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CATEGORIZATION OF PORNOGRAPHIC VIDEO CLIPS ON THE INTERNET:
A COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

PhD Dissertation

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Abstract:

Anthropological study of the Internet pornography can refer to the cultural communication between the creators of the contents and authors of pornographic sites, as well as between the authors of sites and users, the latter being more relevant to this work as it assumes supracultural activities on the Internet and comprises the pornography users as a distinct population. The aim of this study is to determine, through the categorization of porn clips in the Internet, cognitive schemes and cultural models which explain the principles of such classification and provide the information on the cultural thought that lies behind the interpretation of the Internet pornography during the organization of that particular part of virtual reality by the pornographic sites' authors and their users. Following methodological means have been applied: ethno-taxonomic analysis and D'Andrade's folk model of the mind. Categories which appear on web sites are not organized in hierarchies, which means their interrelations had to be inferred. Results showed that categories do not carry sufficient meaning by themselves. Rather, related categories are used to describe concepts, and those concepts frequently derive their meaning from their relation with other concepts. Users also perform the partition of this space by using similar larger segments, whereas the categories themselves are merely preferences within the segment which is currently in focus. One of the observed user behaviors which affects their approach to categorization is their perception of the realistic-spectacular relationship. The users perceive most clips as a staged fiction whose actors take part in it for reasons of self-interest. On one hand, this implies a higher competence of users population; on the other, this relates to the need to define, justify and place the perception of one's own sexuality within the framework of what is socially acceptable supporting it with the assertion that "no animal was harmed during the making of this movie", which to a certain extent corresponds to the context outside the pornography in which any behaviour on the Internet is believed to be legitimate just because it is virtual, making the evaluation parameters appear to come down to the esthetic element and the physical safety, while everything has its price. The Internet pornography represents a consistent continuation of the history of pornography because the behavior exhibited during its use also represents a side effect of a cultural environment of the group using it.

Keywords: pornography, the Internet, categories, cognitive anthropology, taxonomy, model of the mind, the history of pornography, the history of the Internet, supracultural communication, pornography users

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I INTRODUCTION

The changes happening in the modern wold, particularly those related to the technological innovations and their applications in everyday life, have left their mark on the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. Progress in the field of telecommunication-related technologies is highly important to the fields of social and cultural studies. Radio, television, and similar inventions have provided globalisation with a powerful impetus, but the Internet receives the most attention of all the various forms of long-distance communication.

The Internet has earned its high position for multiple reasons: not only does it represent a revolutionary method of bidirectional (and multidirectional) long-distance communication, it is also by its very nature tied to the information technologies that have made great advances in a very brief time period. More than just a technological tool of the modern world, the Internet has become a cultural phenomenon influencing nearly all aspects of human activity and the lives of hundreds of millions. The analysis of Internet usage statistics shows that the number of users has grown by 560%[1] between 2000 and 2012. The precise number of users is difficult to calculate, but it has been estimated to exceed two and a half billion.

Development of the Internet also increases the amount and availability of information, and the network's anonymity grants its users freedom to access even content that bears social taboos. According to the 2009 statistics, 12%[2] of all web sites have pornographic content. On a daily level, search engines report that pornography represents 25% of all queries, which makes pornographic content the most copious portion of the Internet. For this reason, the study of Internet pornography as a social phenomenon has anthropological significance.

Web site creators frequently divide pornographic content into categories and genres which are not common to all sites but vary from one site to another. On the other hand, most pornographic sites enable the users to leave comments for each video clip, as well as to "tag" those video clips, i.e. to mark the clips with a particular title.

This enables the users to quickly access video clips with identical "tags,"

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[1] http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm (accessed on 4 May 2013)

[2] Statistical data taken from the web page http://internet-filter-review.toptenreviews.com/internet-pornography-statistics.html from the summary which contains the results of accredited agencies and media outlets: ABC, Associated Press, AsiaMedia, AVN, BBC, CATW, U.S. Census, Central Intelligence Agency, China Daily, etc. (accessed on 4 May 2013)

allowing them to create their own categories through comments and tagging of certain content types. The users' actions are culturally conditioned on their previous experiences and understanding of pornography itself. This context provides the significance of categorization of Internet pornographic content.

The research topic of this thesis are pornographic clips, Internet pages (sites) containing those clips, data related to their context, and the categories of Internet pornographic content.

Why is it important to understand the way Internet users categorise content of this type? The ability to select particular elements from the physical reality in place of others and their hierarchical grouping into conceptual units is a natural and culturally conditioned trait which allows human beings to understand and predict occurrences in the world around us (Medin and Aguilar et al, 1999:104-105). In the cognitive-anthropological sense, the method we use in categorising entities is determined by the culture we belong to, and it reflects our cultural "imprint" – values, knowledge, and beliefs. Therefore, the way people categorise pornographic content represents a cultural manifestation and reveals the outlook and principles of a certain community towards human sexuality. Methodological instruments used in this thesis include ethnotaxonomy and the cultural model of the mind.

Bearing all this in mind, the goal of this doctoral dissertation is to discover the rules and logic of knowledge construction conceptualised in models arising from the categorization of Internet pornographic clips, as well as the culturally conditioned and learned knowledge which results in the logic of creation.

Pornography forms a significant share of topics in Internet communication. The way people represent and categorise sexuality by means of pornographic clips is an indirect testimony to the way they think about it, and the significance of this thesis is in the application of well-known cognitive anthropology methods to discover and explain the causes and principles that result in this way of thinking; this also makes this thesis the first in the field of cognitive anthropology to make a step towards the study of cultural conditioning in the principles of classification in Internet pornography.

Some questions are frequently raised in the research of pornography done to this date and the proposed censorship legislation: does pornography cause addiction, does it encourage criminal behaviour, does it lead to sexual inequality (Corsianos, 2007:863-885) (Shibata, 2008:4-7), what is the best way to censor it (Waltman, 2010:228-231), etc. At the same time, the media show and persist a stereotype of Internet pornography

as the cause of alienation and the tool in development of deviant tendencies, while certain research starts from the position that pornography changes sexuality and the perception of reality, has negative impact on the marriage, family, and personal happiness (Fagan, 2011:1-17). The influence of Internet pornography is likened to the negative impact of the Internet on productivity, activity, and mental health, like the so-called "Internet addition" (Young, 2004:402-415), or the contested claim made by Rimm that 83.5% of Internet photographs are pornographic in nature and that the Internet's creators come from the establishment with a clearly planned strategy of manipulation (Rimm, 1995:1867) (Hoffman et al, 1995). The news in media point to the all-encompassing presence of pornography consumption (according to some news, even the residents of Vatican watch pornographic content on the Internet[3]). On the other hand, some of the latest research indicates that pornography and the practice of certain sexual activities can be useful (e.g. the research that shows that subjects who practice BDSM – sadism/masochism were shown to be less neurotic, less burdened, more open and more extroverted (Wismeijer et al, 2013)).

The beginning of this thesis will focus on the subject of this research. The first section will present the historical development of the Internet, from its beginnings as a scientific and military project to a common-use entity. It is important to note that its wide usage comes from its potential for commercialisation, which was recognised in the last decade of the previous century. The following section will be devoted to the historical development of pornography.

Pornography is a dynamic phenomenon which has, since its beginnings in the antiquity, been determined by the social practice, beliefs and norms characterising the particular society in the given historical moment. Examples range from erotic frescoes found in Pompeii (Moulton, 2000: 6), through representations of *kama sutra* depicted on eastern temples (Williams, 1989:9), to Boccaccio's opus which is tied to the beginnings of modern pornography (Eisner et al, 2009:817). Moulton defines pornography as the cultural production of activities of human sexuality, presented in a relatively explicit form, which can be offensive and worthy of moral condemnation to some viewers.

This author includes the word "fun" in his definition of pornography, which in this case represents the set of its lexical variations indicating the intimate and personal

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[3]http://torrentfreak.com/priests-watch-dvd-screeners-while-pirates-download-filth-in-the-vatican-130407/ (accessed on 9 April 2013)

impressions of the consumer (Moulton, 2000: 5). During the nineteenth century there were discussions of legal regulation and censorship of this form of human creativity, but, regardless of the censorship and denunciation, even the earlier researchers awarded significance to pornography as a well-established cultural cognitive instrument which orients the members of any given culture with respect to the change of practices and outlook, as well as the acquisition of knowledge in the area of sexual hygiene and sexual education (Hyde, 1965:9). The chapter on the history of pornography will provide examples of pornographic expression through the history of pornographic elements within literary, visual, and multimedia contents.

The sections which examine the subject of this study will conclude with a treatise on pornography in the Internet environment, i.e. its specific differences from the other mediums, as well as the general anthropological interpretations of pornography.

The first chapter of the section which relates to the theoretical and methodological framework will focus on cognitive anthropology, with an overview of its roots, familial terminology, ethnotaxonomy, prototypes and colour matching, patterns, cultural models, as well as some newer research, forming and examination of cultural models.

Following this chapter will be an overview of the history of categorization, the significance of scientific classifications, the history of biological classification, as well as the pre-evolutionary and evolutionary taxonomy. Next will be a review of different theories on the classification of societies, human nature, as well as the (sometimes racist) classification of humans themselves. The ensuing part will place an emphasis on the categorization in social studies, starting with Aristotle's categories, as well as those of Kant and Durkheim, with Schmauss' explanation and connotation of any classification.

The chapter on taxonomies and ethnotaxonomies will explain the difference between scientific and folk classifications, based on the types of taxonomies in existence, with an explanation of the logic in forming biological and non-biological ethnotaxonomies in the works of Berlin Brent, Atran, et al.

The next section of the thesis will contain a chapter on ethnography in the virtual world. Considering that the Internet is being used as a virtual territory, this section will redefine the terms of territory and collection of ethnographic data, showing the basic elements of several standard pornographic sites, with an overview of what makes pornographic sites specific when compared to general purpose sites which also "hold"

video material.

The final segment will present an analysis and interpretation of the collected material and obtained results. The chapter on ethnotaxonomies will present an ethnotaxonomy of collected categories based on content and "related" categories in clips which primarily fit certain categories. After forming the ethnotaxonomy, the analysis of relations between categories and presumed cultural background which applies to certain categories will establish the logic of categorization.

The chapter which talks about the cultural model of the mind will form a cultural mind models of the user's behaviour, interpreted based on the naming of "tags," site comments, as well as the mechanisms which influence the forming of categories. The results obtained in the chapter on ethnotaxonomy analysis will be examined using the model of the mind, in order to validate them through the use of a different method.

II SUBJECT OF THE RESEARCH

II 1. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNET AND PORNOGRAPHY

II 1.a HISTORY OF THE INTERNET

II 1.a. 1. Introduction

Various anthropological studies are based on facts that define the Internet in a more significant manner than its technological foundation. Those studies, however, do not investigate the technology of the Internet at all, even though the research of the phenomenon itself should include the facts derived from the information technology which the Internet was founded on. The Internet is a global ICT system comprised of networks which freely exchange information. This is the communication technology used by billions of people across the world; without it, the life as we know it today would be impossible. The name itself is an abbreviated version of the technical term *internetwork* although it should not be equated to the World Wide Web – the differences between the two will be pointed out later. Because of its complexity and availability, the Internet can be observed through at least three aspects that depict its facets. The technological aspect began with various research studies related to the transmission of information packages and the ARPANET (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network) as is closely tied to the development of computer technologies, which it has followed in each generation. The technological aspect is inseparable from the aspects of managing the global and highly complex infrastructure and operability. Furthermore, there is a social aspect which addresses the wide society of internauts[4], who affect the development, improvement, and popularisation of technologies. This society is distinguished by years of experience on the web, with a solid knowledge of search engines and search criteria, regular participation in forums and discussion groups, as well as the basic knowledge of Internet programming. For these reasons, members of this society are an irreplaceable part of swift and efficient network expansion. They are connected to the terms *cyber world* and *cyber-reality*, which refer to the non-physical environment comprised of networked computers, which is characterised by imitation of the physical environment. One should also not overlook the commercial aspect of

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[4] Internaut is the term used in the Internet slang to denote a technically knowledgeable Internet user. Synonims: Cybernaut and Netizen.

Internet marketing, which is based on the advertisement of products and services by using the Internet as the medium. Its main advantages are the lower costs of information expansion and its global audience. The goal is to encapsulate potential buyers' digital data in their entirety and to manipulate that data in order to create strategies for better business (Vasic, 2010:80-81).

II 1.a.2. Beginnings of the Internet

The idea of Internet was formed in the 1950s. During the Cold War, an indirect conflict between the Western and Eastern blocks, the United States of America were strategically concerned with the Soviet space expansion and the launch of Sputnik spacecraft in 1957. As a reaction to the launch of Sputnik, the United States initiated several projects with the goal of defence from USSR's potential threat and to reduce USSR's strategic advantage. One of the projects launched at this time was the ARPA (Advanced Research Project Agency)[5]. Known today as the DARPA (Defence Advanced Research Project Agency)[6], this agency was set with a goal to create technologies which would enable the United States military to retake the lead in the arms race, as well as to increase the security of the country itself (Naughton, 2000).

DARPA was presented in the late 1950s, and the first idea of the web, meaning a network of connected computers, was formed in 1961. J. C. R. Licklider[7] stored several notes in what he referred to as the "Intergalactic network"[8], which was supposed to enable electronic access to both data and programs from a large network of computers. The key to this idea was for all computers from this network to be somehow connected together[9].

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[5] http://www.darpa.mil/About/History/History.aspx (accessed on 15 May 2013)

[6] In addition to the development of the Internet, ARPA/DARPA gave a big contribution to the development of GPS. This research agency reports to the US Department of Defence, and it is independent of other agencies of that Department. It has around 240 employees and a budget exceeding two billion US dollars. After the launch of Sputnik, ARPA/DARPA was focused on space exploration programmes but in time changed its orientation towards information science research where its greatest successes were achieved (http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2012/02/darpa-budget-death-ray/, accessed on 15 May 2013)

[7] Licklider is an American information scientist and psychologist, rightfully considered today one of the few people who have contributed the most to the development of information technologies in the twentieth century.

[8] The term was coined when Licklider called his colleagues "members and participants of the intergalactic computer network".

[9] http://www.internetsociety.org/internet/what-internet/history-internet/brief-history-internet (accessed on 15 May 2013)

Essentially, the military wanted to gain the most efficient means of creating a decentralised communication network, which would enable the response of each branch of the military during and after a nuclear assault. Even the people who realised the network themselves admit that the result was a huge and discordant, but highly resistant network which was capable of enduring the loss of the large portion of network infrastructure[10]. The original study was commissioned from Paul Baran, member of the RAND Corporation.[11] (Banks, 2008). When the RAND corporation completed its final report in the study, Paul Baran, project leader, proposed the initiation of technology he defined as "packet switching in a network"[12] as one of the methods of achieving decentralisation and other goals set by the military.

In additional to Licklider and Baran, several other researchers of note have contributed to the development of early Internet. The name that certainly bears mentioning is Leonard Kleinrock[13], whose developed the packet switching theory (PST) at MIT and gave a significant contribution to the idea. The PST basically stated that the message to be sent could be split into packets. Each packet bears the address of the recipient. All packets travel through the network independently, which leads to a more efficient, faster, and safer exchange, since the multi-channel sending essentially disables the ability to intercept messages.

The idea of communication between two remote networks was also important. One such experiment was conducted in 1965, when the computer used in Massachusetts[14] was connected to the computer connected in California[15]. The experiment proved that two computers can be connected, i.e. that they could exchange data. However, even though the experiment was a success, it was clear at the time that the existing telephone circuits which were used are not the most suitable and that the PST would have to advance the existing technology. (Banks, 2008.)

Foundation of the ARPANET network began in 1966. Development was financed by DARPA. Computers from four different US universities were chosen as the

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[10]http://www.darpa.mil/About/History/History.aspx (accessed on 15 May 2013)

[11]RAND Corporation (Research and Development) is aglobal private non-profit organization which was initially formed to conduct research and expert analyses required by the armed forces of the United States of America.

[12] http://www.rand.org/about/history/baran.list.html (accessed on 10 May 2013)

[13]Kleinrock (New York, 1934) is one of the founders of ARPANET and is considered to the "father" of the Internet.

[14]This computer was one of the key computers at MIT in the 1960s and is known for its role in developing artificial intelligence and human-computer internation.

[15]This was IBM's computer built for the purposes of US Air Force in 1960. Only one model was built, and it weighed 250 tons.

four nodes of the ARPANET: University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA), Stanford Research Institute (SRI)[16], University of California in Santa Barbara (UCSB), and University of Utah. There universities were engaged in the development of applications related to network visualisations (depictions of mathematical functions and 3D graphics) (Vasic, 2010:81).

II 1.a. 3. The Internet in the 1970s

The key innovation in the development of the Internet that occurred during the 1970 was a popular application – electronic mail, created by Roy Tomlinson in 2972. ARPANET underwent extensive experiments in the 1970s. Additional computers were connected to the network, but the speed remained the same – 50 kbps. Other protocols were developed. The initial protocol created was NCP – Network Control Protocol. Today, when a computer is turned on and connected to the Internet, it becomes linked to millions of people. The shortcoming of ARPANET's NCP was that it could only work with a certain type of computers and did not entail addressing between multiple different networks (ARPANET was a single network). To resolve this, pioneers of Internet development turned to the development of new protocols. In 1973, Vint Cerf and Bob Kahn developed TCP/IC, the protocol which replaced NCP[17].

There are four properties of particular importance to the expansion of TCP/P:

- Each network exists on its own and should not be changes to connect it to the Internet.
- There is no global operations control on the Internet.
- Communication is carried out according to the greatest efficiency principle.
- Routers are used to connect networks (Djuricic, 2011).

While the early 1970s proved to be formative for the Internet, the late 1970s expanded the Internet beyond the borders of the United States. ARPANET expanded for the first time without the use of fixed lines, using the satellite radio waves to transfer

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[16] SRI researchers engaged in the study of artificial intelligence, primarily through the development of the NLS (Natural Language System) which was a prototype hypertext system and a basis for today's Web (WWW). This institution also organized the first Network Information Centre (NIC) which was charged with such functions as maintaining host name tables (i.e. the names of comuters connected to the network) and the mapping of Internet page addresses (Vasic, 2010:81).

[17] http://www.internetsociety.org/internet/what-internet/history-internet/brief-history-internet (accessed on 15 June 2013)

data. This initial satellite link was called SATNET and it connected Europe to the computer network. Originally started as an armed forces project, ARPANET exceeded the reaches and bounds of a military undertaking. The satellites used in the SATNET project were owned by a consortium of several states and not just the United States military[18].

Even though ARPANET and SATNET had expanded Internet's range, connecting computers to the network was still a problem. The work done on improving the organisation in this field led to the creation of Ethernet[19] cables which are used to this day. Essentially, the Ethernet provided a simple and economical way to transfer data from one computer to another. This allowed for easier connectivity to a local network, and also increased the speed used for communication between computers. In addition to the Ethernet, another important innovation arose in the 1970s. It was UUCP (Unix to Unix copy) created by Steven Bellovin. This protocol was developed for computers operating on a UNIX platform. During the 1970s, Windows and MacOS did not exist. Several different platforms were used, and UNIX was one of them. UNIX used UUCP to facilitate the sending and receiving of data. Over the years, UUCP developed into what is today known as the Usenet. This network is still known and used today by millions of people who exchange data, news, and electronic mail over the Internet.

II 1.a. 4. The Internet in the 1980s

At the beginning of the 1980s, networks other than the ARPANET showed growth. ARPANET itself, initially a military project, was used by various scientific research institutions. One such institution which used the ARPANET was the National Science Foundation (NSF). Some time later, the NSF developed its own network, the CSNET (Computer Science Network). The aim of this network was to promote the networking of computer science departments of various academic and research institutions which were not allowed to connect to the ARPANET. At the end of 1984, the connection between these two networks was made possible (Ryan, 2010).

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[18] http://www.investintech.com/content/historyinternet/ (accessed 15 June 2013)
[19] Until this day, this is the most commonly used technology for local networks (LAN). It was developed in Xerox laboratories in the 1970s, and according to some data, there were over 40 million Ethernet nodes in the world by 1994.

In the early 1980s, a rapid expansion of LAN (Local Area Network) began along with the use of personal computers (PC) and workstations[20], marking the beginning of the so-called PC Era. This era is characterised by the first appearance and rapid growth of the Internet as well as computer addressing. The appearance of a large number of independent purpose-built computer networks in the USA and the rest of the world for the purpose of computer research at numerous universities and in the industry, for a limited population of scientists, without intended compatibility, all added to the development of Internet's open architecture. In the mid-1980s, the entire academic population, regardless of its chosen discipline, received permission to get connected (Vasic, 2010:81).

At this time, the DNS (Domain Name System) was also created (Ryan, 2010). The aforementioned addressing refers to the fact that each computer on the Internet must possess a unique address. This address consists of four digits separated by dots. The first set of digits denotes a country or a region within the country, while the last set of digits denotes the specific computer which receives the message (Vasic, 2010:81). DNS removed the need for users to remember site addresses (number strings), instead enabling them to type names into Internet search engines, improving the individual's ability to communicate with other individuals and with other servers on the Internet. This later allowed for the popularisation and commercialisation of the Internet.

In 1985, it was decided to split ARPANET into two entities – one part of the ARPANET remained in use for military purposes and was named MILNET, while the other retained the name ARPANET and was stripped of the military component, even though the Department of Defence continued to provide its financial backing (Naughton, 2010). In addition to the ARPANET split, another important event happened in 1985. Namely, CSNET engaged the MCI Corporation to work on network improvements. The speed, which was 50 kbps in the earliest days, had increased only to 56 kbps by 1985, but new technology innovations presented an opportunity to increase that speed by 25 times. The new lines installed at this time were called T-1 lines, and they enabled speeds of up to 1.5 Mbps. However, in order to utilise these lines, it was necessary to introduce new hardware technologies. The global network's architecture demanded a large-scale, thorough reform. For this reason, the National Science

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[20] A workstation is a microcomputer designed for technical or scientific purposes.

Foundation decided to finance the project to create a backbone computer network, as the heart of the global communication network.

This reform consisted of connecting the six most powerful university computers at the time into a unique network which would be connected to ARPANET. IBM created advanced routers for this network, which they called Merit. The new and improved network began operations in 1986. It was called NSFNET (National Science Foundation Network)[21] and it became one of Internet's main traffic backbones, its capacity growing at all times. It bears mentioning that the old 56 kbps CSNET was not decommissioned, and continued to function semi-independently[22].

At this time, ARPANET lost its leading position to NSFNET. Removing ARPANET from the spotlight led to its shut down at the end of 1989 (Banks, 2008). Whether it is a coincidence or not is unknown, but that same year also saw the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, the symbol of the Cold War which was the cause of existence for ARPANET in the first place. The significance of these events is best described through data – in 1987, there were ten thousand networked computers, whereas in 1989 this number grew in excess of a hundred thousand. Additionally, both individuals and organisations could communicate much faster because the end of that decade saw the creation of the new, faster T-3 line. When it was finally released for public use, T-3 enabled its users to transfer data at the speed of 45 Mbps.

II 1.a. 5. The modern Internet

The Internet discovered its potential at the end of 1980s, almost twenty years after it was conceived. Still, the progress it would achieve in the 1990s could not be foreseen. During those years, Internet managed to grow from a network used chiefly in scientific and research circles to become a staple of nearly every household. As it developed, it required increasingly better components, primarily more powerful computers and more usable software – demanding the technology to develop in order to make it accessible to a wider audience. A plethora of innovations that made the Internet more functional and accessible to the common people were developed in the 1990s. As its popularity grew, new spheres of interest and usage opened.

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[21]Translated as "National Science Foundation network". This network was the programme of coordinated development projects financed by the National Science Foundation which began promoting educational and research networks in the USA in 1985.

[22] http://www.historyofthings.com/history-of-the-internet (accessed 15 June 2013)

This primarily refers to its social and commercial aspects, which attracted funding required to further the development of the Internet. With the new T-3 lines, the more difficult and slower CSNET was no longer required, and it finally ceased to function in 1991 (Banks, 2008).
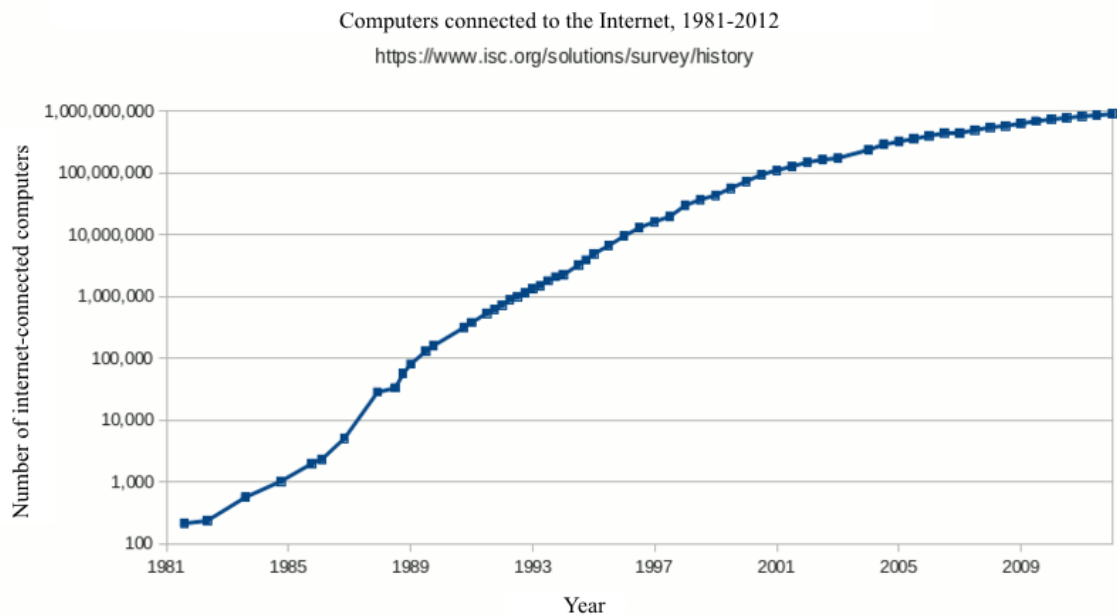
Figure 1: Number of computers connected to the global network
(Internet Systems Consortium, https://www.isc.org/services/survey/, accessed 1 April 2013)

It can be seen from the figure that the number of Internet users in the early 1990s was around three hundred thousand. At the end of that decade, it was measured in hundreds of millions, and today the number exceeds one billion users. In just forty years, the number of networked computers increased from a dozen to several billion. This has forever transformed our world, with a significant impact on all aspects of our life (scientific, technological, social, and cultural) which continues to increase.

Number of Internet users per 100 inhabitants
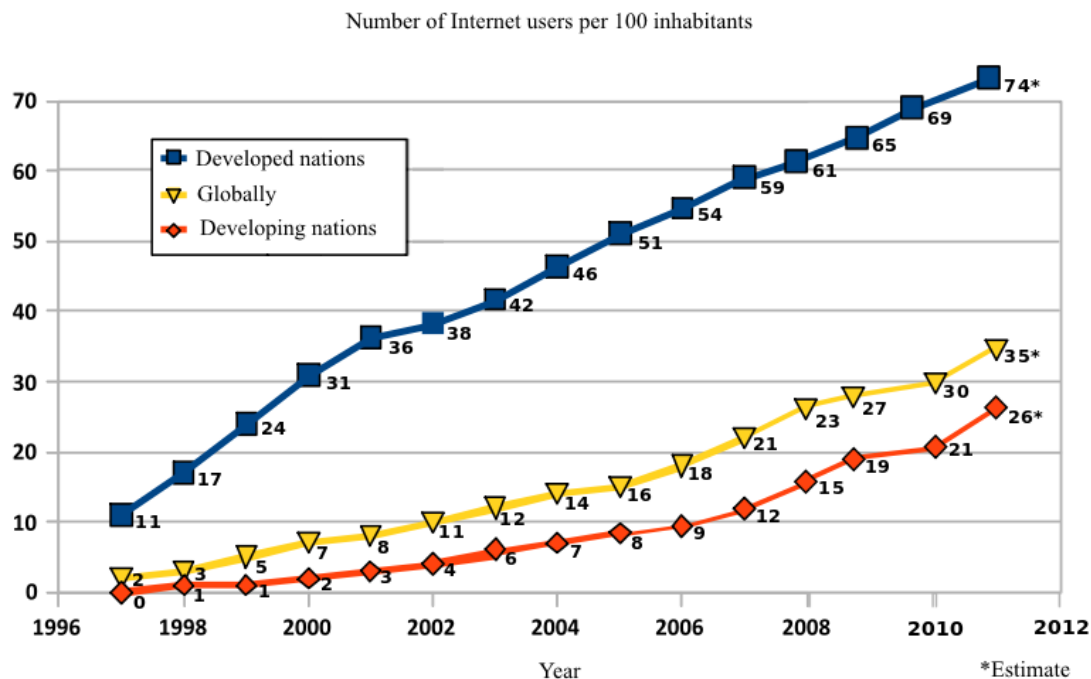
Figure 2: Number of Internet users per 100 inhabitants – in developed and developing

nations.

(International Telecommunications Union,

http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/ict/statistics/material/excel/2011/Internet_users_01-11.xls,

accessed 1 April 2013)

Since the cancelation of ARPANET until 1995, the US federal government covered a portion of the expenses of the common infrastructure, such as the trans-oceanic lines. At the same time, the National Science Foundation encouraged its regional academic networks to seek commercial, non-academic users in order to expand their capacities and, consequently, reduce the cost of Internet use. On the other hand, a policy was established for NSFNET, making it available only for research and development. This meant that commercial networks could not connected to NSFNET which indirectly led to the development of private network backbones.[23]

The almost exponential development of such private networks completely suited the National Science Foundation.

Private companies built their backbone networks, which connected to the NSFNET in order to cooperate with academic institutions; by doing so, they accepted the conditions and standards set by the National Science Foundation. In 1988, the NSF

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[23]"Backbone" literally means "spine".

abolished its imposed limitations. Parallel to this, specialised companies appeared, offering the Internet connection service to interested parties which started the final phase in development of the global network, which continues to this day. (Ryan, 2010)

These suppliers of Internet services are called Internet service providers (ISP) or Internet brokers. The year 1994 represented the start of transition of academic centres from NSFNET to Internet provider networks, which led to the shutdown of NSFNET in 1995. Networks continued to develop outside the United States of America. JANET was the network which connected academic communities in the Great Britain. Germany developed the DFN network, while Minitel was active in France. Of great importance to the development of the Internet in all of Europe was the EARN (European Academic and Research Network) network which followed the concept of connecting a small number of large networks. In 1990, it included 35 countries, over 950 computers and 600 institutions across Europe. Yugoslavia joined the EARN in 1989 (Djuricic, 2011)[24].

II 1.a. 6. Innovations leading to the popularity of the Internet

Today, Internet users do not have to connect to ARPANET or similar networks in order to access the Internet. They usually open an Internet browser and type the acronym *www* which is short for the *World Wide Web*, one of the most important innovations in Internet's relatively brief history. WWW is the Internet information service which appeared in 1993 and quickly overtook the functions of many other Internet services, becoming more popular than all of them. This web is a system which allows for pages containing text, images, sounds, animations, and video to be published and read by a computer connected to the Internet. It was imagined as a world without boundaries, where information from any source could be accessed in a consistent and accessible way. It should not be confused with the Internet because the Internet is a more broad term than the Web and also includes other networks which are not a part of the World Wide Web[25]. *WWW* actually came to be in 1989 when it was designed by Tim Berners-Lee and Robert Cailliau who worked as researchers for CERN (the

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[24]In Serbia (or the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), the Internet became available in February 1996. At that time, the national academic network used BeoTelNet to connect to the Internet, and first commercial ISPs begun their operation the same year. (Djuricic, 2011)

[25] http://www.wisegeek.com/are-the-internet-and-the-world-wide-web-the-same-thing.htm (accessed 20 June 2013)

European Organisation for Nuclear Research). Officially, it was presented and started operations in 1991[26].

The World Wide Web was made public in 1993. The final decade of the twentieth century is called the Web 1.0 era, because it is characterised by first versions of internet browsers, such as the Mosaic[27], as well as the first version of the web itself. This is also the time when first applications are developed for otherwise static pages and, as Del Brutto has pointed out, their appearance on the Internet and in the sphere of privacy has revolutionised the users' lives. The IRC (Internet Relay Chat), forum, and blog are the initiators of this change. IRC was aimed at a multi-user environment, with multiple channels for real-time conversation (without physical or visual contact), based on text messages. The forum dates to 1995, containing live discussions on contemporary subjects, and the blog was first written in 1994 by Justin Hall in the form of a newspaper article or journal excerpt (Vasic, 2010:82).

The Mosaic browser revolutionised the access to information and data on the Internet, which definitively helped the Internet grow into the form that can be seen today. The project expanded and soon changed its name to Netscape. This was the most widely used Internet browser during the 1990s (Vesic, 2010). Nevertheless, Microsoft's own software, the Internet Explorer overtook the lead, but it is today losing the game to Firefox, Google Chrome, Opera, et al.

Even though browsers allowed for easy and simple viewing of pages on the World Wide Web, other navigation components soon became necessary. Above all, the amount of information on the Internet quickly expanded, necessitating a way to enable easier search and download of information. This was fulfilled by the first search engines, such as Yahoo. From the perspective of early 1990s, the Internet was, more or less, nothing more than a huge repository of information. There was no simple way for millions of web-enabled users to easily discover desired information. Yahoo was co-created by two students, one of whom was Jerry Yang. In January 1994, he created a predecessor to Yahoo called "Jerry's Guide to the World Wide Web," and Yahoo itself was started in March 1995. Even though it is today considered that it started as a classic search engine, Yahoo was actually created as a directory of web sites. Today, Yahoo is an Internet portal which offers a multitude of web-oriented services such as e-mail, news, and similar. Google appeared in place of Yahoo several years later. Google also

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[26] http://home.web.cern.ch/about/birth-web (accessed 20 June 2013)
[27] Mosaic was a simple browser created by the NCSA (National Center for Supercomputing Applications)

began its life at a university, as a research project that was meant to enable simpler and easier Internet use. In the early and mid-1990s, Internet search engines used so-called "meta tags" and page data to include and rank web pages. Unfortunately, this system did not allow the users to see relevant results, which necessitated a new way how search was conducted. Google developed what is known today as the "page rank." This is an algorithm which bases the importance of web pages on the weighted sum of ranked pages linked to other appropriate pages and content. The more a web page is linked to the subject, the more relevant it becomes, so it will rank higher for that specific search query[28].

The new millennium brings a new era of the Internet, the Web 2.0 era, which allows the users to create Internet content themselves. This era is characterised by the ever-greater interconnectivity, interactivity, and intercompatibility of users. Development of computer technologies enabled Internet programmers to lay down page frameworks and let the users themselves fill them with content. The Internet has developed into a platform which, using a wide array of diverse mechanisms and technologies, facilitates communication between users and allows them to fulfil their interests and needs. The logic used to link one user's contacts to another's is continually perfected, which increases the possibility that one will be contacted by a person sharing similar interests within a certain field, or helping the user find the contact which can be useful in a certain situation. At this stage, the dominant model is that of Internet applications aimed at publishing with dynamic and flexible services sensitive to user actions (Vasic, 2010:82-83).

The term "Semantic Web" created a special impact. This term denotes a group of methods and technologies which enable the machine to understand the meaning of information it possesses. Andrew Keen considers the semantic web to be an unattainable abstraction and believes that the Web 3.0 era will never come, whereas Manoj Sharma claims that the new era will bring a completely integrated world.

For now, only one is certain – the Web 3.0 era remains in the domain of science fiction, side by side with the Cyber world, which doesn't stop Tim Berners-Lee, creator of the "Web of Webs," to announced Web 4.0 as the unique union of the operating system and the network (Vasic, 2010:84).

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[28] http://www.historyofthings.com/history-of-the-internet (accessed 2 June 2013)

II 1.b HISTORY OF PORNOGRAPHY

It can be said that pornography is more accessible today than it has ever been. The path of its development from literary to visual, from erotic to obscene, probably began at the moment when humans first reproduced the picture of the naked human body. The desire to relive bodily pleasures, in the absence of a partner, directs a homo sapiens towards its own being. The author's attitude is that the existence of erotic and pornographic content indicates that the projection of one's own sexuality to external visual and audio-visual content comprises a core part of the human sexual identity.

Erotic-pornographic content has been present in different historical periods in various world cultures, so it can be said that erotica and pornography are something that is *differentia specifica* of western cultures. From the ancient South American civilisations, through the Far East and Europe, to today's United States of America, the representations of human sexuality have persevered and fascinated for centuries. Intercultural connectivity and temporal continuity of presentations of the sexual act and the naked body, as the manifestations of sexual aesthetics, indicate that today's pornographic contents are merely a single form of inherent human tendencies to exterritorialise own sexuality, which represents just one aspect of the composite human sexual being.

Merely shaped by the age and culture where it manifests, pornography represents the universal striving towards making sensuality more accessible. For example, in addition to its multiple uses, the erotic sculpture of the Moche civilisation shows a completely different manifestation of sexuality and sexual behaviour from Japanese erotic graphics. But what the two share in common is the expression of human sexuality and its transformation into an accessible visual medium which can be used at will.

Today's pornographic material presents a completely different view of human sexuality when compared to the erotic postcards circulated in Great Britain in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, all four visual incarnations of human sexuality share a common property, that being the representation and transfer of cultural ideas regarding sexuality to a form of media, regardless of whether it is considered to be art (sculptures of the Moche civilisation), or the content of American pornography from the 1970s.

Pornography is the means by which one culture displays its ideas of sexuality through the presentation of sexual practices.

The deeper meaning humanity imposes on pornography as a medium of sexuality can be observed in the perceived similarities and differences in sexual practice, as documented by pornography. Thus, pornography can be observed within the context of a cultural filter which presents sexuality in its own distinct way, making it a record of sorts.

The term pornography usually implies a medium which contains visual elements. It is frequently implied that it must be either film or photography. However, the changes that pornography underwent convey that it cannot be limited solely to photography and film. There is a veritable abundance of pornographic literature, which uses explicit content to paint a clear picture of the sexual act within the reader's mind. In case of pornographic literature, the consumer creates visual content himself based on the text, which makes him more than a passive receiver of sensual stimuli, and, thus, makes the term "consumer" itself questionable. The reader of pornographic literature is an active participant in its realisation, unlike the watcher of pornographic film and photography who is merely a receiver of stimuli. This distinction of pornographic literature places it in a place of its own within the group of pornographic contents.

A detailed overview of pornography through the ages and different cultures surpasses the scope of this text. The research and documentation of representations of sexual practices of each known culture, as well as their scientific analysis, represents an enormous and overly ambitious endeavour. If representation of the sexual act in a particular culture bears any sort of taboo, it is questionable whether the researcher is even capable of discovering the relevant and reliable data on the research subject. If members of a culture feel threatened because of the study of their sexuality, and, subsequently, because of the contents documenting that sexuality, the researcher's task becomes impossible. It is thus more advisable to create a general overview of already documented erotic and pornographic contents in various cultures and to touch upon what they share in common as well as what they differ in. It is important to perceive the properties of pornography within various societies and in different historical eras.

II 1.b. 1. The term "pornography," its meaning and usage

The origin of the word "pornography" itself is indicative of the first sources regarding certain sexual practices.

The word "pornography" is a composite of Greek words "pornē" and "graphein." The word "pornē" denotes a prostitute, while "graphein" means "writing" (Shibata, 2008: 3). Thus, it is a written description of prostitutes and their vocation. Such *sensu stricto* understanding of pornography limits the researcher to the study of literary descriptions of prostitutes' lives, which does not satisfy today's meaning of the term.

The second understanding of this term implies "writings and representations of explicit sexual activity for the purpose of eliciting arousal in others" (Younger 2004: 157). This is a more encompassing definition of pornography and can be applied to the modern understanding of the term. The term itself was used for the first time in order to describe purely visual content without a literary component (Younger, 2005: 157), and for the purposes of this thesis the use of term "pornography" in the context of literary, visual, and multimedia depictions which express explicit sexual content with the purpose of arousal, does not pose a problem.

The term "pornography" only entered the English vocabulary in 1850. It first appeared as an expression for literary and artistic works containing explicit sexual representations (Colette Colligan, 2002: 33). Until then, the usual attributes denoting such works were "erotic" and "forbidden." The term gained wider international use at the beginning of 1880s (Colette Colligan, 2002: 33).

Difference between the meaning of terms "pornography" and "erotica" poses a problem. *Differentia specifica* for the two can be the degree of explicitness of presented sexual contents. The problem arising from such differentiation between the two is the culturally conditioned relativity of perception of explicitness and sexualisation of certain parts of the body. What is considered to be a sexualised part of the body in the Western European culture may not be treated as such in another culture (Sigel, 2005: 2). A very good example of the cultural relativism when it comes to sexual explicitness is the 1893 painting "Morning Toilette" by Japanese artist Kuroda Seiki. This is a female nude which received accolades in France; when it was exhibited in Japan, it was characterised as pornography – up to that moment, no female nudes had ever been publically displayed in Japan (Mason, 2004: 374). To a member of late 19th century

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western culture, a female act does not depict pornography and is considered to be a common genre of artistic expression. One possible reason for this outlook is that the sexual act itself is absent from the image. If the model from Kuroda's painting were depicted during masturbation, that would undoubtedly present a form of sexual activity, and the work itself would fit the subgenre of solo masturbation, which is quite common and popular today.

Today, the term "pornography" is used to denote the "representation of sexual behaviour in books, on images, statues, film, and other media, which has a purpose of sexual arousal"[29]. One of the difficulties in defining pornography is the fact that the boundary between pornography and erotica is highly subjective and that it "reflects the changing standards within a community".[30] Erotica is milder in nature. The sexual content is erotic materials is often merely hinted, and if there are depictions of a sexual act, those depictions are not explicit. This means that the erotic depictions of a sexual act do not show genitalia. In the context of pornography "erotic" often means "pornographic," but the aforementioned term is used to avoid the stigma born by the latter term. In case of purely erotic, "soft" pornography, there is a clear difference – the locus of sexual activity – genitalia – are absent from the presentation. The problem of explicit imagery of sexual intercourse in erotic cinematography is commonly solved with careful framing.

A special case is presented by Japanese pornography. Genitalia in Japanese pornography are most commonly censored (though uncensored versions of Japanese pornographic films exist). It is important to note that the observation of the naked body or the sexual act "live" cannot be considered pornography, because the presentation is not done by means of a separate media. This excludes striptease and similar activities from the domain of pornography.

For the purpose of this thesis, pornographic content will be classified in three groups. To facilitate the overview, the medium will be used as criteria for grouping, and the paper will present an outline of each group throughout different eras and in certain cultures.

A detailed intercultural-interage overview demands an exclusive focus on the history of sexual contents, and for that reason it is necessary to decide on certain

[29]http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/470645/pornography (accessed 29 April 2013)
[30]*Ibd.*

cultures and specific eras in order to provide a general outline while avoiding the pitfalls of being overly verbose or too superficial.

The first group of pornographic material is comprised of written pornography. This group includes all representations of sexual acts expressed over a written media. Pamphlets, comic strips, novels, and similar literature are all included in this group. The best known representatives of literary pornography undoubtedly include the opus of Marquis de Sade and "The Eleven Thousand Rods" by Guillaume Apollinaire.

The second group consists of visual pornography. It includes all visual depictions of the sexual act – graphics, drawings, photographs, i.e. all visual media which record the sexual act.

The third group is made of all forms of multimedia pornography. This group includes pornographic films, video games, visual novels, and other pornographic contents which comprise more than one media (most commonly a combination of audio and visual, or visual and textual). A specific type of pornography within this group is the one which requires the observer's participation, making the user partake in the realisation of pornographic content. The most representative of this group is the pornographic video game genre, because of the unambiguous participation of the user in the realisation of contents. The peculiarity, or even the main element of the pornographic game is that, without the participation of the user, it cannot be fully realised or even realised at all, depending on the game in question.

To a certain degree, there is a blurring of boundaries between the three groups. Pornographic comics often surpass their visual component because they contain a textual context which adds to the realisation of sexual content. In case of pornographic strip, the textual element is important, but can be omitted since the visual depiction of the sexual act itself represents the pornographic expression. However, the textual content provides deeper meaning for the visual, so in case of comics there is a synthesis of the textual and visual representation of the sexual act. Japanese pornographic visual novels are hard to classify since they rely on text. Visual contents are rarely animated, and are created in the form of comic drawings. Pornographic video games are also difficult to classify, since their primary element is the active participation of the players. They are multimedia, but the consumer in this case is not only an observer – other activities are included in the realisation of contents. Written pornography also requires active participation from the consumer, but the realisation of content occurs in the observer's mind in that case, unlike the pornographic video games which frequently

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require the observer to make a choice of some type within the virtual reality setting of the game.

It must be emphasised how easy it is to fall into a trap of recklessly categorising content as pornographic, regardless of whether the content is literary, visual, or multimedia. An example of this is the erotic pottery of the Peruvian Moche culture. Erotic pottery appears in Peru during the first millennium B.C.E, in the period between years 500 and 800 B.C.E. (Hoyle, 1968: 65).

These clay containers depict numerous sexual acts, including fellatio, cunnilingus, anal sex, and various sexual positions of the era (Hoyle, 1986: 72). They also cover the topics of sexual intercourse between animals (bestiality was not depicted, which indicates that this practice was not commonly practiced or widespread within the Moche society, despite the report of missionaries and colonists that state the opposite), as well as the moral themes depicting the decay of body and mind as a result of sexual wantonness (Hoyle, 1968: 79). The sexuality of contents shown on the pottery of the Moche culture is obvious. However, there are multiple reasons why it cannot be seen as a medium for expressing pornographic content. One of these reasons is the practical use of objects with sexual depictions. Containers were obviously intended for certain purposes – storage and consumption of liquids, which is indicated by the container's "mouth" and separate holes that allow the air to enter the container in place of the water being drunk. The second reason is that these ceramic containers were buried with the dead and represented a form of "burial gifts" (Hoyle, 1968: 42). Of special note are the morality containers which depicted corporeal punishment for sexual excess, for their didactic component. Based on the aforementioned reasons, a conclusion can be made that the primary purpose of Moche pottery was not to elicit sexual arousal from the person watching the container. The example provided by the Moche pottery shows that sexual acts can serve as a theme for artistic expression which depicts sexuality as a common occurrence, without the intention of sexually stimulating the observer. This represents the key difference between pottery of the Moche culture and modern pornography.

II 1.b. 2. Literary pornography

Literary heritage across the globe contains numerous depictions of sexual behaviour, both common and uncommon, those widely accepted in many cultures and

extremely violent ones which are unacceptable to certain cultures of individuals. This paper will present only certain works of literature which can be characterised as pornographic. The boundary between pornographic and erotic in literature is sometimes unclear. It becomes even more difficult to determine if it is taken into account how the view of sexuality and explicitness is culturally determined. What is considered to be erotic in western culture – the presentation of mild sexuality, or even a hint of sexuality – can be perceived as obscene in other cultures. On the other hand, each culture is dynamic and goes through changes at many different levels.

A sexually explicit literary work which was completely acceptable at a certain point in history could be branded as pornography of the most extreme kind today and vice versa. For instance, it is highly questionable to regard the attitude of modern Arab nations towards old erotic or pornographic literature.

Philologists of the 9th century preserved numerous testimonies of the Pre-Islamic Arab society. The veracity of these testimonies is difficult to establish because of the lack of precise written sources and the expansion of Islam, which gave rise to the negative perception and description of Arabs' Pre-Islamic past. These records contain descriptions of Pre-Islamic prostitution in the Arab world, and the lists of known fornicators and homosexuals. The Arab society changed with the appearance of Islam, which strictly formalised the relations between sexes, defined possible forms of marriage, defined the legal and illegal behaviour in marriage, and proscribed homosexual behaviour.

Unlike the sexual conduct itself, the writing and speech about sexual activities is rarely mentioned in the Hadith and the Quran. After the death of Prophet Muhammad, the Arab society underwent a dramatic transformation. In literature, this transformation was reflected in the appearance of new literary genres. One such genre is poetry with the theme of abuse, which uses sexual assaults on women in military campaigns as its enduring content. At the same time, love poetry is separated as a distinct genre (Brulotte et al, 2006: 44).

Extreme innovations in literary pornography of the Arab world come from the pen of Baghdad poet Abu Nuwas (died around year 815). One of the greatest novelties introduced by Abu Nuwas into the Arabic literature is the establishment of homoerotic poetry as a legitimate literary genre. His poems can be divided into heterosexual, homosexual, and libertine. Abu Nuwas also made a turn when it came to the degree of explicit in poetry, changing the usual hints of love common until his time into explicit,

sexualised depictions, and one of his favourite themes is the seduction of a Christian boy in an inn or a monastery (Brulotte et al, 2006: 45).

In case of the Far East, it is interesting to note the sexualised opus of Chinese writers. The aforementioned problem of distinguishing erotic and pornographic and the often thin line between the two is not new, as can be seen from the case of the first Chinese novel with cohesive narrative, titled "Jin Ping Mei" which was first printed in 1618. Adding to this work's importance is the fact that it was the first original work of Chinese literature written by a single author (Brulotte et al, 2006: 698).

"Jin Ping Mei" deals with the themes of revenge and jealousy, and the inspiration is mainly taken from Chinese medicinal and sexual texts from the beginning of the 17th century. The novel contains parts of previous literary works of Chinese fiction, especially the parts depicting the body, as well as the content of sexual instruction books. "Jin Ping Mei" was condemned as pornography because of the descriptions of sexual acts it contains. One thing that served to defend this writing was the lyric style used in the description of sexual depictions (Brulotte et al, 2006: 699). Another mitigating factor in the defence of this work was the early death of selfish and lascivious characters, which emphasises their deviation from Confucian ideals. The example of "Jin Ping Mei" shows that the method for delivering sexual content can serve as the criteria to differentiate erotica and pornography. Despite this, this novel is still seen by some circles as a work of literary pornography.

As seen, the boundary between erotica and pornography can be moved. However, there are sexualised literary contents which can be unquestionably characterised as pornographic in nature because of their unabashed explicitness and sexual behaviours presented. Such works abound in the English literary tradition. However, in this case it is not a separate genre of pornography but, rather, pornographic content within literary content (Toulalan, 2007:278) which belongs to a different genre with a separate dominant theme. For this reason, in case of 16th and 17th century English pornography, the term "pornography" is taken as a meaning of literary works of different genres and scopes which contain sexually explicit content. It is often thought that pornography made an appearance in England after the restoration of monarchy and the return of Charles II to the throne. Nevertheless, pornographic contents were present prior to 1660. "The Crafty Whore," printed in 1658, was inspired by the dialogues from the "Lives of Whores" from Pietro Aretino's "Ragionamenti" (Toulalan, 2007:37). John Taylor wrote short texts which also belong to the genre of prostitute literature. Several

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such texts were undoubtedly aimed at women, as means of sexual education. In pornographic literature, the works that dealt with sexual acts were presented as reading material for women, primarily because of their educational nature. This literature was recommended to women in the same way as literature for preserving chastity, piety, and modesty. In reality, the claim that the work of pornographic literature was educational was the easiest way for the author to be protected from being accused of immorality, since the ultimate purpose of this sexual education was to improve the spousal duties (Toulalan, 2007:55-56).

Additionally, by placing such claims, the author places sexual content within the context of female education, linking female learning with sexual knowledge. Regardless of the author's excuses and potential condemnation from the society, this allowed pornography to easily reach women's hands under the guise of sexual education. 17th century pornography could thus come into possession of various individuals, be they male or female, literate or illiterate. The cause for this is a huge variety of texts, their availability and unrestricted distribution channels. (Toulalan, 2007:66). These literary pornographic presentations focus on the heterosexual relationship with male ejaculation and simultaneous orgasm of both partners. There is a special emphasis on the joining of male and female genitalia as the locus of sexual pleasure.

Erotic and pornographic literary content of the 17th century contained illustrations. Illustrations could be found in the text itself, or as frontispiece. Unlike the text, illustrations were rarely explicit. However, they contained metaphors and symbols used to send a sexual message (Toulalan, 2007: 233). The same illustrations were developed in multiple different styles in several different places, and their style was affected by local artists. By the end of the 15th century, copperplate engraving for illustrations was perfected, but the printing with wooden panels remained a favourite because it allowed for simultaneous printing of text and illustrations at a lower price. From the end of the 16th century, the use of copperplate engraving became increasingly more common because it allowed the illustrations' details to be preserved. This raised the cost of printing literary elements in publications, so the illustrations were generally limited to frontispiece, or there was a small number of illustrations that were not integrated into the text itself but kept separate. The quality and subject of illustrations depended on whether the work was a simple pamphlet or a larger volume (Toulalan, 2007: 234-235).

Modern history of the western literary pornography begins during the 18th century with the development of printing technology. This time period made possible the large-scale reproduction of visual and textual material. During the 18th century, a channel is formed in England for the secret exchange of small-scale pornographic material. During 1748 and 1749, the famous "Fanny Hill" by John Cleland was printed. This two-tome book describes the adventures of a country girl who becomes a prostitute. Cleland's work leads to a conclusion that the core meaning of the term "pornography" as the description of prostitutes' lives can be applied to the pornographic content of the 18th century.

By 1880, pornography in Great Britain was mostly literary in nature and wasn't widely available. Writings of varying scope were offered, from true literary works to very simple pamphlets. What limited the availability of literary pornography in Great Britain was their high price. For this reason, pornography was unavailable to the working class (Sigel, 2000:860). Potential reader's literacy posed an additional problem. British pornographic literature from this era is ripe with Latin and Ancient Greek phrases, as well as mythological allusions, which made it insusceptible to the uneducated tiers of the society. At the end of the day, the pornography distribution method was aimed at a certain social class and so the workers did not have a way to obtain even the cheapest pornographic pamphlet – even if they could afford it (Sigel, 2000:860). Thus, illiteracy and lack of education further removed pornography from the reach of working class members and women. Additionally, the availability of pornography was also racially determined. It can be concluded that pornography of this period in the Great Britain was a type of luxury good, and its possession was considered a privilege.

One of the themes appearing in the English pornographic literature of the 1880s is sexualised slavery (Colligan, 2005:73). William Lazenby took the pre-existing flagellation genre and introduced into it the elements of slavery and race in order to refresh the genre. In the period between 1879 and 1881, he edited and published "The Pearl" magazine, and sometimes published his own stories in the magazine. This periodical is one of the most famous examples of Victorian pornographic literature. It published sexually explicit serialised fiction, poems, anecdotes and chromolithographs, with flagellation being the frequent motif. One of the serials contains the narrative about sexual excesses and flagellation at a slave plantation in Santa Cruz. The first story published in the aforementioned magazine which introduces the theme of slavery was

published between 1880 and 1881. This story, titled "My Grandmother's Tale," contains an explicit showing of various sexual activities, from lesbian and cross-class sexual relations, to voyeurism, anal sex, group sex, and incest with the father. This story also stresses the violence inherent to slavery (Colligan, 2005: 73-74).

When it comes to British incest-themed pornography, there were large changes during the late 19th century. Previously, this form of pornography served to create scandals (Sigel, 2005:104). England's literary pornography focused on incest was not patterned after de Sade's works.

This form of pornography, novel to the English society, placed incest within the domain of sexual pleasures practiced by the middle class, which denotes a change compared the earlier practice of placing incest within the context of scandals. In the case of English incest in pornography, the aristocracy was replaced with the middle class. It is interesting that incest in a middle class family has remained a theme in modern pornography, with its most famous representative being the movie "Taboo," starring the famous American actress Key Parker[31].

Violent pornographic contents which cause public consternation and outrage are hardly exclusive to English authors. Certainly, one of the most famous works of French literary pornography is de Sade's "Philosophy in the Bedroom" (author's full name is Donatien Alphonse François, Marquis de Sade). The work is written in the form of dramatic dialogue. Although the text contains elements of socio-political philosophy, this study will only take into account the pornographic elements, which are undeniably present. The analysis of philosophical ideas presented by de Sade are not the subject of this research.

In its course, the drama presents various sexual acts, from common ones to those considered to be perverse and extremely violent, such as incest and rape. It bears mentioning that the term "sadism," which denotes the appearance of sexual arousal while inflicting pain or humiliation[32], was derived from Marquis' name. De Sade speaks of cruelty and the causing of pain through the words of one of the principal characters, Dolmancé:

The pleasures derived from cruelty are third of those we pledged to examine. This form of pleasure is well known among the men today, and here are the reasons they use to justify themselves. We desire to be aroused, they say, it is the goal of every

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[31] http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0662403/filmoyear (accessed 30 April 2013)
[32] http://www.behavenet.com/sexual-sadism#301 (accessed 30 April 2013)

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*man who gives in to lust, and we want to be aroused by the strongest possible means…
One should, therefore, opt for pain, whose effect cannot be cheated and which causes
the strongest current* (De Sade 1980: 65-66).

During the drama, de Sade paints the descriptions of various sexual practices,
from common ones to incest, sadism, and rape. A drastic example of extreme sexual
practices shown in "Philosophy in the Bedroom" is the final dialogue, which describes a
scene of mass rape and flogging.

The climax of violence depicted at the end of the drama comes when one of the
characters participating in the mass rape intentionally infects the victim with syphilis
(De Sade, 1980: 162-165). The entire drama is ripe with the presentations of sexuality
and the grotesque.

Regardless of the socio-political dimension of de Sade's work, explicit, detailed
depictions of the sexual act unambiguously show the work's pornographic character.
Pornography was used as the means and isn't intended to be its own goal, and the sexual
practices themselves are the building blocks used to create the literary procedure and to
convey a certain message. De Sade's work "The 120 Days of Sodom" contains even
more drastic representations of sexual extremes, including paedophilia, coprophagy,
torture, and even murder.

At the end of the eighteenth century and the epoch of de Sade's *libertinage*,
there is a collapse of monarchy and church during the French Revolution, which forces
pornography to the underground. Oppressive measures introduced by Robespierre
marked the beginning of the long period of sexual repression.

The acceptance of Napoleonic norms and, later, the return of monarchy, incited
a general decrease in the production of pornographic literature. Apollinaire's works thus
resemble a mild parody of de Sade's rather than a rebirth of libertine pornography.

A great portion of French pornographic literature of the twentieth century
reintroduces the structures of libertine writers. Modern authors are greatly inspired by
the newly discovered 18th century texts, having managed to see them after more than a
century of censorship. Also, many modern French erotic novel writers preserve in their
fables the long-lasting convention – the young heroines of their stories and novels are
introduced into the world of sexual experiences by older, sexually experienced men and
women.

II 1.b. 3. Visual pornography

The visual media are extremely suitable to the representation of human sexuality because they can cover in extreme detail even the best hidden sexual elements and provide an exact view of sexual behaviour, without the fear that some of the details would be omitted. The visual arts are easily adjusted to sexual themes, which can be seen when examining sexualised visual expressions in different cultures and periods.

One of the oldest visual sexual presentations is the Egyptian Turin Erotic Papyrus. The papyrus depicts twelve scenes. Male figures shown on the papyrus have exaggerated genitalia, while the female ones are shown in accordance with the aesthetic principles of ancient Egypt. Male figures represent a single character. The papyrus also contains the depictions of animals carrying out human activities; this is likely a satirical expression of human behaviour and is unrelated to the papyrus' sexual content. Scenes containing human figures also contain commentary, which describes the pleasure of performers in the sexual act[33]. The exact purpose of the Turin Erotic Papyrus has yet to be accurately determined.

The situation is much clearer when it comes to ancient Rome. Some of the earliest visual pornographic contents include Roman portable tablets with sexually explicit images, which could be used as needed (Younger, 2005: 157). Ovidius claims that Octavian August possessed such tablets, and there are claims that Tiberius also possessed pornographic tablets (Younger, 2005: 23, 192). Tablets (tabellae) are actually portable pictures created on connected wooden panels. There are preserved copies in existence, and they were also immortalised in Roman art (Younger, 2005:192).

There is a certain similarity between antique pornographic depictions and modern pornographic contents because both take into account the way they are presented to the audience – the entire illustration speaks to one or more spectators, which is hinted at by the use of scenography and the consciously positioned bodies of actors, ensuring that the sexual act is properly perceived. Thus, the position of a hand on the hip of today's porn actor and the pose of males in the pornographic wall paintings of ancient Rome differ very little – both positions are intentional, enabling the viewers to see the sexual act without obstructions (Younger, 2005: 158).

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[33]http://www.nature.com/ijir/journal/v16/n5/full/3901195a.html (accessed 30 April 2013)

The visual art of the Far East is a common subject of scientific study. It includes the sexual representations specific to the Japanese culture. In order to study the sexual depictions in Japan, one needs to pay attention to a phenomenon that could be considered the predecessor of pornographic manga comics, animated films, and erotic/pornographic video games. This phenomenon is a genre of Japanese painting and graphics called *shunga*, meaning "pictures of spring" (Grosbois, 1969:8).

The association of spring, the season of nature's awakening, with the erotic and sexual in the word *shunga* is clear, but in the case of Japan this actually refers to a hint of beauty and life energy (Grosbois, 1969:8). *Shunga* as a genre is rich with depictions of sexual intercourse, and was considered a form of pornography for private use only at the time of its inception. In addition to heterosexual depictions, *shunga* also contains group sex, homosexual content, and even mythological themes. When it comes to homosexuality, *shunga* does not present it as a taboo, and it bears a completely different meaning than the homosexuality in modern western pornography. Anal sex was regarded as one of the possible forms of sexual pleasure, unlike the earlier European view which calls it the "Italian sin" (Grosbois, 1969: 48).

