh”.

For some young women, their perceived inhibitions to move freely included, or were even especially prominent, during activities normatively defined as 'sex'. In the following quote, Rhiannon, whose experiences of rape I discussed in chapter four, speaks about her perceived inhibition about movements during 'sex' with her boyfriend.

Rhiannon: Sometimes I don't feel like I wanna move, but then sometimes I feel fine, I dunno if it's because sometimes I feel a bit more, I dunno what's the word, a bit more shy, sort of thing. [...] And then sometimes I just feel like, he wants to be with me so, but, like, it doesn't matter. [...] If there's no one else around, there's no one in the house or anything then I completely forget about everything and I'm fine, but if like, someone else is in the house I don't like it and I don't, I feel really tense, so I'm really tense.

Rhiannon implied during the interview that her inhibitions to move freely were related to the sexual abuse she had suffered. As Young (2005) theorised, she appeared to embody these experiences, as well as the risk of future objectifications. Moreover, Rhiannon's assertion that she felt less inhibited when "there's no one else around", perhaps speaks of a sense of surveillance. Given the immense scrutiny young women's sexual bodies are under in media discourses (Gill 2007; see chapter one), her experiences are not surprising. Heather's and Rhiannon's examples illustrate how the ways in which sexual bodies are produced – including through sexual abuse – had the potential to affect young women in all spheres of their lives, including during sporting activities.

6.2.3 Deleuzo-Guattarian sexualities

The third, perhaps more abstract, way in which we may recognise the entanglement between Sam's climbing video and sexuality emerges when, as I did in the final parts of chapters four and five, we untie sexuality from 'sex' and recognise it as a free-floating energy that is latent in, and emerges in, all becomings (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987). Together, Sam, his belay partner, the climbing wall, and Anna, amongst other things, form a machine in which desire flows continually. Thinking with

Deleuzo-Guattarian sexuality theory, we can recognise, see, and feel the intensities and affects which emerge within the continual movement in this web of relations, and recognise them as a re-imagined sexuality. I will return to this point later on in this chapter.

6.3 Dancing (sexual) pleasures

Some participants spoke explicitly about how they used movement to express and connect with feelings that they regarded as 'sexual'. This related in particular to dance. The significance of dance in their sexual lives was highlighted by several participants, although, interestingly, exclusively by young women. Given the cultural link between dance and femininity (Thomas 1995; Thomas 2003), the dominance of young women's voices on this topic was not surprising. However, it also appeared to be significant for some because, unlike many other activities, it allowed them to "be in their body" (Rhiannon, aged 16). Two participants, in particular, Sarah and Rhiannon, spoke about the significance of dance in their lives. Sarah's experiences are in part documented elsewhere (Austin 2016) and were previously introduced in chapter three. Since Sarah's and Rhiannon's experiences of dance are not only immensely fascinating, but also illustrate well some of the less documented ways in which young people may experience sexuality and sexual pleasure, I will dedicate a large part of this chapter to the exploration of their experiences.

6.3.1 Becoming-sexy

Both Sarah and Rhiannon enjoyed that, during dance, they could legitimately feel "sexy". This was a relatively unusual phenomenon for both of them. We met Rhiannon in chapter four, where I discussed her experiences of sexual violence, and her experiences of pain and fear during "sex" and when walking in her neighbourhood. Sarah, on the other hand, was from a strict religious background. In many situations, Sarah experienced her sexual body as limited by the Christian views within her family and amongst her childhood friends. She had grown up with the belief that sex outside of marriage is "wrong". Her father discouraged Sarah (and Sarah's sister) from using her body in ways which he perceived as sexual, and Sarah's

interpretation of her religion was that she is “not allowed to have sex”. These experiences assembled with wider sexual discourses which define ‘sex’ for young women as dangerous, and seemed to produce a desire for Sarah to abstain from sex before marriage. At the same time, both young women expressed a desire to engage in sexual cultures and to feel “sexy”, albeit in ways that felt safe to them.

Both Sarah and Rhiannon associated dance with pleasure. In her individual interview, as her object that made her feel good in her body, Rhiannon brought in a fox tail, which was part of one of her elaborate dance costumes. She commonly wore it during dance competitions, which she took part in on a regular basis. A photograph of the fox tail is shown in figure 8.



Figure 8: Rhiannon's fox tail

Sarah, on the other hand, brought in a video clip of herself dancing, which she had saved on her smart phone. Moreover, in the final stage of the research, Sarah produced an additional four video clips of herself dancing, which we discussed in her follow-up interview. One of her video clips shows her in a dance studio, performing a routine she had previously choreographed to a (to me unknown) hip hop track. The remaining four videos were shot in her religious studies classroom, with her friend in charge of the camera, and Sarah dancing freestyle to pop music (Rihanna’s ‘Where

Have You Been', Alex Clare's 'Too Long', and Rudimental's 'All Night')⁴⁶. While in the first video she is wearing black sports gear and wears her hair in a ponytail, in the other four videos she is wearing a relatively short sleeveless floral dress and often flicks her long hair, which she wears loose. In all the videos she is barefoot and, at least in some places, emphasises her hips and her upper body by moving with the rhythm of the music. Like Sam's climbing videos, these video clips can be understood as forming a data-assemblage (Fox and Alldred, 2014; see chapter three) with Sarah's interview data. This data-assemblage allowed for the exploration of the many facets of the relationship between Sarah's sexual body and dance. In this way the videos, in addition to being used to elicit specific memories of being in the body in follow-up interviews (Del Busso 2011), also acted as an important additional data source. A series of still images from two of the video clips is shown in figures 9 (below) and 10 (page 231).

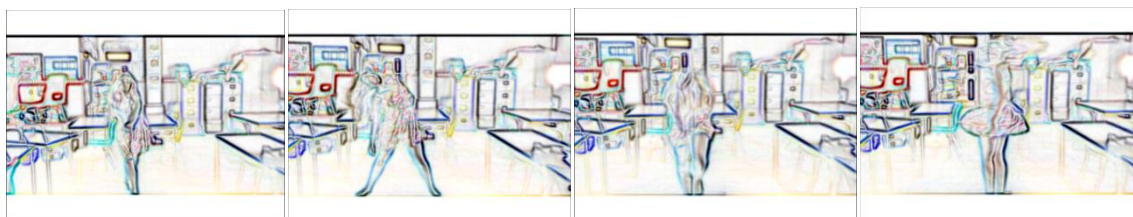


Figure 9: Anonymised still images from one of Sarah's pop dance videos

The first video clip I will discuss here is one of those that Sarah shot in her school. In the video clip, Sarah can be seen wearing a floral dress and dancing to Rudimental's song "All Night", with the lyrics repeatedly stating "I've been waiting all night for you to tell me that you want me, tell you that you need me". As I implied in chapter three, through a discursive or performative analytic lens, one might argue that Sarah's narratives illustrate how, within dance, she is performing a feminine sexuality in line with popular portrayals in pop music videos. We can see how, through her movements, Sarah is emphasising her long hair, her upper body, and her legs. Her movements and the presentation of her body are in line with dominant notions of feminine sexiness (Evans et al. 2010; Evans and Riley 2014). In her interviews, whilst

⁴⁶ Again, after lengthy consideration, I chose not to include Sarah's video clips here so as to ensure anonymity.

watching the video clips, Sarah noted that dancing in this way makes her feel “sassy”, “girly”, “sexy” and “flirty”. Moreover, I noted in chapter three that when Sarah engages in Cuban dance with a partner, she emphasises her “hips”, her “legs”, her “hair”, and her “tummy”. Sarah’s movements, together with her clothing, the lyrics of the song, and her narratives, assemble to produce a body which we may recognise as ‘sexual’, and which some people may read as shaped by the objectification of female bodies. Some of Sarah’s movements, for example “flicking [her long straight] hair” (an example of which can be seen in the third still image in figure 9), were intrinsically racialised, as well as gendered. Sarah acknowledged that some of the pleasures that she experienced during dance were tied to a longing for being watched by a male spectator:

Sarah: If I'm dancing by myself like in the mirror and I can imagine like someone [a man] I fancy or something, them watching and being like 'ah oh my god'. [...] Yeah it gives me some type of like, I don't know why it does but it gives me pleasure to look at myself dancing and I don't know why [laughs].

In this quote we can perhaps recognise a sexual pleasure enmeshed with a ‘male gaze’ (Mulvey 1975), with sexuality produced as something that women can actively engage with, so long as this engagement is in line with established ideals of female desirability (Evans et al. 2010). In this way, Sarah’s sexual pleasures when she dances, can be recognised as entangled with dominant cultural ideals of feminine sexuality, which in turn are tied to the objectification of young women’s bodies and their individual body parts (Gill 2007). However, as I noted in chapter three, Sarah’s experiences need to be understood within the wider assemblage of her family and her church, in which Sarah felt that her body was restricted. In this way, we can understand dance as also opening up new sexual possibilities for Sarah. Sarah spoke about how, when she dances, she can be a different person. The following quote is an extended version of the one with which I started this chapter:

Sarah: It makes me feel a bit more sexier and it just feels more, I don't know fun! And not as restricted and just, you can be someone different. Like, cos I wouldn't be like that every other day like, well

I'm not like that. That's what I mean, like I'm not that kind of, I'm not like a dirty person, but when you're dancing you feel like you are [laughs]. You feel like, it's almost, you feel like, it *is* like sex in a way!

JA: So it does feel a bit like sex to you then?

Sarah: Yeah, I suppose. It kind of like gives you that like vibe and that pleasure of like of knowing that you're both enjoying it, you're both enjoying dancing to the music and moving and stuff, you're touching each other and like the sweat and everything, it's that kind of thing, but I know it's ok [laughs] cos I'm not, I'm not going that far with it, it's just fun.

In this scenario, Sarah's moving body may be recognised as connecting with another dancing body, wider notions of dance that define it as 'sexual', yet not 'real sex' (see Jackson 1996), and the controlled environment of the dance studio, to form an assemblage. Within this dance-assemblage, molar lines within Sarah's sexuality-assemblage were temporarily disrupted, creating new possibilities of pleasure for Sarah's sexual body. Whereas dancing could be "just fun" for her, it appeared as though 'sex' could not. When watching the video clip represented in figure 9, Sarah stated that certain movements within the dance made her feel like she was "letting go". In one moment in which she flicks her hair (as seen in the third image of the sequence), she stated: "I felt like, yes! [laughs] [...] It was kind of like, letting go to the extreme I suppose." Her movements, together with her narrative, and her smile in the video and in the interview, produced affects which appeared to register as joy not only in Sarah's body, but also in my own. Unlike in her everyday life, within dance, possibilities for Sarah's body seemed to be opened up for deterritorialisation – for "letting go" – and this involved her feeling "sexy". As I mentioned in chapter three, Sarah also spoke about how while during everyday life she was commonly "told what to do", when she dances, it feels like something is actually being "remove[d]" from her body. This enabled her to feel "better about [her]self".

As I noted in chapter one, there are a multitude of discourses – in school, the media, and at home - which tell young people, especially young women, how they should behave (Epstein and Johnson 1998; Paechter 2002; Paechter 2006). In dance, on the other hand, Sarah appeared to feel free. Overall then, for Sarah, dance may be

recognised here as having the capacity to simultaneously reproduce dominant notions of what it means to be sexy for young women, *and* – perhaps more significantly for Sarah – to open up new possibilities for Sarah that are specific to her. Like Sarah, Rhiannon talked about how dance opened up unique possibilities of feeling “sexy” for her:

Rhiannon: When you do a lot of wiggles and stuff and it's like, sometimes that makes you feel as if you're really pretty and really sexy and stuff. [...] And like you get a lot of boy judges, but because they're teachers, they're feminine as well and they know that you're doing it to catch their attention and they like it. And I think that's more a reason why it feels good, is when you're in front of a boy judge and you do something like that, and they like it because they know why you're doing it and when you wink and stuff, they find it funny and they find it cheeky. So straight away you catch their attention and that's why it feels good when you do it.

In this quote, Rhiannon talks about how when she dances she feels “really sexy”, and often “wink[s]” at the “boy judges”. Once again, in one way, we may understand Rhiannon’s narrative as pointing towards a sexuality based on a ‘male gaze’ (Mulvey 1975), where women’s bodies are defined by their appeal to a male spectator such as “boy judges”, and where sexiness is acceptable and pleasurable for young women so long as this conforms to predefined norms of sexiness which are pleasing to men (Evans et al. 2010; Evans and Riley 2014). However, again, we must consider Rhiannon’s experiences in the broader assemblage of her life, where, due to the sexual violence she had experienced, sexiness did not appear to be an option for her a lot of the time (see chapter four). In doing so, we can understand how dance, as it did for Sarah, could also deterritorialise Rhiannon’s sexual body, and produce new possibilities for it. Rhiannon appeared to experience her body as limited by the sexual violence that she had experienced previously and by her fear surrounding the objectification of women’s bodies. This manifested itself in her limited capacities for pleasure during ‘sex’ with her boyfriend, and produced her as cautious – not giving “the wrong signs” – in most social interactions with young men. For Rhiannon, the possibilities for sexual pleasure seemed far greater during dance. Within dance,

Rhiannon appeared to feel safe and free to garner sexual attention. Her dancing body, the environment of the dance competition, and the bodies of the “boy judges”, which she regarded as “feminine”, assembled to produce new possibilities for Rhiannon’s sexual body.

Pop music, such as the tune in Sarah’s first video, has been argued by Greg Haigne (2004) to reinforce the status quo, and as lacking potential for inducing change. In addition, sexual dancing such as pole dancing is in the media often framed as reactive and as reinforcing dominant notions of feminine sexuality (Whitehead and Kurz 2009). The case studies of Sarah and Rhiannon complicate this argument, and illustrate how within specific assemblages, where their bodies and pop songs came together, they could also be propelled forward in new ways (Probyn 1995). Here, in these specific scenarios, what sexiness could do was not to please men, but to bring Rhiannon and Sarah new experiences, pleasure, and joy. Similar conclusions were made by Renold and Ringrose (2011), who noted that the sexual dancing of tween girls, whilst appearing like a performance of normative heterosexual feminine sexuality, could for some girls, for example, also act as a means to experiment with gender and gendered power relations.

6.3.2 Becoming-powerful

Rhiannon noted that moves which made her feel “sexy” tended to be embedded within moves which are “really strong”, and that the possibilities of transformation within dance made her feel immensely “powerful”, “a little bit like Superman”:

Rhiannon: I know it sounds stupid, but when I put a costume on, when I'm in school I'm very plain. Obviously my costumes are all sparkly, like, diamantes everywhere. All the makeup and the hair and in everyday that's not me, but then when I've got my costume on it feels a little bit like Superman. It feels like it's not me anymore, it's someone else. And it just makes me feel like a million dollars better because nobody really judges you in dancing. You dance and that's just you. And it's no longer, like, 'oh, you've got to impress anyone', it's just you're dancing. And that's why my costumes are the things that make me feel good, because it makes me feel like I don't have

to prove anything to anyone and everyone takes you for who you are.

JA: Yeah, so you said you feel you're different, but at the same time you feel like you're completely you?

Rhiannon: Yeah, it feels like that side of me is who I'm supposed to be. It don't feel like, my everyday life don't feel like it's supposed to be, don't feel I'm getting as far as I possibly could.

JA: So it's almost like when you're a dancer you're a different person, but that's more you?

Rhiannon: Yeah!

JA: That's actually who you are, kind of thing?

Rhiannon: Yeah! I don't know how to explain it.

JA: So why do you think it feels more like you?

Rhiannon: Em, I don't know. I think obviously cos I love dancing so much that when I put the costumes on I feel so girly and it's like, yeah, you feel powerful.

Within this quote, Rhiannon describes the possibilities for being “girly” as a “powerful” experience. Interestingly, she describes how it makes her feel like a male superhero. It is becoming-(Super)man, which she associates with power. I wrote in chapter one how, within contemporary Western culture, postfeminist discourses that emphasise a link between sexiness and female power co-exist with those which produce a panic around the ‘sexualisation’ of young women. Within these discourses, sexiness is understood as performed for the pleasure of the subject herself (Gill 2007). However, as Evans et al. (2010) and Evans and Riley (2014) have noted, and as I have mentioned previously in this chapter, this sexiness is expected to conform to established ideas of what constitutes sexiness and which please male spectators. On a first reading, Rhiannon’s experiences of a link between sexiness and power appear to be in line with such discourses. In addition, we may understand her sense of sexiness as entangled with capitalist discourses which produce a link between capital such as “diamantes” and successful femininity (Gill 2007).

When we, once again, think about Rhiannon’s experiences in the broader assemblage of her life, we can also understand this sense of being “like Superman” as a welcome change from the restrictions she feels in her everyday life. This becoming-(Super)man brings with it a sense of safety for Rhiannon. As we saw in chapter four, in her everyday life, Rhiannon often appeared to feel powerless, and Rhiannon linked this

with her experience of being raped. When she danced, however, she appeared to feel in control. Her body, when assembling with music, emerged as very different than it did, for instance, when it came together with her boyfriend's body when they were having 'sex' (see chapter four). The freedom she experienced here meant that she felt more like what she is "supposed to be".

There is some literature that suggests that for some young people who have experienced rape, consensual BDSM⁴⁷ practices, for example, can help them to work through their experiences and reintroduce a sense of control (Pitagora 2013). For Rhiannon, dancing and being in control of her sexual expressions seemingly did something similar. Rhiannon stated that when she dances she feels like "it's just [her]", and that in her everyday life she does not get "as far as [she] possibly could". Here she was propelled forward. Whereas in her everyday life she felt limited, here she could feel free to move and become someone else. Her abilities to affect and to be affected were increased. For Deleuze and Guattari (1983), this is what power is. Whilst not unproblematic, here the link between sexiness and being powerful is no longer simply about an increased ability to attract men, but also about freedom of movement and new possibilities for what her body can do.

Like Rhiannon, Sarah also spoke about how dance could make her feel "powerful" and in control. In Sarah's case, this statement emerged when discussing another one of her video clips (see figure 10 for still images). Sarah had choreographed the dance that can be seen in the video clip (and in the still images in figure 10), and shot the video clip, shortly after "breaking up" with a young man. This had been Sarah's first "relationship" and the young man who she had been seeing was the first person who Sarah had ever kissed. Sarah had decided to "go for it" after taking part in the first two phases of the research, because she explained that the research had made her "realise" that that was what she wanted. The break-up occurred when the young man kissed another woman, and Sarah was angry about this event.

⁴⁷ 'BDSM' stands for a combination of B/D (bondage and discipline), D/s (dominance and submission) and S/M (sadism and masochism).



Figure 10: Anonymised still images from Sarah's hip hop dance video

In the video clip (and in the images in figure 10), Sarah (left figure) can be seen spreading her legs and arms, with her body taking up a lot of space. Whereas in the previous (pop) video clip she wore a floral dress and her hair was loose, here she is dressed in black trousers and a black top, and she wears her hair in a ponytail. Her movements are short, strong, and assertive. These movements are interspersed and entangled with an emphasis on her “curvy” figure, as can arguably be seen in the final still image. Once again, from one perspective, this finding appears to be in line with discourses that produce a link between sexiness and power for young women. However, whereas in Sarah’s first video clip the “sexy” movements appeared dominant, in this second video it is perhaps what Sarah called the “aggressive” movements that dominate. Whereas Sarah described her body in the first video clip as “sexy” and “more like commercial dancing”, she described herself in this video clip as “more of a modern woman”. The following quote emerged when we watched the video clip of the dance:

Sarah: I just feel good. I feel like I'm in control of like the attitude and I suppose the fact that, I'm not really an attitude person, and when I'm dancing I can express that I suppose and you can like, I dunno, be strong and powerful. You can just, I dunno, it's aggressive. Let it out and just, I dunno, it feels good cos it's like people don't know that side of you, so you have to show that side. I dunno, I always imagine that someone's watching and that I'm like, who do you know, that kind of thing. [In everyday life] I'm more polite and everything I suppose. I was too nice. I was too nice on that night [that my boyfriend kissed someone else]. I didn't shout at him at all, like I literally, all I did was look at him. Like, hmmm, I didn't know what to say.

Sarah’s narrative suggests that she experienced dance as giving her a rare opportunity to be “aggressive”. While she contended that in her everyday life she

was “polite” and “nice”, she appeared to feel like she could express her anger in dance. Sarah also noted that in this dance she could be “louder”. Dance, then, allowed for Sarah’s body to emerge as “different”. Hip hop and rap music have a reputation for being misogynistic and for condoning the objectification of women in music videos (e.g. see Weitzer and Kubrin 2009). However, for Sarah it seemingly did something else in this instance. It appeared to make her feel powerful, and allowed her to propel into new territories of potentiality, where her sense of having to be “nice”, and the restrictions she felt were placed on her by her religion, dispersed. Unlike for Rhiannon, where power was associated with sexiness, here this power becomes associated with “attitude” and being assertive. The routine she is dancing here appeared to loosen her techniques of feminine niceness. To be powerful, for both young women, was specific to their backgrounds, and, at least for Sarah, appeared to mean different things in different moments.

6.3.3 Becoming-music

The sections above suggest that for Rhiannon and Sarah, pleasure, including what they regarded as sexual pleasure, was not tied to specific sex acts, but could emerge in dance. They illustrate the role of the specific rhythm, hip hop or pop for instance, of music. When dancing to the pop music featured in the first video clip I discussed, Sarah’s body became “sexy”, whereas the hip hop music of the second video clip appeared to produce a mainly “aggressive” body. Sarah spoke about how within dance she could “become what the music’s expressing”:

Sarah: Being in tune with it, you kind of forget about everything and then just like become the music I suppose.

JA: Yeah. Become part of, one with it?

Sarah: Yeah, become part of it. Like make sure, like, it really expresses what it’s doing. [...] You can actually just become what the music’s expressing.

In this quote, Sarah describes how when she dances her body sometimes fully connects with the music she is hearing, and how through this process she becomes something new: she “become[s] the music”. Using a Deleuzo-Guattarian theory of sexuality, we can, of course, recognise this process and its accompanying intensities,

in which bodies become something new, as sexuality: a sexuality free of its usual ties to the genitals and gendered bodies. Like the wasp and the orchid, Sarah becomes an expression of the music she is hearing, and the music becomes a catalyst for the movement of her body. This connectivity allows Sarah to be completely in the moment, “forget[ting] about everything”, and is associated with feelings of pleasure for her.

In ‘A Thousand Plateaus’, Deleuze and Guattari (1987) theorised that music has the greatest affective capacities of all the art forms. Certainly for Sarah and Rhiannon, music did appear to have a special role in their lives. Many other participants also spoke about the significance of music in their lives. Jade, for instance, the young woman from a Christian Afro-Caribbean background who we first met in chapter four, claimed that “without music there wouldn’t really be [her]”. When she listens to music she gets “goose bumps”, she can feel it everywhere, “from head to toe”, and it makes her “want to move”. Music becomes-Jade and Jade becomes-music. Interestingly, another participant, Kevin, a young white man aged 16 from working class background, described the affective capacities of music by comparing it to sex. Both, he claimed, give you “a warm feeling”, “a positive feeling inside”, and make you “shiver”.

As we have seen in the sections above, however, despite its deterritorialising potential, this becoming-music is not always entirely unproblematic, especially when the music which is evoking the dance promotes gendered inequalities. As I mentioned earlier, Haigne (2004) has argued that much of modern Western pop music, such as the song which featured in Sarah’s pop video, produces and reproduces the status quo by using catchy refrains and lyrics which promote dominant gendered (and often misogynist) ideals.

However, Sarah talked about how sometimes when she fully connected with music, including pop music, the importance of her looks vanished – they did not come into it - and that dance “felt good when [she] was fat and it always feels good”. This powerful statement speaks of the capacity of singular moments within specific dance

scenarios to free Sarah's body not only from the stratification by discourses that define sexuality as a potential source of impurity or which require her to be "nice", but also to sever her body's stratification by dominant gendered ideals of sexiness. Sarah talked about how this becoming was entangled with increased bodily capacities and that she feels like she "can do anything in that moment". Similarly, Rhiannon spoke about how in specific moments during dance, when she connected fully to the music, her usual focus on her appearances faded from her experience:

- Rhiannon: When I dance good I never ever think about anything, I don't think about what I'm doing, I don't think about where I'm going, I don't think about the way my hair is, my costume, I don't worry about nothing!
- JA: You're just in the moment?
- Rhiannon: Yeah! But like, that's very rare because I'm constantly thinking about something! [...]
- JA: What, how does that feel like in your body?
- Rhiannon: Oh I don't know, it just feels like every bit of emotion, everything that's ever hurt you, everything that ever annoyed you, it just completely goes. When you're actually in the moment dancing on the floor everything goes, every bit of fear, anger, upset, everything. It just completely goes from you and it's like, as if no-one could ever bring you down. And then you'll stop dancing and everything hits you again.
- JA: Uh-huh. So have you got positive emotions when you're dancing cos you let go of the fear or the anger?
- Rhiannon: Yeah. You just feel excited and happy. And, I don't know if it's cos of the adrenaline that goes through, but it just feels really strange. [...] You're in that place for about a minute and then when you come off the floor, then you go back to normal. [...] You don't even understand like, you can't, all you'll hear is the music. [...] It just feels like you've completely blocked outside except for this music.

In this quote, Rhiannon speaks about how in "rare" moments in dance she connects fully to the music she is hearing, with her looks - "the way [her] hair is" and her "costume" – which are usually important to her, fading from her experience. Within these moments "everything that's ever hurt" her "completely goes". This is likely to include her experiences of sexual violence that I discussed in chapter four, which often appeared to affect her social interactions. Here, as she puts it, she could "just be", and consequentially feel "more like herself".

Sarah noted that, for her, moments in which she fully connects to the music and in which concerns about her appearance fade from her experience, usually occur when she dances in her own bedroom, and when she is dancing “free-style”:

Sarah: Freestyle just feels more free! [laughs] I feel a lot more free and a lot more like I can do anything in that moment, so yeah.

JA: So which one do you prefer [dance routine or freestyle]?

Sarah: I prefer freestyling cos I'm in control. Whereas when you're learning a routine, you're learning someone else's routine, so it's not your movements to the music. So you're not portraying what you feel about the music, but it's also nice. You're telling a story through someone else's choreography. I mean it's a stricter environment. You have to like, it's more like pressurising to get it right, whereas when you're freestyling you can be a bit more lazy [laughs]. Just make it up [laughs].

JA: See how it's going? And do you like that, just making it up?

Sarah: Yeah, I like doing that a lot! I've always liked doing that! But yeah, cos then you just put on any song and just like, if you get bored. You always have the one song for each lesson for like an hour and like fair enough if you really love that song I suppose, but if you're in your own bedroom or anything, cos like I've got mirrors in my bedroom and stuff, like I kind of made it my own dance studio [laughs]! I can just put on any song and just continue to dance. Different stuff, so that's fun yeah.

JA: So like in the moment that you're freestyling, so is your body, I don't know, does it feel like the body's just doing it itself or are you sort of planning it in your head?

Sarah: More so the body's doing it itself, yeah. [...] It makes me feel free.

