

Online Sexual Activity: Gender Differences and Gender Similarities

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Abstract

Online sexual activity (OSA) is the use of the Internet for any activity that involves sexuality. It is mainly divided into three categories: non-arousal OSA, solitary-arousal OSA and partnered-arousal OSA. The differences and similarities between men and women in OSA has been the hot topic in this field. Most studies revealed that men were the major participants of OSA, for men are more likely to participate in OSA, spend more time on OSA, and attend to more types of OSA than women. This may be due to the differences between the genders in socialization, sexual attitudes and time spent online. However, a few studies also found that there were some gender similarities in OSA, and women were even more active than man in some OSAs. This may be due to women's preference for interactive OSA and the unique environment the Internet provides for women's sexual liberation. In the future, other factors affecting gender differences in OSA and the psychological mechanisms of Internet promoting women's sexual liberation should be further explored, and the OSA researches under Chinese culture need to be expanded as well.

Keywords

Online Sexual Activity, Gender Differences, Gender Similarities

网络性活动：性别差异性 & 性别相似性

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摘要

网络性活动(online sexual activity, OSA)指人们在网络上所进行的任何一种与性有关的活动, 主要分为无唤醒的网络性活动、自行唤醒的网络性活动和交互唤醒的网络性活动, 而男女性在网络性活动中所表

现出的差异性和相似性一直是该领域内的焦点。多数研究发现, 男性是网络性活动的主要参与者, 在参与频率、参与年限以及参与的活动种类上都远超女性, 这一现象可能与两性在社会化结果、性态度以及上网时间上的差异有关; 然而, 少数研究发现, 两性会在自行唤醒的网络性活动中表现出一定的相似性, 甚至女性偶尔会在网络性交流活动中表现得更加活跃, 这主要源于女性对具有交互性质的网络性活动的偏好以及网络为女性的性解放提供的独特环境。未来应该进一步探讨影响性别差异的其它因素, 探明网络促进女性性活动的心理机制, 并且开拓我国文化背景下的网络性活动研究。

关键词

网络性活动, 性别差异性, 性别相似性

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1. 引言

由于易达性、私密性以及低成本三个特性, 网络已成为性活动的新媒介(Cooper, 1998)。网络性活动(online sexual activity, OSA), 指人们在网络上所进行的任何一种与性有关的活动(Cooper, Morahan, Mathy, & Maheu, 2002), 形式包括聊天交友、休闲娱乐、学习教育以及购物等。一种公认的分类方式将网络性活动划分为三种类型(Shaughnessy, Byers, & Walsh, 2010): 1) 无唤醒的网络性活动(non-arousal OSA), 即一种不以引起性唤醒为直接目的、重在获取性相关信息的网络性活动, 如在网络上查询性健康知识, 参加性教育课程, 购买性产品等; 2) 自行唤醒的网络性活动(solitary-arousal OSA), 即个体单独进行的并通过某些网络媒介(如图片、文字或视频)引发性唤醒的网络性活动, 如观看或下载色情图片、色情文字或色情视频等; 3) 交互唤醒的网络性活动(partnered-arousal), 即在与他人的交互过程中实现性唤醒的网络性活动, 如在网络上通过文字、语音或视频与他人调情或进行性爱活动等。此外, 还有一种网络性活动被少部分研究所关注, 即网络性交流活动(cybersex), 最初含义等同网络性活动, 后专指两个或两个以上的人为性愉悦而进行性方面的交流的活动(Daneback, Cooper, & Månsson, 2005), 如在网络上相互调情或在线进行性爱活动等, 属于交互唤醒的网络性活动。

关于网络性活动的研究已有很多, 而两性在网络性活动中所表现出的差异性和相似性一直是该领域内的焦点(Adams, Oye, & Parker, 2003; Ben-Ze'Ev, 2015; Ferree, 2003; Ross, 2005; Ross, 2005; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2011)。本研究将对网络性活动研究中的性别差异性 & 性别相似性进行系统性介绍。

2. 男性为网络性活动的主要参与者

2.1. 表现

多数研究显示, 男性是网络性活动的主要参与者(Cooper et al., 2002; Kunnuji, 2013), 参与的网络性活动种类比女性更多(Ballester, Giménez, Gil, & Castro, 2016), 参与网络性活动的频率比女性更高(Zheng & Zheng, 2014), 而且参与网络性活动的年限比女性更长(Yellowlees & Marks, 2007)。具体而言, 男性的主导地位集中体现在以下三方面。