Numerous pictures show intercourse between monks, and there are those which use a warrior motif. The "special friendship" between warriors, who shunned women, shows that the presence of homosexual themes in *shunga* was hardly foreign to the Japanese society of the 16th and 17th centuries. Interestingly, there is a lack of purely lesbian acts in the better known graphics, with the exception of several depictions of orgies (Grosbois, 1969: 54). Exaggerated sexual organs are the norm in *shunga*. *Shunga* graphics usually depict ordinary people – merchants, peasants, city women, and fishermen. A smaller number of graphics show warriors, foreigners, kabuki actors, and courtesans. There were multiple attempts at banning *shunga* in the 18th century, but they were all ultimately futile. *Shunga* only lost its importance after the arrival of pornographic photography from the west, ceasing to be a living genre of pornography. *Shunga* is important to the examination of Japanese visual pornography because it has served as inspiration for the modern visual pornography in Japan, particularly the comic variety. This presents a continuity of sorts in Japanese pornography.

The first association to the mention of *hentai* is certainly the Japanese animated porn film. Within the context of pornography, it denotes a specific genre of Japanese manga comics and Japanese animated movies. The word itself means "pervert" and it denotes a person whose sexual behaviour deviates from the accepted norms. In Japan,

hentai is not a separate category of pornographic material, but the depiction of sexual acts which are considered unusual and perverted, and also extreme. Thus, *hentai* in Japan also include the representation of homosexual acts and heterosexuals acts with elements of perversion or extreme behaviour.

Accordingly, an animated film which presents sexual relations between an adult female and adult male without any elements of sexual fetishism cannot be considered *hentai*, unlike the sado-masochistic scene containing those same actors. A depiction of a heterosexual rape scene, or a sexual intercourse between a human and a mythological or alien being would undoubtedly be categorised as *hentai*. *Hentai* is in actuality a subgroup of a much wider category of pornographic comics and animated films, referred to as *ero* in Japan (McLelland, 2005).

Within the wider context of Japanese pornography, *hentai* represents perverted sexuality. It became a focus of interest in Japan during the 1920s. The term which represents the interest in the perverse, and the representations of perverse sexuality, is *ero guro nansensu*. Between 1926 and 1989, Japan saw the development of a large number of publications which were devoted to the subject of perverse sexuality. Only the decade between 1920 and 1930 saw the inception of ten publications devoted to this theme. Some of these magazines include "Hentai Shiryo" (1926), "Kama Shasutora" (1927), "Kisho" (1928), and "Gurotesuku" (1928) (McLelland, 2005:4). These magazines often ran debates on perverse sexuality. One such debated theme was the love-induced suicide. Suicide caused by a partner was considered *hentai*, in the sense of perversion, even if the partner was of the opposite sex (McLelland, 2005:5).

In the midst of war preparations of the 1930s, Japan saw the increase in censorship of these publications, and most were forced out of print because the government requisitioned all paper supplies. Immediately after the war, *kasutori* emerged as a form of "low-brow" culture. The word itself is the name for a low-quality alcoholic drink which was said to bring a man down after imbibing three glasses, and the magazines belonging to the *kasutori* culture were often shut down after only three issues (McLelland, 2005).

With the war over, Japanese press could engage in the exploration of more decadent subjects. Public sexuality becomes more visible and acceptable in ways which were unprecedented in Japan until that time. Low-budget *kasutori* magazines added to the expansion and popularisation of the new modes of heterosexual behaviour. In the early 1950s, a new subgenre arose in Japan, focusing on perversions, including male

and female homosexuality, as well as various forms of fetishism such as the love-induced suicide and the Japanese traditional *sepukku*. In the late 1960s, Japan saw a bloom of pornographic material which depicted those practices commonly considered to be hentai.

Unusual and frequently very violent sexual relations represent a leitmotif throughout the Japanese pornographic opus. One of the more interesting subgenres of Japanese pornography, present in computer games and visual novels as well as the comics, is the *yaoi* (often called "BL," short for "boy's love"). The term itself denotes the erotic presentation of homosexual relations, and is an acronym for the phrase "yama nashi, ochi nashi, imi nashi", which means "no peak, no sense, no meaning" (Pesimo, 2004: 140). The particularity of this subgenre lies within the fact that the principal audience of these visual contents is the female population. Additionally, the authors of *yaoi* subgenre comics are mostly women. *Yaoi* itself came to be in the early 1970s, derived from depictions of Japanese female comics. Popularity of this subgenre is based on the plentiful representations of sexual situations, to the point where the plot barely even exists. Other properties of *yaoi* comics include: male characters are young and handsome, there are rigid gender roles expressed in sexual poses, there is rape or another form of questionably consensual sexual relations, a lack of identification and no bearings of homosexual identity[34].

As seen from the above, Japanese pornography contains a wide spectrum of pornographic content. Still, one theme specific to Japanese pornography is the representation of sexual intercourse between a woman and an octopus. This subgenre combines the elements of horror and science fiction with the elements of traditional pornography. The main inspiration for pornography of this theme is the 1814 woodblock print "The Dream of the Fisherman's Wife" produced by the Japanese artist Katsushika Hokusai. The print depicts sexual intercourse between a woman and two octopi. This theme is common in modern Japanese pornography. In western culture, it is considered pornographic even in the context of art, which was seen during an art exhibition in Australia[35].

In the 1880s, there is an influx of new pornographic contents in England, which were more accessible to the working classes than literary pornography. The appearance

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[34] http://division-maiden.livejournal.com/33330.html (accessed 30 April 2013)
[35] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/oct/22/arts.australia (accessed 2 May 2013)

of pornographic postcards enabled the consumption of pornography without the theretofore obligatory knowledge of mythological references, Latin, French, or ancient Greek languages (Sigel, 2000: 860). In addition to the pictures, postcards also contained textual contents. They were cheap, and since they could also be used for communication, their application was manifold. They became the commonly accepted form of communication in 1886; from then on, their use continued to expand at the international level.

Visual themes shown on the pornographic postcards varied from the grotesque, sexualised depictions of food, scenes of seduction, beautiful women, to Greek statues. Those themes often relied on the existing literary and visual pornographic materials. This reuse of materials and ideas represented a reformulation of sorts in this area of "mass communication" (Sigel, 2000: 861). In their essence, pornographic postcards were a type of incarnation of social ideas of the Victorian and Edwardian ages (Sigel, 2000: 861). Some of the pornographic postcards innovated the sexual imagery by introduced sexualised racial presentations of natives in British colonies, as well as the depictions of other ethnic groups. Women were shown as passive sexual objects.

The majority of these postcards could be sent by mail, but there were some which were illegal to send. Legal postcards had to fit a set of standards for their use to be sanctioned; they had to use some method to hide the female genitalia, nipples, and pubic hair. They merely provided a hint of what illegal postcards showed explicitly. Male figures were rarely shown. Presentation of English citizens were different from "colonials" and "foreigners," especially when the characters were of a different race. If the postcard depicted a native, and especially a native of a different race, the presentation of male figures was permitted. Such postcards depicted natives of Asia, the Caribbean, India, and South America. There was also a large number of Japanese-themed images. Natives were shown in their "natural habitat" of landscapes, huts, and harem scenes.

Presentations of Algerian women were not based on full nudity. Instead of full nudity, Algerian women were photographed with veils, semi-nude or completely nude, but with covered faces. The reason for this imagery was that Algerian women conducted their everyday activities completely covered. The exotic element common to the images of Algerian women was the hookah. (Sigel, 2000: 862).

An interesting example of visual pornography with literary elements is the *Stalag* pornography. The term *Stalag* comes from the German term "Stammlager" (Nazi

concentration camp). As a genre, *Stalag* came into being during the 1960s in Israel. It first appears in pornographic comics with the theme of sexual exploitation in Nazi camps. *Stalag* pornography contains the narrative of sexual molestation of Allied soldiers by female Nazi officers. The series of molestations would often end in the prisoners' revenge in the form of rape and murder. *Stalag* comics contained exceedingly violent pornographic imagery. They were also the only form of pornography that could be found in Israel in the 1960s[36].

Bearing in mind Great Britain's pornographic pamphlets, magazines, and postcards, the modern pornographic magazines can be considered a fusion of visual and literary pornographic contents, as well as the culmination of pre-existing literary forms of pornography.

These publications are most commonly used as a form of visual stimulus during masturbation. Depending on how explicit their content is, they can be categorised as "softcore" or "hardcore," the same as pornographic films. The development of porn publications is primarily connected to "Playboy" and "Hustler" magazines.

"Playboy" cannot be actually considered a pornographic magazine because it does not contain explicit images of the sexual act, unlike "Hustler" which was a common target for criticism in the American society. "Penthouse" magazine was first published in 1965 as a softcore magazine, but it has evolved into a hardcore one during the 1990s, probably because of the market penetration of hardcore materials. The aforementioned publications are considered a type of model that shapes today's pornographic magazines, with the exception of Playboy which contains images of the naked female body but does not explicitly show sexual activities. The content of pornographic magazines covers a wide number of topics, from heterosexual to fetishism. "Penthouse" also owns a television channel[37], which broadcasts explicit sexual content.

II 1.b. 4. Multimedia pornography

A particular form of sexualised entertainment in the ancient times were sexually explicit theatre pieces, dramas and poetry, performed in the antiquity (Younger, 2005: 157). Although the theatre did not show actual sexual acts, these performances

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[36]http://www.nytimes.com/2007/09/06/world/middleeast/06stalags.html?_r=0. (accessed 3 May 2013)
[37]http://www.penthousetv.com/content.php (accessed 3 May 2013)

contained a large number of sexually explicit jokes, costumes, and simulations of sexual behaviour. Sexualised theatre cannot be truly categorised as pornography, considering that it delivers a direct experience rather than using a medium to deliver its contents. Still, it remains an interesting phenomenon since it contains sexualised content expressed on scene with the presence of actors, and the content is aimed at the non-participating audience.

Thus, it could be inferred that the sexually explicit theatre is as close as possible to the softcore pornographic film of the ancient times. Animated pornographic film represents a specific form of pornographic material. Beginnings of animated pornography can be traced back to the early 20th century, and it is one of the common depictions of sexuality of today.

The history of contemporary film pornography is often unreliable and fragmentary. It is equally comprised of reliable data, half-truths, and urban legends. This makes it hard to compile a complete retrospective of pornographic film development in the twentieth century. The most reliable data relates to modern pornography. Still, it is important to provide an overview of development of pornographic films since their expansion in the 1960s, throughout the "golden age" of 1970s and 1980s, all the way to the modern Internet pornography of the 21st century. During the 1960s, the market was filled with low-budget softcore pornographic films based on sexual exploitation. These films were greatly inspired by the depictions of women in the "Playboy" magazine. Around 1967, the sexual exploitation film reached its peak. Around that same time, a new form were being introduced to mainstream pornography – short films which depicted full female nudity with an accent on genitalia.

From 1969 to 1970, there was an appearance of instructional films made for "marital use" which cloaked their presentation of sexually explicit positions under the mask of educational content. The movie "Mona: The Virgin Nymph" was published in 1970. This film presented the first hardcore pornographic narrative. It was followed by "Deep Throat" in 1972, its narrative partially inspired by that of "Mona." Both movies are explicit, and show a transformation of sexually explicit presentations from previous pornographic films into complete narratives, as well as the gradual increase of explicit content. The end result of this gradual increase is the narrative presentation of a non-simulated sexual act (Schaefer, 2004: 371).

During the 1980s, there was an expansion of so-called "home videos" (Shibata, 2008: 5). The transition of pornography from the white screen to video tapes, and,

consequently, the move of pornography from specialised cinemas to people's homes, enabled a reduction in production costs and, at the same time, the forming of subgenres, so-called "niches" within the pornographic cinematography.

The demand for pornographic films on DVD is especially great in countries where the broadcast of pornography on television is forbidden, allowing the expansion of DVD pornography to continue. Over 300 shops selling pornographic video materials were opened in South Africa, and it remains available throughout the African continent.

This intercontinental expansion of DVD pornography has enabled the growth of piracy. In June 2000, police in Southern China confiscated 5,200,000 pirated DVDs containing pornographic films. The black market for pornographic material also exists in the Middle East (Milter et al, 2005:174), and it is particularly difficult to follow because of religious conservatism. A special form of pornography are the short movie clips posted on various sites on the Internet.

As for Europe, Hungary begun exporting its pornographic films as early as 1910, to be joined by Austria and France some ten years later (and by the United States of America and Argentina outside of Europe). During this time period, Hungary lost its primate in the production and distribution of pornographic films. Recently, Hungary has regained its status as the "centre of the pornographic world" (Milter et al, 2005: 173). Convinced that Hungary had become the centre of European pornography, producers of pornography from all of Europe moved their entire filming arsenals to Budapest. This led to the development of local film studios in Budapest. Currently, nearly quarter of all European pornographic material comes from Budapest and its surroundings, and the majority of European porn divas are Hungarian. Hungarian pornography represents an example of remodelling film pornography in Europe and has become a global pornography brand by creating its own iconography of anal sex and specific modelling of pornographic content.

As previously mentioned, the development of pornographic films in the USA begins with "Mona." The next big hit was "Deep Throat" starring Linda Lovelace in the main role. This controversial film became centre of attention because of the way it covered the theme of oral sex. The way "Deep Throat" placed a focus on oral sex imagery made it controversial. Still, this did little to halt the development of American porn movies, "Devil in Miss Jones" appeared in 1973 and managed to generate six

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sequels in the period between 1982 and 1999. One of the great hits on the market was "Debbie Does Dallas," with Bambi Woods in the lead role.

The advent of VCR technology in the late 1970s and early 1980s brought a new expansion of American porn films.

New male and female porn stars appeared at this time, including Ron Jeremy, Christy Canyon, Traci Lords, John Holmes, Ginger Lynn, Jeanna Fine, Nina Hartley, and many others. One of the classics of American pornography comes from this period. The 1980 movie "Insatiable," with Marilyn Chambers in the lead, represents a typical pornographic hit film from the beginning of the 1980s.

In this time period, the examination of the legal aspect of pornography was finalised, and it was legalised in the USA. First big studios were also founded in the 1980s, such as Homegrown Video, Vivid, Evil Angel, et al. Vivid Entertainment is based in Hollywood, its actors and actresses are bound with exclusive contracts, and they have guaranteed wages as well as agents that specialise in public appearances and engagements (Milter et al, 2005: 185).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, director Andrew Blake brought stylistic innovations into pornographic cinematography. Blake's approach to pornography is artistic, and his films are characterised by artistic techniques and stylisation.

The expansion trend of pornographic films in the USA endured during the 1990s, although not with quite the same intensity. The appearance of video tapes and, later, discs as the pornographic media, marked the end of the era of high budget pornographic films. The reason for this changes was the reduction in screening costs, and faster and easier distribution created a huge supply on the market which resulted in lower profits. It should be mentioned that today's pornographic films are not low-budget, but the development of VCR and film recording technologies has resulted in the reduction of required budgets. In order to maximise profits, American production companies created new offerings in the form of fetish-themed movies, using video cassettes as the medium. Another new genre appearing are the scene compilations from previously recorded films. Scene compilations cannot really be considered a separate genre since their content frequently fits of the existing niches, i.e. an existing subgenre or fetish. Still, compilations are important to the study of Internet pornography because they focus on strictly defined contents and are very widespread on the Internet as well.

The greater availability of hardcore pornographic content made the profitability of softcore pornography questionable. Because of the expansion of hardcore

pornography, many companies that previously focused on softcore decided to add explicit content to their offerings. In 2001, "Playboy" purchased three explicit TV channels and thus joined the circle of hardcore pornography broadcasters (Milter et al, 2005: 174).

This does not mean that softcore pornography is a thing of the past, only that the providers of softcore pornography are forced to expand their field of business to include hardcore pornography in order to avoid falling behind the competition.

France presents an interesting case. In the early 1970s, the appearance of American porn movies made French pornography mostly obsolete just as it had moved from softcore to hardcore content. The lack of initiative in the world of French pornography in the 1980s almost resulted in the extinction of the French porn film. In the following ten years, around twenty producers of pornographic films operated in France but, because of the poor distribution planning, French pornography remained stagnant despite the increased production. The late reaction of French pornographers to the spread of hardcore pornography from the USA made an impact that is felt to this day in the world of French pornography.

It cannot be denied that American porn industry still holds the primate when it comes to production and market coverage. Various pornographic conventions serve as an efficient marketing tool. One of the largest pornographic conventions in the USA is the three-day "EXXXOTICA" convention, first held in 2006. This convention is held several times per year and lasts for three days. At these conventions, in addition to the acquisition of pornographic content, porn aficionados can have their pictures taken with famous actors and actresses, ask questions during organised Q&A sessions, and receive autographs. European erotica fairs (even though these are actually pornography fairs, the term "erotica" is used) are the counterpart to the American conventions. Despite their popularity, such manifestations are not always well accepted. In 2008, the mayor of the American town of Edison criticised the placement of the convention, and there was a possibility that the convention would be cancelled due to the pressure[38].

Despite the wide availability of pornographic material and the large profits of film companies, opinions on the current state of the American industry differ. The main reasons for concern from the viewpoint of pornographic film producers are pirated

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[38]http://www.mycentraljersey.com/article/20080909/NEWS/80909029/UPDATE-Despite-criticism-from-mayor-porn-convention-moves-to-Edison-after-Secaucus-opposition:?nclick_check=1. (accessed 5 May 2013)

content and free content on the Internet. Pornographic industry has also suffered blows from the Global Financial Crisis, there is ongoing debate regarding the mandatory use of condoms, cases of HIV infection still happen occasionally despite the precautions, and the market is oversaturated.

According to some claims, porn industry profits have decreased by as much as 30% to 50%[39]. Still, the American pornographic film is not dead. There are a large number of genres and subjects, from the classic heterosexuality, through homosexuality, sadomasochism, various fetishes, to softcore contents and "first person" pornography (point-of-view, POV) which still satisfy the audience's needs. The best porn film awards (AVN Awards) are still provided to multiple categories of films at specially organised manifestations. Even though the "golden age" of American pornographic film has passed, the part of glamour surrounding the lives of porn stars, conventions, and the porn culture itself are still very much present.

One of the newer events in pornographic cinematography is the use of 3D technologies. After the success of "Avatar," there was a newfound interest in the pornographic industry to attempt to adapt 3D technology to the needs to pornographic films. In August 2010, a group of Hong Kong-based producers announced that they would film "the first 3D pornographic film in the world"[40]. The film's story is inspired by the 17th century Chinese literary classic "The Carnal Prayer Mat." At the same time, Italian porn film director Tinto Brass announced that he would create a remake of his 1979 film "Caligula" in 3D technology. American "Hustler" magazine also showed interest in 3D technologies, this time to create a pornographic parody of the "Avatar."

Pornographic video games represent a special type of multimedia pornography. What characterises video games with pornographic content is the degree of participation of the consumer/player in the realisation of the pornographic element. The degree varies from the simple content switching instructions to the complete gaming experience. A pornographic video game is any type of video game which contains pornography as one of the game's main elements. The Japanese term for pornographic video games is *eroge* (short for "erotic game"). These games can be produced by individuals or by companies. The majority of pornographic video games contains common pornographic

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[39]http://www.forbes.com/sites/susannahbreslin/2012/07/11/how-porn-went-from-boom-to-bust/. (accessed 5 May 2013)
[40]http://www.asiansexgazette.com/asg/china/china07news20.htm (accessed 5 May 2013)

imagery, such as heterosexual and homosexual intercourse, masturbation, various fetishes, or anal sex.

However, a certain portion of these games contains controversial material such as scenes of rape, torture, and incest. Such games have been frequently banned for their content.

The highly developed communication and sharing of pornographic materials over the Internet allows for uninterrupted circulation of objectionable games, such as the game "RapeLay." Japan enforces censorship of genital images, but there is no censorship of themes or content, so the Japanese authorities have not power to determine which themes can be explored in video games and animated films. "RapeLay" is one example of how a video game can cause real scandal on several different continents, considering that the game can be found on the Internet and even downloaded for free[41].

The use of different media to present pornographic content, the intercultural differences, the context of social changes, and the development of technology all make pornography a very complex research subject. It is hard to say whether an all-encompassing summation of pornography is even possible. Such endeavour would require a detailed overview of a large number of pornographic materials in different time periods and various cultures, as well as the exploration of the possible existence of intercultural similarities in pornography, at the same time taking into account the differences in pornographic media and considering the specific perception of sexuality within each of the studied cultures. Noticing the structure of pornographic content poses a separate question, which demands a more detailed study of pornography. This subsection provides a general overview of pornographic content in different cultures and time periods. Drawing general conclusions about human sexuality based on the sexual behaviour shown through the means of pornographic material requires special caution when establishing the actual pornographic content within the greater entity. When one considers the pornographic tablets of ancient Rome, Japanese 17th century *shunga*, English 19th century pornographic pamphlets, or the pornographic films of the 20th century, it is possible to observe a continuity in the existence of pornographic content in all three aforementioned media – literary, visual, and multimedia.

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[41]http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/asiapcf/03/30/japan.video.game.rape/index.html (accessed 6 May 2013)

While the literary and visual pornographic content expanded across the world throughout human history, multimedia pornography reached its peak in the United States of America, especially during the 1970s and 1980s. The highest point of multimedia pornography is certainly the projection of sexuality by means of 3D movie technology and the inception of highly interactive pornographic games. In this way, the observer continues to be "pulled" into the reality which projects pornographic content in order to make the sensual impressions more believable and, thus, to increase the intensity of the induced state of arousal. A psychological study of a possible hyper reality created by 3D and interactive pornographic content could answer the question of whether the high-tech pornography's impact on the observer is more intense than a real sexual experience. In the context of proliferation of pornography over the Internet, it is not hard to imagine the increasing expansion of 3D pornography. Internet pornography can be considered to be the peak of pornography itself, since its intercultural distribution has reached a heretofore unseen extent thanks to the Internet technologies. In this manner, pornographic content created under the influence of one culture comes into perception of another culture, which either accepts or rejects it. Additionally, intercultural exchange of pornography can influence the very notions of erotic and pornographic within a certain culture, which can lead to the changes in perception of a certain occurrence.

This can be observed in the development of pornography in Japan, which has transformed itself from the clothed characters of *shunga* woodcuts to the internationally recognised pornography which is instantly recognisable through its specific explicit sexual genres, despite censorship. Also, the change in perception of pornography in the Japanese society began with appearance of the nude from western fine arts, which is only one of the aspects of Japanese culture which changed under influence of its contacts with the West – beginning with the fine arts of the 19th century and continuing with the impact of American culture in the 20th century.

Based on the overview of sexual content from across the globe and throughout the history, it can be concluded that the understanding of sexualised content as pornographic is determined by culture. There is no evidence that sexually explicit images in ancient Greece were seen as pornographic. Moche pottery uses sexuality as the theme for artistic presentation, while de Sade's "Philosophy in the Bedroom" is filled with explicit scenes of sexual acts which, through its sheer volume, upstages the philosophical component of the work.

Society's relationship with the sexual can change and is one of the deciding factors in defining pornography, so it can be said that pornography can be defined only within the context of a specific time period and culture. "Deep Throat" received its cinema premiere in Great Britain in 2005, 33 years after its American premiers, even though many had seen it by means of pirated video tapes[42]. This case shows that even the modern societies hold different views of pornography, and those views are tied to the social acceptance of pornographic content of a certain type as well as the attitude towards sexual behaviour.

Its expansion into the cyberspace marks a new era for pornography. Circulation of pornographic materials through the Internet is becoming progressively easier, thanks to the increased bandwidth and the ever-growing number of Internet pages which contain entire porn movies, from the 1980s classics to the latest 3D offerings. Today's Internet user only needs to enter a few keywords into one of the search engines and be immediately presented with an overabundance of content. This great availability of pornography in the modern age is very different from the limited distribution channels of 19th century England.

The appearance of the Internet irreversibly changed pornography itself. The swift development of Internet technologies in the 1990s has consequently led to the expansion of distribution of pornographic material through the Internet.

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[42]http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2005/jun/11/film.filmnews (accessed 6 May 2013)

II 2. PORNOGRAPHY IN THE INTERNET ENVIRONMENT, THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

A question presents itself – how does the information age, which shows no sign of slowing down and whose main distinguishing feature is the speed of information exchange, interact with the terms such as sexuality and pornography? This thesis divides the history of pornography according to the media which holds the pornographic content. The Internet pornography has several properties which were principal in developing an interest in this subject. Namely, in view of the turbulent history of pornographic content and the different reactions of various cultures to the notions of human body, sexuality, or obscenity, it can be said that, by the time the Internet was developed, the legality, availability, and familiarity of humans with such content had already become delineated. At the same time, the Internet itself, as the herald of globalisation tendencies, had relatively few cultural trappings which could have impeded or hindered the development of Internet pornography. Since the Internet exists as a super-system which is used in a similar manner regardless of the user or the user's cultural milieu (Chen et al. 2008:1), this text will regard its generated internal logic by using pornography as an example.

When did the Internet become a fertile soil for pornography? This question does not have a simple answer, but it appears that it was the reduction in computer prices, which enabled the average user to have access to this previously extremely costly technology, coupled with the discovery of Internet's information sharing potential, enabled the global expression of sexuality through pornography. Much like the technological innovations such as photographic and video cameras (once also extraordinarily expensive technologies) enabled the advances in communication and data transfer (including pornographic data), the information revolution performed the same function. The relation between pornography and technology has always been one of symbiosis and mutualism (Pornography The Secret History Of Civilization 6, 1999). The "sex.com" Internet domain was first registered in 1994. It was a commercial web site, and, because of the lack of modern search engines, it was considered to be one of the domains which could revolutionise the world of nascent Internet economics.

Internet entrepreneur Gary Kremen did not use or develop the domain he registered, but still earned between 50 and 500 thousand dollars per month just from the

advertising space located on this web site[43]. This information alone, regarding an event at the very beginning of its commercialisation, speaks of the potential for pornographic content which was made possible by the Internet.

Internet and *Usenet*, already mentioned in the section on historical development of the Internet, became platforms for different forms of literary and textual pornography at an early stage. The *Usenet*, its form unchanged from its inception in the early 1980s, its decentralised structure and perfect anonymity, was an ideal platform for this form of pornography. With the advancement of technology, it became possible to share images or photographs. At the same time, the first studies were made which noted the importance of structural analysis of materials related to Internet pornography. One such study from 1994 expounded that as much as 40.8% of material posted to the most popular *Usenet* pages contained a violent component[44]. This fact would provide a cause for debates regarding the necessity of studying pornography within a scientific context. This debate has led to the proliferation of pornography-themed research within the social milieu of feminism and the postmodern.

As the number of users and its capabilities grow, the amount of Internet web sites devoted to pornography also increases. IT was estimated that between 20-30% of Internet users in the first year of the new millennium had some form of "online" sexual activity (Cooper et al, 2003). Within the capitalist cultural setting, pornography does not possess the subversive or antisystemic properties; rather, it is treated as merchandise. This view of pornography is a relatively new phenomenon, which was partly enabled by Internet's perceived neutrality.

Internet pornography is interesting because of several aspects which form its *differentia specifica* when compared to other media. Firstly, Internet pornography provides everyday users with access to an enormous selection of preferences. An individual's ability to contact people who share the same interests over the Internet is one of the characteristics of the so-called "cyber-culture" which denotes all aspects of Internet use. Cyber culture[45] represents a field of multidisciplinary interests.

Cyber culture studies are considered a separate field of scientifioc study in the world. Many authors agree that the study of cyber culture must take into consideration the relativity of the virtual/real divide (Blagojevic, 2011:17-27). It bears mentioning that

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[43]http://www.guardian.co.uk/technology/2003/jun/26/newmedia.media1 (accessed 7 June 2013)
[44]http://www.sociology.org/content/vol003.001/boeringer.html (accessed 8 June 2013)
[45]Some terms synonymous with cyber-culture include: virtual culture, digital culture, net culture, and similar.

cyberculture is important to anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists because it presents a pattern of communication unprecedented in the history of humankind.

At this point, this thesis will distance itself from other social phenomena which may be found on the Internet, and will exclusively consider the expression of sexuality. Taking into account the data about the share of pornography within the entire scope of the Internet, it becomes apparent that the offering of pornographic content in the information era is truly greater than ever before in the entire history of humanity. An individual can express his or her sexual preferences and, considering the amount of content, discover or produce sexual content which very accurately reflects those aforementioned preferences.

The study of sexuality before the Internet had to deal with several considerable barriers: there was an institutionalised tabooisation of certain sexual themes and people with atypical sexual preferences were dispersed. The Interent offers a completely different type of intimacy (Ross, 2005: 342). As the form of communication, the Internet allows for people from distant geographical locations to form groups and communities of varying sizes and degrees of hierarchy. In this manner, it is possible to express sexual fantasies or paraphilias[46] which would in other cultural models be punished by stigmatisation, excommunication, and even violence. The cyberspace makes it possible to come into contact with people who share similar sexual preferences in the field where "real" and "virtual" meet, which by itself enables the satisfaction of sexual demans and the formation of sexual identities. The users, their desires, and behaviours are real, but the space and content on the Internet are virtual, and the communication is relayed through the Internet as the medium, which reduces the concern for each user's physical integrity.

Thus, the Internet makes it possible to realise sexual freedoms and to establish self-determined sexual identities which would be impossible outside of, or without, the Internet. At this point, a question could be posed regarding sexual identity – how much of it is culturally or historically conditioned, and how much can be redefined through the information or stimuli which can be found on the Internet, considering the torrent of information which modern humans are exposed to.

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[46] Paraphilia is a word composed of ancient Greek παρά ("beside") and φιλία ("friendship" or "love"), and it denotes the appearance of strong sexual excitement caused by atypical objects or situations (additional information: http://behavenet.com/paraphilias and http://dsm.psychiatryonline.org/book.aspx?bookid=22 (accessed 8 June 2013)

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The second important trait of Internet pornography which must be pointed out is availability. Internet pornography can be consumed by anyone with a computer (recently, this has been expanded to include smartphones and tablets) and access to the Internet. The expansion of free pornographic content distributed over the Internet is simply a matter of logic, taking into account the cost of Internet bandwidth which is decreasing with advances in technology.

Production of pornographic content has both cultural and economic dimensions. Considering that creating and publishing a web site is inexpensive and that, if the site quality is sufficient to attract visitors, it can generate profit from Internet advertisements, this has led to a large number of sites which produce, copy, or distribute pornographic content. The question which the next section will attempt to answer is: why is there so much pornographic content and is there a real need for that volume? The distinguishing feature of the information era (fantastic amounts of information) was enabled through technological advancement, a constant tendency predicted in 1965 which was succinctly presented as Moore's Law[47]; however, another factor of its success was the rise of the middle class, whose educated members are the most numerous Internet users[48].

The third fact which has aided the spread of Internet pornography is the accompanying anonymity. When added to the availability of Internet pornography, the sense of anonymity is a trait of Internet pornography which is different from other, classical forms and representations of erotic and pornographic content. At this point, an anthropological question related to human communication can be raised. In what degree does this anonymity produce the specific spirit of Internet pornography, and does this extend to other forms of behaviour on the Internet?

This presents a potential course which, unfortunately, is not incorporated into this study, but the result of this research could provide an incentive to work on the discovery of the anthropological answer to this issue.

Before reflecting on the consequences of anonymity, there is an interesting occurrence in the description of Internet ponorgaphy which should be mentioned because of the possibility of multi-directional communication offered by this medium.

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[47]As mentioned in the subsection on the history of the Internet, in 1965 Gordon Moore predicted that the number of transistors which can be placed on one square inch of a silicone chip will double every year. Today, Moore's Law is taken to mean the doubling of the number of transistors every 18 months http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/705881/Moores-law (accessed 26 August 2013).
[48]http://www.economist.com/node/15557443 (accessed 8 June 2013)

As stated in the history of pornography chapter, phenomena such as striptease and prostitution are excluded from the category of pornographically expressed content because they demand direct communication between two individuals as well as physical contact. Conversely, can the externalisation of sexual needs, negotiated through the Internet or another form of communication, be categorised as pornography? The answer provided by the majority of researchers is "yes," inferring that it should be included in this classification. A predecessor to this type of pornography is the telephone pornography or "phone sex" which was also enabled (as well as limited) by bidirectional communication.

Visual presentation has always been dominant to other forms of pornography which are limited to just one sense (e.g. hearing), and it has remained inferior when compared to multimedia pornography (Ogas et al, 2011: 58). Ogi Ogas and Sai Gaddam, authors of what is probably the largest research effort in the domain of Internet pornography (which was compiled into a book titled "A Billion Wicked Thoughts"), certainly consider this to be true; their information is that the most frequently visited modern pornographic site in the world, *livejasmin.com,* is visited by an average of 32 million people per month, which constitutes about 2.5% of Internet users world-wide. This site provides the so-called "webcam" services, a system in which users pay to communicate with a person on the other side of a web camera. Users can chat with this person in real time and instruct the person on what to do. Ogas, who used information science techniques to analyse the results and extrapolate conclusions, says that it is interesting that this site does not offer hardcore[49] pornography; quite the opposite, this site site only leads to the undressing of women and men, with the option to express preferences and carry out communication with them, and its number of users exceeds the others Internet sites by a convincing margin[50].

In any case, the interactive nature of the computer, as opposed to the static nature of the image, film, or text, seems to be the component which enhances the feeling of stimulation during the consummation of pornographic content[51].

It should be mentioned that the scientific methodology used by Ogas and Gaddam was frequently contested and was a subject of controversy[52]. Considering that

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[49] Hardcore pornography contains scenes of explicit sexual acts, penetration, oral, anal sex, and similar.
[50]http://www.forbes.com/sites/julieruvolo/2011/09/07/how-much-of-the-internet-is-actually-for-porn/ (accessed 10 June 2013)
[51]http://www.sociology.org/content/vol003.001/boeringer.html (accessed on 10 June 2013)

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studies with extremely wide scope are unable to regulate the external factors and that such studies risk missing many fine points in their attempt to create a super-system, this should not be considered odd. The researchers processed data from the Internet by using computer science methods, which allowed them to create and compare huge user databases. The results did not satisfy the cultural aspect of sexuality, so their work is rightfully questioned. Still, this attempt at using a computer science approach was in many ways revolutionary. It represents the future of cyberspace social phenomena analysis because of its understanding that modern information technologies must be put to use for researchers to be able to make any conclusions from the overwhelming amount of information available on the Internet. Study of search queries on the Internet (not just for sexual content) can assist in explaining many social trends.

As for pornography, the Internet search engine specialised in pornography *pornmd*[53] publishes the lists of top 10 search terms by country. Considering its dominant position in the new, hyper-globalised and interconnected world, the English language is most frequently used in the search for pornographic content. This had an impact on science as well: most studies (used in this dissertation) which investigate Internet pornography from an anthropological, communication level are forced to focus on Anglophone countries, as well as those with a high percentage of population which speak English (generally the developed nations of Western Europe). *Pornhub* also showed statistical data for each state in the USA, which is more precise than *pornmd*, and the site presented top three categories for each American state, as well as the average time each user spends on the site, which is around eleven minutes[54]. Images show the results of most frequently searched categories in America from *pornmd* and *pornhub*.

Unfortunately, at the time of this writing, *pornhub* only presents statistical data from the USA, and *pornmd* has examples for most countries but not Bulgaria, Albania, or the former SFRY countries. It can be seen that *MILF*, *teen*, *college*, and *creampie* (ejaculation inside a vagina or anus) are present in both cases. However, for this data to be usable and relevant, the same measurement criteria should be applied across multiple sites in order to verify the results. It is also questionable whether the site authors would

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[52]See ratings at: http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/sexualitytoday/201105/sexual-science-meets-billion-wicked-thoughts , http://obsidianwings.blogs.com/obsidian_wings/2011/05/a-billion-made-up-conclusions.html (accessed on 10 June 2013)

[53]http://www.pornmd.com (accessed on 10 June 2013)

[54] http://public.tableausoftware.com/shared/HR9SZ66TW?:display_count=yes (accessed on 2 September 2013)

list the exact time the users spent on their site if the time was overly long. As for the categories themselves, there is a question of whether some part was influenced by advertising in order to encourage users to debate the statistics and supposed sexual identity of those countries' residents. At any rate, in case of *pornmd*, the most popular categories for most countries are those from that country in either straight or gay connotation, or, in case of Romania, *mother and son*.

Pornhub's map of America can also be used to draw a relation by using the residents' origin. Within the USA, the categories correlate to the ethnic distribution shown on Figure 5; the presence of Mexican-Americans and those of English descent corresponds to the preference for *compilations*, the presence of African Americans corresponds to *blacks*, mixed population corresponds to *teen*, and the presence of Americans of German and Italian descent corresponds to *creampie*.
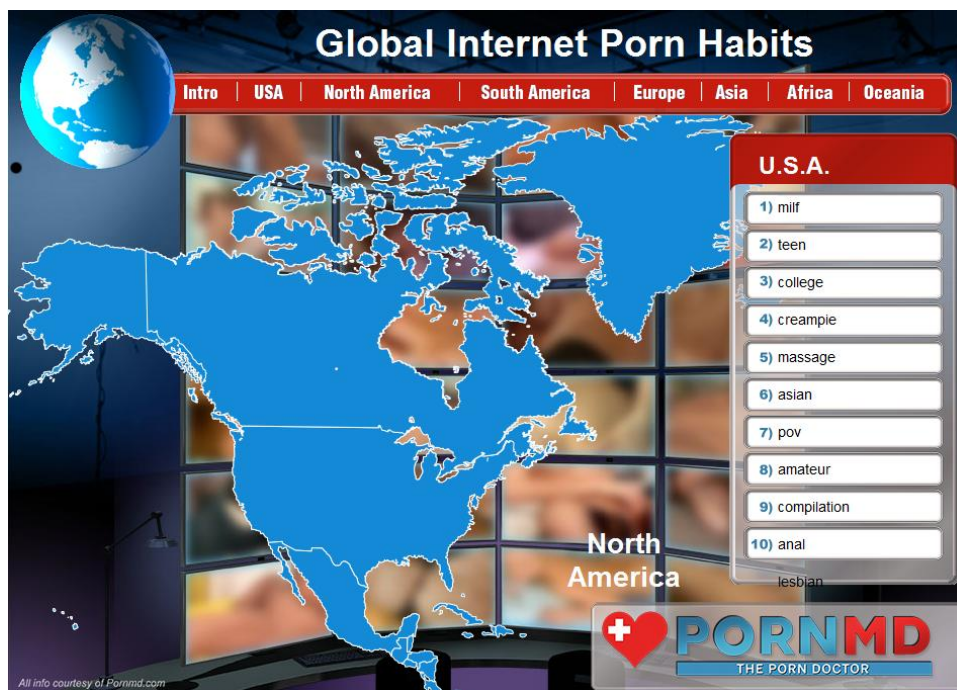
Figure 3: Overview of the most commonly searched categories in America, from *pornmd* (http://www.pornmd.com/sex-search, accessed on 2 September 2013)
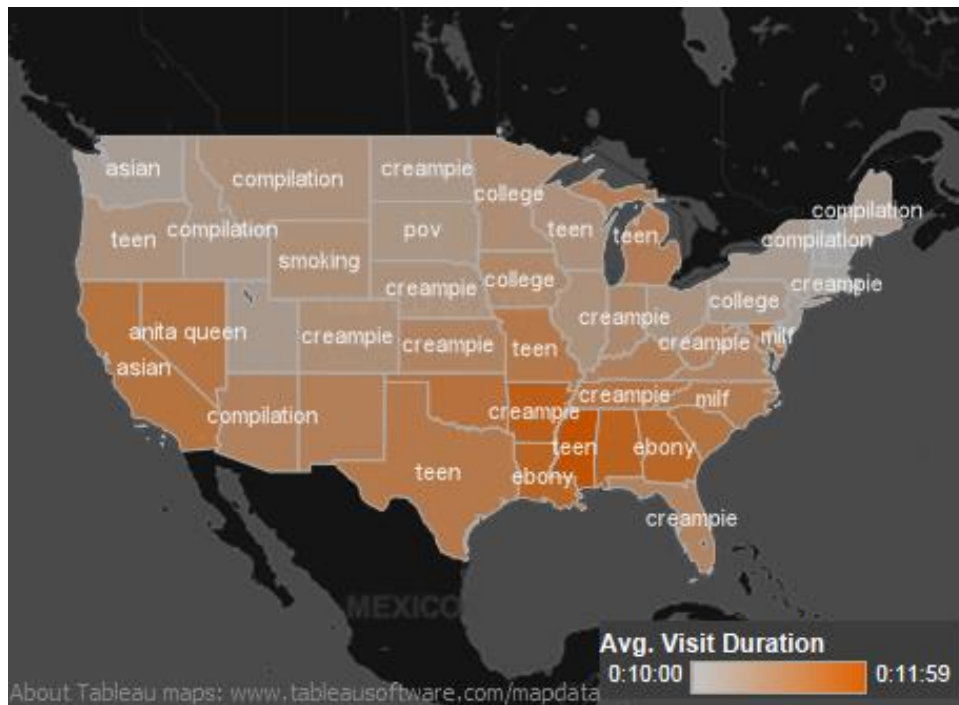
Figure 4: Overview of the most commonly searched categories in the USA, from *pornhub* (http://public.tableausoftware.com/shared/HR9SZ66TW?:display_count=yes, accessed on 2 September 2013)
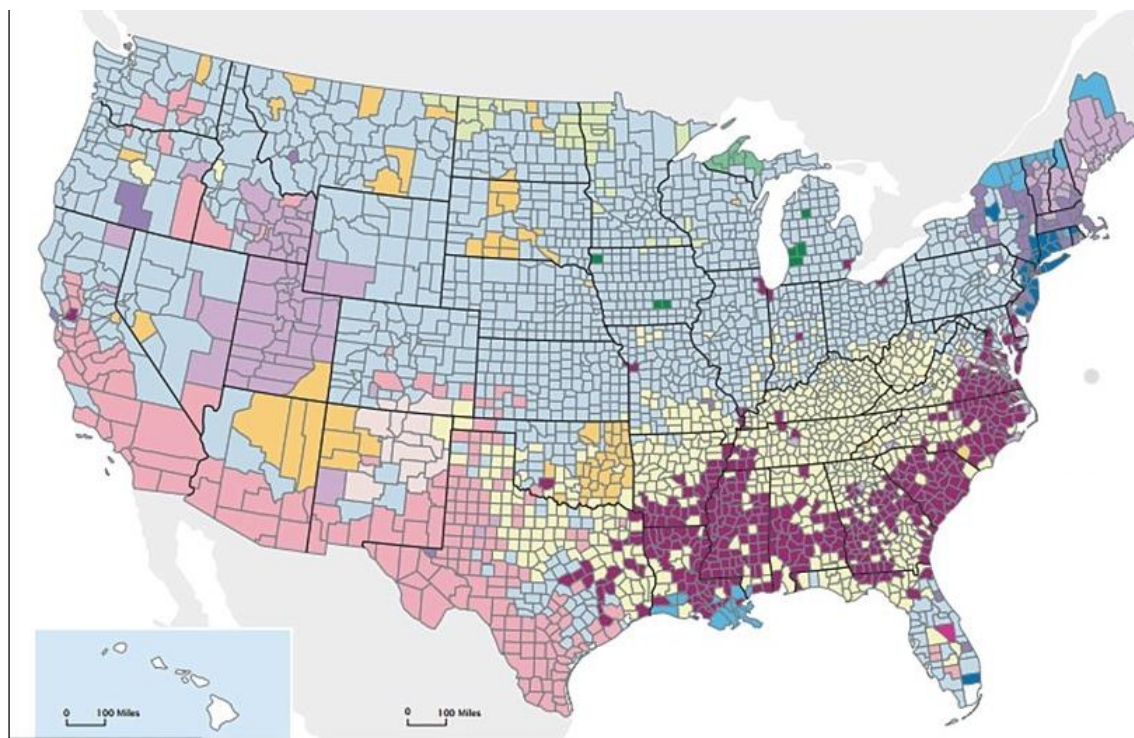

Figure 5: Graphic depiction of the USA 2000 Census. Yellow color denotes Americans, purple denotes Americans of English descent, pink denotes Mexican Americans, dark blue denotes Americans of Italian descent, and light blue denotes Americans of German descent (http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2408591/American-ethnicity-map-shows-melting-pot-ethnicities-make-USA-today.html, accessed 4 September 2013).

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Concerning the aforementioned Internet anonymity, it must be said that it is more perceived than real. Of course, Internet sites frequently keep a log of IP addresses and there are ways of tracking the user actions in cyberspace, so the anonymity is mostly kept in relation to the other users with whom the user may (but does not need to) interact.

During the time of classic media, it was necessary to purchase a physical carrier of pornographic content, whatever its form. However, Internet pornography can be viewed by hundreds of thousands of users who do not have to enter into an interpersonal relationship at all. On the other hand, the users have complete freedom to join discussion groups and to use pseudonyms or constructed/assumed identities to comment or share pornographic content. The following chapters will contain more information about the activites of individuals on the forums or during the tagging of pornographic videos.

In addition to the amount of pornographic content on the Internet, one other pronounced feature is the speed of their diffusion. Copies of photographs or videos which appear on the Internet are simultaneously downloaded by a large number of users which means that the spreading of illegal content (e.g. paedophilia) cannot be suppressed by terminating the original source or server once it becomes available on the Internet (this stems from the Internet technology which is based on system decentralisation), which is relatively frequent. If such materials are incriminating or if they are in violation of intellectual property laws, they can create both social and private problems. Problems related to this are a topic for legislators, but also for those who critique the social existence.

The first and most basic question is: is it at all possible to impose censorship on the Internet, and on the other hand, is it prudent? Calls for regulation or censorship come from many sides: the feminist movement (which is not unique in its stance on pornography), the religious and moralist groups, the psychologists who have directed their research to the discovery of correlation between pornography and violence or other forms of antisocial behaviour. The laws which enact some forms of content tracking on the Internet have been passed in most countries of the world (Litan, 2001: 22). There is a question of the cognitive behaviour of children and adolescents who are exposed to pornography. Simon-Louis Lajeunesse, who led the research on the effects of pornography for the University of Montreal, was unable to scientifically conduct his experiment because of a simple fact – he was unable to form a control group of males

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over the age of twenty who have never seen pornographic films on the Internet[55]. The study of Jochen Peter and Patti Valkenburg from the University of Amsterdam researched two adolescent traits: sexual and auto-sexual insecurities, and attitude towards sexual experimentation; it was then examined whether these traits potentially correlate to the adolescent exposure to sexually explicit materials on the Internet. Using the analysis from sample of 2.343 Dutch adolescents aged 13 to 20, the authors induced that the more frequent exposure to the sexually explicit material (most commonly on the Internet) is related to a greater insecurity in the perception of one's own body, social interaction, and a more positive attitude towards sexual experimentation (e.g. greater promiscuity) (Peter et al, 2008:579-601).

In the 1980s, a question arose regarding the relation between pornography consumption and violence, especially violence towards women. Feminist authors such as Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon warned that the degree of violence aimed at women through pornography is increasing with the greater availability of the Internet. The authors emphasised that one of the general features of pornography was its sexual asymmetry, because it was mostly produced by males for a male audience, even in the case of homosexual pornography, since the homosexual male is primarily viewed as a female object (Hardy, 2009:5).

There are dissenting opinions, which are not based on the valuation of whether some form of sexual behaviour is acceptable or not; these opinions claim that there are observed ways for the human civilisation to adapt to the information era. As an example, there is a study which indicates that the consumption of pornography (even the violent kind) is inversely proportional to the number of violent sex crimes (D`Amato, 2006:91). On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that sexual violence (rape and similar) is least of all connected to the sexual gratification (Nedeljkovic, 2011: 129-133)[56]. A research conducted on 1023 pornography consumers in Australia posed a question through a survey, asking them whether they considered pornography to have had any influence on their attitude toward sexuality, and to grade that effect. The research showed that 58.8% of respondents believed that pornography had a very positive or positive effect on their attitude toward sexuality, 34.6% did not believe it had any effect at all, and 6.8% believed that its influence was negative or very negative. The

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[55] http://www.nouvelles.umontreal.ca/udem-news/news/20091201-are-the-effects-of-pornography-negligible.html (accessed on 4 May 2013)

[56] http://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/inside-the-criminal-mind/201106/sex-crimes-are-not-about-sex (accessed on 7 June 2013)

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most commonly listed positive effects, in order of frequency, were: less repression during sexual relations, breaking of sexual prejudices, increase of tolerance towards different sexualities, providing pleasure to the consumers, sexual education, maintaining sexual interest in the partner in long-term relationships, more careful observation of the partner's sexual wishes, assistance in discovering own identity or joining a community, and enticing the person to speak to their partners about sex (McKee, 2007: 87-104).

Until recently, pornography was practically an "esotheric theme" to the scientific community (Heartney, 1991: 16-17). The reason for this was simple: pornographic content remained in the private sphere.

With it specific combination of properties, the Internet created a completely different sexual revolution, turning pornography into a freely available ware. This caused an explosion of new content, and now the study of pornography or sexuality on the Internet has substantive scientific significance. Although it is obvious that pornography has lost the stigma it previously held when it comes to the European cultural area, it remains "universally despised" (Arcand, 1993:58).

Internet pornography as a cultural phenomenon is a continuation of the 1970s culture, when pornography had a breakthrough as one of the products offered on the entertainment market. Paradoxically, even though there has never been a greater quantity or quality of pornography than today, mostly thanks to the capacity of the Internet, and even though the use of communication technology has become very inexpensive, the unfeasibility of efficient application of copyright laws has caused the profits of the producers and distributors of professional pornography to drop continually[57]. The very nature of the Internet itself, because of its size and dynamics, makes it very difficult to determine the number of pornographic sites and their capacities (in the quantitative sense) on the Internet. All attempts at analysis must be limited to one culture or a set of cultures, considering the richness of slang and cultural properties to be considered because of the nature of this subject which is connected to sexuality. The dizzying advance of technology, the constant acceleration of communication speeds, and the processes inextricably tied to globalisation, have cause the social scientists to continually keep correcting their evaluations and analyses about human behaviour on the Internet. Positions and data are constantly revised, so it should

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[57]http://www.familysafemedia.com/pornography_statistics.html (accessed on 11 June 2013)

not be surprising that this thesis presented opposed expert opinions, which provide either positive or negative views of a certain social phenomenon.

From the anthropological perspective, even though the previous two chapters glanced over that subject, a question of whether there has been so little interest in studying any aspect of pornography in the past comes to mind. It was pointed out that the Internet pornography was a trigger to the increase of pornography's cultural importance and to the interest of the academic community in its effects. In any case, when pornography broke through the silent barriers surrounding it, it became apparent that it is multi-layered and polysemic, just like any other global, supra-cultural phenomenon.

The importance of pornography does not come from its symbolic, psychological, or biological components, but from an amalgamation of all factors that comprise one such social phenomenon. The problem is that, if one attempts to analyse all these components separately, the later synthesis of the segments into a hypothesis or a logical unit may not correspond to the reality it is trying to explain.

The response to the first question must include an analysis of pornography in the communication key, separated from a particular, singular culture. It is known that the information revolution has reduced the impact of national cultures, and it has also been established that the Internet (because of its purely physical properties – technology and production standardisation), when used on a computer or another telecommunication device, becomes a tool which is used in a similar or identical manner independently of the user's culture. Another factor which was mentioned is prevalence of the English language, the global language of technology on the Internet. These factors meld the Internet or its pornographic culture into a global, supra-cultural whole.

It is important to once again make a dissociation regarding the necessity for sex or sexuality (a very specific and predetermined sexuality), in stating that it is not a purely biological or psychological requirement. In a system which values sexuality, those who have the most success in sex start being valued as well. Predetermined social norms usually award very different roles to men and women. Pornographic materials, just as materials of any other type, are not the means for simple, unilateral, and unambiguous communication (Shah, 2005:31). Although diffused and differentiated (in order to satisfy everyone's taste and fill every niche), pornography has a certain division of roles, which have been a subject of study, mostly by feminists. Pornographic content is simultaneously an aesthetic object, a socio-political relic, and a system of visual

presentation (Schroeder, 2005: 5). Visual favouritism of immediate carnal gratification reduces the importance of traditional intimacy policies. Coming from a standpoint that love relations and emotional partnerships should not be a part of social arrangements, but, rather, the result of personal choice based on the balance of attraction, lust, trust, compatibility, and similar, it can be concluded that Internet pornography speeds up the process of dematerialisation of intimacy which started under the regime of "traditional" information technomogies (Filipovic, 2010:369).

Feminists are interested in representation of the female body in pornographic content, as well as the implication of such images on gender relations.

In this case, considering that the main consumers of pornography are men, and the heterosexual depiction of the sexual act is the most common one, it frequently leads to fetishisation of the female body. Stacy Gorman, Elizabeth Monk-Turner, and Jennifer Fish produced a comparative analysis of content from 45 pornographic sites and concluded that the majority of videos from the sample show a greater amount of female nudity than male nudity, and that men are more often shown in sexually dominant poses. The prevalence of violence in this sample and the presence of different types of acts (verbal abuse, facial ejaculation, etc) were also analysed for content and used to establish a prevalent theme. This study adds to the gender and pornography literature by examining the questions of degradation and the balance of power in the context which rapidly spreads throughout the Internet pornography industry (Gorman et al, 2010:131-145).

The question of degree to which women are able to influence and change pornographic trends is posed (Corsianos, 2007:863-885). On the other hand, it is a fact that an increasing number of women are beginning to consume pornography, which presents a discourse on whether the balance of male to female users is getting closer, requiring the modern pornographic industry to adjust for purely economic reasons (Williams, 1989). Certain authors, including feminist ones, frequently rely on the socio-economic component of the pornographic industry in their analyses, and they no longer insist on equal gender representation as the condition for true equality (Chyng et al, 2008: 312-325).

After the breaking of numerous taboos and parallel to the emergence of sexual revolutions which preceded the first two waves of feminism, conditions arose that gave conception to the consumer culture known today, one which is characterised by hypersensuality and the phrase "sex sells." Consequently, there is an economic interest

in preserving the current order. Adding to this is the premise that, if film and the VHS made the porn industry highly profitable, the Internet made it "indestructible." There will always be arguments against the boycott or censorship of pornography, from the one that such actions are contrary to the freedom of expression, to the one that no information can ever be fully suppressed on the Internet; this means that any initiative in that direction is superfluous. However, there is always more room to gain additional understanding of this phenomenon, both for the purpose of education and to prevent harmful activities.

Internet pornography can be taken to represent a cultural system with certain rules and methods of communication.

One manifestation of that communication is the categorization, and it will be shown that the interpretation of pornographic content in the context of categorization does not always match the intent of the clip's author. This creates a layer of web sites between the video producer and the user, and this layer conveys a slightly changed message. Consequently, it is important to understand the logic which leads to the creation and grouping of those categories. Pornographic sites themselves are large databases of raw material, which are continually expanded. They follow some unwritten rules in the way they are organised (for the economic reason of simplifying user navigation, sites are somewhat similar to one another), but pornographic content should certainly be catalogued as a library of relevant material, for the purpose of simpler tracking and understanding.

III THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

III 1. COGNITIVE ANTHROPOLOGY

III 1.a Cognitive sciences

Congnition represents the process of learning, reasoning, and knowledge accumulation (Webster). It is the subject of study of several different cognitive sciences: philosophy, psychology, anthropology, linguistics, neuro science, and artificial intelligence. "Cognitive anthropology is a study of relations between the human society and human thought" (D'Andrade, 1995:1) and it investigates how people of different social groups think about the objects and events that surround them.

The central hypothesis of all cognitive sciences is that reasoning can be understood in terms of representational structures within the mind and the computational processes used in their operation. The majority of work in the experimental domains of cognitive sciences is focused on the idea that mental representations of our mind are analogous to computer data structures, and that the computational procedures of our mind are similar to computer algorithms, whereas the mind itself only perceives the mental representations of objects rather than objects themselves. (Zikic, 2008:119)

Certain knowledge can be illustrated with rules, such as the if-then statement or formal logic, which means that certain thought processes can be presented using rule systems. Humans employ rule systems in order to solve certain problems, as well as to establish new rules, which again produces behaviour. Computer models, based on rulesets, can be used to improve learning systems or to develop "intelligent" machine systems.

Concepts play an important part in the formation of mental presentations. Instead of strict definitions of concepts, this thesis will consider the view that a concept has some typical properties, and the conceptual application represents an approximate match between the concept and its real world counterpart. Rules (procedures) joined together with concepts result in behaviour. (Thagard, 2012)

Analogies represent a significant segment in reasoning. There are computer models which simulate the human creation of analogy maps and their application in particular situations (Thagard, 2012).

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Psychological and neurological experiments have shown that there is a close link between reasoning, mental images, and perception. People use visual images to remember certain situations. The construction and manipulation of images produces certain behaviours. Sometimes, the visual representation is much more useful than a verbal description. Computer procedures which simulate visual representations enable the discovery, zooming, rotation, and various image transformations (Thagard, 2012).

Connectionism is the idea that the brain can be mathematically represented by means of simple nodes (neurons) which are interconnected and which create functions by transmitting signals from one to another, presenting the mind's capacity for the parallel processing of information, which is used to do something without direct symbolic thinking (e.g. riding a bicycle). Neural networks represent the computer implementation of connectionistic networks (Thagard, 2012).

Theoretical neuroscience strives to create mathematical and computational theories of structures and processes that show how the brain might function. Unlike connectionism, it aims to create a model which is more based on the biological functioning of the brain, by simulating the operation of synapses and neurons from various regions of the brain. From the perspective of neuroscience, mental representations are patterns produced by neural activity (Thagard, 2012).

III 1. b. Cognitive anthropology

Cognitive anthropology, focused on the relations between human culture and human thought, does not observe culture as a material phenomenon, as was the case in earlier anthropology; instead, it views culture as a cognitive system of knowledge, beliefs, and values which exists in the minds of members of a particular society. The culture is considered to be a mental instrument used by members of the society. Cognitive anthropology is interested in the manner in which humans understand and organise material objects, events, and experiences, and the way they imagine reality according to their own cognitive categories rather than the categories set by the anthropologists who study them, reliably presenting logical systems of reasoning which exist in a certain culture, based on ideas of the human mind.

Cognitive anthropology does not claim to be capable of predicting human behaviour, it merely describes what is culturally expected in a given context. It describes the rules of behaviour, but not the behaviour itself (Zikic, 2008:118-122).

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The roots of this sub-field of anthropology can be found in Boas' cultural relativism – each culture should be interpreted on its own, and not from our perspective, taking into account that its development was specific. Radcliffe Brown, Malinowski, and Boas argued in favour of functionalism, meaning that ethnography does not consider the history of certain people but rather the present state of their beliefs and customs. Franz Boas researched the perception of ice and water in the Eskimo (Inuit) culture and concluded that people from different cultures have a different conceptualisation of the surrounding world; he later dedicated his work to the understanding of relations between the world and the environment (Shore, 1996:19). In his works *Psychological Problems in Anthropology* and *The Mind of Primitive Man*, Boas explains how members of primitive cultures perceive the world and the degree of connection between inherited qualities and cultural development, while dismissing the notion that there is a connection between race and intelligence, claiming that "there is no direct relation between the habitat and the mental attributes of its inhabitants;" according to cultural determinism, each human is a tabula rasa whose behaviour is conditioned on the culture within which he or she was developed. Boas' anthropology promoted the study of ideas, beliefs, values, and cosmologies. The predecessor of cognitive anthropology is the work of Ruth Benedict and her disciple, Margaret Mead. Taking these studies into consideration, as well as Bastian's concept of physical equality of all humans, it can be concluded that cognitive anthropology is concerned with the culturally conditioned behaviour of different groups, while the physiology of the mind itself is regarded as a common construct.

Creation of cognitive anthropology was influenced by anthropological linguistics and cognitive psychology, with which it has close ties. Significant linguists include Creber, Saussure, Chomsky, Bloomfield, et al. Boas' student Edward Sapir and his student and colleague Benjamin Whorf claimed that languages shape the thought process and the world view. From this premise came the linguistics' premise called the "Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis" (Kay et al, 1984:66). Whorf explored the language of Hopi Indians which does not contain any terms for time as a dimension which continually changes and which is used in order to observe everything from the past, through the present time, to the future.

Whorf believed that a Hopi Indian who only knew his native tongue could not have the same understanding of space and time as a speaker of Indo-European languages, which

implies "that our notion of space and time is neither intuitive nor universal" (Zikic, 2008:123).

The modern approach to ethnoscience begun in the 1950s with the works of Goodenough (1956), Lounsbury (1956), Conklin (1955), Frake (1961), Lengberg and Roberts (1956), French (1956), Metzger and Williams (1963) and Wallace and Atkins (1960) (Colby et al, 1981). The cognitive revolution was not as apparent in anthropology as it was in psychology and linguistics, because anthropology was less behaviouristic and so the behaviouristic theories were less in dispute in anthropology. Independently from behaviourism, anthropology was becoming a more cognitive science, placing a focus on researching ideas, beliefs, values, and cosmologies (D'Andrade, 1995:12).

The first cognitive anthropologists tried to improve the validity of ethnographies by using interview techniques and analytical processes in which they would employ the categories and reasoning's of natives rather than the cultural systems of the analyst (Colby, 1996:211). Floyd Lounsbury and Ward Goodenough published separate papers in 1956, both on the semantic analysis of family relations. Lounsbury researched Native Americans and Goodenough studied Pacific Truks. These two studies had great impact on the subsequent development of cognitive anthropology. They both tried to dissect semantic structures into elementary units – seeds, analogous to phonemes as elementary units of speech, trying to determine the structure of meaning behind the words used by interviewees to define family relations in their language. Goodenough used componential analysis to examine the terms (Goodenough, 1956).

Certain words contain dimensions, i.e. meaningful components, which can then be organised into a hierarchy. Like most cognitive anthropologists, Goodenough claimed that culture was not a material phenomenon, and that it did not consist of people, objects, behaviours, and emotions, but that it was a product of knowledge and the fashion in which that knowledge was organised. According to Goodenough, ethnography should present a theory of conceptual models used by the people rather than describe their behaviour, presenting a set of grammar rules that would enable one to think like a native. The adequacy of ethnography should be tested in the same way as Touring's imagined artificial intelligence testing, implying that an ethnography would be considered satisfactory if it enabled a person to think like a native (Booster, 2005:95).