Sarah's quote suggests that within the privacy of her own bedroom, capacities emerge for her dancing body that enable it to be carried by the music in ways that feel good to her, without the risk of being restricted by dance routines, “strict” rules, or potential judgements. While I will return to Sarah's discussion of her bedroom later in this chapter, Sarah's quote also suggests that improvised dance, in particular, opens up possibilities for processes of deterritorialisation and to “let go”. Indeed, in the quote, Sarah explains three times that it makes her feel “free”. Other participants also spoke about how improvisation is particularly enjoyable not only in dance, but in playing music too. Rich, for example, claimed that improvisation in playing his guitar is especially “fun” and “enjoyable”, because it is “just doing”.

Although dance has received relatively little attention within the field of Sociology (Thomas 1995; 2003), several scholars have written about the potential of dance, especially within the rave scene, which promotes freestyling, to liberate young women from restricting gender norms (McRobbie 1993; Thornton 1995; Redhead 1997). Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (1980; 1981; 2011) has argued that dance requires the dancer to be completely in the moment, and that the body can therefore not be objectified by oneself when dancing. It was perhaps this being-in the moment which made Sarah feel “free”.

More recently the dancing body has been thought about using Deleuzo-Guattarian theory and, due to the continual movement of one body to another, theorised as harbouring significant potential for processes of deterritorialisation (Rothfield 2011; Manning 2013; Renold and Ringrose 2011; Renold 2014). As I indicated in the introduction to this chapter, Rothfield (2011), for instance, has argued that improvised dance in particular has great affective capacities, because it equates to the moment-by-moment activity whereby one body becomes another, generating a series of shifts or changes. For Sarah, freestyling seemingly allowed for a diversion from established moves (from those in her everyday life, but also from those that are part of dance routines), and enabled her to find new ways of being and becoming a young woman (also see Renold 2014).

Using Deleuzo-Guattarian (1987) theory, we can understand Sarah’s dancing body when it improvises not only as becoming “what the music’s expressing”, becoming pop music or hip hop music, but as becoming-music in a more general sense. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) argued that while the refrain forms the building block of a song, it is the movement away from the refrain that we may understand as music and expression. Music “takes up the refrain, lays hold of it as a content in a form of expression, because it forms a block with it, and takes it somewhere else” (Deleuze and Guattari 1987: 300). It is within music, in the moving away from the refrain, that new tunes emerge. Similarly, we may view Sarah’s dance moves, especially when

freestyling, as exceeding her established ways of moving. It is here where new and unpredictable possibilities for her (sexual) body are offered.

6.4 “I’m in love with mud!”: Rough sports and the deterritorialisation of young sexual bodies

While for Sarah and Rhiannon, dance offered the potential not only for sexual pleasure, but also for the deterritorialisation of their gendered bodies, other young women spoke about how other sports for them offered similar opportunities. Again, it was especially the young women for whom such becomings emerged as significant. This may, at least in part, be attributed to the normative association between physical activity and masculinity (Young 2005). In the quote below, Courtney talks about her experiences of playing rugby with young men, and how she felt that rugby enabled her to be(come) “like a guy”:

- Courtney: I just love getting down and dirty! I just, oh, I dunno, I just love gettin’ muddy and just ahh!
- JA: You love being muddy? What’s that feeling then?
- Courtney: I dunno! [laughs] I’m in love with mud! [laughs] Mud is love! Don’t care about the boys, it’s just mud! I like all the tackling [...] I just love it yeah. [...] The acceptance of being able to do something with the guys rather than being like ‘oh, she’s a female, she can’t do this’. [...] I wanna be like a guy, I don’t wanna *be* a guy, but like I want to be *treated* like a guy; does that make sense? [...] I prefer us all to be equal.

We briefly met Courtney in chapter five, where I wrote about her use of her camera phone “to see”, and her rejection of wearing glasses. Courtney was a young woman aged 18 from a white middle-class background. She spoke about how she did not like being “girly” and how she tended to fancy young men who, by her friends, were regarded as “feminine”. She “hate[d]” that her mother “made” her wear a dress to her prom, and changed into shorts half-way through. She contended that she was “not close” to her family, and that when she was at home she liked being in her room, because there she did “not have to look good”, and could do what she wanted. She felt more comfortable around young men than she did around young women. As I noted in chapter five, while Courtney did not consider herself to be particularly

unpopular, she encountered homophobic bullying in school and was sometimes called “a lesbian” by her class mates in derogatory ways. This was upsetting for her. Courtney’s quote suggests that rugby enabled her to be “like a guy”, and to be treated in equal ways. Here her body was no longer defined primarily as “female”, and instead by what it could do. Within this process of ‘individuation’ (Manning 2013), each body’s differences, rather than its sameness with other bodies in gendered categories, came to matter. Becoming-“guy” for Courtney appeared to mean that, unlike Heather, who gave up climbing tress when she reached her teenage years, she could continue to engage in sports. Courtney asserted that “mud is love”, and that she does not “care about the boys”. More so than “boys”, mud and rugby appeared to allow her to experience joy, love, and a freedom from the gendering of her body. Just like specific clothes and dirt historically allowed Welsh women to disguise themselves as men to work in the mining pits (Renold and Ivinson 2014; Renold and Ivinson 2015), the mud appeared to (at least metaphorically) disguise Courtney’s “female” body. It offered her an escape from the sexist and homophobic commentary she experienced in her everyday life. Courtney spoke about how when she played rugby, anxieties about her appearance seemed to fade from her experience:

- Courtney: I’m very conscious about my ears, cos they’re so *big*! [laughs]
They stick out! [laughs] I won’t wear my hair up or anything, I just like to cover my ears, I’m just conscious of them.
- JA: So when did you start being conscious about them?
- Courtney: In like year six? Maybe younger? I’ve just never liked my ears. I’ve just, oh no, they’re just so *big* and they stick out and I’m just like ‘no, I wish they wouldn’t do that!’ [...] I’m always thinking about my ears.
- JA: Constantly?
- Courtney: Constantly. [...] [When I’m tackling] that’s probably the only time I don’t really care, as long as I’m having fun. [...] I think that’s the only time I don’t think about them.

While Courtney’s body language seemed tense when talking about her ears, when she spoke about rugby it was animated and joyful. This quote, together with Courtney’s body language, suggested to me that when playing rugby and being in the mud, Courtney’s body evaded the risk of being objectified. Here, Courtney seemed

to feel embodied, and instead of anxiety about her “ears”, which she “always” thinks about, she experienced pleasure and “fun”.

Rhiannon also spoke about the pleasures that registered in her body when taking part in contact sports, in which she was not expected to be “good”. She stated that when “you haven’t got grades” she “tend[s] to be able to it enjoy it more” and that if she does not “have to prove anything to anyone” she can “just enjoy it”. When “it doesn’t count for anything”, she noted, she can “just forget about everything and just be”. She noted that moving the body “just for fun” was “like being a child again”, because “you don’t have to worry about what you look like”. In certain scenarios, sports, then, appeared to allow some participants to temporarily escape the limitations that they felt came with being a young woman, as well as the seemingly almost omnipresent pressures for achievement and “being good at something”.

Young (2005) noted that, due to risks of objectification and the embodiment of these risks in the form of introverted movements, young women become limited in their capacities to achieve success in sporting activities such as throwing a ball. However, as I argued in chapter five in relation to Erin’s experiences of video games, perhaps for Courtney and Rhiannon achievement actually becomes something different here: something which we may recognise as processes of deterritorialisation.

While much of the feminist literature on women in sports has focused on the discrimination they face and the ways in which this limits their abilities to build successful careers (Hargreaves 2002), my data and my approach illustrate what (else) the sporting body can do. There is some research that highlights that some women experience sexual arousal during exercise (Herbenick and Fortenberry 2011). My data, together with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, suggests that, for some, this arousal, rather than being tied to sexuality as it is normatively understood, may be linked to the deterritorialisation of their gendered bodies.

6.4.1 “I didn’t feel dirty...it was really odd”: Bethan’s yoga-body

While for Courtney, Sarah, and Rhiannon the momentary deterritorialisation of their bodies appeared to be pleasurable, other participants spoke about how, for them, the becomings that emerged during sports could also be experienced as scary and confusing. In chapter four I discussed how during a yoga session, for Bethan, a young white Christian woman who was very concerned with cleanliness, and who usually experienced touch as “dirty”, touch became momentarily acceptable. In the lengthy quote below, Bethan speaks eloquently about how this experience emerged when she was practicing hot yoga for the first time. She also describes how in this moment, despite being “sweaty”, she no longer felt “dirty”:

Bethan: It was like hot yoga like, yeah I had an outer body experience.

JA: Yeah could you say a bit more about that? Cos that was really interesting.

Bethan: I laid there at the end. My muscles were in so much pain. I went beyond the barrier of pain, it was like white pain, I couldn't feel anything, [...] like my muscles shook and then all of a sudden they stopped [...] and I like laid on the floor at the end and she was like shut your eyes and she put music on and I went somewhere else and it was like, I was on the floor, but my mind wasn't, my body was on the floor but my mind went with the music and I was gone. I don't know where, I can't even tell you.

JA: It was omnipresent or something?

Bethan: Yeah. It was odd. [...] My mind wasn't in my body, I was elsewhere. My brain was elsewhere. It wasn't in my body.

JA: Can you describe like?

Bethan: No.

JA: I don't know, do you think it was part of the whole world or something?

Bethan: Part of the room.

JA: So it was not in your body, but part of the room?

Bethan: Yeah, yeah, yeah. With the music also, it went away with the music [...] I had no connection with my body [...] It's not making sense, like why couldn't I feel the pain anymore. [...] I woke up and I was like 'what the hell just happened'. It was nice because I'd never felt it before, but I didn't like it, because I've never felt that with my religion, so why should I feel that with a sport. [...] I'm not a Buddhist, so I didn't feel like it was for me to have that.

JA: So the moment she touched you, was that a good thing then?

Bethan: It scared me but it was like 'oh my God', it was like weird, it was like exciting, because it's like 'what just happened to me'. And what was nice as well is that I sweated, it was hot yoga, I sweated

to the point where I probably absolutely reeked but I didn't feel dirty.

JA: So that was a moment that you didn't feel dirty?

Bethan: Yeah, actually yeah. I was so hot, it was dripping off me and even laying in my own sweat at the end. I didn't feel dirty. Until we got out of the room and it was like time to go home and we're stood there with bags and stuff and I was like 'I feel gross'. [...] Like when I came back to it and got out I was like 'aw I feel horrible', like I need to go shower now like. It was funny, it was weird, I've never had anything like that before. [...] I thought about it for a minute, what had just happened, and then I felt 'oh God I'm sweating like I'm gross', like it gradually came back. For a moment, it didn't even register that I was sweating and I was dirty, it just didn't even register in my mind, so it was, it was really odd.

I have returned to this example here to illustrate how it was movement – the movement of her body through space, but also a change in the ways in which different elements assembled - which propelled Bethan to an experience in which touch became momentarily acceptable. Bethan describes how her experience emerged from pain. Pain – especially during sports - is often written about as one sight for the reproduction of masculinity (Messner and Sabo 1994; Gard and Meyenn 2000), and for Tom, the “rugby guy” I mentioned earlier in this chapter, it indeed appeared to have that function. Bethan’s example, however, illustrates how for her, together with yoga, it could also do something else: propel her to a state of transcendence, in which both touch and being “dirty” became acceptable.

It is especially Bethan’s experiences of being dirty which I would like to focus on here. In the quote, Bethan appears to express surprise that in this scenario she could sweat “to the point that [she] probably absolutely reeked”, yet not feel “dirty”. I noted in chapter four how Bethan considered herself to be obsessed with cleanliness. In addition to expressing her concern with being “clean” by bringing in hand sanitiser as one of the objects that makes her “feel good in her body” (see figure 4; chapter four), she also expressed the following:

Bethan: I've got a bit of a thing, I haven't got OCD, but I have in a non like diagnosed way, if I'm not clean I feel quite, I get quite stressed

about it. [...] When I'm clean I feel relaxed, when I'm dirty I feel horrible.

Bethan explained that her “obsession” with being clean stemmed from a social situation when she was a child in which a boy told her that she “smells”. In addition, although Bethan did not say so herself, we may speculate that her desire for cleanliness may have emerged through her robust relations with the Christian faith and church, in which women’s purity is emphasised. What is more, we may recognise Bethan’s anxieties as tied to gendered discourses which require women to be “clean”. Bethan’s childhood was, to her own accord, defined by her parent’s divorce, which she experienced as chaotic, and over which she felt she had no control. In addition, Bethan had grown up with consistent warnings from her mother, who quit her university degree when unexpectedly falling pregnant at an early age, to stay in control of her own life. For Bethan, staying “clean” may therefore also have represented a means of staying in control.

In the same way that we can think about Bethan’s rejection of touch as emerging from a sense that it is something that is out of place on her girl-body (see chapter four), for Bethan, sweat perhaps too is something which is not appropriate on her body and therefore “dirty” (Douglas 2003). Since exercise is associated with sweat, this then, perhaps, makes exercise and movement of the body untenable for her. However, in the yoga session, sweat became acceptable for her and she did not feel “gross”. Here was a moment in which the limitations of her girl-body were exceeded.

Unlike Courtney, who sought out dirt, Bethan, however, once she “came to”, felt uncomfortable. For her, being “dirty” was only acceptable when mind and body were experienced as split, and she had “no connection with [her] body”. Bethan’s girl-body appeared to be too attached to the risks of being “dirty” to allow for it. On the one hand, Bethan’s becoming “part of the room” appears to be viewed by her as a religious and spiritual experience, where her individual identity as a young woman disperses. While this becoming may be viewed as holding potential for a process of individuation, where Bethan is no longer defined by her girl-body, Bethan’s

discomfort and regret about the experience, and the sheer necessity to dissociate from a body she rarely seemed to be able to inhabit comfortably (Young 2005), also render the experience problematic. While for Bethan hot yoga allowed for a momentary change, as was the case in relation to touch (see chapter four), the risks of sweat beyond this moment remained untenable. Nonetheless the experience appeared to be significant for Bethan and offered a glimpse into – and the potential for – a different way of existing.

6.5 The reterritorialisation of the moving body

Not only were the becomings they experienced during sports scary for some young people; I noted at the beginning of this chapter how some young people felt excluded from certain sports due to their gender identity. This exclusion was sometimes condoned by the schools they attended. Courtney, for instance, noted that she was “not allowed” to play rugby in her school, where there was no girls’ rugby team. She noted how teachers had told her that she could no longer play, because she was “developing into a woman” and because she was “developing breasts”. Indeed, she had been told that if she were to play rugby, this would be dangerous for her, because if she were to be hit in the breast she could “develop breast cancer”. She expressed deep sadness about her exclusion, because she “love[d] rugby” and noted that she wishes she could “play with them rather than being like, ‘no, you can’t because you’re female’”. Similarly, a young man aged 18, Greg, talked about how he “used to play netball and that’s seen as like a female sport”. He noted that while ideally he would still like to “play it now”, when he “moved to high school”, he “just stopped”.

For some, their perceived pressure of having to perform well hindered their capacities to play sports. Rich, for instance, noted that he does not “like playing in [his] P.E. class”, because “there is some knobs”. He noted that while he “enjoy[s] playing sports with [his] friends”, in P.E. he would “just stand there”. Another participant, Deanna, noted that while she enjoys having “a kick around” with her father or some friends, she does not feel “comfortable” in P.E., because she does not “like to do it in front of the boys”. She was “worried they will laugh” or think that she

is “stupid”. For some participants, it was especially concerns with appearances and/or a risk of being objectified which appeared to limit their ability to engage in certain sporting activities. For example, Kirsty, a young woman from a white working class background who did not feel “confident with [her] body at all”, contended that she liked swimming, but that she “won't get in like a swimming costume cos people'll see [her]”. The risk of being judged also limited her capacities to dance. She noted that she experienced dancing in private as “fun”, but when “someone's around” [her] who she does “not know”, she “won't do it” because she will “feel uncomfortable”. I noted in chapter four how Erin had experienced a scenario in which a young man had refused to dance with her at a nightclub, because he considered her to be “fat”. Erin told me about a night in a nightclub when a young man told her friend that he wanted to dance with her (Erin's friend), but that his friend did not want to dance with Erin. When Erin asked the young man why he did not want to dance with her, her replied “why would I wanna dance with a fat chick like you?”. Erin told me that she locked herself in her room “for like all day” and that she “couldn't come out”, because she was “just so upset”. She contended that it “affect[s]” her “a lot”, and that she now felt like she did not want to go clubbing again. She also noted that unless she has “got enough drink in” her, she does “not really move that much”.

Sarah and Rhiannon, too, spoke about how the social sphere often hindered their capacities to dance and to experience joy in relation to it. Specifically, for Sarah the public sphere and the addition of spectators seemed to assemble to produce dance as something sexually risky. In the following quote, Sarah speaks about a dance performance she enacted in her school:

Sarah: I was dancing, and that was in front of my whole year. [...] And at the time it was like, I had loads of guys ask me out from my year after that, because they thought I was up for it. Like, you know what I mean, it was like, after that they were like, ‘oh, she must be like that’, and I was just a shy. Was just like, ‘no’!

Sarah's quote alludes to a threat in her school of her dancing body being defined by some of her classmates as “up for it” (presumably for ‘sex’). This appeared to register

in Sarah's body as discomfort. The potential for feeling "sexy", as well as "being in the moment" and her not caring about her appearances, appeared to be lost. Similarly, Sarah's idea of dancing in night clubs, and her imagined body within them, appeared to bring with it for her the risk of objectification:

Sarah: My friends are like oh you're gonna love clubbing, but I don't know if I will cos it's not the same as dancing with someone who likes dancing back cos you know where it's going. Whereas clubbing, you might be the only one liking to dance and they just like want, just have that thing in mind.

JA: Yeah so if they did have that thing in mind how would that make you feel?

Sarah: Uncomfortable. And I wouldn't want to, I wouldn't dance the same.

The thought of dancing with others who do not like "dancing back" and who "just have that thing in mind" seemed to limit Sarah's imagined future capacities for feeling "sexy", bodily pleasure and for "let[ting] go" when dancing in night clubs. She contends that it would make her feel "uncomfortable" and that she "wouldn't dance the same". It appeared as though she did not feel that in a night club she would be able to express sexual feelings in her dance, or to move freely. 'Sex', for her, appeared to stratify her body and limit its capacities. Too strong seemed to be the forces for her in her social world which defined her sexuality and her body as not belonging to her, and as being there for the potential pleasure of others. Once again, the risks of objectification for young women that Young (2005) wrote about, appeared to limit Sarah's capacities to move freely and to live a sexuality which brought her pleasure. Rhiannon also spoke about how the social sphere had the potential to limit the ways in which dance could open up new possibilities for her (sexual) body:

Rhiannon: I've been asked to dance in my leaver's assembly, but because it's in front of my year, I won't do it, because I know it would be, it's the last day of school and they'll be like 'oh, Rhiannon's big-headed'.

Rhiannon's quote suggests that "in front of [her] year" she imagines her dancing body as defined by her classmates as "big-headed", and that this stops her from dancing.

In chapter one I wrote about the moral panic over young women's 'sexualisation' prevalent in schools and wider society (Ringrose and Renold 2012), and how girls and young women in contemporary Western culture have to negotiate ambiguous cultural demands which require sexual knowingness and confidence, as well as (sexual) modesty and passivity (Ringrose and Renold 2012; Riley et al. 2010). While Rhiannon did express a desire to perform "sexy" and to be "confident" in some circumstances, within the school context a demand for modesty and passivity appeared to dominate her body, limiting her abilities to dance. Although Rhiannon did not say so herself, it appeared possible to me that this stratification of her body within the public sphere was co-constituted by Rhiannon's previous experiences of sexual violence, which produced a desire in Rhiannon to "not give the wrong signs" (see chapter four). Indeed, Rhiannon noted how she could only feel free in dance when she was spatially removed from her home and her school:

Rhiannon: I think the only place I don't [feel judged] is when I'm actually at the competition, because I know nobody else is around. Like, I go all over the country, like I go to Birmingham, I've been to like, just on the edge of Scotland, I've been literally everywhere else, because I know I'm so far away, that's when I can actually let it go.

This quote suggests that, as was the case for Sarah, within Rhiannon's regular social sphere, and in particular her school, the capacities of her dancing body were limited. As was the case for many other young women, and as I discussed in chapter four, for Rhiannon and Sarah, their potential for new ways of being (sexual) appeared to be blocked within many social spheres. Within these social spheres, 'sex' and 'sexuality' appeared to act as a stratifying and potentially limiting force. Rhiannon's and Sarah's narratives suggested that, while certain social spheres (e.g. the dance studio) allowed for new possibilities for their sexual bodies, it was school cultures in particular which hindered their becomings.

As I noted earlier, Sarah spoke about how she enjoyed dancing alone in her bedroom more than anything else. Sarah did speak about how the connection of her dancing body with music could include other people. She noted that "you're sharing

something” and that “afterwards [she’d] feel like she knows them”. She described it that it is “like your bodies are speaking” when dancing together, and that “it’s like, ‘ah, that connection’”. However, while it was common in Sarah’s experience for a sense of closeness with other people to emerge when she danced, and often this felt “sexy” to her, she noted that nonetheless her favourite time of the day was when she danced alone in her bedroom. Sarah’s experiences highlight the continued relevance of Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber’s (1976), and Sian Lincoln’s (2004; 2005; 2012; 2013), influential work on ‘bedroom culture’, which drew attention to the significance of private bedrooms as potential ‘safe spaces’ for young women, and the significance of music within this (Lincoln 2005). Sarah’s experiences illustrate how for some young women in contemporary Britain the bedroom – especially in conjunction with music - may continue to act as the primary space in which is a sense of freedom from judgement, control, and harassment is likely to emerge. However, Sarah’s and Rhiannon’s cases also extend McRobbie’s and Garber’s (1976) and Lincoln’s (2004; 2005; 2012; 2013) writings on bedroom culture, and show how, like the bedroom, spaces outside of everyday social spheres (e.g. dance studios) could also offer new possibilities for young women’s (sexual) bodies. Indeed, as I will illustrate later in this chapter, for some participants, for example Jade, dancing in public in night clubs appeared to be especially enjoyable.

6.6 Bodies in (slow) motion: Sexuality and the still body

Given that some young women appeared to feel limited in their ability to move their bodies in dance or sports, especially in public, some noted how they preferred stillness. Kirsty, for instance, who we briefly met earlier in this chapter, and who felt all but confident about her body, noted how she experienced reading within a quiet environment such as her back garden as a welcome break from the “stresses” of her everyday life. She noted how whereas in “loud environments”, she gets “quite tense”, last time she was reading a book in her back garden, she was “outside for two hours” and “didn’t even realise”. She described how she liked “being quiet”, because it is “peaceful” and “relaxing”. When Kirsty was still and, perhaps more importantly, alone, she appeared to feel freer; less “tense”. Stillness seemingly offered her

possibilities which her everyday life did not. As I noted previously in this chapter, in her interviews Kirsty talked about how she felt insecure about her body being “overweight”, and how this limited her in a culture which focuses heavily on appearances (Gill 2007; Coffey 2013). In contrast, within the stillness of her back garden, Kirsty seemed to feel less burdened by such pressures. Another young woman, Heather, who was from a strict religious background, also spoke about the pleasures she experienced when reading alone in her bedroom. She noted that she “love[s] to relax” and that sitting on her bed and “open[ing] a book” was her “favourite part of the day”. In such moments, she noted, there was “no school, no washing dishes or anything like that” and that in that scenario she “just feel[s] good”. Being from a traditional religious background in which women are customarily taught from a young age to be home makers (Mihelich and Storrs 2003), this break from chores and “washing dishes” may be especially significant.

Both Kirsty’s and Heather’s quotes suggests that (some) young women lead stressful lives. In one way, we may recognise it as tragic that they felt able to relax only when removed from the burdens of their social spheres. Kirsty, especially, in some ways almost appeared shut out from the social world. She did not enjoy school or spending time with other young people. At the same time, Kirsty’s and Heather’s experiences also illustrate how we can recognise becomings (and pleasure) in stillness. Stillness, for them, seemingly offered a welcome break from the chaos and difficulties that marked their everyday lives.

As I noted in the introduction to this chapter, for Deleuze and Guattari (1987), movement is not about individual bodies, but about the continuous movement of flows within assemblages. As we have learnt throughout this thesis, for Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987), sexuality is a source for these becomings and can be recognised everywhere: in encounters with other human bodies; in young people’s engagements with objects, the media, or technology; during sporting and dancing practices; and, indeed, when bodies are still.

One participant, Sam, who we met on several occasions throughout the empirical chapters, besides from producing a climbing video, also drew a sketch for the final phase of the research. This sketch, he noted, was of a moment in which he had sat in complete silence with his girlfriend for “a good two hours” on a “hot summer’s day” (see figure 11).



Figure 11: Sam's sketch of himself, his girlfriend Anna, and a sunset

In the image a figure “expressing [Sam’s] personality” can be seen sitting on a bench together with a figure “expressing [his girlfriend Anna’s] personality” while the sun is setting. Sam had drawn the picture at home in colour, but had repeatedly forgotten to bring it into school. He therefore offered to recreate the picture for me during our final interview. Sam contended that the moment he was trying to recreate had been significant and moving. He noted that in this moment, he and Anna “just sat down”, “doing nothing else but looking out”. He noted that they “didn’t speak” and “just looked at each other a few times”. He spoke about the wind “just gently like brushing your skin” and how “you have the sun warming you up again”. He described the feeling he had had as a “rather odd feeling, but just very, very relaxing”, and how he had paid attention to his “body reacting”. Sam likened the picture he drew, as well as the climbing videos he produced, to his sexual relationship with his girlfriend. However, he distinguished between the two in the following way:

Sam: This [picture] is closer to the affection side [of being with my girlfriend], and climbing’s more to the sexual side, the rush.

Seemingly, by creating the picture, Sam turned his focus onto the affective and connective dimension of sexuality. Sam not only lived within a capitalist Western society in which (sexual) pleasure is associated with short-lived thrills and disposable relationships (Schor 1996), he also spent much of his time with the army cadets, and his father appeared to encourage a type of masculinity in him which was centred around physical activity and having sex with women. For Sam, stillness, then, may be understood as a line of flight from his status quo. It seemed to offer him an alternative to the masculine performance and sexual pleasures he spoke about in chapters four and five, which appeared to be enmeshed with the objectification of his girlfriend Anna. Here sexuality became something else: something more akin to connectivity.

6.7 Foregrounding singularity

The examples I have discussed in the previous section suggest that still bodies can be rupturing and move youth sexual subjectivities. While still bodies have rarely featured in research using assemblage theory, there is a growing body of literature in the field of education which explores the benefits of stillness, mindfulness, and meditation for young people (Reveley 2015, 2016; Weare 2013). While commonly reported as beneficial to young people's wellbeing, not all participants seemed to experience stillness as pleasurable or as propelling them into new territories. Sarah, for instance, noted that she "hate[s] just sitting there in silence", because it makes her feel "restricted" and "bad in [her] body". She noted that even during exams she feels like get[ting] up every half an hour" in order "just to feel good". She contended that while "some people might like the silence or the calmness", she does "not like it at all". Perhaps for Sarah, her strict Christian background and her family's rejection of sexuality, produced movements as carrying more potential for rupture. The effects of stillness emerged as different for different people and dependant on the specifics of the relations within assemblages.