2.1.1. 自行唤醒的网络性活动

男性在自行唤醒的网络性活动中占据主导地位(Shaughnessy, Byers, & Walsh, 2010)。在青少年时期,

男孩就比女孩更频繁地使用网络色情内容,比女孩持有更多性相关的知识(Scarcelli, 2015)。此外,男孩更早接触网络色情内容(Cameron et al., 2005; Eva & Orgazbaz, 2013; Finkelhor et al., 2000; Flood, 2007; Hogg & Sinclair, 2007; Livingstone et al., 2011; Mesch, 2009; Peter & Valkenburg, 2006; Sabina, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2008),并且对接触网络色情内容的渴望程度会随着年龄不断增加(Hogg & Sinclair, 2007)。成年以后,男性仍然比女性更偏好于接触网络色情内容(Hogg & Sinclair, 2007; Kvaalem, Lewin, & Aleksandar, 2014),更频繁地接触网络色情内容(Bleakley, Hennessy, & Fishbein, 2011; Kunnuji, 2013; Lude et al., 2011; Scarcelli, 2015)或网络性外显材料(Shaughnessy, & Byers, 2014; Velezmoro, Negy, & Livia, 2012; Wang, Iannotti, & Luk, 2009),更倾向于通过网络寻找性伴侣并且对性相关的网络广告作出反馈(Perry, 2007),更可能使用提供性外显性信息的网站(Wasserman & Richmond-Abbott, 2005)。

2.1.2. 交互唤醒的网络性活动

男性在交互唤醒的网络性活动中也占据主导地位(Velezmoro, Negy, & Livia, 2012)。例如,相比女性,男性会更频繁地进行网络性交流活动(Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014; Weinstein et al., 2015),更可能与在网络上认识的人做爱(Jonsson, Bladh, Priebe, & Svedin, 2015);男性比女性更渴望与各种类型的人(与自己确定伴侣关系的人、认识自己但未与自己确定伴侣关系的人,陌生人)进行网络性交流活动(Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014)。此外,研究发现人们在网络聊天室进行性交流活动时,无论男女,其表现出的交流方式均偏向男性化(Carvalho & Gomes, 2003),这说明男性在网络性活动中的支配性已经影响到了两性的性交流模式,使得女性也表现出男性化的行为方式。

2.1.3. 成瘾行为

成瘾行为可以从侧面反映出男性在网络性活动中有更高的活跃度。研究发现,男性比女性更容易对网络性活动成瘾,而且更容易因过度参与网络性活动而面临被网络性活动干扰正常生活的问题(Ballester, Giménez, Gil, & Castro, 2016; Green & Carnes, 2012; Laaser & Gregoire, 2003; Landau, Garrett, & Webb, 2008; Subrahmanyam & Šmahel, 2011);此外,男性更容易成为网络性活动的病态用户,表现出对网络性活动的病态依赖(Perry, 2007; Snagowski & Brand, 2015)。

2.2. 成因

关于为何男性会成为网络性活动的主要参与者这个问题,目前尚无针对性的系统研究,但综合现有的成果发现,这一现象可从以下三方面进行理解:1)传统性刻板接受男性的性表达,但抑制女性的性表达;2)男性比女性有着更积极的性态度;3)男性的上网时间普遍长于女性。

2.2.1. 社会接受男性的性表达,抑制女性的性表达

社会化使得男女性形成了不同的性刻板(Gagnon & Simon, 1973; Wiederman, 2005),而性刻板(sexual script)是指导人们如何根据相应的性情境进行理解与表达的一种认知图式(Simon & Gagnon, 1986)。传统性刻板理论(traditional sexual script, TSS)认为,男性被社会教导要在性上更富有主动性,而女性则被教导要在性上充当被动的一方;男性被默认有着更强烈的性需求和性动机,若他们表现出这种需求和动机是有利于提高自身社会地位的,相反,女性被期望有着更少的性需求,在性方面,她们应该更关注情绪和承诺这方面的问题,若她们有更多的性经历反而会导致其社会地位的下降(Byers, 1996)。简言之,社会接受男性的性表达,抑制女性的性表达(Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014)。因此,男性会比女性在网络性活动上表现出更高的活跃性。