Instead of the simple ethnographer's description of what the researcher had observed, research shifted towards the discovery of patterns in human world concepts, presenting the "culture as knowledge" model. During this phase, the research methods used were those already present in psychology, linguistics, and other sciences, such as the componential method (analysis or phonemic systems; biology models used by Conklin and Frake to analyse taxonomic relations in ethnobotany). During this period of time, the subject of research was, for the most part, the analysis of words (ethnosemantics) (D'Andrade, 1995:41, 245).

In 1960, Wallace and Atkins noted that the application of componential analysis to familial terminology consisted of five steps, as follows: collection of an entire set of terms; definition of terms by using the type of family relation; identification of one or more distinguishing dimensions whose values or components apply to those terms; definition of terms through the application of those properties; listing of semantic structure for the entire set of familial terms. They started with terms of the English language and, in their debate, noted that the goal was to find the system which is the closest to the "psychological reality" of people from the observed culture. They formed a system which observed the family relation with respect to the subject, i.e. ego (table 1). The first component is the generation which represents distance from the subject, where the father is one generation away, the son is minus one generation away, and the brother represents generation zero (table 1, parameter b). The second component is the gender, which can be male or female (*cousin* does not have a gender definition) (table 1, parameter a), and the third component refers to the type of relation which can be lineal (e.g. father) (table 1, c1), colineal (e.g. uncle) (table 1, c2), or ablineal (cousin) (table 1, c3); where uncle and nephew cover two generations, and cousin can be of any relation (Wallace et al, 1960:59-63).

Table 1: Componential analysis of the basic American and English familial terms in the work of Wallace and Atkins (Wallace et al, 1960:6)

	c1 a1	c1 a2	c2 a1	c2 a2	c3 a1	c3 a2
b1	grandfather	grandmother	uncle	aunt		
b2	father	mother				
b3	[ego]		brother	sister	cousin	
b4	son	daughter	nephew	niece		
b5	grandson	granddaughter				

In 1964, Romney and D'Andrade created a seemingly similar system which contains both direct and collateral relations, gender, and generation. Generation is no longer a singular absolute value which represents distance from the subject, but consists of the distance and the plus and minus signs depending on whether it represents parents or descendants, and there are two different types of relations instead of three. So grandmother and granddaughter, mother and daughter have similar attributes and only differ in generation (one to two generations). In addition, Romney and D'Andrade introduced the notational operators. "m" was for males, "a" for any sex, "f" for females, "+"for parenthood, "-"for descendants, followed by a number denoting the generational distance, and "=" for marriage. So, for example, the son of the mother's brother was designated as "+f0m-m" (one generation is the parent, in this case the female one, her brother is a male of the same generation, and his progeny is male) (Romney et al, 1964:146-150). The advantage of such notation was that any relation could be described with a single expression. In order to examine the psychological validity of the presented model and show whether it was closer in that sense than the model presented by Wallace and Atkins, 116 high school students were quizzed – they had the task to eliminate the element which was the least like the other two, for all possible triplets.

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They discovered that terms which Wallace and Atkins considered to be reciprocal by generation (e.g. grandfather and grandson), were actually closer than e.g. grandfather and father – just as they had predicted in their model. However, if the attention were moved from the relations to the individuals themselves, when the father or grandfather relation was applied to discover who was the actual subject's father or grandfather, i.e. to choose the least similar term from the set "my grandfather," "my father," and "my son," the one which was eliminated was "my son," leading to a solution which better suited the componential analysis of Wallace and Atkins. The states of being a grandfather or being a father are more similar than the state of being a son. Regardless of the results, it is more important to cognitive anthropology that Romney and D'Andrade used psychological, statistical, and algebraic methods in comparison to the linguistic methods present until their time. After their work, researchers started to apply methods such as reasoning by similarity, survey, and others. It is very important that Romney and D'Andrade separated themselves from the strict cultural relativism which was held by the early cognitive anthropologists, and that they conducted intercultural comparisons, setting the ground for intercultural comparisons in categorizations (Booster, 2005:102-105).

Table 2: Componential analysis of the basic American and English familial terms in the work of Romney and D'Andrade. The plus/minus numerals denote generation, and the abbreviations are as follows: *father (Fa), son (So), mother (Mo), daughter (Da), grandfather (GrFa), grandson (GrSo), grandmother (GrMo), granddaughter (GrDa), uncle (Un), nephew (Ne), aunt (Au), niece (Ni), cousin (Co).* Dotted lines separate the semantically closer terms, and full lines separate the more distant terms (Romney et al, 1964:146-150)

	Direct		Collateral		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
+2	GrFa	GrMo			
	— — — — — — —		Un	Au	+
-2	GrSo	GrDa			
+1	Fa	Mo			
	— — — — — — —		Ne	Ni	-
-1	So	Da			
0	Br	Si	Co		0

In 1962, Harold Conklin studied Hanunoo, a horticultural society from the Philippines, and showed that the componential analysis of their personal pronouns resulted in three binary dimensions: the presence-absence of the speaker (S-NS), presence-absence of the listener (L-NL), and the minimal-nonminimal membership (M-NM) (Figure 6). These three dimensions form a cube whose vertices contain eight pronouns: I (S, NS, M), we (S, NS, NM), the two of us (S, L, M), all of us (S, L, NM), he/she (NS, NL, M), they (NS, NL, NM), you (NS, L, M), all of you (NS, L, NM) (Conklin, 1962:134-135).

Unfortunately, such symmetry is rare. Outside of the application of componential analysis to certain parts of the language, few parts are organised as paradigms. Familial terminology is sometimes organised in this manner (but not always, and not necessarily in a simple manner), often because there is a wealth of different terms which make it possible to form the combinations which are necessary to show a

paradigm, where the required number is calculated in proportion to the number of binary dimensions.

Thus, in Conklin's case there are three binary dimensions, requiring 2^3 or eight terms to form the paradigm. In case of four binary dimensions, the number of required terms would be sixteen, etc. (Booster, 2005:96-101).
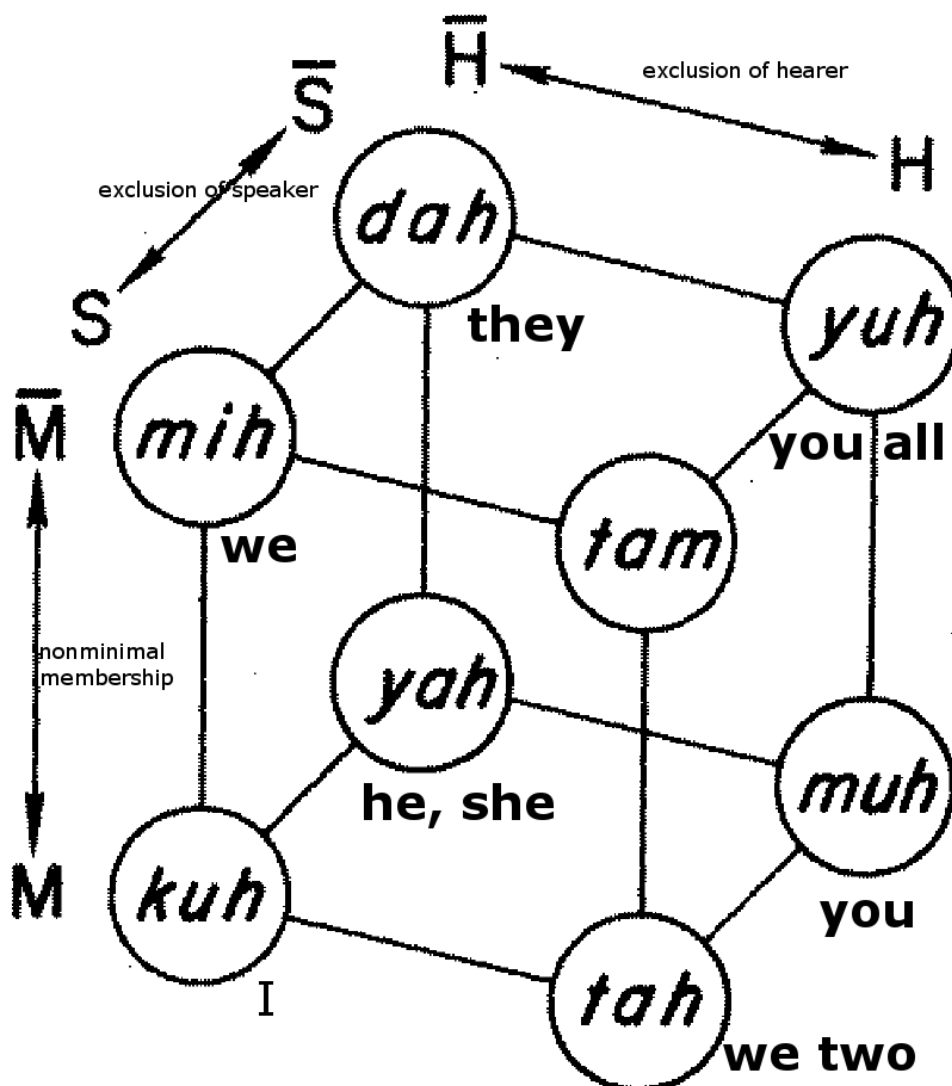
Figure 6: Paradigmatic structure of Hanunoo personal pronouns (Conklin, 1962:135)

In addition to the studies he conducted in the spirit of linguistic analysis, Wallace also studied the relation between familial terminologies and the limitations of human short-term memory. Roberts, Brown, Lenneberg, Stefflre, et al also examined the limitations of short-term memory in the domain of colour naming. Miller wrote about the limits of short-term memory in "The Magical Number Seven," as did Bruner in "A Study of Thinking." A human being can simultaneously remember approximately

6 bits of information, either numerals or letters (Miller, 1956). Wallace came to the same conclusion independently of Miller's work.

He calculated that the largest number for six binary dimensions, i.e. the number 64, is the maximal number of categories in formal behaviour, naming: the number of phonemes in languages, 52 cards in a deck of cards, sixty four fields on a chess board, twelve combinations in a pair of dice, fewer than sixty four military ranks, fewer than sixty four players in different sports teams, etc. His conclusion was that the aforementioned phenomenon appears in different societies and that it is a limitation of psychobiological nature. "Chunking" is the consequence of the problem of limited operating memory and represents the ability to overcome the problem by splitting information into smaller segments. For instance, the number 49642445 is easier to remember if split into two four-digit numbers, 4964 and 2445. For instance, the basic commercial event consists of the terms "sell" and "buy." First, one person must be the seller. Second, one person must be the buyer. Third, there must exist an object which is to be sold. Fourth, ownership of the object is transferred from seller to buyer. Fifth, money is used as the means of exchange. Sixth, ownership of the money is transferred from buyer to seller. Each of these six parts is a very complex construct, but, in order to understand the sale, one needs to have only a cursory use of these six parts, which represents an application of chunking. Regardless of the term's complexity, in both language and in the mind chunking leads to the creation of labels which will semantically relate to those terms and any further use of those terms will involve their general meaning, allowing for complex events to be contained in short-term memory and, consequently, allowing their application (D'Andrade, 1995:42-48, 245).

Cognitive anthropologists sought the methods which would help them understand how the members of different cultures organise their knowledge. Parallel to the development of aforementioned models, there was research in the domain of ethnobiology. Conklin studied the Hanunoo culture in 1954, noting their explanations for differences between 1800 specific terms for plant species. Bearing in mind that the taxonomy relation *"x is a species of y"* is one of the main forms of human knowledge organisation when it comes to the classification and grouping of plants and animals, in this case the taxonomy analysis is much more important than the aforementioned feature analysis (D'Andrade, 1995:92). Classification systems present complex cultural models which are structured hierarchically. In this way different entities – objects, actions, and

events – are grouped together into conceptual categories in which they are observed as equivalents.

Depending on the cultural mechanism of the event that should be presented, specific objects and actions are related to the abstract concepts of categories themselves, which represents the human ability to choose contextually significant representations from the outside space. Semantic relations between these categories determine the cognitive systems, i.e. information about knowledge, beliefs, and convictions which can be learned from the aforementioned structures. Taxonomy hierarchies are classifications structures based on the content (i.e. possessor) relations and the inclusion between the categories themselves – e.g. oak is a subcategory of a tree, while a white oak is a subcategory of oak. In addition to the taxonomies, there are also non-taxonomy classifications which can also be structured hierarchically, such as partonomic and functional classifications. Partonomic classifications are organised based on the "part of a whole" relation – e.g. mother, son, and daughter are a part of the "family" category, and wheels are parts of a car. Functional classifications are grouped in accordance with the shared *function of usage*, e.g. they are organised in accordance with the "serves for" relation – e.g. sword, dagger, and pistol are functionally grouped as weapons (Zikic, 2008:129).

In their "A Study of Thinking," Bruner, Gudnow, and Austin list two ways of forming categories based on the limitation of short-term memory, in the first case through a reduction of attributes – a significant number of an object's attributes and functions are reduced to five or six important ones while others are ignored; in the second case, the properties are shortened so that they form one common attribute (e.g. a bird has wings, feathers, legs, and a beak, and the other attributes are not listed because they are predictable and can be derived from the category preceding the bird category).

Taxonomies have attracted most attention from cognitive anthropologists because they are considered to be folk knowledge about a certain subject. More precisely, researchers view them as a set of logical rules of the local culture, achieved through experience, and used for the practical purposes of everyday life (Zikic, 2008:129). Folk taxonomies or ethnotaxonomies are the means of grouping particular to a certain local culture. Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven studied the deviations between scientific and folk plant classifications. They observed that members of the local culture often grouped at least two pairings of different plant species together, thinking they were the same species. In a sample of 200 local plant species, such cases occurred in at

least 41% of the sample. The matching of species' names with their scientific names occurred in 34% of cases, while in 25% of the cases locals made a difference between identical species.

The conclusion was that members of local cultures add multiple names to the culturally significant plants and animals and that they classify them in their own way, which somewhat corresponds with the actual plant species, but still deviates from the scientific classification (Berlin et al, 1966:273).

A scientific classification of living creatures requires a hierarchy based on groups of similar genetic traits, and the following levels exist: *living creature, species, genus, family, class, order, and kingdom*. Folk classifications form category relations between the terms based on the empirical knowledge of phenomena from the domain of everyday life and their cultural significance, and doing so by using the relation "type of something."

Folk classifications have up to five levels of hierarchy. The main reason for this method of classification lies in the fact that humans tend to reduce the number of attributes describing some term to five or six. Folk classifications start from *level zero of the classification originator*, e.g. animal or plant. First *level of the life form* usually corresponds with the order. Categories of the first level possess obvious mutual differences and frequently belong to a unique life form in that environment, such as: mammals, birds, insects, grasses, etc. If there is only one species inhabiting this area, such as dogs, in this climate, they will be included in this level. The second *level of generic species* is the most populous one and refers to the terms usually learned during childhood – e.g. oak, cactus, banana, tiger, lion, etc. This level is very important for ethnotaxonomies because it represents the "natural" folk knowledge about plants, animals, and phenomena of interest. Categories at this level are the most numerous ones, they have the most attributes and differ between themselves greatly. The second level, however, does not correspond with the levels of scientific classification, although there are some similarities between the two. *The third specific level* varies from vulture to culture and is tied to generic species which are important for some reason – e.g. different types of pears, oak trees, corn plants, breeds of dogs, etc. The name commonly retains the name of the *generic species*, but adds to it a specific property – e.g. popping corn, sweet corn, etc. (Boster, 2005:110). The most detailed level of ethnotaxonomies are *varieties*, e.g. poodle and king poodle, but they are rare and very culturally conditioned. There is sometimes a *intermediate level* between levels zero and one,

which is often not described with a single term but through co-location – e.g. songbirds, evergreen trees, etc. If they are not visible, those categories are referred to as hidden categories. For example, a cat, a lion, and a tiger are subcategories of the *intermediate level* of cats (D'Andrade, 1995:93-100).

The *intermediate* level plays an important role because it isn't obvious and can be implicitly discovered from the already formed ethnotaxonomy. The aforementioned limitations of short-term memory also apply to ethnotaxonomies, limiting the number of levels to about five. Even if there is a sixth level, it contains few items (D'Andrade, 1995:43). From the point of view of cognitive anthropology, ethnotaxonomies are important because they speak of how members of a certain culture organise information without scientific education and without being informed about the given field of study (Boster, 2005:113), which is not only characteristic of pre-technological so-called folk cultures, but also of modern societies.

Conklin continued his research on Hanunoo in 1955, studying their naming of colours, and Brent Berlin and Paul Kay conducted a multicultural study on the colour terminology of 20 languages in 1969, using 320 chips of different colours as stimulating material. They discovered that the number of colours known by the interviewees varied from two to eleven, and, more importantly, that the terms for basic colours are always listed in the same order. In languages which only have two terms for colours, those are always black and white, light and dark, etc. In languages which have a third colour it is always red, the fourth colour is green or yellow, and those that have five colours both green and yellow are included. The sixth colour is blue, seventh brown, eighth and ninth and tenth and eleventh which only appear at the ultimate, seventh level of culture's technical development, are purple, pink, orange, and grey. This arrangement is called the "evolution sequence" (Berlin et al, 1969) and the study incited the "universalists"[58] to conclude that this arrangement is natural rather than being culturally conditioned, and that the number of different colours to be named depends on the technological progress – societies which are more advanced technologically have more different names.

The Dany people of New Guinea only have two terms for colours: light and dark. Eleanor Rosch wanted to show that, even though they didn't possess a lexeme for the colour red in their dictionary, they would still choose the same shade of colour as

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[58] Universailists believe that the cognitive concepts of humans are the same regardless of the culture they belong to because of the shared biological base.

those interviewees who did have that colour in their dictionary. In other words, she posited that there were shades of colour which are physiologically more suitable for humans, which is why they choose those shades more frequently (Rosch, 1972).

Aside from that, Rosch also studied whether there are specific objects which appear as cognitive presentations during the naming taxonomy elements for tools, furniture, birds, etc. Interviewees were to respond which e.g. bird was the closest to their concept of "birdness." She concluded that there are privileged shapes in case of categorization, e.g. songbirds are a better match for the mental picture of a bird than penguins. Such privileged objects were called "prototypes," using this to argument the theory that there are certain colours, objects, and general representations of the environment which correspond with the basic, default representations of those objects, which are not memorised as a list of traits (e.g. beak, wings, feathers) but as a whole – a prototype unit which is used as a reference when comparing the degree to which an object belongs to the same category as the prototype. This makes the human view of the world a biologically determined technique of structured chunking of numerous objects into a single whole, which is the most applicable to the general level of ethnotaxonomy, which is full of longer lists of object properties (Rosch, 1975:192-197).

In 1988, James Boster did research to establish why some objects are prototypes and some are not, concluding that birds which were closer to the prototype came from a larger family of birds, meaning that their traits were present in a larger number of birds. For this reason, when imagining a representative of the bird group, the largest number of activated traits will come from the species which permeates the greatest area. The same principle is analogously applied in the case of other object types (D'Andrade, 1995:119). In the opinion of Rosch: "Human categorization should not be observed as an arbitrary product of historical coincidence but, rather, as a result of the psychological principles of categorization," mentioning the two basic principles of categorization: the first is to offer the maximum amount of information with the minimal cognitive effort and the second is that the world is generally observed as structured data rather than a set of arbitrary or unpredictable attributes (Rosch, 1978:1-2).

The prototype theory, in which the prototype represents the most important, central representative of some category, and the default instance of a certain category, or, observed more widely, some event, is one of the starting points in the schema theory. For this reason, before moving onto the schemas and models, it is important to make

certain delineations with the goal of clarifying both the goals of cognitive anthropology and the positions presented in this thesis.

"What the theory of prototypes fails to take into account is the context. Regardless of how we observe the meaning, i.e. the semantic properties of something, things can only 'make sense' or gain meaning within the appropriate semantic touch with other things. After all, the very basic names for colours themselves are presented contextually, since the initial categorization in the entry level languages suits the basic semantic contradistinction of terms, in the *positive* versus *negative* sense. Contextual information is a part of our knowledge about categories and category members, and the theory of prototypes is unable to take that into account. More precisely, that theory does not work in this case, since the determinative power of the context with respect to our cognition suggests that the difference between cultural and learned has a big impact in our everyday life orientation, i.e. in the life community, which we describe as a society or as a culture, so we cannot rely on the evolutionary predispositions when we interpret cultural categories. In a certain way, contextuality of information spreads beyond that scope – we know that within the 'birds' category, song birds are usually small, and this does not represent only a consequence of the human choice in designation, but also a correlation between the categorization of observed (cultural distinction) and objective properties of the observed (natural trait)." "What would be a prototype of the following category: 'my friends'?" (Zikic, 2008:135)

There is a widespread opinion among some cognitive scientists that the human has gained the evolutionary ability to perceive, distinguish, and categorise plants and animals in accordance with the least cognitive effort required – those are either predefined species or categories, which are already in the human mind, so-called dwarf trees (Randall). The implementation of this least cognitive effort mechanism, the method by which someone makes distinctions and categories, is not inborn, but culturally conditioned. Even the Jung archetypes, which are defined as a part of the collective unconscious and are inborn universal idea prototypes, do not manifest as such during every conscious perception. Instead, they manifest as complexes or archetypal representations, which once again take on a culturally shaped form. Platonic Forms take on the shape of shadow or poor copy in the "material world," once again being different from the unknowable original and, also, culturally determined, while the appearance of the default image of some animal or object super-category in the theory of prototypes

can be observed in relation to what is most numerous within any human's locale, which once again represents a part of the cultural milieu (even if it is a bird species).

If one starts with the presumption that culture is not completely biologically predetermined, the study of culture, or anything which uses models to describe certain cognitive processes, is conducted by multiple difference sciences and disciplines: philosophy, anthropology, or computer algorithms in artificial intelligence. However, if our given biological conditions were to be the exclusive providers of culture and behaviour, then everything which is culturally evoked would be just a consequence and a function of "basic" truth. In that case, only the result of what could be learned from mapping the nervous system could provide the answers to all questions posed by the cognitive sciences, which should in that case switch their focus only to that field. Naturally, cognitive anthropology does not ignore the given human biological conditions, but observes their use within a certain cultural context. For this reason, the following text will use the term "prototype" to refer to a default cognitive representation of a cultural norm, that which would represent the most likely manifestation of thought or action within the agreed-upon cultural context.

Work on taxonomies shifted the focus of cognitive anthropology from the study of lists of properties to the manipulation of objects which are composed of characteristic values. In the 1970s, it became certain that human cognition operates with more complex structures which were named schemas. (D'Andrade, 1995:120-122). The idea of schemas originated with Kant, who defined schemas in his "Critique of Pure Reason" as mind processes which shape the images of *a priori* concepts, creating blueprints, sketches, and diagrams which are neither "filled-in" nor limited by one's own sensations. Regardless of Kant's definition, Bartlett is considered the first cognitive scientist to start using the schema terminology. Additionally, Bartless claimed that memories are constructive, meaning that not all stimuli are remembered but that schemas are tasked with creating a "general impression of the whole" and to construct or reconstruct the necessary details (Bartlett, 1932:197, Casson, 1983:430). David Rumelhart described schemas as "building blocks of cognition" (Rumelhart, 1980). Schematisation is a technique which allows the limited capabilities of the human nervous system to achieve a functional representation of reality with the purpose of creating meaning or efficient actions (McGraw, 2007:14).

Schemas are the most commonly used method in analysing knowledge structures. They are conceptual abstractions which negotiate between the stimulus, received by the bodily senses, and the representations themselves.

As abstractions, they serve as the basis for human information processing, the very perception and understanding, categorization and planning, recognition and recollection, as well as problem solving and decision making (Casson, 1983:430). Schemas are used to present our knowledge of certain situations, objects, events, and actions in a structured manner. Linguistic forms and cognitive schemas activate one another – linguistic forms are memorised schematically, and schemas are expressed through linguistic forms, creating a coupling of language and thought (Zikic. 2008:128).

1980s gave rise to theories about different types of schemas. Casson described schemas as "undoubtedly very powerful, but also much generalised" (Casson, 1983:455). He defined object schemas, orientation schemas, and event schemas. Object schemas represent different systems of classification, taxonomies, ethnotaxonomies, functional classifications, etc. Attributes of object schemas refer to the properties of objects themselves – e.g. colour, shape, texture, size, etc. as well as their function – e.g. their application (for sitting, for clothing, etc.) wherein all subcategories inherent their parents' attributes. Orientation schemas are also called "cognitive maps" – they represent different knowledge of "spatial orientation" and spatial relations between objects and their relative positions in the physical world. They most commonly refer to land surveys, building plans, city grids, etc. Event schemas refer to various actions and events – e.g. behaviour in a restaurant, ordering food, shopping, gift-giving, etc. Casson also listed narrative and metaphoric schemas.

Lakoff defined image schemas and propositional schemas as the two methods of knowledge transference. Propositional schemas specify concepts and relations which can occur between them and they come down to proposer giving explanations to the listener, until knowledge is transferred between the two. Image schemas are schemas which form the abstraction of perception. Aside from the visual representation, they contain additional information, e.g. the schema of trajectories in case of baseball pitching, or a schema of long, thin objects in case of a candle. Image schemas contain knowledge about physical phenomena such as shape or motion. An example of an image schema is liquid in a glass, where liquid has its own properties and the glass represents a "container" schema which consists of the division of what is inside, what is outside, and the border itself (Lakoff, 1987:457). Image schemas are also used to

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explain the thermodynamic processes and electricity, using the analogies observed in the physical world. Lakoff mentions that metaphors as very important, not only for the image schemas, but for the entire cognitive modelling as well (Quinn et al, 1987:24-30).

D'Andrade divided schemas into three hierarchical levels. At the highest level are the schemas of goals and principal motivations – love, sense of security, fears. Such schemas function independently. At the middle level are the schemas such as: marriage, work, children, hobbies, etc. Even though it seems that these schemas have the highest priority, they are still partially composed of the motivation schemas and depend on them – marriage is conditioned on love and security. At the lowest level are the everyday activities – writing, grocery shopping, gift shopping, etc. These schemas depend on the higher levels (D'Andrade, 1995:232).

Charles Fillmore explained the way schemas function by using reading as an example – while the person is reading the text, a schematic frame first appears in the mind, showing a partially specified world with many empty and undefined parts; then, as reading continues, this world is filled with specific details which fill the empty space or either fulfil or refute the initial expectation (Fillmore, 1975). Schemas do not specify which objects will participate in their realisation, but they are open and flexible; they are presented as a concept filled with certain values depending on the context – e.g. the hunting schema or the writing schema do not specify which objects will participate in their realisation. Though its initial form is scarcely defined, a schema is not the same thing as a prototype. A schema in an organised blueprint of objects and relations which is filled with relation to the context, whereas a prototype represents default values which an individual would use to fulfil the schema; i.e. a default instance of the schema within a certain cultural context (Langacker, 1987).

Simple schemas can be included in complex schemas, meaning that schemas can be organised hierarchically. The writing schema consists of many subschemas – area to be filled, language to be used, entity which is trying to communicate, as well as the subschemas for the pen, paper, author, etc. The advantage of schemas is the possibility of relations between objects from different domains. Additionally, schemas do not have to be executed completely. There are terms which lead to the partial execution of a schema or its complete exclusion – the term "illiterate" completely turns off the reading and writing schemas (D'Andrade, 1995:124).

Everyday speech or writing often uses references to the schemas which are not explicitly listed – in order to understand the meaning of speech, it is necessary to

understand these default schemas. On the other hand, as with taxonomies, participants in different tests frequently stated that they did not think about certain events or knowledge until asked, but instead applied that knowledge "automatically."

Each of the aforementioned schema elements represents a variable which can be connected to a certain value or person, object, or other event, and the variable concepts are chosen so that they limit or narrow down the selection of those values which can be related to them. Default values or prototypes could refer to two persons who exchange goods for physical money, but there can be different types of buyers, sellers, money, etc. As mentioned before, each variable represents a complex construct which could be a schema unto itself, and then composed of different subschemas. To understand commerce, it is only necessary to use these schemas superficially, which is an application of chunking. Even when used superficially, one must possess at least some knowledge of schemas; whether they are regarded as concepts, or used as selected, specific values. This knowledge is assumed and is not explicitly listed in the commerce schema. Aside from the known aspects of schemas which we do not list explicitly, some schemas may possess aspects which we may not even know how to define, nor do we think about them, but we certainly apply them which raises the question of how schemas are organised.

As for the scope of a schema, it should be sufficiently brief to be included in short-term memory, which means it should consist of a small number of objects. The number of objects a person can memorise at one time is limited, but those objects can be complex schemas themselves (D'Andrade, 1987:112), which means that schemas can be organised hierarchically.

In order to apply schemas quickly and automatically, it is necessary to seek an analogy with computer modelling of certain skills – e.g. the evaluation of land quality. According to Bloch's research, a Malagasy farmer of Madagascar was able to evaluate the land in seconds, based on prior experience, rather than going into detail and analysing the multitude of data on vegetation, soil, etc. (D'Andrade, 1995:143).

With artificial intelligence, there is a division into procedural and declarative knowledge. An example of procedural knowledge is riding the bicycle, and an example of declarative is the knowledge of history (D'Andrade, 1987:114). Procedural knowledge is very difficult to realise through the standard serial symbolic processor computer model, while more complex knowledge which is based on rules (e.g. chess) can be realised. Another modelling method are the artificial neural or connectivist

networks. An artificial neural network has the following properties (Lin et al, 1996:207):

1. Mathematical model inspired by the biological nervous system.

2. Consists of a large number of interconnected processing elements.

3. Knowledge is contained in connections (reinforcements, "weights") between the nodes.

4. Processing element dynamically responds to the input stimulus, and its response is completely dependent on the local information contained in its environment.

5. Based on the training set, the neural network had the capacity to learn, memorise, and generalise by determining or adjusting the "weights" of its connections.

6. Unified behaviour of all parts of the network represents processing power, but specific information is not carried by any single neuron (distributed property).
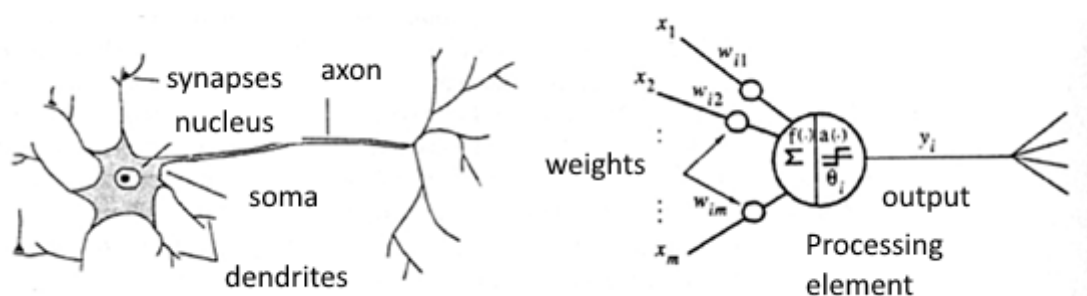
Figure 7. Correspondence between a biological neuron and an artificial neuron (Lin et al, 1996:206).

a) Schematics of a biological neuron

b) Schematics of the 1943 McCulloch–Pitts neuron

Figure 7 shows the neuron and the processing element of the artificial neural network. The aforementioned properties of artificial neural networks – possession of distributed processing elements; training for particular ways of signal processing; and resilience to loss of elements – have encouraged Rumelhart, Norman Bourdieu, and other connectionists to represent "inarticulate" schemata in a similar fashion. Instead of a mind image, they are presented as elements, which use their high interconnection with a minimal number of input signals to recognise learned patterns. Additionally, the schema theory itself can be changed so that schemas are not fixed but to be changed flexibly depending on the need, or to be observed in a completely connectionist manner.

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Quinn and Strauss claim that training the schemas is not similar to loading a set of instructions into a computer; that connectionism offers a different way of viewing knowledge as something which is built up gradually, by creating the associative connections between those aspects which are most frequently repeated, or are more present in our experience, and, consequently, in our cultural communication.

Unlike them, D'Andrade claims that the exclusive connectivist view negates the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that language shapes the thought as well as the metaphoric depiction of culture as the layer between humans and nature. Considering that, according to their positions, words are merely pointers for empirical patters which tend to activate a larger number of connections which relate to the schema that corresponds to the usage of those words. In D'Andrade's opinion, both approaches should exist, and the connectionist approach should refer to those parts of the culture which are not composed of rules, i.e. it should serve as the approach which removes rigidity from the notion of culture, and which does not view culture as a system comprised of a set of rules.

Mandler divided memory into automatic and non-automatic. Automatic memory includes simple knowledge which is achieved through training, i.e. repetition, which is later applied simply, "mechanically," and fast, but which is slow to change, which is appropriate for connectionism. On the other hand, non-automatic memory is suitable for declarative knowledge which is applied more slowly, but quicker to learn, and which requires focus, which is appropriate for rule-based learning (Quinn, 2011:38-39, D'Andrade, 1995:136-149).

Finally, the property of schemas that some of their aspects are explicitly not explained during their use, comes from the premise that an individual or a group are familiar with those elements. A cognitive schema shared by an entire social group is called a cultural model, also sometimes referred to as a cultural schema. Quinn believes that "Cultural models are predisposed, axiomatic models of world understanding which are widely spread among members of a certain society. They have a significant role in comprehending the world and in behaviour" (Quinn et al, 1987:4). If the aforementioned commercial event is observed as a cultural model, than it is assumed that its variations are also known – such as the terms "borrowing," "renting," "profit-making," etc. (D'Andrade, 1987:112). Models differ from schemas by the fact that they do not have to be limited by the capabilities and capacities of short-term memory, but can be more complex. The cognitive model is represented through schemas, and

schemas are represented through aspects of the cognitive event. There are various cognitive models: family models, gender models, education models (Mukhopadhay, 2004:459), navigational models, anger models, wedding models, and similar, and the most important one – cultural model of the mind or the "folk model" (Quinn et al, 1987).

D'Andrade called the cultural model of the mind "the folk model," using an analogy with folk taxonomies and classifications, in order to differentiate it from the mind models of other sciences. This model represents all events in the human consciousness, including physical and material, which manifests in their actions. The idea of the model is to understand the culturally conditioned thoughts and actions in humans, depending on external influences. The cultural model of the mind consists of classes which are connected by relations, and those classes are: *perception*, the representation of the external world; *thought* and *feelings* which incite *desire*, which creates *intent* and which results in *action*, the act of affecting the external world. During an event, it is necessary to order its elements according to the aforementioned classes. Figure 8 shows a graphic activity diagram of the folk model. Thick arrows mark the usual, expected sequence. Sometimes, in case of elevated emotional activities or physical obstacles, there is an expressive action, such as laughter or crying, or a reflexive actions such as sneezing. More rarely, desires and feelings influence the thought process, which is marked with thin arrows (D'Andrade, 1995:160-164). The folk model assumes conscious and mentally healthy reasoning and does not include conditions such as hypnosis or hallucinations, when thoughts influence perception, or depression, when the feelings are bad regardless of the actual thoughts (D'Andrade, 1987:114). Difference between the folk model and the scientific model is that the folk model does not study motivation and unconscious conditions (D'Andrade, 1987:139). The central part of the folk model is comprised of feelings, and it also shows the emotional activities of an individual. Unlike the schemas, folk models are different in different cultures and represent the key component in understanding human cultural behaviour; they are not merely interpretations of knowledge about certain cultural and cognitive events.
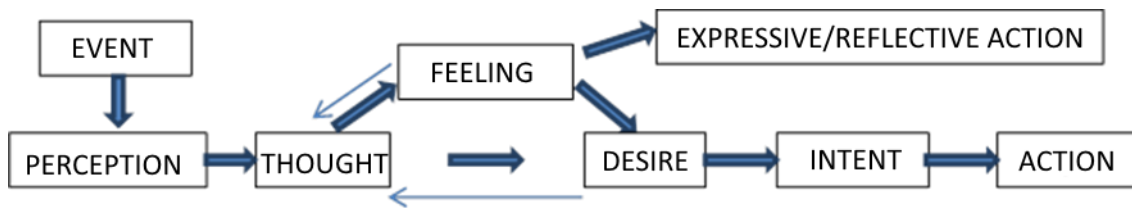
Figure 8: Folk model of the mind (D'Andrade, 1995:162)

During the 1920s, the University of Georgia opened a department for ecological anthropology and cognitive anthropology, as one of the specialisations. Doctoral candidates of the time used different methods to construct cultural models. One of the innovative methods was the analysis of "keywords." In this method, "keywords" were used as names, search criteria and determinators of cultural models, and were presented as something that group members used as pointers to packages, i.e. abbreviated chunks of knowledge and fulcrums in discourse construction, but also as the means to compress content and information and to name cultural models (Blount, 2011:22).

This approach, based on the analysis of discourse, differs from the analysis of consensus, in which there are "bids" on the presence and frequency of terms from a list within a certain context. William Dressler, together with his colleagues and students from the University of Alabama, developed the method of using cultural models in medical anthropology – by analysing the consensus hey observed how much the individual model matched the desired cultural model (Dressler et al, 2005:331). The resulting "cultural consonance" (a term coined by Dressler) showed how much the individual cultural model matched the model of the society. This term was used by Dressler to research the correlation between "cultural consonance" and stress in case the illness was known, i.e. to show the relationship between the individual's culture and health, which presented a new ethnographic method (Dressler et al, 2005:331).

In 2008, John Gatewood developed a set of rules he named "cognitive ethnography" and which, using the techniques of cultural consensus, serves in various questionnaires used to gather data on the validity of cultural models in reality. Similar research methods can be seen in the works of Bernard (2006) and Ross (2004). There has also been a development of new, computer-based approaches to the analysis of familial relations – e.g. the software implementation presented in the works of Fisher and Read (Read et al, 2013). There are interdisciplinary studies in the fields of psychology and artificial intelligence, as well as the trends in research of the ways how

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children learn the cultural knowledge and how it affects their cognitive development (Blount, 2008:112).

The relationship between cognition and religion was also studies. Although many works were published, because of the development of schemas in the 1980s it was claimed that cognitive anthropology and cognitive linguistics had parted ways (D'Andrade, 1995:247), and that taxonomies had lost their importance. Those fields of research were recently continued through ethnobiology and linguistics (Blount, 2011:22-23).

There is another side to the coin of cognitive anthropology. On one hand, it is considered that, in the recent years, cognitive anthropology has cooperated more closely with other disciplines than with the other branches of anthropology. This makes cognitive anthropology closer to psychology, cognitive linguistics, and artificial intelligence (Brown, 2006:97). On the other hand, there are debates on whether cognitive anthropology should even be a part of the cognitive sciences and, if it should, what its purpose should be. 10. Beller, Bender, and Medin posed this question in 2012 (Beller et al, 2012:342), but there were similar initiatives in earlier years. Ross and Medin called cognitive anthropology an orphan among cognitive sciences and noted that, from the perspective of cognitive psychology, which it is supposed to be coupled with, cultural anthropology included exotic humans, unclear methods, little actual data, and its participation in the debates of cognitive sciences was weak. An added difficulty was that, unlike the other cognitive sciences, cognitive anthropology was frequently not focused on the cultural thought, but on how the mind of an individual functioned or what the universalities of humanity were. Aside from this, they mentioned that anthropology's return or survival within the field of cognitive sciences was nevertheless ensured. This came from the fact that there was an increased agreement within the cognitive sciences that in order to understand how humans thought, one also had to understand the subject of human thinking, i.e. what sort of culture they created. Anthropology is more than competent in this area, considering the numerous field studies of different cultures and real situations, unlike the practise in other cognitive sciences where a small number of test subjects are tested on a computer for a couple of minutes, or abstract models are used without any real insight into the actual goings-on (Ross et al, 2011:1-4). Barrett, Stich, and Laurence agreed that cognitive sciences could partially decode cognition, each within its own domain, but that the understanding of universal cognition required intercultural comparison and general cultural comparison

outside of the laboratories and university campuses, conducted across the planet, which required anthropology (Barrett et al, 2012:380), noting that there were no issues in anthropology which did not somehow involve cognition.

As an argument for the distancing of anthropology from cognitive sciences, they named the small pool of experts and the lack of employment, which was a result, on one hand, from the difficulty of doing research which often requires field work and large amounts of time, and, on the other hand, the limited space in prestigious cognitive science publications and the limited funding available to anthropologists – far more limited, for example, than those assigned to neurological research (Barrett et al, 2012:385)

If it is considered that cognitive anthropology has "parted ways" with anthropology itself, as well as from the cognitive sciences, and if the methods which are used are mostly not accepted or not used outside of its domain, then, instead of the attempts to survive, or to be accepted and respected, it should be considered whether it could be tied to one of the practical fields which depend on the preservation of knowledge, but which do not consider the method of how the knowledge within the human mind and culture is organised – and one such field is library science. In this manner, the long-term research of human cognition in taxonomies, categorizations, and linguistic terminology could aid the library categorizations and classifications, and schemas and models could be of use in library database and search systems, which could incorporate the semantic nature.

III 2. HISTORY OF CATEGORIZATION

Scientific classifications represent a systematic grouping of living organisms, objects, or terms into categories. These groupings are carried out in accordance with their evolutionary or structural relations. Once the criteria for classification is determined, it becomes clearer which of the ever-present multitude of data is of interest. This process both results in new relations between objects and clarifies existing relations, meaning that the purpose of classification is to facilitate the handling of concepts.

Instead of creating a sequential array of terms by listing their sets of properties, as was once common, classifications are used to create structured data. The study of lions and tigers, for example, is easier if it is observed that they are essentially very similar to each other while at the same time being very different from rhinoceroses and giraffes; at the same time, what is described with the word "essential" should be the very purpose of classification within the given context. What is essential is not a universal concept; rather, it varies from one science to another. Unlike the natural sciences where classification is often a goal unto itself, social sciences are concerned with the context and cultural background of the classification itself, and so in this thesis the classification of pornographic categories serves both as an analytical and interpretative means of explanation – the way a certain cultural notion operates. Additionally, a historical perspective of the development of categorizations is provided in order to gain insight into the advance of categories, i.e. how humans used to define the classification principles for categorizing plants, animals, societies, humans, etc. depending on their cultural state and events of the time period. Whether its function is to explain the fundamental operating principles of the world, or if it has a more practical purpose, or if it is done for some unrelated reason, the classification of terms has always had a cultural background, and the purpose of these examples is to:

- Create an introduction to the history of how classification principles were formed;
- Present an analogy with the research subject of this thesis, in relation to the conceptual labelling of humankind's events and relations.

III 2.a. Plant and animal worlds

The Ebers Papyrus[59] from Egypt, which dates to c. 1500 B.C.E, contains a systematic list of medical plants and diseases (including injuries). The classification was based on the natural habitat of plants (Joachim et al, 1930:10-38). The cultural dimension of this classification lies in the presentation of importance of documenting the plants with practical purposes, along with documenting the treatments the plant can be applied to, which confirms the blend between medicine and ritual which was present in the large ancient societies. This papyrus confirms that research was carried out to identify parts of nature which could yield practically required components.

Theophrastus, a disciple of Aristotle, created the first classification based on the similarities and differences between plants in the third century B.C.E. This classification contained sketches of plant parts and differences between plant organs and tissues. His taxonomy of 500 plants contained the following main groups: tree, shrub, bush, herb, which were then further divided according to the differences between the number and position of tissues and organs; whether they were flowering/nonflowering; etc. (Gundersen, 1918:213-214). This classification represents the beginning of analyses and categorization according to similarities and differences of defined properties of actual objects, where the selected properties were chosen based on direct observation.

In mid-1st century C.E, Pedanius Dioscorides created the classification of 500 to 600 plants, labelling them according to their medical use "and his research remained the irrefutable authority for the following sixteen centuries" (Gundersen, 1918:214). Dioscorides also generalised the plants according to their roots, leaves, flowers, et al, but the primary categorization was in accordance with the properties of physiological effects produced by potions brewed from those plants which, at the first glance, represents a classification based on practical uses; however, this is in actuality a transitive relation between a certain species and a certain cultural activity, even if this activity is medical in nature. During the middle ages, plant classifications were mostly present in various Arabic texts on medicine and rituals (Gundersen, 1918:214).

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[59] Along with the Smith Papyrus and a few others, the Ebers Papyrus is one of the oldest preserved medical documents. It was purchased from Luxor in 1873/4 by Georg Ebers. Today, it is kept in the library of the University of Leipzig. It was written circa 1500 B.C.E. but some believe that it presents a copy of a text dating to the 34th century B.C.E. (Joachim et al, 1930:xiv-xv)

In the ninth century, Āḥmad ibn Dawūd Dīnawarī, who is considered to be the founder of Arabic botany, created a classification of plants and described the plant lifecycle, and his "Book of Plants" also contains chapters on astronomy, meteorology, etc. (Wan Hazmy et al, 2003:20).

Bock (Tragus) ordered the plants in 1539 according to their relations and similarities (likeness) of their forms (Gundersen, 1918:216). His system represents a transition between medieval botany and the modern scientific view of sorting according to relations and similarity.

In 1583, Andrea Cesalpino proposed a classification of plants divided into fifteen higher genera instead of just trees, shrubs, bushes, and herbs, or according to alphabetical order. Unfortunately, he kept the old system in which the plants did not have a gender[60].

Between the 17th and 18th centuries, John Ray classified plants based on the similarities and differences he observed. He kept the traditional labelling of plants which did not include the taxonomic position of the species, but he was the first to use species as the fundamental unit of classification. Joh Ray was at the same time the first person to provide a biological definition of *species* as a being which can only have progeny within its own kind.

Pierre Magnol divided plants into 76 families in 1689. He was the first to use the concept of the family (Gundersen, 1918:217).

Ray's opponent, Augustus Quirinus Rivinus, completed his classification of plants in 1690, using higher categories which he referred to as orders, similar to Cesalpino's higher genera. He was the first to abolish the division of plants into herbs and trees. Rivinus himself was the proponent of the binomial nomenclature, and in his categorization all species of the same genus should begin with the same term (Gundersen, 1918:217).

Joseph Pitton de Tournefort created a classification according to section, genus, and species. He was the first to use consistent and uniform names for the species, using the generic name and a descriptive name consisting of many words, which became a standard until Linnaeus' time (Gundersen, 1918:217).

Rudolf Jacob Camerer was the first to categorise plants according to gender[61].

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[60] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/103735/Andrea-Cesalpino (accessed 30 May 2013)

[61] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/90882/Rudolph-Jacob-Camerarius (accessed 31 May 2013)

Carl Linnaeus is considered the father of modern taxonomy. Linnaeus completed the classification of plants and animals. He also introduced the nomenclature in which the name of a species contains a Latin name (which is comprised of the name of the genus as the primary name and the name of the species as the secondary name) alongside the common name. His taxonomy, as presented in "Systema Naturae" in 1735 and the later works, contains three kingdoms (animals, plants, and minerals) which are divided into *classes* (1758. Mamalia, Aves, Pisces, Insecta, Vermes) and further divided into *orders*, *families*, *genera*, and *species*[62]. This classification creates division by level, which is the basis for scientific biological classifications and nomenclatures. The purpose of such categorization is to organise all living being in hierarchies, i.e. to establish relations between different species which would present them as related to one another, according to their similarities as well as differences, which, again, requires that a set of criteria be made which would first establish those properties which can then be grouped and compared, primarily providing the natural and social sciences with a cognitive apparatus, and organising the data according to certain criteria, making it easier to use.

Michel Adanson formed the classification of living creatures according to organ configurations, making his system more in line with the nature than that of Linnaeus. Unfortunately, Adanson did not use binomial nomenclature[63].

Antoine Laurent de Jussieu and his uncle Bernard combined Linnaeus' nomenclature and Adanson's classification criteria in 1789, forming a system with 15 classes and 100 families they referred to as orders – 76 of his 100 families are still in use today in biological nomenclature. They are considered to be founders of the natural classifications (Gundersen, 1918:216)[64].

The work of Augustin Pyramus de Candolle in the first half of the 19th century was also based on the natural properties devised by Adanson, and he utilised Linnaeus' nomenclature. His impact on the development of botany was great, but de Candolle

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[62] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/342526/Carolus-Linnaeus
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/417353/nomenclature (accessed on 1 June 2013)
[63] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/5251/Michel-Adanson (accessed on 1 June 2013)
[64] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/308691/Antoine-Laurent-de-Jussieu (accessed on 1 June 2013)
http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/308693/Bernard-de-Jussieu (accessed on 1 June 2013)

himself is also significant for coining the term "taxonomy" which has been used in sciences ever since[65].

Evolutionary taxonomy was formed as the result of the influences of the theory of evolution on Linnaeus' taxonomy. The idea was to translate Linnaeus' taxonomy into a classification based on the common ancestor. *Transformism* existed since the end of the 18th century in the 1796 "Transmutation of Species in Zoönomia" of Erasmus Darwin (grandfather of Charles Darwin) and the "Philosophy of Zoönomia" by Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, who claimed that species "transform" towards more complex ones, or Alfred Russel Wallace who, independently of Darwin, came to similar conclusions as him[66]. Still, Charles Darwin is considered to be the founder or summariser of the theory that all species are organised in a *dendrogram* based on shared ancestors, and that, in time, the characteristics become more complex in the process of evolution, whose chief driving mechanism is the principle of *natural selection*, in which the most adapted individuals of a certain species survive and carry the hereditary traits to their progeny (which differs from Lamarck's theory) (Sloan, 2010). Parallel to the theory of evolution (and before it), an evolutionist movement arose in the nineteenth century, propagating the idea about the evolution of society, which also gave rise to eugenics and social Darwinism.

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[65] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/92469/Augustin-Pyrame-de-Candolle (accessed on 1 June 2013)

[66] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/634738/Alfred-Russel-Wallace (accessed on 2 June 2013)

III 2.b. Evolution of the society

Evolutionists claimed that the society was developed from primitive to modern, from barbarism to civilisation, from chaos to order, and that each newly evolved society was an improvement over its predecessors. The purpose of these classifications was to apply certain natural science principles to social sciences, i.e. to use some of the classifications which were created to be self-sufficient as the means to frame and sort certain ideas, and, more importantly, to explain those ideas, regardless of whether they pertained to the functioning of the society or to something else.

Herbert Spencer developed the conceptualisation about evolution as a result of the processes that created the world, all living organisms, the human mind, and human culture. He came up with a phrase "survival of the fittest" as an interpretation of Darwin's theory of evolution, but he expanded the theory to encompass social sciences and insisted that the concepts of "fittest" and "best" should not be equated. Spencer was an advocate of utilitarianism, and was not the founder of social Darwinism, as he is sometimes seen to be (Weinstein, 2012).

Auguste Comte described the development of societies through three stages (Meek Lange, 2011):

- theological – in which all natural phenomena are ascribed to supernatural beings;
- metaphysical – in which universal rights are propagated as something external to any personal control, which leads to the questioning of religion itself;
- Scientific – in which the answers to all questions are provided by science.

In his theory of social evolution, Lewis Morgan proposed that technological and social progress were tied together, and the family and ownership relations could be used to analyse the dynamics of society development. He divided the chronology of development of any society into three stages: savagery (older, middle, later), barbarism (older, middle, later), and civilisation. Technological inventions of savagery included fire, bow and arrow, and pottery; barbarism gave rise to animal husbandry, agriculture, and metalwork; and civilisation developed the alphabet and writing. Progress was based on technical and technological achievements – material forms of the culture. Morgan presumed that these stage changes were all followed by an invention which enabled that leap, and the material development is followed by a specific way of life, organisation, and faith. Morgan is considered to be a founder of the family relation studies, both those

described in the chapter on cognitive anthropology and those in anthropology in general. His work on the social structure posthumously influenced Marx and Engels, particularly Engels' dialectic materialism[67]. In 1937 Mumford claimed that the ancient cities were also civilisation, positing that urban culture was a prerequisite for the foundation of civilisations (Mumford, 1996:92-96). Neoevolutionist Leslie White believed that energy was the basic criteria of society evolution, i.e. the capacity of humans to use various forms of energy[68]. According to Fernand Braudel, civilisation is a space-time framework. As space, it is a single cultural space in which we recognise the collection of identical or similar properties. Its time component comes from its durability, since it lasts for several centuries or millennia. Civilisation is superior to culture, it never dies, and is capable of transformation.

In his work "The Division of Labour in Society," Émile Durkheim defined social evolution, beginning with the mechanistic stage – at this time, humans are self-sufficient and the integration is low, and progressing toward the organistic – wherein the individuals and institutions are integrated into a society which resembles components of a large organism, leading to further progress.

III 2.v. Human personality types

The basic classification of human personality types was also present during human history. In the fourth century B.C.E, Hippocrates proposed a division of human personality in accordance with the four fluids ("humours") he believed were dominant in the human body, and in correlation with Empedocles' four elements. Thus, there was blood (sanguis) – corresponding to air (hot, wet), yellow bile (χολη, kholé) – corresponding to fire (hot, dry), black bile (μελας, melas + χολη, kholé) – corresponding to earth (cold, dry), and phlegm (φλέγμα, flegma) – corresponding to water (cold, wet)[69].

In the second century of the Common Era, Galen proposed the division into four temperaments, depending on the dominant "humour:" sanguinic (quick to react, weakly excited, social), choleric (quick to react, strongly excited, bitter), melancholic (slow to react, weakly excited, pensive), and phlegmatic (slow to react, weakly excited, apathetic).

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[67] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/392246/Lewis-Henry-Morgan (accessed on 3 June 2013)

[68] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/642054/Leslie-A-White (accessed on 3 June 2013)

[69] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/452993/personality (accessed on 3 June 2013)

The variations of these four types were employed in psychology by Pavlov, Fromm, Schutz, Merrill, Atkins, and others, and there was also a division of personality types into the following: innovator, leader, visualizer, and supporter, as well as some others. The purpose of this long-lasting classification varies depending on the context of its use. There is a need to understand and explain phenomena from around the world, and to assign a term to describe the human essence. Some feel the need for a framework which would be used in explaining differences between the great number of people in existence, but also to better understand the human being itself and to make it fit the pre-defined patterns in which the world itself functions, or at least their symbolic representations. However, at the same time, there are other uses for these classifications, such as in explaining the predisposed social hierarchies, or as a lexicon of traits that are interpreted differently depending on the cultural norms; thus, choleric types were seen as energetic leaders but also (rarely) as impetuous and irritable, while phlegmatics were interpreted to be slothful but also as thoughtful and stable.

Alfred Adler divided the personality types using the *axis of activity* (related to their energy) and the *axis of social interest* into the following: the *ruling* or *dominant* type (high activity, low social interest), the *getting* type (low activity, high social interest), the *avoiding* type (low activity, low social interest), and the *socially useful* type (high activity, high social interest).

In his "Psychological Types," Carl Gustav Jung divided the personality into three axes. The first axis determines *introverted* or *extroverted* behaviour, the second axis establishes the *thinking* and *feeling* type, and the third establishes the *sensing* and *intuition* type. A human can be introverted or extroverted, and the second and third axes establish one of the four primary personality types. Located on the far end of the axis is the least pronounced trait, and the remaining axis determined secondary traits. Based on this division, there are eight main personality types (Jung, 1984). This division is also found in the work of Myers and Briggs, and is sometimes referred to as the Mayers-Briggs type indicator (Boyle, 1995:71).

These personality classifications were formed in order to help establish the initial approach in analytical psychology treatment, professional orientation, etc. and to create a bridge with Jung's archetype theory which holds that the human thought is based on these foundations, and the influence of collective unconscious is present in all civilisations − from the most ancient ones to the modern world − for this reason, the twelve personality types correspond with the twelve signs of the zodiac and similar

divisions which Jung believed existed in all human symbolic representations of the thinking and emotional processes.

III 2.g. Human types

The need for understanding the essence of humanity, whether at a psychological, social, or biological level, as well as the observation of humans as part of the natural world, has led to the different classification of humans themselves – both in relation to other living species as well as in relation to other humans. During the ancient times, the division was mostly "us and the barbarians," and the culture, climate, state, and tribal origin determined the type and temperament of humans. Medieval classifications were in line with the Biblical divisions of faith and the first tribes. It was only in the modern era, with the rise of European imperialism and the colonisation of other continents, that more attention was given to the differences between physical and cultural attributes of different humans.

In 1684, François Bernier provided one of the first sensible classifications of human types, dividing the world into four parts, inhabited by four types of humans: *Europeans*, *Far Easterners*, *Blacks*, and *Lapps.* He claimed that a person who travelled much could see the difference between face shapes of humans who inhabited different climates, but that these four groups were so distinct that they could represent basic types. He stated, for example, that Indians had a face shape similar to Europeans, that their darker skin tone was likely a result of exposure to sun, and that the slight differences in face shape were insufficient to classify them as a separate type. This also applied to "Americans," while "Blacks" remained dark skinned even if born elsewhere, so this skin tone is likely related to their blood and seed which is the same colour as white people, unlike their hair which "looked like hunting dogs' fur."

He characterised Lapps as squat, bear-like humans who prefer fish oil to any other drink, and Far Easterners as white-skinned people with oval eyes and flat faces. He mentioned that, as with the white race, the other types also vary in height, faces, and colour. Female beauty was also said to vary within a single type, but that each type had its share of very beautiful women: he claimed that certain beautiful Egyptian women made him think about the authenticity of tales of Cleopatra, that there were gorgeous African women who did not possess fat lips and wide noses, and that he had seen women who could put Venus herself to shame: "aquiline nose, small, coral lips, teeth

like ivory, large sharp eyes, etc." There were expensive slave girls he had seen naked and he claimed that there was nothing more beautiful to be seen in the world. At the end, he mentioned that Turks and Persians native to their countries are not ugly, but that Greek beauties living in Turkey are much more handsome, and that there is a great influx of beautiful slaves whom foreigners are not allowed to purchase (Bernier, 2001:247-250).

Common to such classifications is that, in describing the "divisions" among humans, authors sometimes attribute animal properties to "other" types. In the context of the environment in which these classifications were made, but also from the perspective of this thesis' subject, this can be interpreted as the recommendation to avoid mating with other groups, seeing as how that would change the cultural identity and the way of life of the group the author believes he belongs to (Zikic, 2010a). Additionally, the author of the classification would no longer enjoy the comfortable status of an observer (sometimes, not even that much, if he was merely interpreting the collected stories[70]), without participating in full in the activities of "foreigners," when looking from the perspective of "foreigners," or, on the other hand, his position as the one who brings esoteric knowledge from distant lands, from the perspective of the group he identified with. The second case refers to the same terrain, only when it comes to the interpretation of beauty, mating could be considered desirable, if only in the aggregate sense. One of the significant parameters in this case is the ideal of beauty within the observer's native group, which, in the context of Bernier's records, as well as the cultural context of the Enlightenment in Europe, is the classical (antique) beauty ideal – "the universal perfect form"[71].

Differences were permitted only if they added to the exoticness or distinctiveness, and, in this case, constitution and skin colour were not important to the author of the classification from the distinction point of view and were "permitted in the description." When the classification is not its own goal and when it carries a certain message within, it is necessary to see its entire context.

Linnaeus placed humans among primates in his classification system. He originally named the taxon *Antropomorphia* ("humanlike"), but, because of criticisms, the name was changed to *primate* in the next edition of "Systema Naturae." Primates

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[70] http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/early_class.html (accessed on 5 June 2013)
[71] Race and Racism in Europe - Making Race And Racism Modern (accessed on 26 August 2013)

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belonged to mammals (*Mamalia*) and he named the human species *Homo sapiens*, and suggested that they were a part of the animal kingdom. Humans were divided into four types, which stereotypically corresponded to the four classical temperaments: *Americanus* − red skinned humans with a stubborn and irritable character, *Afer* − black skinned, relaxed, *Asiaticus* − yellow skinned, melancholic, and *Europeanus* − white skinned, refined in character, inventive, and active. The fifth type are monstrous, abnormal humans and mythological, humanoid creatures such as satyrs, troglodytes, etc.[72].

In 1779, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach divided humans into five races: Caucasian, Mongoloid, Malayan, Negroid, and American[73]. He believed that the classification parameters such as skin colour, cranial profile, et al were related to geography, diet, and customs. By describing sixty different skulls and researching the relations between human types and skull shapes, Blumenbach became the originator of the scientific field of craniometrics. Blumenbach did not hold racist views, even though anthropometrics was later misused in order to emphasise the superiority of one race to others (Augstein, 1999).

Francis Galton used anthropometrics and sought the ways to apply it in criminal investigations − both in the sense of a unique recognition mark, as well as the tool used to calculate the relation between the skull shape and size of various human types and their intelligence and other attributes. Galton used social statistics and Darwin's theory of evolution and natural selection to explain that the society was starting to devolve and was showing tendencies towards median mediocritical values by protecting the weak, criminals, homeless people, and others. In his opinion, they were of a lower social and genetic value, and the society gave them the opportunity to procreate.

He also claimed that genius and talent were hereditary and that selective breeding could improve the quality of the human race. Based on these assumptions, he defined the science *eugenics* (which is unrecognised as a science today) and the movement which called for the interpretation and proposal of methods to improve the human species by promoting the selective crossbreeding of "high quality humans" while at the same time preventing the breeding of "low quality humans." To achieve such

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[72] http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/early_class.html (accessed on 5 June 2013)
[73] http://www.understandingrace.org/history/science/early_class.html (accessed on 5 June 2013)

goals, the movement's later radical supporters proposed euthanasia, sterilisation, and racial hygiene[74].

Samuel George Morton was one of the founders of the "American school" of ethnography and was highly regarded in his time because of the supposedly objective experimental approach to the problem. Morton negated the biblical (and later Darwin's) *monogenism* and instead advocated *polygenism* – the theory that different races did not have a shared origin, but that they arose at the same time in different locales and with specific characteristics and the purpose to procreate locally and, as such, did not have equal capabilities and qualities. He used data obtained from (some believed selective) craniometrics to show the differences in brain sizes and intellectual capacities of different races and in his "Crania Americana" he divided humans into the following types (Gould, 1978):

- European – fair skin, different hair colours, large, oval skulls and greatest intellectual capacity.
- Asian – ingenious, prone to imitation and cultivation, versatile in their emotions and actions, whose attention is perpetually changing from one object to another so much that they were compared to the monkey race.
- Native American – slow in the accumulation of knowledge, infantile, lacking abstract thinking, belligerent, selfish, with unclean habits and diet.
- Africans – relaxed, with lowest intellectual capacity, lowest state of humanity, strong imitation ability, and a great talent for music.