Similarly, as I indicated earlier in this chapter, while for Sarah, Erin and Kirsty the idea of dancing in night clubs limited their bodily capacities and their abilities for pleasure,

other participants appeared to feel free in such a scenario. Jade described this experience in the following way:

Jade: You can actually hear a bass, like pumping, you actually feel it, so every time the bass hits you can feel it in you, and the fact that it makes you want to move. And you're sharing that with other people. That's why I absolutely love clubbing, but it makes you want to move, it makes you want to express yourself.

While Sarah and some of the other participants felt restricted in her ability to dance in night clubs, Jade, who was relatively confident about her body and in her dance moves, and who "love[d] sex", experienced "clubbing" as less risky. While on the one hand Jade's quote perhaps supports other research which has pointed out that raving can create an experience for young women of freeing them from restricting gender norms which prevent them from moving (McRobbie 1993; Thornton 1994; Redhead 1997), it also reminds us how experiences of freedom and possibility always emerge through the specific conditions within assemblages, with generalisations never able to capture the complexities and multiplicities of young people's (sexual) experiences.

6.8 Conclusions

This chapter was themed around movement, especially sporting and dancing bodies. It highlighted some of those experiences that young people considered to be 'sexual', and offered sexual pleasure, but that did not emerge in scenarios which according to normative discourses are defined as 'sex' (Jackson 1996; see chapter one). Using empirical data, the chapter showed how sexuality could act as a force that limited young people's moving bodies, but also how movement sometimes allowed young people to exceed gendered/sexed limitations.

I emphasised in particular the experiences of young women in this chapter. This was not something I had decided before writing it. Indeed, the sporting body featured more heavily in the narratives of young men. However, it was young women's experiences in sports and dance which tended to emerge as 'affective hotspots' (MacLure 2013). Young women were commonly excluded from sports, but

nonetheless (or perhaps because of this), sometimes such practices opened up new and unexpected ways of be(com)ing for them. While many young women spoke about the difficulties and gendered inequalities that they experienced in their social spheres, including when having 'sex', sports and dance appeared to emerge as a line of flight for some from the gendered limitations which they experienced. For Sarah and Rhiannon, for instance, dance opened up rare possibilities to feel sexy, powerful, and/or free.

Like chapters four and five, this chapter discussed how we may think about sexuality not as tied to genitals and sexed bodies, but as something else: as intensities that emerge when bodies assemble and move each other. While for some, for example Jade, public dancing carried potential for experiences of freedom, for many young women, their bodily capacities appeared to be limited in public spheres. For others, stillness seemed to act as a means of rupturing their specific gendered status quo. The chapter emphasised how young people's experiences cannot be generalised, and how different activities may carry different rupturing potential for every young person.

My conclusions may be of interest to those working in SRE, as they suggest that activities such as dance and sports may be used to open up new ways of doing gender and sexuality for young people in the 21st Century. I will discuss the implications of my project for educational programmes in greater detail in chapter seven, where I bring together the 'findings'⁴⁸ from each of my empirical chapters.

⁴⁸ I use inverted commas here to highlight how what I reported as 'findings' is not just an attempt at a representation of young people's experiences, but also a productive expression that is always political (see chapters two and three).

Chapter Seven

Youth Sexualities Undone? Discussion and Conclusions

7.1 Introduction

“You're not in a rush to go anywhere, you're just pleasuring taking your time, just moving, taking everything in.” (Jade, aged 17)

This thesis has explored young people's experiences and sexual subjectivities as they emerged in and beyond practices normatively defined as 'sex'. I spent nine months speaking and engaging with 36 young people aged 16 to 18 from south Wales (U.K.). My project was underpinned by the argument that all too often research and discourses surrounding young sexualities focus on negative outcomes and are devoid of the experiences reported by young people themselves. In order to map the complexities of youth sexualities and open up possibilities for young people to re-imagine what sexuality may be and become, I devised a longitudinal and multi-phased qualitative research methodology that allowed young people to explore their sexualities beyond normative definitions of 'sex' (e.g. intercourse, cunnilingus, etc.; Jackson 1996; see chapter one). My methods included group interviews that incorporated a range of carefully selected objects (36 participants), individual interviews that incorporated personal 'pleasure objects' (24 participants), and arts-based methods such as collages, drawings, photography, and videos (ten participants). I used feminist appropriations of the Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts of 'affect', 'assemblage', 'becoming', territorialisation', and 'deterritorialisation' to trace some of the gendered patterns in which young people experience sexuality and pleasure, but also to map alternative figurations.

I began this thesis in chapter one with an anecdote that illustrated some of the silences surrounding young women's sexual experiences, and especially their sexual pleasures. I chose to begin this chapter with a quote from one of the young women, Jade, who took part in this research. I opted to share this quote here, because, in

many ways, it captures well the essence of my project. In the quote, Jade speaks about one of her 'sexual' experiences with her boyfriend. The quote is in stark contrast to my experience that I shared in the anecdote in chapter one. Rather than shying away from sharing experiences of pleasure, here, a young woman speaks confidently about such experiences. The quote suggests that my methods had the potential to make pleasurable experiences visible. The quote also illustrates how the research foregrounded bodily experiences and affective intensities; moments when Jade was "taking everything in". Sexuality, here, was less about specific practices, and more about embodied sensations. Finally, the quote highlights the significance for Jade's pleasures of "moving". However, rather than this pleasure or movement being goal-oriented, which is how Deleuze (2001) wrote about pleasure, Jade speaks about how she is "taking [her] time" and is "not in a rush to go anywhere". Inspired by feminist appropriations of the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1983; 1987), I have theorised such movement as 'becomings' throughout this thesis.

In this chapter I draw together my 'findings'⁴⁹ from my empirical chapters (chapters four, five, and six), as well as my methodology chapter (chapter three), and discuss them and their implications in relation to the literature on youth sexualities, as well as my research questions. I asked:

- 1) How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?
 - a. To what extent and in what ways are young people's sexual subjectivities affected by normative and gendered discourses surrounding (youth) sexuality, both in relation to sex and in relation to other practices?

⁴⁹ Again, I use inverted commas here to highlight how what I reported as 'findings' is not just an attempt at a representation of young people's experiences, but also a productive expression that is always political.

- b. To what extent and in what ways do young people's experiences exceed, affect, and move normative and gendered understandings of (youth) sexuality?
- 2) How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond 'sex', and map the complexities of young people's lived (sexual) experiences?
- 3) How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts within youth sexuality research contribute to a re-conceptualisation of the field?

The chapter is divided into four main sections. In the first three sections, I discuss my 'findings' in relation to my research questions. First, I sum up the implications of my project for how researchers and policy makers may think about youth sexualities. I then discuss the role of my methodology in allowing for the emergence of the rich data that I presented throughout the empirical chapters. In the third section, I summarise and discuss how the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts allowed me to think about youth sexualities in creative and less established ways. In the final parts of the chapter I summarise the key contributions of my research to the fields of critical sexuality studies and assemblage research, explore the potential implications of my project for educational policy and practice, and make some suggestions for future research.

7.2 How do young people communicate and express their experiences of sexuality and embodied pleasure?

In order to address research question one, I will begin by summarising the 'findings' from my empirical chapters (chapters four, five, and six). In chapters one and two, I argued that the ways in which media commentators and researchers speak and write about youth sexualities tend to imply that their audiences are clear on what they mean (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007). Commonly the focus is on those practices that are normatively defined as 'sex' (see Jackson 1996). However, this thesis

illustrated how for young people sexuality and sexual pleasure may feature not only in those practices normatively constituted as 'sex', but within a much broader range of everyday life experiences. I begin the first section of this chapter by reminding the reader of how young people communicated and expressed their experiences of 'sex' (chapter four), but also summarise the ways in which the 'more-than-human' (chapter five) and movement (chapter six) were implicated in youth sexual subjectivities. In the final parts of this section, I will bring my 'findings' from the three empirical chapters together, and explore how they assembled into a (re-imagined) youth-sexuality-assemblage. I will also explore the implications of my 'findings' for how we may think about the political potential of young people's (sexual) pleasures.

7.2.1 Young people and 'sex'

In the first of my empirical chapters (chapter four), I focused specifically on the ways in which youth sexualities emerged in encounters with others human bodies, especially those encounters normatively defined as 'sex'. Within my specific research locations, youth sexualities sometimes emerged in perhaps predictable ways that are recognisable in the dominant discourses that I discussed in chapter one. Chapter four highlighted these patterns, but also explored how young people's experiences sometimes exceeded taken-for-granted assumptions.

In chapters one and two, I discussed how dominant (heterosexual) discourses produce young women as vulnerable to the sexual exploits of young men, and how these discourses appear to be reflected in the empirical findings of feminist researchers. For example, I wrote about studies that highlight some young men's concerns with sexual status, high levels of sexual violence, and the anxieties of many young women (and some young men) about their appearances (Holland et al. 1998; Holland et al. 2000; Barter et al. 2004; Flood 2008; Barter 2009; Barter and Berridge 2011; Holford 2012; Coffey 2013).

While my project, due to its attention to affect and the body, is distinctive, in chapter four, I traced patterns in my sample that appeared to be broadly in line with these reports. Often when 'sex' was spoken about directly (for example as 'first times'), it

was conflated with heterosexual intercourse. In addition, I reported that for some participants, especially young women such as Rosie and Erin, 'sex' was dominated by their experiences of anxiety concerning their appearance, for instance their size. The affects that circulated in these encounters limited their capacities to feel free, which in turn limited their capacities for pleasure. While, as has been reported in previous research (Coffey 2013), such stories populated the narratives of young women to a greater extent, some young men, for example Mark and Sam, also spoke about their concerns about their appearances.

I also discussed in chapter four how, as has been reported in other research (e.g. Flood 2008), several young men, for example Mark, spoke about their desire to boast about their sexual exploits to their friends so as to be perceived as "manly". Mark spoke about the "peer pressure" he experiences to have sex, and to "make [his partner] scream". Some participants, most notably Rhiannon, spoke about their experiences of non-consensual 'sex'. At the same time, many participants spoke about their perception that they *should* want sex, and that they *should* experience pleasure. These narratives are reminiscent of the culturally dominant ideals of 'sex' and sexual pleasure that I discussed in chapter one (McClelland and Fine 2008).

As has been reported in much of the previous literature on youth sexualities (e.g. Holland et al. 1998), some participants contended that their sexual subjectivities were shaped by dominant discourses. For example, Casey spoke about how her longing to be neither too thin nor too fat was produced and affected by the images she encounters in magazines. Mark spoke about how his ideas about manliness, and his association of it with sexual exploits and making his partner "scream", were influenced by both his peer group and the ways in which sex is portrayed in porn. Many young women spoke about the difficulty of negotiating contradictory discourses, for example those that require them to be neither a "slut" nor a "fridge" (Casey, aged 17; also see Renold and Ringrose 2011). While young men, as well as young women, spoke about the challenges of the social world, misogynist cultures appeared to produce the social world as especially problematic for (some) young women, and for many especially so in relation to 'sex'.

I argued throughout this thesis that it is important to highlight the gendered inequalities in young people's sexual encounters, and the ways in which young sexual subjectivities are affected by dominant sexual discourses. However, a more significant contribution of my research was perhaps its focus on alternative figurations of youth sexuality, including moments of connectivity and pleasure. My project highlighted moments when young people's experiences were unexpected and even surprising; when gendered patterns became destabilised, and taken-for-granted assumptions were ruptured. As I argued in chapters one and two, making ruptures and alternative figurations visible is crucial not only to map the complexities of youth sexual subjectivities, but also to highlight and legitimise potential for change (Guattari 1992; Renold and Ringrose 2008).

While in my sample, narratives commonly pointed towards an uncontrollable male sex drive (e.g. see Holland et al. 1998), in certain moments, some participants' experiences appeared to not only subvert, but indeed exceed, such narratives. I wrote about one encounter in which Mark felt an intense connection with his partner who he said he was in love with. In this instance, he did not want to talk (or boast) to his friends about it. This, he contended, was because, in this instance, he had felt connected. He did not want to frame the experience in terms of sexual success. Another participant, Dan, spoke about a sexual encounter with his girlfriend in which he experienced an intense sensation of a heartbeat. This heartbeat and the accompanying sensations, he felt, exceeded subjective boundaries between his body and the body of his girlfriend. This experience, for him, was not framed by what sexuality *should* be for young men, or what specific practices they were engaging in. Instead, it seemed to be about the intensities he felt. Sexuality, here, was about connectivity and becoming-other.

I also found that for some young people, for example Sam and Jade, sexual practices, and the connections they felt, could seemingly free their sexual bodies from anxieties around appearances, rather than increase them, as is commonly reported in the literature (Holland et al. 1998; McClelland and Fine 2008; Harris 2008; Coffey 2013).

For some participants, the affects that registered in their bodies during sexual encounters could shape how they experienced their sexual and gendered bodies beyond the specific event. For example, the pleasures Jade experienced when having 'sex' with her boyfriend, allowed her not only to experience less anxiety about her appearance, but also to move beyond her life-long beliefs of "no sex before marriage", which had always felt limiting to her.

The emergence of lines of flight appeared to be somewhat rhizomatic, and tended to surprise participants. However, this does not mean that they were random. Gender, class, culture, and religion, in their relations with each other and other elements, all appeared to be implicated. For some bodies, there appeared to be greater possibilities than for others. For instance, I wrote in chapter four how Dan's male and white body, together with his supportive friends and family, were likely implicated in his ability to exceed (and recreate) normative representations of masculinity (e.g. see Ward 2014; 2015), and young travellers' masculine identities (Levinson and Sparkes 2003; Jensen and Ringrose 2014; Casey 2014).

For some young people, first time experiences appeared to have the potential to be especially rupturing. As I noted in chapter two, much of the qualitative literature on 'first times' in the field of youth sexualities has focused on the use of contraception (Holland et al. 1998) and negative outcomes such as regret, which are commonly reported by young women (Holland et al. 2010; Pinquart 2010). I, too, found that first time sexual encounters could be experienced in negative or ambivalent terms by young people, especially by young women. Erin, for example, spoke about her "regret" about having 'sex' with someone who she felt did not love her. However, my project also illustrated how for some - when there was a focus on affect and connectivity - the newness of first times could not only be pleasurable (as is commonly reported in research with young men; Holland et al. 2010), but also rupturing. Dan's experience of "having sex for the first time", for instance, was surprising to him, because he had not expected to feel his partner's heartbeat with such intensity. His experiences exceeded the sexual scripts that are produced within dominant discourses.

I noted in chapters one and two how much of the literature on youth sexualities has focused on risks and unwanted outcomes. Many, for instance the National Survey of Sexual Attitude and Lifestyles (Burkill et al. 2016), have used quantitative methods, for example surveys, to report factors such as the proportion of young people who have experienced unwanted sex. My 'findings' extend this literature by mapping not only some of the contradictions, ambiguities, and complexities of young people's sexual subjectivities (also see e.g. Muehlenhard and Peterson 2005), but also by highlighting how young people sometimes experience sexuality and pleasure in ways that exceed taken-for-granted assumptions.

7.2.2 Sexualities beyond 'sex': Objects, technologies, and the media

In addition to mapping becomings during those encounters normatively defined as 'sex', another important contribution of my research was to explore other, perhaps less intuitive, less expected, and more hidden ways of how young people experience sexuality and sexual pleasure. As I noted in chapter two, it is necessary for researchers to highlight these more hidden spaces if we are to grasp some of the complexities of youth sexual subjectivities at the beginning of the 21st Century (Allen 2011). In chapter five, I specifically focused on how 'more-than-human' (Lorimer 2010; 2013) elements are implicated in youth sexualities and sexual pleasures.

I noted in chapter two that in their research on the sexuality-assemblages of young men, Alldred and Fox (2015) highlighted the role of objects such as footballs and places such as night clubs in how sexual subjectivities emerge. My research adds to and expands this work because, due to my specific methodological approach, I was able to map a wide range of more-than-human (Lorimer 2010; 2013) elements in the sexual lives of young people, and explore how the affects that circulated in their engagement with them registered in their bodies. Specifically, I explored the significance of objects, technologies, and the media. Participants brought in a range of objects as their 'pleasure object' in phase two of the research. This included items that are traditionally associated with 'sex' (e.g. a condom), but also items that are not discursively associated with 'sex' in an obvious way (e.g. a rugby ball).

Many participants brought in their smart phones as their 'pleasure objects'. This gave me the opportunity to explore the role of practices as diverse as phone calls, text messages, social networking sites, music, and, music videos, in the lives of young people's sexual lives. As was the case during encounters normatively defined as 'sex', sexual bodies could emerge in coerced ways when young people were 'in-relation' (Allen 2015) with other young people via their phones or online technologies. For instance, like other researchers in the field of youth sexualities (Ringrose et al. 2012; Ringrose et al. 2013), I, too, found that some young people were negatively affected by coercive sexual text messages. As has been reported in other research (Ringrose et al. 2012; Ringrose et al. 2013), compared to young men, young women appeared to be disproportionately affected. However, for some young people, for instance Dan, using mobile technologies such as FaceTime opened up possibilities to feel connected with a sexual partner, and to experience their sexuality as shared and pleasurable.

Other participants spoke about the significance of objects such as a whip or computer games in the ways in which their sexual subjectivities emerged. Sam's narratives pointed to the capacity of a whip to allow for the emergence of a desire to be submissive during a sexual encounter, which was at odds with Sam's "manly" identity. In another example, Erin noted that while 'sex' itself brought with it anxieties about her appearance for her, writing "erotic" fan fiction based on the recent BBC series 'Sherlock', and watching the show, allowed her to experience sexual pleasure freely. Adding to the work of other sexuality researchers who have used Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (e.g. Coleman 2008; Renold and Ringrose 2016), I was able to illustrate how technology, specific objects, or the media were neither 'good' nor 'bad' (a binary which is commonly reinforced in public debates; Bragg and Buckingham 2009), but how they enabled both oppressive and rupturing experiences of sexuality and gendered bodies.

7.2.3 Youth sexuality, sports, dance, and movement

In chapter six, I highlighted the significance of sports, dance, and movement in young people's sexual lives. The themes of movement and sports emerged commonly in my

interactions with young people, especially when the focus was on pleasure. Such a focus emerged in young people's narratives, but also in some of the arts-based methods that young people engaged with, for example Sam's and Sarah's video clips.

Like other feminist researchers and writers (e.g. Young 2005; Ivinson and Renold 2013a), I found that for many young people, movement tended to be experienced in gendered ways. Several young women, for example Heather, noted that when they had entered their teenage years, they had started to feel less able to participate in physical activities, for example climbing trees. Conversely, some young men, for example Greg, spoke about their exclusion from those sports that were regarded as 'feminine'. Throughout my research, many young people framed their pleasures in terms of sports-based competition, achievement, and success.

However, some participants, especially those young women who experienced sexual cultures as difficult (e.g. Rhiannon), spoke about the ways in which practices such as dance could temporarily liberate them from the restraints that they felt in their everyday lives. Such practices allowed these young women to temporarily exceed and extend their gendered and sexual bodies, and could open up possibilities for (sexual) pleasure for them. For example, we saw how, while using methods such as structured interviews or surveys, Sarah might have been described as not sexually active, Sarah did experience sexuality and sexual pleasure when dancing (also see Austin 2016). The dance videos that Sarah produced for phases two and three of the research allowed her to express her pleasures in a non-linguistic way, and as I noted in chapter three, for Sarah, this felt more comfortable. Other young women pointed towards the deterritorialising potential of sports such as rugby. Courtney, for instance, noted that when playing rugby, she felt completely in the moment. It was these embodied moments when she felt that her body was no longer defined by its gender, and when her appearance ceased to be of significance to her.

While my research made visible some of the less intuitive, and perhaps more hidden, ways of how young people experience sexuality and sexual pleasure, this is not to say that these ways of experiencing sexuality were in no way affected by dominant

notions of youth sexuality. Sarah's dance moves, for instance, were sometimes reminiscent of dominant notions of feminine sexiness (Evans et al. 2010; Evans and Riley 2014; Austin 2016). However, given Sarah's specific Christian background, which felt limiting to her, they were also liberating. Such moments of rupture (or movements of relations within assemblages) were recognisable not only in those bodies that moved through space, but even in those bodies that were still.

By foregrounding experiences of sexual pleasure in activities such as dance, my project contributes to and expands the small body of feminist literature that emphasises sexual pleasure (e.g. Tolman and Szalacha 1999; Tolman 2002; Tolman 2006; McGeeney 2015a; McGeeney 2015b; McClelland and Fine 2008; McClelland 2010; McClelland 2011). As I noted in chapter two, this literature has tended to focus on those practices normatively defined as 'sex'. While some research has reported that young women experience sexual pleasure during sporting activities (Herbenick and Fortenberry 2011; see chapter two), my research was unique in its exploration of young people's bodily experiences within a wide range of practices. My 'findings' are not an invitation for conservative sex-negative voices to promote abstinence. Instead, I believe, the data that I shared in chapters four, five, and six legitimise a range of sexual pleasures.

7.2.4 (Re)assembling youth sexualities

In their empirical and theoretical work together, Fox and Alldred (2013; Alldred and Fox 2015) argued that sexual subjectivities may be seen to emerge from the fluctuating relations of a multitude of elements. My multiple data sets, and the concepts I used, allowed me to explore how the many practices, affects, and experiences that I mapped in each of the empirical chapters assembled. For example, we saw how Sam's relations with other people (e.g. his girlfriend Anna; his father), objects (e.g. a whip; a climbing wall), and bodily practices (e.g. climbing; army cadets) were all part of an assemblage which produced Sam's (sexual) desires and his (multiple) sexual subjectivities. The relations within this assemblage, and the desires that emerged within it, fluctuated. For example, we saw how, while Sam desired to be "manly" in his sexual relationship with his girlfriend for the majority of his

everyday life, in certain moments he emerged as submissive or focused on connection and shared experiences.

However, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, in the empirical chapters, I did not only focus on those experiences that are related to sexuality as it is normatively defined (Jackson 1996; see chapters one and two). I, together with the participants, attempted to allow youth sexuality to exceed normative definitions. The pleasures I discussed in chapters four, five, and six did not emerge merely through genital stimulation or sexual fantasy as it is commonly defined (Jackson 1996). They often seemingly emerged through the increase in possibilities for young people's (sexual) bodies. Examples such as Sarah's dance moves, Dan's experience of feeling his partner's heartbeat, or Dan's encounters with his grandmother and teddy bear, allowed me to think about sexuality not just as tied to genitals or gendered bodies, but as a productive and liberating force that exceeded gendered bodies and phallogentric desires (Deleuze and Guattari 1983; 1987; see chapter two). This understanding of sexuality as a free-floating energy, which emerges when bodies collide and connect, was also recognisable in Jade's quote with which I started this chapter. These examples highlight the potential of sexuality to become a "complex, multi-layered force that produces encounters, resonances and relations of all sorts" (Braidotti 2013: 148). While I attempted to allow sexuality to become-other without reducing its potential for what it could be, the new territory that I inevitably drew for it was defined by a focus on the bodily registration of affect, connectivity, and feminist potential.

Some young people reported bodily experiences during practices normatively defined as 'sex' that were similar to those intensities that they felt in other spheres of their lives. Dan, for instance, compared his bodily sensations during his first kiss to his encounters with a teddy bear. Perhaps most notably, however, was that a desire for status and competition seemingly featured heavily in most areas of young people's lives. Young people rarely seemed able to escape processes that produced them in terms of hierarchy. This manifested itself in competitive sports, but also in young people's anxieties surrounding their appearances, 'trophy sex', and sexual

abuse. Previous research has reported gendered power relations in sexual encounters (e.g. Holland et al. 1998), or has commented on the power that flows through schools (e.g. Paechter 2002; Allen 2011b). My project adds to this literature by suggesting that, within (hetero)sexist cultures in schools and wider capitalist social structures (Allen 2005), 'affective atmospheres' (Anderson 2009) may emerge that imbue many parts of young people's lives, including those encounters normatively defined as 'sex'. By foregrounding connectivity, my research arguably offered a line of flight for some young people. I will return to this point later in this chapter.

7.2.5 What do my data tell us about sexual pleasure?

In this final part of this section, I will summarise and discuss what my 'findings' may tell us about youth sexual pleasures. The previous parts of this chapter illustrated how within young people's sexual encounters, at times, sexual pleasures, for instance those associated with status, could territorialise sexual bodies into limiting molar formations. Sometimes sexual pleasures, for example Mark's pleasures that were associated with masculine status, reproduced gendered inequalities, hindered change, and were in this way 'life-destroying' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Renold and Ringrose 2011; see chapter two). At the same time, sexual pleasures had the potential to deterritorialise sexual bodies from the stratifications that felt so dominant to young people in their everyday lives. Such pleasures could emerge in non-hierarchical connections, could be liberating, devoid of specific goals, productive of deterritorialising movements, and could in this way be 'life-affirming' (Deleuze and Guattari 1987; Renold and Ringrose 2011; see chapter two). As I noted earlier in this chapter, pleasures that emerged within processes which deterritorialised sexuality and gendered bodies could be found not only within those practices normatively recognisable as 'sex', but in multiple spheres of young people's lives.

I do not mean to create a binary separation here. Sometimes, for example in the case of Sarah's sexual dancing (see chapter six), pleasure could reproduce gendered sexualities and be liberating at the same time. For some, for example Erin, the sensations of pleasure in sexual encounters could be enmeshed with pain or fluctuate. I wrote in chapter two how Renold and Ringrose (2011) described young

teenaged girls' subjectivities as 'schizoid'. My research adds to this finding by illustrating how pleasure itself could also be 'schizoid', with multiple norms and affects (e.g. the pleasure imperative I discussed in chapter one; potential for abuse) felt and negotiated simultaneously.

For some young people, pleasures that felt embodied and connected, for example the pleasures that Dan spoke about when connecting with his girlfriend in the heartbeat-assemblage, appeared to have the greatest rupturing potential. For young women such as Jade, who due to her strict Christian background felt denied the right for sexual pleasure, pleasure could be experienced as rupturing in its own right.

As I noted in chapter two, Deleuze (2004a; also see Beckman 2013) rejected the political potential of pleasure, arguing that while desire gets us to places (Probyn 1995) and joy is associated with increased capacities (Deleuze and Parnet 2007), pleasure acts as an experiential endpoint and therefore disrupts desire and its productivity. My project perhaps offers a different picture. In some instances, individualised sexual pleasures were associated with power and abuse, and reproduced the status quo. However, pleasure could also (often simultaneously) be deterritorialising and bring with it a sense of freedom. The research therefore supports, and contributes to, longstanding debates within the feminist literature which argue for the political relevance of sexual pleasure for young people (e.g. see Fine and McClelland 2006a; Allen et al. 2014; see chapter one).

7.3 Methodological possibilities and limitations

In chapter two I wrote that while several feminist researchers (e.g. Holland et al. 1998; Tolman 2002; McGeeney 2013) have explored young people's experiences of sexuality and sexual pleasure, most have drawn on discursive or psychological approaches. McClelland and Fine (2008) have argued that these studies have been limited in allowing for the emergence of experiences that exceed dominant discourses of youth sexuality, especially those of pleasure. What is more, as I noted in chapters two and three, while there have been significant developments in

theoretical Deleuzo-Guattarian research on sexualities (e.g. Beckman 2011; Beckman 2013; Fox and Alldred 2013), methodological developments have been argued to lag behind theoretical ones (Lorimer 2013). By developing an innovative methodological approach, my project contributes not only to the empirical literature on youth sexualities, but also to the methodological literature.