这种社会化所造成的性别差异可从男女性在网络性活动上的表现反映出来。通常,男性更倾向于记忆网络性活动带来的积极方面,而女性则表现出更多的消极反应:男性在使用能够激起性唤醒的色情内

容时, 会比女性报告有更多性愉悦(Ana, Bridges, Patricia, & Morokoff, 2011; Jennifer & Schneider, 2000); 青少年男性会报告更多的性兴奋反应(如手淫), 而青少年女性会报告更多消极情绪反应, 如尴尬、气愤、恶心和担心被举报等(Eva & Orgazbaz, 2013; Jennifer, Schneider, 2000; Sabina, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2008), 更倾向于将自己与网上的图片进行消极的比较(Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001), 并且会因为羞耻和害怕被批评等心理, 更不愿暴露自己的性相关行为(Luder et al., 2011)。

这种社会化造成的性别差异也可从线下性活动中体现出来。在线下性活动中, 男性依旧是主要参与者: 男性比女性更经常参与性相关的活动(Baumeister, Catanese, & Vohs, 2001; Petersen & Hyde, 2010); 男性有更多的一夜情行为和手淫行为, 观看更多的色情内容, 有更多的非固定性伴侣(Oliver & Hyde, 1993)。由此可见, 网络性活动和线下性活动的性别差异性表现出很高的一致性(Ballester, Giménez, Gil, & Castro, 2016; Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014), 说明传统性刻板对男女性的性表达产生了深刻影响, 这种影响在一定程度上不会受媒介——互联网的影响。

2.2.2. 男性比女性有着更积极的性态度

性态度(sexual attitude)可以影响个体进行网络性活动的频率。其中, 性态度是一种稳定的心理状态, 由性认知、性情感和性行为倾向三因素构成(Cupach & Metts, 1995)。研究发现, 个体的性态度在其性别与网络性活动中起到中介效应, 一般性态度得分越高(分数越高表示性态度越积极), 参与网络性活动的频率就越高(Shaughnessy, Byers, & Walsh, 2010; Zheng & Zheng, 2014)。此外, 性别是性态度的重要预测指标(Weinstein, 2015), 男性通常对与性相关的活动和内容持有更积极的态度, 而女性对此持有更消极的态度: 男性对网络性活动的态度更积极, 而女性对此更消极(Shaughnessy, Byers, Clowater, & Kalinowski, 2014; Shaughnessy, Byers, & Walsh, 2010); 男性对网络性外显材料或网络色情内容的接受度更高, 而女性对此接受度更低(Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001; Kunnuji, 2013; Qiuyue, Michael, & Davey, 1996); 女性无论在行为还是态度上都更难接受意外出现的性外显材料(例如来自页面弹出广告、收件箱的性材料), 她们会认为这些材料是具冒犯性的, 而男性则对这些内容抱有更积极的态度(Kunnuji, 2013)。由此可见, 男性因为比女性有着更积极的性态度, 所以更频繁地参与网络性活动。

需要注意的是, 男女在性态度上的差异也可能源于社会化的影响(Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014), 男性之所以有着更积极的性态度, 是因为社会更接受他们对性的追求, 而女性之所以有着更消极的性态度是因为社会不接受她们的性表达。

2.2.3. 男性的上网时间普遍长于女性

个体的上网时长也可以影响其在网络性活动上的表现。研究发现, 随着上网时间的增加, 个体在网络上接触到性信息的可能性也增加(Kunnuji, 2013), 而且, 上网时间更长的人一般是更有经验的网民, 他们对各种网络软件更加熟悉, 在寻找能够进行网络性活动的路径时更加得心应手(Joiner et al., 2005; Kalthoff et al., 2006; Li & Kirkup, 2007)。而调查显示, 男性普遍比女性的上网时间更长(Wang, Iannotti, & Luk, 2009), 在网络性活动上消耗的时间更长(Davis & Smith, 1999; Ko et al., 2009), 而且网络使用经验更加丰富(Laconi, Tricard, & Chabrol, 2015)。因此, 男性因为上网时间更长, 接触到性相关内容的可能性越高, 所以更容易参与到网络性活动之中; 而且, 男性因为上网时间更长, 所以积累的网络使用经验更加丰富, 可以利用的途径或方法更多, 所以可以实现更多样的网络性活动。此外, 在网上重复暴露于一种材料可以导致使用者的敏感性下降, 转而进行更多的探索(Bartholow, Sestir, & Davis, 2005), 所以长时间或频繁地暴露于网络性材料, 可能会进一步刺激男性去拓展更多的网络性活动。