Polygenism appears in Voltaire's work in the 18th century, as he believed that not all humans could have a common origin because men were created in God's image – which could not apply to the black people who were descended from monkeys," while Cuvier claimed that other races were doomed to eternal inferiority and that there was a relation between beauty of the face and perfection of the spirit (Foutz, 1999).

Haeckel, also a polygenist, divided the humankind into ten classes; according to him, black people with flexible toes were closer to monkeys than humans (Haller, 1970).

James Cowles Prichard was opposed to Morton's views and presented his belief about the unique origin of humanity, pointing out that the mental nature is identical to all races (Augstein, 1999). The work of Blumenbach, Prichard, et al influenced the

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[74] http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/195069/eugenics (accessed on 5 June 2013)

development of physical and biological anthropology. As was already mentioned, Franz Boas also believed that the nature of all humans was the same and that the stance regarding the importance of race should be minimised while at the same time emphasising the importance of culture and society.

III 2.d. General classifications in social sciences

Regarding categories in the social sciences, Schmaus held that the term category in social sciences includes includes seven different types: lexical, taxonomic, grammatical, Aristotelian, Kantian and psychological, which he called Durkheimian categories. Firstly, there are lexical categories which are used to indicate simple types of things, properties and actions, such as plants, colors and criminal offenses. These differ from taxonomic categories that are used in biology, and which include terms such as empire, circuit, class, order, family, genus and species. The terms of classification within each of these categories eg. plant and animal kingdom - are more likely to be expressed with the term "taxon" rather than "categories" (Schmaus, 2007)

According to Aristotle, among things there are beings (*ta onta*), and beings can be split into ten categories:

1. essence, substance:

The first of all the categories, substance or essence (eg. a human or a dog) has a privileged position in Aristotle's classification.

Aristotle differentiates what is said "about the subject" and what is "in the subject"

Things in other categories are dependant on the substances.

 They are called non-substances and every nonsubtance is "in some subject" "In the subject" are predicates that do not describe it as a whole, but only some of its characteristics (but not as part of the same) or relations that belong to it, which cannot exist by themselves, without the subject itself, and are inherited, which is to say, their existence depends on the subject that they are related to.

Things that cannot be predicates nor be a "part in the subject" are called "individual substances". They cannot be a predicate as they are individual, but they also cannot be a

subject because they are substances (eg. Pera cannot be Mika).

"About the subject", that is what predicates are, describing the subject entirely (what it is). This is a generalizing relation, that is, also, transitive. These relations apply also for nonsubstances from other categories. If a specific person is a man, and a man is an animal, than a specific man is, also an animal

Aristotle uses the terms of universal and particular substance. Universal categories relate to terms that can be related to all, both higher and lower universal categories.

They are organized hierarchically in terms of a standard classification tree, which houses general terms at the top, and these then branch out into more specific ones – if, for example, various species were at the ends of the tree, below them would be specific entities, examples of those substances, eg. particular substances, or individual substances. (Cohen, 2012)

Aristotle calls individual substances primary substances while the types of those individual substances are secondary substances. Primary substances take priority, because they are the only ones that CAN exist and without them other categories and things would not exist at all.

The other categories are:

2. quantity: quadruped

3. quality: white, cold, spicy

4. relationship, relations: half bigger, smaller

5. time: where, in the attic, in the city

6. place: when

7. pose, state: standing, sitting

8. possession: has a shoe, has a shirt

9. performance of the activity (activity) - the result of changing another object: to douse

10. The suffering of actions (passivity, inaction) - changes made to the object by

another object: to be doused

These categories differ both from lexical and taxonomic ones.

According to Aristotle, the terms plants and animals are not categories but types of substances, or as he calls them, secondary substances, as opposed to "primary" or individual substances, while the taxonomic category "empire" would be one form of definite types of substances. (Schmaus, 2007)

Stoic categories: substance, quality of disposition and relative disposition

According to Kant, categories are pure concepts that happen *a priori* in cognition.

That being said, they are limited to phenomena, and not things by themselves. Even though Kant claims we cannot discover things by themselves, we can still discover categories, which command human understsanding and form the basis of though phenomena creation, eg. things as we perceive them.

In the "Critique of Pure Reason" Kant arrives at a list of categories, by first stating possible judgements. If we can identify all possible forms of empirical judgements, we can take them as a basis for uncovering the most general ones, which were the actually involved in creating these judgements, and, moreover as a basis for any sort of object cognition (Thomasson, 2013)

When discovering categories Kant starts from the Aristotelian logic, citing four concepts with which someone could classify the categories, whatever they are - using quality, quantity, relationships or modalities. For every one of these judgements there are also alternative classifications, three sub-categories, so that for each of the four answers we can get another three sub-answers, which results in twelve additional categories, or judgements, overall (Johansson, 1989:3).

Quantity

sub categories:

     • unit (one,singular)

     • multiplicity (many, plural)

- entirety

Quality

sub categories:

- reality

- negation

- limitation

Relationship

sub categories:

- substance (inherence and subsistence)

- cause (and effect)

- community (the interaction of the active and the

  passive)

Modality

sub categories:

- the possible (as opposed to the impossible)

- being (as opposed to a non-being)

- necessity (as opposed to coincidence)

Unlike Aristotle, Kant uses categories to find the principles of human behaviour and for observing potential forms of human judgements, and not as a study of reality and the world itself. He calls his approach the "categorical conceptualism" (Thomasson, 2013).

As Kant explained in his book" Prolegomena ", these categories are not part of empirical psychology, but rather belong to the cognitive criticism, which should be used as preparation for practising psychology. However, during the past two centuries philosophers have introduced variations of Kant's notion of categories, and many of

them felt that this concept has a psychological meaning.

The notion of psychologically necessary preconditions thus represents the fifth meaning of the term category, which should be distinguished and differentiated from Kant's logically necessary conditions of experience.

Consequently, one might expect that there is some connection between Kant's categories and the grammatical ones. Grammatical categories such as subject,predicate, number, case or time, overlap with Kant's categories, but are not identical. For example, it seems that there is no grammatical category that coresponds to Kant's category of limitation. In addition, gender is a grammatical category, at least in some languages, but it doesn't exist Kant's categories. For this reason grammatical categories are defined as "the sixth type of category". (Schmaus, 2007)

And finally, according to Schmaus, there is a seventh type - besides lexical, taxonomic, grammar, Aristotelian, Kantian and psychological, there are also "Durkheimian categories." They have much in common with the aristotelian, kantian and grammatical categories, but are not identical to them. These are fundamental concepts that facilitate the normal functioning of human society. According to Durkheim, these categories are:

- space
- time
- causality
- substance
- gender
- quantity
- individuality of the persona

Durkhemian categories are similar to the concept of Aristotelian categories in that they too are the so-called highest predicables. In some ways, they may overlap with the Kantian categories - eg. nouns which indicate the types of objects and many transitive verbs which express causal relationships. However, not all grammatical categories possess social functions. Some societies may continue to exist rather well without a grammatical category of gender. The question for empirical research by

anthropologists and sociologists and for the sociology of knowledge is: which categories DO help the functioning of society? (Schmaus, 2007)

The earliest views on the sociological character of these categories can be found in Durkheim and Mauss shared manuscript "Primitive Classification" (DE QUELQUES FORMES PRIMITIVES DE CLASSIFICATION, 1903). They not only argued that human societies, which were examined in their study, regarded human beings and subjects in nature under the same totems, but they also believed that the idea of the classification based on the genus and species, eg. concepts that allow us to classify a group under a larger group, were originally designed to use human social grouping as a model. According to Durkheim: "No scenes from nature nor mechanism of mental associations would be able to encourage the birth of such an idea. Hierarchy is purely social category. " (Schmaus, 2007)

He thought that even the most primitive systems of classification assume the ability to notice the similarities between certain things that can be perceived.

In his paper "The elementary forms of religious life," Durkheim says that at the root of our reasoning lies a number of essential concepts that dominate our entire intellectual life - concepts of time, space, gender, number, cause, substance, personality, etc. They are like a solid frame that frames the thought; it seems like thought can not get out of such a framework, without destroying itself, because it seems that we can not think about things that are not placed in a certain time or space, which can not be enumerated, etc. Other concepts are uncertain and variable; we believe that man, society, and epochs may have no idea about themselves, while those first concepts are nearly inseparable from the normal functioning of the human mind. (Schmaus, 2007)

The difference between the individual and the cultural presentation of some category may help in clarifying the relationship between cultural (sociological) anthropology and sociology of knowledge on the one hand, and psychology and cognitive science on the other.
We would, again, be able to conclude that the social sciences are involved in culturological presentation of categories, while cognitive science is interested in their individual, mental presentation. For this reason, the relationship between cultural and individual mental presentations becomes a subject of research in which social and cognitive science are involed in a joint effort (Schmaus, 2007)

Aristotle used language as a signpost to the ontological categories, and Kant used concepts for detecting categories of objects of possible cognition. Husserl

introduces a distinction between the categories of meaning and categories of object. Categories of meaning are used to describe the different meanings that can refer to the same object, universal names (their meaning being their concept), while categories of objects may relate to the words that, themselves, have no meaning, but are used to refer to an object such as personal names. Husserl, too, differentiates the highest formal essences (which he calls "categories") from the highest material essences (which he calls "regions") (Thomasson, 2013).

In the mid twentieth century, research of ontological categories is more focused on the debate about the differences in the system of categories, rather than on developing the category systems themselves, which later changed. Ingvar Johansson in 1989 set up a system of categories that reflect the real entity of the world, much like Aristotle did. Unlike Aristotle, Johanson does not rely on language, but the method that he called "successive abstractions" - for example, the category of quality is reached by successively moving the abstraction from some shade of red to red - through color, until reaching quality at the end (applicable for other categories as well, such as coming to substance through a dog, an animal to a substance) or movement, which resembles Husserl's phenomenological reduction.

His list of categories: (Johansson, 1989:20):

Time-space

State of affairs

Quality

- substance

- property

External relation

Grounded relation

Inertia

Spontaneity

Tendency

Intentionality

- Real:

- presentational

- representational

- Fictional

Johanson also includes a category of existential dependency, such as the relation of existential dependence or labeling an identity or a number. This applies to all other categories. "These categories can be used to analyze and define, other less fundamental categories such as: ontological level, action, function, form, pure gestalt, efficient causality, machine, body, subject and nested intentions. This can make it possible to understand what our intuitive distinction between nature, man and society really means"(Johansson, 1989: 21)

Roderick Chisholm presented his work in 1996 as "the ultimate categories of reality":

Entity

Contigent

1. States

- events

2. Individuals

- borders

- substances

Necessary (non-contigent)

1. States

2. Non-States

- attributes

- substances

He thought that ontology should be composed of three entities: individuals, states, and attributes (or properties). Individuals may be substances or borders (points, lines and planes). Substances are ordinary material objects. He defines states through attributes - eg. if you're reading, you yourself are the substance, the non-contigent thing is the trait of reading, and the contingent state is you reading. In this case, Chisholm distinguishes between contigent and non-contigent (or necessary) entities. Both conditions and substances may be either contigent or necessary. (Chisholm, 1996: 146)   Reinhard Grossman in 1983, also tried to modernize Aristotle's „things" included within these

categories, because it is beyond the scope of ontology. His eight categories are (Grossmann, 1983: 10-12, Thomasson, 2013)

1. individuals
2. traits
3. relations
4. classes
5. structures
6. quantifiers
7. facts
8. negation

Joshua Hoffman and Gary Rosenkrantz have, in their category system split entity into abstract and concrete, whereby both categories also branch out (Hoffman et al, 1994 Thomasson, 2013):

- Entity
  - Abstract
    - Property
    - Relation
    - Proposition
  - Concrete
    - Event
    - Time
    - Place
    - Substance
      - Material Object
      - Spirit
    - Limit
    - Collection
    - Privation
    - Trope

Lowe agrees that there are four fundamental categories: objects (a specific type of dog), mods (eg. four-leggedness in dogs), species (dog) and attributes. This makes up the third level of his hierarchy of categories. On the highest level are categories that are split into universal and particular ones (Lowe, 2006:8):

Entities

Universal:

- traits/characteristics
- relations

Particular:

- tropes
- objects

Abstract Objects

- propositions
- aggregates

Concrete Objects

- masses
- organisms

According to Schmaus, the question of linguistic determinism appears in lexical categories, considering that some languages are missing certain expressions. Beginning with the work of Brenta Berlin and Paul Kay (1969),the relationship between terms which describe the color and knowledge of colors - the question of the existence of a culturologically universal concept of color is constantly being examined. (Schmaus, 2007)

Slobin argues that differences among languages are not reflected in the form of grammatical categories, nor in what specific languages can communicate, but in how successfully accomplish it and what are the requirements contained in those languages. He concludes that differences among languages in terms of grammatical categories do not result in much difference in terms of what can be communicated in a particular language, but rather that the 'consequence' of those differences in languages is related to what can be relatively easy to say in that particular language. Questions regarding grammatical categories could be also placed in relation to the fundamental categories. In other words, how much differences in the ways that fundamental categories (space, time or causality) are presented, influence, only what can be easily communicated in such languages. Benjamin Lee Whorf was also among those who have argued that a culture may lack some of the fundamental categories, and not only lexical or grammatical

category - his claim that Hopi Indians have no category of time. On the other hand, Dorothy Lee asserts that we can not conclude that the people who speak a language can not build a specific concept, just because of the absence of a term for said concept in their language. From this it follows that in some languages it is harder to express these general concepts than in others.

To say that different cultures may have different ways of presenting the same category, is no more than to ask the question what is it that prevents them from represented in the same way. The meaning of cultural representation derives from the social function whose purpose it is. Cultural representations from different cultures that serve similar functions in their respective cultures, are similar in meaning and represent the same categories. (Schmaus, 2007)

The connection between the idea and what is connoted in a particular context, eg. the scientific context is what determines the utility value of categorization. One must not ignore the possibility of differentiating the context in which a categorization occurs, as opposed to the one in which it is interpreted. Describing the way that some population tried to classify and then, explaining the reasons for this, is dealing with anthropological classifications. Therefore, through categorizing pornography, one also deals with the perspectives of those who create categorizations on the internet, and the perspectives of the users themselves.

III 3. TAXONOMIES AND ETHNOTAXONOMIES

The perception of things - the way that our experiences are transformed from physical reality into what we consider the destination of the conceptual level of our thought - the, so called, mental representations, which are formed, both for physically noticeable objects and events, and for abstract concepts. Leach calls sensual images or pictures in the mind something that first establishes a symbolic link between the object and the appearance in the outside world, and then mediates the formation of the term in the mind. Cognitive research from visual and audio motor skills shows precisely that our mental impressions of the experience of the outside world are organized in the so-called perceptive groups - eg. grouping is done by combining or keeping the elements separated from each other in our mental picture of the world. If we consider an object with its semantic properties an impression or idea, then we can consider that a mental impression or idea involves a mental object with semantic properties. While studying cultures, the most interesting meanings are the those attributed to things and events contextually, so that the physical form of concepts from one culture may not have any meaning in another culture. (Leach, 2002: 29-36)

Th analytical tools used in verifying the main hypothesis of this study will be the principles of taxonomy and nomenclature, first applied to the study of ethno-biology, the so-called 'folk-science' or ethno-science by Berlin, Bridlava and Ravenna in 1966. These principles can be extended to non-biological and non-taxonomic ethno classifications, including cultural classifications in general (Brown et al., 1976: 73), for example, taxonomy tools that can be seen at the end of the chapter.

Taxonomies represent grouping of objects or categories on the basis of some common features or relationships, while nomenclature is a system of naming concepts or individuals in a scientific field.[75]

As already mentioned in the chapter on cognitive anthropology, Bruner, Gudinaf and Austin in the "Study of thinking" cite the two ways of forming categories due to the limitations of short-term memory.

In the first case a reduction of attributes - a significant number of attributes and functions of an object is reduced to five or six important ones, and the rest are ignored, whereas in the other case, the characteristics are 'shortened', to form one common

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[75] It stems from the word τάξις (taxis, order) and νόμος (nomos, law). Taxonomy uses taxonomic units, known as taxons.

attribute - eg. a bird has wings, feathers, feet, a beak, and other attributes are not listed, because they are predictable and are inherited from the category preceding the bird.

Classification systems are complex cultural models that are structured hierarchically. Thus, the different entities - objects, acts and events are grouped together in conceptual categories in which they are viewed as equivalent. Depending on the cultural mechanism of the event that they are supposed to represent, concrete objects and actions are related to the abstract concepts of the categories themselves, which represents man's ability to choose contextually relevant representations from the outside space. The semantic relations between these hierarchies determine cognitive systems, ie. Information about knowledge, beliefs and convictions that can be learned from these structures. Taxonomic hierarchies, or just taxonomies, are classifications structured on the basis of the relationship of the relation "content", ie. belonging and inclusion between the categories themselves - eg. an oak is a subcategory of wood, while white oaks are a subcategory of oak. In addition to the taxonomic classifications, there are also non-taxonomic ones which are also structured hierarchically, such as partonomic and functional classifications. Partonomic classifications are organized on the basis of the relation "part of a whole" - eg. mother, son and daughter are part of the category of families, and the wheels are parts of a car. Functional classifications are grouped according to their common function of performing, ie. organized on the basis of the relation "is used for" - eg. a sword, a knife and a gun, are grouped by function as weapons. (Casson, 1999: 121).

Strictly speaking, taxonomies are applied to the relation "is a kind of something", while in a broader sense, which is more often interpreted in anthropology, they represent any classification scheme - eg. partonomic classification.

Figure 9 graphically shows a hypothetical taxonomy with three levels of depth. Numbers are used to mark nodes that indicate certain terms. Such a taxonomy is represented with a block system, through a three-dimensional matrix, or cube shown in Figure 10. Figure 10 shows how one dimension of the taxonomy is forfmed. Zero is the starting point below which there are nodes 1, 2, 3, 4, which are arranged further in the sequence. Below node 2 are nodes 9, 10, 11, 12, and as the third dimension, for example, below node seven are nodes 29, 30, 31, 32, which is also shown.
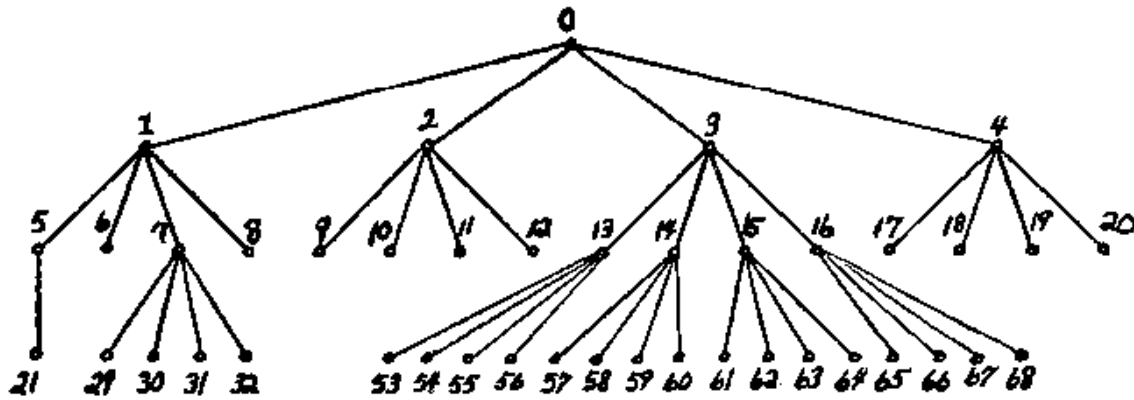
Figure 9: A graph showing hypothetical taxonomy with three levels of depth (Werner, 1972:294).
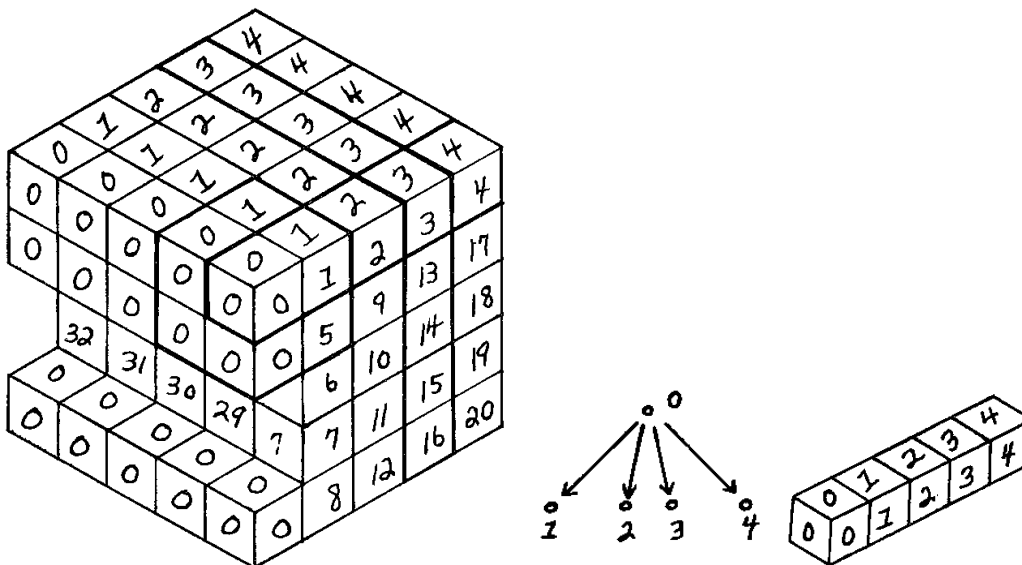
Figure 10: 3D matrix of taxonomy on three levels, shown on picture 2 and an example of the and an example of a sequence which represents taxonomy with a single level (Werner, 1972:295-296).

The point of insisting on connectionism in anthropology and computer science is in setting the basis for understanding the idea that (probably, possibly) drives the authors of the classifications.

Taxonomies attracted the greatest attention of cognitive anthropologists, because they are considered to be public knowledge about a particular subject, or more precisely, the researchers see them as a set of logical rules of a local culture, obtained by empirical means, and used for practical purposes of everyday life. (Žikić, 2008: 129)

The scientific classification of living things implies a hierarchy based on grouping by similar genetic traits, and we have levels: living being, species, genus, family, class, order, empire. With national classifications we establish categorical connections between concepts, based on empirical knowledge of the phenomenons in the domain of everyday life and their cultural significance, using the relation "a kind of something."

Folk systematics is a field that concerns the study of the general principles that explain man's pre-scientific classification, naming and identification of living beings. "The study of classifications can reveal principles that govern how organisms are naturally organized in a pre-literate mind, nomenclature studies are devoted to describing the linguistic principle of naming animals and plants in a particular language and the area of recognition deals with the studies of those physical characteristics that are used when a particular organism is allocated to a certain class. Man's classification of the biological world is very systematic and developed.

"Primitive natural system creator ism similarily to his western counterpart, dedicated to bringing a classified order to his biological world" (Berlin, 1973: 259-260).

"It is true that people, for example, use these classifications to contemplate how animals function - which can be matched with which, or which can be used for what, but all these knowledges are culturally contextualized and depend on cognitive conceptualization of the thing they refer to, which is expressed through linguistic categorization. "(Žikić, 2008: 130-131)

Folk taxonomies or ethno-taxonomies are ways of grouping concepts that relate to the people's environment (plants, animals, colors, etc.), which are specific to a particular local culture. Berlin, Bridlav and Raven studied the differences between scientific and folk classification of plants. They noticed that members of the local culture group at least two different types of plants, thinking them to be part of the same species. In a sample of 200 local plant species, these situations occured 41% of the time. The 'folk name' and scientific name for a species coincided in 34% of the cases, while in 25% of cases the local population distinguished between identical species. They concluded that members of the local cultures assign more names to culturally important plants and animals, in order to classify in their own way, which corresponds to some extent with the species of plants, but still differs from the scientific classification (Berlin, 1966: 273). Groupings of the same ethnobiological categories or taxons are always unique and mutually exclusive (Berlin, 1973: 260).

Brent Berlin and his associates have set the terminology of the levels of folk classification (Berlin et al., 1973: 240):

• Folk classifications have five levels of classification. The main reason for this kind of classification is the reduction that people perform when thinking - to five or six descriptive attributes of some term. The five levels are: originator of the classification, life form, generic species, specific species and variety. In addition, there is also an intermediate level.

• Generic species are the most numerous and represent the fundamental units of any ethno-biological classification.

• These five ethno-biological categories are organized hierarchically and the taxons that are assigned to each level are mutually exclusive. Taxons within the same ethno-biological categories are often found at the same level in any ethno-taxonomic structure.

• The rules for naming taxons which appear as members of the ethno-biological categories can be reduced to a small number of nomenclatural principles that are essentially similar in all languages. Life form and generic taxons have primary names, specific level and varieties have two names, one of which is secondary, and the originator of the classification is rarely named, which implies evidence that the linguistic structure of the names of plants and animals reflects the taxonomic status of the category that is being presented.

Folk classifications start from zero level of the originator of the classification or kingdom - eg. animals or plants. This is a different category that has only one member, a taxon from which all other taxons are derived (Berlin, 1973: 260).

Taxons of this level are not always explicitly stated, but represent the main division markers. These categories are called ontological categories in philosophy and psychology. This is also one of the first divisions, which is made in the early part of growing up, distinguishing whether something is or is not an animal and later distinguishing plants from inanimate objects (Atran, 1998: 4).

When cited, there are multiple meanings (polysemy) for the names of the originators of classification, or they are connected with a commmon level of life forms - eg. with trees. (Berlin, 1973: 266)

The first level of life forms, generally corresponds to gender. First-level categories have obvious differences between them and most often belong to a unique life form in a given climate, such as mammals, birds, insects, grass etc.

If this climate has only one species - eg. dog, it will be included in this level (Žikić, 2008: 130).

Members of the category 'life forms' represent the broadest classification of organisms into groups that can be easily recognized. Taxons of this category are few in number, generally between five and ten, and most of the lower level taxons are distributed amongst them. Terms used for these levels are similar in most cultures. (Berlin, 1973: 261)

Generalization that exists between the taxons of the same level is different from the generalization that exists for a particular taxon. The different generic types - eg. ant, dog and apple - may have similarities, or be somehow connected, even if they are on the same level. On the other hand, a chair belongs to furniture, not vehicles, while a car belongs vehicles, not furniture, but they are connected to each other as kinds of objects, that is, in many areas there is a hierarchy, but there are no levels as such (Atran, 1998: 4) . This thesis will consider that ethnotaxonomy with levels can be used, the kind used in taxonomy in ethnobiology, which Braun showed, as will be discussed later.

The second level of generic species is the most numerous, and refers to terms which we generally learn as children - eg. oak, cactus, banana, tiger, lion, etc .. This level is very important for ethnotaxonomy because it represents a "natural" folk knowledge about plants, animals and phenomena of interest. Categories at this level are the most numerous, have the most attributes and differ from each other. Most generic species are taxons, that do not contain any levels below them. (Berlin, 1973: 261).

Members of the categories of life forms represent the broadest classification. When the analysis of generic names is possible, they are often names that describe some qualitative characteristics of the organism, which is indexed. Onomatopoeia is also important in the formation of a large number of the names of generics, especially with animals such as birds and frogs, which are often characterized by the specific sounds they make. The final linguistic characteristics in the names is generic, which is typical for many languages - "binomial expression" - the use of names along with a short modifier - eg. "snake corn" in the Celtal language, or "poison oak" in English. A poison oak is not a kind of oak, but a separate generic species. (Berlin, 1973: 262-263)

The second level does not, however, correspond with the levels of scientific classification, but there are similarities. For the most part, there is a similarity in species that people most easily observe, such as large vertebrates or flowers.

These are often plant or animal species which are of cultural significance, and

therefore diverse generic species are more common in smaller cultures (Atran, 1998: 5).

However, the differences between grouping members of generic species in folk classification and their position in the scientific classification, may be large, which represents a cultural mindset and the cultural importance of ideas that stand behind such a classification. Another reason is expressed in a situation where, at first glance, it would seem that some species are similar because of their behaviour - eg. Sahaptin Indians in the Columbia River separate animals in two different types of axes: egg and milk creators, then consumers of grasses and consumers of meat on one axis, and flyers (birds, insects), runners (bison, deer), climbers (squirrel) underground dwellers (underground squirrels and groundhogs), swimmers with head above water (beavers), swimmers with head under water (fish), creepers (ants, spiders, turtles) and slitherers (snakes) (D'Andrade, 1995: 102-103). Icaj Mayans, for example, form a group of animals that live in trees, which must include: monkeys, raccoons and squirrels, and their cultural model with the most important plants for the life of the forest exactly coincides with those plants that are most used by animals that live in them, so this group forms a stable structure, which corresponds to the plants. In doing so, there are species such as bats, which, regardless of education level of the population, are placed depending on the cultural model. Icaj categorize them as birds and American respondents as a kind of rodent and vermin, but according to the same pattern of error. There are also typical representatives of some categories. Icajski respondents are more likely to characterize jaguars or mountain lions as truer mammals than squirrels and raccoons, while among the respondents from Michigan the reverse would be true. Typical representatives are correlated with what animal is common in this climate, or has a cultural significance - eg. jaguar is attributed with qualities of the master of the forest whose presence is synonymous with the presence of the spirit of a people (Atran, 1998: 19-22).

The third specific level varies from culture to culture and is related to the generic species that are essential for some reason - eg. various types of pear, oak, corn, dog breeds, etc. The name usually retains the names of generic types, but adds to it specific characteristics - eg. popcorn, sweet corn and so on. (Boster, 2005: 110).

The most detailed level of ethnotaxonomy are varieties - eg. royal poodle and toy poodle, but they are rare and very culturally conditioned. The names of the varieties often contain three words.

There are usually between two and three specific varieties below the generic species per taxon, and they mainly differ in color and size (D'Andrade, 1995: 93-95) Most of generics are monotypical, which means that they do not split into further specific categories.Generic species which are divided further into specific ones are called polytypical (Berlin, 1976: 389).

Brent Berlin concluded that in the Aguaruna culture, 40 percent of generic types of cultivated plants are further divided into specific classes, while only six percent of culturally irrelevant plants are further subdivided, into specific classes. Table 1 shows the number of specific types depending on whether the species have been cultured, whether they are protected (not being planted, but does not being destroyed), whether they are significant (considered to be useful, but are not protected), or are irrelevant . Research data from the Aguaruna and Celtal culture leads to the conclusion that the conceptual identification of plants is not so much the result of carefully paying attention, as much as a product of their functional and cultural importance. A native recognizes the generic species, "because they are present there", and specific taxons and varieties "because it is culturally important for him to do it" (Berlin, 1976: 393-394).[76]

Table 3: Aguaruna generic species of plants that can be divided into specific species and their cultural importance (Berlin,1976:394)

	Cultivated Plants	Protected Plants	Significant	Insignificant	Overall
Generics without specific varieties	37 (61%)	31 (69%)	215 (80%)	177 (94%)	460 (82%)
Generics with specific varieties	24 (39%)	14 (31%)	53 (20%)	12 (6%)	103 (18%)
Overall	61	45	268	189	563

Brent Berlin and his colleagues concluded that there are groupings that are not

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[76] Under culturally important, Berlin considers the significance of some plant in everyday life of the people in a given culture. For example, if that plant is used and grown for food, that means that it is culturally significant.

always explicitly stated, and at a level that has greater generality than the generic level and higher specificity than life form(Berlin, 1976: 394). Sometimes, between the generic level and the level of life form there is an intermediate level or hidden category, which is usually not described by a single term, but with a colocation - eg. songbirds, evergreen trees, etc. If they are not visible, categories are called hidden - eg. cat, lion and tiger are sub-categories of the intermediate level of cats. (D'Andrade, 1995: 93-100). Intermediate level plays an important role because it is not obvious and can be implicitly learned from an already formed ethnotaxonomy. Intermediate level can be found between level zero and the first level, ie between the originator of the classification and the life form, which is often found in representations of ethnoclassifications of Indo-European languages, by various authors (Žikić, 2008: 131).

The aforementioned limitations in short-term memory are also related to ethnotaxonomiestaxonomies, limiting the number of levels in taxonomy to rarely more than five, whereby, in rare cases that have the sixth level, have very few things on it (D'Andrade, 1995: 43).

From the standpoint of cognitive anthropology, ethnotaxonomiestaxonmies are important because they show how members of a certain culture organize information without scientific education and awareness of a given field of knowledge (Boster, 2005: 113), which is not specific only to the traditional pre-technological, so-called folk cultures, but applies to modern societies as well.

Rank 0	Rank 1		Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4
unique beginner	life form	Intermediate	generic	specific	varietal

wolf — red wolf / grey wolf

covert category — dog — collie / poodle — toy poodle / (ordinary) poodle; terrier

fox

coyote

cat — Persian cat / Siamese cat / (ordinary) cat / Manx cat

cat — tiger / lion

animal — hyena

mongoose

creature — bird — —

fish — —.

insect — —

snake

octopus
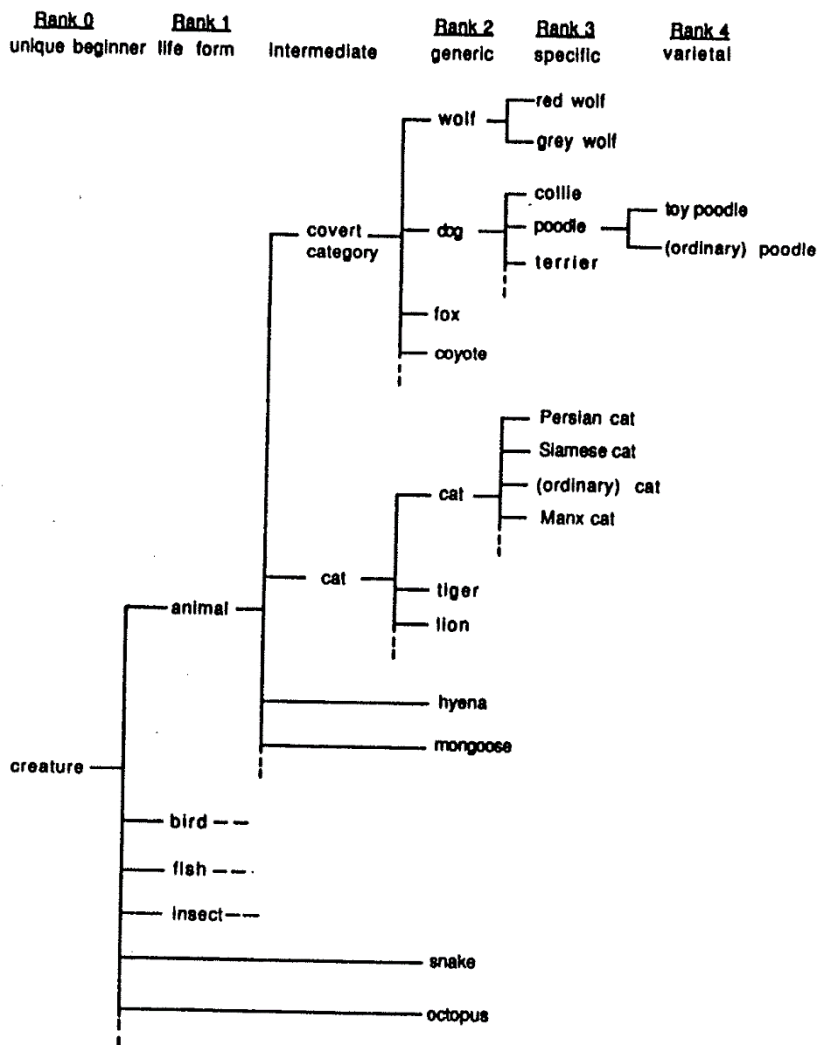
Table 11: Taxonomy of creatures in the English language (D'Andrade, 1995:99)

Figure 11 shows an example of the division of animals in English. Dashed lines indicate the existence of several elements in a complete taxonomy, only they are not displayed. Hidden categories wolf, dog, coyote, fox, etc. refer to something that would usually called the dog family, while in the cat category, this is explicitly stated, given that someone seeing a lion could say: "Look at the cat," while "Look at the dog." would be considered a strange remark upon seeing a fox.

In addition, it is shown that secondary lexemes in specific categories contain the primary name of the original category - eg. red wolf. However, this is not the case with dogs. Octopi and snakes are considered unaffiliated generic types, ie they do not fall under any life form. Somewhere snakes represent a life form. In English, a relatively large number unaffiliated generic types of animals can be found in the ocean and fresh

water (eel, corals, sea horses, etc.). This example shows the importance of generic types in ethnotaxonomiestaxonomies, which testifies to the people's knowledge and our intuitive perception of species and objects. For example, in the case of species that inhabit the ocean, we can get by without citing forms of life. At the level of a specific species, the question is what to do with an ordinary house cat, which, in this case is solved by presenting it, too, as a form of a specific species (D'Andrade, 1995: 98-100). Ethnotaxonomiestaxonomies vary from culture to culture, whereby we should distinguish modern from traditional versions.

Brian Strauss in 1973 concluded that Celtal Indians first learn about generic types of plants so that the average child knows more than a hundred botanical terms, while Janet Dougherty Keller questioned American children and concluded that American children first learn life forms and intermediate levels, so that the average child knows about a dozen generic plants. Dougherty suggested that this kind of "de-evolution" exists in modern cultures where people are not faced with the natural environment, so they can't have insight into the different species which would make them put more accent on recognizing the generic level, but instead deal with abstract insight which exists at the level of life form (D'Andrade, 1995: 117).

As for the general perception of species in the course of growing up, which Kerry investigated in 1985, young children (about four years) start from the anthropocentric concepts in biology, then slowly get to the realization that humans are another species of living beings. Children find it easier during generalizations of humans to separate humans from animals, which is based on similarity to humans (human, dog), than to generalize between animals themselves (also including humans), based on mutual similarities. They are more likely to compare humans and insects, than bees and some other insects. This being the case, in Kerry's opinion, in the course of this conceptual development, a more effective system in education is one which focuses on ethno-psychological concepts (tree needs water because it is thirsty) than biological concepts (tree needs water to live and grow).

In the opinion of other scholars, human-centered thinking is due to the lack of knowledge about the living things that are not human, rather than being a rule in child development. Urban children generalize, starting from humans because humans are the only animals they have some knowledge of. Children from rural areas percieve humans as atypical animals. (Atran et al., 2004: 409-410)   Among   people   from technologically oriented societies there is a degradation in the knowledge of plants and

animals, despite progress in biology, microbiology and evolution (Atran et al., 2004: 395).

One study examined the years in which the Oxford English Dictionary encouraged refering to terms that relate to different species. The Oxford English Dictionary is available via the Internet and in it each word has a citation of itself, in various magazines and books. The research has shown that in the twentieth century, the usage of tree species in the texts and thus vocabulary decreased. Usage of life-form term "tree" has fallen by 26 per cent, while the use of different generic types (eg, oak) dropped by as much as 50 percent. Usage for other forms of life (birds, grass) has also declined, while the use of concepts from non-biological classification (eg, furniture, clothing) increased (Atran et al., 2004: 402-404). Figure 12 shows the proportional usage of the term life forms, generic species and specific level in the Oxford dictionary, wherein we could see a decline in the usage of forms of life and generic species.
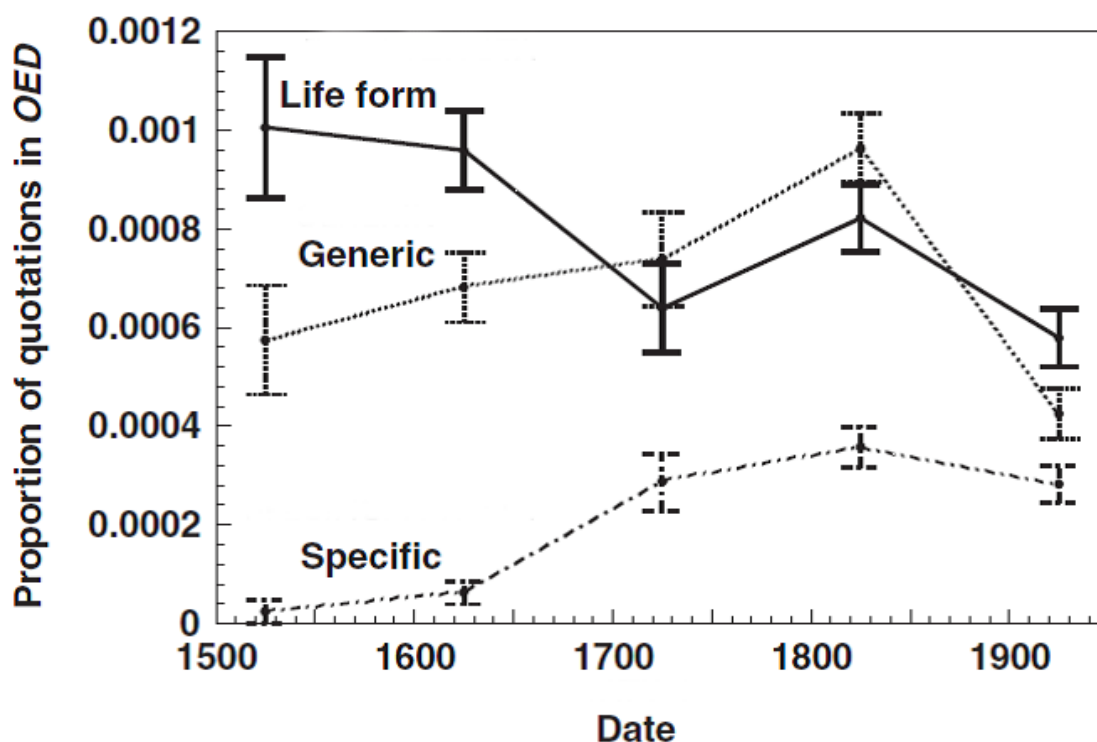
Figure 12: The proportion of citations in the Oxford English Dictionary of various levels of taxonomy of plants during the years (Atran et al., 2004:403).

"People everywhere are thinking about plants and animals in a structured way." Atran believes that such a specialized way of thinking called ethnobiology is fundamentally different from the way people think about other things, such as rocks and

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people. (Atran, 1998: 1-2).

As the privilege of living beings over objects, Atran cites something like Aristotle's essences of living beings, according to which a table without legs is no longer a table, but a tiger without legs is still a tiger, even though his characteristics no longer relate to those in its category (D'Andrade, 1995: 104). On the other hand, Cecil Brown was one of the first anthropologists who wanted to show that the non-biological ethno-taxonomies are organized much like the biological ones. He and his colleagues have presented a taxonomy of cars, tools, Finnish winter vehicles and Thai spirits (Brown et al., 1976: 75-79). The following list is an example of tools in English (Brown et al., 1976: 78). LO level is beginner, LI level of life forms, L2 level generic species/type, L3 specific level and L4 varieties, PL - primary lexeme which can not be analyzed, PPL - primary lexeme which emerged as a product:

- LO- tool „**tool**"(PL)
    - L1- hammer „**hammer**" (PL)
        - L2- hammer '**hammer**' (PL)
        - L2-ballpeen hammer„**ballpen hammer**" (PPL)
        - L2-sledge hammer„**sledge hammer**" (PPL)
        - L2-mallet „**mallet**" (PL)
    - L1-vice„**vice**" (PL)
        - L2-clamp „**clamp**"(PL)
        - L2-press „**press**"(PL)
        - L2-bench vice „**bench vice**" (PPL)
    - L1-measure„**measure**" (PL) (includes 3 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-shovel„**shovel**" (PL) (includes 3 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-axe'**axe**' (PL) (includes 3 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-pliers„**pliers**" (PL) (includes 4 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-screwdriver„**screwdriver**" (PL)
        - L2-regular screwdriver„**regular screwdriver**" (SL)
        - L2-"Phillips" screwdriver„**Philips screwdriver**" (SL)
    - L1-saw'**saw**' (PL)
        - L2-sabre saw „**sabre saw**"(SL)
            - L3- crosscut saw„**crosscut saw**"
            - L3- ripsaw„**ripsaw**"
        - L2-keyhole saw„**keyhole saw** (SL)
        - L2-hacksaw „**hacksaw**"(SL)
        - L2-electric saw „**electric saw** "(SL)
            - L3- band saw„**band saw**"
            - L3- buzz saw„**buzz saw**"
            - L3- jigsaw'**jigsaw**'
    - L1-wrench„**wrench**" (PL) (includes 4 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-crowbar„**crowbar**" (PL) (includes 2 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-pick„**pick**" (PL) (includes 2 generic and 0 specific kinds)L1-drill„**drill**" (PL) (includes 2 generic and 0 specific kinds)
    - L1-jack„**jack**" (PL)

- L1- awl „**awl**" (PL)

Their conclusion for non-biological taxonomies was that they rarely, if ever, exceed five levels, that there is the same five-level categorization that exists for biological taxonomies, that the level of life forms and generic species/type consist of one primary word, while specific levels and varieties have secondary name consisting of several words. Number of life forms is small and does not deviate much from life forms that exist in biological taxonomies, and at that level there are elements that would in biological taxonomies be unaffiliated generics (Brown et al, 1976: 82-83). The first work related to non-biological taxonomies from 1961 was published by Frake whose subject was the taxonomy of "subanal skin diseases", which had a maximum of four levels. Spreadly in 1970 wrote about the non-biological taxonomies of the "urban nomads" of Seattle, taxonomy of detention commissioners, about the time referring of the length of prison sentences and about the taxonomy of sleeping places. Hage in 1972 wrote about the taxonomy of the Munich beer which had four hierarchical levels (Brown, 1976: 75).

Braun also noted taxonomic levels in partonomies, and as an example cited partonymies of body parts. As jargon, instead of taxon, he uses the term parton, describing the relation "part of". Partonomy, like ethnotaxonomy, usually has the originator of the classification and a deep system. Partonomy of a man's body with the Apaches only has three levels, but mainly they have five levels from originator to varieties, a small number of forms of life, usually, "head", "body", "torso", "hand", "legs" and unaffiliated generics such as "blood", "bone", "skin", etc. Below is given a partonymy body parts in Huasteka (Brown, 1976: 81-82):

- LO- patal in hual „**body**"
  - L1- ok' „**head**"
    - L2- hual „**face**"
      - L3- pik 'ib „**forehead**"
      - L3- tsa'ub „**beard**"
      - L3- tham „**nose**"
      - L3- hui' "**mouth**"
        - L4- lek'ab „**tongue**"
        - L4- ot'ol in hui' „**lips**"
        - L4- kamab „**teeth**"
          - L5- elim „**incisor**"
          - L5- kormiyo „**eyetooth, cuspid**"
          - L5- tsohol „**molar**"
      - L3- hual "**eye**"
      - L3- (**6 six additional parts found on this level are**

„hual" ca L2)
- L2- sutsun **„ear"**
- L2- nuk' **„neck, throat"**
- L2- tsitsin **„scalp"**
- L2- tsalap **„brain"**
- L2- katsin **„cerebrum"**
  - L3- pulek te' ehattalab **„spinal cord"**
- L2- (**4 additional parts found on this level are part of** "ok")

o L I - akan **„leg and foot"**
- L2- pulek akan **„thigh"**
- L2- akan **„lower leg and foot"**
  - L3- sukul in akan **„calf"**
  - L3- tiyik' in akan „**heel"**
  - L3- lemat in akan „**sole"**
  - L3- tihas in akan **„toes"**
    - L4- mim in akan **„big toe"**
    - L4- (**4 additional parts found on this level are part of** „tihas in akan")
  - L3- (**2 additional parts found on this level are part of** „akan" L2)

o L I - sukul patal **„torso"**
- L2- patal in kus **„buttocks"**
  - L3- okob **„arm"**
    - L4- pulek okob **„upper arm"**
    - L4- okob **„lower arm"**
    - L4- tiyik' **„wrist"**
  - L3- k'ubak **„hand"**
    - L4- tihas in k'ubak **„finger"**
    - L4- (**8 additional parts found on this level are part of** „k'ubak")
  - L3- (**6 additional parts found on this level are part of** „patal in kus")
- L2- sukul **„stomach"**
- L2- k'utumtal **„digestive tract"**
- L2- (**12 additional parts found on this level are part of** „sukul patal")

o L1- ot'ol in tu'ul **„skin"**
o L1- tu'ul **„flesh"**
o L1- sits'aI **„blood"**
o L1 beklek **„bone"**

Huastek partonomy has only seven partons on the first level, of which four are terminal, not divisible, and respond to unaffiliated generics. The other three are: the head, torso and legs with feet and they replace the life form. Huastek partonomy demonstrates another phenomenon typical for ethnotaxonomiestaxonomies - usage of the same linguistic forms at different levels (eg. "hual" is used for the whole body, the head, the face and the eyes). Respondents explained that phrase as that which is looked

at when one man meets another. They look at the whole body, head, face and eyes.

Regardless of cultural contextualization of the classification, we can be single out certain contrasting relationships which are an example of an attempt at an interpretative upgrade of the analytical apparatus of ethnotaxonomiestaxonomies, that is, an attempt at theoretical generalization that arises from analyzing data obtained dealing with different ethnotaxonomiestaxonomies of cultures in the world. Kay thus defines five types of contrasting relations that exist in any taxonomic structure (Berlin al., 1973: 237):

Contrast of inclusion exists for two taxons which include one another (for example, a tree and an oak are in such a relation).

> • *Direct contrast exists between the two taxons that are included together in the same taxon (oak and chestnut are in direct contrast, since they are together involved in the tree taxon).*
> • *Indirect contrast exists between the two taxons that are not in the previous two contrasts, but the taxons which they are not even under are in direct contrast.*
> • *Generic contrast exist between two generic taxons.*
> • *Terminal contrast exists between any two taxons, with neither of them including other taxons*

The significance of ethno-taxonomies in cognitive anthropology was reflected in determing the cultural thoughts of a certain culture, and, a study of the ways in which members of that culture arrange plants, colors, or any terms from the same context, and present in their environment, and after that finding cultural conditionalities that affected knowledge being organized in precisely that way, leads to a lot of information about the customs, priorities, prejudices etc.

IV ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE VIRTUAL WORLD

New technology is transforming economic activities, and, for individuals, "homo economicus" is becoming a more and more of a valued designation. Today time is no longer important, and considering that we are trading information that gets created at a staggering speed, the history of our time can be seen as a history of speed and acceleration (Eriksen, 2003: 75), or a history of globalization which, in itself, is a special form of acceleration that causes the reduction or even disappearance of spatial distance. Globalization makes the time-space axis displaced from its position. You no longer need a certain ammount of time to go over a certain distance. In many contexts, time equals zero, and we could say that we live in a time with no delays. This refers to the flow of information. "Something's out of control. There is more of everything, and all of it is going faster and faster "(Eriksen, 2003: 76).

As we can see, acceleration is to blame for everything? For this reason it is necessary to be cautious when engaging in an adventure, searching for specific information. The key problem, which is also today the greatest challenge for mankind, when it comes to the virtual space, is how to legally surround and introduce order into something whose borders are themselves not just growing, but also elusive. Until the aforementioned problems are resolved, Internet will, among other things, be a space for all of our hidden desires, but also a liberation from bans. It is clearly alluded that this medium is extensively used for consumption of a wide range of "prohibited" and among other things pornographic products.

Using visual records and photos has been known to ethnographers from the time Midova and Malinowski. However, regardless of this fact, the research community continues to have discussions regarding what can be considered ethnographic material and what is the most adequate way to obtain in. Sarah Pink, in her book "Doing Visual Etnography" presents Becker's view that anthropologists and sociologists can use photography only for tourist purposes. Although many researchers considered frozen moment photos scientifically invalid (White, 2001: 9), Luria's studies have pointed to how photography can contribute to configuring the story of the self, one's own knowledge and truth (White, 2001: 16). Pink raises the questions: "Is ethnography a departure to another place? Is it a collection and return?", and claims that it certainly

can be even more than that. She puts experience at the center of research and involves all the senses.

But, it is also necessary to open the issue of redefining visual anthropology, as a researcher who specializes in researching content on the Internet, or using new technologies for data collection does not have anywhere to go, and the smell and taste can be felt through the other senses.

If we analyze the structure and regulation of content on pornographic sites and platforms that support virtual communities, we will see that the texst and / or even hypertext, audio and video content are distributed according to the principle of hypermedia. In fact, hypermedia is an extension of hypertext? And what is a hypertext? Hypertext is text with connections/links. This is not a new idea: books have links between the references, footnotes, contents and the index with the text. The computer allows monitoring of hypertext references as easily as turning a page. The reader can not escape the sequential organization of the pages in order to follow the information that he's interested in. So hypertext becomes a powerful tool for learning, as well as hypermedia, that, in addition to text, as noted, contains photos, video clippings and sound, where everything is intertwined in a nonlinear order of information. This term was first used in 1965 by Ted Nilson and is demarcated in relation to multimedia, since multimedia is not characterized by interactivity. The World Wide Web is a classic example of hypermedia (Flew, 2008: 11). Numerous psychological theories characterize this approach to information as the most suitable for learning, because it is organized on a principle very close to the structure of the human brain, and enables collaborative access to information (Gómez-Martinez, 2003: 14).

Sarah Pink says that hypermedia works like an anthropological or ethnographic text. She explains that it is sufficient to point out the potential of interactivity, multilinearity, multivocality and multimedia. Hypermedia narratives could be constructed so as to meaningfully connect other narratives, composed of various and mixed media. The ethnographic hypermedia can contain transcripts of interviews, field notes, photographs, videos, written articles, ethnographic film, whole books and works of other kinds. In the on-line world, it can be linked (connected) with further materials. (White, 2003: 58)

Concepts and reflections of visual anthropology have opened many issues relating to the fieldwork of anthropologists. In addition, the rapid development of technology has contributed to the reconceptualization of the ethnographer fieldwork.

In general, we can say that the redefined idea of "the field" in contemporary anthropology means the diversification of places that are considered suitable for anthropological research and development of anthropological knowledge. These are places whose boundaries are variable and unstable, rather than being clearly spatially bounded. Also, the practice of travel, departure from "home" to remote and unknown areas in search of the others, is no longer a prescriptive rule for anthropological work and ethnographic methods, which is applied with the same success in one's own society, pointing out the multitude of diversities, and a myriad of others that also exist "at home" (Ivanović, 2005). In this case, we will also observe the other, but from home with "home spectacles", thanks to globalization and the development of technology that has enabled us to freely look into everyone's home, without having to travel, if our respondent allows it.

Due to this, the structure used to reflect on the relevance of pornographic internet content for anthropological analysis will be collected in the virtual space. As noted, today's global Internet community is rich with amenities that can meet the needs of nearly every one of its users. If we try to look at the motives that move us to action in the virtual space, we could draw the analogy with one of the earliest and most widespread theories of motivation, which puts needs in its center. Maslow (Maslow) hypothesized that within every human being there is a hierarchy of five needs, including:

• physiological needs - including hunger, thirst, shelter, sex and other physical needs;

• the need for security - which includes security and protection from physical and emotional needs;

• social need - which includes a sense of belonging, acceptance and friendship;

• the need for reputation - which includes factors such as: independence, self-esteem, achievement, as well as external factors such as: awards, status and attention;

• the need for achievement - the urge to grow into what we are capable of becoming; includes growth, reaching one's own potential and self-actualization (Maslow according to Robins, 46).

Many of these needs can be projected in the virtual world, in which, paradoxically, pornography takes a crucial and first place in meeting customer needs.

For instance, the need for love can be achieved through the use of romantic applications, and the need for companionship and recognition via social networks such as Facebook, MySpace, etc.

As we can see, virtual reality creates a relevant depiction of what we think, feel, need or want. So, a trip touring amateur clips on the Internet, can, in some way, be a technique of collecting ethnographic material. Today's technology, in addition to that journey into the unknown, can enable us to actively participate for the sake of better understanding the unknown. Here we come to the idea that it is possible to use the method of participation with the observation during data collection, but also that we can carry with us a tool for photography, embodied in the snapshoot screen capture, which helps in the description of the material.

When we talk about pornography, we are talking about the presentation of the human body, and when we talk about portals with direct webcam recording, we're talking about building a protected virtual identity, which is useful because it provides a presentation of one's own sexuality in a way that we ourselves want. Thus, we do not allow the "objectivity" of the researcher to create our world. Pornography is used for communication, primarily through the visuals. Pornography violates the norm and users on those sites enjoy the opportunities given to visually express themselves, showing, or looking at the forbidden. The work of Linda Williams talks about the importance of researching pornogaphy, not only as a specific means of communication through the moving image, but also a significant social phenomenon that knows no demographic boundaries (Williams, 2004: 4). In 1998 she launched a course on pornography at the graduate studies in film at the University of California. She was prompted to this decision, full of uncertainty, by several unpleasant facts. First of all, the fact that pornography is becoming a reality of American pop culture, and then the attitudes of the feminist and anti-pornography movements of the eighties and nineties that pointed to the negative consequences of the existence of this visual genre. Linda Williams cites the research of Catherine MacKinnon, in which MacKinnon sees the transformation of conventional rape, through filming during the war. She also states that she doesn't seek the culprit in the soldier rapist because the war itself, easily leads to a decline and distortion of all possible values, but in pornography, with which the former Yugoslav states were oversaturated, especially during the upcoming crisis (Williams, 2004 : 11).

Also, her will to address this issue was solidified by the fact that, in analyzing gay pornographic films she caused a huge outcry from the masculine audience, who

could not stand motion picture pornography, to which they were not accustomed.

And finally, we should not overlook the importance of home videos and private recordings of famous personalities, who have excited or intrigued the American public ,after the scandal involving Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky, or the appearance of hard-core sex scenes from the honeymoon of the actress Pamela Anderson and rocker Tommy Lee (Williams, 2004: 3). From an anthropological perspective, invasion into the privacy of a home represents a significant research area. Home has always been the center of social and material life. However, from the age of industrialization, it was becoming increasingly closed to the environment, especially for researchers. Finally, new technologies work beyond the boundaries of privacy and allow us to peek through the visual, not only in many homes, but into much more. Hypermedia content on the Internet provide researchers with unrestricted access to information, hiding behind a recently adopted identity.

In the virtual world it is possible to actively create research material. It is not wise to reject, or ignore, the visual content that has already been offered, though sometimes it is not clear how researchers can classify home videos, touristic or journalistic photography in relation to ethnographic material. However, in the end, categories such as domestic, touristic, documentary or ethnographic are used to define the field of the photographer,with each involving different types of knowledge and intentions / aspirations of the photographer. It can be a photo that signifies: knowledge, remembrance, memory, etc. Ethnographer photographs can not be classified into any category. They simply represent his redefining of identity in different situations. Just as the identity of the user of the sites presented in this paper is fluid, and belonging to a community does not limit belonging to another, but it is still necessary to consider what a particular person creates in the context of a specific situation and the current environment. Sarah Pink at the beginning of her book "Doing Visual Ethnography" cites a project in which the camera is put into the hands of the homeless - who better than them can present parts of their everyday life. This method had the purpose to examine how the visual method, images and technology, can be done in cultures which are being surveyed. However, sometimes the use of cameras is not suitable, or in our case, is not necessary. What's more, its use can determine the appearance of the phenomenon which we are examining.

The point is to create knowledge through experience (verifying experience and knowledge, which emerges through the interpersonal process) percieved in context. It is

exactly this experiential approach that the virtual environment can offer.

Often what is considered globalization, and is associated with popular culture, is nothing more than supracultural communication, or cultural mediation of ideas and discourses, which no longer requires possession of cultural competence in communication, whose meaning is determined by some local cultural context, a given phenomenon in itself, which refers to phenomena of contemporary popular culture, including the Internet (Žikić, 2012: 332). This view of popular culture does not significantly modify the basic assumptions of cognitive anthropology, which served as the basis of its research problem for decades, and that start from the fact that members of certain cultures will differently classify and categorize identical content to which they are exposed, as they are now participating in the joint , suparcultural communication, the kind that Internet pornography represents.

Internet, similarily to popular culture, is an supracultural concept. It was shown that users around the world use the Internet in a similar way, regardless of their location (Chen et al., 2008: 1). We could certainly say that Internet is some kind of space, but virtual space, in which different rules apply, because there are no spatial and temporal constraints. Virtual communities are organized into relatively stable sets of relations between social actors (whether they are individuals, groups, organizations) that involve an exchange of various resources (materials, services, information, values, beliefs, norms, practices, etc.) and possess a specific structure. Therefore, consumers Internet, and therefore Internet pornography consumers, can be viewed as members of a single, virtual community, which in a special way constructs human sexual practice. Some pornographic websites have the option of forming a group for dialogue on a particular subject, or in connection with a certain clip, and according to the principle of such groups Internet forums are formed, as well as communication through tagging in general. Forums are web based applications for conducting discussions between their members. The term forum can refer to the entire community or a group with a specific interest. Forum posts are grouped by category, theme, or chronologically (Blagojevic, 2011: 21). An internet forum may be home to people with different socio-demographic characteristics, whose only common characterization is the interest and perception of a certain topic (Williams et al, 2005: 85).

One of the main and most relevant techniques for data collection in anthropological research is going into the field. The question for this thesis in connection with the gathering of material in the field will be precisely the re-

conceptualization of the term, ie research techniques, because the terrain on which the material for this study will be collected is virtual, and data will be collected from several major portals with pornographic content, as well as on websites and blogs.

The distinction between the virtual and the real raises questions, can virtual be a space, or a place, or is it an supracultural phenomenon and, finally, whether as such, it can be adequate for field research. These are all questions which I will try to answer here (Blagojevic, 2011: 22). Schaeffer's view is that the virtual or the digital representation of something in correspondence with reality - eg. a digital representation of text or image is actually an imitation of the idea which it is supposed to represent, which applies to the photograph itself, and, finally our own senses. This is how virtual realities were created, and virtual fiction is, in fact, fiction. Thus it is clear that for their users the virtual communities are often more realistic than some real communities (Schaeffer, 1999: 8-22). Vittel highlights something similar, referring to the change and move away from the real into the virtual, so-called "cyber" space, which has all the characteristics of the physical environment (Wittel, 2000: 3).