In this part of the chapter I will discuss the capacities and limitations of my methodology, and specifically address research question two: **“How can research methodologies overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, open up sexuality beyond ‘sex’, and map the complexities of young people's lived (sexual) experiences?”**. In order to do so, I summarise my ‘findings’ from chapter three (methodology chapter), but also draw on the three empirical chapters (chapters four, five, and six). I pay special attention to the capacities and limitations of my approach to map affect, bodily experiences, complexities, and multiplicity.

7.3.1 Mapping affect, bodily experiences, and complexities

My focus on affect and the body was arguably significant to my ability to overcome the mere reproduction of dominant sexual discourses, and to map complexity and alternative figurations of youth sexualities. The desire to map the complexities of experiences is integral to the critical social sciences, especially in contemporary Western society, where contradictory discourses and ‘schizoid subjectivities’ (Braidotti 2006; Renold and Ringrose 2011) have been theorised to be the status quo. Social life is within such a framework considered to be too overflowing with multiple and fluid determinations of subjects and structures to make fixed categories anything but simplifying social fictions that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences (DeLanda 2006). It is this desire for the acknowledgement of complexity, and the observation that purely discursive approaches are limited in accounting for such complexity (see chapter two), which has inspired a new generation of social researchers who focus on bodily experiences and affect, and who use feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (see chapter two). My research was located within this growing body of work.

As I argued in chapters two and three, many scholars have commented on the difficulties associated with exploring embodied experiences using linguistic methods such as interviews (e.g. Grosz 1994; Blackman et al. 2008; McClelland and Fine 2008; Leavy 2015; Reavey 2012). Indeed, scholars who may be viewed as part of the ‘affective turn’ (e.g. Blackman et al. 2008; Grosz 1994; Braidotti 2013) have argued that bodily experiences exceed the discursive, and can never be captured fully using language or, for that matter, any other means of representation. While language may express an experience and in this way produce further affects, it can never fully represent it (Deleuze 2004c).

Nonetheless, my research relied greatly on linguistic interview data. This was in part a result of the linguistic format of the thesis, but also likely related to my personal academic background in psychology and person-centred counselling. Moreover, my research questions and the conventional format of a social science thesis pushed me to treat my data interpretively, in addition to viewing it as productive⁵⁰.

The difficulty (or perhaps the impossibility) of exploring bodily experiences using linguistic means was evident throughout my empirical chapters. When I asked participants to describe certain bodily sensations, I often heard sentences such as “I don’t know how to describe it” (Rich, aged 16). Often participants used sounds such as “boomph” (Dan, aged 16) to express how they felt (see chapter four). Some participants noted that they had made efforts to “get across” a certain image of themselves (Rosie, aged 16; also see Hollway and Jefferson 2000).

Despite the difficulties to communicate and express bodily experiences in words, chapters four, five, and six illustrated that my methodological approach allowed for the emergence of rich interview data that seemed to express specific bodily experiences. Many of the nuances in young people’s experiences emerged after I had

⁵⁰ It is worth reminding the reader that, as Colebrook (2002) and others have pointed out, thinking about subjectivity and research as processual rather than fixed and interpretively is immensely difficult, as it is not the norm in contemporary Western society.

asked them specific questions about bodily sensations, such as “what did it feel like in your body when you were kissing?”.

We saw throughout my empirical chapters how for some participants (but not all of them), the carefully selected objects that were included in the group discussions, as well as the ‘pleasure objects’ included in the individual interviews, seemingly had the power to evoke ‘affective atmospheres’ (Anderson 2009) and narratives that emphasised pleasure. Moreover, my empirical chapters illustrated how the inclusion of an eclectic range of objects allowed me to explore young people’s sexual subjectivities and pleasures beyond normative formations of ‘sex’. Mark’s experiences of “bang[ing]” his teddy, for instance, likely only emerged due to the inclusion of a teddy bear in the group discussions.

In addition to using interviews and objects, I offered participants a range of artistic means to express their experiences. As I argued in relation to interview data, my research questions, and the nature of doctoral study in the social sciences, forced me to treat arts-based data not only as an expression, but also in an interpretive way, and to represent it using language. My thesis suggested that for some participants (although not for others), for example Sarah, arts-based methods were more suited than interviews to express intangible aspects of their sexual lives. Similar findings have been reported in other studies, including those situated in the fields of phenomenology and psychosocial studies (Alfonso et al. 2004; Mizen 2005; Coleman 2008; Del Busso and Reavey 2013; Mannay 2010; Mannay 2013; Leavy 2015; Rose 2016).

However, the ability of my research to map experiences that exceeded taken-for-granted assumptions, and that highlighted complexity, was not only facilitated by the methods that I used, but was also enabled by the concepts that I worked with. Indeed, my methods were devised with these concepts in mind. Combining my methods with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts offered me ways of engaging with my data that is unique in the literature on youth sexual pleasures. Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, especially those of ‘assemblage’, ‘becoming’ and ‘deterritorialisation’, allowed me to

recognise movement and multiplicity in the experiences that young people conveyed. This meant that I could recognise certain experiences, for example Sarah's sexual and pleasurable experiences of dance, as liberating, as well as stratifying. Combining Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts with my specific methods enabled me to view participants' sexual bodies not only as capable of exceeding normative definitions of sexuality, but also as part of multiple assemblages, with multiple affective capacities.

As I argued in chapters two and three, within a Deleuzo-Guattarian approach, affect does not emerge within bodies, but circulates in assemblages and may flow through bodies (Braidotti 2013). I therefore not only listened to the words that participants used, but also paid attention to the affects that registered in my own body within research-assemblages (MacLure 2013; Ringrose and Renold 2014). In this way, I was, for instance, able to sense pride when Sam spoke about his 'sexual' encounters with his girlfriend, and these sensations were in line with Sam's verbal descriptions⁵¹ (see chapter five). Certain data, for example Sarah's sexual pleasures when talking about dance, and indeed certain participants (e.g. Dan), emerged as 'affective hotspots' (MacLure 2013) and re-emerged throughout my thesis. Other participants were largely absent from this thesis. Participants such as Nicola, who seemingly did not feel comfortable in a formal research setting, did not connect with my approach. In other words, although my methodology worked well for some, including participants who were initially hesitant about participating in research defined as sexuality research (e.g. Casey, Sarah), others were excluded.

While some researchers inspired by Deleuzo-Guattarian philosophy have laid emphasis particularly on the non-human (rather than the 'more-than-human'; e.g. Alldred and Fox 2015), the capacities of my research to map youth sexualities arguably owed much not only to my explicitly articulated commitment to be inclusive, but also to the prioritisation of participants' agendas (i.e. 'you decide what's

⁵¹ The fact that Sam confirmed what I sensed is important as my own interpretations may not always necessarily be in line with those of the participants. Indeed, as I noted in chapter two, Braidotti (1994) has noted that the ways in which affects register in bodies is complicated and not necessarily straightforward.

important'; also see Hirst 2004). This included offering participants a variety of methodological options for their engagement with the research. Although one (perhaps inevitable) limitation of my research was that some participants felt uncomfortable with the methods that I used, my empirical chapters illustrated just how enthusiastically many young people participated. For many participants, the research appeared to produce joy, a sense of being heard, lingering attention to bodily experiences, and the possibility to (re)imagine sexuality in their own terms. Given the assumption that experiences are not stable, static, and objectivity observable (Coleman and Ringrose 2013; see chapter three), and that we may always view research as political (Law 2004), effects such as these are perhaps some of the most important contributions of my research (together with its methodological contributions to assemblage research).

My 'findings' suggests that the research, with its broad approach, had the capacity to affect young people's lives in relation to 'sex' and beyond. Sarah, for instance, noted that the research had affected and increased her expectations for both her future sexual relationships and her future career choices. Given the potential impact of my research on multiple spheres of young people's lives, the capacities of my research are relevant to the growing body of work on 'thick desire' (Fine and McClelland 2006a; McClelland and Fine 2014). As I noted in chapter two, 'thick desire' refers to a sense of entitlement to a broad range of yearnings (Fine and McClelland 2006a; McClelland and Fine 2014; see chapter two). Fine and McClelland (2006a) argue that in order to increase young women's sexual wellbeing, young women may be encouraged to express and embody desire more generally. My thesis, for example its impact on Sarah, suggests that my methodology had the capacity to do so. For some young people, it seemingly offered a line of flight from molar formations of gender and sexuality. By conceptualising sexuality and desire as everywhere, my project offered a way into studying 'thick desire' without creating binary distinctions between different forms of desires (e.g. sexual desire; desire for sexual and productive freedom; desire for meaningful intellectual, political and social engagement; desire for the possibility of financial independence), and without individualising such desire. Instead, 'thick desire' may here be understood as

emerging though complex assemblages, and defined as the capacity to become-other.

An additional contribution of my project was the inclusion of art work, as well as images of participants' pleasure objects, in this thesis. This is because it offered the reader the opportunity to connect with young people's expression of pleasure in a non-linguistic way (also see Alhadeff 2011). As Deleuze (as cited in Beckman 2011) noted, different ways of seeing offer different ways of thinking. Art work such as Sarah's dance videos, for instance, in combination with Deleuzo-Guattarian theory, opened up possibilities to think outside of the boundaries of normative definitions of sexuality (Hickey-Moody 2013; Perry and Medina 2015). The inclusion of photographs of pleasure objects in chapter five allowed sexuality to emerge as an assemblage that included items that are normatively associated with 'sex' (e.g. condoms), but also items that are not associated with 'sex' in an obvious way (e.g. a rugby ball; a fake tooth). In this way, the inclusion of this data allowed the reader to think about youth sexualities in creative ways that exceed normative discourses.

7.3.2 Mapping multiplicity

The section above indicates that each of the different phases of data production brought something unique to the research. The group discussions, whilst foregrounding pleasure, were often dominated by generalised narratives relating to young people's sexualities. They often featured participants' accounts of what young people tend to do (e.g. whether masturbation is 'normal'). The individual interviews much more commonly featured rich narratives in which young people described their experiences of sexuality and pleasure: their discursive constructions and linguistic expressions of bodily sensations. The creative art work that participants produced in the final phase offered non-linguistic expressions of bodily pleasure and sexuality. Sometimes the different means of expression appeared to complement each other, at other times, for example when Mark spoke about condoms, they seemed to contradict each other.

Assembling the data for a single participant, and thinking with assemblage-theory, allowed me to explore how, for them, certain scenarios opened up possibilities for bodily pleasure, while others closed such possibilities down. Earlier in this chapter I used Sam as an example to illustrate the ways in which youth sexualities were produced in assemblages that included multiple relations. Since Sam and I met five times, and Sam engaged with a variety of methods, a vast amount of data was produced that related to a range of bodily practices. I discussed some of these in each of the empirical chapters. In bringing this data from different modalities together, I was able to glimpse some of the ways in which Sam's subjectivity, including his sexual subjectivity, seemingly fluctuated across different assemblages.

For example, Sam's climbing videos, and the ways in which he talked about his body when watching the videos, pointed towards a longing to be "manly" and "dominant". At the same time, in his in-depth interviews, Sam spoke in detail about how he enjoyed being "submissive" when being sexual with his girlfriend. He also stated that in brief moments this could "switch". Sam's desires for domination and subjugation appeared to emerge within an assemblage that comprised wider gendered and sexual discourses, the gendered views and strict character of his father, and his involvement in the army cadets. However, depending on the specificity of assemblages, his body could emerge as dominant or submissive. While the arts-based methods highlighted Sam's gendered experiences of being "dominant", the in-depth interviews allowed me to map the complicated interplay of his experiences of domination and subjugation within practices normatively defined as 'sex'. My multi-phase approach, my use of assemblage-theory, the variety of methods that I used, and Sam's productive relationship with them, appeared to be crucial in mapping some of the complexities of Sam's experiences.

While the methods worked differently for each participant, and excluded some, in bringing together the transcripts of all participants, I was able to trace gendered patterns in experiences, as well as pay attention to lines of flight (also see Fox and Allred 2013; Wetherell 2012). My methodological findings address McClelland and Fine's (2008) call for the development of "methodological release points" (p.232):

methods which help us to elucidate those experiences which tend to be unspoken. Although, given the school-setting of my research, the relations that emerged were inevitably limited, I illustrated not only that object interviews and participatory arts-based methods could serve as an enjoyable and productive means to map bodily experiences with young people, but that combining these methods with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts opened up creative ways of thinking about youth sexualities.

7.4 How can the use of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts allow for a reconceptualisation of the field?

In this section of the chapter, I will address my final research question. Specifically, I will expand on my discussion of how the use of feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, and their theory of sexuality, allowed me (us?) to think youth sexualities differently.

7.4.1 Mapping rupture and alternative figurations of youth sexuality

In chapter three I illustrated how when we think with Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, the focus shifts somewhat from what an event or encounter *is* or *means* (as is the case in discursive approaches), and towards what it can *do*. The previous sections in this chapter, as well as my empirical chapters, highlighted that rendering visible alternative figurations of youth sexualities was in part enabled by the concepts that I used. Specifically, the concepts of ‘becoming’, ‘assemblage’, territorialisation’ and ‘deterritorialisation’ enabled me to think about the productive capacities of events. This is not to say that I did not think about events interpretively. My empirical chapters, as well as the first part of this chapter, illustrated that I continued to do so. However, my project shifted the focus of how we think about youth sexualities towards something more fluid, more creative, and less fixed.

Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (in combinations with my specific methods), then, unlike a discursive or psychological approach (see chapter two), enabled me to explore possibilities of rupture and change. These potentialities for a different kind of sexuality, and different ways of being and becoming young women and men, were

highlighted throughout my empirical chapters. They were recognisable during those encounters normatively defined as 'sex', but also when young people engaged with technologies, objects, and the media, and when bodies danced or played sports. As I argued previously in this chapter, the emphasis on these lines of flight and alternative figurations of youth sexuality were one the greatest contributions of my research to the (mainly psychological and discursive) feminist literature on youth sexualities and sexual pleasure.

7.4.2 Rethinking youth sexualities

In chapter two I wrote how in recent years sexuality researchers who use feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts have worked towards re-assembling and re-imaging desire and sexuality, often with adults, children, or young teenagers (Lambevski 2005; Blaise 2013; Renold and Ivinson 2014; Renold and Ivinson 2015). I noted throughout this thesis that my project contributed to this emergent body of work by exploring how sexuality and sexual pleasure could be re-imagined by and with young people. As I noted earlier in this chapter, my empirical chapters illustrated how by highlighting rupture, and opening up sexuality beyond 'sex' as it is normatively defined, I was able to map youth sexualities in ways that sometimes exceeded taken-for-granted assumptions. In addition, using a Deleuzo-Guattarian theory of sexuality, I was able to point towards encounters in which we could recognise a sexuality that was no longer tied to genitals or sexed bodies, but which became a productive force (Braidotti 2013). I summarised some examples earlier in this chapter: Jade's encounter with her boyfriend; Sarah's experiences of dance and music; Dan's experience of his partner's heartbeat, and his encounters with his grandmother and his teddy bear.

Due to my focus on affect and bodily experiences, sexuality became about intensities that young people could feel. Here the focus was not on what a practice *was* (e.g. a kiss being defined as sexual), but on what it *felt like*. Sexuality was no longer tied to gendered bodies and phallogentric desire, but was about affect, connectivity, and productivity. My specific use of feminist appropriations of the Deleuzo-Guattarian concept of 'affect' (Braidotti 2013; see chapter two) meant that I could understand

experiences not as individualised or in terms of pathologies (e.g. Papadopoulos 2010), but as relational. While Deleuzo-Guattarian theory has often been criticised for being disembodied (as cited in Beckman 2013; see chapter two), my use of feminist appropriations of this concept meant that I could focus on how these affects were felt in young people's bodies. This, in turn, meant that I could map how the social manifests itself in young people's lived experiences (Braidotti 2013).

While, within a Deleuzo-Guattarian framework, sexuality is considered to be everywhere, I focused especially on those becomings in which productive energies were implicated in diversions from dominant notions of gender and sexuality. These becomings, for example Courtney's experiences of rugby, may be described as 'queer'. However, in dialogue with some recent queer theorising of young sexualities (e.g. Renold and Ivinson 2015), the notion of 'queer' does here not relate to sexual identities or to binaries that define sexual practices as normative or non-normative. Rather, this notion of 'queer' may be viewed as referring to alternative ways of connecting that extend sexualities beyond Oedipal and identitarian frames. My project makes only a small contribution to a movement that asks how youth sexualities may be thought differently. However, I agree with Guattari (1992) that these small steps are nonetheless important, because they may add up to produce real and sustained change.

7.4.3 Re-imagined sexualities: What is lost and what is gained?

In addition to its feminist potential, there are, however, also some potentially problematic consequences of opening up sexuality beyond normative definitions of 'sex'. Like any event, effects may be somewhat rhizomatic and multiple, and not always only in the spirit of feminism.

First, rendering visible some of the more hidden spaces of where young people experience sexuality, may be viewed not only as giving young people a 'voice' (Grover 2004), but also as a means of surveillance (Giroux 2015). Dan spoke directly about his concerns that his "weird" experiences with his grandmother and his teddy bear would be territorialised in one way or another. By sharing young people's experiences of

sexuality within dance, or when ‘in-relation’ (Allen 2015) with technologies, some of their freedom, and their capacities to experience sexuality outside of the gaze of adults, may be lost.

In addition, it is worth noting that by rendering visible the more hidden spaces of youth sexuality, there is a risk that these may be co-opted to produce new (compulsory) scripts for young people. I discussed in chapters one and two, how certain pleasures, for instance orgasm, have become normative within some sexual discourses (Lamb 2014). We saw in chapter four how this created a sense of pressure for some young people. By creating new discourses about youth sexualities in this thesis (e.g. linking sexuality with connectivity), new scripts may be created, which then become normative. This may add to the pressures that some young people already feel in relation to sexuality. What is more, we saw in chapter four how, for Dan, the pleasure that emerged when he focused on connectivity with his partner, partially emerged due to its unexpectedness. Once he came to expect this strong sense of connectivity, he was left wanting. For these reasons, it is of utmost importance to view this thesis not as a generator of new sexual scripts, but rather as an invitation to think about youth sexuality open-mindedly, and to allow it to continue to move.

While exploring sexuality in Deleuzo-Guattarian terms in this thesis allowed me to open up the ways in which I thought about youth sexualities, it meant that everything had the potential to be sexualised (Beckman 2011). I argued throughout this thesis that rethinking sexuality as untied from ‘sex’ may be useful for feminist purposes, because it allows us to exceed the division of sexed bodies and patriarchal notions of sexuality (also see Beckman 2011; Beckman 2013). Indeed, in my research, I found that detaching sexuality from ‘sex’ may in some ways be comforting for some young people. Sarah, for example, was delighted to take part in sexuality research that was not limited to ‘sex’.

However, I noted in chapter four how for some participants, for example Bethan, experiences became more pleasurable when they were not defined as ‘sex’. While

detaching sexuality from 'sex' may be comforting for young women such as Bethan on one level, on another level, defining everything as 'sexual' may also make them feel uncomfortable and reduce their capacities for pleasure. In addition, Dan's example of his experiences with his grandmother highlighted the potential for the territorialisation of experiences that are named as 'sexual' by a paedophilic assemblage.

Conversely, given how some young people, for example Jade or Sarah, felt denied that which has normatively defined as 'sexual' pleasure, it is important to note how the construct of 'sex' may for many remain politically relevant. It may be problematic for young women, in particular, to exceed a focus on normative sexual practices (e.g. orgasm, masturbation) while these experiences are not considered entirely legitimate for them (see chapters one, two, three, and four; also see Braidotti 2013). Throughout my thesis, we saw how for many, for example Jade, who was from a strict Christian background, 'sex' as it is normatively defined had the potential to be both pleasurable and rupturing.

Several participants stated that connecting with other people was what constituted the most satisfying experiences for them, as Rich put it, they were "special". While my project has shown that foregrounding the 'more-than-human' (Lorimer 2013) in sexuality research may be rupturing and highlight hidden formations of youth sexuality, my data also serves as a powerful reminder of the significance of 'human touch' in the sexual lives of (some) young people (Weinstone 2004). I take inspiration from Weinstone (2004) in suggesting that if we are to work towards the betterment of young people's lives, this special status of the human for many needs to be kept in mind, including when working with (posthumanist) Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts.

7.5 Key contributions and implications for policy and practice

7.5.1 Contributions to the field of critical sexuality studies

The previous sections of this chapter hint at how my thesis contributes to multiple bodies of literature. I noted throughout this thesis that I situated my research within critical sexuality studies (McClelland and Fahs 2016). I argued in chapters one and two that much of the literature which may be viewed as part of this body of work, for example the work of Fine, McClelland, and Tolman, has concerned itself with the exploration of marginalised sexualities, especially the sexualities of young women. I have contributed to this research by making visible a wide range of young women's and young men's experiences of sexuality. Through using an innovative methodology, including the opening up of sexuality beyond 'sex', my research was able to make visible some pleasures which were understood as *sexual* pleasure by participants, but which are rarely spoken about. However, my research, and especially my 'finding' that masturbation and orgasms were rarely mentioned by young women, suggests that for young women pleasure continues to be contentious and marginalised, at least in research settings.

I argued in chapter two that much of the research in the field of critical sexuality studies has used normative definitions of sexuality and that it has therefore been limited in moving away from dominant sexual discourses and in mapping 'alternative formations' (Braidotti 1994) of sexuality. As I have noted throughout this chapter, in my thesis I have opened up sexuality beyond conventional conceptualisations. Inspired by the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, I conceptualised sexuality as having the potential to become a free-floating energy which is inherent in all becomings and connections, and which is entangled with Deleuzo-Guattarian productive desire. Therefore, my research has contributed to the field of critical sexuality studies not only because I have explored youth sexualities in unconventional spaces and because I have foregrounded pleasure, which often continues to be silenced in discourses surrounding young women's sexualities, but also because I have taken a critical approach to how we think about sexuality more

generally. In addition to focusing on abject sexual bodies and taking a critical stance towards heteronormativity, McClelland and Fahs (2016) see conceptual analysis as one of the key components of critical sexuality studies. By questioning what we may mean by sexuality, and by creating a space for it to become-other, my research offers a significant contribution to the field.

7.5.2 Contributions to assemblage research and new materialism methodologies

In addition to contributing the field of critical sexuality studies, my research may also be viewed as making a contribution to assemblage research and new materialism methodologies. Indeed, my project may be viewed as bringing all of these fields together. My research has made visible the multiple elements which come together to make viable and limit the possibilities of young sexual bodies. However, perhaps the more significant contribution of my project to assemblage research is methodological. I noted in chapters two and three, and earlier in this chapter, how methodological innovations within assemblage theory may be viewed to lag theoretical developments (Lorimer 2013). Through exploring an innovative methodology, which combined Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts with object interviews and arts-based methods, my project may be viewed as offering input into methodological debates which focus on how researchers can explore the multiplicities, ruptures, and movements inherent to assemblages.

In chapters two and three I wrote about other research which has combined assemblage theory with (creative) research methodologies. I wrote about researchers who have used traditional interviews in sexuality assemblage research (Fox and Alldred), and researchers who have used digital tools (e.g. Martin and Strom 2017) and videos (Mulcahy 2012) in educational assemblage research to explore how teaching practices are assemblages that are defined by multiplicities and rhizomatic processes. I wrote how some researchers have combined Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts with methods such as walking tours and dance (e.g. Ivinson and Renold 2013a), media images (e.g. Coleman 2008), and video production (e.g. MacLure et al. 2010). While it has been argued that object interviews may be viewed as Deleuzian spaces (Nordstrom 2013), only few researchers have used them in combination with

Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts (e.g. Nordstrom 2013).

Inspired by Deleuzian sexuality researchers, as well as new materialists (e.g. Bennett 2004, Hultman and Taguchi 2010), my project brought together methods which focused on movement (e.g. dance), but also methods which emphasised participants' relationships with objects. My thesis illustrates how, using a combination of object interviews and arts-based methods, I was able to get at some of the complexities and multiplicities of young people's experiences, as well as at the more hidden spaces in which they experience sexuality. Building on Bennett's (2004) assertion that objects carry affect, I was able to explore how affects emerged when participants assembled with objects, as well as when they assembled with their artistic creations. Overall then, my project shows how combining multiple innovative methodological and theoretical tools (e.g. object interviews, art-based methods, new materialism, Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts) allowed me to map many of the elements, relations and intricacies of assemblages, including those relating to discourses, practices and object relations. These methodological 'findings' are bound to be of interest to other researchers working with assemblage theory in the field of youth sexuality and beyond.

7.5.3 Implication for policy and practice, and further research

In the final section of this chapter, I offer some thoughts on how my 'findings' may be useful to those working with young people in the field of SRE. While I did not situate my project within the educational or policy-based literature, but instead within the field of critical sexuality studies (Fahs and McClelland 2016; see chapters one and two), the substantive and methodological contributions of my research have obvious implications for policy makers and practitioners. Given that SRE was not my main focus in this project, my suggestions are initial reflections, which would ideally be explored in more detail in future research. I also make some other suggestions for further research.

7.5.3.1 Implications for sex education policy and practice

I argued in chapter one that the recent Welsh policy developments on SRE, for example the 'Violence Against Women, Domestic Abuse, and Sexual Violence (Wales) Bill' (VAWDASV; Welsh Government 2015), the 'Successful Futures' report (Donaldson 2015) and the AGENDA project (Renold 2016), offer some real potential for feminist research such as mine to influence future SRE. However, despite these policy developments, and the repeated request by young people for a comprehensive sexuality education that is relevant to their lives and that focuses on pleasure (e.g. Allen 2011a), currently it is still the case that only the discussion of biological reproduction is mandatory in SRE (Department of Education 2000; Welsh Assembly Government 2010). Consequentially, reproductive and phallogocentric definitions of 'sex', as well as discourses that emphasise risk, continue to be reproduced in SRE programmes and science classes (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998, Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Fine and McClelland 2006; Allen 2011a; Ingham 2014; Hirst 2014). I noted in chapter one how when pleasure is mentioned in SRE, it is commonly done so in normalising ways, for example that it is 'normal' to enjoy certain sexual practices (Brick and Taverner 2001).

However, while it is important to highlight oppressed knowledges (e.g. the location of the clitoris), my project illustrated that, far from being limited to a small set of practices, young people experience sexuality and (sexual) pleasure in many realms, and in many different ways. For instance, for young women such as Sarah, sexuality is to a large extent about dancing. Others, for example Mark and Dan, commented on the significance of technologies and media such as smart phones, porn, and FaceTime in their sexual lives. While some young people, for example Jade, enjoyed sexual encounters immensely, others, for example Rhiannon, spoke about her ambiguities around 'sex'. In order to be relevant to the lives of young people, the variety of places and ways in which young people experiences sexuality and sexual pleasure must be taken into account in school-based programmes.

My research demonstrated how, given a platform, many young people discuss sexual relationships reflectively, thoughtfully, and enthusiastically. The focus on bodily

experiences was welcomed by many young people. Sam, for instance, was excited that he had been encouraged by the research to pay attention to bodily sensations, and noted that this would likely carry forward to his everyday life, including his relationship with his girlfriend Anna. Sarah noted that the research had made her consider what she “wants”, and what is acceptable to her, in a romantic relationship. The success of this relational format and my focus on specific bodily experiences (albeit in small groups and on a one-on-one basis) may be of interest to those educators working in SRE.