3. 女性在部分网络性活动中的特殊表现

3.1. 表现

虽然多数研究支持男性是网络性活动的主要参与者,但少数研究指出,两性会在自行唤醒的网络性活动中表现出一定的相似性,甚至女性会在某些网络性交流活动中表现得更加活跃。

3.1.1. 自行唤醒的网络性活动

少数研究发现两性会在自行唤醒的网络性活动中表现出一定的相似性。例如,两性在阅读网络色情文学的频率上无显著差异(Cooper, Månsson, Daneback, & Ross, 2003; Shaughnessy, Byers, & Walsh, 2010);两性在网上传播性照片的人数上无显著差异(Jennifer & Schneider, 2011);关于网络性外显材料激发的手淫行为,两性在参与人数和参与频率上都无显著差异(Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001)。需要注意的是,虽然在手淫行为上尚未发现两性有显著差异,但有研究提出,手淫与女性的网络性交流活动存在更密切的联系,而与男性的网络性交流活动的联系相对更弱(Ballester, Giménez, Gil, & Castro, 2016)。

3.1.2. 网络性交流活动

部分研究显示,女性在网络性交流活动中表现得更加活跃。例如, Parks 和 Floyd (1996)发现,女性比男性更早开始在网络上发展人际关系(如友谊关系或伴侣关系);男女性在网络性交流活动内容(如相互调情,发展个人关系)上是相似的,但在 35~49 岁年龄段下的女性明显比同年龄段的男性有更多的网络性交流经历(Daneback, Cooper, & Månsson, 2005); Shaughnessy 和 Byers (2014)发现,相比男性,更多的女性被试报告自己会与确定伴侣关系的人进行网络性交流活动;另有研究显示,虽然两性在网络性交流活动上的参与人数和参与频率未出现统计差异,但女性的人数和频率普遍都高于男性(Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001)。

此外, Shaughnessy 和 Byers (2014)发现两性在性交流活动上的一些相似性:虽然男女被试都至少有 1/3 的人曾试图与三种类型的人(与自己确定伴侣关系的人、认识自己但未与自己确定伴侣关系的人,陌生人)进行网络性交流活动,但男女被试都更倾向与自己确定伴侣关系的人进行网络性交流活动,其次是认识自己但未与自己确定伴侣关系的人,最后是与陌生人(Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014),这说明社会道德规范对男女性均产生了一定的约束作用。

3.2. 成因

虽然小部分研究发现两性有一定的相似性,甚至女性会在部分网络性活动中表现得更加活跃,但这些研究不否认男性作为网络性活动主导者的身份。关于女性为何会在某些情境下表现地与男性同样活跃或更加活跃这个问题,可从两个角度理解:1) 女性比男性更加偏好具有交互性质的网络性活动;2) 网络为女性的性解放提供了独特环境。

3.2.1. 女性偏好具有交互性质的网络性活动

研究发现,女性更偏好具有交互性质的网络性活动,而男性对此未表现出特别倾向(Byers & Shaughnessy, 2014)。女性更可能为了与伴侣调情或者迎合伴侣的要求而进行网络性活动(Weinstein et al., 2015);女性比男性更喜欢那种能够与人进行互动的网络性活动(如在网络聊天室内与别人交换色情内容),而男性更喜欢单独接触网络色情内容(Cooper et al., 2002; Jennifer & Schneider, 2000; Weinstein et al., 2015);女性比男性更可能与别人讨论与性有关的话题,而男性更可能独自浏览色情图片或电影(Krueger et al., 2013);女性最经常进行的网络性活动是与对方在网上调情,而男性最经常进行的网络性活动是独自观看色情作品,女性最喜欢的活动是与自己的爱人或性伴侣在网上保持联系,而男性仅将此类活动排在第

五位(Cooper, Månsson, Daneback, & Ross, 2003); 此外, Cooper 等人(2002)发现, 超过男性一倍人数的女性报告自己是为了从别人那里获得关照和支持而进行网络性活动。很明显, 女性偏好具有交互性质的网络性活动, 所以女性在该类型的网络性活动中表现出更高的活跃性。