Societies are modernizing and differentiating, just lik cultures,the links between societies and cultures are being reinforced through: media, telecommunications, economics, migration, travel and so on. The prevailing opinion in contemporary ethnography is that boundedness of culture can not be found on the site and that even the tiniest geographical localities have multiple cultures. Thus, the site itself, rather than seen as a locality, could rather be seen as a "political location", where the culture is on the move, and therefore ethnography should be "on the move" from the site to spatially defined localities towards socio-political locations, networks and multi-sited approaches, as well as from physical spaces to digital spaces.

Winch proposes two new views on the topic of sites. The first: it should be viewed as a network with hubs and a set of links of different strengths that describe relationships between nodes, such as the exchange of information, money, objects, people, ideas, etc., in which, unlike the (traditional) site, the network is much more dynamic and moe realistically models the society through a multitude of factors that affect its changes, and that can dynamically spread beyond the geographical borders.

Another idea is to move the site away from material spaces to the so-called cyberspace and virtual society - virtual site (Wittel, 2000: 1-3).

However, if fieldwork is removed from the ethnographic work, what is, then, left? Ethnography demands the presence of the ethnographer and the social situation

they are observing, but the presence in the common area is questionable in the case of on-line ethnographers. Ethnography also reveals context. Ethnographers such as: Haddon, Boas and Malinowski have changed anthropology, by not studying objects out of context and instead immersing themselves in the study of people in their natural environment and staying for prolonged periods of time in the local culture, learning their language, customs, beliefs, everyday habits and, in doing so getting a fundamental understanding of their culture and thought. "Today, however, long-term monitoring with the participation in a limited area favors direct relationships, but ignores the indirect forms of interaction. It gives preference to a permanent residence and downplays movement. It favors boundaries ie. differences and ignores connections and connectivity. While a century ago fieldwork in the natural habitat of communities had the immense advantage of integrating context, the dogmatisation of fieldwork in contemporary ethnography seems to achieve the opposite, excluding the context of people who we are observing "(Wittel, 2000: 4).

Often, there isn't a clear distinction between "real" and "virtual" space, so it is stated that the virtual society is the counterpart to society and virtual culture to culture, whereby there is a duplication of reality and loss of orientation. But in Wittel's opinion, empirical studies largely show that sending an e-mail, on-line chatting, surfing the Web and other interactive activities, are very real experiences for the people who participate in them and that the use of interactive media for communication can be as real as a telephone chat or a face to face talk. Therefore, instead of highlighting material and digital spaces, we should introduce a more relational perspective and concentrate on the similarities and overlaps in order to achieve the objective, which confirms that there is no more appropriate method than the modern version of fieldwork (Wittel, 2000: 4).

Finally, the Internet as a cultural phenomenon is a product of culture and as such, ethnographic research, going to the field and researching culture, would involve precisely being at and taking materials in places on the Internet where a certain cultural activity is taking place.

This raises the question of the validity of data downloaded. Studies have shown that individuals who claim for themselves to have multiple roles, ie. to be successful in several areas, enjoy many more benefits and healthier because they are willing to change their mode of behaviour depending on the situation, and are therefore better able to withstand stress. Internet is a place where people create social interaction, and therefore can enjoy some of its benefits, but, as already noted, the anonymity of the

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Internet allows individuals to define a dreamed up or staged presentation of themselves, depicting only what they want to present, in order to be better accepted by the group which they want to get closer to (McKenna et al., 2000: 62). That calls into question the accuracy of data on Internet users, including their gender, precisely because the Internet, among other things, is appealing because it allows playing with identity. It also raises the issue of the limitations of observation, when the Internet is concerned, since it does not include direct observation of the people themselves. (Wittel, 2000: 6).

Because of the research objectives and the fact that I am dealing with supracultural context, because the only knowledge I am dealing with is abstract and conceptual, and the specific concepts of ages, nations, ethnic groups, etc. refer exclusively to the context of the categories themselves, and not the nature of the users, the validity of user identity is irrelevant for this research; only their cultural activities in terms of tagging, formation and naming of categories will be observed. Pornographic sites are the most visited sites on the Internet, and the pornographic clips themselves and Internet pages that they are be found on, can be used as a research subject. Considering the number of views of these video clips, their mean score, comments and "tags" fit the structure of an anonymous survey with a number of samples, often greater than the minimum required to justify it (Cao et al., 2009: 7; Cheng et al, 2008: 230)

For these reasons, I will treat the Internet as a virtual site and will use passive and active techniques (Blagojevic, 2011: 22) of data collection, including gathering data from Internet portals, databases, viewing the video materials, and, if need be, the data will be supplemented by communication with the community through chat communication, or following and commenting on the porn blogs. Passive methods are: the content of Internet sites (the text in a narrower sense, visual and auditory design); the content of messages in discussion groups related to the research topic; participating in interactive online chats; observing the behaviour of Internet users in the real, physical environment. Active methods are: on-line interviews and / or surveys; off-lineinterviews and / or surveys; the combination of these two types of procedures (with the same respondents).

Passive methods, as shown here, can view the Internet as a site, while active methods represent the Internet as a tool for conducting research (Blagojevic, 2011: 22-23). From this it follows that only collecting material does not deviate much from the classic ethnographic approach.

Another difficulty exists in the actual behaviour of the Internet users. In fact,

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when they are on the Internet, people adhere less to social norms, even when not using a pseudonym, but their real identity under their own name and surname. This behaviour is most similar to the effect of a crowd, when people shout things that they otherwise would not have uttered, which is why when reading the comments below some news or phenomenon, one may gain a false impression of public opinion, according to which there are many more people opposed to something. People who do not have a negative attitude will often not write anything, unlike their much more vocal counterparts, which will be reflected in the vote "for and against", as well as the frequency of negative comments. Also, there is the effect of endless discussions and not giving up certain views - eg. during the debate someone will express a contrary opinion and "post" a link to a page that confirms it, and our psychological mechanism prompts us to look for a site that will confirm our opinion and so on (as if it is a shame to give up "in public"), which would be much less pronounced in a private conversation. There is a paradox here - anonymity, privacy, de-individuation, on the one hand, and the public, and taking personally challenges to one's views, on the other. Actually, the fact that a person is not responsible for any of his or her actions leads to considerably more daring and inappropriate behaviour.

Therefore it is necessary to delineate the relevant material. Are general categories (eg, sex) more frequently evaluated and "tagged" , not only because they are the most viewed, but also because the largest number of clips fall under this category, but also because a person searching for a more specific and socially ostracized category, will more often decide to just take a look and go, and be much less likely to comment positively, or in any way participate in the editing of the site. But, actually, positive marks are more common for a particular video clip, and as for the comments, they are much more heated on general purpose video sites such as : youtube.com, dailymotion.com, than those on pornographic ones - when messages of disgust at fetishes and silicone implants are concerned. It is as if there is a division between general sites with a generally accepted opinion, and service sites, such as pornography, where people come for the sake of certain goods (each for their own), do not complain, and sometimes even give praise.

It should be also noted that most of the clips on most sites are actually uploaded by the users, which requires creating an account. This freedom provides researchers of culture, society and human behaviour insight into the most intimate, even forbidden spheres of life, which can be found on the Internet in a completely uninhibited and

honest form, due to the anonymity offered by the network. Most of these people would have given up many of the content, which they themselves put on the Internet. Through this medium we can gain insight into the way of representation, of otherwise taboo content and the experiencing of the mentioned facilities through various types of virtual interaction. Pornography on the Internet and pornography in general is primarily a visual thing - it arouses us via the visual and consequently studying it may give us insight into the sense of the visual. Therefore, access to information and influence through social networks, individuals, also allows personal benefit and, in some cases, individuals and groups can use them to exclude others, or ensure dominance and privileges. In this case, the most appropriate phrase is "to exclude others," because the obsession with personal benefit that we seek in the virtual world often leads us to objectification and alienation. However, it is almost as if the actors of the pornographic clips from the Internet are trying to tell us: "Technically, we are together, but in fact we are lonely, just like you, and we love this, just as you you should." As we can see, it's actually a simple extension of ourselves, and therefore our loneliness.

Considering the categorization of porn content on the basis of the content, as it is found on websites[77] sadly isn't found in scientific literature. In the text below, these categories are referred to as "categories of the site authors". Their classification principles are usually based on the identification of the most striking characteristics of the clips, such as large breasts, anal, Asian women, stallions, lesbians, etc. These categories differ from site to site, and are not hierarchically grouped by appearance, race, sexual orientation, etc., but are only listed in alphabetical order. The problem with such classifications is that the category listing provides information only on which categories exist, but not the legality, or cultural determinants of their origins.

On the other hand, each clip can be "tagged", or commented on, so that in addition to seeking similar content based on the categories on the site, it is also possible to search for similarily tagged content.

One video clip can contain multiple "tags" and a "tag" may correspond to more clips, so that relations can be established between the clips themselves. In further text, the categories created by user tagging will be refered to as "user categories".

One of the preconditions of the research will be the finding and forming of a classification based on a review of tags in the collected materials. The advantage of

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[77]нпр. http://www.pornhub.com/categories

such a classification is the possession of information on the name of each category (as named by the users themselves). Since the creation of tags is a user action, determining the principles of such classification means also finding the results of the cultural conditionality of the users themselves.

Based on this classification, and using the cultural model of the mind method as a means of research in the field of interpretation, the aim of the research will be the scientific explanation of the culturally-cognitive form which, in the case of Internet videos, orients the perception of human sexual behaviour in such a way that it entails tagging of videos, which fits exactly to the aforementioned classification.

Comments and clip ratings will be the core of the collected and analyzed materials, as well as evaluation of clips, but will not be completely excluded. The number of viewers will be considered in the context when a category should be allocated as "stable", or as a generic type that has more subcategories (eg. Gay). The subject of the research will be categories of the site authors from different sites, as well as tags (as categories made by the users of these sites), and the relevant information will form the structure of the names of these categories, as well as the organization options of the websites themselves.

The first step of the research will be the categorization of pornography on the sites themselves. This part of the research includes an analysis of different categories on the sites and looking for the patterns of appearance of the same categories on different sites, as well as analysis of the conditionality of the existence of those particular categories. As mentioned above, literature on classifications of porn categories on the Internet is scarce, and even if categories appear as part of a paper, they refer to the levels of nudity and sexual explicitness of the content (Quayle, 2008: 66, Taylor et al, 2001: 95 96) or to the statistical information related to access to certain categories, whereby certain categories even get cited, but not as the subject of the research (Baker, 2007: 57).

After the first step, we must compare the initial categories of "author sites" with the categories that are created by users themselves by making comments, tags, and links to the clips with similar content. Considering searches under those parameters are possible, for easier access, they will to some extent differ from the "author website" category and will show the user influence in the categorization of pornography. Therefore, further research will lead to a better understanding of the way in which pornographic categories on the Internet are formed, and since the tags themselves indicate the way users perceive pornography and the way it is organized, creating,

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through the very process of tagging new categories and thereby pointing to new elements of pornographic content. The next step is to make a preliminary taxonomy in order to check the hypothesis. After that, a scheme with the rules regarding how users access the desired content through tags of other users or existing links will be formed.

With the collected set of rules of categorization and, above all, a created taxonomy, the next step is the formation of a cultural model of mind and finish the categorization according to the ethnotaxonomy method. In applying the model of the mind in the interpretation of the collected material, the paper will be searching for the principles on which people base their classification of sexual behaviour on the Internet.

Pornographic categories are only classified on websites and there no papers in any of the Social Sciences and Humanities that covers the categorization of Internet pornography, which represents a lack of adequate literature. The categorization of pornographic material is referred to in the papers in the field of technical sciences, in which the subject of research is methods of detecting and filtering of sexually explicit content. Content is automatically grouped by categories, depending on how sexually explicit it is, or how naked the actors are (Deselaers et al, 2008: 1), but such categorization does not carry information about the type and genre of the actual content, and, as such does not fit with this research. The only papers, found outside of technical sciences, that posses categorization, refer to a taxonomy done according to the level of aggression shown in child pornography. These levels are: indicative, nudist, erotica, posing, erotic posing, explicitly erotic posing, explicit sexual activity, rape, rape with penetration, sadism / bestiality (Taylor et al, 2001: 95-96) and were originally formed in the late nineties as part of a project to combat pedophilia at the University of Cork, in collaboration with the London police, to detect the degree of vulnerability of children and to legally define punishable contents (Quayle, 2008: 66).

Of course, there are numerous studies that individually study hardcore footage, amateur video, alternative pornography etc. The work of Ogas and Gaddam actually includes a multitude of categories, but what we are concerned with are the relations between these categories.

Below is a presentation of several pornography sites in order to get an impression of their organization options. Given that the subject of the research is pornographic categories, attention will be given to those sites that provide information related to the categories themselves, so I will exclude specialized sites for categories or sites with romantic applications for on-line dating and space for cyber sex and

livewebcam, amateur presentations such as "Gayromeo", "xtube.com", "cam4.com" etc. which are also very important for Internet pornography, but not for the categories themselves.

Finally, it will be obvious that amateur video clips are among the most numerous, so they too will be partially covered by the analysis.

The porn site *Tubestack*[78] is shown on Figure 13. The site contains a list of categories in alphabetical order, links to pages and sites with popular clips or categories as well as a list of interactive pictures, that also refer to pages with video clips of a certain category. In addition, there are search options as well as category search filters, and, even more interestingly, a filter for video clips with the theme and actors of different sexual orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, trans-sexual, or tranny), whereby in the process of choosing the filter, the category list and interface do not change, but are enriched with clips from a specified orientation.

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[78]http://www.tubestack.com
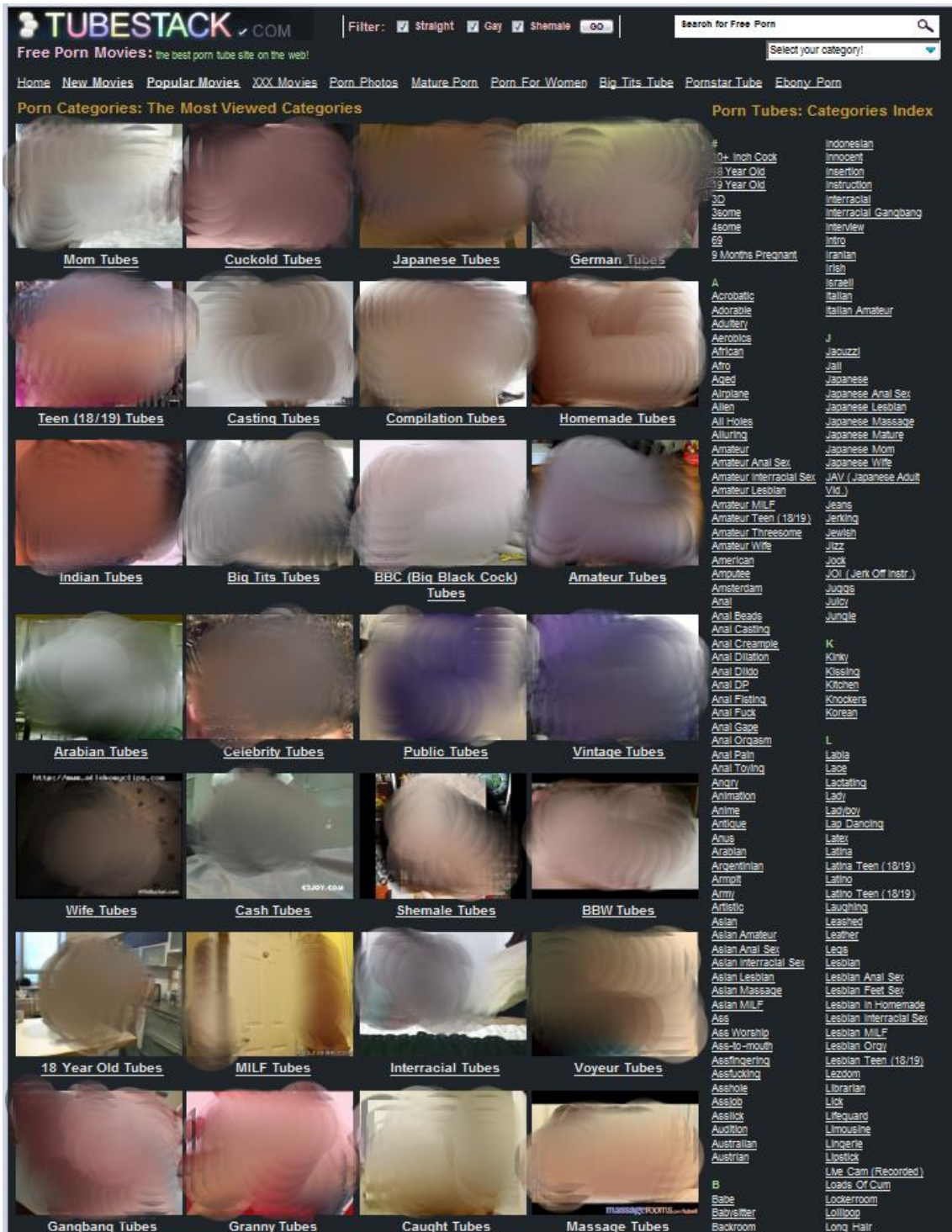
Figure 13: pornographic website http://www.tubestack.com/, (accessed 4. 5. 2013.)

When you select a specific category, as shown in Figure 13, the interface enabling you to choose between categories and popular clips remains present, while adding a list for "jumping" to the sites that contain similar material as the one in the selected category.

The actual section with interactive graphics, which point to the video clips has changed, and in addition to the name and picture shows also: how long the clip lasts for, when it was put up and on which site it is located. This part is interesting, because it directly shows the interconnectedness of various pornographic sites, where Tubestack has the role of delegating and formating of the structure, and the "goods" are found on the other sites, arranged in a similar way. The downside of this practice is the absence of a list of tags, as each of the sites to which one jumps to look at videos has its own structure tags, and creating a base which would collect all, would be technically complicated, and would also create confusion. In addition to tags, also missing is the audience counter, as well as clip ratings, unless you go to the actual clip on another site, which then again has a local structure of reviews and ratings, and retrieval of data from these sites also would create confusion, due to the different rating storage methods from site to site, as well as the asymmetry of visitors of different sites, which would be reflected in the presentation of the number of views and rating. In addition, there is no making of an account, as accounts are set up locally, on the websites that contain the actual video clips.
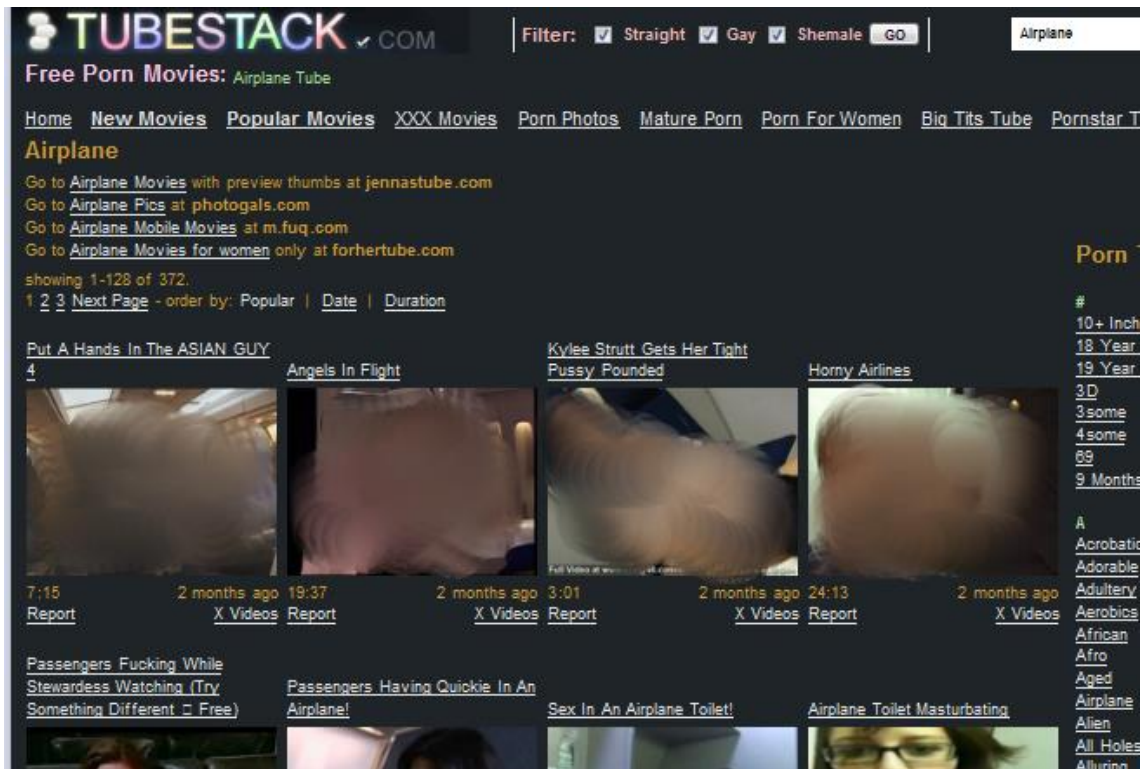
Figure 14: *Tubestack* site with the Airplane Movies category selected

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FromTubestack you can also go to: http://www.forhertube.com/ which has an identical construction as "Tubestack", only it is supposedly aimed at women. Currently, in its selection there are more "romantic", "sensual" clips and videos of homosexuals, but again mostly female actors. The list of categories is identical. Empflix[79], the site shown in Figure 15, is similarily organized. You are given a list of categories with a visual representation. There are also filters for sexual orientation, as well as search fields.
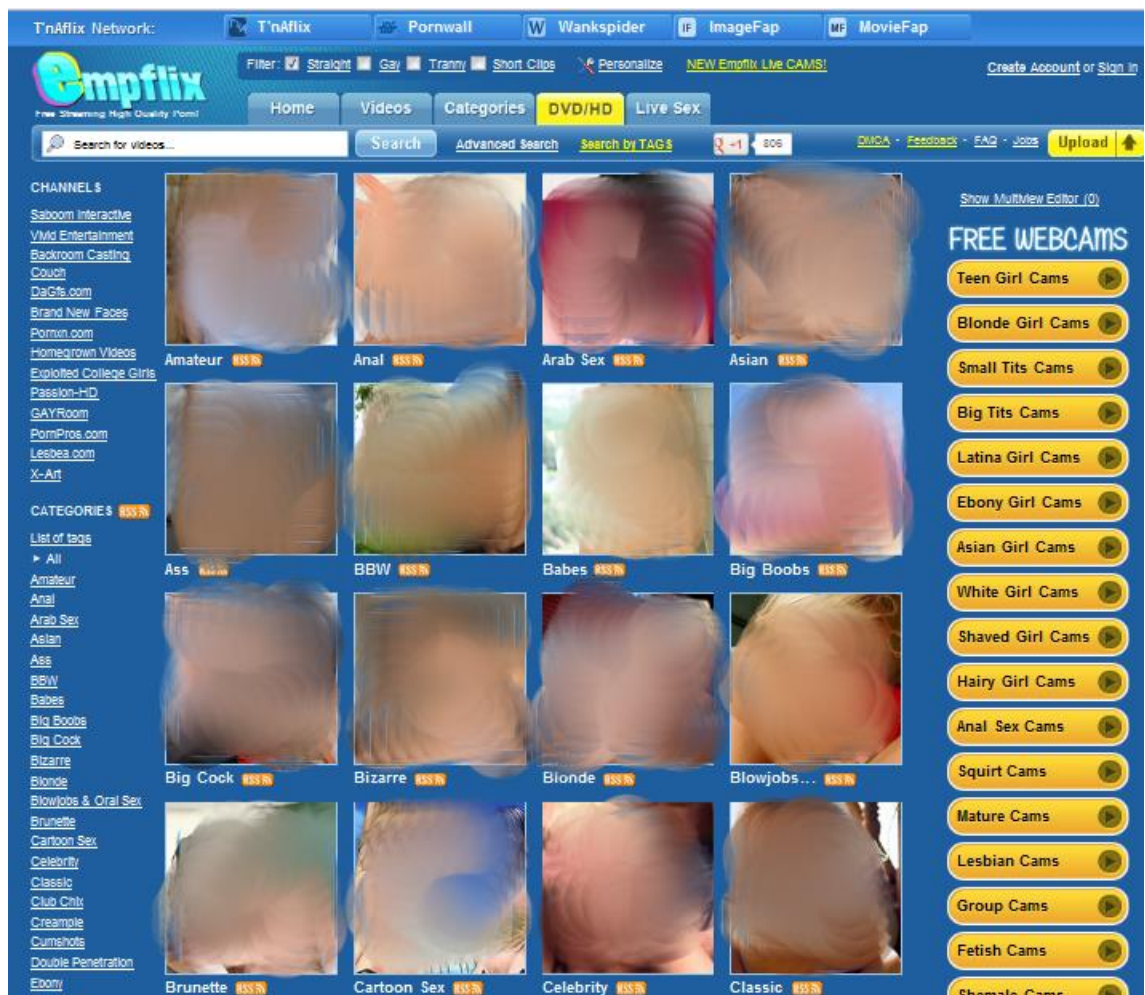
Figure 15: pornographic website http://www.empflix.com/, (accesssed 4. 5. 2013.)

Additionaly, there are separate categories of direct webcam recordings, which represent an increasingly popular option when it comes to Internet pornography.

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[79] [79]http://www.empflix.com

In this case, videos are stored locally and therefore it is possible to create a profile and put up video clips from your collection, and if you select a specific category on the site, each video clip contains a user name (of the person who put it up); rating; category and tags to which it belongs; an option to add the clip to favorites; share it via e-mail; add it as a link; download it on a local disk, etc; but you can also view the comments and video clips with similar content. These options for a particular video clip are shown in Figure 16.
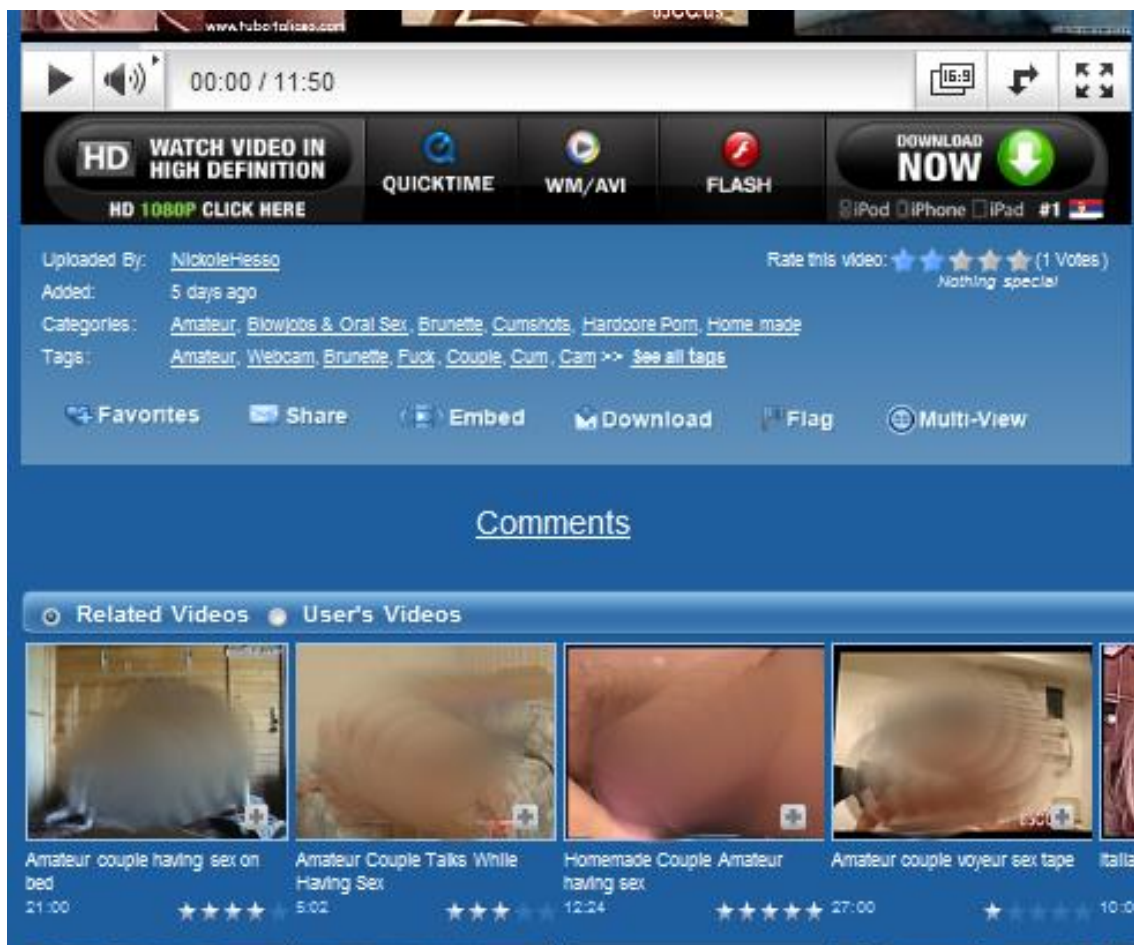
Figure 16: data given with a video clip (site http://www.empflix.com/, accessed 4.5.2013.)

In addition to these categories there is also a list of tags, which shows how many video clips are indicated with a "tag", which greatly simplifies the research, when it comes to ease of navigation (no need to browse and write down individual tags for each clip , which would greatly slow the collection of material). Tags from different sites will be compared, in which will consider also whether one larger list with a lot of tagged videos

from one site can be used as a list of available tags, which requires that there is a certain overlap.

There are indications for this hypothesis, given that, as already mentioned, the "tagging" is a sort of a survey, and so after a large number of tags, samples should converge towards a median value, which, in the case that the conditions of the survey are the same everywhere, a requirement that Internet Porn meets, is the same in all cases, eg. sites.

PornHub[80], as its name implies, other than, in itself, being a pornographic site, also represents a network and hub to different sites belonging to the unique "PornHub" network. Figure 17 shows some of these sites such as "YouPorn", "Tube8", "PornMD", "Spankwire", "Xtube", "extremetube", "GayPorn", "Peeperz" etc.
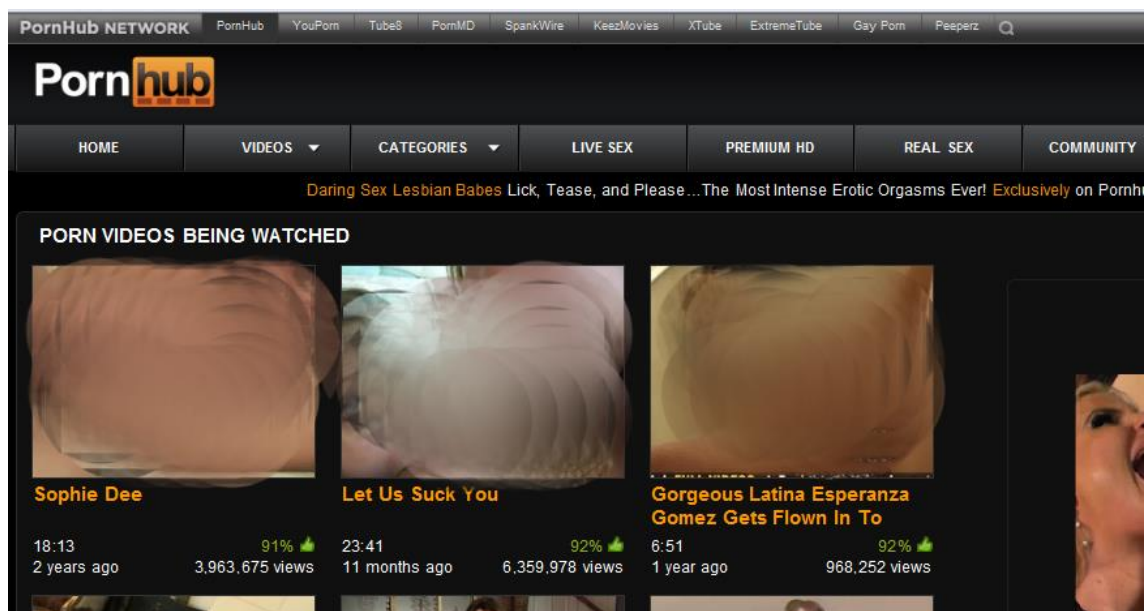
Figure 17: *PornHub* (http://www.pornhub.com/, accessed 4.5.2013.), site with access to other sites

xHamster[81] includes: login, categories, voting, live webcams, as well as the supporting features such as: sex stories, games, dating page, photos, etc. as well as containing "RedTube".

"Xvideos" is more of an enormous collection of video clips (as they say, over 3000 pornographic video clips are put up every day), with a forum, and photographs, as well as additional options.

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[80] http://www.pornhub.com
[81] http://xhamster.com

It is interesting that at the bottom of the list on the site there are: advertisements for Viagra, number of pages as well as links to a relatively small number of categories[82], while at the top in the field for "tags" there are over 5800 tags, and next to each is a number of videos related to that tag. With these and a presentation of the most watched clips, the site appears to be receptive to customers, because it monitors their activity and affinity towards both the categorizing, and sorting according to popularity.
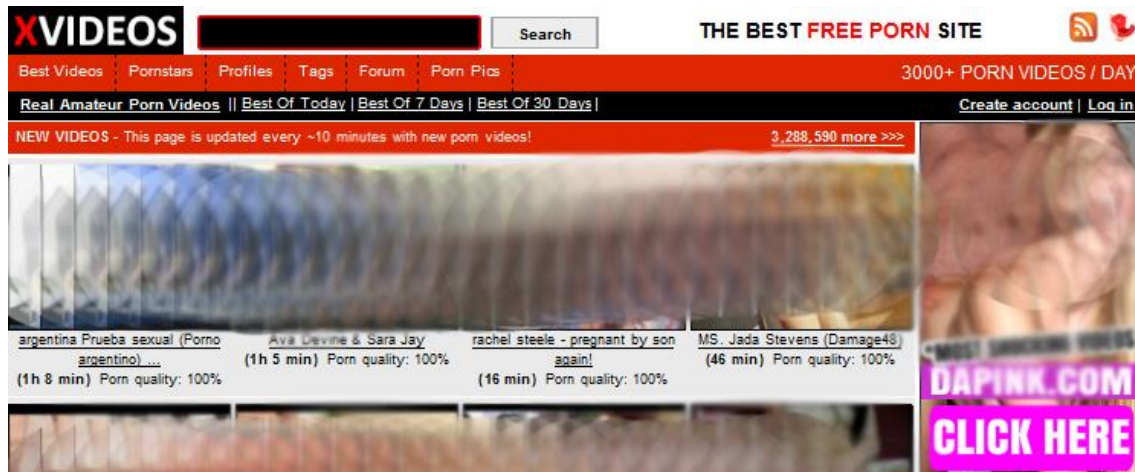
Figure 18: „xvideos" (http://www.xvideos.com/, accessed 4.5.2013.) a site with a lot of pornographic video clips

Analysing the examples given through the review of these few pornographic sites, which have video clips sorted through categories, and researching many others not cited in these illustrative examples, we can draw some common conclusions:

- Sites respect an unwritten standard of form - site map, or mode according to which everything is organized. There are mainly:sexual orientation filter, a list of categories, images with categories, images with video clips, related sites.

- There are often advertisements which, through registration and creation of a premium account, enable downloading videos that are longer and/or of a higher video quality. There are also advertisements which feature people who allegedly seek a sexual partner within automatically selected locations based on where the user is (ie. "Find sex in Belgrade"); advertisements for sites with some

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[82]Amateur, Anal, Asian Woman, Ass, Ass to Mouth, Big Ass, BBW, Big Cock, Big Tits, Black Woman, Blonde, Blowjob, Brunette, Cam Porn, Creampie, Cumshot, Gay, Hardcore, Huge Tits, Interracial, Latina Lesbian, Milf, Oiled, Redhead, Shemale, Solo, Stockings, Teen

aggressive videos; advertisements for: Viagra, penis enlargement and sexual toys.

- Unlike previous years, when the pornographic sites abounded with statements like: "You are the millionth person who accessed the site, click to pick up the prize"; viral scams that discouraged any remotely experienced users; there are less of such obvious frauds , and increasingly more of those in which you click for some instant solution like a search for sexual partners, or penis enlargement, and then in a few steps a registration and payment is required, which is much less discouraging to users who don't leave the site thinking it's virus-infected right away. Instead,this method gives the impression that the user is paying for special services on the site,leaving it as an option, which will not buy the "magic product", but may buy a premium account.

- The clips are mainly in the database of the site, thus it is possible to make an account on the site, after which the user can add to the database with clips from his or her own collection. In this case, it is possible to add a category to the clip, or tag it, giving it a new category name. If the clips aren't on the site itself, than the site only has a role in sorting out author site categories, and the clips are accessed from another site

- Sites are interconnected and often make a logical unit, whereby the user can not see a clear distinction when sent to another site, beside the logo of the other site.

- One clip contains several categories and tags that refer to it, a view counter, a rating, comments and a list of related videos, which are defined through an algorithm of the search related values that are classified by content of the descriptive parameters of the clips themselves. Information and cultural logic behind the automatic retrieval of related clips is beyond the scope of this study, but I think that filling parameters for comparison according to some of empirically concluded cognitive and cultural patterns could improve such an automatic selection, in terms of getting closer to the user's intent, which is, of course, a hypothesis which should be confirmed or disproved in another study.

- The availability of new technologies, such as the large Internet speeds and cheap web cameras, whose integration into laptops has become a standard is also being utilized in the reorganization of pornographic sites, so that in the last few years

picture galleries have been somewhat sidelined compared to video clips and webcams.

All this suggests that there is a connection between the authors of pornographic sites and the interest of users, whereby, in the form of the presentation code of every product, the website authors are trying to satisfy all the needs of users in terms of: categories, advertising, space for social interaction, profile creation, etc. . In the absence of certain options on their site, linking a site with a similar idea and content that better suits the users enables that all users needs are two mouse clicks away.

This endeavor by the site author sites does not deviate much from the intentions of any other general site with video clips or social network, which, again, at first glance, implies that the technical aspect of pornographic websites has no specificities of its own compared to sites with other themes.

That being said, even if this was the case with efforts to maintain the sites themselves, the list of categories, pictures and relevant websites, as well as the aforementioned options which are qualitatively in the service of the users (similarily to another site with a different theme or content), what is provided as a skeleton or site map as well as the user behaviour, still has its own peculiarities as a unique cultural model.

V ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

V 1. ETHNOTAXONOMIC ANALYSIS OF PORNOGRAPHIC CONTENT

The ability to choose certain elements instead of others in physical reality and their hierarchical grouping into conceptual categories is a natural and culturally conditioned trait, which enables humans to understand and anticipate phenomena around us. (Medin et al, 1999:104-105). In cognitively-anthropological sense, the way we categorize entities is determined by the culture we belong to and reflects what is "imprinted" on us - the values, knowledge and beliefs. Therefore, the way people categorize pornography represents a cultural manifestation and reveals the attitudes and beliefs of members of a community about human sexuality. Bearing all this in mind, the goal of this doctoral thesis is to discover the rules and logic of constructing knowledge, whose conceptualization is reflected in the models, which are the consequence of categorizing pornographic clips on the Internet, that is, a culturally conditioned or learned knowledge that was responsible for such a logic of creation. The significance of ethnotaxonomy as an analytical part of this research is in creating a clear picture of ethnographic data, obtained through direct research.

As noted in the section on taxonomies, there are biological and nonbiological taxonomies (this case), but both of them have similar structures (Brown et al, 1976). For certain categories that are brought into the same context, based on intuitive notion of "what is a type of what" in a certain culture, a hierarchy of these categories is formed. There are up to five levels of any such classification. At level zero is the so-called originator of the classification, from whom all other taxons are derived. First level corresponds to the so-called life forms which are separated into categories on the basis of the obvious differences that are easy to recognize. Taxons on this level are few in number. The second and most numerous level - the generic species or generic contains the largest number of mutually distinct categories and most generic species do not contain levels below them. The third level - specific species represents a specific designation of the types of generics, and the names in this category usually consists of the primary word that corresponds with the generics category and a secondary word which defines that specific category.The fourth and most detailed level are varieties and it refers to a rare and highly conditional, further separated specific categories.

An intermediate level is found between the levels of life forms and generics and indicates the grouping of generics according to a rule that does not have to be clear and explicit.

For a given a clip, there is a list stating which categories and tags it belongs to, therefore, in this case there are two parallel classifications. The first is the classification offered by the authors of porn sites and these are categories that are offered at most sites. Another classification relates to the user-made categories or "tags" that also exist on the sites, and in the appendix section of the thesis there is a list of about 5800 tags from the xvideos site with accompanying numbers next to each tag, which refer to the number of clips on the site refering to that tag.

The level of generic species will contain those author categories and tags that relate to describing a category, and not names of the actors etc. Intermediate level is there to represent the hidden relationships between certain categories, and should point to the actual classification principles. Concepts that would suit the intermediate level relate to the different manifestations of the user expectations, which cause the user to focus on certain categories of content which would, in their opinion, satisfy a given expectation. The specific level would fit subcategories, given by the website authors, or tags that indicate specific subcategories or subgenres.

After directly spotting the principle of individual taxonomies, as well as elements that do not fully correspond to such a hierarchy, in order to find the logic of such a categorization, we will establish a logic correction of the research by creating a scheme that would offer a model which more realistically shows the relation between the actual categories.

Now would be a good time to make a distinction between tags and categories. Namely, while a clip may contain several categories (about 5 plus or minus 2), it can have more than ten tags. Of these the most common one is the name of the clip. It will be shown that in some cases with site author categories it is precisely the different categorizing of the clip, unrelated to the clip name, and sometimes even different to the intentions of the site author, that is important. Unfortunately, it is because of this copying of the name in the tag that the information regarding the difference between the filmed and the categorized is lost.

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Tags are also often related to direct physical observations, ie. categorized as they are seen and use the terminology of the actual categories of pornography, or the logic of forming names[83], also taken from the categories themselves.

On the other hand, there are a large number of these tags per clip, so that a list of tags resembles a description of events in the clip, which means that, unlike with the site author categories, it can often not be determined what is the strongest "related" category (one that always appears with a given category) which can be considered a higher category or subcategory, but instead, there will be several of these categories. As a result, it is difficult constructing the observed taxonomy , as many categories are mixed. Another consequence is that if looking at a large number of clips, the categories of tags and site author categories are still statitistically similar, so that the aforementioned schemes, which will be formed in the last part of the chapter, are in fact based on the same skeleton structure for both categories, with the exception of some mixed categories that will be presented and noted in this section.

 Another difference lies in the fact that the scheme of "close tags" is much denser than the scheme of categories, so it does not illustrate well the difference between the important and the trivial.
 For these reasons, tags and author site categories will be analyzed at the same time, looking at individual differences, while also showing the categories of the site authors.

V 1.a. Analysis of the observed taxonomies

This section is dedicated to the taxonomies that are formed by direct study of ethnographic material or manner of presentation and organization on the sites. The first taxonomy to be considered is one based on what can be inferred from the list of categories that appears on the website, as well as the names of the clips themselves. Another taxonomy will be formed based on the collected categories from a multitude of sites, and hierarchical levels will be established according to the "closeness" between the categories, which will be discussed later.

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[83] This does not include grammatical errors or variatons in spelling (see the appendix)

V 1.a.1. Observed taxonomy based on the list of categories shown on the site

V 1.a.1.1. Rules of formation

Firstly I will present an example of observation exclusively of the hierarchy of the author site categories (as given on the category lists of the sites themselves) – eg. *tubestack*[84] or *pornmd*[85] (mentioned in the context of categories sorted by country), considering that this variant, too, exists as a given cognitive construct which is governed by several rules:

- The "life forms" are *gay, bisexual and shemale*, for which there are appropriate content filters,which exclude other clips from the search

- Generics are the most numerous

- Specific categories appear in generics that have the most video clips, and they are formed according to the principles which I will call the *"primary and secondary fetish"* (by analogy with primary and secondary lexeme that exist in the formation of names of specific species in ethnotaxonomies), where the primary, both by words in the title and content, corresponds to the generic under which it is located, and the category itself consists of joint, yet individually distinct categories, such as, for example, the categories *Russian Anal*[86]*, Russian Teen* etc. This shows that every numerous category which relates to: type, ethnicity, or sexual orientation of the actor, has its own set of subcategories that relate to: type of sex, body part, prominence of a particular bodily characteristic or age.

  o Priority in naming categories of these coined terms comes from sequence, which speaks about the importance of what the site authors consider to be the most striking aspect of various videos ie. what determines one, and certainly excludes the rest of the user population, and brings the search one step closer to its intended goal. Therefore, the priority of the writing of such names starts with concepts that define sexual orientation and which correspond to some of its users (the destination statement being "What is someone?"), then goes to the

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[84]http://www.tubestack.com/ (accessed 1.5.2013.)

[85] http://www.pornmd.com/most-popular (accessed 1.5.2013.)

[86]Relates to Russian actors having anal sex, not a separate category of anal sex.

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concepts appropriate to the age or sex affinity that suit all users (eg. "What someone loves"), and all that according to the following order:

- o Sexual orientation (with the exception of lesbians, as they appear later in the sentence, which points to the cultural norms and acceptance of lesbians)
- o Body part (with the exception of *black*, not *ebony*) which is cited first, and speaks about the restrictiveness regarding black males, or is only a question of word order in the English language
- o Ethnicity or race (with the exception of *interracial sex* which is cited as a type of sex).
- o Video clip type
- o Age
- o Type of sexual relation

V 1.a.1.2. A couple of examples found among the categories[87]

Key:

- • Life form
- o Generic
- ▪ Specific species/type

- • straight

- ▪ *Amateur* is characterized by looking unproffesional and made at home.. According to the aforementioned definition it is a category that matches the type of video clip, which means that within the specific categories of "secondary fetish" it is among the terms that belong to what is on the ladder after the *type* of video clip, or may refer to the *age* and *type* of sexual intercourse.
- ▪ *Amateur Anal – anal* refers to the type of sexual intercourse

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[87]On the site http://www.tubestack.com/

- ▪ *Amateur in Gangbang – gangbang* refers to the type of sexual intercourse.

- ▪ *Amateur Interracial Sex – interracial* represents the aforementioned exception.

- ▪ *Amateur Lesbian –lesbians* represent a sexual orientation, but also the previously mentioned case of something that is lower on the ladder of restrictive priorities.

- ▪ *Amateur MILF – MILF* relates to the age.

- ▪ *Amateur Teen (18/19)*

- ▪ *Amateur Threesome – threesome* refers to the type of sexual intercourse

- ▪ *Amateur Wife –* can relate to age or type of sexual intercourse (such as *marriage sex*, or, the so called *couples*).

- o *Asian* is an ethnic or racial affiliation, which means that the "secondary fetishes" of specific categories are related to the type of video clip, age and sexual intercourse.
  - ▪ *Asian Amateur*
  - ▪ *Asian Anal*
  - ▪ *Asian Interracial Sex*
  - ▪ *Asian Lesbian*
  - ▪ *Asian Massage*

- o *Busty –* category that matches a body part
  - ▪ Busty Amateur – type of clip
  - ▪ Busty Asian – ethnic or racial affiliation
  - ▪ Busty MILF – age
  - ▪ Busty Teen 18/19 - age

- o *Black –* it denotes an ethnic or racial affiliation, but an example of the exception of black is given, which is also written before a body part.
  - ▪ *Black & Asian –* ethnic or racial affiliation
  - ▪ *Black Butt –* body part
  - ▪ *Black Cock –* body part
  - ▪ *Black Girl –* undefined, although the adjective *Black* is more often used for males and *Ebony* for females

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- *Black Teen 18/19* – age

o Ebony (the other term for black)

- o *Ebony Amateur* – type of recording
- o *Ebony BBW* – appearance, body type
- o *Ebony Lesbian* – lesbians, special case
- o *Ebony MILF* – age
- o ***Ebony Shemale* – the only deviation!**
- o Ebony Teen 18/19

o *Anal* – everything corresponds to the type of sexual intercourse or sexual tool/toy

- *Anal Beads* – beads placed in the anus, usually connected to each other with a rope, or a rubber stick with beads.
- *Anal Casting*
- *Anal Creampie – creampie,* known also as an internal ejaculation which describes the act of ejaculating into the vagina or anus.
- *Anal Dilation* – stretching the anal cavity to reveal its interior, which is usually pulled up to the surface
- *Anal Dildo)*
- *Anal Double Penetration – simultaneous penetration of the vagina and anus by two penises or other tool*
- *Anal Fisting – anal pleasuring with a fist*
- *Anal Fuck*
- Anal Gape – expanding/widening of the anal cavity
- Anal Orgasm
- Anal Pain
- Anal Toying – putting objects into the anal cavity

- *Shemale*
  - o *Shemale Fucks Girl*
  - o *Shemale Fucks Guy*
  - o *Shemale Fucks Shemale*

- *Gay*

  o *Gay & Straight* – sexual intercourse with a heterosexual

  o *Gay Black Male* - sexual intercourse with a black male

  o *Gay Teen 18/19* – sexual intercourse with 18 and 19 year old teenagers

Listed gay and shemale categories are categories that specialize in the gay and shemale life form and relate mainly to whom a member of that sexual orientation has sexual intercourse with, so it's gay or shemale depending on the one who "penetrates" or one that has a dominant role . All other categories on the lists, except for the specialized ones (of course those that anatomically 'fit'), apply to gay and shemale life form as well.

Formation of a classification by the site authors, and therefore specific subcategories, is in conjunction with the number of the offered clips, as well as content, and the clips themselves are named according to the same principle as categories, due to both the necessity for spell-checking, and the aforementioned priorities in citing affinity (eg. the name of the clip "Busty Asian MILF Banged In The Ass"[88]). Through the displayed classification we can get an insight into the priorities in citing terms when naming categories.

The problem is, with this type of classification, the connection between the categories of generics and specific subcategories is mostly linguistic rather than substantive in nature, because they are selected mainly on the basis of the popularity of the "primary and secondary fetish", ie, there is no information about the core connection between categories and therefore we cannot determine the logic of the classification (except perhaps in the listed special cases and exceptions).

V 1.a.2. Observed taxonomy based on "similar" categories

V 1.a.2.1. Method of determining the hierarchy

A preliminary taxonomy, based on a formed collection of gathered data from a large number of Internet portals is given and will be examined below. As noted, the categories of site authors mostly represent the level of the generic species. They are the most numerous, but are not hierarchically organized on the sites, just listed, so this taxonomy should be formed from "closely related" categories, where under the criterion of "closeness" we consider a case where clips relating to the observed category in most cases have a certain category appearing as an associated category, so that after a sufficient number of examined clips in a particular category, the frequency of repetition

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[88] http://yourlust.com/videos/busty-asian-milf-banged-in-the-ass.html?promoid=awn (accessed 3.5.2013.)

of associated categories can lead to the conclusion which categories are "closely related"

To determine the sublevels (specific and varieties) of the mentioned categories two methods were used . First is only corrective in nature, and serves to confirm the results obtained and consists of directly interviewing several respondents (response to the question: "What category is a type of what?"). The second, more important method for this research consists of reviewing which categories of site authors and "tags" are associated with a certain video clip[89], so that a supercategory of a certain category is defined as one that most often appears as "related" to the category observed, as well as some other category that contextually and logically fits within the "genre". Consequently, there are clear examples such as the establishment of relations between the categories of binding and binding with chains, but there are also relations that might not be so obvious, such, for example, binding and kidnapping.

This suggests that linking supercategories in relation to both categories is a taxonomic process, but for the second case, reaching such a conclusion required directly verifying the closely related categories.

During this direct check we should not join categories that are often grouped together, but are not taxonomically related, instead being associated because of technical, biological, practical, or local culture-related reasons (for example, gay and anal).

V 1.a.2.2. Levels and classes of the observed taxonomy

While collecting and processing data, a certain, not explicitly stated, grouping of the categories themselves, occurring around a couple of common traits, was noticed. The grouping was done according to these traits/characteristics:

1. Race, skin color and nation („what kind of/where from")
2. Theme, plot and concept ("about what")
3. The number of participants ("how many")
4. Place of action and environment ("where")
5. Type of recording ("what do I see")
6. Sexual props and costumes ("what with")
7. Type of sexual intercourse ("how")

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[89]An explanation of the joint categories and tags given with the appendix is given in the chapter "Ethnography in the virtual world". Closely related categories and tags should be differentiated from similar clips which appear as suggested links next to the currently watched clip.

8. Body part ("what")

9. The main actor ("who")

10. Bodily secretions ("out of what / with what")

11. Sexual orientation ("with whom")

These classes fit into the logic of categorizing video clips, which usually corresponds to the adverbial conditions (time, place, manner, quantity, rate, etc.) and will represent the life forms of the observed taxonomy. As generics, I will be analyze those categories of site authors that are articulated (one category corresponds to one motif) and mutually distinct (it will be shown that the distinction that applies in the case of ethnobiology does not always apply in the case of pornography). Specific sub-categories and varieties are determined according to the aforementioned system of grouping, so that the supercategory of a certain category is defined as one that is in most cases occurs as a closely related category to the observed category and a second category, which contextually and logically fits in the same "genre".

Key:

- Generic
- Specific species
- Variety

V 1.a. 2. 2.1. Race, skin color and nation („what kind of/where from") (life form)

This category includes pornographic clips which are listed by the criteria of the country of production, with assumption of the ethnicity of participants and the color of their skin. There are categories that have specific subcategories, but, additionally, several generics can be joined into addition "loosely" associated groups, which will be mutually separated in the text by the adopted names of these "groups". The above groupings are not explicitly stated, but excerpts from these groups sometimes belong to the mentioned "mixed" cases, referring to the closely related categories, or clips from the same group. Also, at the ends of these "groups of generics" are bordering generics (as an example Spaniards are classified both as Caucasian and Euro and as Latino), so

the aforementioned groups are not mutually exclusive, or completely distinct, but "mixed forms" occur on their borders.

„Various"

- *American*

„Hispanic"

- *Latino/Latina*
- *Dominican*
- *Brazilian*
- *Mexican*

„White"

- *Spanish*
- *Euro*
- *Caucasian*
- *Italian*
- *Greek*
- *German*
- *Russian*
- *British*
- *Czech*
- *Dutch*
- *Hungarian*
- *French*

„Arabic"

- *Arab*
- *Egyptian*

„Oriental"

- *Asian*
  - *Chinese*
  - *Japanese*
  - *Thai*
  - *Korean*

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- *Oriental*
- *Indian*
- *Pakistani*

„Black"

- *Ebony*
  - *Interracial*

„Exotic"

- *Exotic*
- *Hawaiian*
- *Pale*
- *Albino*

Shown here is a very rough categorization, by exoticness and skin color or continent. Exotic just means something rare that does not fit into other categories. It is most often associated with a certain environment in which the user is "domesticated" such as a girl in a jungle, indian massage etc. The categories shown above are ones that are certainly joined as category/subcategory, and other "closely related" categories are not always present to be categorized as subcategories.

The actual category that applies to a particular nation may represent the place of production, nationality of the participants, or even the stereotypical notion of the sexuality of a certain ethnic group. Subcategories of the latter cannot be adopted in this direct taxonomy because of the previous two cases, which are frequent. It is defined differently especially in the case of European categories (Russian videos in most cases correspond to amateur videos, but not always, kissing to French, big breasts to German, latina to Spanish, blonde hair to Swedish). This method of formation will be discussed more in the section about schematization.

But what -is- certain is the ethnic classification of finding what is "not white" and additional categorization of it. Ie the Caucasian category may, and may not be affiliated and cited, while other categories (Asian, Ebony etc.) are always cited. Interracial is a specific category of "blacks" instead of any other interracial sex (there are exceptions, but they are very rare). Categories relating to the *Chinese* and *Japanese* are *specific* categories of *Asians.* Thai are also a specific category of Asians and are linked with a stereotype of youthful androgenous Asians, with frequent references to

dubiously legal teenagers or transsexuals (the standard *tranny – Shemale* category with a specific designation for a girly young man - *Ladyboy*[90]).

Oriental is similar to *exotic*, one of the most general categories which can serve to note the methods of classification of "what is left" that is considered "exotic", or in other words, a category (or tag) that is completely open for containing whatever is current, without the barrier of belonging to a certain nation. In this way *oriental* is connected to the "exotic of the east" but almost all of the categories of the *oriental* are de facto *Asians* (Chinese, Japanese etc), and in a few very rare cases *Indian,* while there are no categories at all that would fit the designation *Arab* or anyone from the middle east.[91] Is this a fantasy about the "Arabian Nights", harem and "A Thousand and One Nights"? Even the searches for harem only inherit the clinkety garb on white girls, a harem of *Arabic women* is "replaced" by a harem of *Japanese women.*[92]

Nowadays, this motiv is used in the production of books and tv shows, and in the case of pornography it appears as a relic of another time[93], certainly not this one, in which we can feel the influence of everyday politics and "fight against terrorism" in relation to the Middle East, as well as the impact of the economic crisis on one side and the spread of Islam on the other. Still, *oriental* will not be included as a specific category of the generic species *Asian,* considering that *Oriental* does not bring any innovation and it should stay as a "free and open category", even if only in the formal sense.

In addition to ethnic classification, we can also note a more complex categorization in the case of female than male actors. Specifically,while the inhabitants of East Asian countries are by always listed as Asian, Dominican and Brazilian, male actors who physically correspond to the Latin American stereotypical appearance are always put in the Latino category.

It is impossible to ignore the impact of stereotypes in pornographic clips on the perpetuation of racial and ethnic prejudices. When we look at the stereotypical images of hypersexualized "blacks" or Asians with an impaired sexuality, it is clear that these images are used for pure fetishization. On the other hand, all this could be viewed as exoticisization.

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[90]://mycrazyvids.com/mov/search/thai-1.html (accessed 6.5.2013)
[91]http://www.tubestack.com/search/?q=oriental&submit=Search; http://www.xvideos.com/tags/oriental/0 (accessed 6.5.2013.)
[92]http://www.tubestack.com/search/?q=harem&submit=Search (accessed 6.5.2013.)
[93]http://www.xhamster.com/movies/1869612/cc_harem_service.html (accessed 6.5.2013.)

Identification with the "exotic" group actually only increases the gap, as the paradigm of "exotic" places the experience on the "other side", in parentheses, giving it a special function. In the words of Luis Gordon, entering into the exotic paradigm liberates us from the judgement of those similar to us, "human beings in a universal sense." The one who does so does not want to be judged by the criteria of the dominant group, "wants to stand in front of innocent eyes, eyes that are not capable of seeing what is in front of them, eyes that can watch, but cannot see." Meanwhile all "serious", "articulate", "civilized" and "rational" communication will happen outside the exotic perspective and without its participation. (Micunovic, 1999: 85)

V 1. a.2.2. 2. 1. Theme, plot and concept ("about what" – life form)

This group of clips is characterized by the difference reflected in the fact that clips from other life forms do not feature the theme and plot as a characteristic of the category (type of sexual intercourse will not be considered as a theme), but are instead characterized by visual elements, such as body part or type of sexual intercourse, the visual characteristics of the main participants, the objects used etc. (such as compilations that once appeared on the market in which the sexual act started immediately without going through any sort of plot beforehand). Categories of previous life forms (nation) can thereby be seen as concepts, but they are specific and numerous enough to be life forms themselves, and not part of this group. However, other groups also have some categories that have multiple traits, some of which can be classified according to the criteria of this group. What is characteristic of this group is the emphasis on the concept or plot of the clip, and not directly on what is visible. As with the previous group, there are the categories that have specific sub-categories, but also several generics, as well as the ability of joining more "loosely" associated groups, which will in the text be mutually separated by their names.

Re-mentioned groupings are not explicitly mentioned, but clips from these groups sometimes belong to the mentioned "mixed" cases, referring to "closely related" categories or clips from the same group, although this doesn't always happen, so they cannot be classified into a relation of subcategories and supercategories, but there is a "loose", or existing relation. If there is no referring within the list of "closely related" clips or categories, then there certainly is in a conceptual sense and so I will join them thusly.

"User Gender Related"

- *Sensual* – not softcore, but sexual intercourse, often going at a slower pace, where the enjoyment of the participants is emphasized

- *Emo* – a sensitive male or female with a characteristic appearance of the "emo" subculture. In the tagging itself "emo" is not associated with sensual, though visually and in everyday language and jargon it is connotatively linked to sensuality. In pornographic classification , emo is linked to the physical appearance of actors and sensual is related to the concept of gentle sex.

- *Funny* – funny, sometimes bizzare clips.[94]

  o *accident* – sometimes also known under the "oops" tag – funny accidents during filming, eg. sex toys falling out, premature ejaculations, accidental ejaculation into the eye, hair, uncontrolled laughter etc.

- *Female-friendly* – a selection of video clips or jump to a site which is suited to female users. The category f*emale-friendly* is mostly made up of sensual and homosexual scenes and is more like romantic sex or erotica than porn.

- Yaoi – „boy love", popular Japanese term for fiction oriented towards women, about male homoerotic or homoromantic androphilic sexual relationships, which is usually created by female authors.

- *Bara* – „male love", Japanese jargon for a genre of art that focuses on male homosexual love and desire, usually created by gay men for a gay male audience.

„Actor's gender and quantity related"

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[94]Under funny,or amusing categories, we don't always find clips like (http://www.pornorc.com/index.php?q=funny, accessed 10.5.2013.). Maybe the best word to describe it would be "hilarious", it does not have to include sexual relations, it often contains various other categories, such as a porn star smearing make-up and their own saliva. (http://xbabe.com/videos/spit-play-with-hot-babe/?promoid=tubecj), cartoons with Disney characters where, for example, Sebastian the crab has sexual intercourse with the mermaid Ariel (http://h2porn.com/videos/funny-disney-toons/?utm_source=tubecj&utm_medium=thumb&utm_campaign=Videos), or clips that are bordering on a parody of the *bizzare* (http://www.yobt.tv/content/133475/hot-allie-haze-slamming-her-outstanding-twat-on-a-pulsating-cock-til-she-cums.html?wmid=68, accessed 10.5.2013.). Funny material and accidents have a certain measure of public acceptance – an individual can show in public such clips, to entertain and make people laugh, which is proven on the Internet elsewhere too (various links with these kinds of content on non-pornographic sites with video clips, obviously, with some censorship filters). Regarding clips preferred by users of both genders, men tend to prefer gags which involve accidental ejaculation into someone's eye or anal plugs falling out, while female respondents prefer accidents that are painful for male genitalia.