Moreover, while the focus in SRE is commonly on negative outcomes such as unintended pregnancies and STIs, and intimate partner violence (Harrison et al. 1996; Holland et al. 1998, Kiely 2005; Rasmussen et al. 2004; Fine and McClelland 2006; Allen 2011a; Ingham 2014; Hirst 2014), my project illustrated that by emphasising pleasure, narratives of both pleasure and pain emerged. In this way, it illustrated how pleasure offered a way into talking with young people about sexuality (including sexual violence) in nuanced ways. This may be of interest not only to sexuality educators, but also those working in the counselling professions.

7.5.3.2 Broadening sexuality education beyond ‘sex’

My ‘findings’ may also be relevant for educators who think about sexuality education beyond traditional language-based SRE pedagogies. As I noted in chapter one, in their work on sexuality education, Allred and Fox (2017) have pointed out that effective sexualities education should foster the de-territorialisation of sexual bodies. My research has shown that such deterritorialisation can occur in many spheres. I found that the affects that circulate in sexual encounters are not necessarily separate from other parts of young people lives. Desires for gendered status and competition, for instance, appeared to create ‘affective atmospheres’ (Anderson 2009) for many young people’s lives that were noticeable not only in those encounters normatively defined as ‘sex’, but also in other part of young people’s lives, for example sports. I found that activities as varied as rugby, dance, and even stillness could offer a line of flight for young people’s sexual bodies.

These 'findings' point towards the potential for a sexuality education that is not language-based, but that incorporates activities which may foster the deterritorialisation of sexual bodies in other ways, for example dance. As I noted in chapter one, several writers and researchers have already made suggestions as to what such a sexuality education may look like. Quinlivan (2014), for instance, has suggested the inclusion of artistic forms of expression, especially those that emphasise bodily pleasure, into SRE. Practices such as painting, she argues, provides a context where there are no 'right' answers. Renold (2017) has also explored the use of art to communicate and raise awareness of sexual violence. Specifically, Renold (2017) worked with young women to change the meaning of those objects used for sexual violence such as rulers which are used to lift girls' skirts, for instance by using them to make warrior skirts.

Moreover, the 'Under Pressure?' case study in the new resource 'AGENDA: A Young People's Guide to Making Positive Relationships Matter' explores a six week project in which Year 11 students collaborated with a choreographer, a digital story maker and Professor Renold to explore coercion and control through movement, sound, and a glitch-art app (Renold 2016; <https://vimeo.com/166068771>). This case study builds upon the work of Renold and Ivinson (Renold 2014), who have been collaborating with a choreographer to support young people in schools to move freely and to deterritorialise their bodies from gendered oppressive flows which can limit their movement and expression. Similarly to my argument in chapter six, Renold (2014) argues that dance, with the help of a moderator, may allow young people to explore movements that they normally feel unable to engage with, and, in this way, allow for new body movement repertoires that shift, if only momentarily, away from the normative. However, as I noted in chapter one, while mindfulness and stillness are now taught in some schools (Crane, Jandric, Barnhofer, and Williams 2010), perhaps in part because it is considered compatible with the bodily control pervasive in schools (Youdell and Armstrong 2011), such movement exercises are rarely regarded as educational tools outside of physical education or drama classes.

I discussed previously in this chapter that many participants noted that their attention to affect and bodily experiences produced in the research setting carried forward to their everyday life, including their sexual relationships. Creating atmospheres in SRE with young people that allow for the communication of consent may for some also carry forward to other relationships, including those that are considered to be sexual. I noted in chapter one that some researchers have already focused on the ways in which capacities to communicate consent in sexual situations may be viewed as emerging in encounters that are not normatively defined as sexual. Holford et al. (2013), for example, have explored pedagogical practices which provide children with safe spaces to hold, stroke and embrace each other, or themselves, with material objects with the aim of providing them with the discursive repertoires to communicate what does and does not feel good on their bodies. Similarly, Justin Hancock (2014) has suggested the use of a handshake to practice to communicate what feels good on the body.

Of course, given that sexual violence may be seen as part of a wider culture which encourages gendered hierarchy and competition, ideally designated SRE classes would be part of a 'whole school approach' (Weare 2000). While McGeeney (2013) has pointed out that many teachers are interested in experimenting with new ways of doing SRE, Wetherell (2012) argues that specific educational practices require background conditions in which these practices are recognised, endorsed, and passed on. Katherine Weare (2000) has argued that 'whole school approaches', where all aspects of the school work according to similar goals and principles, are the most viable way to affect a change in outcomes. This means that equality, autonomy, pleasure, and communication would ideally have to be constructed as a fundamental aspect of educational institutions.

While the VAWDASV Act (2015) and 'Successful Futures' Welsh curriculum (Donaldson 2015) offer possibilities for the further exploration of wide-reaching and creative methods in SRE, such projects are also dependent on appropriate funding, training, and resources. The cuts to funding imposed by the Conservative government that I discussed in chapter one (Towers and Walby 2012; Robinson 2008) will mean

that researchers and educators will likely have to find creative ways of using available funds, and perhaps create feminist assemblages that cut across funded and unfunded projects (Ringrose and Renold 2014).

7.5.3.3 Possible future research pathways

In an 'evidence-based culture' (Clegg 2005; Biesta 2007), in order to realistically secure any funding for educational projects, further research is what is most likely to allow for the development of new educational practices. I suggest further research that specifically explores how my empirical and methodological findings may inform SRE. This may include exploring methods similar to the ones I developed here on a larger scale, in different settings, or with different age groups. In addition, it may be beneficial to talk specifically to young people about their perceived value of such methods for educational purposes.

In addition, while my project illustrated the feasibility of using my methods on a relatively large scale, looking back on my project, I would have liked to explore the data that emerged in even greater detail. Interacting with participants in a variety of settings may have enabled me to explore their multiple sexual bodies, and their fluctuating sexual subjectivities, in greater depth. Visiting Sarah's dance studio, for instance, would have allowed me to better map her bodily movements and experiences in that setting. Participants such as Nicola, who seemingly felt uncomfortable in a more formal research setting, but loved being outside, may have participated more enthusiastically had I offered them the opportunity to go on a walking tour with me in their home area (see Iverson and Renold 2013b).

Apart from mapping participants' sexual subjectivities in greater depth and in a variety of places and contexts, in future research I would like to explore my methodology with other groups whose sexualities are marginalised, for example elderly people. I would also like to explore the use of non-language-based methods in greater detail, especially as a means for engaging in new modalities of participatory feminist activism (e.g. see Renold 2017). I have already mentioned walking tours. Drama has also recently been used in Deleuzo-Guattarian-inspired research to

explore bodily sensations (e.g. Doerr-Stevens, Lewis, Ingram, and Maria 2015). One of the challenges this non-language work brings with it is the effort to render three-dimensional, sensory experiences onto the two-dimensional page. Our language inevitably misses some of the slipperiness. As Kathleen Gallagher (2015: xiv) puts it, “to be fully appreciative, therefore, of the reciprocity and collaboration that sits at the centre of embodied methods, we need to think further about how the ‘reporting’ of those experiences, and their subsequent ‘translation’ by the researcher can more effectively garner the collective efforts of researchers and their participants”. Funding bodies such as the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the Wellcome Trust increasingly support these kinds of development, and may enable me to explore my ideas in future research.

7.6 Conclusions

This thesis has mapped youth sexualities in 21st Century south Wales (U.K.). I began this thesis by arguing that young people’s sexualities, and especially their sexual pleasures, are contested and often uninvited (Fine and McClelland 2006a; McClelland and Fine 2008; Allen 2011a). I also argued that the language used by media commentators and researchers when speaking or writing about youth sexualities tends to imply that their audiences are clear on what they mean. Commonly the assumption tends to be that sexuality is equated with ‘sex’, and that ‘sex’ first and foremost refers to penile-vaginal intercourse or other forms of genital stimulation (Peterson and Muehlenhard 2007). My project illustrated how sexual pleasure for young people may emerge not only during those practices normatively defined as ‘sex’, but may also involve technologies, media, objects, dance, sports, and even stillness.

I used object group and individual interviews, and arts-based methods, as well as feminist appropriations of Deleuzo-Guattarian concepts, to trace gendered patterns in the ways in which young people experience sexuality, but also mapped ruptures and ‘alternative figurations’ of youth sexualities (Braidotti 1994; see Renold and Ringrose 2008). My data highlights how gendered violence, ‘trophy sex’,

objectification, and disembodiment remain significant forces in the lives of many young people, especially those of young women.

However, I also illustrated how young people could move beyond normative notions of (hetero)sexuality. I was able to highlight moments in young people's lives in which they exceeded the status quo of their gendered and sexual bodies. We saw, for instance, how dance could free Sarah from the restrictions which she felt were placed upon her sexual body by her religion and by her strict family. We saw how Dan's gentle attentiveness to his affective connections with women ruptured dominant discourses about young men. Despite the negative discourses surrounding youth sexualities, there was pleasure and there was kindness.

My thesis points to the malleability and multiplicity of youth sexual subjectivities, and towards possibilities for re-imagined sexualities that exceed gendered bodies and phallogentric desires. While it is important to continue to point out the inequalities of the social world which make me (us?) angry, the rupturing moments that I highlighted in this thesis may accrue to produce slow but real social change: change which means that pleasure for young people is no longer silenced and shut down, as was the case in the anecdote with which I started this thesis in chapter one. This project, its methodology, and the rich data it produced, contributes to a growing movement within the academic community that offers 'methodological release points' (Fine and McClelland 2008) for youth sexual pleasures, and that provides a platform for sexuality and sexual pleasure to be (re-)imagined by and with young people.

References

- Aapola, S., Gonick, M. and Harris, A. 2005. *Young Femininity: Girlhood, Power, and Social Change*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Ahmad, S. and Bhugra, D. 2010. Homophobia: an updated review of the literature. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 25, 447–455.
- Ahmed, S. 1999. Phantasies of becoming (the Other). *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 2, 47–63.
- Albury, K. 2014. Porn and sex education, porn as sex education. *Porn Studies* 1, 172–181.
- Albury, K. and Byron, P. (2016). Safe on my phone? Same-sex attracted young people's negotiations of intimacy, visibility, and risk on digital hook-up apps. *Social Media and Society* 2, 1 – 10.
- Alcoff, L.M. 2000. Phenomenology, Post-structuralism, and Feminist Theory on the Concept of Experience, in: L. Fisher, L. Embree (Eds.), *Feminist Phenomenology, Contributions to Phenomenology*. Springer, New York, NY, pp. 39–56.
- Alfonso, A.I., Kurti, L., and Pink, S. 2004. *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Alhadeff, C.J. 2011. Tongue and Trigger: Deleuze's Erotics of the Uncanny, in: F. Beckman (Ed.), *Deleuze and Sex*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 106–116.
- Alldred, P. 2007. *Get Real About Sex: The Politics and Practice of Sex Education*. McGraw-Hill Education, New York, NY.
- Alldred, P. and Fox, N. 2015. The sexuality-assemblages of young men: a new materialist analysis. *Sexualities* 18, 905–920.
- Alldred, P. and Fox, N.J. 2017. Materialism and Micropolitics in Sexualities Education Research, in: L. Allen, M.L. Rasmussen (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Sexuality Education*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 655–672.
- Allen, L. 2015. Sexual assemblages: mobile phones/young people/school. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 36, 120–132.
- Allen, L. 2011a. *Young People and Sexuality Education: Rethinking Key Debates*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Allen, L. 2011b. "Picture this": using photo-methods in research on sexualities and schooling. *Qualitative Research* 11, 487–504.
- Allen, L. 2007a. "Sensitive and Real Macho All at the Same Time": Young Heterosexual Men and Romance. *Men and Masculinities* 10, 137–152.
- Allen, L. 2007b. Denying the sexual subject: schools' regulation of student sexuality. *British Educational Research Journal* 33, 221–234.
- Allen, L. 2006. "Looking at the Real Thing": Young men, pornography, and sexuality education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 27, 69–83.
- Allen, L. 2005. *Sexual Subjects: Young People, Sexuality and Education*. Springer, New York, NY.
- Allen, L. 2004a. Beyond the birds and the bees: constituting a discourse of erotics in sexuality education. *Gender and Education* 16, 151–167.
- Allen, L. 2004b. "Getting off" and "going out": young people's conceptions of (hetero)sexual relationships. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 6, 463–481.

- Allen, L. 2003. Girls Want Sex, Boys Want Love: Resisting Dominant Discourses of (Hetero) Sexuality. *Sexualities* 6, 215–236.
- Allen, L. 2002. *Life of Brian: Masculinities Sexualities and Health in New Zealand*. Otago University Press, Dunedin, N.Z.
- Allen, L. and Ingram, T. 2015. “Bieber Fever”: Girls, Desire and the Negotiation of Girlhood Sexualities, in: E. Renold, J. Ringrose, R.D. Egan (Eds.) *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 141–158.
- Allen, L., Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. 2014. *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Allen, L.E. 2014. Pleasure’s Perils? Critically Reflecting on Pleasure’s Inclusion in Sexuality Education, in: L. E. Allen, M. L. Rasmussen, K. Quinlivan (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education: Pleasure Bound*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 169–185.
- Allen, M.W., Armstrong, D.J., Riemenschneider, C.K. and Reid, M.F. 2006. Making Sense of the Barriers Women Face in the Information Technology Work Force: Standpoint Theory, Self-disclosure, and Causal Maps. *Sex Roles* 54, 831–844.
- Anderson, B. 2009. Affective atmospheres. *Emotion, Space and Society* 2, 77–81.
- Asencio, M. 2002. *Sex and Sexuality Among New York’s Puerto Rican Youth*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, CO.
- Attwood, F. 2009. *Mainstreaming Sex - The Sexualization of Western culture*. I.B. Taurus, London, UK.
- Attwood, F. 2005. Fashion and Passion: Marketing Sex to Women. *Sexualities* 8, 392–406.
- Attwood, F. 2002. Reading Porn: The Paradigm Shift in Pornography Research. *Sexualities* 5, 91–105.
- Attwood, F. and Smith, C. 2011. Investigating young people’s sexual cultures: an introduction. *Sex Education* 11, 235–242.
- Austin, J.I. 2016. Dancing sexual pleasures: exploring teenage women’s experiences of sexuality and pleasure beyond “sex.” *Sex Education* 16, 279–293.
- Baker, C.N. 2005. Images of women's sexuality in advertisements: A content-analysis of Black-and-White-oriented women's and men's magazines. *Sex Roles* 52, 13–27
- Bale, C. 2011. Raunch or romance? Framing and interpreting the relationship between sexualized culture and young people’s sexual health. *Sex Education* 11, 303–313.
- Ballantyne, A. 2007. *Deleuze & Guattari for Architects*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Barter, C., 2009. In the Name of Love: Partner Abuse and Violence in Teenage Relationships. *British Journal of Social Work* 39, 211–233.
- Barter, C. and Berridge D., 2011. *Children Behaving Badly?: Peer Violence Between Children and Young People*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.
- Barter, C., Renold, E., Cawson, P. and Berridge, D. 2004. *Peer violence in children’s residential care*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Beauvoir, S. de 2014. *The Second Sex*. Random House, New York, NY.
- Beck, L. 2013. Girl Gives Boy Blow Job at Music Festival. Boy Is Hero, Girl Is Slut. *Jezebel*. URL <http://jezebel.com/girl-gives-boy-blow-job-at-music-festival-boy-is-hero-1170516814> (accessed 16/11/16).

- Beckman, F. 2013. *Between Desire and Pleasure: A Deleuzian Theory of Sexuality*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Beckman, F. 2011. What is Sex? An Introduction to the Sexual Philosophy of Gilles Deleuze, in: Beckman, F. (Ed.) *Deleuze and Sex*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Bell, J.A. 2011. Deleuze and Selfless Sex: Undoing Kant's Copernican Revolution, in: Beckman, F. (Ed.) *Deleuze and Sex*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Bennett, J. 2009. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Bennett, J. 2004. The Force of Things Steps toward an Ecology of Matter. *Political Theory* 32, 347–372.
- Berelowitz, S., Firmin, C., Edwards, G. and Gulyurtlu, S. 2012. "I thought I was the only one. The only one in the world." Office of the Children's Commissioner.
- Berenbaum, H. 2002. Varieties of joy-related pleasurable activities and feelings. *Cognition and Emotion* 16, 473–494.
- Berlant, L. 1998. Intimacy: A special issue. *Critical Inquiry* 24, 281–288.
- Bernstein, N. 2007. Degendering the Problem and Gendering the Blame: Political Discourse on Women and Violence. *Gender & Society* 15, 262–281.
- Besten, O. den, Horton, J. and Kraftl, P. 2008. Pupil involvement in school (re)design: participation in policy and practice. *CoDesign* 4, 197–210.
- Biesta, G. 2007. Why "What Works" Won't Work: Evidence-Based Practice and the Democratic Deficit in Educational Research. *Educational Theory* 57, 1–22.
- Blackman, L., Cromby, J., Hook, D., Papadopoulos, D. and Walkerdine, V. 2008. Creating Subjectivities. *Subjectivity* 22, 1–27.
- Blackman, L. and Venn, C. 2010. Affect. *Body & Society* 16, 7–28.
- Blackmore, J. 1995. Breaking out from a masculinist politics of education. *Gender and changing educational management*, 44–56.
- Blaise, M. 2013. Charting new territories: re-assembling childhood sexuality in the early years classroom. *Gender and Education* 25, 801–817.
- Blaise, M. 2005. A feminist poststructuralist study of children "doing" gender in an urban kindergarten classroom. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 20, 85–108.
- Bleakley, A., Hennessy, M., Fishbein, M. and Jordan, A. 2009. How Sources of Sexual Information Relate to Adolescents' Beliefs About Sex. *American Journal of Health Behavior* 33, 37–48.
- Bollas, C. 1987. *The shadow of the object. Psychoanalysis of the Un-thought Known*. New York, NY.
- Bragg, S. 2015. What about the Boys?: Sexualization, Media and Masculinities, in: E. Renold, J. Ringrose, R.D. Egan (Eds.) *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 89–104.
- Bragg, S. and Buckingham, D. 2009. Too much too young? Young people, sexual media and learning, in: Attwood, F. (Ed.) *Mainstreaming Sex: The Sexualization of Western Culture*. I.B. Tauris, London, UK, pp. 129–146.
- Braidotti, R. 2013. *Metamorphoses: Towards a Materialist Theory of Becoming*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.
- Braidotti, R. 2011. *Nomadic Theory: The Portable Rosi Braidotti*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.

- Braidotti, R. 2006a. The ethics of becoming imperceptible, in: C. Boundas (Ed.) *Deleuze and Philosophy*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 133–159.
- Braidotti, R. 2006b. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Polity, Cambridge, UK.
- Braidotti, R. 2006c. Posthuman, All Too Human Towards a New Process Ontology. *Theory Culture Society* 23, 197–208.
- Braidotti, R. 2005. A Critical Cartography of Feminist Post-postmodernism. *Australian Feminist Studies* 20, 169–180.
- Braidotti, R. 2003. Becoming Woman: Or Sexual Difference Revisited. *Theory, Culture & Society* 20, 43–64.
- Braidotti, R. 1994. *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Brannen, J., Heptinstall, E. and Bhopal, K. 2000. *Care and Family Life in Later Childhood*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK
- Braun, V. 2010. Female Genital Cosmetic Surgery: A Critical Review of Current Knowledge and Contemporary Debates. *Journal of Women's Health* 19, 1393–1407.
- Braun, V., Gavey, N. and McPhillips, K. 2003. The 'Fair Deal'? Unpacking Accounts of Reciprocity in Heterosex. *Sexualities* 6, 237–261.
- Brians, E. 2011. The "Virtual" body and the strange persistence of the flesh: Deleuze, cyberspace and the posthuman, in: Guillaume, L. and Hughes, L. (Eds.) *Deleuze and the Body*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 117–143.
- Brick, P. and Taverner, B. 2001. *Positive images: Teaching abstinence, contraception, and sexual health*. Presented at the Planned Parenthood of Greater Northern New Jersey.
- Brinkmann, S. and Kvale, S. 2014. *InterViews*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Brown, G. 2006. Queer becomings: making autonomous queer spaces, in: Heckart, J. and Cleminson, R. (Ed.) *Anarchism and Sexuality*. University of Leeds.
- Bruner, M.S., Valine, K. and Ceja, B. 2016. Women Can't Win: Gender Irony and the E-Politics of The Biggest Loser. *IJEP* 7, 16–36.
- Buchanan, I. 2010. *Dictionary of Critical Theory - Oxford Reference*. University Press, Oxford.
- Buckingham, D. 2008. *Youth, identity, and digital media*. MIT Press Cambridge, MA.
- Buckingham, D. and Bragg, S. 2004. *Young People, Sex and the Media: The Facts of Life?* Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Buckingham, D. and Bragg, S. 2003. *Young people, media and personal relationships*. BBC report.
- Burkill, S., Copas, A., Couper, M., et al. 2016. *National Survey of Sexual Attitude and Lifestyles*. Public Library of Science.
- Busso, L.A.D. and Reavey, P. 2013. Moving beyond the surface: a poststructuralist phenomenology of young women's embodied experiences in everyday life. *Psychology & Sexuality* 4, 46–61.
- Butler, J. 2015. *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MS.
- Butler, J. 2004. *Undoing Gender*. Routledge, New York, NY
- Butler, J. 1999. Revisiting Bodies and Pleasures, in: Bell, V. (Ed.) *Performativity & Belonging*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.

- Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex"*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK.
- Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Cahill, C. 2007a. Doing Research with Young People: Participatory Research and the Rituals of Collective Work. *Children's Geographies* 5, 297–312.
- Cahill, C. 2007b. The Personal is Political: Developing new subjectivities through participatory action research. *Gender, Place & Culture* 14, 267–292.
- Campbell, A. (2000). Fictionalising Research Data as a Way of Increasing Teachers' Access to School-Focused Research. *Research in Education* 63, 81–88.
- Carmody, M. 2009. *Sex and Ethics: The Sexual Ethics Education Program for Young People*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Carmody, M. 2005. Ethical Erotics: Reconceptualizing Anti-Rape Education. *Sexualities* 8, 465–480.
- Casey, R. 2014. 'Caravan wives' and 'decent girls': Gypsy-traveller women's perceptions of gender, culture and morality in the north of England. *Culture, Health and Sexuality* 16, 806–819.
- Cemlyn, S., Greenfields, M., Burnett, S., Matthews, Z. and Whitwell, C. 2009. *Inequalities experienced by Gypsy and Traveller communities: A review*. Institute of Education, UCL.
- Centre for HIV and Sexual Health. 2009. *Pleasure: A booklet for workers on why and how to raise the issue of sexual pleasure in sexual health work with young people*. Centre for HIV and Sexual Health, Sheffield.
- Chaney, P. 2008. Devolved Governance and the Substantive Representations of Women: The Second Term of the National Assembly for Wales, 2003–2007. *Parliamentary Affairs* 61, 272–290.
- Chaney, P. 2011. *Equality and Public Policy: exploring the impact of devolution in the UK*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Clegg, S. 2005. Evidence-based practice in educational research: a critical realist critique of systematic review. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 26, 415–428.
- Coffey, J. 2013. "Body pressure": Negotiating gender through body work practices. *Youth Studies Australia [online]* 32, 39.
- Coffey, J. and Ringrose, J. 2016. Boobs and Barbie, in: Lynch, J., Rowlands, J., Gale, T. and Skourdoumbis, A. (Eds.) *Practice Theory and Education: Diffractional Readings in Professional Practice*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 175–192.
- Colebrook, C. 2009. On the Very Possibility of Queer Theory, in: Storr, M. (Ed.) *Deleuze and Queer Theory*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Colebrook, C. 2002. *Understanding Deleuze*. Allen & Unwin, Crow's Nest, Australia.
- Coleman, R. 2008. The Becoming of Bodies. *Feminist Media Studies* 8, 163–179.
- Coleman, R. and Ringrose, J. 2013. *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Conley, T. 2010. "Molecular," in: Parr, A. (Ed.) *The Deleuze Dictionary*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 177–179.
- Connolly, P. 1997. Boys will be boys?, in: Cosin, B. and Hales, M. (Eds.) *Family, Education and Social Difference*. Routledge, Abingdon, p. 164.

- Coy, M., Kelly, L., Elvines, F., Garner, M. and Kanyeredzi, A. 2013. "Sex without consent, I suppose that is rape": How young people in England understand sexual consent. Office of the Children's Commissioner.
- Crabbe, M. and Corlett, D. 2011. Eroticising inequality: Technology, pornography and young people. *Redress* 20, 11.
- Crane, C., Jandric, D., Barnhofer, T. and Williams, J.M.G. 2010. Dispositional Mindfulness, Meditation, and Conditional Goal Setting. *Mindfulness* 1, 204–214.
- Criado-Perez, C. 2013. After the Jane Austen announcement I suffered rape threats for 48 hours, but I'm still confident the trolls won't win. *New Statesman*, 27/07/13.
- Currier, D. 2003. Feminist Technological Futures Deleuze and Body/Technology Assemblages. *Feminist Theory* 4, 321–338.
- Daniels, J. 2009. Rethinking Cyberfeminism(s): Race, Gender, and Embodiment. *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 37, 101–124.
- Davies, B. 2003. Death to Critique and Dissent? The Policies and Practices of New Managerialism and of "Evidence-based Practice." *Gender and Education* 15, 91–103.
- De Boise, S. 2015. I'm Not Homophobic, "I've Got Gay Friends": Evaluating the Validity of Inclusive Masculinity. *Men and Masculinities* 18, 318–339.
- De Leon, J.P. and Cohen, J.H. 2005. Object and Walking Probes in Ethnographic Interviewing. *Field Methods* 17, 200–204.
- Del Busso, L. 2011. Using photographs to explore the embodiment of pleasure in everyday life, in: Reavey, P. (Ed.) *Visual Methods in Psychology: Using and Interpreting Images in Qualitative Research*. Psychology Press, Hove, UK, pp. 43–54.
- DeLanda, M. 2006. *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*. Continuum, London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. 2013. *Cinema II: The Time-Image, Reprint edition*. Bloomsbury Academic, London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. 2007. *Two Regimes of Madness: Texts and Interviews 1975–1995*. Semiotext(E), Los Angeles, CA.
- Deleuze, G. 2004a. *Desert Islands: And Other Texts, 1953–1974*. Semiotext(E), Los Angeles, CA.
- Deleuze, G. 2004b. *The Logic of Sense*. Bloomsbury Publishing, London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. 2004c. *Difference and Repetition*, New edition. Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd., London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. 2001. *Dualism, monism and multiplicities (desire-pleasure-jouissance)*. Presented at the Seminar of March 1973.
- Deleuze, G. 2000. *Proust and Signs: The Complete Text*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, MN.
- Deleuze, G. 1988. *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy*. City Lights Books, San Francisco, CA.
- Deleuze, G. 1969. *The Logic of Sense*. Bloomsbury Publishing, London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. 1968. *Difference and Repetition*. A&C Black, London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. 2014. *What is Philosophy?* Columbia University Press.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. A&C Black, London, UK.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. 1983. *Anti-Oedipus*. A&C Black, London, UK.