3.2.2. 网络为女性的性解放提供了独特环境

网络的易达性、私密性以及低成本三大特性为女性的性解放提供了独特的环境, 使部分女性从压抑的现实生活中解放出来, 在网络中自由表达对性的追求和向往。这种解放体现在以下四方面: 1) 网络可以避免女性的身体遭受伤害, 使得女性在无需顾忌暴力、性传播疾病和怀孕等问题的前提下放心地参与性活动(Cooper, Daneback, & Ross, 2003; Daneback, Cooper, & Månsson, 2005; Scarcelli, 2015); 2) 网络可以减轻女性进行性活动的心理压力, 其私密性使得女性从对社会评价的关注和社会的限制中解放出来(Daneback, Cooper, & Månsson, 2005; Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001; Leiblum, & Döring, 2002); 3) 网络为女性提供了一个成为探索者的机会, 使女性在性上更具自主性和积极性, 而不再像传统女性角色那样被动的等待男性的“邀请”, 被迫作为一种性客体般的存在(Cooper, Daneback, & Ross, 2003; Krueger et al., 2013); 4) 网络促使女性在性上变得更加开放, 使她们敢于尝试新事物, 大胆地与他人就性方面的问题进行讨论交流(Albright, 2008; Shaughnessy, Byers, Clowater, & Kalinowski, 2014)。因此, 在部分网络性活动中, 两性的活跃度没有出现显著差异, 甚至女性可以表现出更高的活跃性。

如今, 越来越多的研究显示两性在网络使用时长、使用频率和使用方式上的差异逐渐缩小(但差异仍旧存在)(Brenner, 1997; Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001; Kadri et al., 2013; Kominski, 1991), 在这种背景之下, 部分网络性活动中的性别差异可能会继续缩小。

4. 未来的研究方向

4.1. 进一步探讨影响性别差异的其它因素

网络性活动中的性别差异会受到诸多因素的影响。研究发现, 随着年龄的变化两性会表现出不同的状态: 男性参与网络性活动的频率随着年龄下降, 而女性参与网络性活动的频率随着年龄上升(Kadri et al., 2013; Perry, 2007); 年龄对女性接触网络性活动的可能性有非常重要的影响, 一般年龄越大的女性接触的可能性越高(Luder et al., 2011; Sorbring, Skoo, & Bohlin, 2014)。关系状态也会对女性接触网络性活动的可能性产生重要影响(Cooper, Månsson, Daneback, & Ross, 2003)。但是, 年龄和关系状态究竟如何影响两性在网络性活动中的表现, 目前尚无统一结论。此外, 性取向、教育水平、风险性行为、身体自尊以及人际关系等因素均会影响性别差异的表现(Bleakley, Hennessy, & Fishbein, 2011; Brown & Engle, 2009; Brown, Pugsley, & Cohen, 2015; Daneback, 2014; Michaud, Suris, & Deppen, 2006), 需要研究者们作进一步探讨。

4.2. 探明网络促进女性性活动的心理机制

网络性活动中的性别差异虽然与线下性活动的性别差异表现出很高的一致性(Ballester, Giménez, Gil, & Castro, 2016; Shaughnessy & Byers, 2014), 但也有其特殊性, 即网络能够为女性的性解放提供得天独厚的便利条件。然而, 目前关于网络和女性性解放关系的研究并未深入到对心理机制的探索, 因此日后有必要在此领域进行更全面的实证研究, 比如, 具有哪些心理因素的女性在性上更容易受到网络的影响? 网络导致了女性在哪些心理因素上的变化? 网络如何导致女性在心理因素上的变化?

4.3. 关注我国文化背景的研究

已有研究主要针对西方文化, 而针对我国文化的网络性活动研究很少。一项以中国大陆网民为被试

的研究发现,参与过网络性活动的男性几乎是女性的两倍,而且在剔除未参与过任何网络性活动的男女被试后,男性比女性更频繁地在网上浏览外显性材料上,更频繁地与他人调情,而在寻找性伴侣和网络性交流上男女的参与频率并没有显著差异(Zheng & Zheng, 2014)。这些结果与西方研究类似,表明网络性活动下的性别差异具有跨文化的普遍性。然而东西方的文化也存在着明显的不同,如中国文化对性的约束程度明显高于西方文化(Zheng, Zhou, Wang, & Hesketh, 2014),此外 Zheng 和 Zheng (2014)发现,中国大陆被试参与网络性活动的频率明显低于西方被试。因此,这种文化差异是否也会导致性别差异在中国文化背景下产生不同的表现呢?这个问题值得探讨。

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