- *Gangbang* – a situation in which one person agrees to sex with multiple partners. Generally it is a single person, who is the central focus of sexual activity, like a woman surrounded by a large number of men.
    - *Reversegangbang* – one man surrounded by a large number of women

„Pleasantly-teasing/provoking"

- *Troilism* – enjoyment in watching the sex of a partner with another person.
- *Dancing*
    - *Striptease* – a dance during which the actor takes their clothes off
- *Catfighting (female wrestling)* – a fight between women, that includes scratching, pulling hair, slapping and tearing shirts off
- *Party* – a party which has a certain sexual act being performed (orgies, striptease etc.)
- *Wild and crazy* – uninhibited, unruly behaviour
- *Free viewing angle*

„Fetish"

- *Fetish* – as a category it often appears with uniforms, not just objects such as sex toys
    - *Military*
    - *Cops*
    - *Speculum* – medical equipment for the inspection of bodily cavities
- *Machine fucking* – a machine that mechanically moves a phallic object back and forward, used for masturbation. Alternative use of this category is for sexual intercourse with robots (such as a cartoon).
- *Bizarre*

„Fantasy"

- *Fantasy* – the group, as its name implies, includes the level of *generic fantasy* as well as all of its *specific* subcategories. This is most commonly explained as fulfilling a fantasy (ie. *Idyllic sex in the forest between "European" lesbians* or

sex with *fantasy* motifs), or plot or action that permanently brings a change of place or person, such as acts of *deflowering, adultery* etc.

- o *Clothed female / naked male* (*CFNM*) – a genre of erotica that contains one or more naked men and one or more clothed women; it describes exhibitionism or body worship and is categorized as a sexual fantasy

- o *Adventure* – often refers to a type of romance, or location that the action takes place in (ie. lesbians in the forest)

- o *Adultery*

- o *First-time virgin (deflowering)*

- o *(High) Fantasy* – if there is a fantasy category, it is too broad, and in this context it refers to pornographic clips that contain motifs from high fantasy (elves, knights etc.).

- o *Vampirism* – the vampire is presented as a "romantic immortal" or a "horny vampiress" (symbolic linking with the "femme fatale"). This category also includes the fetish of drinking the partner's blood.[95] It should be noted that the word "fantasy" does not appear as a word in the category vampirism, but the actual theme of the clips, fits the sexual fantasy, according to the principles that characterize clips which normally do feature it.

- *Coed* - persons of both sexes that attend the same educational institution
- *Teens*
- *Instructional*

„Role"

- *Alternative* – most often includes tattooed people, or urban individuals with an "alternative styling", members of an alternative subculture. This category includes tattoos, piercings and latex.

- *Roleplaying*
  - o *Storyline* – porn clips with a plot
  - o *Wedding*
  - o *Beingbaby*
  - o *Babysitting*

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[95]http://www.redtube.com/?search=vampirism и http://www.xvideos.com/?k=vampire (accessed 11.5.2013.)

- o *Car accident*
- *Casting* – also found under the headings interview or audition

„Violent"

- *BDSM* – bondage, domination/discipline, sadism, masochism
  - o *Bondage*
    - ▪ *Chained*
    - ▪ *Abduction*
    - ▪ *Electrified* – bondage or low intensity electrical stimuli
  - o *Domination*
  - o *Abuse*
- *Torture*
  - o *Humiliation/Degrading*

- *Vore* − vorephilia − paraphilia in which there is excitement over the idea that someone or something is eating or getting eaten by someone or something.

„Hygiene"

- *Shaving*
- *Bathing*

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.1. "User Gender Related group"

This group is characterized by the different content of the clips, depending on the target group. On the one hand, such a statement may apply to any group, but on the other, the female-friendly and sensual and jaoi, supposedly fit "female" categories, and "Bara" fits the homosexual, but they regardless have their conceptual genre. Similarly, the next group corresponds to different content depending on the gender of the participants, not users.

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.2. „Actor's gender and quantity related group"

Reverse gangbang − a man surrounded with a large number of women. A specific level of gangbang reflects a privileged, or more often assumed case where

gangbang implies an intercourse of one woman versus several men. In this case there is a marked difference in the way the scene is presented, in comparison with the classic gangbang.

In gangbang in which a woman is the central protagonist, the only kind of interaction with her is embodied in a situation where she is "surrounded" by multiple simultaneous penetrations or ejaculations, whereby there isn't even any contact, nor interaction between male actors. Titles are often like "slut being penetrated in all holes"[96], and in case of the *reverse gangbang* it is more like "Lucky guy fucked at a reverse gangbang"[97], whereby there is a sexual foreplay between the female actors themselves, and if **CFNM** or **femdom** are closely-related categories, the man experiences nothing that he should not "enjoy".

In addition, the name of this category that belongs to a specific level is made up of the primary word *gangbang* which is linked to the secondary word *reverse,* which corresponds to the pattern of forming names of a specific level in ethnotaxonomies.

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.3. „Pleasantly-provoking" group

The next, conceptually similar group, refers to behaviour, in the form of different dances, fights, parties, or unruly behaviour, with the idea of "pleasant provoking" or entertaining the viewer of the performance.
 Striptease can also be called striptease dance, which also corresponds to a common way of forming names of specific evels in ethnotaxonomies, and the very etymology of the name ("teasing by undressing") classifies it in the "loose" group that already it already belongs to.

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.4. „Fetish" group

This group includes fascination with certain objects or shapes. The military and police only partially fall into the role playing, because in this case it's more focused on the visual - objects, uniform, fetish, symbol, stereotype, power; than on the action that has a

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[96]http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=72194266http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=799955309 (accessed 15.5.2013.)

[97]http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=1743876868 (accessed 15.5.2013.)
http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=1564589713 (accessed 15.5.2013.)
http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=1681552476 (accessed 15.5.2013.)

story, role or plot, but the "fetish" group is certainly borrowed and represented on this intermediate level, because there is some role playing!

While the speculum is a fetish, it is the fascination with the object and its functionality of expanding cavities is only partial, but there are also elements of the game roles of doctor and patient.

Sex with a machine and bizarre are bordering on the next group - fantasy, but because of using objects in the case of the machine and concepts in the case of the bizzare, they are closer to a type of fetish.

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.5. „Fantasy" group

This group has already been talking about in the actual categories of the given taxon, but what we need to emphasize is that these sub-categories are classified by the method of "close categories", but were formed because the events happening in them belong to a form of fantasy. The formation of specific level names also generally corresponds to the already noted pattern , but not always. However, if we added "fantasy" to another category name (eg. a fantasy vampire) the meaning of the terms would not be lost, so we can consider the aforementioned category names are essentially shortened full names of the categories.

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.6. „Roleplaying" group

This group includes playing a role or enacting a particular plot. Not all categories are classified under the generic type of role play. Casting borders on the power play and therefore with the next group ("violent group"). As noted earlier, fiction is not role playing, although it can be seen in this context, given that in that case the emphasis is on the concept of the existence of fantasy elements, not impersonating them.

V 1.a. 2.2. 2.7. „Violent" group

BDSM (bondage & discipline - B&D, B/D), dominance & submission (D&S, D/s), sadism & masochism (S&M, S/M)[98]

The first type of dominant characteristics: power, humiliation, enjoyment.

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[98]BDSM – domination and bondage; sadism and masochism

• Type of roleplaying that takes place between two or more persons.

• An acronym denoting bondage, discipline, sadism and masochism.

• Specific for the inequality which is reflected in the activities and relationships of the participants. Commonly called the "master-slave relationship"

It consists of sessions or scenes whose pace and duration are dictated by the master, which can interrupted by the slave by using the safeword.

Another type of dominant characteristics: safe, common sense, with consent

• The active participant is the one performing the action, they are the one ones in control. They are called the master or dominator.

• The passive participant is the recipient of the action, the one who is controlled. They are called a slave or subordinate.

• People who take up the role of both master and slave during one session called switches.

Most common misconception:

• The actual act of penetrating is **not** mandatory, although it is often practiced.

Summing up the contents related to the topic, plot and concept highlights several common motifs, and when one of them prevails, we get categories of the aforementioned "loose" groups. These are the following motifs:

• gender expressed discourse

• provoking/teasing

• spicy elements ("fetish" group)

• fantasy

• the role and plot

• power and violence. [99],

Generics in the aforementioned "loose" groups are presented in the ethnotaxonomic list at the beginning of this part of the chapter according to the way they were thematically and conceptually interconnected and merged into one another, so they are not distinct categories, but categories that are made up of said components, parameters or "motifs".

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[99]The male world is a construct, as much for men as it is for women, and masculinity is an ideology which is available and alluring to members of both sexes/genders. Through this ideology it is possible to fight for goals that are in opposition to the ideology itself. (Nedeljkovic, 2011: 125)

In addition, it is precisely in those categories that have some explicitly expressed motif that there is a motif from opposite end of the spectrum present, but in an abstract sense. Thus, in gender-expressed content, such as for example. gangbang, the part which relates to power and violence is expressed as psychological violence, or the yaoi homosexual couple has a gentler and a more powerful figure, and in the CFNM category female domination is often present. While in the case of categories with an explicitly expressed motif from the opposite end of the shown motifs, for example in BDSM physical violence, the focus is on gender/sexuality, and, in the background, but very pronounced still is "masculinity" as an abstract gender term that refers to the holder of power, whether it is a male dominator or female dominatrix. The abstract motif, although hidden, certainly, in effect, takes sway in relation to the visible and explicit motif of the clip. In the middle of the presented motifs are fantasy and spicy elements, containing equally moderate or explicit and abstract motifs of lower intensity, as much of gender/sexuality, as of power and violence - which can be concluded even if going from the other, non-graphical side, from which the overall taxon of this life form can colloquially be called "fantasizing" or "fantasy" and fantasy has a little bit of everything mentioned, which gives an equal overall result.

V 1.a. 2.2. 3. The number of participants - „how many" (life form)

This *life form* contains the following:
- *Group*
    - *Orgy*
    - *4some* – sexual act involving four persons
- *Gangbang*
    - *Reverse gangbang*
- *Threesome* – sexual act involving three persons, usually two of the same gender and one of the opposite.
- *Couples*

The gangbang category is a split category in case of taxons - the number of participants and the examined taxon related to the theme, plot and concept, but it's here only in the sense of the number of participants and the relation many to one. Orgy indicates a lewd version of group sex and such a classification is more pronounced in cases where the theme of the video clip is having fun.

Foursome is also considered a specific category of group sex, but falls more into group sex, especially if it has two male and two female participants (which is the most common case with foursomes)[100]. It is possible that the participants are of the same sex. In the case of three to one, clips begin to border on gangbang and orgies[101], while in the case of three men and one woman[102] they border either with *reverse gangbang*[103], or *group sex*[104]*, or *MFFF*[105] or, also *orgies.*

What type of categorization will outweigh the others in the case of " a multitude of participants" depends on the engagement of participants and their power to influence the "flow of the action". Balance regarding the number of participants by gender, or sexual relations, goes in favor of group sex, while high activity with the use of the entier bodies of all the actors (or showing certain taboos, for example clips on the topic of sex between the members of the whole family), goes in favor of orgies and a large asymmetry and use (as well as the focus of the camera shots and close ups) of only the male penis versus lessened power, activity and bodily movement of the surrounded woman implies gangbang (or in case of multiple women making use of only the male penis - reverse gangbang).

Threesome is commented, in the case of one man and two women as "lucky guy" (similar to *reverse gangbang*), but is separated from the concept of many to the concept of the individual, except in cases of deliberate asymmetry (ie. a balanced or unassuming couple and a prostitute, porn and sex teacher, but in either case the "fetish carrier[106]).

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[100]http://hellporno.com/videos/horny-foursome-in-the-club-with-bailey-and-olga/ (accessed20.5.2013.)

[101]http://www.jizzbell.com/videos/foursome-fuck-with-skinny-blonde-in-nature-17184.html (accessed 20.5.2013.)

[102]http://www.xvideos.com/video2340162/swinger_takes_on_3_ebony_guys/ (accessed 21.5.2013.)
http://www.xvideos.com/video2247348/amateur_fresh_group_party_home_made_gang_bang / (accessed 20.5.2013.)
http://hellporno.com/videos/hot-hardcore-pee-loving-foursome/ (accessed 20.5.2013.)

[103]

http://www.spankwire.com/3-for-
1/video625066/?utm_source=PBWebMedia&utm_medium=PT&utm_campaign=PBWebMedia (a
20.5.2013.)
[104]http://www.jizzbell.com/videos/nothing-better-than-a-birthday-orgy-11876.html (accessed 20.5.2013.)
[105]http://www.xvideos.com/video881010/lucky_guy_have_his_regular_after_work_threat (accessed 20.5.2013.)
[106]http://www.redtube.com/32465 (accessed 20.5.2013.)

The most common case relates to women who fit into a similar social group or a similar associative row of fetishes (*mature, twins, hot babes, busty, ebony, teen, pornstar,* name and surname, mother and daughter, mother/mother in law and daughter in law) which excludes multitude, but retains the doubly emphasized fetish.

In a threesome with one woman and two men involved, the audience often considers the woman the primary actor[107] with titles that emphasize a double simultaneous sexual act[108]. The woman is definitely the central actor, and this type of sexual act serves to emphasize the wealth of her sexuality. *Gangbang* exist only in special cases and only as a tag, ie. in cases of rough sex with black men (stereotyped animality and penis size[109]), or for example there are variations between male actors, such as a black and a white man, a couple that brings in another guy, blue-collar workers etc. which is also a rare case and appears as an extra "spice" while the accent remains on the simultaneousness of the sexual act.

The context of a threesome is reflected in emphasis, or in emphasizing certain characteristics of the female participants in the case of two actresses, or participant in the event of one actress, but a threesome is certainly an emphasis and amplification of ideas. The exception in the case of threesomes are homosexual clips which, like the base foursomes, are reflected in the pure multitude of participants, with individual clips which feature a pronounced "fetish carrier" Bisexual threesome, called the Bi-MMF[110], represents two male and one female participant, whereby the female isn't the "central actor" but is used to contribute to the message of "extreme hedonism"[111], or "gets in the way of male love", and primarily presents the smallest common denominator needed to express, or emphasize the bisexuality of the men (mutual exchange of "female affections" is pretty much a social norm). These cases also represent threesomes being used to convey a message of "sexual wealth" and for emphasis.

Finally, there are *couples,* whose main characteristic is harmony. It features "similar actors" more often than "contrasting" ones.[112].

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[107]http://www.xvideos.com/video3400/lanny_barby_in_lick_it_up_at_third_movies#_tabComments (accessed 22.5.2013.)

[108]http://www.xvideos.com/video2082740/two_cocks_one_mouth#_tabComments (accessed 22.5.2013.)

[109]http://www.xvideos.com/video2004359/latina_gets_double_teamed_black_ebony_cumshots_ebony_swallow_interracial_african_ghetto_bbc (accessed 22.5.2013.)

[110]BisexualMaleFemaleFemale (Бисексуални мзшкарац, жена, жена)

[111]http://www.pornmd.com/gay/3some (accessed 22.5.2013.)

[112]http://www.pornmd.com/straight/couples?utm_source=pmdbar&utm_medium=pmdbar&utm_term=couples-s&utm_campaign=exxtra-search-ftv (accessed 22.5.2013.)

In the taxon that refers to the number of participants, the mentioned pornographic categories conceptually accurately indicate cases where the video clips are dominated by seemingly abstract motifs from "generally accepted" concepts regarding the number of participants or their engagement, ie when they are already present in large numbers. They are the following:

Multitude

- o Balance/lack of privacy (*group sex, foursome*) – „each with their own“;
- o Chaos/taboo (*orgies*) – „everyone with everyone“;
- o Disbalance of power/stiffness (*gangbangs*) – „everyone with one“.
- Increasing / emphasis / supplementing / overfilling (Threesome) - "one with both"
    - o Abundance of a feature, abundance of participants
    - Balance (couples) - "each with his/her own"

As noted, for a category to be considered under "multitude" and therefore to be categorized according to the above (eg, group sex, etc.), the participation of at least four (or three, if they are of the same sex).

The point regarding the number of participants is in the "limits of property." For the "multitude"characterization to exit, there needs to be at least four (or three, if all of the same sex) persons, given that a 'couple' is the "norm" and the threesome is skipped because it is not used to indicate the number of participants, but to emphasize the point of the concept. If four or more persons are involved, boundaries and norms come into play. Therefore, couples are presented in the form of a harmonious sexual relationship and shows the enjoyment of both parties, who are not intended to have an audience. Group sex couples are similar, divided into different couples who have sexual intercourse at the same location, so that only the external borders of the privacy of participants are removed. Orgies like "everyone with everyone" no longer have the concept of isolated pairs, while gangbang removes boundaries of personal privacy, ie. it borders with on overcrowding or abuse (not necessarily against the will of the central participant).

V 1.a.2.2. 4. 1.Place of action and environment ("where")

This life form is characterized by the following categories:

- Africa
- China
- India
- Outdoor – can also relate to sex in the nature
    - Garden
    - Beach
    - Nature
    - Forest
        - Jungle
- Public – public sex
- Airplane
- Workplace
    - Office
- College
    - Dorm – at college
- Classroom
- School
- Gym
- Lockerroom
- Sauna
- Solarium
- Military
- Prison
    - Jail
- Dungeon
- Cage
- Backstage – at a concert, in theatre
- Theatre
- Changing room
- Boat)

- Desk

- Elevator

- Halloween

- Hospital

- Ambulance

- Car

  o Limousine

- Restaurant

- Hotel

- Brothel

- Bedroom

- Bathroom

  o Jacuzzi

- Kitchen

- Pool

- Staircase

- Hood – neighbourhood

  o Ghetto

- Swing

Under the intermediate level place of action and environment, in addition to climate and space, there are also locations, or situations such as prisons, armies, hospitals, dormitories, etc., whereby, because of the specificity of these places, specific standards and rules apply. All such places require assuming new roles, but also accepting the specific role of the prisoner / patient / soldier, which, because of the specificity of the new situation lead to the acceptance of new forms of behaviour and to satisfy the basic needs. For example, in the case of military participants behave in accordance with group sex, rougher sex, even rape or gangbangom, and sometimes with the presence of gay and lesbian categories.

From this we can conclude that location also implies further behaviour according to the situation and space. Category ghetto will, for example, have more African Americans etc.

Based on this fact, the stereotypes about the rape of a civilian woman by soldiers or sexual act between comrades in arms, dampen the reactions and condemnation of the society. Sex in places such as theaters and cinemas, in a way only defies the dominant rules. The Outdoor subcategory contains a note of exhibitionism, which makes it close to the Public category. The subcategories of office, kitchen, desk could be linked to the stereotypical image of women and the fantasy of every man. This is actually about power relations between a man and a woman.

We will often meet pornographic clips with a plot in which the boss makes the secretary have sex with him, or husband the husband does it to his wife, or a husband or neighbour find the woman in the kitchen where "the adventure starts".

In these categories there is a greater number of those that have specific subcategories, other than those relate to similar concepts such as college and dormitory; car and limousine; bath or jacuzzi; or; office and workplace; neighbourhood and ghetto. It is interesting that in everyday speech, there is a remark or a fantasy related to each of these places, which includes highly stereotyped concepts with added social roles of the "standard population of the mentioned locations" (eg, a pilot and a flight attendant, manager and secretary etc.) with the few categories which have specific subcategories, such as car, workplace, college, bathroom etc. having a greater frequency of such stories, or having them more deeply ingrained, with emphasis on a more caricature-conditioned, specific subcategory of generics. For example, the concept of sex in the car ("in the back seat") or bathtub ("in the shower") is often cited, but a more vivid and caricature-like spectacle is linked to the limo, jacuzzi, ghetto, detention, college dorm.

The *Outdoor* category is an exception within this category group (*life forms*) and it also has the largest number of *specific* subcategories (much like with *nation* and *skin color* what relates to the race has sublevels), which implies not only to different implementations of the terrain for the same concept of the exhibitionism (or freedom from barriers) but also the existence of the *container scheme*.[113] In the area of the cultural model that relates to the determination of places where it is "normal" to have sexual intercourse, the term "inside" a closed area (indoor) is considered the default location for the intercourse. As mentioned, public sex is very closely related to the outdoor category, but not part of it, because it does not imply the concept of being outside an enclosed space, but of a place where there are more people, so that under this

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[113] Mentioned in the chapter on cognitive anthropology, it consists of the division on: what is inside, what is outside and the border itself, eg. liquid and glass (container scheme).

concept we can often find other categories such as airplane, restaurant, theater, etc, and these categories are again not found as a specific type of public sex, because they point to the roles and behaviours at that place, and not to the existence of people nearby.

So, from the point of view of an ethnotaxonomic analysis of categories related to the place of action and environment, of interest are:

• The default constructs related to the norms of behaviour in specific places, also including the stereotyping of certain social roles in pornographic clips.

• The aforementioned stereotypes are stronger and more vivid in specific types of the above mentioned categories, ie, a specific category will be gravitated towards.if the goal is to cause a stronger impression of space.

• The position of men and women through roles in the different rooms of the house.

• The concept of "public".

• The understanding of the concept of being "outside an enclosed space"

V 1.a. 2.2. 5. Type of recording ("how do I see")

„Amateur filming"

- *Amateur*
    - *Webcam*;
    - *Hidden videos*;
    - *Homemade* – from the personal collection of the actors

„Close up"

- *POV (point of view)* – implies a short film scene which shows what the movie character is seeing; shown from the angle of the camera (subjective shot)
- *Reality* – realistic;
- *Gonzo* – gonzo pornography is a style of porn movies, that tries to 'plant' the viewer directly into the centar of the scene;
- *Close up;*
- *Deep*

„Instruction, repetition"

- *Compilation* – showing the same segment (for example ejaculation through oral sex) through multiple different clips;

- *Instructional*

„High Definition"

- *HD* – in high resolution

„Retro"

- *Retro*
  - *Vintage* – vintage, retro, old-fashioned;
  - *Antique* – antiquated, old, black and white, silent movie
- *Classic view*;
- *Classic porn*.

„Cartoon"

- *Animation*;
  - *3D – three dimensional*
- *Cartoon*
  - *Anime* – style of cartoon animation originating from Japan, with a characteristic stylization of the characters and background, which visually separates it from other forms of animation; elements of other genres are present: adventure, science fiction, children's stories, love stories, medieval fantasy, erotica, horror, action and drama;
  - *Hentai* – a Japanese word, which in the west signifies sexually explicit or pornographic comics or animations, especially those originating from Japan;
  - *Comic*

If there are sublevels they are usually synonymous terms such as vintage, retro, even classical, and then POV gonzo etc. In addition, there is an associative grouping that is presented in the shown taxonomy with an added space, whereby there is a rough division of motives, which corresponds to different perceptual affinities:

• *amateur - something can be imagined happening in reality, close to the user;*

• *close up - "real sex";*

• *instructions, repetition - "reinforcing the knowledge";*

• *HD - "high" pornography;*

• *Retro - "classic sex";*

• *Cartoon - "sexual fantasies".*

The type of recording affects the atmosphere of the whole video clip. In addition, the type of clip and the methods of showing the camera angles follows with the correlated way of depicting content, thus regulating the physical and psychological distance in the user's interpretation.

V 1.a. 2.2. 6. Sexual props and costumes - „what with" (life form)

This group includes:

- Toys
- *Outfits*
- *Uniforms*
- *Costume*
- *Glasses*
- *Pigtail*
- *Ponytail*
- *Sybian* − masturbation device designed for women, a saddle equipped with an electric motor and a mechanism connected with a bar that raises at the center of the saddle
- *Filth*
- *Wax*
- *Fire*
- *Whip*
  - *Crop*
  - *Flogger whip*
- *Handcuffs*
- *Chains/ropes*
- mask
  - gasmask

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- *Lingerie*
  - *Stockings*
  - *Panties*
  - *Fishnets*
- *Pantyhose*
- *Beads*
- *Bottle*
- *Blindfold*
- *Boots*
- *Heels*
- *Drugs*
- *Alcohol*
- *Fruit*
- *Vegetables*
- *Doll*
- *Flashlight*
- *Food*
- *Football*
- *Basketball*
- *Baseball bat*
- *Gloryhole)* – a whole in the wall through which a woman can not see the man she is sexually interacting with, instead having access only to his penis.
- *Gloves*
- *Lace*
- *Leather*
- *Nylon*
- *Latex*
- *Lollipop*
- *Milk*
- *Money*
- *Satin*
- *Shower*

- *Strap-on*

A special form of fetishization of objects is in some way associated with particular sub-cultural groups, such as the punks, skaters, emo girls that often come with a distinctivive dress code, and overall lifestyle.

These elements: clothing, body piercings, tattoos, whips, as well as alcohol and narcotics belong to a unique category of porn clips from the Internet, which puts the focus on toys and costumes, regardless of the (sub) cultural group that the actors belong to. Thus, the participants of these clips do not have to really be members of a subcultural group, but can indulge in role play and to, for the purposes of sexual act, use costumes, and various kinds of sexual aids and toys, which are nowadays much more acceptable and accessible.

Certain objects are grouped by material and function (eg. different crops or sexy underwear or costumes of a subcultural group), and there are no deeper taxonomic levels, except for those related to the specific form of the same item. This partly resembles functional classifications which group objects by their utility, based on the relation "is used for" (Casson, 1999: 121), whereby the categories are also distinctive.

When using terminology characteristic to Internet pornography users,"fetish" ("toys") is certainly the central concept that binds to sex toys and costumes, so everything is clearly and explicitly stated, there is no symbolic and logical groupings of different categories (beside the standard sets for BDSM and other genres), and therefore no 'building block' motives that shape categories, and the objects themselves are used as:

- o pictorial manifestations of the roles (whips for the dominator; masks for depersonalization or removal of responsibility, different uniforms for different roles, etc.);
- o atmosphere enhancers;
- o participant body part enhancers

All this may fall under one motive: "flavor enhancer", which certainly means that the role of this taxon (class) as well as any "fetish" is actually of an auxiliary and "spice-adding" character.

What is specific to the interpretation of Internet pornography is the fact that "fetishized objects," , despite being of this nature (usually only one "flavour" at a time),

are enough, if they occur, to become the primary element in the clip, ie. to appear in the clip title, or as a category "fetish toys" etc.

The reason why sex toys are a primary element of the clip is complex and consists of several factors.

One of these factors is their presence and availability in the real world, which corresponds to the presence of a similar mechanism in very popular and widespread amateur footage that carries a message similar to that accompanying commercials for "girls from the neighborhood who want to hang out," [114] or, in other words, something which is percieved as close to the user and appears real and achievable. Another factor are the connotative meanings of sex toys dating from the period before the Internet, such as brothels, objects of locally-cultural significance and the pornographic film industry, that has formed a series of supraculturally familiar categories. These factors, in particular the availability of sex toys and costumes, create additional meaning in the clips in which they appear - clips serve as a reminder for the practical use of toys and costumes, and establish the relation between "tangible" objects from reality and virtual events in the clip.

V 1.a. 2.2. 7. Type of sexual intercourse - „how" (life form)

„Acts" – breaking the norm

- *Rape/forced*
- *Snuff* – a sexual act that ends with the murder of the sexual partner, which represents part of the domination of the other partner; this act is illegal everywhere in the world;
- *Hentai* – Japanese word, which in the West signifies sexually explicit or pornographic comics or animations, especially those coming from Japan;
- *Cumshot, Moneyshot* – known also as the moneyshot in the porn industry, as male actors are paid extra for ejaculation;
  - *Bukkake* – sexual act which involves multiple men ejaculating on a woman or another man;

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[114] Explained in the "Ethnography in the virtual world" chapter

- *Female ejaculation.*

„Foreplay or continued accompanying effects" – starting time and parallel activity

- *CBT – cock ball torture* – torturing of the male genitalia; can include painful activities, such as: wax play, hitting the genitalia, tightening, whipping, electroshocks or even kicking; the recipient of this torture achieves pleasure through a masochistic sensation of pain, or emotionally, through knowing that in doing so he brings enjoyment to the sadistic dominator/dominatrix.
    - *Ballbusting* – squeezing the testicles
- *Asphyxiation* – an example of asphyxiation is choking, and it refers to a state of extreme deficiency in supplying the oxygen to the blood, as a result of the inability to breathe normally;
- *Gagging* – act that involves an object being forcibly put into or over the mouth, to stop talking or screaming;
- *Spanking* – hitting/slapping the buttocks;
- *Massage*;
- *Condom play*;
- *Bareback* – without a condom;
- *Grinding/groping* – grinding against someone.

„Anal"

- *Rimming/Analingus* – a form of oral sex that includes contact between the mouth of one participant and the anal cavity of the other.
- *Anal*
    - *Double penetration* – simultaneous penetration of the vagina and the anal cavity by two penises or other sex toys. It is closely related to *threesome* and *anal* categories, for practical reasons. It is interesting to note that it does not appear together with *hardcore* and *penetration,* ie. that those two categories don't show up as closely related[115].

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[115]http://www.redtube.com/175314 (accessed 27.5.2013.)

„Sex"[116]

- *Acrobat*
- *Clothed sex*
- *Fuck/Sex*
  - *Straightsex* – sex between heterosexual partners;
- *Hardcore* – refers to an explicit view of sexual intercourse, such as vaginal, anal and/or oral, cunnilingus, analingus, ejaculation or fetishes;
  - *Penetrating* – usually classified as part of *hardcore,* but can in special cases also refer to female masturbation with the help of sexual aids/toys, whereby it is a tag, rather than a category. The point here is in the act of penetration[117];
  - *Rough sex*
    - *Pounding* – an aggressive sexual act which involves the "male" partner penetrating the vagina or anal cavity with strong thrusts;
    - *Brutal*.

„Pleasuring"

- *Gaping* – expanding/widening of the vaginal or anal cavity, whereby *gaping* as a category is content-wise on the border between the so called *sex* and *pleasuring,* because it assumes both practices;
  - *Fisting* – penetration of the vagina with a clenched fist;
    - *Analfisting* - penetration of the anal cavity with a clenched fist;
- *Fingering* – manual stimulation of the clitoris, vulva, vagina or anus in order to produce sexual excitement;
- *Handjob* – manual pleasuring of men;
- *Footjob* – pleasuring men with feet;
- *Masturbation*;
  - *Insertion* – inserting objects into bodily cavities, most often the vagina. It is most often about masturbation. In special cases (huge penis) it appears as a term, wherby it is a tag and not a category[118].

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[116]As for all the categories of the intermediate level this is the researcher's label

[117]http://overthumbs.com/galleries/her-pussy-introduces-her-felony-back-for-more/ (accessed 27.5.2013.)
[118]http://www.vid2c.com/video/66074590/fairhair-russian-riding-tasty-shaft?utm_source=referrer&utm_medium=ref&utm_campaign=t1 (accessed 27.5.2013.)

„Oral"

- *Cunnilingus* – oral pleasuring of the woman;
- *69* – mutual oral pleasuring of two partners;
- *Blowjob* – oral pleasuring of the man;
    - o *Blowbang* – oral gangbang;
    - o *Swallow* – sperm swallowing;
    - o *Sucking*;
    - o *Deepthroat* – sexual act in which the partner receives the entire erect penis deep into the mouth, behind the epiglottis into the throat;
        - ▪ *Facefuck* – the difference is that it is performed truly or at least seemingly against the will of the person "taking" the penis;
        - ▪ *Throat fucking*;
- *Felching* - sexual practice that involves oral suction of sperm from the vagina or anal cavity of the partner;
- *Kissing*.

Categories referring to the different types of sexual intercourse, often represent what comes to mind first when Internet pornography is concerned, due to the fact that it is precisely those categories, that are further solidified with terms on various sites. Therefore, fundamentally identical phenomena (such as rape) can be found under different classifications (tags, such as *hardcore* and *fuck*).

V 1.a. 2.2.7.1. „Acts"

The first joint group refers to the categories that are specific regarding context in which the sexual intercourse takes place, regardless of its type, and also relates to categories that may be supporting elements in any kind of sexual intercourse.

For these reasons, this is a "general" group, and some of its categories are also found in other sections. Videos of ejaculation (which are general because they can also refer to different kinds of sexual relations) can be found in the section that refers to body fluids, rape resembles the "theme, plot and concept" section, while "snuff" (illegal for distributing and viewing) fits the pathological part of the section on "sexual orientation." Regardless of all this, they are still regarded as types of sexual intercourse.

In the context of the type of sexual intercourse, rape can also constitute a sexual relationship in which one participant despite fighting back becomes overpowered and overwhelmed, so in addition to observing the context of a criminal act, it may also represent a form of sexual fantasy, of course, only when it is acted out. In such controlled conditions and in such a cultural context rape may represent a pornographic category. Even in cases of rape as "forced sexual intercourse", there are clips with a theme and situation that alleviate social condemnation, such as the rape of civilian women by soldiers, or rape of prisoners by police officers or other prisoners[119]. In contrast, there are clips that amplify the effect of condemnation, such as in case of incest (father rapes the daughter, son rapes the mother, brother rapes the sister, teacher rapes the schoolgirl etc.)[120] whereby father and daughter, son and mother, unlce and niece represent eexaggerated and more extreme versions of the fetishes such as "young meat" "mommy" "MILF" "daddy" etc. These clips, as part of the pornography on the Internet, a user under the influence of sexual fantasy can view as being made in a controlled environment (acting, and not real relations between relatives), which implies categorizing these clips under the "general" group.

Hentai as *"animated Japanese porn"* is a "borrowed" type of recording, but it is listed here, because it contains recognizable types of sexual relations, despite the different subgenres.

Clips featuring ejaculation are an indication that the sexual intercourse was real, and that enjoyment was involved.

V 1.a. 2.2. 7.2. „Foreplay or continued accompanying effects"

At first glance the distinction between this and the previous group is not clear, especially because footage of ejaculation is not in this group. Distinctive properties of this group are time (foreplay, which is the time before the sexual act, is found in this group, , or clips of ejaculation, which represent the end of the sexual act, which is happening "on the outside", or the body of the other participant) and parallel activity (eg. asphyxia or CBT, which occurs parallel to the sexual act itself). However, this group does not include the elements of penetration itself or pleasuring, but as noted, only the accompanying effects.

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[119]http://rapeporntube.net/gallery/women-raped-and-abused-in-prison/index.html#.Ua5IZz6Jqrs (accessed 28.5.2013.)
[120]http://rapeporntube.net/ (accessed 28.5.2013.)

V 1.a. 2.2.7.3. "Anal" and "sex" group

Generics in the joint group that refers to sex are very general and mutually non-distinct given that the clips often also include oral and anal sex, as well as many other sexual practices, and yet all the other categories can not be classed as a specific sub-categories of the aforementioned ones, because the categories shown here already refer to the type of sexual intercourse. In addition, hardcore and sex as such can not be omitted as being too general, given the fact that that they exist as categories on websites, and therefore should exist in the most general case, as generics of this ethnotaxonomy.

Hardcore and sex are very general, as noted. Regarding the categories of sex, when through searching or following a hyperlink we use the category Fuck, in most cases, it is identified with sex. In that regard, if content is categorized as sex, and differentiated from hardcore, it is often referred to both by the description and type of clip: realistic, classic, female friendly, or amateur and vintage.Therefore, the category of sex can contain all of the same elements and sexual positions as the hardcore category, but is of a somewhat gentler tact.[121].

If we set aside the differences that relate to oral and anal sex and other, mostly unavoidable accompanying elements of the clips (especially those categorized as hardcore), as a cross section of what is defined as "sex" the characterizing motive of this group of generics remains " the intensity of the roughness".

Penetration in a technical sense usually represents the elements of clips pertaining to this group of generics, although culturally the term "penetration" usually refers to a rough insertion (into the vagina, as penetrating other bodily orifices is already categorized into other categories, for example, oral and anal sex), as confirmed by the constant connection of the subcategory penetration with the hardcore category. In special cases, it may refer to female masturbation with the help of toys, whereby it is a tag, not a category, which also supports the concept of "rough penetration." Users (since it is a tag) characterize it, confirming widespread opinion that women seek large dildos and love a bigger penis, "sexy" girl equals large appetite, large appetite equals "hard

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[121]http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=707247941 (accessed 29.5.2013.)

sex" and big penis, big penis equals "sexy" male, and considering "those who are alike procreate" ie. a "sexy woman" and a "sexy man".

Thus, much like the case so far in categorizing pornography, "implicit" elements in the categories of author sites are not listed, the more pronounced elements that also always appear simultaneously can make this element implicit, and facilitate classification of the clip according to other categories, and what remains is left bare, a culturally colored (often stereotype or prejudice), meaning of that category, especially if it is a specific subcategory of another category. Thus, for example, at first glance the category double penetration should be a variety of the subcategory penetration, but it actually falls under a specific category of anal, given that it is, for physical and technical reasons a "closely related" category to threesome and anal, while hardcore and penetration are components, something that is usually implicit and not cited as a "closely related" category. [122] (unless some sites cite everything, and this kind of categorization often appears in the format "category name-clips" such as *Hardcore Sex Videos, Group Sex Videos, DP Porn Videos*[123]).

On the other hand, tags are much more descriptive and numerous per clip, whereby reducing categories to the most prominent ones doesn't happen, but instead tags are added cumulatively, so they most often encompass most of what is happening in the actual clip. For example, categories of one clip with a double penetration are[124]:

- *Anal*;
- *Babe*;
- *Threesome*;

While the tags that relate to the same clip are:

- *Anal,*
- *Babe,*
- *Double fucking,*
- *Hardcore,*
- *Sandwich,*
- *Threesome,*
- *Penetration*.

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[122]http://www.nuvid.com/video/326682/double-penetration-for-starving-naughty (accessed 29.5.2013.)
[123]http://www.coolmovs.com/content/103401/inside-horny-hands.html?wmid=1389 (accessed 29.5.2013.)
[124]http://www.nuvid.com/video/326682/double-penetration-for-starving-naughty (accessed 29.5.2013.)

For the other clip the categories would be[125]:

- *Big Tits,*

- *Anal,*

- *Group,*

- *Interracial,*

- *Double Penetration.*

The tags in these categories are: *Vaginal Sex, Oral Sex, Anal Sex, Double Penetration), Big Tits, Caucasian, Interracial, Blowjob, Deepthroat, Cum Swallowing, Cumshot, Threesome.*

In the first case hardcore penetration appears as an additional tag as well as anal sex, which would lead the researcher, after a large number of considered clips, to have to statistically decide where a category (in this case, double penetration) belongs ethnotaxonomically. As fair as this question is, given the fact that it should represent "popular knowledge" that is obvious, this is a case which sometimes resembles unaffiliated generics of ethnobilogy (D'Andrade, 1995: 98-100, and described in the section on taxonomy), and sometimes "species" for which there is no consensus where they belong, and which are, according to their names, certainly subcategories, so that they can not be left as generics.

Another case that is specific to tags that refer to "types of sexual intercourse" is that, in addition to "non-alignment" of the categories there is also the "ambiguity" of the categories.

Thus, for example, the bukake tag does not necessarily apply to the ejaculation of several men, but is identified with the very act of ejaculation, most commonly on the face of another participant, which corresponds to the supercategory of *cumshot* [126], whereby categories lose their specificity, as well as mutual distinctiveness, making tags, in relation to categories, more precise but less correct.

Nonetheless, the list of tags for a clip often also includes "transcribed" categories, so that the tag names, either relate to the clip or category name, or the described actions or objects that appear in the clip, which implies that the terminology utilized by the users and the material from which they "educate themselves" actually

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[125]http://www.redtube.com/187730 (accessed 30.5.2013.)
[126]http://www.xvideos.com/video312589/spectacled_brunette_takes_cum_shower (accessed 30.5.2013.)

come from Internet pornography itself, and that the additional information and compounds in the names of tags are related to direct physical observations. Therefore, the tags on the one hand contain the taxonomic skeleton in terms of the categories themselves, but on the other hand, they also contain other elements, such as parts of actual observation.

V 1.a. 2.2.7.4. „Pleasuring" and „oral sex"

If the sexual intercourse is not a "classic sex" with penetration, but limbs are used (hands, feet and objects), or, if both sides are not "enjoying themselves" equally at the same time, then the terminology used is "pleasuring". In Serbian, the word "zadovoljavanje" means "pleasuring" of a man or woman, and masturbacija (masturbation) implies "self-pleasuring" and their counterpart in anglophonic culture are verbs in participle (fisting, fingering, inserting), with the so-called "job" being most often used if the subject is pleasuring a man (Handjob, Footjob). On the other hand, perhaps because the mouth is considered an erogenous zone, any "pleasuring" with the mouth is interpreted as "oral sex".Interestingly enough, anal fisting is a type of fisting, not anal sex, so it is also a type of "pleasuring" (although there are cases and sites where anal also appears as a category, in cases when there is no fisting, so this category is somewhat vague).

The cultural reason for this categorization can be linked to Leach's communicational interpretation of the principle of reciprocity in transactions, in which the sense of reciprocal obligation is an expression of a mutual feeling that both parties belong to the same social system.

Moreover, the way that you give speaks about the mutual relations, whereby, if what is given is given in kind and equivalent to what is being taken, then such behaviour expresses the equality of the status, unlike various gifts such as giving a wage for one's effort (Leach, 2002: 14). Accordingly, it seems as if the one doing the "pleasuring" is doing a job, according to the unequal exchange.

V 1.a.2.2.8. Body part - „what"- (life form)

This *life form* is characterized by:

- *Long hair* – rare category
- *Facials*
- *Big tits*
    - *Cleavage*
    - *Saggy tits*
    - *Huge tits*
        - *Huge Natural Tits*
    - *Big Natural tits*
- *Small tits*
- *Nipples*
- *All holes*
- *Pussy*
    - *Cameltoe* – the space between the outer vaginal lips
    - *Hairy pussy*
    - *Shaved pussy*
- *Ass*
    - *Big ass*
- *Balls*
    - *Baloon balls*
- *Big dick*
    - *Giant cocks*
    - *10+inch cock*
- *Small cock*
- *Long legs* – rare category
- *Feet*
    - *Toes*
        - *Long nails – various shapes and colors*
- *Hair*
    - *Body hair*
    - *Hairy chest*

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- *Muscles*

- *Oiled*

When considering the pure perspective of categories of author site categories and the priorities in naming of the clips themselves, the trait of a body part is located immediately after the sexual orientation, so that the section that refers to the "body part" is one of the main determinations, when it comes to sexual preference. As was thus far emphasized, and now confirmed, the body part is emphasized if it is somehow accentuated, mainly in size (eg. breasts, buttocks or penis) or through the way the shot is framed (buttocks or feet). Even though it is a branch of ethnotaxonomy, the shown classification corresponds to the partonomic classification that with the inclusion of different parts can be applied to men, women and shemales, and the categories themselves are mutually distinctive. In the case of large breasts and feet there are varieties. It is interesting to note that feet are observed separately from the legs and are called foot fetish. This section speaks about the changed ideal of beauty, in which the accentuated body parts will "sell the merchandise".

V 1.a. 2.2. 9. Main participant („who") (life form)

Main participants are usually:

- *Babe*

- *Blonde*

- *Brunette*

- *Celebrity*

- *Mature*

- *Milf*

- *Pornstar*

- *Redhead*

- *Shemale* – transvestites that kept the male genitalia but increased their breast size through operation or taking hormones.

- *Teen*

- *Addict*

- *Amputees*

- *Midgets*

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- *Animal*
- *Angel/demon*
- *Twink* – slang expression of the gay population, which implies a young man of a slender build, barefaced and with little or no bodily hair.
- *Cheerleader*
- *Cowgirl/boy*
- *Stud*
- *Innocent/Virgin*
- *Ladyboy*
- *Maid*
- *Schoolgirl*
- *Whore*
- *18 y.o.*
- *Babysitter*
- *BBW*
- *Chubby*
- *Fat*
- *Jocks*
- *Black Hair*
- *Doctor*
- *Ex-girlfriend*
- *Wife*
- *Monstrous people*
- *Granny/Granpa*
- *Alien*
- *Daddy*
- *Hunk*
- *Mom*
- *Nurse*
- *Goth*
- *Pregnant*
- *Secretary*

- *Teacher*
- *Siblings*
- *Criminal/prisoner*
- *Soldier*

At first glance, it's a similar categorization logic like the one used for objects and sexual aids/toys. The categories are mutually distinct (in this group there are clear boundaries between, for example, cheerleaders and pregnant women), and this brings us to the conclusion that making a fetishization leads to a clear distinctiveness in thinking, ie. that for each example there is one central motif that has been introduced by its category. This is true, in most cases, when the categories are viewed among themselves, within this life form. However, unlike objects and sexual aids/toys, here connections are observed with categories that do not belong to this life form (eg. nurse and uniform), which requires a subsequent, additional analysis.

What is noticeable and can be used as a possible classification method is that the categories of men (eg. doctors, prisoners, soldiers, cowboys, bosses, etc.) exist as holders of power, and opposite this position are stereotypical roles like cheerleader or ex-girlfriend, which speaks about the absolutization of the female body as a sexual object. The aforementioned roles place the woman in a subordinate position, and sexual roles are not relativized - "Men are smart, and women are dumb but beautiful" (Naffzier, 1974: 255).

V. 1.a.2.2.10. Bodily secretions ("out of what / with what") (life form)

This life form contains the following clips:

- *Cumshot* – known as the "Moneyshot" in the industry, as male actors are paid extra for ejaculating;
- *Creampie* – also known as an internal ejaculation, into the vagina or anus;
  - *Cumshot;*
  - *Squirting;*

- *Snowball* – sexual practice where one partner takes another partner's sperm into their mouth, and then transfers it to them or another partner, most often through kissing;
- *Cum-gargling;*
- *Cum eating;*
- *Cum-covered;*
  - *Cum swapping;*
- *Cum swallowing;*

- *Scat* – paraphilia involving sexual enjoyment caused by faeces and coprophilia;

- *Golden shower* - paraphilia involving sexual enjoyment caused by urine or urination;
- *Drinking piss;*
- *Tears;*
- *Vomit;*
- *Breast milk;*
- *Blood;*
- *Menstrual blood;*
  - *Sweat;*
- *Slime;*
- *Pus.*

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This category is specific because sperm has the most generics and specific types, which is in line with ethnobiological taxonomies in which culturally significant "species" have the largest number of specific categories.

As parts of a certain cultural aspect euphemisms and metaphors for bodily secretions appear - urine will be called "golden shower", sperm will not be called sperm but "cum" and coprophilia will not be refered to pejoratively. Bodily secretions, mainly those with sperm, often are the side effects of different types of sexual intercourses, so they also point to categories that are not found in this group. They get additional traits, depending of the context in which they occurred, but if something could be shared, such as the "toned down" and jargon naming of the categories, it is the nature of the committing these acts, where one case involves voyeurism of the user who is watching the participant who is excreting, while in the second case it is part of the sexual intercourse in which the one who is excreting secretions (at the time while they are doing it) has a more dominant role.

Without looking at the psychological background, from an anthropological point of view, other categories are interesting too, such as tears, blood, milk, etc., which (when you take account the relation of dominant roles) are alike ritual components, and this whole life form has a ritual character. However, further analysis should determine in which capacity and with which categories bodily fluids appear, in order to confirm the initial conditions for a consideration of this nature.

V 1.a.2.2.11. Sexual orientation ("with whom") (life form)

Category which includes the sexual orientation is perhaps the biggest determinant regarding which clips a user will watch. In addition to standard orientations regarding gender, aggression, exhibitionism, voyeurism etc. there are various paraphilias which are not found on the big sites, but can be found on the Internet, mostly within the deep network.[127].

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[127] Deep network, the latest term which alludes to mystification, is, in fact, part of the Internet that is not searchable because it is not indexed, so that part of the network is not seen by the classic Internet search engines. Internet indexing involves creating a specific list of words that is tied to a certain Internet page and that is joined to it as a short summary of the page that users do not see. The ability to create pages without any control has led to the emergence of a large number of non-indexed pages, and the deep network is several times larger than the searchable content for the Internet, whereby data loss is very

Papers on this subject are mainly psychological, or related to studies on the harmful nature of, or fighting against (eg, pedophilia). Due to the standard categories that can be found on the websites, this category is included.

Other categories are given as an illustration of what exists, but they are not included in the analysis because they don't exist as categories, and tags..

- gay
- lesbian
- bisexual
- pedophilia
- zoophilia
- necrophilia

- BDSM – bondage, domination, sadism, masochism
    - masochism
    - sadism

Also:
- trans-sexualism
- trans-dressing (dressing up in clothes that are usually associated with the opposite sex in a certain society)
- fetishism
- voyeurism
- amputees – amputated limbs
- exibitionism
- nudism

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large, and the information loss unmeasurable, which is why research teams are working on finding new types of search engines which would include non-indexed pages. (Vasic, 2010: 89).

V 1.a. 2.2. 11.1. Other paraphilias (usually not found under that name or concept)

- Acrotomophilia (sexual attraction to people with amputated limbs / extremities).

- Apothemnophilia (sexual excitement that comes from imagining yourself without one or more limbs due to amputation)

- Caninophilia (sexual orientation that includes romantic love and / or sexual attraction only to animals from the dog family).

- Coprophilia (also known as "Scat" paraphilia involving sexual enjoyment caused by faeces).

- Cipripareunaphilia (sexual attraction to prostitutes).

- Dendrophilia (sexual attraction to trees, especially as a phallic symbol).

- Gerontophilia (sexual attraction to very old people).

- Gynotikolobomassophilia (love and / or sexual attraction to a woman's earlobe).

- Hirustophilia (sexual attraction armpit hair).

- Hoplophilia (sexual attraction to weapons).

- Klismaphilia (sexual attraction to enema).

- Korophilia (sexual attraction to exhaustion).

- Macrofilija (sexual attraction to giants or enlarged objects).

- Maiezphilia (sexual attraction to pregnant women, especially those in the advanced stages of pregnancy).

- Mysophilia (sexual attraction to dirty things).

- Nanophilia (sexual attraction to short partners).

- Necropedophilia

- Paraphilia with 547 subtypes.

- Patenophlia (sexual attraction to taking someone's virginity).

- Sarkophilia (sexual attraction to human flesh).

- Stigmatophilia (sexual attraction to tattoos and sacrificial markings).

- Pigophilia (sexual attracting to touching one's thigh).

- Xenophilia (sexual attraction to foreigners - category citizen or alien - category animated film, or costumes).

- Ksirophilia (sexual attraction to blades / razors).

- Frotteurism (sexual attraction to rubbing one's genitals often with a person who did not consent).

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- Abasiphilia (sexual attraction to people who have trouble moving or use orthopedic aids).

- Albinophilia (sexual attraction towards albino people or objects).

- Algolagnia (sexual arousal, which is achieved by suffering pain, usually in the erogenous zone).

- Aspyxiaphilia (sexual arousal that is achieved by stopping or reducing the flow of air into the body).

- Autagonistophilia (sexual arousal, which is achieved by exposing oneself to an audience or by a public appearance on stage or on camera).

- Autasasinophilia (sexual attraction towards the fear of death).

- Autoandrophilia (sexual arousal, which is achieved by exposure to a life threatening danger).

- Biastophilia (sexual arousal, which is achieved by rape, often of an unknown person).

V 1.b Research logic correction

Despite the fact that there is a branched structure in the previously observed taxonomy that supports the principles that apply to ethnotaxonomy in general (number of levels, frequency of varieties, naming, etc.) for further analysis it is necessary to make certain corrections. A supercategory-subcategory connection has been established for cases when a certain category is always accompanied by some other category. In cases when some categories are often, but not always linked, the so-called "loose groups" of intermediate level have been created, but there are also cases that could not be covered by the previous structure, such as if a certain category is accompanied by categories from some other group or life form, or when one category appears in several different groups, and so on. These categories have been named "mixed" categories, as different categories from different groups participate in their creation, or they themselves refer to different categories (eg. *cumshot, rape, female friendly, BDSM,* etc.). It is a system that can not be displayed only via a tree of foolproof discrete occurences: subcategory-supercategory, but other connections are needed as well.

For these reasons, the categories will be presented schematically. Thick arrows will highlight the relations supercategory-subcategory (if one category always points to another), and thin arrows will show when one category points to another (if one category often points to another).

In the previous analysis we noted the different, so-called building motifs of categories that represent the intermediate level classes, as well as the base classes of "loose groups". However, they do not explicitly exist as category names on the websites, but represent the researcher's descriptive names of the common element for a group of categories. A similar method will be applied in the case of this scheme, only with summarized conclusions about which are the basic classes of the said schemes. Until now, the most observed "mixed" and unaffiliated categories, as well as groups, were observed in the case of the life form which relates to the subject-plot-concept and in the case of form: form of sexual intercourse. However, the life form: theme-plot-concept contains two important segments. The first is of a "fantastical" nature and involves a notion of certain scenarios or roles (such as story, adultery, wild and crazy, etc.), which can border later with the life form of the main participant and life form of nation as they are also certain forms of notions. The second segment is related to the so-called violent

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group. Violence itself is present in different categories of the entire taxonomy, not only in the aforementioned life forms. From the above it follows that the "mixed" categories can be arranged between three basic classes:

- first-class refers to "violence";
- second class refers to "sexual fantasies";
- third class refers to "sexual techniques".

V 1.b.1. Scheme of the "violence" categories

Violence is a complex term. I will use a definition for this term, that sees violence as conduct which constitutes the intentional infliction of physical and / or mental injuries (Nedeljkovic, 2011: 155). Humiliation often occurs as a result of the violence , which is mostly a means to fulfill the desire to cause harm. To be humiliated means to be inferior, burdened by certain traumas, leads to the loss of control, and includes insults, put-downs, discouragement, pressuring, denying one's identity and self-esteem. It should be noted that humiliation involves discomfort and forcing a person into a much inferior position than expected. It is interesting to point out that this term was not used in the sense described above until the eighteenth century (Nedeljković 2011: 106), since a chronological link can be established with the use of the word "pornography", which was in the modern sense first recorded only in the mid-nineteenth century.

It takes two in order to create conditions for violence. In the theater these are the actor and the viewer, and in this paper it will be the victim and the bully. The concept of a victim is very complex.

First of all, the role of the victim is built and constructed through many complex processes, because a bully at some point may be transformed into a victim, or the victim phenomenon can be extended to the entire group, for example, if one member of the group was done harm in some way. The fact that the identity of the victim gets built, leads us to the conclusion that many people assume this role, basing their identification and communication security on playing that role (Nedeljkovic, 2011: 120). Nedeljkovic describes the four of elements of violence according to Koulouris that are manifested through:

- Disbalance of power, whereby the bully older, stronger, more popular, but an increase in the number of those who abuse may lead to such discrepancies as well. Based on this we can conclude that bullying does not involve a conflict of two persons possessing an equal degree of power.

- The intent to injure which is manifested in the desire to inflict emotional or physical pain. It is expected that the bully will enjoy observing the suffering.

- The threat of further aggression. Both the victim and the bully know that bullying will probably happen again, because bullying is not a one time event.

- The fright is the result of systematic violence being used to intimidate others and to maintain dominance. Sometimes the fear that is produced is not only a means to an end, but is in itself the goal. After creating fear the abuser may begin to behave freely without fear that the victim will fight back or tell somebody about the bullying (Nedeljkovic, 2011: 122). Through describing the role of the bully and the victim we come to the narrowest concept of violence in the group of terms which will be used in the analysis.

Figure 19: A schematic diagram of the "violence" categories

Figure 19 shows a scheme of the group of categories that relate to "violence". The primary class is *violence.* There are two classes derived from it: *consentual violence,* and *violence in the true sense.* Acting within the clip content usually does not indicate that the violence is consentual[128], but there are instead gentre norms that point to that, at least when talking about the exclusive "cases" (eg. *BDSM* and *rape),* while in the case of, say, *gangbang,* which can contain both types of violence (in the true sense as well as with consent) it is necessary to view the context within the clip itself too.

Let us first consider consentual violence. "Violence is often a relationship between two instances of which one is more active and the other is more passive. This is why violence must be interpreted both in accordance with the intentions of the one who does the violence, as well as with the subjective experience of the person who suffers violence "(Nedeljkovic, 2011: 266). The presented descriptions and categories need to be discussed, firstly by looking at the role and place of pain, suffering and humiliation in pornographic clips. The very etymology of the word "pain" points to a connection with the concept of punishment, because the english word "pain" comes from the Latin word "poena", which means punishment. However, punishment in pornography does not have a preventative role, or a background in ethical justification of violence for violating certain norms. Here a punishment is a means to an end, which in most cases is pain, which is again an end in itself. This interpretation not only does not make sense in the normal social context, but is also tabooed because neglecting a punishment as a guardian of the social system can not only undermine the system, but make it completely pointless. The essence of pain in the practice of domination in sex is reflected in the absolute surrendering to the partner. Everything is based on an immense trust and thought that we are able to give our life over into the hands of someone else, while also placing a monopoly on power, which is given over to an individual, and not the society (Vasic, 2012: 245).

Today, when we talk about the various forms of domination, it is difficult to talk about violence when looking at the broader context, taking into account that a good part of the "equipment" is getting used more and more widely in practising sexual acts, and that it is a rigorously prepared and guided process.

 As noted, BDSM represents a sort of role playing, and actually constitutes of "torture with consent" and as such it borders with the mentioned grouping around role

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[128]*But violence in the true sense also has acting*

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play (previous section), but does not enter into the same, because playing roles in case of BDSM is not the goal, but a method.

According to research based on the aggregation of the categories on the sites, there is no likening of terms by categories, even though this happens in the actual clip names. Humiliation is not the same as domination, torture is not the same as roughness or punishment. The act of torture is often classed as BDSM, but if the category is classified as humiliation, BDSM rarely occurs with it as a "closely related" category, but the epithets of the categories or tags are aggressive, brutal or fetish are more often associated in the case of the humiliation, rather than the torture category.

Also, often the clip name says "humiliation", but the clip is not placed in the same category by the site authors or the users themselves[129], ie. it is differently accepted "by the people", than the initial intention of the author of the clip itself, or it is accurately accepted, considering the viewers recognized the content that alludes to "violence with consent" ie. that there is a cultural competence of the consumers, when talking about the choice of terms used.

When *humiliation* and *BDSM* appear together, it is in situations where a woman is "torturing" a man, or humiliating another woman (for example in the *femdom* category). It would appear that, from a cultural standpoint, if a BDSM clip has the woman doing the humiliating, it is closer to a game, sexual provocation and teasing, than when a man does it, because it is then closer to violence and the *humiliation* category, but in a context that doesn't have BDSM attached, but is instead oral or anal *humiliation*[130], which should not be mixed up with the *punishment* or *abuse* tags, which have a different meaning in the form of rough sex. It is not the difference in the assumed physical strength that separates game from violence, the conclusion is not that a man has greater restrictions, but that the woman can not humiliate a man unless he wants to be humiliated. In the case of bondage the woman is the one being humiliated and BDSM is linked with the humiliation, as shown in the diagram (humiliation pointing to bondage). Electric shocks are also displayed as related to tied up women or

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[129]The user can categorize, voting for the classification of that clip, but on some sites he or she is offered categories of the author sites, while on some the user can write what they want, so it is not known whether such a clip got into a different category through the voting of users or relocation by the author of the site, but, given their complementary and similar mode of operation, it is important that the clip as such, either one way or another, is certainly categorized and voted on differently to what it's name, ie. the intention of the clip author was.

[130]This leads to the conclusion that such a sexual intercourse is a veritable taboo of those kinds of sexual relations, despite them being wonted in pornographic clips, ie. that it becomes a means of torture in case the other side is not prepared for it.

more rarely men. Electric shocks (*Electrified*) are also associated with the tags related to electric masturbation with the penis and electrodes in close-up.

Therefore, torture and humiliation are excluded from the category of BDSM because they do not represent playing the roles of master and slave, but are instead classified as a kind of a fetish, which is also based on power, but not in the "sadistic or masochistic" sense, at least not like what appears in clips labeled BDSM, and there is a growing number of advertisements for violent content such as punishtube and publicdisgrace[131] and there are more and more violent clips, and their content still distances itself from BDSM and is being interpreted by the site authors and users, no matter what the theme of the clip is trying to show, which is to say that if the clip theme does look like violence and not a game, that is how it gets characterized. It should be noted that this is still acting, and that the actors of the pornographic clip are playing with different elements of violence for the sake of the audience (consumers).

The aforementioned separation between BDSM and humiliation (and their derivatives), ie two categories that are typical representatives of violence as a game and violence in its true sense, talk about what is happening "in the field" and how the video clips are being categorized, but do not fully give the answer to the the question why this is so.

Let us return to the diagram which shows that the sub-categories of consentual violence indicate a number of additional categories. For example, the category of role playing that belongs to the fantasy diagram, and implies acting and an agreement, points to BDSM, as does the gay category that belongs in the previous taxonomy of life forms to a taxon of sexual orientation (for example, the so-called corpus of Manhunt categories which will be discussed later), in that component of homoerotic clips that contain dominance and masculinity as virtual heterosexual behaviour whereby BDSM is a method, not an objective (Vasic, 2012: 246). Other categories that point to BDSM, and are not included as subspecies of violence in its true sense refer to objects, costumes and sex toys, such as whips, latex, leather, masks and gas masks.

The whip is used for causing pain, but is also the *natural index[132]* for a slave owner, trainer, punisher, who in this context represent a symbol of the dominator. Leather and latex are veritable uniforms of that genre and also often refer to the

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[131]www.punishtube.com or http://www.publicdisgrace.com/
[132]„A naturally associates to B, but was chosen by man to be an index for B (smoke as an index for fire) (Leach, 2002:22)

dominator (while the subordinate is often naked, or with some naked parts). It should be noted that in the CFNM category, which indicates female dominance, there is also a trait, according to which, in the context of power, the subordinate is the one not wearing clothes, and this is not only inherent to BDSM. *Mask* and *gas mask* have an interesting property: they hide the face, and depersonalize the carrier, bringing them to the level of an object, or in this context - role. The mask can be used by both parties, but a gas mask is usually worn by the subordinate.