- Deleuze, G. and Parnet, C. 2007. *Dialogues II*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Department of Education. 2000. Sex and relationship education guidance [online].
- De Ridder, S. and Van Bauwel, S. (2015). The discursive construction of gay teenagers in times of mediatization: Youth's reflections on intimate storytelling, queer shame and realness in popular social media places. *Journal of Youth Studies* 18, 777 – 793.
- Dijck, J. van. 2008. Digital photography: communication, identity, memory. *Visual Communication* 7, 57–76.
- Diorio, J.A. and Munro, J. 2003. What Does Puberty Mean to Adolescents? Teaching and learning about bodily development. *Sex Education* 3, 119–131.
- Doerr-Stevens, C., Lewis, C., Ingram, D. and Maria, A. 2015. Making the Body Visible through Dramatic/ Creative Play: Critical Literacy in Neighborhood Bridges, in: Perry, M. and Medina, C.L. (Ed.) *Methodologies of Embodiment*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 28–52.
- Donaldson, G. 2015. *Successful Futures: Independent Review of Curriculum and Assessment Arrangements in Wales*. [online]
- Donnelly, J. 2007. The Relative Universality of Human Rights. *Human Rights Quarterly* 29, 281–306.
- Döring, P.D.N. 2013. Sexuell explizite Medienangebote: Produktion, Inhalte, Nutzung und Wirkungen, in: Schweiger, W. and Fahr, A. (Eds.) *Handbuch Medienwirkungsforschung*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, pp. 419–436.
- Douglas, P.M. 2003. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Downing, G. (2013). Virtual youth: Non-heterosexual young people's use of the internet to negotiate their identities and socio-sexual relations. *Children's Geographies* 11, 44 – 58.
- Driscoll, C. 2002. *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Duguay, S. (2014). "He has a way gayer Facebook than I do": Investigating sexual identity disclosure and context collapse on a social networking site. *New Media & Society* 16, 1 - 17.
- Duguay, S. (2016). Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and queer visibility through selfies: Comparing platform mediators across Ruby Rose's Instagram and Vine presence. *Social Media & Society* 2, 1 – 12.
- Duncan, N. 1999. *Sexual Bullying: Gender Conflict and Pupil Culture in Secondary Schools*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK.
- Dustin, M. 2010. Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting in the UK: Challenging the Inconsistencies. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 17, 7–23.
- Edwards, N. 2016. Women's reflections on formal sex education and the advantage of gaining informal sexual knowledge through a feminist lens. *Sex Education* 16, 266–278.
- Egan, R. and Hawkes, G. 2010. *Theorizing the Sexual Child in Modernity*. Springer, New York, NY.
- Egan, R.D. 2013. *Becoming Sexual: A Critical Appraisal of the Sexualization of Girls*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.

- Ekkekakis, P. 2003. Pleasure and displeasure from the body: Perspectives from exercise. *Cognition and Emotion* 17, 213–239.
- Ellison, N.B., Steinfield, C. and Lampe, C. 2007. The Benefits of Facebook “Friends:” Social Capital and College Students’ Use of Online Social Network Sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 12, 1143–1168.
- England, D.E., Descartes, L. and Collier-Meek, M. 2011. Gender role portrayal and the Disney princesses. *Sex Roles* 64, 555–567.
- Epstein, D. and Johnson, R. 1998. *Schooling Sexualities*. McGraw-Hill Education, London, UK.
- Epstein, D., O’Flynn, S. and Telford, D. 2003. *Silenced Sexualities in Schools and Universities*. Trentham Books, London, UK.
- Eribon, D. 1991. *Michel Foucault*. Harvard University Press, Boston, MS.
- Evans, A. and Riley, S. 2014. *Technologies of Sexiness: Sex, Identity, and Consumer Culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Evans, A., Riley, S. and Shankar, A. 2010. Technologies of Sexiness: Theorizing Women’s Engagement in the Sexualization of Culture. *Feminism & Psychology* 20, 114–131.
- Evans, J., Rich, E. and Holroyd, R. 2004. Disordered eating and disordered schooling: what schools do to middle class girls. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25, 123–142.
- Eyre, S.L., Hoffman, V. and Millstein, S.G. 1998. The Gamesmanship of Sex: A Model Based on African American Adolescent Accounts. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12, 467–489.
- Fahs, B. and Frank, E. 2014. Notes from the Back Room: Gender, Power, and (In)Visibility in Women’s Experiences of Masturbation. *The Journal of Sex Research* 51, 241–252.
- Fahs, B. and McClelland, S.I. 2016. When Sex and Power Collide: An Argument for Critical Sexuality Studies. *The Journal of Sex Research* 53, 392–416.
- Farquhar, C. 1999. Are focus groups suitable for “sensitive” topics?, in: Barbour, R.S. and Kitzinger, J. (Eds.) *Developing Focus Group Research*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, CA, pp. 47–63.
- Farvid, P. and Braun, V. 2006. “Most of Us Guys are Raring to Go Anytime, Anyplace, Anywhere”: Male and Female Sexuality in Cleo and Cosmo. *Sex Roles* 55, 295–310.
- Ferfolja, T. 2008. Discourses that silence: teachers and anti-lesbian harassment. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 29, 107–119.
- Fine, M. 1988. Sexuality, Schooling, and Adolescent Females: The Missing Discourse of Desire. *Harvard Educational Review* 58, 29–53.
- Fine, M. and McClelland, S. 2006a. Sexuality Education and Desire: Still Missing after All These Years. *Harvard Educational Review* 76, 297–338.
- Fine, M. and McClelland, S.I. 2006b. Politics of Teen Women’s Sexuality: Public Policy and the Adolescent Female Body, *The Emory L.J.* 56, 993.
- Fitzpatrick, M. 2007. Brazilian bikini wax and the designer vagina. *Br J Gen Pract* 57, 1005–1005.
- Flood, M. 2008. Men, Sex, and Homosociality: How Bonds between Men Shape Their Sexual Relations with Women. *Men and Masculinities* 10, 339–359.
- Foucault, M. 1982. The Subject and Power. *Critical Inquiry*, 777–795.

- Foucault, M. 1978. *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Vol. I*. Penguin, London, UK.
- Fox, N.J. and Alldred, P. 2015. Inside the Research-Assemblage: New Materialism and the Micropolitics of Social Inquiry. *SRO* 20, 6.
- Fox, N.J. and Alldred, P. 2014. New materialist social inquiry: designs, methods and the research-assemblage. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 1–16.
- Fox, N.J. and Alldred, P. 2013. The sexuality-assemblage: desire, affect, anti-humanism. *Sociological Review* 61, 769–789.
- Freedman, D.C. 1991. Gender Signs: An Effort/Shape Analysis of Romanian Couple Dances. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 33, 335–345.
- Freud, S. 2011. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. Martino Fine Books, Mansfield Centre, CT.
- Gagnon, J.H. and Simon, W. 1987. The sexual scripting of oral genital contacts. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 16, 1–25.
- Gallagher, K. 2015. Foreword: The Place of Bodies in the Order of Things, in: Perry, M. and Medina, C.L. (Eds.) *Methodologies of Embodiment*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. xiii–xvii.
- Gard, M. and Meyenn, R. 2000. Boys, Bodies, Pleasure and Pain: Interrogating Contact Sports in Schools. *Sport, Education and Society* 5, 19–34.
- Gerressu, M. and Stephenson, J.M. 2008. Sexual behaviour in young people. *Current Opinion in Infectious Diseases* 21, 37–41.
- Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford University Press, Palo Alto, CA.
- Gill, R. 2008. Empowerment/Sexism: Figuring Female Sexual Agency in Contemporary Advertising. *Feminism & Psychology* 18, 35–60.
- Gill, R. 2007. *Gender and the Media*. Polity, Cambridge, UK.
- Gillam, K., Wooden, S.R. 2008. Post-Princess Models of Gender: The New Man in Disney/Pixar. *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 36, 2–8.
- Gimlin, D. 2010. Imagining the Other in Cosmetic Surgery. *Body & Society* 16, 57–76.
- Gimlin, D. 2007. Accounting for Cosmetic Surgery in the USA and Great Britain: A Cross-cultural Analysis of Women's Narratives. *Body & Society* 13, 41–60.
- Giroux, H.A. 2015. Totalitarian Paranoia in the Post-Orwellian Surveillance State. *Cultural Studies* 29, 108–140.
- Griffin, C.C.M. 2002. The Religion and Social Organisation of Irish Travellers on a London Caravan Site (Part I). *Nomadic Peoples* 6, 45–68.
- Grosz, E. 2011. *Becoming Undone: Darwinian Reflections on Life, Politics, and Art*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Grosz, E. 2005. *Time Travels: Feminism, Nature*. Cambridge University Press.
- Grosz, E.A. 2008. *Chaos, Territory, Art: Deleuze and the Framing of the Earth*. Columbia University Press, New York, NY.
- Grosz, E.A. 1994. *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN.
- Grover, S. 2004. Why Won't They Listen to Us?: On Giving Power and Voice to Children Participating in Social Research. *Childhood* 11, 81–93.

- Grubb, A. and Turner, E. 2012. Attribution of blame in rape cases: A review of the impact of rape myth acceptance, gender role conformity and substance use on victim blaming. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 17, 443–452.
- Guattari, F. 2010. *The Machinic Unconscious: Essays in Schizoanalysis*. Semiotext(E), London, UK.
- Guattari, F. 1992. *Chaosmosis: An Ethico-aesthetic Paradigm*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN.
- Guattari, F. and Stivale, C.J. 2009. *Soft Subversions: Texts and Interviews 1977–1985*. Semiotext(E), London, UK.
- Hainge, G.E. 2004. Is Pop music? in: Buchanan, I. and Swiboda, M. (Eds.) *Deleuze and Music*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Hald, G.M., Træen, B., Noor, S.W., Iantaffi, A., Galos, D. and Rosser, B.R.S. 2015. Does Sexually Explicit Media (SEM) affect me? Assessing first-person effects of SEM consumption among Norwegian men who have sex with men. *Psychology & Sexuality* 6, 59–74.
- Hall, S. 1904. *Adolescence*. Appleton, New York, NY.
- Hancock, J. 2014. *The Bish Book*. Egmont Books, London, UK.
- Handyside, S. and Ringrose, J. 2017. Snapchat memory and youth digital sexual cultures: mediated temporality, duration and affect. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 1–14.
- Hansen, M.B.N. 2004. *New Philosophy for New Media*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MS.
- Haraway, D. 1991. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century," in: Haraway, D. (Ed.) *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Hargreaves, J. 2002. *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Harper, D. 2002. Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies* 17, 13–26.
- Harris, A. 2016. *Creativity and Education*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Harris, A. 2008. Young women, late modern politics, and the participatory possibilities of online cultures. *Journal of Youth Studies* 11, 481–495.
- Harris, A. 2004. *Future Girl: Young Women in the Twenty-first Century*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK.
- Harris, A., Aapola, S. and Gonick, M. 2000. Doing it Differently: Young Women Managing Heterosexuality in Australia, Finland and Canada. *Journal of Youth Studies* 3, 373–388.
- Harrison, L., Hillier, L. and Walsh, J. 1996. Teaching for a positive sexuality: Sounds good, but what about fear, embarrassment, risk and the "forbidden" discourse of desire. *Sociology and Sexualities: Teaching for a Positive Sexuality*, 69–82.
- Harvey, L. and Ringrose, J. 2015. Sexting, Ratings and (Mis)Recognition: Teen Boys Performing Classed and Racialized Masculinities in Digitally Networked Publics, in: Renold, E., Ringrose, J. and Egan, R.D. (Eds.) *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 352–367.
- Hasinoff, A.A. and Shepherd, T. 2014. Sexting in Context: Privacy Norms and Expectations. *International Journal of Communication* 8, 24.

- Haviland, V.S. 2008. "Things Get Glossed Over": Rearticulating the Silencing Power of Whiteness in Education. *Journal of Teacher Education* 59, 40–54.
- Hayes, R.M., Lorenz, K. and Bell, K.A. 2013. Victim Blaming Others: Rape Myth Acceptance and the Just World Belief. *Feminist Criminology* 8, 202–220.
- Head, B.W. 2010. Reconsidering evidence-based policy: Key issues and challenges. *Policy and Society: Evidence-Based Policy* 29, 77–94.
- Henderson, P. 2014. Queering the Posthuman: Representations of Technology, Gender and Sexuality in Her. [accessed online].
- Henriques, J.F., Hollway, W., Urwin, C., Venn, C. and Walkerdine, V. 1984. *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Herbenick, D. and Fortenberry, J.D. 2011. Exercise-induced orgasm and pleasure among women. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 26, 373–388.
- Hester, M. 2011. The Three Planet Model: Towards an Understanding of Contradictions in Approaches to Women and Children's Safety in Contexts of Domestic Violence. *British Journal of Social Work* 41, 837–853.
- Hester, M., Kelly, L. and Radford, J. (Eds.) 1995. *Women, Violence and Male Power: Feminist Research, Activism and Practice*. Open University Press, Philadelphia, PA.
- Hey, V. 1997. *The Company She Keeps: An Ethnography of Girls' Friendships*. McGraw-Hill Education, London, UK.
- Hickey-Moody, A. 2013. Affect as Method: Feelings, Aesthetics and Affective Pedagogy, in: Coleman, R. and Ringrose, J. (Eds.) *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 79–95.
- Hickey-Moody, A. and Rasmussen, M.L. 2009. The Sexed Subject in-between Deleuze and Butler, in: Storr, M. (Ed.) *Deleuze and Queer Theory*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Hickman, S.E. and Muehlenhard, C.L. 1999. "By the semi-mystical appearance of a condom": How young women and men communicate sexual consent in heterosexual situations. *The Journal of Sex Research* 36, 258–272.
- Hillier, L. and Harrison, L. 2007. Building Realities Less Limited Than Their Own: Young People Practising Same-Sex Attraction on the Internet. *Sexualities* 10, 82–100.
- Hirst, J. 2014. "Get some rhythm round the clitoris": Addressing sexual pleasure in sexuality education in schools and other youth settings, in: Allen, L., Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Ed.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 35–56.
- Hirst, J. 2004. Researching young people's sexuality and learning about sex: experience, need, and sex and relationship education. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 6, 115–129.
- Hlavka, H.R. 2014. Normalizing Sexual Violence Young Women Account for Harassment and Abuse. *Gender & Society* 28, 337–358.
- Hodgson, N. and Standish, P. 2009. Uses and misuses of poststructuralism in educational research. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education* 32, 309–326.

- Hogarth, H. and Ingham, R. 2009. Masturbation Among Young Women and Associations with Sexual Health: An Exploratory Study. *The Journal of Sex Research* 46, 558–567.
- Holford, N. 2012. *Making classed sexualities: investigating gender, power and violence in middle-class teenagers' relationship cultures*. PhD Thesis, Cardiff University.
- Holford, N., Renold, E. and Huuki, T. 2013. What (else) can a kiss do? Theorizing the power plays in young children's sexual cultures. *Sexualities* 16, 710–729.
- Holland, J., Ramazanoglu, C., Scott, S., Sharpe, S. and Thomson, R. 1992. Risk, power and the possibility of pleasure: Young women and safer sex. *AIDS Care* 4, 273–283.
- Holland, J., Ramazanoglu, C., Sharpe, S. and Thomson, R. 2010. Deconstructing virginity—young people's accounts of first sex. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 25, 351–362.
- Holland, J., Ramazanoglu, C., Sharpe, S. and Thomson, R. 2000. Deconstructing virginity - young people's accounts of first sex. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy* 15, 221–232.
- Holland, J., Ramazanoglu, C., Sharpe, S. and Thomson, R. 1998. *The Male in the Head*. Tufnell Press, London, UK.
- Holland, S. 2015. *Public Health Ethics*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.
- Holland, S., Renold, E., Ross, N.J. and Hillman, A. 2010. Power, agency and participatory agendas: A critical exploration of young people's engagement in participative qualitative research. *Childhood* 17, 360–375.
- Hollway, W. 2001. Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. *Discourse Theory and Practice*, 272–283.
- Hollway, W. 1989. *Subjectivity and method in psychology: Gender, meaning and science*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Hollway, W. 1984. Women's power in heterosexual sex. *Women's Studies International Forum, Special Issue Men and Sex: A case study in "sexual sexual politics"* 7, 63–68.
- Hollway, W. and Jefferson, T. 2000. *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative and the Interview Method*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Holmes, D., O'Byrne, P. and Murray, S.J. 2010. Faceless sex: glory holes and sexual assemblages. *Nursing Philosophy* 11, 250–259.
- Hulme, A. 2016. *Consumerism on TV: Popular Media from the 1950s to the Present*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Hultman, K. and Taguchi, H.L. 2010. Challenging anthropocentric analysis of visual data: a relational materialist methodological approach to educational research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 23, 525–542.
- Hurd Clarke, L. and Griffin, M. 2007. The body natural and the body unnatural: Beauty work and aging. *Journal of Aging Studies* 21, 187–201.
- Huuki, T. and Renold, E. 2015. Crush: mapping historical, material and affective force relations in young children's hetero-sexual playground play. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 37, 745–769.
- Impett, E.A. and Peplau, L.A. 2003. Sexual compliance: Gender, motivational, and relationship perspectives. *The Journal of Sex Research* 40, 87–100.

- Impett, E.A. and Tolman, D.L. 2006. Late Adolescent Girls' Sexual Experiences and Sexual Satisfaction. *Journal of Adolescent Research* 21, 628–646.
- Ingham, R. 2014. A well-kept secret: sex education, masturbation and sexual health, in: Allen, L., Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education*. Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 57–77.
- Ingham, R. 2005. "We didn't cover that at school": education against pleasure or education for pleasure? *Sex Education* 5, 375–388.
- Irigaray, L. 1985a. *Speculum of the Other Woman*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Irigaray, L. 1985b. *This Sex which is Not One*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Ivinson, G. and Renold, E. 2013a. Valleys' girls: re-theorising bodies and agency in a semi-rural post-industrial locale. *Gender and Education* 25, 704–721.
- Ivinson, G. and Renold, E. 2013b. Subjectivity, affect and place: Thinking with Deleuze and Guattari's Body without Organs to explore a young girl's becomings in a post-industrial locale. *Subjectivity* 6, 369–390.
- Jackson, A.Y. and Mazzei, L.A. 2011. *Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data Across Multiple Perspectives*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Jackson, C. 2006. "Wild" girls? An exploration of "ladette" cultures in secondary schools. *Gender and Education* 18, 339–360.
- Jackson, S. 1996. Heterosexuality and feminist theory, in: Richardson, D. (Ed.) *Theorising Heterosexuality*. Open University Press, Buckingham, UK.
- Jackson, S. 1982. *Childhood and Sexuality*. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford, UK.
- Jackson, S.M. and Cram, F. 2003. Disrupting the sexual double standard: Young women's talk about heterosexuality. *British Journal of Social Psychology* 42, 113–127.
- Janssen, D.F. 2015. Anthropologizing Young/Minor Sexualities, in: Renold, E., Ringrose, J. and Egan, R.D. (Eds.) *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 21–38.
- Jensen, T. and Ringrose, J. 2014. Sluts that Choose Vs Doormat Gypsies. *Feminist Media Studies* 14, 369–387.
- Jones, A. 2004. Risk Anxiety, Policy, and the Spectre of Sexual Abuse in Early Childhood Education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 25, 321–334.
- Jones, A. (Ed.) 2001. *Touchy Subject: Teachers Touching Children*. Otago University Press, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- Jordan, J. 2013. *Silencing rape, silencing women, in: Handbook on Sexual Violence*. Abingdon, London.
- Kaufman, E. 2004. Betraying Well. *Criticism* 46, 651–659.
- Kehily, M.J. 1999. More sugar?: Teenage magazines, gender displays and sexual learning. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 2, 65–89.
- Kehily, M.J. and Lappe, J.D. 2015. Reappraising Youth Subcultures and the Impact upon Young People's Sexual Cultures: Links and Legacies in Studies of Girlhood, in: Renold, E., Ringrose, J. and Egan, R.D. (Eds.) *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 56–70.
- Keller, J., Mendes, K. and Ringrose, J. 2016. Speaking "unspeakable things:" documenting digital feminist responses to rape culture. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 1–15.

- Kiddle, C. 1999. *Traveller Children: A Voice for Themselves*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, UK.
- Kiely, E. 2005. Where is the discourse of desire? Deconstructing the Irish Relationships and Sexuality Education (RSE) resource materials. *Irish Educational Studies* 24, 253–266.
- Kitzinger, J. 1995. "I'm sexually attractive but I'm powerful." *Women's Studies International Forum* 18, 187–196.
- Kitzinger, J. 1992. Sexual Violence and Compulsory Heterosexuality. *Feminism & Psychology* 2, 399–418.
- Kitzinger, J. 1988. Defending Innocence: Ideologies of Childhood. *Feminist Review*, 77–87.
- Kitzinger, J. and Barbour, R. 1999. *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory and Practice*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Kofoed, J. and Charlotte, M. (2016). A snap of intimacy: Photo-sharing among young people on social media. *First Monday* 21, 11.
- Kofoed, J. and Ringrose, J. 2012. Travelling and sticky affects: Exploring teens and sexualized cyberbullying through a Butlerian-Deleuzian-Guattarian lens. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 33, 5–20.
- Krebs, C., Lindquist, C., Berzofsky, M., Shook-Sa, B. and Peterson, K. 2016. *NCJRS Abstract - National Criminal Justice Reference Service*.
<https://www.ncjrs.gov/App/Publications/abstract.aspx?ID=271689>
 (accessed 15/01/17).
- Kubicek, K., Beyer, W.J., Weiss, G., Iverson, E. and Kipke, M.D. 2010. In the Dark: Young Men's Stories of Sexual Initiation in the Absence of Relevant Sexual Health Information. *Health Education & Behavior* 37, 243–263.
- Kubicek, K., Carpineto, J., McDavitt, B., Weiss, G. and Kipke, M.D. 2011. Use and Perceptions of the Internet for Sexual Information and Partners: A Study of Young Men Who Have Sex with Men. *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 40, 803–816.
- Lamb, S. 2014. The hard work of pleasure, in: Allen, L., Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sex Education: Pleasure Bound*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 136–152.
- Lamb, S. 2010. Feminist Ideals for a Healthy Female Adolescent Sexuality: A Critique. *Sex Roles* 62, 294–306.
- Lambert, K., Wright, P., Currie, J. and Pascoe, R. 2016. Embodiment and becoming in secondary drama classrooms: the effects of neoliberal education cultures on performances of self and of drama texts. *Critical Studies in Education*, 1-19.
- Lambevski, S.A. 2005. Bodies, Schizo Vibes and Hallucinatory Desires – Sexualities in Movement. *Sexualities* 8, 570–586.
- Lambevski, S.A. 2004. Movement and Desire: On the Need to Fluidify Academic Discourse on Sexuality. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 10, 304–308.
- Law, J. 2004. *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Law, J. and Urry, J. 2004. Enacting the social. *Economy and Society* 33, 390–410.
- Leadley, A. 2015. Supersize vs. Superskinny: (Re)framing the freak show in contemporary popular culture. *The Journal of Popular Television* 3, 213–228.

- Leavy, P. 2015. *Method Meets Art, Second Edition: Arts-Based Research Practice*. Guilford Publications, New York, NY.
- Lenskyj, H.J. 2013. Reflections on Communication and Sport: On Heteronormativity and Gender Identities. *Communication & Sport* 1, 138–150.
- Letherby, G. 2003. *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*. McGraw-Hill Education, London, UK.
- Levinson, M.P. and Sparkes, A.C. 2003. Gypsy Masculinities and the School-Home Interface: exploring contradictions and tensions. *British Journal of Sociology and Education* 24, 587–603.
- Levinson, M.P. and Sparkes, A.C. 2006. Conflicting value systems: Gypsy females and the home-school interface. *Research Papers in Education* 21, 79–97.
- Lincoln, S. 2013. “I’ve Stamped My Personality All Over It”: The Meaning of Objects in Teenage Bedroom Space. *Space and Culture* 17, 266–279.
- Lincoln, S. 2012. *Youth Culture and Private Space*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Lincoln, S. 2005. Feeling the Noise: Teenagers, Bedrooms and Music. *Leisure Studies* 24, 399–414.
- Lincoln, S. 2004. Teenage Girls’ “Bedroom Culture”: Codes versus Zones, in: Bennett, A. (Ed.) *After Subculture*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK, pp. 94–106.
- Livingstone, S. 2013. Online risk, harm and vulnerability: reflections on the evidence base for child Internet safety policy. *Zer: Revista de estudios de comunicación = Komunikazio ikasketen aldizkaria*, 13–28.
- Livingstone, S. 2008. Taking risky opportunities in youthful content creation: teenagers’ use of social networking sites for intimacy, privacy and self-expression. *New Media & Society* 10, 393–411.
- Lombard, N. and McMillan, L. 2012. *Violence Against Women: Current Theory and Practice in Domestic Abuse, Sexual Violence and Exploitation*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, UK.
- Lorimer, J. 2013. More-Than-Human Visual Analysis: Witnessing and Evoking Affect in Human-Nonhuman Interactions, in: Coleman, R. and Ringrose, J. (Eds.) *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 61–78.
- Lorimer, J. 2010. Moving image methodologies for more-than-human geographies. *Cultural Geographies* 17, 237–258.
- Lorraine, T. 2010. Lines of Flight, in: Parr, A. (Ed.) *The Deleuze Dictionary*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 147–148.
- Lury, C. and Wakeford, N. 2012. *Inventive Methods: The Happening of the Social*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Lynn, P. 2009. *Methodology of Longitudinal Surveys*. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.
- MacCormack, P. 2011. Encounters of Ecstasy, in: Beckman, F. (Ed.) *Deleuze and Sex*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Macfarlane, A.J. and Dorkenoo, E. 2015. PP20 Estimating the numbers of women and girls with female genital mutilation in England and Wales. *J Epidemiol Community Health* 69, A61–A61.
- Macintosh, L. and Bryson, M. (2008). Youth, Myspace, and the interstitial spaces of becoming and belonging. *Journal of LGBT Youth Studies* 5, 133 – 142.