Gas-mask is indicated to also by the *aspyxiation* category from the diagram of *sexual techniques* (as well as the category *urination*), which also confirms the usage of the one who is being inflicted with pain. *Chains, ropes, handcuffs* indicate the subcategory of bondage. *Bondage* is a subcategory with a large number of varieties that suit different themes or concepts, which points not only to the demand for different implementations of the same concept, but also the symbolic connection of the term and the image of "binding," as a symbolic representation of the mentioned concepts of power, powerlessness, control, surveillance , activity, passivity. Bondage also appears as the first word of BDSM, and is an integral member of several categories, as well as sayings (eg. "My hands are tied"), and certainly the one who has is tied up represents the role of someone who does not make decisions according to their own will, but who is willingly or unwillingly left to external decisions and influences. The subcategories of bondage: *bondage with chains* and *electrified* (electric shocks), are also referred to by the categories of necessary objects, whereby due to the exotic nature of *electrified* "closely related" categories are often *toys* or *fetish*. Thereby, the category *electrified* has properties of a willful act, as much because of the connection with *toys* and *masturbation*, as because it is found in the consentual violence tree. *CBT* also links to *electrified,* but also to female dominance, so that it actually "bridges" the two categories, which describes the already mentioned trait of *female domination* (in the relation female-male) whereby *female domination* in this context is treated as a kind of game. When *female domination* is also examined from another angle, it is definitely a subcategory of domination and abuse belonging to the *consentual violence* tree.

Subcategories of consentual violence are generally associated with the BDSM tree which is indicated by the categories relating to clothes, objects, and roles (for example, the role play and gay categories),which again are indicated by the categories from the sexual intercourse life form, that is, the new diagram of sexual techniques. An example of this is process: gagging => aspyxiation => mask and gas-mask => BDSM

and slave (subordinant) / subjugation. If a certain sexual technique shows intention, then, if it is carried out using objects and clothing, it certainly gets defined more often as BDSM (if the objects are characteristic of that category, especially chains and ropes).

Among the categories of abuse and domination there is a mutual process of indication, often due to the identification of these terms, though domination was originally closer to being the opposite of subordination and obedience, and abuse was a form of punishment (that happens when obedience fails, or should be reaffirmed) through rough sex, bodage (mutual indication), gangbang etc., which can be seen from the diagram categories that indicate abuse. But what is important is that both categories (domination and abuse) do not necessarily determine the rules through objects and clothes, but the rules are defined so that there is clear distinction between the dominant side and the subordinant, or slave. This area of the diagram shows a simple principle of demarcation when categorizing: if it is only a rough sexual intercourse, is categorized as hardcore, brutal, etc.; if the intercourse is rough, and there is a certain form of violence highlighting the dominant figure (master) and the subordinate (slave), it is categorized as abuse; finally, rough sexual relations in which the subordinate is trying to resist is categorized as rape or humiliation. It is interesting to note that neither hardcore nor abuse point to rape, ie. not only is there a demarcation, but also mutual exclusion, sorape and humiliation are not indicated by categories which are the sole representatives of the consentual violence, but instead by those categories that are in between, which are under the influence of both sub-categories of violence. Thus, in the end, what makes a certain clip categorized as a subcategory of consentual violence is the existence of established rules. A clip that has several elements that indicate a prepared or trained process, be it the typical objects, way of dressing, or defined roles, will be closer to classification within this category.This is close to the idea that an environment with regulated rules of behaviour (whatever they may be) is a guarantee of safety that freedom can be gifted to the individual. The other categorizing principle applies to forms of female domination over men, which, as previously stated, is also attributed to the subcategories of *consentual violence.*

Let's also pay attention to the subcategories that are found in between, i.e ones that contain violent behaviour, or both types of violence (some clips of the same category fall under one and some under the other), or where it is not clearly defined what is going on, which is the most common case. On the shown diagram these are *gangbang, torture* and *hentai. Gangbang* will be discussed more as part of the mixed

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categories. On the one hand, similarly to the movie "Insatiable", *gangbang* can represent the insatiable sexual appetites and wantonness of the female participant, or "sharing" of the enjoyment between the male participants, which fits with the idea of *consentual violence.*

The category *reverse gangbang* also completely fits the area of consent, only the roles of the main female actors change (instead of the central actor, who in this case is male), which is consistent with the already described pattern, whereby in the case where female actors have a dominant role in relation to men, we have a *consentual violence* situation. On the other hand, *gangbang* represents a sort of means to express group aggression, and the diagram shows that it is a link that points to the subcategory of *violence in the true sense* in several cases. Also, the categories that it points to, represent the terms with which *gangbang* is identified. Abuse that it indicates to (and that is one of the few categories from *consentual violence* that *gangbang* indicates to) shows that gangbang is considered a sufficiently rough practice that it can be used as a means of so-called ie *abuse*, or *punishment*. *Bukake* with which gangbang is identified (especially in tags) shows *gangbang* in the light of group ejaculation on the central actor (which is also a kind of Japanese punishment). Finally, it also points to *public humiliation, prison, military,* and *rape.* As a reminder, the relation of indication ("pointing to") is different from a sub-category only because the category that is indicated to appears as a closely related category often but not almost always, as is the case with sub-categories. Probably because of this "positive" side, *gangbang*, instead of being a supercategory of the above mentioned categories, is only linked to them, but to us, even the "only" certainly provides information what *gangbang* identifies with and what it is closer to. In this case, it would fit the notion of gang rape or the technical aspect that remains, when you take away (or just do not emphasize) the actual variable of rape. For example, people enjoy the experience of a "harmonious group gang-bang", whether in an environment of prison, the military, abuse, but do not enjoy the label *rape* (an example is the categorization on the site "*public humiliation*" where the term "public humiliation" if it is of a sexual nature, as it certainly is, definitely happens beyond the will of the one who was "publicly humiliated").

We have a similar case with the *hentai* category, which also includes both types of violence. However, it should be noted that unlike gangbang that simply describes *hentai* deals with different themes and everything that is "anime" pornography is considered *hentai* and therefore some of it might be *consentual violence* and some

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violence in the true sense. What is important is that *hentai* can contain all the elements of violence, including murder, but still all be categorized as *hentai*, because it is an animated film.

Finally, the category of *torture* which has already been discussed, is specific in that it is a supercategory of *humiliation,* and thereby indicates BDSM, because it uses similar practices, and are therefore they are sometimes identified, so that torture is not fully *violence in the true sense*.

The third part of the diagram refers to the categories that fully fit the violence in the true sense tree. *Humiliation* was already described, and the information relayed by the diagram is that *humiliation* is a "mixed" category, made up, as much of torture, as of *violence in the true sense*, and thus constitutes torture that went beyond physical pain. As was already stated, there are clips whose title had the word "humiliation" but they were categorized like that, and only in cases where the humiliation was obvious, like a forced fellatio, etc., bondage and slapping, etc., was it categorized as *humiliation*, whereby there is a visible difference between the context in which the clip was made and that which it is interpreted in. Public also indicates humiliation, whereby the thought is probably that humiliation is higher, if it is shown or happens in public. Public humiliation does not exist as a category, but there is a website of the same name, where the clip content (as can be seen from the scheme of indicating categories) is filled with kidnapping, gangbang, brutality, rape, and all of this, of course, happens in a public place. To some extent this stultifies the public place which provides security to the individual. However, these contrasts are inherent to the entire tree of subcategories of violence in the true sense. Let's look at the category of *rape*. This category is pointed to by categories that apply to schoolgirl, family members, military and prison, where all of these categories refer to institutions that are expected to provide protection. However, as already stated, and confirmed by the scheme, each of these categories has a sort of sexual fantasy as its background, which is simply over-exaggerated by bringing it into the context of rape. In that way, behind the step-father or father we have the "daddy" fantasy, which is in the mutual indication the daughter behind whom there is a teenage fantasy, which also stands behind the schoolgirl fantasy, while the *MILF* category stands behind the mother and son fantasy.

There is a notion about soldiers as ruthless people who rape each other, and do it to prisoners as well. When the rape fantasy is left without the motives from those fantasies, the motive that remains is a violation of norms and expected rules that apply

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to a particular system or environment. Also, rape as a category is not associated with whether the participant resisted the sexual act (such cases are shown), but refers instead to a violation of a taboo.

Hence the explanation for the situation where there are clips in which someone is forced to have sexual intercourse, but it is not categorized as rape, which in turn means that the variations of the categories of forced sexual relations in the workplace, hospital, etc. do not fall into something unexpected. Thus, in this second case of violence, where one side is not giving consent , we have a normal protective rules and taboos that exist in everyday life, but after they are breached, a new order is not introduced in their place, and in the first case where both sides agree to the use of violence we have special rules that do not apply in everyday life, but in the context of the very act bring order and security. Common to both cases is that the context of the situation and environment take precedence in categorization, while the behaviour of the individual is irrelevant.

V 1.b.2. Scheme of the "sexual techniques" categories

The following scheme, shown in Figure 20, refers to sexual techniques. Categories that are discussed in this scheme mainly belong to the type of sexual intercourse, number of participants and bodily secretions from the section on the observed taxonomy.

Figure 20: Schematic diagram of the "sexual techniques" categories

The main subcategories of *sexual techniques* are *sensual* (a gentle sexual intercourse), *hardcore, group sex* and *pleasuring*. Some of these categories are the so-called "mixed categories" and some of their subcategories are intertwined, but this will be discussed later. The rules that applied to the "loose" groups of "closely related" categories in the section on the observed taxonomy also apply and are presented here, but with relations of indication give a much greater flexibility compared to the relations supercategory-subcategories, and therefore there is no longer a problem with classifying where the categories are found, on the contrary, it can be seen which categories are related.

It should be noted that the dashed arrows show the indications that rarely occur in the case of the author site categories, but are present in tags.

The formerly shown diagram of violence could be roughly divided into three areas in accordance with the main local subcategories - *violence with consent*, *violence in the true sense* and violence that includes both motives.

Here we have a slightly different division, which agrees with "mixing" of motives of the other two main groups (*violence* and *fantasy*). This is to say, the categories of the diagram of sexual techniques can roughly be divided into two areas (which should not, by the way, be identified with subcategories), as shown in the picture with a dashed line.

The area of the right half-plane mainly contains categories relating to more explicit sex and practices of "harder" intensity, while the area of the left half-plane mostly has categories of "softer" intensity, as well as categories that relate to sexual "pleasuring"[133], foreplay and using objects. Note also that the categories from the right area are closer to a relation with the *violent* group, while the ones on the left are closer to *fantasy*.

As already stated in the section on the *type of sexual intercourse*, the subcategories of *pleasuring/masturbation*[134] are named either in participle (*Fisting, Fingering, Inserting)* in the case of satisfying a woman, or a suffix "job" is added, if it's to do with satisfying men, and it is assumed that the reason is the lack of epithet "sex", which creates an impression of an unequal exchange where the one doing the pleasuring is doing a certain job. The category that is similarily named is *Blowjob*, the only difference is that for that category there is an oral sex tag, ie. from the user's perspective it is given the "sex" trait, but if it is interpreted without the aid of analyzing tags, then, from the perspective of the site authors, at first glance this subspecies of pleasuring is the same type of category as hand stimulation. However, relations between categories, bring us to a different conclusion. It is first necessary to distinguish between the stimulations themselves. The stimulation of the penis often does not indicate to the stimulation of the vagina and vice versa. It is a one-way process, with the exception being mutual masturbation which does not commonly have a category, but has a tag (mutual). Thus, the category of manual stimulation of the penis can be considered independently from the categories of insertion, fisting, fingering etc. In regards to the

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[133]Sexual pleasuring/masturbation, as a practice of using limbs or sexual aids (toys), as described in the section *type of sexual intercourse as a life form*

[134]Researcher's category

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pleasuring of men, *"handjob"* points to *"footjob"* and *footjob* is a mixed category between pleasuring with the hand (the assumed form of pleasuring) and the category of feet, ie. a mixture of a *sexual technique* and affection towards a body part.

Since pleasuring with the hand is in correlation with masturbation (same action, only done by someone else), and pleasuring with feet is a mixed category which inherits the characteristics of the hand pleasuring cateogory, it also falls under the masturbatory analogy. On the other hand, *blowjob*, despite having a similar logic of forming names, also has several key differences.

Blowjob indicates *hardcore* but it is not that clips containing *hardcore* have *blowjob* as a successive action, where they act as two mutually distinctive categories, but *blowjob,* like *cumshot* and *moneyshot* is one of the integral and common follow-up parts of *hardcore,* ie. it is incorporated into what *hardcore* represents. A more important fact relating to *blowjob* is that its subcategories usually fall under sexual relations. The categories are *oral gangbang (blowbang), cum swallowing, 69, deep throat, facefuck, and throat fucking.* These are mostly "mixed" categories, but, if looked at one by one, every one of them inherits the sexual relationship analogous to its first supercategory, and from *blowjob* as the second supercategory, it inherits the oral destination of the practice from the first supercategory. For example, *throat fucking* is a *rough sex* in the mouth, while *blowbang* is *bukake* and *gangbang* with the face in a close up shot. The *69* is an exception to the subcategories that have sexual intercourse as the second supercategory, instead it is made of simultaneous oral sex, but this special case certainly proves the rule that oral sex is sex, given that as a category it is a considered sexual pose (ie sexual intercourse), and not pleasuring. This proves that the building motif of sexual intercourse in subcategories of *blowjob* may not be inherited from some external "technical" category (*gangbang, rough sex,* etc.), but the motive itself also contains fellatio, considering what constitutes the category *69*. On the one hand, it can be argued that the reason for this logic of categorization is only because of it being an act that conceptually resembles and contains all the elements of sexual intercourse: equal exchange of pleasure (applying the principle of reciprocity), and the partners lie atop one another. However, on the other hand, the aforementioned mutual masturbation for which there is often no category on the site, but there is a tag (mutual) also contains such an exchange, but it is not categorized in such a context. The conclusion is that the sub-categories that relate to oral sex, as well as the *blowjob* category itself correspond more to explicit sexual activity than pleasuring, and thus fit the place they currently

occupy on the scheme, while the category blowjob looks to be purely linguistically associated with *handjob* and *footjob.*

The only common denominator blowjob has with these categories is that one participant performs the stimulation of the penis of the other (temporarily passive) participant with a certain part of their body , and since the mouth can, among other things, be used for stimulation, hence the name of the base blowjob categories, and the other features of the category are inherent to the fact that there is a part of the body (bodily cavity), which replaces the role of the vagina in a sexual act, and the choice of the sexual act is more important than the act of pleasuring, even mutual pleasuring.

Similarily, there are also tags (but rarely categories) *titjob* and *tittyfuck*[135], where the tags shown in the appendix of the thesis the ratio of clips rated *fuck* and *job* on the site *xvideos*, is 49658:8884 = 5,59 : 1.

On the other hand, categories that relate to pleasuring women have "stronger" relational connections with *masturbation*, including keeping the category names in the case of *masturbation*. For example masturbation category indicates gaping and fingering and clips where a woman is, for example, masturbating with her fingers are often categorized as *fingering*. Toys are also supporting "closely related" category to those categories that do not specify which part of the body is doing the pleasuring. Categories that are associated with the sexual act are *cunnilingus* and *gaping*. Much like *blowjob*, *hardcore* and *lesbian* indicate cunnilingus so it is separated from pleasuring does not have so many subcategories as *blowjob*. Also, it can be seen that the *cunnilingus* and *analingus* are only linguistically related categories. But unlike *cunnilingus*, the part that connects sexual intercourse with gaping is inherited from categories that indicate gaping in that context (eg. if *gaping* is in a clip related to *anal*, it is inherited due to anal intercourse, not because of the expansion of the anal cavity). Proof of that is the property mentioned in the section on observed taxonomy that the subcategory - *fisting* is not "closely related" with categories relating to sexual intercourse, and subcategories should take all the "pure" characteristics of their supercategory. On the other hand, like *gaping*, *anal fisting* is a "mixed" subcategory of *anal* and *fisting*, and often appears as a practice with lesbians. In the previously

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[135]http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=tit%20job (accesssed 2.7.2013.)
 http://www.xvideos.com/video6897/jugs_-_gianna_michaels (accesssed 2.7.2013.)
http://anysex.com/13068/?promoid=tubecj (accesssed 2.7.2013.)

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observed taxonomy *anal fisting* was a category closer to *fisting*, but "mixed" cases were not allowed, so we had to choose what it is more "closely related" to.

Even though in the case of categories on author sites it is classified as pleasuring, there is a tag (not a category) fist fucking, which, like the already mention cased of joint tagging (but not categorizing) of *toys* and *penetration*, represents the user's perspective logic of tagging as is directly seen, and using the terminology (and name forming convention) learned from the categories of author sites and pornography in general, so that, if we were to follow the now-established terminology, fucking and job appear legitimate and widely agreed upon when forming tag names.

 It should be notied that *fist fucking* does not exist only because of the perception of the users and the terminology used in the clips, but there is also a magazine by the same name. However, from the perspective of the site authors, for something to be categorized as a category of penetration or sexual intercourse (which applies to some categories from the left half-plane of the diagram, but also applies to –all of the categories from the right half-plane) it seems that the requirement is use of the penis or tongue, and *fisting* does not fit into that category. But then, how is   *anal fisting* an exception?

The previous example of *gaping* and   *anal fisting* give us some additional information about the *anal* category. Anal does not just involve using the penis, but any sort of anal stimulation, wheter it is *fisting,* masturbation using objects or the classic *hardcore* sexual intercourse (all of which is represented with links in the scheme). I cite *hardcore* because, much like *blowjob*, which is not just a successive action of the accompanying category in the clips categorized as *hardcore*, but represents an integral part of *hardcore*, *anal* amongst other things represents a part of *hardcore*. Similarily, *anal* is not just a sexual intercourse, but everything related to stimulation. Тачнији превод те категорије би био *анално* (у оригиналу *anal*)*,* што је много општији термин од *anal* који обухвата све наведено, па и категорију *задњица* (која се односи на део тела). Note that in the diagram *anal* can be found in the middle of the dotted bordering line so that it definitely has elements from both sides of the line. For this reason, *anal* can be represented as a direct special subcategory of *sexual techniques*, so that those mentioned traits can be shown through links with other categories (as was done in the scheme) or it could be presented as a mixed category between *hardcore* and *pleasuring*, which would also be correct, but would not contain the process of finding a solution.

V 1.b.3. Scheme of the "sexual fantasies" categories

Figure 21: A schematic diagram of the "sexual fantasies" categories

The problem of categorizing *double penetration* was already described in the section on the observed taxonomy, and here it is a lot simpler, since we do not have to choose category affiliation, but it is a "mixed" category of *anal sex* and *threesome,* but one that has strong indication links with *hardcore* and penetration. *Double penetration* is linguistically closest to *penetration*, which is caused by the already considered category naming logic. The reason why it is relationally terms closer to *anal sex* and *threesome* is because these ideas are conceptually different: it was already stated that with *penetration* the point is in the penetration of a big penis or dildo, while with *double penetration* it is about a penetration of both the vaginal and anal cavity.

The problem of generality with *hardcore, sex, fucking*, or the soft borders of those categories, was already mentioned in the section on the observed taxonomy, where it was noted that many categories can fall under *hardcore*, where *hardcore* differed from the other categories of *type of sexual intercourse* by the intensity of roughness involved. This view stands on the scheme itself when considering cases of "pure" subcategories, considering that *penetration* and *rough sex* are subcategories of *hardcore.* More information is gleaned by looking at the bigger picture, whereby we also look at the categories that *hardcore* indicates to, considering that through *anal sex, blowjob, cunnilingus, double penetration* and, of course *cumshot,* we cover practically the complete scope of the categories from the right half-plane, and also establish a connection with the *violent group.* Still, *hardcore* cannot be said to be a supercategory of the categories which it indicates to, as the situation in the field is categorized into a relation of indication, or "closely related" categories, not subcategories. We also cannot claim that it is just indicating, as the mentioned categories are considered integral parts of *hardcore*. The scheme graphically shows this problem with arrows that are slightly thicker than those that represent a relation of indication and it is interpreted as: from the perspective of how categories are named and what relations they get as a result of processing data, they should be looked at as categories of indication; from the perspective of naming clips, as well as interpreting *hardcore* in literature and everyday speech, they should in addition be considered as subcategories. I do stress that in this case I have made an exception in comparison with other categories, because I consider that "close relatedness" is lacking because of the assumption of traits (even in tags!), because it is an overly general category, so this, in part, represents a research correction.

Other than representing a linked whole, the categories from the right half-plane of he diagram are closer to the *violent* group, and in this chapter it was also noted that all of the categories on the right "use" the penis or the tongue, which can imply, that the subcategories of *hardcore* and *group sex* are actually closer to the perspective of the male user target group (regardless of the sexual orientation), ie. identifying with the participants who are portrayed as certainly "enjoying it". This is in line with the view that the clips of external ejaculation (*cumshot moneyshot*) are a common joint feature of *hardcore* movies, in which the perspective of the phallus and power is the most important feature. (Williams, 1989:94). According to Linda Williams, *cumshot* represents "caught" evidence of truth about sexual enjoyment, and the technical problem of the visual representation of the visual representation of ejaculation which

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must be external is overcome by the comments and desire of the other participant for the one ejaculating to do so on a part of their body, despite the fact that the one being cummed on often closes their eyes during facial ejaculations, or does not see their back in cases when the ejaculation happens there. (Williams, 1989:101).

On the other hand, showing female enjoyment was always a challenge for pornographic movie directiors. (Williams, 1989). The category *female ejaculation* or *squirting* shows that the discourse of pornographic videos has moved even further to visual representation and categorization. Here, the aforemention problem is solved with an effect where a woman squirts a stream of liquid (special effect), which very much resembles the clips of male ejaculation.[136]. The other alternative to clips of external male ejaculation is *creampie,* which represents an internal ejaculation into the anal or vaginal cavity, but as can be seen from the related categories on the diagram, it is also something that is additionally proven visually. Either the consequence is a *female ejaculation*, or we later get *gaping* or *felching,* eg. sucking out and stretching out of the sperm from that cavity, to show that the other participant has been filled and over-filled after a sexual act. All cases of expulsion of bodily fluids, in addition to evidencing the existence of a liberating enjoyment to the viewers, have two more characteristics. The first feature has to do with the establishment of relations between power and bodily secretions. According to Leach, the removed material leaves our borders and is no longer in its place; what is not in its place is filthy; that implies that " I can be sure that I am what I am, if I completely clean myself of the bordering impurity" but the paradox is that the "clean me" without the bordering impurity would have no external encounters with the outside world, would be free from the domination of others, but would be completely powerless, and so an opposition of pure / impure = powerlessness / power is imposed, hence "power is in impurity, and holiness is attributed to ascetic and ecstatic behaviour (Leach, 2002: 94). In contrast to the logic of some ascetics, that the loss of semen means loss of power (Leach, 2002: 110), the "wasteful" logic of the filming of pornographic content (I do not mean anything pejorative, but am simply indicating the property that only what is explicitly displayed is counted) implies that what remains inside the creator of the expelled fluids is not what is important (so that the "loss of power" is irrelevant), but that only that which comes out represents a gift of power. On the one hand, the one producing secretions is dominant, and on the other, often the other

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[136]Category *moneyshot* is today more often called *cumshot* which again represents giving precedence to what is seen, even in relation to a long-standing jargon.

participant is being sprayed or fed (through one of the body cavities) fluids, which resembles a gift or a reward. Another feature of body fluids refers to the voyeuristic feature, whereby the user has the impression of watching someone doing something, which would otherwise be done in privacy (in this case it may also be only one participant who, for instance, is urinating) (Pornography: The Secret History Of civilization 3, 1999).

The emphasis on the visual, rather than tactile, as well as the aforementioned practice of filming the maximum visibility of genitals versus comfort, on the one hand confirms the staged nature of pornographic movieswhich is a product of culture and the process of film evolution, but on the other hand, opens up the space for searching for different categories, closer to the so-called *real sex*, like *sensual, real, couples, female friendly,* etc. These clips are often named *passionate sex*, and the acting also includes foreplay and "exchanging tenderness" (massage, kissing, caressing etc.)

Amateur is, also, present in this group of categories, just not shown on the scheme, because amateur clips exist for almost all of the categories. It is clear that these categories are closer to sexual fantasies (they are "mixed" categories, which are direct subcategories of *sexual fantasies* and sexual techniques). If „*real sex"* is observed in opposition to *hardcore* (it is necessary to point out that in this context softcore is not the opposite of *hardcore*, since *softcore* exist in the context of: explicit – hidden sexual intercourse), then its derivates are also in opposition to *hardcore*, eg. *lesbians* and *couples* in that context are something that's expected to be "harmonious" and non-violent.

It is also interesting that within the category *"female friendly"* doesn't contain *gay* and *yaoi* clips, even though these categories have female users as their target group.

The base category, „sexual techniques", as we have seen, has bordering "mixed" categories both with *violence* and with *sexual fantasies*, as well as two categories that are differentiated through roughness and explicitness. Except for a few "externally mixed" categories that are associated with the other two basic categories, in this scheme, we have observed that there are a large number of "internal mixed" categories, that is, those which originate from different categories, but are also within the sexual techniques. However, if viewed in the context of the previous section on the observed taxonomy, these are "mixed" categories stemming from the different life forms (*bodily fluids, forms of sexual intercourse, number of participants*, etc.), which also explains the

complexity and overlapping of categories, as well as the inability to fully show a classic taxonomy.

The third and last base category refers to "sexual fantasies". This is also the category with the largest number of subcategories, considering the multitude of fantasies that are in the section on observed taxonomies mostly found in the *life forms* of *theme-plot-concept, main participant, sexual orientation*, while other categories are found as auxiliary categories which are involved when creating concepts. The area marked by the dotted Area marked with a dotted curve represents the subcategories of the category *main participant*. The other subcategories are the "mixed" categories - *sensual*, *female friendly* and *role play* (which contains subgroups from the observed taxonomy). Although largest, this scheme actually contains split fragmented concepts which are most often built by several categories that indicate to each other, so that the affinity of the user who is "aimed at" with this concept often encompasses the presence of these categories, or at least some of them.

The *sensual* category, which is related *real sex* was already described in the section on sexual techniques as a mixed category. The part which represents the sexual fantasy is the segment which relates to "passionate sex", as the clips are sometimes titled, ie. to a fantasy of a sexual intercourse which has an emotional component, whether the users vicariously live through one of the participants, or are imagining themselves voyaeristically participating in such an event, which is allegedly closer to reality than *hardcore*, or simply consider the content as "moves" or acting which suits them better. Beside the already described categories (in the section on *sexual techniques*) which indicate to sensuality, within *sexual fantasies* sensual is linked with *yaoi* and *French*.

Category *French*, on the one hand, confirms the notion of sensual, and on the other hand, sensual is used to categorize and define one of the characteristics of the sexual notion of the category French. The "closely related" categories to French are *maid*, sometimes tagged or in jargon called *french maid* - as a metaphor for the naive and "easy" woman; *sensual* (primarily kissing - so-called french kiss, but also romantic parts, passion, etc.) - the notion about the French (or, rather French women) as lovers and romantics; *MILF* - as a mature, experienced, feminine, and *stockings* - as part of the uniform of maids, prostitutes, women from the nightclub, but also part of high fashion. The aforementioned "closely related" categories in the case of French women can represent a fantasy of an easily accessible romance with a stranger who has extensive

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experience in providing sexual pleasure. However, the point is not to demonstrate the existence of a particular opinion regarding the sexual practices of members of a particular nation (the pornographic industry is full of more or less established rules), but to show that there are categories that when combined form a particular fantasy, and if the user wants to find something from that fantasy, they can seek it through these categories, whereby it would it be easiest to attempt the category *French*, since in this case it represents a nodal category. Another thing that can be shown is that for a "successful fantasy" there is a need for the presence of categories from different life forms of the observed taxonomy (main participant, body part, objects and clothing, concept, etc.). There are a few more given examples from categories relating to ethnic or racial origin, all following the same logic. For example, blacks are connected to *threesome, gangbang, large penis, interracial and ghetto*. The Japanese are associated with "school" categories: *schoolgirl, school, college, coworker, uniforms, office, student* (the influence of the Japanese film and animation, and even pornographic industry, which often put the school milieu as part of the story). Thais are connected to *ladyboy* (appearance of preferred actors), the Swedes with *blonde* (also the appearance of the preferred actors), etc. It is interesting that with Latinos, instead of the expected (but not frequent) dance, exotic and romantic categories, a very common "closely related" category is *adultery*, which is certainly a turnaround in filming, and it is possibly correlated with the long-standing existence of Latin American soap operas, and therefore the perception of the audience. It is necessary to state that these are not the same clips which are nowadays categorized differently, but the clips themselves as have "Latin Adultery" as titles.

From these few examples it can be seen that the pornographic industry determines in part what ethnic categories will be like, but also that it is not a closed system in a vacuum, but something that is changing in accordance with external events. However, as has been mentioned in the section on observed taxonomy in the *form of life – skin color and nation,* the category of nation is more and more referring to the origins of the actor, rather than the fantasy created together by the "closely related" categories, but when it is an aspect of fantasy, it is formed in this way.

Going back to *yaoi* as the second category, which like the category *French* is in correlation with sensual, and is indicated by it. The *yaoi* and *bara* (which also indicate to each other) are, as animated films with homosexual themes, of course "mixed" subcategories of the categories *hentai* and *gay*. They are interesting because of the

violent *hentai*-inherited component, and so ther is an expressed hierarchy regarding which participant is dominant. But what might seem like indirect proof, and could be seen from these mixed categories is that the situation is actually vice versa:drawing is inherited from hentai and component of dominance is taken from the *gay* category, thereby making the intersection of the properties of these two supercategories (*hentai* and *gay*), which puts jaoi and bara in the role of caricatures used to explain the point, in regards to gay themes, and when asymmetric dominance is present. *Female Friendly*, as already mentioned in the chapter on sexual techniques, contains a component of sensual, but within this category there are no *gay* nor *yaoi* clips, although many women-users watch these clips. *Female friendly*, on the one hand contains excerpts closer to fantasy and eroticism, which does fit the female users, but on the other hand it is impossible not to notice the absence of one element, which may imply not so much a restriction on what would be appropriate for female users to view (the category is created for economic reasons of demand rather than for educational purposes, so it is in everyone's interest to meet the needs of the increasingly frequent female users), but instead a delineation of target groups on the sites where the gay category is intended for gay customers, and the appropriate for women category, is, in fact, not appropriate for male users - a message that "making love is typical of women, and pure sex of men," since otherwise, many categories would be robbed of value, eg. movies would be filmed in vain.

Before we enter the field of subcategories of the main participant, it is necessary to dissect a few "side" categories. In the example of the category *female domination (femdom)*, which is part of the violent group, we also obtain a similar result that violence against women is violence in the true sense, and violence committed by women on men is only violence with consent. This category (besides the already known relations with CFNM and reverse gangbang) only when it is a tag with the same name (not a category) indicates a teacher and the military, eg. whenever from the perspective of the clip, in an institutional sense, a teacher, officer, or boss is "above" the male participant, the categorization and action switch to being a game or implies a man's permission because of a masochistic fantasy.

Wild and crazy represents a not so precisely defined concept which encompasses the categories in that part of the scheme, which mostly deal with parties, orgies, dances etc. and are not distinctive, while indicating to each other. Among these categories, *reverse gangbang* and *CFNM* are linked in the case of multiple clothed women (when

one is clothed, it is closer to *femdom*), and often this sort of plot happens on an organized CFNM party, such as a male striptease, only with an included sexual intercourse. (which can be seen from the "closely related" categories *party* and *striptease*). *Party* indicates both *striptease* and *orgies*, in the 2nd case having a mutual indication, almost identification, considering that if *party* is a pornographic category, and is not *striptease,* or one isolated performer, then only *orgies* are left. Finally, *striptease* is correlated to   *dance*, and dance with *oil.* This is how the chain of categories that fall under the "unrestrained" behaviour of *wild and crazy* was graphically shown. The mutual characteristics of these categories are that women from similar social categories gather together (eg. *MILF*) and that they encourage each other. Also, *foursome* does not indicate to any of these categories, which is in accordance with the already mention trait that a foursome represents a "harmonious sex" (eg. two couples) In addition, these categories are not related to the category *female friendly.*

Regarding the participants, there are a couple of examples of concepts that belong to "mixed" categories given. One concept can relate to a *wife* and *housewife* (*wife* indicates to *housewife*). Both are of course indicated to by the categories *MILF* and *Amateur* (the wife represents a role that exists in real life, and the amateur clip evokes authenticity, in the mind of the user, of course). Both categories also indicate *adultery* (many clips are regularly called *"Cheating Wife"*) and if the clips don't have an explicitly stated *adultery* category, they can be related to a discourse that can implicitly mean nothing else[137]. Afroamericans are also implicitly involved in the act of adultery, eg. interracial (when the husband is not there, the wife calls a group of black men).

Precisely because of the variety of sexual partners and the guts and willingness to do it, the *wife* is a more powerful (but also shiftier) concept from *housewife.* The other variation, which includes the husband's consent is the so-called *wife sharing* where the husband gives his 'property' – the wife, to acquintances and either watches the act (*troilism*) or joins in too (*threesome, group sex, orgies, wedding).* Wedding is, also, related to adultery (eg. adultery on the wedding day etc.). Instead of breaking taboos, the logic behind this concept is more to treat the categories of *wife* and *housewife* as property which should be under control, which is represented through sharing (ie. rewarding, gifting) or swapping, and a testament that control needs to exist

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[137]http://www.imporntube.com/view/305481/wife_gangbanged_with_husband_on_phone.html

and be sexually practiced is the fact that she is like an animal in a cage unfaithful and sexually insatiable (*hardcore* also indicates to *wife*), but this is also a guarantee that the having her as 'property' pays off, and increases the sexual arousal caused by this category.

The next concept of categories is *school* categories. *Cheerleader* is related to school categories, *dance, lesbians* (the logic is that there are lesbians in a female uniformed collective, not only because of the rules and hierarchy, but even more so because porn logic dictates that any group of women in one place can also be lesbians, the fantasy being that that's what they do when they are alone), *oral sex* and *hardcore.* Cheerleader is a fetishized concept, but it is possibly that the Чирлидерсица је иначе фетишизиран концепт, contribution of hardcore porn in this category comes from "Debbie does Dallas". Male and female teachers differ in that a male teacher is linked to eg. a threesome (more schoolgirls at once), and the female teacher is linked to visual categories (*MILF, big tits, stockings, glasses, uniforms)* as well as school categories (student, schoolboy/schoolgirl etc.) and the tags that often show up are *female domination* and *instructional* (clip names such as "sex teacher" etc.) which is again neglected by categories, as already mentioned. Japanese and teens are also, of course, joined to the school categories, in all the varieties, as well as school orgies. Simply, schools as locations, in addition to school uniforms, teachers as authorities (analogous to the boss and the office), cheerleaders as the sexiest teenage girl (similar to the *babes* category), and teachers as the sexiest *MILFS* (equivalent to *porn stars* or dominator "with consent"), and within this concept there are a lot of variations of categories which include young people (*teens* and those a little older), actors that can participate in different sexual techniques, so that the "school" represents a closed and self-sufficient system with all the necessary elements from classic pornographic video clips (just packaged a little differently), even without looking back at any additional social and psychological component. The next concept relates to the so-called *alternative* people, which represents a visual representation of the notion of a certain lifestyle of urban people from the margins of society who have a distinct attitude and outlook on life. This group of categories is characterized mostly by visual elements – *amateur video* (as a guarantee of authenticity of the low budget "non-commercial" production) and *tattoos* as mandatory supercategories (there is also the specific dress code) then *teenage* as a restriction that it is about young people, *emo* and *goth* as the most famous subcultures related to this group. *Emo* can be shown masturbating (a notion about their loneliness),

or can, in the case of men, be identified with *twink*– his gay counterpart, who resembles him visually (as much a notion about their femininity as well as surely being a twink, if they are *gay*). The *gay* category intermixing with the alternative category is a guarantee of their alleged free spirit.

The other categories that are also indicated by *gay* are *hunk (muscled)* and *stud* – almost the same concept to *hunk*, just less gay, and less animalistic. This is why *stud* borders with the military, and not *hunk*. However, *stud* is because of it's visual nature, one of the rare male categories prone to objectification, with the metaphor about the breeding stud. In that way, just like teens sometimes sexually service older people, this is also done by the *stud.* There is also *daddy* as a category "closely related" to the *gay* category.

There are also "smaller" groups of categories which imply the main main participant. *Doctor* and *nurse* (*big tits*) are like uniformed personnel that reanimate someone with sexual techniques. The next "small concept is *shemale* that is indicated to only by *big penis* (sometimes *big tits*), and has *ladyboy*, who is indicated by *Thai,* as a subcategory. Despite the fact that this concept has been given a whole taxon of the *life form* "first observed taxonomy" (the first section of this chapter), according to the categories that indicate to it, it seems to be a simple concept of a person with a penis and breasts (supposedly the "best of both worlds") who brings a message – *big tits* – "look, it's a woman", *big penis* – "look, it's a man"; *ladyboy* – "look, they look just like a woman, it's not just a woman with female breasts", *Thai* – "their men and women are the same". The next "small" category is babysitter, which indicates abuse, which is closely related to the notion of a housemaid that can be freely abused by both the parents and the children.

Finally, the military represents a category with most relations, which belongs to both violence (both forms), and fantasies and tehcniques, with all sorts of "closely related" categories and sexual orientations. The military, in the symbolic and sexual sense, in the moments when it is used (in wartime) has the power over life and death, where defense, rape or murder depend on the soldier's good will, and without social condemnation. Which seeps to be a concept that finds a place in all categories and fantasies, if they are at all based on power.

V 1.в. Final considerations in this chapter

On the example of the observed taxonomy formed on the principle of "closeness" (the second part of the chapter), an alternative and more credible system was observed, compared to the one shown directly on the sites (first observed taxonomy). There were 11 observed taxons and most categories could be hierarchically arranged similar to the basic principles of ethnotaxomy. In each taxon we observed the building motifs that were common to groups of categories, and that fit the intermediate level. However, information about the meaning of many categories that sometimes, but not always, had relationships with other categories were lost, and some were difficult to fit into the taxonomy, considering that they were practically inherited from more than one supercategory.

However, such a structure has helped to isolate significant groups of categories, that is, to note the first level of classification, and data processing. Schematic diagrams which represented the categories presented also the mutual indication of categories to each other, so that the information was more cohesive. The conclusion from the first base category, which refers to violence is that controlled violence with consent is correlated with the existence of rules and control, at least in relation to the agreed rules, while real violence (in the truse sense) is presented through chaos, or when things are not in their expected place, such as public humiliation or incest, or torture by uniformed personnel. In the group of sexual techniques there are several mixed categories, but they are mixed within the sexual techniques themselves. The concepts of pleasuring and sexual intercourse, rough sex, which is from the perspective of the phallus and anal sex which implies any stimuli are all separated from each other. Also overviewed was *cumshot* and its variations, cultural anthropological perspective of communication through body fluids, as well as the opinion about *female ejaculation* as one of the indicators of the fact that today's hardcore clips are more blatant and closer to the visual, than the movies from decades ago.

Real sex becomes a counterpart to *hardcore*. In the third, and perhaps most important base category, sexual fantasies, a certain trait of the categories was observed, one that has been anticipated back in the observed taxonomy, but could not then be visually represented and analyzed properly.

It refers to the fact that categories, especially those that related to sexual fantasies by themselves, don't carry enough information about the concept, but together with

"closely related" categories form concepts which reveal the cultural thoughts behind the categorization of pornography, and which can be interpreted only when the whole concept, as a collection of joint category is viewed, where categories like Leaches' signs mean little by themselves, but play a part in formin the sentence, or meaning. Thus, several examples were given: sensual and appropriate for women, ethnic groups, wild and crazy, wives-housewives, schools, alternative, gays, hospitals and the military.

V 2. APPLICATION OF THE MODEL OF THE MIND AS AN INTERPRETATIVE TOOL FOR DETERMINING THE CULTURAL CONDITIONALITY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF CLASSIFICATION

V 2.a Subject, method, goal

The results of the ethnotaxonomic analysis from the previous chapter must also be proven from another angle, ie using some of the interpretative tools to explicate cultural models that correspond to the thought patterns and methods that the authors of sites and users resort to when selecting and categorizing clips where by categorizing, I mean more a conceptualization of individual categories and the establishment of relations between the different categories, rathen than the linguistic nature of the category names. As noted, some of these names had a history of meaning before they become categories on the Internet, for example. *deep throat* was already the name of a movie, the *gonzo* genre, as initially Stagliano's serial *Buttman* from 1990 to 2005 (Maddison, 2009: 38) (Pornography: The Secret History Of Civilization 5, 1999), and there were also genres on vhs and cd compilations, etc., but as far as naming specifically goes, for this study it is not so important (but not absolutely irrelevant either) when something dates from and in which film it first appeared, given that today when using the Internet, this knowledge does not figure so muchm either in the activities of the users or in the process of categorizing (except the name), therefore the context of use is different, compared to the one that existed when these terms were first coined. What is more important is, if a name, say, gets used by a number of related categories (eg. *job*) in various forms of pleasuring, which was discussed in the previous chapter, since the elements (in the current consideration being the names of categories), by themselves, do not have a meaning, as long as they are not brought to a logical connection with other elements from a fitting context (Leach, 2002). Also, we are not trying to interpret the possible expressive or communicative intention of the author of a work, but we are dealing with the copied and culturally shared meaning, which is formed in the public semantic space (Žikić, 2010b: 24,32). In the area of Internet pornography that would be related to the fact that for this research, it is of greater importance how the clips are interpreted on the websites by the site authors and users (primarily through categorization, in both cases, but also commenting, in the case of the users), rather than what is the intention of the production company or the author of the amateur film was.

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Considering that the creation of categories is the application of a scheme of generalizing characteristics and taxonomies also represent a scheme of establishing a hierarchy of category schemes (D'Andrade, 1995: 179), and we consider that a model is a linked set of schemes (which do not have to be used simultaneously) and is mainly based on implicit knowledge, according to which the cultural model is one used by a certain social group, we can conclude that the application of an appropriate cultural model and an ethnotaxonomic analysis are qualitatively compatible with each other. In D"Andrade's work, the idea is that cognitive anthropologists can establish models of certain thought patterns responsible for behaviours (of a particular community, population, environment etc.) which is what anthropologists deal with anyway. The assumption is that the model of the mind is more important than other models because it represents a cultural and cognitive organization which is responsible for all other culturally conditioned thought patterns, therefore it can be considered a "model to models". D"Andrade claims that the cultural model of the mind, which he proposed, refers to Western cultures.[138], but it is precisely the type of model that is applicable to my material, considering that it deals with supracultural communication, that can be perceived as a process in which the cultural cognition, specific to western cultures, gets accepted or remodeled and sent back, where it, also, gets accepted etc. (Zikic, 2012:337).

Examples of such communication exist Japanese popular culture, where the recognizeable elements in the domain of animated pornography (girls, schoolgirls, tentacles etc.) which are known as a Japanese product often attributed by people to their allegedly perverse tastes, still have ea background of inter-cultural exchange. The first Japanese animated pornographic film was "Lolita Anime" from 1984.[139], which belongts to *xentai*, considering that the main topic of the film is the sexual intercourse between minors, and several episodes also feature scenes of rape and bondage[140].

However, the very term "Lolita" was taken from western popular culture (consumer perspective), in which it refers to a sexually attractive girl (who is, in some definitions a teenager,and in some represents a girl who teases and seduces older

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[138]These can be interpreted as contemporary cultures of Europe, North America, Australia, urban centers of the Asian Commonwealth countries and Latin America, as well as highly developed industrial societies of the Far East - Japan and South Korea.

[139]However, animated pornographic movies in Japan existed even before it - „A thousand and one Arabian Night" (1969) nad „Cleopatra" (1970), which also can be viewed as applications of motives from the outside world, cultivated in Japan

[140]http://www.animenewsnetwork.com/encyclopedia/anime.php?id=7695 (accessed 16.8.2013.)

men)[141] which, again, reprerents a re-arranged and differently contextualized interpretation of a part of the theme of a novel by the same name written by Vladimir Nabukov (1955) in which the middle-aged protagonist Humbert falls in love with his twelve year old stepdaughter Dolores (whose nickname is Lolita), who is, from a psychological standpoint, more of a victim than a seducer (Savage, 2009). Also, *Lolicon* (from *Lolita Complex*), a subculture that involves grown up young women dressing like girls, schoolgirls, or as dolls with Victorian and gothic dresses. The members of this subculture claim that they strive to be "cute not sexy", and the dress code spreads later from Japan and becomes accepted by the "rest of the world" as "Lolita Fashion", although Europe and the United States already had a similar 'unwritten' style, which again has links with the Lolita myth, and so there is intermixing with the Japanese[142] (Savage, 2009:185) (Hardy, 2011:50). *Lolicon* also represents a specific Japanese genre, most often animated, in which girls are shown in a sexy connotation[143]. Another example of communication relates to the recognizable Japanese pornographic export *tentacle erotica/rape*. Because of the influence of the censorship on showing genitalia (part of the US reforms in Japan), there is an occurrence of numerous animated movies with monsters that use tentacles (which don't fall under censorship, despite being a phallic shape) during sexual intercourse (sometimes with teenage girls) which again represents a synthesis of a foreign political and cultural influence (censorship), motives of the local culture (such as the "Dream of the fisherman's wife") and an already existing culturally mixed concept (*Lolicon*).

Mutual development of the concepts, inherent to supracultural communication makes a cognitive cultural basis for many of man's expressive actions: music, movies, and pornography, ie its mental structure, classification and finally, use in reality of its categories.

Such a system in any later implementation or development involves the anticipated values, or characteristics, or action in the clip for specific categories or tags, which, when creating or searching categories, the site authors or users are to a lesser or greater degree aware, ie there is a core competency and mutual concensus what a specific category should provide. As has already been presented in the chapter on

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[141] http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lolita?show=0&t=1289146883 (accessed 16.8.2013.) http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=lolita (accessed 16.8.2013.)
[142] http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/28/nyregion/thecity/28trib.html?_r=3&oref=slogin& (accessed 17.8.2013.)
[143] http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=lolicon (accessed 17.8.2013.)

cognitive anthropology, the cultural model of the mind was called the "folk model" or "folk model of the mind" by D'Andrade. [144], analogous to folk taxonomies and classifications, so as to differ from the model of the mind from other sciences. This model represents all events in the people's consciousness, which is also reflected in physical action. The idea of the model is to understand culturally conditioned thoughts and actions of people depending on outside factors. The folk model of the mind consists of classes which have relations between them, and these classes are *perception*, ie view of the outside world, *thought* and *feelings* which create a *desire* that then results in *intention,* which results in *action*, or influencing the outside world (D'Andrade,1995:164).
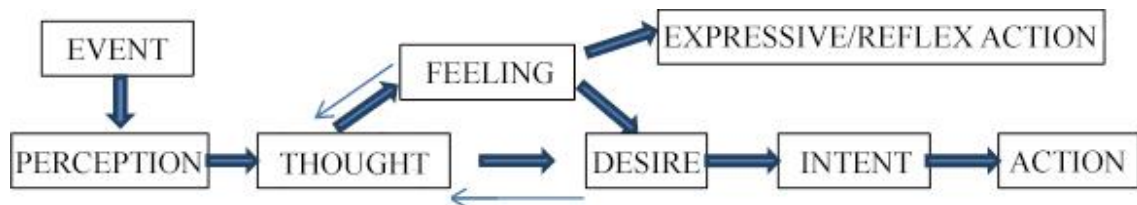
Figure 22: Folk model of the mind (D'Andrade,1995:162)

In rarer cases we have an influence of desires and feelings on the thought process, which is marked with thinner arrows (D'Andrade,1995:160-164).

In the functioning of the model of the mind it is necessary to differentiate between *states, processes and achievements* (D'Andrade,1987:116):

- *Process* is a continous or repetitive assemblage of inner actions – eg. watching, thinking, enjoying.
- *State* is, also, something that happens in time, but is not continual and repetitive – ie seeing, believing, loving. The difference between internal states and processes can be illustrated with an example of a man who is sleeping:
  "While sleeping, everyone knows the multiplication table, is afraid of nuclear war, plans to go shopping this week etc. but only if he is awake can we cay that he is counting 11 x 15, worries about nuclear war, plans to take a trip etc . Thus, the mind can be treated as a container of various states and conditions, having a large number of simultaneous potentialities, but it can also been seen as an

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[144]In further text the "folk model of the mind"

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executor of several simultaneous operations, being limited to a small number of such concurrent actions. Therefore, someone can be in a specific state, because they are performing a certain process. "He sees him because he is watching" etc. (D'Andrade,1987:116).

- *Achievement* is the final state or process.

States, processes and achievements classified according to the model of the mind (D'Andrade,1987:116):

- Perceptions:
    - simple state (see, hear, smell, taste, feel);
    - achieved state (spot, sight, notice);
    - simple process (look, observe, watch, listen, touch).

- Belief / knowledge:
    - simple state (believe, know, remember, expect, assume, doubt, imagine, suspect, recall);
    - achieved state (understand, realize, infer, learn, find out, discover, guess, conclude, establish, forget)
    - simple process (reason, think about);
    - finished process (figure out, plan).

- Feeling/emotions
    - simple state (love, like, fear, hate, blame, approve, pity, sympathize, feel sad, feel happy);
    - achieved state (forgive, surprise, scare);
    - simple process (enjoy, be frightened, be angered, be bored, mourn, emote).

- Desires/wishes
    - simple state (want to, desire, like to, feel like, need);
    - achieved state (choose, select);
    - simple process (wish, hope for).

- Intentions
    - simple state (intend to, aim to, mean to, plan to);
    - achieved state (decide to).

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In rare cases people have intentions without knowledge why they did it, or wanted to (ie "I told him that I will go, but I don't know why I did it. I **don't** want to go.")[145]. On the other hand, desires also have an emotional component, so the boundary between desire and emotions often isn't clear, and thus we can sometimes view desires as a special form of emotions (D'Andrade, 1987:120-121). What someone feels, can influence how they think. Feeling can sometimes stimulate someone to think in certain directions, or completely remove someone's ability to think (ie anger) (D'Andrade, 1987:135).

Cultural models represent culturally conditioned thoughts and actions, and thus are dependent on their given environment. In the case of consumption of pornographic content on the Internet, the space is virtual, which includes the supracultural context. Folk models of the environment as well as the already discovered principles of classification, can serve as a starting point for setting or discovering the cultural model of the mind, whereby the model of the mind is later used as an interpretative tool for interpreting the data, in order to understand a fitting cognitive pattern that influences the cultural conditionality of the principle of data classification, which corresponds to the principles of creating the obtained classification.

„An interesting feature of many cultural models is that the respondents are aware of them. This is not the case with the model of the mind, where the respondents do not have an organized view on the model as a while. They use the model, but cannot describe it rationally. In that sense, the model shows up as a well learned set of procedures that we know how to apply in practice, rather than a corpus of facts which we can recall"[146]. Of course, the folk model of the mind is not a completely procedural system, since the respondents can only partially describe how the model operates, when asked for specific examples"(D'Andrade, 1987:114). In the case of the knowledge of a user searching pornography on the Internet, such "beacons" would be tags.

Whether we look at a list of tags joined to one clip or a list of all tags on a given site[147], tags give the user information on what is in a video clip, giving a list of terms that can be clicked, if the user wants to watch another clip with a similar feature or trait, which in the context of the aforementioned declarative knowledge regarding the cultural

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[145] This is different depending on whether people are aware of the functioning of the model of the mind or not.
[146]The difference between procedural and declarative knowledge, mentioned in the chapter on cognitive anthropology, in the section on schemes and connectionism.
[147] The whole list of tags on all websites exists as an option, but most often there is a list of categories made by the site authors

model of the mind can be seen as a reminder, or as putting up a list of questions regarding specific examples with the intention of activating a region of the user's model, which will give an affirmative answer to their thought verification: is this what they think will fulfill their wish, like a situation in a restaurant, when a person who cannot decide momentarily, reads the menu and at one point deicdes that something in it is exactly what they want in this moment, which of course only applies to those names whose meanings they already know. If the user already knows what they want to find, this, too, can be done through tags that they are sure will give them a closer search result on the site, or more relevant clips than if they were to use arbitrary words. In this sense, tags help when navigating through pornographic sites. The user can select a clip, within it a certain tag, which will then take them to a page with a selection of clips which contain that tag, where they can look for a suitable clip and thus narrow the search. I mention tags, and not categories, given that there are more tags per clip, and they also have more synonymous terms, and thus provide a wider choice, closer to the user's terminology. Another feature of tags, in addition to assistance in navigating, is to train users, instructing them in the terminology. In the appendix dedicated to tags we can see that on the website xvideos site among the available tags for oral sex on men we have fellatio and oral and blowjob and variations of sucking, so that even if the user does not know that they are synonyms, if they are not aware of any sex or pornographic jargon (eg, milf, fisting, etc.), after a few searches they will, on the list of tags of viewed clips see closely related or synonymous terms, and thus learn, and later, when seeing one of them as a site author category (eg. in the case of fellatio - most often blowjob) mentally classify all other synonymous tags under one "official" one.However, in addition to learning, they can also give their contribution, by "tagging" a clip, and in this way contributing to the overall structure. This kind of thing seems obvious: a person accesses a pornographic site and through the offered tags and categories learns additional methods and expressions under which certain clips are filed, as well as learn which are closely related or synonymous, which helps them future searches.

The question is: why is this so important or different from any case in which someone learns the rules of a system they set foot in? The issue of uniqueness will be given attention later , while the part in regards to learning the rules of the environment coincide with D'Andrade's question that if the model of the mind and other cultural models are models of personal, individual experience, then how can they be learned or how are they manifested as learned, like any other learned patterns of thought and

behaviour. Also, according to D'Andrade, each model of the mind uses external events to identify ways in which in which it marks its own definition of internal states (D'Andrade, 1987: 145). This not only means that the folk model of the mind puts more emphasis on conscious processes than is the case with the scientific models of the mind, but also supports the assumption that it is something which is not strictly individual, but shared among members of a particular population. In order to talk about the existence of a population, it must be characterized by some important common semantic feature, which is related to what the results refer to (Žikić, 2010b: 22). In this case, if the usage of the model of the mind is applicable to classifications stemming from a particular use of the Internet, or if the behaviour and reactions of Internet users who visit pornographic sites are not random, but (in different respondents) there are patterns of behaviour that are repeated, then we can talk about the existence of such a population.

Before getting to the analysis, it is necessary to define who the aforementioned models apply to, exactly. It is my[148] interpretation of the model, starting from D'Andrade's cultural model of the mind, considering its characteristics as a base model, its usability for observing behaviour which is split between members of a certain population, as well as the fact that the model relates to modern technologically advanced societies which is in accordance with the already mentioned formation of a basis for supracultural communication. The first analysis will be concerned with the behaviour of the visitors of pornographic sites, or rather, their comments when looking at certain clips.

The goal is not just to show that there are common reactions of the users, ie we can talk about the existence of a special social group[149], where the parameters of defining the group are based on specific usage of the Internet during the mutual conversation between the users, as well as during searching and browsing pornography (in the domain of clip searching through categories, and not through finding the names of feature films etc.) but the goal is instead to later also apply the results to the part that relates to the model of categorizing, only now with a knowledge of the target group that consumes, and tags. In order to determine the search pattern from the user perspective, I will use the model of the mind on the "common denominators" of the comments which have been gathered on the forums closely related to pornographic sites, or on the

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[148]Researcher's (M. Vasic)

[149]Which is, also, very important, since the existence of a group represents one of the preconditions of anthropological research.

pornographic sites themselves, but, actually, mostly gathered from the list of comments that can be found next to individual clips (so as to correspond to the categories/tags joined to the clip). The application of the model of the mind in this first analysis will be of a simple "algorithmic" type: separating the elements of behaviour according to the classes of the model (thoughts, feelings, desires etc.), explication of the chain of current states, processes or events of the user's model of the mind during the "search" and later observing whether and in which way this kind of model is changed when compared to the default one and what implications this has on further analysis. This part is important because it represents an an introduction into the second analysis, one dealing with establishing relations between the obtained categorization schemes from the ethnotaxonomic analysis chapter, and applying the model of the mind to categorization.

D'Andrade cites the questioning of accuracy of the folk model of the mind, especially coming from psychologists who claim that it cannot replace the scientific model of the mind or the neurological model of the brain processes.

Considering the different usability value which he designated for the folk model of the mind, it has already been described that this is not a problem, but D'Andrade himself cites the existence of various models[150] for different cultures (D'Andrade, 1995:165-168), but the mentioned "deviant" cases refer to the interpretation of certain behaviour within a certain population from a given theoretically-methodological standpoint, and they also start from a basic (western) cultural model of the mind, which is in some part of the analysis modified, and as has been noted, in this case, because of the supracultural communication, the "western model" is definitely appropriate as an interpretative tool.

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[150] These models, although different in Wierzbicka's opinion, also resemble the original model. She argues that, regardless of the different linguistic and psychological implementations of classes and model relations, which vary from culture to culture, the idea of a person who thinks, wants, feels, knows and talks or does different things is universally applicable, especially because every language has some forms of words for these concepts (Wierzbicka, 1993). It follows that there is no culture to which the folk model of the mind can not be applied, but this does not imply that a universal one can be used. Instead, it depends on the language and cultural framework and context of usage.

V 2.b. Users of pornography as a population and the application of the cultural model of the mind on their clip search

The first analysis, as noted, dealt with finding a common behaviour of members of a group of users, when browsing and searching clips, and obtained by applying the model of the mind on user behaviour. It should be noted that, in this case, the only knowledge that should later be used is abstract, conceptual knowledge, and that the specific concepts of age, nation, ethnic group, and so on. refer exclusively to the context of the categories themselves, and not on the nature of the users.

The behaviour of Internet users is different while on the Internet than in real life situations. They adhere less to social norms, even when not using a pseudonym, but their real name and surname. Because of these characteristics it is necessary to delineate the relevant material. A curiosity of the comments and evaluations of pornographic websites is the fact that they are mostly positive, unlike conventional websites, such as "youtube.com" or "dailymotion.com", where there are plenty of angry, bitter and negative comments, and bad ratings. This gives the impression that there is an informal, conditional division into general sites - ones which have a generally accepted opinion; and service industry sites, such as pornographic sites, which people visit for the sake of certain goods or contents, do not complain, and from time to time even give praise.

The content of the uploaded clips, comments and "tags" should affect the actions of the users. The presence of similar conduct in the discourses of different clips and the appearance of the same actors can cause similar comments or ratings. Excessive praise in the comments or large viewership of a clip can be feedback for even higher ratings, or it can be used to manipulate the social acceptability of certain categories. We also can not neglect the communication between the users through comments on the clips. In addition to these characteristics, the process of commenting on pornographic websites is very predictable and directed. It boils down to the questions such as: "Who is that girl?"; comments implying that the content is sexually exciting, encouragement (eg. in violent or rough clips), or a desire to have sexual relations with the actors, to take part in the events depicted in the clips or comments such as how the commenters have allegedly already tried something like that and it was the best experience of their life, or how they can do a better job than the participants (can apply to anything: double penetration, incest) and so on. Although simple and predictable, these comments tell us a lot about the functioning of the users' model of the mind, when using Internet pornography.

Still, it is necessary to draw certain general conclusions which would characterize the behaviour of the group, based on the material analysis. Because of the vast amount of repetition of the aforementioned comments, as well as the large similarities between the nature of the male, female and transsexual user comments[151], a check was made to verify if the statements are fake. I know that pornographic sites have advertisements searching for workers who would write short stories related to the actors, clips or photographies, and these stories are meant to praise the physical appearance of the actors or the theme of the clip (as an introductory text before the link to the clip)[152], but the advertisements have not been found, or even more importantly, a forum where people are searching for or discussing whether someone is actively involved on the sites, commenting etc. After a sufficiently large number of viewed comments on various sites, the idea of such a conspiracy of public control is unlikely, or, indeed, at least very similar to the behaviour of the "free" users, and as such is not important. As for the user gender, there is always the possibility that anyone (eg. males posing as females) is behind the profile, but in the statistical sense this does not matter either. The following is a brief overview of some common behaviour of users of Internet pornography. The examples given are those from more extreme categories as these behavioural patterns are present across the whole range of categories, including the more violent ones. What we have here is not a homogeneous structure in the sense that everyone in the population prefers everything and will treat it the same way, but the general conclusions are drawn from the parts of the population that are in "resonance" with the current category and are commenting on it.

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[151]I do not mean that they worship the same participants, although there is some overlap there too, because, of course, not all the commenters are heterosexuals, but am referring to the fact that they use a similar dose of "dirty talk" inherent to immitating pornographic actors, as well as comments related to what sexually arouses them, which often refers to similar preferences.

[152]The so-called *Describer* of pornographic material. See: http://www.quora.com/Jobs-1/Whats-something-that-is-common-knowledge-at-your-work-place-but-will-be-mind-blowing-to-the-rest-of-us/answer/Thea-Pilarczyk?srid=3Wgm&share=1

V 2.b.1. Behaviour of pornography users

Users have certain expectations regarding what a category should provide, ie expected parameters of the 'action' get identified with the index of the category, which has already been cited as possible when dealing with products of supracultural communication. For example, the female user who expected that *oral massage* also includes *cunnilingus*[153], or, in the same clip, a comment that this is relaxation before the sexual act, whereby the participant cannot act the same way afterwards. A similar example is found in another clip which was tagged as *humiliated, mistress, femdom, fetish, hand job* etc., which, as mentioned previously, in addition to being qualified as violence with consent in the context of *humiliation* during *femdom* (now also confirmed through the behaviour of the users), or the comment "who is that girl", or how they would like to serve her (or get served by her[154]) also has comments regarding how the *mistress* shouldn't 'get off' the slave, since "it" (referring to the slave in the neutral gender) should not have a right to orgasm[155].

The users characterize the clip participants (whether they are anonymous or porn stars) through physical features and actions that they perform. There are numerous comments on big penises, ass, breast, thinness, race, but also ugliness, then compliments on how well someone performs a *blowjob, creampie, coprophilia, sperm swallowing,* etc. and the name of the participant represents just a search for a specific set of categories[156].

There is a present need for repeating events, which is achieved through the same

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[153] The user in this case used the term *pussy licking* and in the context where it was commented, the point is that the massaged participant is doing *fellatio* on the massage therapist, which is again a different issue (eg. a question of the assumed 'default' oral sex in clips and the perspective of the target group in the clips), but in this special case we were only concerned with the overall thoughts of the group which has expectations from a category in advance, reflected in a common model in pornographic clips (http://www.pornhub.com/view_video.php?viewkey=744017907) (accessed 20.8.2013.)

[154] http://xhamster.com/movies/1279478/milked_and_sounded_by_two_mistresses.html (accessed 20.8.2013.)

[155] http://www.youporn.com/watch/8073889/foot-humiliated-and-strapon-punishment-femdom/?from=search_full&pos=32 (accessed 20.8.2013.)
http://www.youporn.com/watch/630569/milf-mistress-humiliates-guy-strapon-fuck/?from=search_full&pos=6 (accessed 20.8.2013.)
[156] http://www.youporn.com/watch/375279/deep-penetration-of-girl-s-ass/?from=search_full&pos=1 (accessed 20.8.2013.)
http://www.xvideos.com/video1431081/dad_and_daughter_from_norway_taboo_family_sex_on_couch#_tabComments (accessed 20.8.2013.)
http://www.heavy-r.comvideo141326Eating_Poop_Straight_From_Ass (accessed 20.8.2013.)

or similar category.

In the case of common categories such as those relating to the *sexual techniques*, this can not be observed right away, since the users ask each other for the names of the participants, or where a scene is from, or say how they love this type or category of clips, although every manifestation of affinity towards a category can be interpreted as a desire for repeating the experience, although, in the case of the more obscure categories there are questions such as "Where can one find more such clips?" and "Does someone have such content in their collection? (for example, for real incest footage)."[157]

Negative comments on a category are often in the case of *interracial* clips. They often deal with the small penis of the *Asians*[158], though this is not a common theme for argument, whereas *interracial* clips with Afroamericans often feature arguments between the users, based on pornographic stereotypes, which, like the aforementioned jargon, indicates taking a viewpoint from the pornographic world[159]. The other case which features negative comments critiquing the category, without getting immediately criticized by the other users is the *snuff* film, but the nature of those comments will be discussed later.

Regarding the negative comments, unless a large number of people responded negatively (eg. if the clip is not aesthetically pleasing to people who expected something different from that category), individual negative comments are not well accepted by others, especially if they are addressed against the category, thus, in addition to high number of negative votes that were counted for such a comment, the person is often characterized by someone as a "hypocrite who came to judge them, but has certainly not opened the link by accident, or strayed on that page, but was surely, like everyone else, browsing porn, while masturbating"[160].

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[157] Mom%20sucks%20sons%20cum%20REAL%20INCEST%20-%20XVIDEOS.COM.htm (accessed 23.8.2013.)

[158] http://www.youporn.com/watch/683045/escort-whore-bondage-and-humiliation/?from=search_full&pos=1 (accessed 23.8.2013.)

[159] To paraphrase: "Black domination and large penises that will make black babies to women of all races, since all those women are longing for the black penis" as well as those who write something like : "Great clip, if only it didn't contain the black animals"
http://www.xvideos.com/video49967/charlotte_stokely#_tabComments (accessed 23.8.2013.)
http://www.xvideos.com/video1442/georgia_peach_oiled_and_fucked#_tabComments (accessed 23.8.2013.)
http://www.xvideos.com/video6064/high_heels_and_stockings#_tabComments (accessed 23.8.2013.)

[160] http://www.xvideos.com/video1431065/teen_daughter_forced_brutal_rough_sex_with_old_dad#_tabComments (accessed 23.8.2013.)
http://www.heavy-r.comvideo141326Eating_Poop_Straight_From_Ass (accessed 23.8.2013.)
Examples are from the more extreme categories, but the same scenario can be found for ie *big tits*, *gay* categories etc.

This hints at an interesting characteristic, a concept that can be summed up with: „Why do you think you are better than us, when you like this too, cause if you didn't you wouldn't be here with us", or a genuine rage towards what the offended group of users feels about the perceived hypocrisy of the moral norms in the outside world, aimed at what those users prefer to watch. I use the word notion, since there isn't a precise determination regarding the norms and context, except for the existence of the one who prefers and one who judges, where the one who prefers can only identify with that which they prefer, and from their perspective the 'other side' is the personification of everything else, like an assemblage that the preferred category does not belong to, and conflict supposedly occurs because the other side commits an intrusion[161]. From the perspective of the user (in a narrowed down, already defined scope of the observed population and its behaviour) entering into an affiliation with a group of consumers (in any way, even through intrusion), ie consumption of content, only happens if someone is interested in it, therefore it's safe to assume that the "enemy" approached this category because they were interested, and thus their alleged hypocrisy is gets cited as the source of conflict. However, in addition to the personal designation of themselves as victims, the users also contruct the borders, as well as value parameters, because, if they look at the context of creating and viewing Internet pornography on the Internet, there is almost no taboo that would get in their way (except lawfully punishable concepts, such as child pornography with live actors, or categories that are from the perspective of the website authors "aesthetically" bad such as necrophilia, where by "aesthetic" I mean possessing marketing resourcefulness, an idea that I will soon explain better), and in the same context any separation of "us" as consumers and "them" as the proponents of ideas about "traditional norms" (which again are not defined in any socio-cultural context of the Internet, and because of the terrain and supracultural communication the case with the population in areas outside the Internet is also vague) actually comes from the user and their ideas about the moral norms of the surrounding population outside the Internet that in this context get attributed to the opponent, placing them as a negation of the user's own preference. I think this is primarily a part of the unconscious model of behaviour that resembles "conscience" or a notion about social unacceptability (again, of what society, whether one that is regarded as non-Internet population) because both

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[161] Similarly to determining cultural identity in science fiction (Zikic, 2010), only simpler, and without an adequate cultural background

in the commenting and the categorization sense they justify and separate their little world from the "rest", where again, the perception of "residue" is not theoretically defined.

A similar cultural pattern involving a need for justification of the content, only differently implemented genre-wise, happens not in relation to the behaviour of the user, but the message of the films, in the case of hunting heterosexual men (*Straight Man Hunt*) which are not categories, but represent the concept of homosexual pornographic films in which the emphasis is put on the violent transformation of the heterosexual into a homosexual, with the narrative structure usually implying that he was a latent homosexual, just did not know it, until the other participant converted him and so helped him. The result of the narrative analysis is that the "transformation" is a metaphor of the fact that being gay is socially acceptable, if it has a heterosexual model of behaviour, which is reflected in the dominance and masculinity (Vasić, 2012). On the other hand, if the nature of the clips is brought to the previous context and categorized as rape, BDSM and gay, we have the concept of role switching (switches in BDSM) in the battle between the homosexual and the hypocritical heterosexual oppressor, where the homosexual, if in a dominant role, isn't merciless, but through using BDSM props as a guarantee of violence with consent (plus the fact that the heterosexual himself is a latent homosexual and is thus enjoying it) gives a chance that heterosexuals have not given the LGBT group, and in the end everyone ends up happy. The cultural contexts which serve as the background for the creation of such concepts are intersting. Gay magazine "Physique Pictorial" was created in 1945. In the coming decades, this magazine helped crystallize today's recognized gay iconography erotic context (cowboys, Indians, Romans, workers, lean muscular bodies, etc.), and so in the era when the gay population was more discriminated against than it is today, we had the formation of the erotic identity of the representation of this social group in popular culture, while today, when they have greater legal rights, in the area of Internet pornography, where there are mostly no taboos (certainly not *gay* taboos[162]) there is the *Straight Man Hunt* which again represents a justification of a certain category because of the existence of alleged vulnerability stemming from the oppressor who intrudes, but is actually interested, jealous etc.

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[162] Although there are always applications and search engies that ""harm" a certain population (eg. LGBT) filtering only its contents, and that's a different context from the one mentioned above. (see: http://groupthink.jezebel.com/tumblrs-new-porn-crackdown-hurts-gays-lesbians-and-b-860916168 (accessed 23.8.2013.))

Let us get back to the example of *forced sex* during *incest*[163]. If we observe the behaviour of the users in the context of "justification", then the initial infantile comments such as "My dad did it to me better" take on a different meaning: if someone had it imposed, they have full justification for watching it today. There are countless positive, negative and neutral comments: "that it's a fake" (which will be discussed later), and one of form of comments, which is a response to a judgemental comment is: "Who are you to judge people if they want to pretend that this is a real situation and that those are not paid actors, which is also communicates the message: "We are playing, and what's your excuse for being here?".

This leads to the final behavioural characteristics of users of Internet pornography that will be considered in this analysis, and that is that nothing is real except the sexual act itself, that these are actors who are paid to provide entertainment to the consumers in the final product, that everything has a price, and that the model of reciprocity justifies all events in the clips, and the motto "sex sells" receives its full form. In the case of categories of sexual techniques and fantasy, comments are fairly standard and have already been described, with the exception of the *real, sensual, appropriate for women*, etc., whereby the comments emphasize that real sex is much better than mechanical (Russo, 2005: 239-240). But when you look at the violent categories, they are regularly categorized or tagged by what they represent, whether it is humiliation, abuse, etc., as discussed in the previous chapter. However, from the perspective of user comments, none of the violence shown is considered violence in the true sense, but violence with consent, since it is done by actors who have agreed to it. Clips that feature *prostitutes* (and *"escort whores"*) and violence get new meanings in the case that someone sometimes finds the contents too violent, so comments are along the lines of "She must be well paid, to go through all that"[164], and this is followed by standard comments encouraging the point of the clip. Something similar was mentioned for *public humiliation* –„The porn actress is probably paid for that, and the these tormentors are probably using condoms" In case of eating bodily fluids, comments regarding the fake nature of the urine, faeces etc. start appearing[165] (which does not apply to female

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[163]http://www.xvideos.com/video1431065/teen_daughter_forced_brutal_rough_sex_with_old_dad#_tabComments (accessed 23.8.2013.)
[164]http://www.youporn.com/watch/683045/escort-whore-bondage-and-humiliation/?from=search_full&pos=1 (accessed 23.8.2013.)
[165]http://www.heavy-r.comvideo141326Eating_Poop_Straight_From_Ass (accessed 24.8.2013.)

ejaculation).

 Even during *rape* there are numerous positive comments related to the actors, scene, etc. as well as comments that it is fake rape, and clips also start to appear that refer to "true rape" (combination of the tags *rape* and *real)*, and the audience is then only split regarding the authenticity, but either way, the comments are positive[166], except if the clip is done badly in the technical sense. The case of incest has already been discussed, including the search for real footage. Finally, perhaps the *snuff movie* perhaps best illustrates the aforementioned behaviour which I will show through several examples. The clip that boils down to a girl who suffocates in a plastic bag would be liked by the fans of *asphyxia,* but the discussion mostly revolves around technical details, embodied in comments such as "She could not have suffocated in such a short time" etc. *Snuff* clips that get negatively rated are mostly those that the users deem "fake" or "poorly filmed". If someone wants to convince others that even the clips that are technically pulled off better are fake, the argument is usually that "no one is crazy enough to release a **real** *snuff* film to the public", which is, in my opinion, debatable. A brutal (and very realistic, but having *fake* as one of the tags) clip is (in addition to the discussions regarding the authenticity) mostly rated poorly because of the mutilation of the victim, whereas a clip in which the boyfriend chokes to death his girlfriend who did not want to have sex with him, and then has sex with her body, mostly gets characterized as "beautiful" (it should be noted that one of the tags was also *"snuff fantasy"*), while the negative clips are negatively rated by the other users, whose message was: „So can you in this very moment claim that you didn't watch how a girl actually dies? And here I thought I was a weirdo for my fetishes..."[167]. This is exactly what relates to the previous claim that taboos on the Internet are "aesthetic" and not conceptual in nature, whereby "aesthetic" referes to the refers to the expected response in terms of the viewership, and watching pornographic content is similar to watching an exploitation movie, 3d animation, or brutal hentai, without reflecting on what the content represents, but only what it offers, what it looks like, and what fantasy it awakens, where in the case of

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http://www.xvideos.com/video1591629/piss_drinking_bitches_gets_goldenshower_in_gangbang#_tabComment (accessed 24.8.2013.)
[166]http://www.heavy-r.com/video/123549/Real_Rape/ (accessed 24.8.2013.)
http://www.xvideos.com/video1907032/girl_brutally_fucked_by_two_men#_tabComments (accessed 24.8.2013.)
[167]http://www.heavy-r.com/video/124124/Snuff_movie_Girl_wrapped_in_a_plastic_bag/ (accessed 24.8.2013.)
http://www.heavy-r.com/video/135866/Snuff_Rape_Video/ (accessed 24.8.2013.)
http://www.heavy-r.com/video/130407/Strangled_And_Raped/ (accessed 24.8.2013.)

necrophilia someone would see a rubber doll, someone a corpse that does not stink, and most often both, with a completely shut off process of conceptualization.

V 2.b.2. Application of the cultural model of the user mind on clip search

Based on the relevant characteristics of pornography users as a specific social group we can form a folk model of the mind which is utilized as an interpretative tool for interpreting the pattern used when the user watches and searches for clips:

- The user watches the clip - perception
- They recognize what they like Препозна оно што му се допада – **perception and thought** (recognition) in accordance with **emotion-attitude** (state).
- Feels „enjoyment "[168]- **emotions** (process).
- Wants to watch something that brings about a similar feeling – **desire, longing** (to experience a similar feeling).
- **Thinks** that the actor or parts of the content lead to a similar feeling, which implies the question of identifying the actor, or the thought: which parts of the content have caused the feeling? The name of the actor represents a symbol for a particular person, and because of the way of watching the actor as a "sexual object", the name refers to an object with certain features, ie in both cases it shows up directly or indirectly as a guarantee of a similar feeling, which is why similar attributes are looked for in some other clip (key attributes should stay the same, and refreshment is linked with the other secondary attributes).
- Compares with the mechanisms that brought about the initial recognition – **thought**
- Outcome 1: Decides to have a look at the "similar" clips nearby, or at the offered categories and tags, or the name of the actor – **intent based on a desire.**
- Outcome 2: Decides to search another category, but according to the mechanisms embodied in the representation of the "closely related" category/tag – **intent based on a desire.**

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[168]"Enjoyment" is not only an emotional process, but here I am considering it in a model which refers to the most common statements in the comments. In the case of different emotional processes (surprise, happiness, shock, funny, anger, disgust, etc.), the model also amounts to a re-evocation of these processes, of course, providing that someone did not accidentally bump into a certain type of clips.

- Outcome 3: In case that the result of "comparing" leads to an association with another motive, for which the user believes (**thought-state**) that it will create a certain emotional reaction, or, based on association lead to emotional prowess (**thought-emotion**), this will imply a decision to search the "new" motives – **intent**.

The central pattern in this model of the mind has to do with having a mental notion which is manifested through feelings (eg. enjoyment), then recognizing the elements and the clip which caused this feeling, and a desire to experience the feeling again, which is supported by the opinion of the users that, through repeating of those elements that are "recognized", or through establishing a guarantee on the basis of similarity in the context of another clip, they can heighten the intensity of the feelings, which is, in effect, a process of amplifying the feelings on the basis of diversity.

Due to these factors, in the model of the mind of observing and categorizing Internet pornography clips, there is a property that is different from the "usual" functioning of the model, embodied in the influence of emotions and desires on the thought (shown with thin arrows in Fugure 1). That influence relates to the part of the thought that extrapolates recognition, which should lead to certain desires and feelings.A thus-shaped thought then sets in motion a simple, parallel and usual a chain of thought-desire-intention-action, which comes down to the search for new content.

Folk models in which emotions and desires affect the thoughts are typical for certain "non-Western" and indigenous cultures (D'Andrade, 1987: 116), where the act of reasoning itself when the 'feeling' part affects the thought is considered "foolish" (D'Andrade 1995: 163). In addition, articulation of emotions, either through linguistic terms or behaviour, is more typical of culture and cultural context, rather than being innate universal behaviour (Wierzbicka, 1992: 134). Given that the expression of emotions is culturally conditioned, the aforementioned feedback of influence on the thinking part, which chooses a pattern and "recognition", is conditioned or nourished by the knowledge about organized "patterns and molds" of this "recognition" and embodied in the previously presented categories that are available. This can also be checked directly through the conclusion of the previous chapter that "tags" imitate the available categories, if they are available. Knowledge of a category has an effect in another direction as well - in the inherent and default cultural model of the mind. Thinking

about a category may lead to an emergence of a feeling as a process, or the opinion that this category causes feelings in the form of a simple condition (and not a process).

Tag names coincide with some of the categories of the pornographic site authors. We can conclude which thought patterns function in "spotting" elements by looking at which categories have tags with the same names and what kinds of "tags" additionally exist but do not show up as categories of the site authors. In fact, as mentioned in the previous chapter, tags are descriptive, fragmented to single motives and are mainly related to direct physical observations. Therefore, in the case of jargon terms, the tags are mostly taken from the author categories and refer to *standardized symbols* (hardcore, gonzo), *metaphors* (creampie, golden shower) or *descriptive symbols* (*clothed sex, massage, CBT*)[169]. The other association of "tags" is also present in the categories of the site authors which were examined at the beginning of the prevoous chapter, and relate to the "primary and secondary fetish", which comes down to dual motives, where we can observe what is truly more present as being culturally conditioned (ie tags which get related to Japan – prefixes *jap, japan* and *jp*). In the case of naming based on the direct physical observations, "tags" correspond to *sensory pictures*.

Поменута појава, размишљање о категорији, пројектује дешавање које евоцира осећање – личи на Личово тумачење „теорије врачања“, по коме коришћење *индекса* као *експресивне радње* (у нашем случају категорије или „тага“) се користи као да је *сигнал* (аутоматски, попут Павловљрвог пса), тј. као нешто за шта се унапред зна, да ће се кликом на то, проузроковати пуштање садржаја који евоцира осећај.

All this applies to "Outcome 1", according to which the desired category is directly chosen , and new content is then selected based on that category. "Outcome 3" refers to the property of categories that they are not entirely mutually distinct, which can lead to choosing other categories based on association. Although defined as object worship , a fetish in this context, can refer to a very distinctive category, which in an associative sequence often points to itself (reflexive relation), or, interpreted through the folk model of mind, a desire to "repeat" the same event only with "Outcome 1 "(without

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[169]According to Leach, standardized symbols relate to the association which is arbitrary (two objects belong to different cultural contexts, but such a way of expression has become a habit); metaphor is when an association between two objects has an intentional similarity, and symbols are when there is already an intrinsic link between the two objects from before, since they belong to the same cultural context (Leach, 2002:22-26).

the other two outcomes). This corresponds to the colloquial and widespread statement: "There is a fetish for ...", with "fetish" being someone's extremely preferred category. "Outcome 1" is the result of what has been concluded from the user comments, and it is a search for repeating an "experience", whatever that experience may refer to. A similar pattern was present at the time when the picture galleries formed a part of Internet pornography in which the user spent hours, looking for the perfect image, accepting all the frustration and enjoyment that came with it (Hardy, 2009: 5). At the same time, the meaning of the basic search elements (categories and tags, as the actor, too, represents a set of categories) is described using anthropological mechanisms, since the tags in the context of this form of search in fact represent indices that replace signals, which is, in turn, inherently a feature of technologically underdeveloped societies. This is supported by the chain of events of the folk model of the mind in which the feelings affect the thoughts. At the same time, the influence of the users, or tags, is largely confined to imitation of the site categories, and if there are metaphors and jargon, they also follow the logic of what is in the categories, except for the descriptive tags whose meaning once assembled linguistically, corresponds to sensory images. "Outcome 3" can be reached logically, because someone can always decide to look for something else. "Outcome 2" is of importance, as it relates to the potential choice of "closely related" categories, which is presented in the following analysis.

V. 2.в Cognitive pattern

The previous analysis refers to finding the relations between the results from this chapter and the previous chapters, which primarily has to do with the cognitive pattern which affects the conditionality of the principle of categorization. Just as the process of defining the users as a population has given us the initial conditions to consider what their shared thoughts are statistically, so has the obtained cultural model of the mind provided information on how they dynamically think and act. Let's look first of all at the model of the mind from the previous section, but now because of the construction of the categories:

It is a closed system which constantly seeks new and new content. Perception and thoughts are coupled so as to continuously and independently from the rest of the system perform checks between the perceived or imaginary categories and what the users expect from the categories, with the result of the desired category (even if only imagined) being able to be realized also through an induced stimulation of a sensation. After the recognition of the desired category, a chain of perception-thought-feeling-desire-thought is formed, as shown in Figure 23. At the same time, after feelings (thin line) get involved and in the follow-up (or until the intention to seek some other category) feeling influences thought during the search (shown by the thick line), while the intention is later implemented directly through the feeling-thought-desire-intention-action pattern, and, as can be seen, the model in the case of a positive outcome searches deeper and gets into more specific categories.
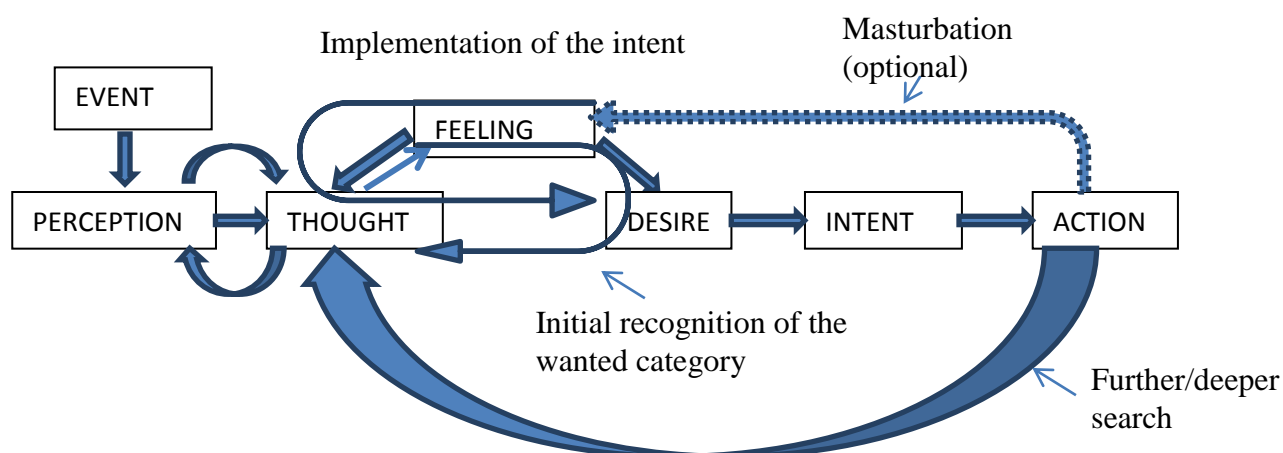
Figure 23: Model of the mind of the user search and categorization of clips

This implies that thought and feeling (with desire) work together once it comes to category search as well. As has been said, a category has a certain stereotypical expectation attached to it[170].

In the case of simple descriptive categories (eg. body part) it has already been said that they are sensory images and they can immediately be eliminated from the analysis (when they appear as separate, but they must remain in consideration, when they are combined with other categories) , since they are cognitively simple, and their implementation is culturally connected with the ongoing pornographic ideals of beauty. We can discuss what had an influence on the current categories, why not long legs, or why not, for example, a torso category, but it is definitely limbs that can occur in a close-up, and the many varieties of breast and penis taxonomy are culturally important species, which can occur in a variety of sizes and shapes, unlike, for example, the buttocks ("ass"), which is also important, but does not have so many varieties. Here I intentionally omitted the concept of the main participant since they can be imagined (eg. categorizing of the nurse), but in terms of categories that are not isolated, but rather a collection of categories. The slightly more complex descriptive categories correspond to simple patterns, eg. the aforementioned labeling of the fellatio tags, specifically the variations of the expression sucking. Metaphors can also be a hint, which require a greater competence, but once learned, they too are reduced to a simple pattern of events. The rest of categorization refers to, for example, standardized symbols (hardcore gonzo) must be learned as knowledge gained by the categorization on the pornographic sites.

However, it is necessary to see "Outcome 2", or how indication to similar categories is organized, ie. how pornography is organized as a space of virtual reality, if we apply the model of the mind and behaviour of the users (purpose of the comments) from this chapter to the categorization from the ethnotaxonomic analysis. First of all, I think we need to get a very similar system, ie that they are isomorphic, not identical reproductions, which eventually lead to similar results. Let us start with the violent group. In the case of ethnotaxonomic Here the divisions and groupings are based on *tangibility, payment and unreality*.

The first big region of the categorization would refer to BDSM and its derivatives (including the cognitive notions of props, everything in one place). At the same time, BDSM represents a high level of authenticity, tangibility, and sensuality

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[170]Here a prototype is the default value of the scheme in the given context, which was also pointed out in the chapter on cognitive anthropology.

(vivid imagining of the object, whipping, bondage etc.). Model of the mind that would fit something like that would boil down to:

I want violence - **desire.**

1) Violence represents bondage, whips etc – **thought 1**.

As long as there are more elements involved than just bondage, it is classified as BDSM.

Feeling as a class of model chooses whether it is going to be closer to *fetish* (specific objects, masks etc.) or *some* form of *domination* and *submission*. And with the expression „feeling chooses", I refer to the case: *implementation of intention –> deeper search.*

In the case of domination, the gender of the participant and who is dominant includes the subcategories *domination* – **feeling**

Here we also have categories like *femdom* etc...

2) Violence represents abuse and humiliation – **thought 2.**
   Feeling chooses the subcategories of humiliation, punishment, etc. where in this case there is a thought that it is *violence with consent*, and that the actors are paid for it.

3) Violence represents something unrealistic (rape, incest, hentai, etc.) – **thought 3**.
   Feeling chooses a subcategory according to the preference. Figure 24 shows relational attributes.
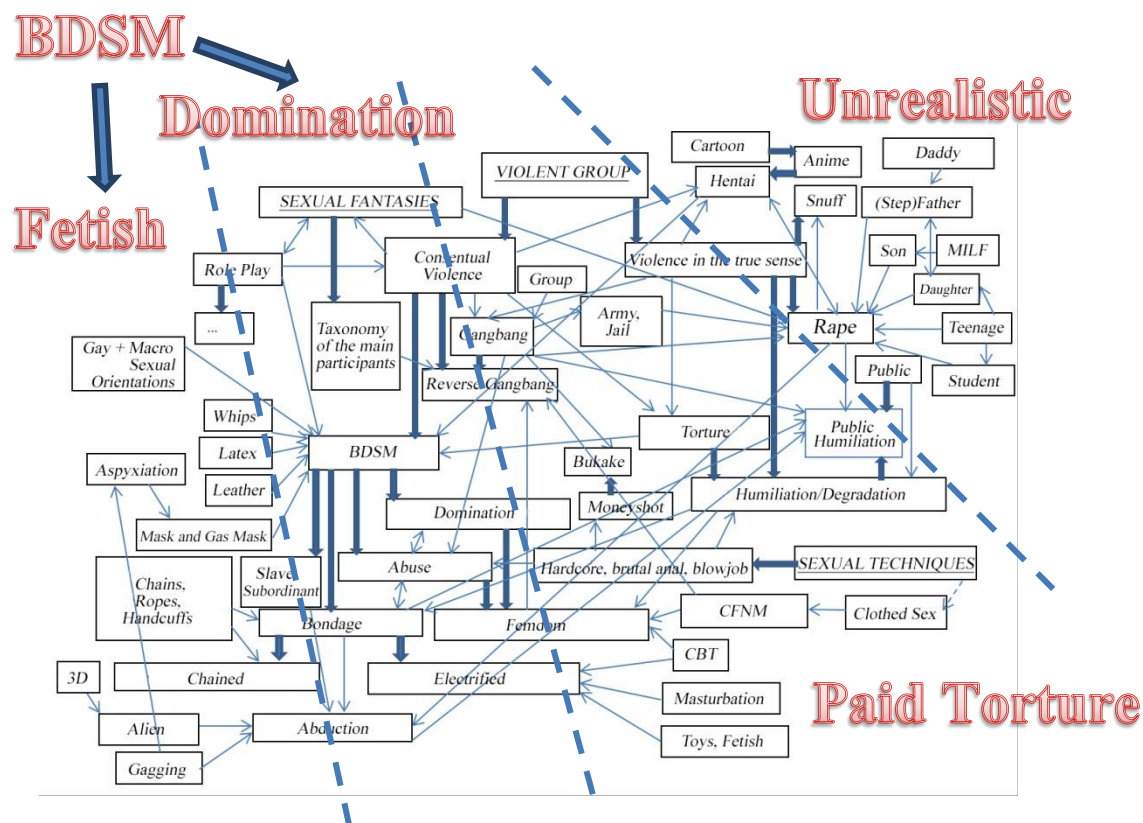
Figure 24: Patterns of categorizing the violent group

In the case of sexual techniques, it is a model of determining according to the type of the sexual relationship, which does not have to be in a strictly pornographic context, at least not as a starting value.

I want to watch people having sexual relations - **desire**.

1) Sex represents, foreplay and making love... – **thought 1**.

   One of the subgroups of real(istic) sex.

   The rest choose the feeling of the model as detection within the group.

2) Sex represents one or two way masturbation – **thought 2.**

   One of the *pleasuring* subgroups.

3) *Oral sex* is also a type of sexual intercourse – **thought 3**.

   One of the subgroups of *Oral* whose feeling is later determined

4) Sex represents the usage of bodily cavities – **thought.**

   One of the subgroups of *Holes*, where the feeling then chooses *fisting*, widening, *anal sex, double penetration* etc.

5) Sex represents a „rough explicit intercourse"– **thought**.

One of the subgroups of rough or explicit sex (*hardcore* derivates) – **feeling**.

6) Sex is good if there is spraying all around – **thought**.

One of the special effect categories, where the feeling then chooses squirting, creampie, cumshot, bukkake etc.
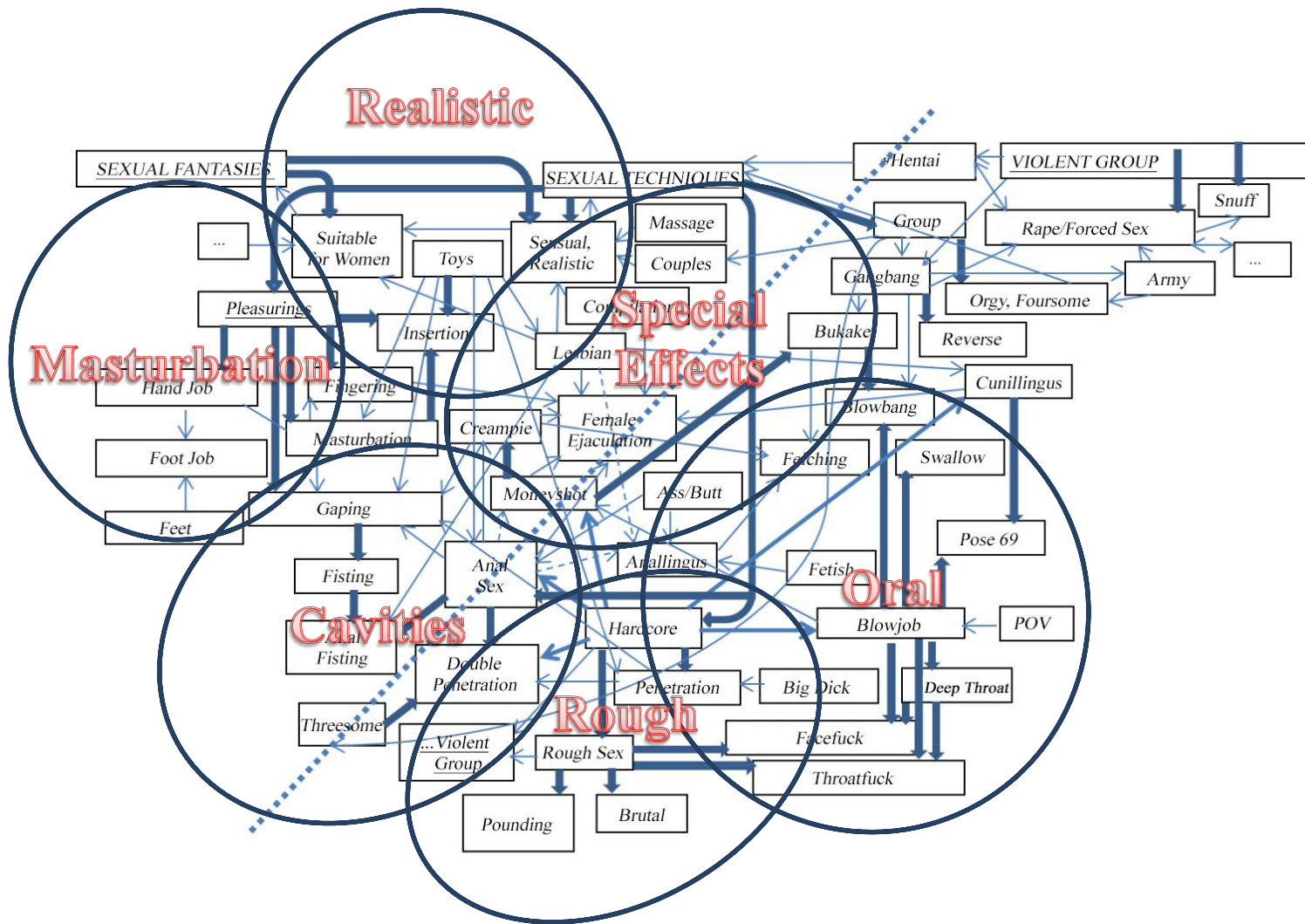
Figure 25: patterns of categorizing the sexual techniques group

Sexual fantasies are done in accordance with the previous, and identically as the division was done in the ethnotaxonomies chapter, considering that here we also have a division into logically interlinked units, like the classes that were split under the sexual fantasies, where the aforementioned joined concepts will apply.

This shows that the model of the mind applied to the categorization gives not only isolated sensory images, and the so-called fetish categories (which indicate to

themselves), but also, in the case of grouping categories, we have units that conceptually correspond with those from the ethnotaxonomic analysis. Specifically, each of the displayed regions represents a small schematic structure that maintains mutual relations, as was the case in the ethnotaxonomic analysis. This division is reminiscent of the so-called "building blocks" or "loose groups" from the subsection of the identified taxonomies because the taxons are also divided into several smaller units, in which the categories of each unit are conceptually related. However, in this case, the grouping is done on the skeleton of the final diagrams from the previous chapter, which have already been technically and logically connected, and the second feature is that the behaviours of the user perspective have been reproduced, and the characterization model of the mind itself was used to represent the steps involved in categorization. Categorizing is based on three steps. Desire initially determines the basic concept, that is, whether it is violence, fantasy or sexual techniques. Then the thought of the model defines what this concept means (where the shared thoughts inherent to a population are used), and finally, in the end, feeling makes the final correction of thought within that segment, or, rather, decides what the preference really is. This means that the thought patterns when categorizing must have intermediate steps that are orientational in nature and focus on one part of the related categories, considering that a person does not think in whole structures.

As we have seen, the model of the pornographic mind differs from the usual model of the mind, even though the "Western" model was the starting point for the paper. That part of the same, which compares and searches has already been identified, and the part which categorizes is applied to the formation of a new taxonomy related to the previous one, as an interlayer inputting information on the determination of the users towards that segment of categorization, which, except for some cases, does not sound pornographic:

Techniques:
- REAL
- MASTURBATION
- SPECIAL EFFECTS
- ORAL
- HOLES/CAVITIES
- ROUGH

Violence:

- FETISH

- DOMINATION

- PAID TORTURE

- UNREALISTIC

Fantasy:

- APPROPRIATE FOR WOMEN

- ETHNIC GROUPS

- WILD AND CRAZY

- WIFE-HOUSEWIFE-WOMAN*

- SCHOOL

- ALTERNATIVE

- GAY

- HOSPITAL

- MILITARY

etc.

A common and prominent feature (which is especially pronounced in the extreme categories) is a balance between the real and the spectacular, which in the context of the Internet does not differ much from the usual real-virtual. Cultural conditionality of such behaviour makes Internet pornography a consistent successor to traditional pornography. Namely, the message or pattern of seventies and early eighties pornographic films made in America can be interpreted as the (sexual) freedom of the common man carried out through an unusual habit, which goes hand in hand with the legalization of pornography, and the hippie music movements etc., and one of the keystones of this line of thought was the notion that a sexual revolution has been made and that pornographic films will be made equal with Hollywood, and will offer a new quality. In the eighties and nineties there were no such ambitions, but pornography itself is marketed as a very well sold genre-based household product and there is an increasing number of studies on the female body as a sexual object in pornography. On the Internet today, pornographic films are most often fragmented into clips, and their duration and content are thus even more reduced, but there is a myriad of different clips. The vision of Internet pornography by its users represents a mirror to the notion of the Internet itself, which, in cultural terms, on the one hand, is characterized by mystification (by the users of the entire Internet, not just pornography), the fact that everything can be found on it, as well as the fact that, on the Internet, everything can

look any possible way, from a carefully chosen and edited look of a picture on a profile of a social network, to a clip, which is also seen as pure fiction.

VI CONCLUSION

Internet showed its potential only in the late eighties, almost twenty years after its creation. Yet the progress that it has experienced during the nineties with the emergence of the global network, is something nobody could have predicted. In these short ten years, it has, from being a network that is used mainly in scientific and research circles, spread to virtually all households. Hence, what is on the Internet is available to a vast number of users and so the global presence and the use of certain materials, which include Internet pornography, is of particular cultural significance.

The history of pornography would be too extensive to observe in every culture individually, so I have split the section relating to the history of pornography to literary pornography, visual pornography and multimedia pornography. Understanding sexualized content as pornographic is determined by culture. The attitude of society towards the sexal may change and is one of the crucial factors in defining pornography, thus we can say that pornography can be defined only in the context of a particular time and culture. Also, examples such as the evolution of Japanese pornography, make it evident that intercultural exchange happening in pornography can influence the perception of the erotic and the pornographic by some cultures, which can lead to changes in the perception of a phenomenon.

Internet pornography can be seen as the culmination of pornography, considering its potential for intercultural distribution has, thanks to Internet technologies reached enormous proportions. The question posed in the hypothesis regarding whether Internet pornography and categorization are a supracultural phenomenon or are locally culturally conditioned, has repeatedly been posed and in different sections of the paper. In the context of using the Internet pornography, the state in which it is today is self-sufficient and represents supracultural communication. However, the context of the establishment of certain categories is locally culturally conditioned, similarity to the films of different content that were created in different conditions. In the context of the very content of Internet pornography, jargon and patterns, as well as special user behaviour, Internet pornography, although representing a supracultural communication, does so in a specific way. Regarding the theoretically-methodical aspect, the chapter on cognitive anthropology has provided an overview of the development of the cognitive anthropology with examples from key areas.

There are different views on whether the patterns in cognitive anthropology are a consequence of learned or innate behaviour, and whether it is an empirical or exact science. On the one hand, people reduce descriptive attributes of objects according to the limitations of short-term memory, as well as creating some classifications of objects and phenomena in the world around them. On the other hand, the objects to be classified, their meanings and mutual relationships vary from culture to culture.

The conclusion of the history of classification, and this research as well, is that the relationship between a notion and what it connotes in a particular, scientific and research context, is what determines the utility value of categorization. One must not ignore the possibility of differentiating the context in which a categorization occurs from the one in which it is interpreted. Describing the way in which a certain population tries to classify, and then, explaining the reasons for that classification, represents dealing with anthropological classifications.

The chapter on ethnotaxonomies has provided insight into various forms of taxonomies, as well as examples which can be analogously applied in the case of this study. Taxonomies attracted the greatest attention of cognitive anthropologists, because they are considered to be public knowledge about a particular subject, or more precisely, the researchers see them as a set of logical rules of a local culture, gained through experience, and used for practical purposes of everyday life.

Ethnography in the virtual world has redefined the terms of the field (research ground) and techniques of collecting ethnographic material, as well as the application of pornographic clips as material for visual anthropology. Internet as a virtual ground is a valid source of data collection. As far as the porn sites themselves are concerned, at first glance, the technical aspect of pornographic sites has no specificities compared to sites with other themes, but the map of a pornographic site is different to that of other sites, and the user behaviour on these sites is specific,too.

In the ethnotaxonomic analysis, it was observed that there are two parallel forms of site author ethnotaxonomies. The first has straight, gay and shemale as forms of life, and the "mixed" specific categories are formed on the principle of binomial nomenclatures, ie. "primary and a secondary fetish", so that the type of category of the second word is mostly in a priority sequence after the type of the first category, and is thus more widely popular. The clips and categories themselves are named after similar principles, as much because of the ortographic necessity as because of the aforementioned citing of affinities.

The mentioned priority was given according to the same, following schedule: sexual orientation (with the exception of lesbians), body part (with the exception of black, not ebony, referring to african american people), ethnic or racial affiliation, type of video clip, age, type of sexual relationship . Although such a classification is not suitable for this study, because it exists on sites which determine the existence of subcategories on the basis of popularity, a useful aspect is reflected in the evidence that there are qualitatively different types of categories which do not possess the same impact factor, and the fact that the site authors assume that users perform a reduction according to a certain priority when choosing content.

In order to form a more culturally "divisible" taxonomy - an example of the other form that exists on the sites,I have collected one-term categories from many websites and hierarchy was established on the basis of the "closeness of the categories", ie. the frequency of a category showing up on the list of clips linked with another category. Categories are divided into eleven forms of life, similar to the elements of a string/sequence of types from the previous taxonomy, and in addition to the hierarchy, some categories were grouped if "closeness" exists but is weak for subcategorization. It was noted that similar attributes construct categories from such groups. According to the linking of site author categories and the choice of a certain category in relation the content of the clip, it was concluded that the classification principles are rooted in the notions about norms characteristic for pornographic content, whether related to ethnic stereotypes, fantasy role-power, rules of conduct for group sex, behaviour in the surroundings, physical and imaginary (fantasy) distance depending on the type of clip, etc.

Unlike ethnobiological taxonomies, the taxonomy of a pornographic category is often mutually indistinct, wherein there are "mixed" categories.Therefore, the taxonomy was transformed into schematic views of the three main categories: violence, sexual techniques and sexual fantasies. With violence it was observed that the idea of the existence and application of certain rules (eg. in case of BDSM) favors a categorization of violence with consent, while the choice of categorizing something under violence in the true sense is influenced by things not being in their expected place, such as violence within a space that represents a functioning and regulated part of the system (military, family, public space, etc.). Regarding sexual techniques, it was observed that real is juxtaposed against hardcore, and in the scheme we have a division on the areas of real, foreplay, and pleasuring on one side, and rough or explicit sexual intercourse on the

other. It was also shown that the categories, particularly those related to sexual fantasies, usually represent parts of more meaningful sections, and are rarely sufficient information carriers on their own. In the chapter on the model of the mind I determined the paradigmatic parameters of the population of users of Internet pornography, as well as their "shared" behaviour when they are active with a topic, such as: the assumed value of categories; linking the names of participants with a set of categories that represent them; the need to repeat the experience; presence of debates in the case of racial categories; poor reception of the comments against the observed genre, unless the clip differs from the expected; defining of one's own preference through defending from those who criticize it, the need for justification of the preference through an allegedly identical hidden desire of the opponent, as well as claims that the content of the clip is not real(istic); categorizing extreme content under fiction.

The folk model of the mind in this case is such that feelings and desires influence thought in terms of choosing a system of recognition (presented through "tags" that represent known artifacts), in order to repeat the initial feeling, through the same or closely related, more specific category. There are at distinct and self-sufficient categories that often in the search model lead to the action of a new search (again in the same category) which redefines the colloquial use of the term "fetish" as a fascination with mostly a single element. The logic of the search, ie. ritual of the "tag", even through thinking about it, evokes a feeling, shows that the logic of constructing a hierarchy of categories is made up of the initial desire for some type of content, thought or belief on what such content represents, which narrows the choice down to a smaller segment of mutually closely-related categories, and then comes the evocation of the feeling/emotion through specific categories within this segment. Even though it consists of three steps, this positioning takes place in one cycle of the model. Thus is formed a transformation of the folk model of the mind into a taxonomy that has a similar structure as the previously found schematic diagrams,despite of the fact that it has been built on different beliefs and convictions: stereotypical concepts of the site authors categorize the same way as the user expectation of a given content does; body fluids, as a guarantee of sexual enjoyment, is, with users, manifested in the form of special effects; humiliation corresponds to paid torture, etc.

The main designation of segments in folk models of the mind, which corresponds with the taxonomy's concepts of associated categories, actually takes place in the thinking part of the model and is the consequence of the belief of the users.
Among other things, beliefs and are reflected in how authentic something is (which amateur clips do not have an exclusive right to, as they are viewed as a form of promotion of the participants) and how entertaining it is.

Even if the categories represented only signs used to describe pornographic content (which is not the case), the logic of categorizing and grouping categories is neither random nor guided by instinct, and the behaviour of the users in this context indicates a population that is informed about the content it uses. I hope that this research on the connection between certain aspects of Internet pornography will contribute to the knowledge about the compatibility of additional integration between the hitherto known studies of the aspects themselves.

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Appendix 1: List of „tags" on the site http://www.empflix.com/tag_list.php/

Attached is a list of "tags" to illustrate the small difference between the naming of "tags" on various sites, except for a number that varies. The list was taken from the site on the 4.5.2013.

a2m 11	sindating 11	highheels 12	diesel 13	charley 14
abigail 11	soles 11	honey 12	dora 13	cigar 14
adventures 11	some 11	jayne 12	faltoyano 13	collection 14
alone 11 -	spalte 11	jeska 12	fingered 13	devin 14
analfuck 11	spy 11	jeune 12	fiona 13	dominique 14
analslut 11	stern 11	jones 12	flame 13	dorm 14
analwhore 11	stretch 11	lap 12	friends 13	drunk 14
andrea 11	students 11	lara 12	gold 13	dutch 14
awseome 11	swallows 11	lin 12	gostosa 13	emma 14
bangg 11	swimsuit 11	malle 12	guys 13	exotic 14
bbs 11	tara 11	mason 12	homevideo 13	exploited 14
beurette 11	teenage 11	mastubation 12	hood 13	exposed 14
boobjob 11	thailand 11	mil 12	kara 13	gucci 14
bottom 11	tom 11	mina 12	kitten 13	gymnast 14
bouncy 11	trannys 11	mireiyokoyama	knight 13	holmes 14
caning 11	trinity 11	12	like 13	hubby 14
carrie 11	trio 11	money 12	lily 13	hungarian 14
cheater 11	vaginna 11	nataly 12	lorena 13	jamie 14
clothes 11	vanda 11	natasha 12	marcela 13	jodie 14
cris 11	venter 11	ocean 12	megan 13	katsumi 14
desk 11	veronika 11	pakistani 12	missy 13	kox 14
eat 11	vibrators 11	pepper 12	mmmf 13	leanna 14
elderly 11	vicky 11	raven 12	muscles 13	lei 14
erotica 11	websalope 11	redbone 12	nova 13	london 14
extra 11	weisenthal 11	role 12	nudity 13	mask 14
faye 11	wellin 11	rossi 12	passion 13	maya 14
fisted 11	wetting 11	rub 12	pmv 13	melanie 14
fitness 11	wiesenthal 11	scream 12	raylene 13	messy 14
foxy 11	woods 11	semen 12	really 13	mika 14
gapping 11	wow 11	serina 12	reverse 13	modeling 14
girlfriends 11	yasmine 11	sharon 12	rico 13	nun 14
goldenshower 11	1000 12	shave 12	rides 13	parker 14
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hendrix 11	adriana 12	smoker 12	selfshot 13	pickup 14
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Appendix 2: A list of 5804 „tags" on the site http://www.xvideos.com/tags/

Attached is a list of tags used during the analysis.
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thai 2142
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thegayoffice 556
their 4084
then 428
therapy 246
therealworkout 123
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thevidposter 211
they 159
theyxxx 327
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thigh 137
thigh-high 142
thighs 505
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thinking 2161
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thorn 440
thorne 111
three 4400
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threesoem 510
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tuga 113
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twerking 889
twink 42446
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uk 939
ukrainian 121
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ultra 10309
ultracute 573
ultry 362
uma 114
un 132
una 208
unbelievable 2597
unbelievably 641
uncensored 1449
uncle 178
uncut 5790
uncut-dick 161
under 353
underwater 113
underwear 1297
undies 549
undress 133
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undressing 1757
ungloryhole 729
uniform 12402
uniforms 4800
unique 1630
unit 137
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university 6938
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vagina 11327
vaginal 11797
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valentine 792
valentino 104
valerie 134
van 724
vandella 113
vanessa 827
vanilla 135
vara 147
various 316
vecina 191
vega 366
vegas 163
vegetable 301
veggie 197
vegitables 114
vehicle 869
vejle 228
velicity 119
venezolana 471
venezolanas 212
venezolano 109
venezuela 617
venida 117
ventura 380
venus 230
verga 990
vergas 122
veronica 636
veronika 245
very 2116
vette 276
vez 114
viagra 131
vib 216
vibe 515
vibrator 71090
vibrators 1121
vicious 266
vicky 372
victoria 838
vid 3268
vidal 175
video 14403
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vintage 5505
violate 5498
violated 125
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vipefamose 272

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waitress 184
wake 161
wall 136
wam 5256
wank 1309
wanking 19786
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want 311
wants 526
warm 296
warner 141
was 145
washing 195
wasteland 172
watch 1056
watching 9031
watchmeandmyp ussy 131
watchmoreon 356
water 579
watermarked 3767
watersport 190
watersports 5893
wax 1247
waxing 111
way 244
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web 4078
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websalope 174
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week 2642
weird 9067
weirdjapan 351
weirdjp 2081
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wells 178
wendy 110
wesley 106
west 514

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wet-pussy 167
wetandmessy 2135
wetandpissy 110
wetass 776
wetbutt 111
wetbutts 1166
wetpissingbabes 1857
wetpussy 904
wetting 327
what 10995
when 458
while 573
whip 1737
whipped 1203
whipping 2088
whips 109
white 13585
whitecurvyasses 128
whitedicklovings istas 203
whitegirl 1017
whiteonblack 3242
whites 121
whitney 211
who 418
whooty 598
whore 16458
whore-wives 105
whores 2062
wichsen 101
wicked 296
wide 455
wierdjapan 1974
wife 38651
wifes 1081
wifey 237
wild 5904
wild-sex 6361
wildsex 317
will 146
window 328
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winter 131
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wives 1328
woman 4590
women 5946
women-friendly 132
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wood 257
wood75 241
woodman 123
woods 269
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workfuck 564
working 171
workingcock 920
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xmass 201
xota 475
xoxota 710
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xvideosonline
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xxfuckerxx 435
xxl 259
xxx 37412
xxxlifestorys 224
y 329
yahoo 108
year 554
years 1819
yeknom 405
yellow 285
yo 239
yoga 514
york 134
you 663
young 106448
youngandold
1249
youngasian 279
younger 4562
youngold 811
youngs 104
youngteen 2267
youporn 726
your 746
youth 141
youtube 146
ypung 455
yui 149
yuma 102
yumi 107
yummy 926
yummytwinks
1368
yuri 101
zebra-girls 5899
zebragirls 5912
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zoe 169
zorra 760
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Appendix 3: The list of used pornographic websites

Given below is a list of pornographic sites used in the analysis. Sites with a "/sr/" part in the address have an option of being displayed in the Serbian language.

http://3dhentaitube.net/
http://4porn.com/
http://alexpix.tv/en/
http://amoraltube.com/sr/
http://animalporn.tv/
http://animalsextube.tv/
http://animehentaitube.net
http://anyporn.com/5
http://asianporntube.xxx/
http://beeg.com/
http://bestialitycrawler.com/
http://bestsexo.com/
http://bollywoodporn.org/
http://booloo.com/
http://brightporntube.com/
http://cartoonporn.name/
http://coffetube.com/
http://creatives.livejasmin.com/
http://daddypornmovies.com/
http://devatube.com/
http://dtvideo.com/
http://emo-porn.com/
http://fantasti.cc/
http://fapdu.com/
http://freepornalliance.com/
http://freepornvs.com/
http://furryhentaitube.com/
http://gaysexfind.com/
http://greedyshemales.com/
http://h2porn.com/
http://handjob.pro/
http://hardanimalfucking.com/
http://hellporno.com/
http://hentaiporntube.xxx/
http://hentaivideotube.net/
http://hqbay.com/en/
http://incestsextube.org/
http://indianpornforfree.com/
http://indiaporntube.org/
http://k9vidz.com/
http://legalporno.com/
http://lesbooo.com/
http://lesbotubes.com/
http://lubetube.com/
http://mothersonporn.org/

http://mycrazyvids.com/
http://new-xhamster.com/
http://overthumbs.com/
http://pervclips.com/
http://pinkdino.com/
http://porncontrol.com/
http://pornoverdose.com/
http://pornsharia.com/
http://pornsharing.com/
http://porntalk.com/
http://porntube1.xxx/
http://pornvideoxx.com/
http://porn-wanted.com/
http://privatehomeclips.com/
http://queerporntube.com/
http://rapeporntube.net/
http://redgayvideos.com/
http://rerape.com/
http://russianteenporn.net/
http://sexcartoonstube.net/
http://sfico.com/
http://smallpenisdisgrace.com/
http://stop-sex.com/en/
http://stucktube.com/
http://tentaclehentaitube.com/
http://tgp.punishtoons.com/
http://tour.belamionline.com/
http://tuberr.com/en/
http://unselfishporn.com/
http://video.xnxx.com/
http://video-one.com/
http://watchhentaitube.net/
http://wildzoosex.net/
http://wtchporn.com/
http://www.3dspoofs.com/home.php
http://www.4tube.com/
http://www.777xporn.com/
http://www.89.vc/
http://www.activporn.com/
http://www.alphaporno.com/
http://www.amateurslust.com/
http://www.apetube.com/
http://www.assfilled.com/
http://www.axatube.com/
http://www.badjojo.com/

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http://www.bangbros.com/
http://www.beboclips.com/
http://www.befuck.com/
http://www.bestanimesex.com/
http://www.bigxvideos.com/
http://www.bondage6.com/
http://www.bonusporntube.com/
http://www.boobtits.com/
http://www.boundgods.com/site/shoots.jsp
http://www.boysfood.com/
http://www.bravoteens.com/
http://www.bravotube.net/
http://www.brightdesire.com/
http://www.bustnow.com/
http://www.cliphunter.com
http://www.cliphunter.com/
*http://www.complex.com/girls/2010/07/the
-50-hottest-japanese-av-idols/*
http://www.coolmovs.com/
http://www.crazyxxxmovies.com/
http://www.darkgracie.com/
http://www.definebabes.com/
http://www.deviantclip.com/
http://www.deviltube.com/
http://www.dickporntube.com/sr/
http://www.drtuber.com/
http://www.empflix.com/
http://www.erosexus.com/
http://www.eroticred.com/home.html
http://www.erotictube.me/
http://www.eskimotube.com/
http://www.extremecfnm.com/
http://www.extremetube.com/
http://www.fantasies.com/
http://www.fantasy8.com/
http://www.fantasytube3d.com/
http://www.fatmomtube.com/
http://www.femaledom.com/
http://www.fetishmovies.com/
http://www.forhertube.com/
http://www.freegayporn.com/
http://www.freepornhubvidz.com/
http://www.freepornsite.me/
http://www.freudbox.com/
http://www.fulltubemovies.com/
http://www.fuq.com/
http://www.fux.com/
http://www.gayhotmovies.com/index.php
http://www.gaymaletube.com/
http://www.gaystack.com/

http://www.gaytube.com/
http://www.gonzoxxxmovies.com/
http://www.gotgayporn.com/
http://www.grayvee.com/
http://www.hardcoregangbang.com/
http://www.hardsextube.com/
http://www.hentairape.net/
http://www.hotgaylist.com/
http://www.hotgoo.com/
http://www.hotmovies.com/
http://www.hotmovies.jp/index.php
http://www.hotmoviesforher.com/
http://www.hotshame.com/
http://www.hottube.me/
http://www.hotvoyeurtube.com/
http://www.hustlertube.com/
http://www.iafd.com/
http://www.iceporn.com/
*http://www.ifeelmyself.com/public/main.ph
p*
http://www.indiepornrevolution.com/
http://www.ixyi.net/
http://www.japanxxx.com/
http://www.jebeno.com/
http://www.keezmovies.com/
http://www.kingporntube.com/
http://www.ladygranny.com/
http://www.literotica.com/
http://www.lustypuppy.com/
http://www.madthumbs.com/
http://www.manhub.com/
http://www.mofosex.com/
http://www.monstertube.com/
http://www.moviefap.com/
http://www.moviesand.com/
http://www.moviesand.com/
http://www.msnaughty.com/main.html
http://www.mylovedtube.com/
http://www.n1toons.com/
http://www.nailedhard.com/+
http://www.newbienudes.com/
http://www.newcocksformywife.com/
*http://www.newcooltube.com/categories.sh
tml*
http://www.nudejapaneseavidols.com/
http://www.nuvid.com/
http://www.oopsmovs.com/
http://www.ourhentai.com/
http://www.oxvo.org/
http://www.parispornmovies.com/

http://www.pigtailsextube.com/index.shtml
http://www.porn.com/
http://www.pornerbros.com/
http://www.porneskimo.com/
http://www.porn-granny-tube.com/categories/
http://www.pornmoviesforwomen.com/
http://www.pornmovieshere.com/
http://www.pornoid.com
http://www.pornorc.com/?source=tfx0
http://www.pornosexxxtits.com/
http://www.pornoxo.com/
http://www.pornper.com/
http://www.pornyaz.com/
http://www.pornyeah.com/
http://www.proporn.com/
http://www.publicdisgrace.com/
http://www.punishtube.com/
http://www.ratedporntube.com/
http://www.redgonzo.com/
http://www.retroraunch.com/
http://www.richporntube.com/
http://www.roundasstube.com/
http://www.rubberandbondage.com/
http://www.sex.com/
http://www.sexybabesz.com/
http://www.sexytube.me/
http://www.shufuni.com/
http://www.slutload.com/
http://www.spankwire.com/
http://www.spicybigbutt.com/
http://www.sunporno.com/
http://www.superhentaisex.com/
http://www.sweetfemdom.com/
http://www.sweetkiss.me/
http://www.tastyblacks.com/
http://www.themovs.com/
http://www.tnaflix.com/
http://www.tube.com/
http://www.tube8.com/
http://www.tubeadultmovies.com/
http://www.tubecharm.com/
http://www.tubegalore.com/
http://www.tubepleasure.com/
http://www.tubepornfever.com/
http://www.tubepornmix.com/
http://www.tubestack.com/
http://www.tubewolf.com/
http://www.tubexo.com/categories320.html
http://www.tubeyard.com/

http://www.tubeyard.com/
http://www.tubuz.com/
http://www.twilightsex.com/
http://www.updatetube.com/
http://www.vaginaporntube.com/
http://www.vid2c.com/
http://www.vivagals.com/
http://www.vporn.com/
http://www.watchfreepornmoviesvids.com/
http://www.wetplace.com/
http://www.wildbdsmtube.com/
http://www.winporn.com/
http://www.worldsex.com/
http://www.xtube.com/
http://www.xtubemovies.com/categories.html
http://www.xxxfilms.xxx/
http://www.xxxhdtube.com/
http://www.xxxpornx.xxx/
http://www.xxxteentapes.com/
http://www.yepporn.com/
http://www.yobt.com/
http://www.youjizz.com/
http://www.yourlust.com/
http://www.zootube365.com/
http://xwifetube.com/
http://xywar.com/
http://yourlust.com/
http://zedporn.com/
http://www.sharingmywife.com/main.html

Biography

Milica Vasić was born on the 25th of November 1983, in Belgrade. She graduated at the "Fifth Gymnasium of Belgrade" and finished her bachelor studies at the Department of Librarianship and Informatics at the Faculty of Philology in 2010. She finished "Management of Knowledge" at the "Belgrade Open School" and a module of environmental policy at the "Center for modern skills".

In 2010, she finished master studies in Informatics at the Philological Faculty and enrolled into doctoral studies at the same institution, at the Department for Ethnology and Anthropology.

She participated in organizing two internation conferences: "Leadership in libraries" (2006) and "IT Literacy" (2007).

During 2006, she worked in the library "Saint Sava" in Zemun and in the court library "White Court" on cataloging.

Later, during 2008, she worked in the Library of the City of Belgrade, and again in the "White Court" library (on classification, bibliographic description and implementing COBISS).

During 2012, she was working in lemmatization and as an expert consultant on the Serbian Ministry of Science project – Digitalization of Serbian Newspapers.

At the beginning of 2013, she was an analyst of bibliographic information in the "CEON".

From 2013, she is working as a librarian in the Institute for Public Health of Serbia "Milan Jovanović-Batut"

Published Papers:

- Vasić Milica (2006), Mi smo budući lideri, Pančevačko Čitalište 5 (9): 43

- Vasić Milica (2010), Šta je Internet? Tehnološke osnove Interneta – osnova za antropološka proučavanja, Etnoantropološke sveske 16 (5): 79-93

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- Vasić Milica (2012), Intelektualni kapital i menadžment znanja, Zbornik Beogradske otvorene škole, studenata Odeljenja za napredne dodiplomske studije, generacija 2009/2010: 235-244

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- Vasić Milica (2013), Pregled novih publikacija referentne biblioteke SZO, Bibliografija, Institut za javno zdravlje Srbije „Dr Milan Jovanović – Batut"

Attachment 1.

Authorship Declaration

Signed: Milica Vasić
Entry number: 8E10-8

I state

That the doctoral dissertation titled

Categorization of pornographic video clips on the internet: cognitive anthropologic approach

- is a result of my own research
- that the proposed dissertation in whole or in part has not been proposed for obtaining any degree according to the study programs of other higher education institutions,
- that the results have been correctly listed
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