- Macleod, C. and Vincent, L. 2014. Introducing a critical pedagogy of sexual and reproductive citizenship: Extending the “framework of thick desire,” in: Allen, L., and Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education: Pleasure Bound*. Routledge, Abingdon, pp. 199–236.
- MacLure, M. 2013. Classification or Wonder: Coding as an Analytic Practice in Qualitative Research, in: Coleman, R. and Ringrose, J. (Eds.) *Deleuze and Research Methodologies*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 164–183.
- MacLure, M., Holmes, R., MacRae, C. and Jones, L. 2010. Animating classroom ethnography: overcoming video-fear. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 23, 543–556.
- Mannay, D. 2013. “Who put that on there ... why why why?” Power games and participatory techniques of visual data production. *Visual Studies* 28, 136–146.
- Mannay, D. 2010. Making the familiar strange: can visual research methods render the familiar setting more perceptible? *Qualitative Research* 10, 91–111.
- Manning, E. 2013. *Always More Than One: Individuation’s Dance*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Marston, C. and King, E. 2006. Factors that shape young people’s sexual behaviour: a systematic review. *The Lancet* 368, 1581–1586.
- Marston, C. and Lewis, R. 2014. Anal heterosex among young people and implications for health promotion: a qualitative study in the UK. *BMJ Open* 4.
- Martin, A.D. and Strom, K.J. (2016). Using multiple technologies to put rhizomatics to work in self-study. in: Loughran, J. (Ed.) *Self-Study in Teaching and Teacher Education Practice*. Springer, New York City, pp. 151–164
- Mason, P. 2016. Globalisation is dead, and white supremacy has triumphed. *The Guardian*. 09/11/16.
- Massumi, B. 2002. *Parables for the virtual: Movement, affect, sensation*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Maxwell, C. and Aggleton, P. 2010. Agency in action – young women and their sexual relationships in a private school. *Gender and Education* 22, 327–343.
- McCallum, E.L. and Tuhkanen, M. 2011. *Queer Times, Queer Becomings*. SUNY Press, Albany, NY.
- McCarry, M. and Lombard, N. 2016. Same old story? Children and young people’s continued normalisation of men’s violence against women. *Feminist Review* 112, 128–143.
- McCarthy, C. 2014. *The Uses of Culture: Education and the Limits of Ethnic Affiliation*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- McCaughey, M. and French, C. 2001. Women’s sex-toy parties: Technology, orgasm, and commodification. *Sexual Cultures* 5, 77–96.
- McClelland, A. 2014. A case of identity: Role playing, social media and BBC Sherlock. *The Journal of Fandom Studies*, 1.2, 139–157.
- McClelland, S. and Fine, M. 2014. Over-sexed and under surveillance: adolescent sexualities, cultural anxieties, and thick desire. in: Allen, L., and Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education: Pleasure Bound*. Routledge, New York, pp. 12–34.

- McClelland, S.I. 2011. Who is the "Self" in Self Reports of Sexual Satisfaction? Research and Policy Implications. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 8, 304–320.
- McClelland, S.I. 2010. Intimate Justice: A Critical Analysis of Sexual Satisfaction. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 4, 663–680.
- McClelland, S.I. and Fine, M. 2008. Writing on Cellophane, in: Gallagher, K. (Ed.) *The Methodological Dilemma: Creative, Critical and Collaborative Approaches to Qualitative Research*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- McCormack, P. 2011. Encounters of Ecstasy, in: Beckman, F. (Ed.) *Deleuze and Sex*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 200–216.
- McCormack, M. 2012. The Positive Experiences of Openly Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgendered Students in a Christian Sixth Form College. *Sociological Research Online* 17, 5.
- McGeeney, E. 2015a. A focus on pleasure? Desire and disgust in group work with young men. *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 17, 223–237.
- McGeeney, E. 2015b. Young People, Sexual Pleasure and Sexual Health Services: What Happens When "Good Sex" Is Bad for Your Health?, in: Wright, K. and McLeod, J. (Eds.) *Rethinking Youth Wellbeing*. Springer Singapore, pp. 91–108.
- McGeeney, E. 2013. *What is good sex? Young people, sexual pleasure and sexual health services*. PhD Thesis, The Open University, Buckingham, UK.
- McKee, A. 2010. Does Pornography Harm Young People? *Australian Journal of Communication*, 37, 17.
- McKee, A. 2007. "Saying You've been at Dad's Porn Book is Part of Growing Up': Youth, Pornography and Education. *Metro Magazine: Media & Education Magazine*, 118.
- McKee, A., Albury, K. and Lumby, C. 2008. *The Porn Report*. Melbourne University Publishing.
- McNair, B. 2014. Rethinking the effects paradigm in porn studies. *Porn Studies* 1, 161–171.
- McNay, L. 1994. *Foucault: A Critical Introduction*. Continuum, New York.
- McRobbie, A. 1993. Shut up and dance: Youth culture and changing modes of femininity. *Cultural Studies* 7, 406–426.
- McRobbie, A. and Garber, J. 1976. Girls and subcultures, in: Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (Eds.) *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. p. 209–222.
- Measor, L. 2004. Young people's views of sex education: gender, information and knowledge. *Sex Education* 4, 153–166.
- Message, K. 2010., in: Parr, A. (Ed.) *Deleuze Dictionary*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Messner, M. and Sabo, D. 1994. *Sex, Violence & Power in Sports: Rethinking Masculinity*. Brockport, New York, NY.
- Michell, L. 1999. Combining focus groups and interviews; Telling how it is; telling how it feels, in: Barbour, R.S. and Kitzinger, J. (Eds.) *Developing Focus Group Research*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, pp. 36–46.
- Middelthun, A.-L. and Aggleton, P. 2001. Reflection and dialogue for HIV prevention among young gay men. *AIDS Care* 13, 515–526.

- Miedzian, M. 2002. *Boys Will Be Boys: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence*. Lantern Books, New York, NY.
- Mihelich, J. and Storrs, D. 2003. Higher Education and the Negotiated Process of Hegemony Embedded Resistance among Mormon Women. *Gender & Society* 17, 404–422.
- Mizen, P. 2005. A little “light work”? Children’s images of their labour. *Visual Studies* 20, 124–139.
- Moore, H.L. 2013. *Still Life: Hopes, Desires and Satisfaction*s. John Wiley & Sons, Hoboken, NJ.
- Moruzzi, N.C. 2005. Cutting through Culture: The Feminist Discourse on Female Circumcision. *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 14, 203–220.
- Muehlenhard, C.L. and Peterson, Z.D. 2005. Wanting and Not Wanting Sex: The Missing Discourse of Ambivalence. *Feminism & Psychology* 15, 15–20.
- Muehlenhard, C.L., Peterson, Z.D., MacPherson, L.A. and Blair, R.L. 2002. First experiences with sexual intercourse: Wanted, unwanted, or both? Application of a multidimensional model. Midcontinent-Eastern Region Conference of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality, June, Big Rapids, MI.
- Mulcahy, D. 2012. Affective assemblages: Body matters in the pedagogic practices of contemporary school classrooms. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society* 20, 9-27.
- Mulholland, M. 2013. *Young People and Pornography*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Mulvey, L. 1975. Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. *Screen* 16, 6–18.
- Naughton, G.M., Hughes, P. and Smith, K. 2009. *Young Children as Active Citizens: Principles, Policies and Pedagogies*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle, UK.
- Nigianni, C. and Storr, M. 2005. *Deleuze and Queer Theory*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Nordstrom, S.N. 2013. Object-Interviews: Folding, Unfolding, and Refolding Perceptions of Objects. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 12, 237–257.
- Nosko, A., Wood, E. and Molema, S. 2010. All about me: Disclosure in online social networking profiles: The case of FACEBOOK. *Computers in Human Behavior* 26, 406–418.
- Office for National Statistics. 2015. Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings: 2015 Provisional Results.
- Office for National Statistics. 2014. Conceptions in England and Wales.
- Office for National Statistics. 2011. 2011 Census.
- Okely, J. 1983. *The Traveller-Gypsies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ollis, D. 2014. The role of teachers in delivering education about respectful relationships: exploring teacher and student perspectives. *Health Education Research* 29, 702–713.
- Orenstein, P. 2016. *Girls & Sex*. Harper Collins, New York, NY.
- Paechter, C. 2006. Reconceptualizing the gendered body: learning and constructing masculinities and femininities in school. *Gender and Education* 18, 121–135.
- Paechter, D.C. 2002. *Educating the Other: Gender, Power and Schooling*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.

- Papadopoulos, L. 2010. *Sexualisation of young people*.
webarchive/nationalarchives.gov.uk
- Parken, A. 2016. Chages and continuities: Women in paid wok in Wales 1994-2014, in: Mannay, D. (Ed.) *Our Chaming Land: Revisiting Gender, Class and Identity in Contemporary Wales*. University of Wales Press.
- Parken, A., Pocher, E. and Davies, O.R. 2014. *Working Patterns in Wales: gender, occupations and pay*. Orca.cf.ac.uk.
- Pascoe, C.J. 2014. Notes on a Sociology of Bullying: Young Men's Homophobia as Gender Socialization. *QED: A Journal in GLBTQ Worldmaking*, 87–103.
- Perrin, P.C., Madanat, H.N., Barnes, M.D., et al. 2008. Health education's role in framing pornography as a public health issue: local and national strategies with international implications. *Promotion & Education* 15, 11–18.
- Perry, M. and Medina, C.L. 2015. *Methodologies of Embodiment: Inscribing Bodies in Qualitative Research*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Peterson, Z.D. and Muehlenhard, C.L. 2007. What Is Sex and Why Does It Matter? A Motivational Approach to Exploring Individuals' Definitions of Sex. *The Journal of Sex Research* 44, 256–268.
- Phipps, A., Ringrose, J., Renold, E. and Jackson, C. 2017. Rape culture, lad culture and everyday sexism: researching, conceptualizing and politicizing new mediations of gender and sexual violence. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 1–8.
- Phipps, A. and Young, I. 2015. Neoliberalisation and "Lad Cultures" in Higher Education. *Sociology* 49, 305–322.
- Pink, S. 2007. Walking with video. *Visual Studies* 22, 240–252.
- Pinquart, M. 2010. Ambivalence in Adolescents' Decisions about Having Their First Sexual Intercourse. *The Journal of Sex Research* 47, 440–450.
- Pitagora, D. 2013. Consent vs. Coercion: BDSM Interactions Highlight a Fine but Immutable Line. *The New School Psychology Bulletin* 10, 27–36.
- Pitts, M. and Rahman, Q. 2001. Which Behaviors Constitute "Having Sex" Among University Students in the UK? *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 30, 169–176.
- Pitts, V. 2003. *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification*. Springer, New York, NY.
- Plummer, K. 2005. Male Sexuality, in: Connell, R., Hearn, J. and Kimmel, M. (Eds.) *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Potts, A. 2004. Deleuze on Viagra (Or, What Can a "Viagra-Body" Do?). *Body & Society* 10, 17–36.
- Probyn, E. 1995. Queer Belongings: The Politics of Departure, in: Grosz, E. and Probyn, E. (Eds.) *Sexy Bodies: The Strange Carnalities of Feminism*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK, pp. 1-18.
- Quinlivan, K. 2014. What's wrong with porn? Engaging with contemporary painting to explore the commodification of pleasure in sexuality education, in: Allen, L., Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK, pp. 78–94.
- Ramsey, S., Sweeney, C., Fraser, M. and Oades, G. 2009. Pubic Hair and Sexuality: A Review. *The Journal of Sexual Medicine* 6, 2102–2110.
- Randall, H.E. and Byers, E.S. 2003. What is sex? Students' definitions of having sex, sexual partner, and unfaithful sexual behaviour. *The Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality* 12, 87–97.

- Rasmussen, M.L. 2014. Pleasure/Desire, Sexularism, and Sexuality Education, in: Allen, L., Rasmussen, M.L. and Quinlivan, K. (Eds.) *The Politics of Pleasure in Sexuality Education - Pleasure Bound*. Routledge, New York, NY, pp. 153–168.
- Rasmussen, M.L., Rofes, E. and Talburt, S. 2004. *Youth and sexualities: Pleasure, subversion, and insubordination in and out of schools*. Palgrave MacMillan, London, UK.
- Rattansi, A. 2000. On being and not being brown/black-British: racism, class, sexuality and ethnicity in post-emperial Britain. *International Journal of Post-Colonial Studies* 1, 118-134.
- Raun, T. (2012). DIY therapy: Exploring affective self-representations in trans video blogs on YouTube, in: Karatzogianni, A. and Kuntsman, A. (Eds). *Digital cultures and the politics of emotion: Feelings, affect and technological change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 165-181.
- Reavey, P. 2012. *Visual Methods in Psychology: Using and Interpreting Images in Qualitative Research*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Redhead, S. 1997. *Post-fandom and the Millennial Blues: The Transformation of Soccer Culture*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK.
- Redman, P. 2001. The Discipline of Love Negotiation and Regulation in Boys' Performance of a Romance-Based Heterosexual Masculinity. *Men and Masculinities* 4, 186–200.
- Reh, E. 2012. *A Study in Gender - BBC's Sherlock, Masculinity and Gender Identities in the Transmedia Fandom*. Unpublished.
- Renninger, B. (2015). 'Where I can be myself...where I can speak my mind': Networked counterpublics in a polymedia environment. *New Media and Society* 17, 1513 – 1529.
- Renold, E. 2017. Feel what I feel': making da(r)ta with teen girls for creative activism on how sexual violence matters. *Journal of Gender Studies* (in press).
- Renold, E. 2016. *A Young People's Guide to Making Positive Relationships Matter*. Cardiff University, Children's Commissioner for Wales, NSPCC Cymru/Wales, Welsh Government, and Welsh Women's Aid.
- Renold, E. 2014. *When movement dances: biomapping as method/ology*. Researching girls and sexuality conference. Institute of Education.
- Renold, E. 2013. *Boys and girls speak out: A qualitative study of children's gender and sexual cultures (ages 10-12)*. www.nspcc.org.uk
- Renold, E. 2004. *Girls, Boys and Junior Sexualities: Exploring Childrens' Gender and Sexual Relations in the Primary School*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Renold, E. and Ivinson, G. 2015. Mud, Mermaids and Burnt Wedding Dresses: Mapping Queer Becomings, in: Renold, E., Ringrose, J. and Egan, R.D. (Eds.) *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK pp. 239-255.
- Renold, E. and Ivinson, G. 2014. Horse-girl assemblages: towards a post-human cartography of girls' desire in an ex-mining valleys community. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 35, 361–376.

- Renold, E. and Ringrose, J. 2016. Selfies, selfies and phallic tagging: posthuman participations in teen digital sexuality assemblages. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 1–14.
- Renold, E. and Ringrose, J. 2011. Schizoid subjectivities? Re-theorizing teen girls' sexual cultures in an era of "sexualization". *Journal of Sociology* 47, 389–409.
- Renold, E. and Ringrose, J. 2008. Regulation and rupture Mapping tween and teenage girls' resistance to the heterosexual matrix. *Feminist Theory* 9, 313–338.
- Renold, E., Ringrose, J. and Egan, R.D. 2015. *Children, Sexuality and Sexualization*. Springer, New York, NY.
- Restrepo, V. 2012. *Paying the rent and other queer issues surrounding neo-Victorian representations of Sherlock Holmes*. unpublished.
- Retallack, H., Ringrose, J. and Lawrence, E. 2016. "Fuck Your Body Image": Teen Girls' Twitter and Instagram Feminism in and Around School, in: Coffey, J. Budgeon, S and Cahill, H. (Eds.) *Learning Bodies, Perspectives on Children and Young People*. Springer Singapore, pp. 85–103.
- Reveley, J. 2016. Neoliberal meditations: How mindfulness training medicalizes education and responsabilizes young people. *Policy Futures in Education* 14, 497–511.
- Reveley, J. 2015. School-Based Mindfulness Training and the Economisation of Attention: A Stieglerian View. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 47, 804–821.
- Rich, A. 1980. Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, 631–660.
- Richardson, A. 2016. *Written evidence. Sexual harassment and sexual violence in schools*. Women and Equalities Committee.
- Richardson, D. 2010. Youth masculinities: compelling male heterosexuality. *The British Journal of Sociology* 61, 737–756
- Richardson, J. and Ryder, A. 2012. *Gypsies and Travellers: Empowerment and Inclusion in British Society*. Policy Press, Bristol, UK.
- Richters, J. and Song, A. 1999. Australian university students agree with Clinton's definition of sex. *BMJ* 318, 1011.
- Riley, S., More, Y. and Griffin, C. 2010. The "pleasure citizen": Analyzing partying as a form of social and political participation. *Young* 18, 33–54.
- Ringrose, J. 2016. Postfeminist Media Panics Over Girls' "Sexualisation": Implications for UK Sex and Relationship Guidance and Curriculum, in: Sundaram, V., and Sauntson, H. (Eds.) *Global Perspectives and Key Debates in Sex and Relationships Education: Addressing Issues of Gender, Sexuality, Plurality and Power*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 30–47.
- Ringrose, J. 2011. Beyond Discourse? Using Deleuze and Guattari's schizoanalysis to explore affective assemblages, heterosexually striated space, and lines of flight online and at school. *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 43, 598–618.
- Ringrose, J. 2007. Successful girls? Complicating post-feminist, neoliberal discourses of educational achievement and gender equality. *Gender and Education* 19, 471–489.

- Ringrose, J., Gill, R., Livingstone, S. and Harvey, L. 2012. *A qualitative study of children, young people and "sexting": a report prepared for the NSPCC*. URL <http://www.nspcc.org.uk/> (accessed 24/09/16).
- Ringrose, J. and Harvey, L. 2015a. BBM is like match.com: social networking and the digital mediation of teen's sexual cultures, in: Bailey, J. and Steeves, V. (Eds.) *eGirls, eCitizens: Putting Technology Theory, Policy and Education into Dialogue with Girls' and Young Women's Voices*, pp. 199–228.
- Ringrose, J. and Harvey, L. 2015b. Boobs, back-off, six packs and bits: Mediated body parts, gendered reward, and sexual shame in teens' sexting images. *Continuum* 29, 205–217.
- Ringrose, J., Harvey, L., Gill, R. and Livingstone, S. 2013. Teen girls, sexual double standards and "sexting": Gendered value in digital image exchange. *Feminist Theory* 14, 305–323.
- Ringrose, J. and Renold, E. 2014. "F**k Rape!" Exploring Affective Intensities in a Feminist Research Assemblage. *Qualitative Inquiry* 20, 772–780.
- Ringrose, J. and Renold, E. 2012. Slut-shaming, girl power and "sexualisation": thinking through the politics of the international SlutWalks with teen girls. *Gender and Education* 24, 333–343.
- Ringrose, J. and Renold, E. 2010. Normative cruelties and gender deviants: the performative effects of bully discourses for girls and boys in school. *British Educational Research Journal* 36, 573–596.
- Robinson, K.H. 2012. "Difficult citizenship": The precarious relationships between childhood, sexuality and access to knowledge. *Sexualities* 15, 257–276.
- Robinson, K.H. 2008. In the name of "childhood innocence": A discursive exploration of the moral panic associated with childhood and sexuality. *Cultural Studies Review* 14, 113.
- Rogala, C. and Tydén, T. 2003. Does pornography influence young women's sexual behavior? *Women's Health Issues* 13, 39–43.
- Rolston, B., Schubotz, D. and Simpson, A. 2005. Sex education in Northern Ireland schools: a critical evaluation. *Sex Education* 5, 217–234.
- Rose, G. 2016. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Rothfield, P. 2011. Dance and the Passing Moment: Deleuze's Nietzsche, in: Guillaume, L. and Hughes, J. (Eds.) *Deleuze and the Body*. Edinburgh University Press, pp. 203–223.
- Rowe, D. 1995. *Popular cultures: rock music, sport and the politics of pleasure*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Sanders, S.A. and Reinisch, J.M. 1999. Would You Say You Had Sex If . . . ? *JAMA* 281, 275–277.
- Saraceno, M.J. and Tambling, R.B. 2013. The Sexy Issue: Visual Expressions of Heteronormativity and Gender Identities in Cosmopolitan Magazine. *The Qualitative Report* 18, 1.
- Schor, J. 1996. What's wrong with consumer capitalism? The joyless economy after twenty years. *Critical Review* 10, 495–508.
- Schwyzer, H. 2011. The Popularity And Perfectionism Behind Butt Sex. *Jezebel*. URL <http://jezebel.com/5870164/the-popularity-and-perfectionism-behind-butt-sex> (accessed 20/01/17).

- Seidler, V.J. 2006. *Transforming Masculinities: Men, Cultures, Bodies, Power, Sex and Love*. Taylor & Francis, Abingdon, UK.
- Shariff, S. 2008. *Cyber-Bullying: Issues and Solutions for the School, the Classroom and the Home*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Sheehan, C. 2015. *Queer-baiting on the BBC's Sherlock: Addressing the Invalidation of Queer Experience through Online Fan Fiction Communities*. Undergraduate Research Posters.
- Sheets-Johnstone, M. 2011. *The Primacy of Movement*. John Benjamins Publishing, Amsterdam.
- Sheets-Johnstone, M. 1981. Thinking in Movement. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 39, 399–407.
- Sheets-Johnstone, M. 1980. *The Phenomenology of Dance*. University of Wisconsin, Madison, WI.
- Shilling, C. 2003. *The Body and Social Theory*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Silverman, L. 2015. *Protecting Children from Harm: a critical assessment of child sexual abuse in the family network in England and priorities for action*. Report for the Children's Commissioner of England.
- Simon, W. and Gagnon, J.H. 2003. Sexual Scripts: Origins, Influences and Changes. *Qualitative Sociology* 26, 491–497.
- Simon, W. and Gagnon, J.H. 1973. *Sexual Conduct: The social origins of human sexuality*. Aldine, Chicago, IL.
- Simpson, J. 2012. *Oxford English Dictionary, 7th edition*. OUP, Oxford.
- Sinković, M., Štulhofer, A. and Božić, J. 2013. Revisiting the Association between Pornography Use and Risky Sexual Behaviors: The Role of Early Exposure to Pornography and Sexual Sensation Seeking. *The Journal of Sex Research* 50, 633–641.
- Sischo, L. and Martin, P.Y. 2015. The Price of Femininity or Just Pleasing Myself? Justifying Breast Surgery. *Gender Issues* 32, 77–96.
- Skeggs, B. 1997. *Formations of Class & Gender: Becoming Respectable*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Skeggs, B., Thumim, N. and Wood, H. 2008. "Oh goodness, I am watching reality TV": How methods make class in audience research. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 11, 5–24.
- Smith, A. 2011. Femininity Repackaged: Postfeminism and Ladette to Lady, in: Waters, M. (Ed.) *Women on Screen*. Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 153–166.
- Smithson, J. 2000. Using and analysing focus groups: Limitations and possibilities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 3, 103–119.
- Snowber, C. 2012. Dance as a Way of Knowing. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 53-60..
- Spencer, G., Maxwell, C. and Aggleton, P. 2008. What does "empowerment" mean in school-based sex and relationships education? *Sex Education* 8, 345–356.
- Sprecher, S., Barbee, A. and Schwartz, P. 1995. "Was it good for you, too?": Gender differences in first sexual intercourse experiences. *The Journal of Sex Research* 32, 3–15.
- Stagoll, C.S. 2010., in: Parr, A. (Ed.) *The Deleuze Dictionary*. Edinburgh University Press.

- Stanko, E.A. 2001. The Day to Count: Reflections on a Methodology to Raise Awareness about the Impact of Domestic Violence in the UK. *Criminal Justice* 1, 215–226.
- Stanko, E.A. 1985. *Intimate Intrusions: Women's Experience of Male Violence*. Routledge, London.
- Stanley, L. and Wise, S. 1983. *Breaking Out Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- St. Pierre, E.A.S. 2013. The Appearance of Data. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 13, 223–227.
- St. Pierre, E.A.S. 1997. Methodology in the fold and the irruption of transgressive data. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 10, 175–189.
- Stengers, I. 2008. Experimenting with Refrains: Subjectivity and the Challenge of Escaping Modern Dualism. *Subjectivity* 22, 38–59.
- Stern, D.N., Hofer, L., Haft, W. and Dore, J. 1985. Affect attunement: The sharing of feeling states between mother and infant by means of inter-modal fluency. *Social Perception in Infants*, 249–268.
- Stewart, K. 2007. *Ordinary Affects*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Strassheim, H. and Kettunen, P. 2014. When does evidence-based policy turn into policy-based evidence? Configurations, contexts and mechanisms. *Evidence & Policy: A Journal of Research, Debate and Practice* 10, 259–277.
- Štulhofer, A., Buško, V. and Landripet, I. 2010. Pornography, Sexual Socialization, and Satisfaction Among Young Men. *Arch Sex Behav* 39, 168–178.
- Suarez, E. and Gadalla, T.M. 2010. Stop Blaming the Victim: A Meta-Analysis on Rape Myths. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 25, 2010–2035.
- Sundaram, V. 2013. Violence as understandable, deserved or unacceptable? Listening for gender in teenagers' talk about violence. *Gender and Education* 25, 889–906.
- Sundaram, V. 2016. Written evidence. *Sexual harassment and sexual violence in schools*. Women and Equalities Committee.
- Sundaram, V. and Sauntson, H. 2016. Discursive silences: using critical linguistic and qualitative analysis to explore the continued absence of pleasure in sex and relationships education in England. *Sex Education* 16, 240–254.
- Taguchi, H.L. 2013. Images of thinking in feminist materialisms: ontological divergences and the production of researcher subjectivities. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 26, 706–716.
- Taylor, F. and Muscarella, F. 2002. *Sexual attitudes: An examination of differences by ethnicity, gender, and year in college*. Presented at the Annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sexuality, Montreal, Canada.
- Thomas, H. 2003. *The Body, Dance and Cultural Theory*. Palgrave Macmillan, London, UK.
- Thomas, H. 1995. *Dance, Modernity, and Culture: Explorations in the Sociology of Dance*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK.
- Thornton, S. 1994. Moral panic, the media and British rave culture, in: Ross, A. and Rose, T. (Eds.) *Microphone Fiends, Youth Music & Youth Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 176–192.
- Tiefer, L. 2007. Beneath the Veneer: The Troubled Past and Future of Sexual Medicine. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 33, 473–477.

- Tiefer, L. 2000. Sexology and the pharmaceutical industry: The threat of co-optation. *Journal of Sex Research* 37, 273–283.
- Tiefer, L. 1994. The Medicalization of Impotence: Normalizing Phallocentrism. *Gender & Society* 8, 363–377.
- Tiefer, L., Hall, M. and Tavris, C. 2002. Beyond Dysfunction: A New View of Women's Sexual Problems. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 28, 225–232.
- Tiger, L. 1992. *The Pursuit of Pleasure*. Transaction Publishers, London, UK.
- Tolman, D.L. 2012. Female Adolescents, Sexual Empowerment and Desire: A Missing Discourse of Gender Inequity. *Sex Roles* 66, 746–757.
- Tolman, D.L. 2006. In a different position: Conceptualizing female adolescent sexuality development within compulsory heterosexuality. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 71–89.
- Tolman, D.L. 2002. *Dilemmas of Desire: Teenage Girls Talk about Sexuality*. Harvard University Press, Boston, MS.
- Tolman, D.L. and McClelland, S.I. 2011. Normative Sexuality Development in Adolescence: A Decade in Review, 2000–2009. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 21, 242–255.
- Tolman, D.L. and Szalacha, L.A. 1999. Dimensions of Desire. *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 23, 7–39.
- Tong, D. 2015. *Gypsies: An Interdisciplinary Reader*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Towbin, M.A., Haddock, S.A., Zimmerman, T.S., Lund, L.K. and Tanner, L.R. 2004. Images of Gender, Race, Age, and Sexual Orientation in Disney Feature-Length Animated Films. *Journal of Feminist Family Therapy* 15, 19–44.
- Towers, J. and Walby, S. 2012. *Measuring the impact of cuts in public expenditure on the provision of services to prevent violence against women and girls*. Lancaster University, UK.
- TUC. 2016. *Nearly two in three young women have experienced sexual harassment at work, TUC survey reveals*. <https://www.tuc.org.uk/equality-issues/sexual-harassment/gender-equality/nearly-two-three-young-women-have-experienced> (accessed 15/01/17).
- Tydén, T. and Rogala, C. 2004. Sexual behaviour among young men in Sweden and the impact of pornography. *International Journal of STD & AIDS* 15, 590–593.
- Ugrina, L. 2014. Celebrity Biometrics: Norms, New Materialism, and the Agentic Body in Cosmetic Surgery Photography. *Fashion Theory* 18, 27–44.
- Ullman, S.E. 2010. *Talking about sexual assault: Society's response to survivors, Psychology of women* (APA Division 35). American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.
- Van Doorn, N. (2010). The ties that bind: The networked performance of gender, sexuality and friendship on Myspace. *New Media & Society* 12, 583 – 602.
- Vannier, S.A., Currie, A.B. and O'Sullivan, L.F. 2014. Schoolgirls and Soccer Moms: A Content Analysis of Free “Teen” and “MILF” Online Pornography. *The Journal of Sex Research* 51, 253–264
- Vaughan, K. 2005. Pieced Together: Collage as an Artist's Method for Interdisciplinary Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 4, 27–52.

- Visser, R.O. de and Smith, A.M.A. 2004. Which intention? Whose intention? Condom use and theories of individual decision making. *Psychology, health & medicine* 9, 193-204.
- Voronova, S. and Radjenovic, A. 2016. The gender dimension of human trafficking.
- Walby, S. and Allen, J. 2004. *Domestic violence, sexual assault and stalking: findings from the British Crime Survey*. Home Office Report.
- Walkerdine, V. 2010. Communal Beingness and Affect: An Exploration of Trauma in an Ex-industrial Community. *Body & Society* 16, 91–116.
- Walkerdine, V. 2007a. *Children, gender, video games: towards a relational approach to multimedia*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK.
- Walkerdine, V. 2007b. Video Games and Childhood Masculinity, in: Walkerdine, V. (Ed.) *Children, Gender, Video Games*. pp. 30–46.
- Walkerdine, V. 2006. Playing The Game. *Feminist Media Studies* 6, 519–537.
- Walkerdine, V. 2004. Remember Not to Die: Young Girls and Video Games. *Papers: Explorations into Children's Literature* 14, 28.
- Walkerdine, V., Lucey, H. and Melody, J. 2001. *Growing up girl: psycho-social explorations of gender and class*. Palgrave, London, UK.
- Walkerdine, V. and Ringrose, J. 2006. Femininities: Reclassifying upward mobility and the neo-liberal subject, in: Skelton, C, Francis, B. and Smulyan, L. (Eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Education*. SAGE, London, pp. 36–41.
- Waller, A. 2010. *Constructing Adolescence in Fantastic Realism*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Walsh, C. 2016. *Gender and Discourse: Language and Power in Politics, the Church and Organisations*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Ward, M.R.M. 2014. "I'm a Geek I am": academic achievement and the performance of a studious working-class masculinity. *Gender and Education* 26, 709-725.
- Ward, M.R.M. 2015. *From Labouring to Learning*. Springer, New York City, NY.
- Warner, M. 1991. Introduction: Fear of a Queer Planet. *Social Text*, 3–17.
- Weare, K. 2000. *Promoting Mental, Emotional, and Social Health: A Whole School Approach*. Psychology Press, Abingdon, UK.
- Weare, K. 2013. Developing mindfulness with children and young people: a review of the evidence and policy context. *Journal of Children's Services* 8, 141–153.
- Weeks, J. 2007. *The World We Have Won: The Remaking of Erotic and Intimate Life*. Routledge, Abingdon, UK.
- Weinstone, A. 2004. *Avatar Bodies*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Weitzer, R. and Kubrin, C.E. 2009. Misogyny in Rap Music A Content Analysis of Prevalence and Meanings. *Men and Masculinities* 12, 3–29.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2009. *School Councils in Wales: Best Practice Guide*. Government Report.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2010. *Sex and relationships education in schools*. Government Report.
- Welsh Assembly Government. 2015. *Violence against women and domestic abuse*. Government Report.
- Wetherell, M. 2012. *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*. SAGE, Thousand Oaks, CA.
- White, M.P. and Dolan, P. 2009. Accounting for the Richness of Daily Activities. *Psychological Science* 20, 1000–1008.

- Whitehead, K. and Kurz, T. 2009. 'Empowerment' and the Pole: A Discursive Investigation of the Reinvention of Pole Dancing as a Recreational Activity. *Feminism & Psychology* 19, 224–244.
- Wiederman, M.W. 2000. Women's body image self-consciousness during physical intimacy with a partner. *The Journal of Sex Research* 37, 60–68.
- Williams, S.J. 1996. The Vicissitudes of Embodiment Across the Chronic Illness Trajectory. *Body & Society* 2, 23–47.
- Wittig, M. 1980. The Straight Mind. *Feminist Issues* 1, 103–111.
- Wittig, M. 1982. The Category of Sex. *Feminist Issues* 2, 63–68.
- Wood, J.T. 2001. The Normalization of Violence in Heterosexual Romantic Relationships: Women's Narratives of Love and Violence. *Journal of Social and Personal* 18, 239–261.
- Youdell, D. 2005. Sex–gender–sexuality: how sex, gender and sexuality constellations are constituted in secondary schools. *Gender and Education* 17, 249–270.
- Youdell, D. and Armstrong, F. 2011. A politics beyond subjects: The affective choreographies and smooth spaces of schooling. *Emotion, Space and Society: Emotional Geographies of Education* 4, 144–150.
- Youdell, D.Y. 2004. Engineering school markets, constituting schools and subjectivating students: the bureaucratic, institutional and classroom dimensions of educational triage. *Journal of Education Policy* 19, 407–431.
- Young, I.M. 2005. *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays*. Oxford University Press.
- Žižek, S. 2006. *How to Read Lacan*. Granta, London.
- Zurbriggen, E.L., Collins, R.L., Lamb, S., Roberts, T.-A., Tolman, D.L. and Ward, L.M. 2007. APA Task Force on the Sexualization of Girls. American Psychological Association.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Extended table of data produced

| Participant Pseudonym | Age at start of study | Total number of phases | Phase 1: Group interviews | | Phase 2: Individual interviews | | | Phase 3: Arts-based methods and follow-up interviews | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--|---------------------------|---|--|---------------------------|--|--|---------------------------|
| | | | Interview length (hours, minutes, seconds) | Transcript length (words) | Pleasure object | Interview length (hours, minutes, seconds) | Transcript length (words) | Arts-based method | Interview length (hours, minutes, seconds) | Transcript length (words) |
| Adriana | 18 | 1 | 1:30:39 | 15,711 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Anna | 18 | 2 | 1:42:27 | 22,502 | Smart phone | 1:22:00 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Bethan | 18 | 2 | 1:30:39 | 15,711 | Hand sanitiser, ipod, and headphones | 1:17:10 | 18,012 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Casey | 17 | 3 | 1:42:27 | 22,502 | ipod and headphones | 1:11:46 | 17,309 | Collage | 1:31:45 | 21,191 |
| Cassia | 17 | 1 | 1:34:37 | 204,98 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Courtney | 18 | 2 | 1:42:27 | 22,502 | Pink smart phone | 1:35:24 | 20,369 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Dan | 16 | 3 | 1:47:56 | 22,085 | Teddy bear given by “nan” (forgot to bring it in) | 1:11:53 | 16,551 | Five photographs (see chapter five for discussion) | 1:49:00 | 21,337 |
| Deanna | 16 | 2 | 1:03:01 | 11,965 | Smart phone | 51:53 | 10,295 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Ed | 16 | 1 | 1:02:25 | 13,499 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Elliot | 17 | 2 | 1:47:56 | 22,085 | No item brought in | 1:09:00 | 12,442 | n/a | n/a | n/a |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|---|---------|--------|--|---------|--------|---|---------|--------|
| Erin | 17 | 3 | 1:30:39 | 15,711 | Smart phone | 1:01:06 | 13,949 | 'Erotica' written story (length: 2,086 words) | 46:39 | 9,730 |
| Greg | 18 | 2 | 1:42:27 | 22,502 | Signed One Direction CD, Nicki Minaj CD, 3 One Direction dolls, photo camera, arty photograph, Vogue magazine, smart phone, hairspray, 3 concert tickets | 1:39:51 | 18,264 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Hassan | 16 | 3 | 1:03:01 | 11,965 | Smart phone, headphones and chocolate | 52:20 | 10,791 | Painting (see figure 3) | 1:07:59 | 12,136 |
| Heather | 16 | 2 | 1:03:01 | 11,965 | Woollen hat | 51:35 | 11,396 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Jade | 17 | 2 | 1:34:37 | 20,498 | No item brought in | 1:39:23 | 21,836 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| James | 16 | 1 | 1:02:25 | 13,499 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Jennifer | 18 | 1 | 1:42:27 | 22,502 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Jonah | 16 | 1 | 1:02:25 | 13,499 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Kevin | 16 | 2 | 1:34:37 | 20,498 | Condom | 0:26:43 | 4,449 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Kirsty | 16 | 3 | 1:10:56 | 14,672 | Mascara | 0:47:04 | 9,537 | Follow-up interview only | 0:47:04 | 9,537 |
| Kyle | 18 | 1 | 1:21:06 | 16,302 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Layla | 17 | 1 | 1:30:39 | 15,711 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Lewes | 17 | 1 | 1:38:29 | 24,761 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Mark | 16 | 3 | 1:03:01 | 11,965 | Smart phone | 49:39 | 10,074 | Follow-up interview only | 0:38:01 | 9,213 |
| Molly | 18 | 1 | 1:34:37 | 20,498 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|---|-----------------|----------------|--|---|---|
| Nathan | 18 | 1 | 1:21:06 | 16,302 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Nicola | 16 | 2 | 1:03:01 | 11,965 | No item brought in | 32:49 | 5,650 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Rhiannon | 16 | 2 | 1:02:25 | 13,499 | Pompom | 2:05:11 | 24,636 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Rich | 16 | 3 | 1:02:25 | 13,499 | Headphones | 1:52:57 | 21,568 | Follow-up interview only | 0:50:26 | 9,327 |
| Rosie | 16 | 3 | 1:10:56 | 14,672 | Present from boyfriend | 1:15:49 | 16,930 | Follow-up interview only | 1:13:49 | 15,948 |
| Sam | 16 | 3 | 1:03:01 | 11,965 | Birthday, Christmas and Valentine's cards from girlfriend | 1:09:37 | 15,863 | Two climbing videos (length in minutes/seconds: 1:30 and 1:55) and a drawing (see figure 11) | 1:08:36 (climbing videos) and 0:59:49 (drawing) | 12,771 (climbing videos) and 10,817 (drawing) |
| Sarah | 17 | 3 | 1:30:39 | 15,711 | Smart phone and dance video of herself | 1:28:05 | 19,961 | Five dance videos (length in minutes/seconds: 0:38; 0:26; 1:08; 0:54; 0:40) | 1:11:15 | 15,066 |
| Scarlet | 16 | 2 | 1:10:56 | 14,672 | Mints | 0:52:34 | 10,999 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Sebastian | 18 | 2 | 1:38:29 | 24,761 | Rugby ball | 1:49:16 | 25,467 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Tom | 18 | 2 | 1:38:29 | 24,761 | Fake tooth | 1:10:12 | 12,927 | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Zach | 17 | 1 | 1:21:06 | 16,302 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |
| Total | n/a | n/a | 12:51:36 | 161,995 | n/a | 29:00:17 | 366,076 | n/a | 11:48:41 | 143,722 |

Appendix 2: Project information for schools

Young People, Bodies, Sex and Gender - A Research Project

Who is doing the research, and who is it for?

My name is Josie Austin and I am carrying out this research as part of my PhD programme in the School of Social Sciences at Cardiff University. The research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC). I have previously completed a BSc in Psychology at Durham University, and an MSc in Research Methods in Psychology at the University of Bristol. I have a great deal of experience working with young people: I have worked with young people in foster homes, in schools for young people with learning difficulties, and at the Samaritans. I have also completed a level 3 certificate in Person-Centred Counselling Skills at Manchester College.

What is the research about?

The aim of this study is to find out if how young women and men learn to behave in 'gender-appropriate' ways is related to the way they behave sexually, how they think about their bodies, pleasure, and sexuality, and their perceptions of how sex and sexuality is represented by the media. The research will involve young women and men between the ages of 16 and 18 years and will be set in a variety of schools and youth centres across south Wales.

What kind of questions might I ask participants?

These are some examples of questions I might discuss with participants: What makes young people feel good in their bodies? Do young people feel pressure to be sexy? Does that affect how they feel about their bodies?

How is the research useful?

The project aims to give young people the opportunity to express their views and feelings with regards to their bodies, sex and gender. It aims to contribute to creating a society in which all young people are able to express themselves freely, and are not constrained by dominant notions of masculinity and femininity, sexual pressures or sexual violence.

What will the research involve for the participants?

Group interviews and individual interviews are my main research methods. Initially I will be looking for groups of young people to come and talk to me together in group interviews. Depending on the choice of the participants, these could be single-sex or mixed in gender. The second phase involves inviting young people to participate in a one-to-one interview and possibly creating a collage, or something similarly creative. The exact nature of the second stage of the research is dependent on the findings from the group interviews.

What will the research involve for the school/FE college/youth centre?

If you are happy for your school/FE college/youth centre to take part in the research, I would like to pay a visit to your school/FE college/youth centre so I can get to know and recruit potential participants. The group interviews would take place in your institution

and it would be great if the following stages of the research could also be carried out in your school/FE college/youth centre.

What ethical considerations will be made?

The research will be conforming to the professional ethical guidelines for educational research stated by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004), and Cardiff University's Child Protection Procedures. As the principle investigator, I have undergone a recent Criminal Records Bureau (CRB) check. Written informed consent will be obtained from all participants, and if you like we could also obtain parental consent (although this is not a legal requirement).

I will be ready to discuss any concerns that may be raised by you, the participants or the participants' parents. Participants will be reminded that participation is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw from the study at any time. Information will be treated as confidential, and all transcripts will be anonymised.

Research has argued that it is of ethical and moral importance to include young people in research about sexuality, and to value their agency and competency. However, research involving sexual topics with young people raises many challenges. Due to the sensitive nature of the topic, I will be proactive in building up trust with participants. Participants will therefore be met prior to any individual interviews or focus groups, and active empathic listening will be utilised. Participants will be encouraged to only communicate information if they are comfortable with doing so. In the case of disclosure of abuse, I would inform the person in your institution responsible for dealing with child protection issues.

Participants will be given the phone numbers of the Samaritans, Childline, and Brook, and will be advised to call one of these help lines if distressed and/or arrange an appointment with a counsellor if possible. Moreover, it will be ensured that following each interview there will be a period of at least 30 minutes in which participants can talk to me.

Questions?

You can contact me, or either of my two supervisors, if you have any questions regarding me or my research.

My contact details:

Josie Austin:

Email: AustinJI@cardiff.ac.uk

Research mobile phone number: 07xxxxxxxxx

Academic supervisors:

Professor Emma Renold: Renold@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

Dr Sara MacBride-Stewart: MacBride-StewartS@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

Thank you for taking the time to read this leaflet!

Appendix 3: Participant information sheet

Exploring young people's views about their bodies, sex and gender

What's this leaflet about?

This leaflet is about a research project I'm doing on young people's views and feelings about their bodies, pleasure and sexuality, including how sex is represented in the media. I'm particularly interested in how being a girl or a guy affects how people might feel about these issues.

Who am I?

My name is Josie Austin and I'm a researcher at Cardiff University. I'm doing this project as part of my PhD degree.

Who can take part?

All people between the ages of 16 and 18, of any gender and sexuality, are more than welcome to take part.

What's involved?

There are several stages of the project that you could get involved in. Initially, I'll be looking for groups of people to come and talk to me together, and discuss how you think people your age feel and think about their bodies, sexuality, and how sex is represented in the media. I'm also interested in finding out what you think are the best ways of talking to people about these issues.

At a later stage, I'll also be looking for some people who are interested in talking to me in a one-on-one interview to find out more about personal experiences, feelings and attitudes.

What kind of things am I interested in?

These are some examples of things we might discuss: What makes people your age feel good in their bodies? Do people your age feel pressure to be sexy? Does that affect how they feel about their bodies?

What if you feel uncomfortable about anything I ask you?

If you feel uncomfortable to talk about any of these issues, that's absolutely fine. I will not put any pressure on you to talk about things you don't want to. I'm only interested in talking about the aspects you feel happy talking about.

What will I do with the information you give me?

If you take part in the research, I'd like to audio-record any interviews we do - as long as you're happy with this. Some of these recordings will be written up and used in my PhD thesis. The research might also be published in articles in some journals, so people researching similar things can find out about it. If you feel unhappy about anything you've told me being used as part of my project, you can let me know and I won't use it. In order to protect your privacy, when I write about the research, I won't

use your real name. I'll keep all information about you and the research in a secure place so nobody else can access it.

Will I tell anyone else what you told me?

I won't share anything you say to me with anybody else except my two supervisors at the university. There is one exception to this: If you tell me that you or anybody else has been harmed or is in danger of harm (like if someone is being hurt physically), I will have to talk to somebody in your institution who can help professionally. I would always talk to you about this first though. Also, I can't promise confidentiality in group interviews, so please only share information you feel comfortable sharing with others.

What are the benefits of taking part?

Often, when people talk and write about young people and sex it seems like they're not really interested in the views of the young people involved - I want to know what you think! Also, I am interested in finding out what makes you feel good about yourself - in the long run maybe this could help to move our culture in a direction which encourages you and others to do so.

What if you change your mind?

You can stop taking part in the study at any time if you want to - you don't need to give a reason, you just need to let me know. There won't be any negative consequences for you as a result.

Interested?

If you're interested in getting involved, please come and talk to me, or call or e-mail me. I'm more than happy to call you back so you don't have to spend money on phone calls.

Research mobile phone number: 07xxxxxxxxx

Email: AustinJI@cardiff.ac.uk

Any questions?

If you've got any other questions or worries, please get in touch with me. You can call or e-mail me (see details above). You can also contact my supervisors at Cardiff University if you have any concerns about me or my research:

Emma Renold: Renold@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

Sara MacBride-Stewart: MacBride-StewartS@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

What if you're worried or upset about anything?

If you're worried about anything to do with your body, sex, relationships, or anything else, you can call:

Samaritans (for support on any issue): 08457 909090 (NOT free of charge) or
jo@samaritans.org (free of charge)

Childline (free support on any issue): 0800 1111

Brook (free sexual health advice for young people): 0808 802 1234

Thanks for taking the time to read this leaflet!

Appendix 4: Information sheet for parents/carers

Exploring young people's views about their bodies, sex and gender

What's this leaflet about?

You're receiving this leaflet because your daughter/son has shown interest in taking part in a research project I am doing on young people's views and feelings about bodies, pleasure, and sexuality, including how sex is represented in the media. I'm particularly interested in how people's gender affects how they might feel about these issues. I hope that you will read through this leaflet to find out more about the project, and that you will be happy to give consent for your daughter/son to take part.

Who is doing the research?

My name is Josie Austin and I'm a researcher at Cardiff University. I am doing this project as part of my PhD degree, and I am funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

What will it involve for your daughter/son?

There are several stages of the project that your daughter/son could get involved in. Initially, I'll be looking for groups of people to come and talk to me together, and discuss how they think young people feel and think about their bodies, sexuality, and how sex is represented in the media. I'm also interested in finding out what they think are the best ways of talking to people about these issues. This discussion will be audio-recorded.

In a later stage, your daughter/son could also take part in one-on-one discussions with me about their feelings, experiences and attitudes. She/he will only take part in aspects of the research she/he agrees to.

What kind of things am I interested in?

These are some examples of things I might discuss with your daughter/son: What makes young people feel good in their bodies? Do young people feel pressure to be sexy? Does that affect how they feel about their bodies?

What will happen to the information your daughter/son shares with me?

Whatever information your daughter/son shares as part of the research project will be confidential. I will share it only with my two supervisors, who are senior researchers at Cardiff University, and it will be stored securely. Confidentiality will only be breached if your child shares information which suggests that your daughter/son or somebody else has been harmed or is at risk of harm.

I will use the information gathered from the research in writing my PhD thesis, in academic journal articles, presentations and reports. The names of all participants and institutions will be changed, so it won't be possible to identify your daughter/son in any of the writing.

How is the research useful?

The research gives young people the opportunity to express how they feel about issues relating to their bodies and sexuality. In the long run, maybe this could help create environments in which young people are able to feel safer and happier in their own skin.

What do you have to do if you are happy with your daughter/son taking part?

If you are willing for your daughter/son to take part in the research, please complete the consent form attached and send it back to me. It is probably easiest if you then give it to your daughter/son to give to me. If you prefer you could email or post it. My details are listed below. You will not have to do anything further in relation to the research.

What if you, or your daughter/son, change your mind later?

You or your daughter/son can choose to withdraw from the research at any time. You do not need to give a reason - you just have to let me know - and there won't be any negative consequences for you or your daughter/son.

Questions?

If you have any questions about the research, or if you'd like to speak to me further before deciding whether to give consent to the research, please get in touch with me and I'll be happy to speak to you about any concerns. You can call me or email me.

Research mobile phone number: 07xxxxxxxxx

E-mail: AustinJI@cardiff.ac.uk

Postal Address:

**Josie Austin
SOCSI PhD Office
1-3 Museum Place
Cardiff University
Cardiff
CF10 3BD**

You can also contact my supervisors at Cardiff University if you have any concerns about me or my research:

Emma Renold: Renold@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

Sara MacBride-Stewart: MacBride-StewartS@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

Thank you for taking the time to read this leaflet!

Appendix 5: Participant consent form

Exploring the relationship between young people's gendered bodies, their sexual practices and their sexual subjectivities

Name of researcher: Josie Austin

| | Please tick |
|---|-------------|
| I,, confirm that I have read and understood the information leaflet enclosed. | |
| I give my consent to take part in the study and confirm that this is my own decision and nobody has pressured me to take part. | |
| I understand that any information shared in the research will be kept confidential, between myself, the researcher and her two supervisors. | |
| I understand that information I share will be made anonymous, and then may be written about as part of the researcher's PhD thesis, journal articles, presentations and/or reports. | |
| I understand that I can choose to stop participating in the study at any time, without needing to give a reason, without any negative consequences, and that I can choose which parts of the study to take part in. | |

Name of person participating in study:

.....

Signature of person participating in study:

.....

Date:

Appendix 6: Parental consent form

Exploring the relationship between young people's gendered bodies, their sexual practices and their sexual subjectivities

Name of researcher: Josie Austin

| | Please tick |
|---|-------------|
| I,, confirm that I have read and understood the information leaflet enclosed. | |
| I give my consent for my child to take part in this study. | |
| I understand that whatever personal information my child shares with the researcher will be confidential and securely stored and nobody will have access to it apart from the researcher and her two supervisors. | |
| I understand that information gathered during the research will be made anonymous, and then may be written about as part of the researcher's PhD thesis, journal articles, presentations and/or reports. | |
| I understand that my child or I can choose to withdraw consent at any time and from any part of the study, without needing to give a reason, and that this will have no negative consequences for myself or my child. | |

Name of person participating in study:

.....

Name of parent/carer (please print name):

.....

Signature of parent/carer:

.....

Date:

Appendix 7: Information leaflet for arts-based methods

Information leaflet for the next and final step of the research

Thank you for your contribution to the research so far! This leaflet explains how you can get involved in the next (and final) step of the research.

What does the next step involve?

So far, we have had group interviews and have done one-on-one interviews to talk about your feelings relating to your body, gender, and sexuality. This final stage is an opportunity for you to get creative (but you can also just talk to me again if you prefer).

What are the benefits of using creative methods?

Sometimes it can be difficult to put how we feel into words. Creative methods allow you to express your feelings using other means, for example images.

What methods can I use?

You can contribute by choosing any of the following options to express how you feel in or about your body and/or sexuality:

1. Creating collages

I will provide paper and magazines from which you can take snippets, or you can use your own.



2. Drawing pictures



3. Taking me on a walking tour

Show me around, or walk with me to a place in which you enjoy being or where you do something you enjoy.



4. Recording sounds

Including singing, environmental sounds, instruments or anything else. I will lend you a dictaphone.



5. Taking photos or shooting a video

I will provide you with a disposable photo camera or you can make a video using your mobile phone. Please make sure you don't include other people.



6. Writing poetry



7. Doing a follow-up interview

If you would prefer not to get involved in one of the creative methods, I would still like to do a follow-up interview with you.



8. Your own method

If you want to come up with your own methods, that's great! You can discuss your idea with me.



What topics do you want me to address?

If possible I would like you to address the following three topics, but it's fine if there are aspects you would prefer to leave out or if you just want to focus on one:

- How you feel in your body in everyday life situations (e.g. walking, sitting, meeting new people, when you see yourself in a mirror)
- What pleasure feels like in your body
- Emotions you associate with sexuality

Where will this stage take place?

We will discuss any art work you produce, or do the follow-up interview, in your school/college. If you are taking me on a walking tour, you can choose the location and we will discuss this in advance.

Will we talk about topics brought up in previous stages?

Whatever method you choose, I would like us to reflect upon the experiences you talked about in your previous interview, as well as anything brought up in the method you choose.

Will you contact me again?

I might contact you again once I have looked at any art work you create in more detail, or have listened to your interview again, to make sure I am not interpreting anything in a way you do not agree with!

Will you ever use my real name?

As I mentioned before, I will never use your real name if I write or talk about what you said or any art work you create.

Do I have to take part in this stage of the research?

It's entirely up to you whether you want to take part in this stage of the research. You can choose to stop participating at any point.

Any questions?

If you or your parents/carers/teachers have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me on **07xxxxxxxx** or **AustinJI@cardiff.ac.uk**.

You can also contact my supervisors at the University of Cardiff if you have any concerns about me or my research:

Professor Emma Renold:
Renold@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

Dr Sara MacBride-Stewart:
MacBride-StewartS@cardiff.ac.uk or 029 xxxxxxxx

What if you're worried or upset about anything?

If you're worried about anything to do with your body, sex, relationships, or anything else, you can call:

Samaritans (for support on any issue): 08457 909090 (NOT free of charge) or
jo@samaritans.org (free of charge)

Childline (free support on any issue): 0800 1111

Brook (free sexual health advice for young people): 0808 802 1234

Thanks again for your involvement!

Appendix 8: Example of a consent form for phase three

Composing and filming a dance routine

| | Please tick |
|--|-------------|
| I,, confirm that I have read and understood the information leaflet enclosed. | |
| I give my consent to take part in this step of the research and confirm that this is my own decision and nobody has pressured me to take part. | |
| I confirm that I have informed the researcher of the location in which I intend to film my dance routine, and that I believe this location to be safe and appropriate for this purpose. | |
| I give my consent for the researcher to use an anonymised version of the video clip I produce (or anonymised still images taken from it), as well as anonymised interview data, for academic purposes such as publications and presentations. | |
| I confirm that I will not record other people for the purpose of the research. | |
| I understand that that the researcher will discuss with me at the end of the study the potential risks associated with me keeping a copy of my video clip. If the researcher is of the opinion that the video clip may pose serious risks for me or other people, she may suggest to me to delete my copy or to refrain from making it public. However, I understand that I will own the copyright to the video clip and that I therefore have the right to decide what to do with it. | |
| I confirm that if I do decide to make the video clip public, I will not associate it with the researcher or Cardiff University in any way. | |
| I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any point before the 31st of December 2013, without needing to give a reason and without there being any negative consequences. | |

Name of person participating in study:

.....

Signature of person participating in study:

.....

Date: