

The Psychological Structure of Problematic Porn Use in Men: A Descriptive Phenomenological Study¹

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Abstract

This study examines the psychological impact of problematic pornography use among men in Türkiye using Giorgi's descriptive phenomenological method. The research involved in-depth, semi-structured interviews with participants, exploring their initial experiences with pornography, the evolution of their use, and the characteristics of their problematic engagement. The findings reveal that early exposure, often driven by curiosity and peer influence, transitions into a coping mechanism for emotional stress, which highlights the shift towards problematic use. Cultural and religious beliefs significantly influence users, with moral conflicts contributing to intense feelings of guilt and shame, especially among religious individuals. Key psychological impacts include social isolation, relational difficulties, and perceived addiction. This study underscores the need for culturally sensitive approaches to address problematic pornography use and suggests the importance of

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understanding the complex interplay between personal, social, and cultural factors. Tailored psychological interventions and communication strategies are recommended to mitigate the negative impacts identified.

Keywords: Pornography use; Problematic pornography use; Qualitative research; Descriptive phenomenological research; Giorgi.

Erkeklerde Problemlı Porno Kullanımının Psikolojik

Yapısı: Betimsel Fenomenolojik Bir Araştırma

Öz

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki erkekler arasında problemlı pornografi kullanımının psikolojik etkilerini Giorgi'nin betimsel fenomenolojik yöntemi kullanarak incelemektedir. Araştırma, katılımcılarla yapılan derinlemesine, yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatları içermektedir. Katılımcıların pornografi ile ilk deneyimlerini, kullanımın evrimini ve problemlı etkileşimlerinin özelliklerini keşfetmiştir. Bulgular, genellikle merak ve akran etkisiyle yönlendirilen erken maruz kalmanın, duygusal stresle başa çıkma mekanizmasına geçiş yaptığını ve bu durumun sorunlu kullanıma doğru bir kaymayı vurguladığını ortaya koymaktadır. Kültürel ve dini inançlar, kullanıcıları önemli ölçüde etkilemekte ve ahlaki çatışmalar, özellikle dini bireyler arasında yoğun suçluluk ve utanç duygularına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Temel psikolojik etkiler arasında sosyal izolasyon, ilişki zorlukları ve algılanan bağımlılık bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, problemlı pornografi kullanımını ele almak için kültürel olarak duyarlı yaklaşımların gerekliliğini vurgulamakta ve kişisel, sosyal ve kültürel faktörler arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimi anlamının önemini önermektedir. Belirlenen olumsuz etkileri hafifletmek için kişiye özel psikolojik müdahaleler ve iletişim stratejileri önerilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pornografi kullanımı; Problemlı pornografi kullanımı; Nitel araştırma; Betimsel fenomenolojik araştırma; Giorgi.

Introduction

The widespread adoption of high-speed internet has significantly facilitated easy, economical and anonymous access to pornography (Cooper, 1998, 2013; Dhuffar and Griffiths, 2015). In economically developed societies, pornography use has become ubiquitous, with substantial consumption reported globally. In the U.S., more than 90% of men and 87% of women have engaged in watching pornography (Döring, Daneback, Shaughnessy, Grov and Byers, 2017; Fernandez and Griffiths, 2021; Herbenick et. al., 2020; Wéry and Billieux, 2017). Comparable rates are seen in Europe and Asia, where usage

varies from 59% to 98% among men and 24% to 91% among women, indicating rising consumption and changing attitudes (Ballester-Arnal, Castro-Calvo, García-Barba, Ruiz-Palomino and Gil-Llario, 2021; Chen, 2022; Li and Zheng, 2017; Okabe and Ito, 2022; Træen and Daneback, 2013; Zheng and Zheng, 2014).

The impact of pornography has been extensively studied over the past 60+ years, yielding diverse results. While some researchers claim negative effects from pornography use (Hilton, 2013; Wilson, 2016), others suggest that it doesn't necessarily lead to adverse outcomes (Ley, Prause, and Finn, 2014) and some report mixed effects (Hald and Malamuth, 2008). Despite the ongoing debate surrounding the effects of pornography, recent studies consistently show that excessive consumption can lead to a range of negative outcomes, including occupational (Young, 2008) and relational problems (Newstrom and Harris, 2016; Perry, 2016; Szymanski, Feltman and Dunn, 2015; Szymanski and Stewart-Richardson, 2014), sexual aggression with potential legal consequences (Neto, Eyland, Ware, Galouzis and Kevin, 2013; Wright, Tokunaga and Kraus, 2016), psychological distress (Egan and Parmar, 2013; Philaretou, Mahfouz and Allen, 2005) and conflicts with religious socialization (Perry, 2015, 2017). Furthermore, concerns about physical and mental health are highlighted, such as erectile dysfunction, risks associated with unprotected sexual intercourse, sexually transmitted diseases, depression, and difficulties in personal and social relationships (Grubbs, Kraus and Perry, 2019; Grubbs, Perry, Wilt and Reid, 2019; Grubbs, Wright, Braden, Wilt and Kraus, 2019; Park et al., 2016). Moreover, the consumption of pornography also affects women, not only through direct exposure but also through its influence on societal norms, promoting violent sexual scenarios, and contributing to the sexual objectification of women (Bennett, LoPresti, McGloin and Denes, 2019; Nakai, 2015; Suvivuo, Tossavainen and Kontula, 2010; Ward, Vandenbosch and Eggermont, 2015).

Despite these documented risks, the outcomes of pornography consumption are still debated as to whether they are short-lived or long-lasting, trivial or significant (Grubbs and Kraus, 2021; Grubbs et al., 2019; Leonhardt, Spencer, Butler and Theobald, 2019; Ley et al., 2014).

Beyond all these discussions around pornography use, there are also many people who find their use problematic and perceive themselves as addicted (Grubbs et al., 2020). Definitions of problematic pornography use are

diverse and include terms such as addictive internet pornography usage, excessive usage, pornography addiction, pathological pornography usage, compulsive pornography usage, perceived porn addiction, and problematic porn usage (Markert, Baranowski, Koch, Stark and Strahler, 2021; Short, Black, Smith, Wetterneck and Wells, 2012). These definitions encompass both quantitative aspects such as frequency and volume of use, as well as qualitative aspects, including the negative impacts on personal, professional, and relational areas, and loss of control over usage (Böthe, Tóth-Király, Demetrovics and Orosz, 2017). Beyond these effects, the concept of perceived addiction, which has emerged in recent years, particularly among religious individuals who feel addicted to pornography (Grubbs, Lee, Hoagland, Kraus and Perry, 2020), has evolved into the model known as “the pornography problems due to moral incongruence (Grubbs, et al., 2019). In this model, the discomfort created by individuals’ moral disapproval of their pornography use takes precedence alongside their actual use of pornography.

In essence, problematic pornography use disrupts daily life, is driven by complex motivations, and fits within addiction frameworks, necessitating comprehensive assessment (Böthe et al., 2021; Grubbs and Kraus, 2021). But despite quantitative researches focusing problematic pornography use, much of the scholarly effort has centered on theoretical frameworks rather than the direct experiences of those affected (Hanseder and Dantas, 2023; Ševčíková, Vašek, Blinka, Macháčková, and Ježek, 2021). Similarly only one qualitative research (Incekara, Bayram, and Ulaş, 2023) has been carried out in Turkey focusing pornography use. Whenas, understanding the lived experience of problematic porn use needs more personal descriptions (Ashton, McDonald, and Kirkman, 2019; Hanseder and Dantas, 2023; Ince et al., 2023; Taylor, 2020).

Furthermore, in understanding the phenomenon of problematic pornography use, it is essential to consider the influence of religious identity and moral conflicts. In Türkiye, a predominantly Muslim country, these feelings may be further intensified by cultural and religious teachings that view pornography as morally objectionable. Previous studies have shown that individuals with strong religious beliefs often experience heightened feelings of negative feelings associated with pornography use and perceived addiction (Grubbs, Exline, Pargament, Hook and Carlisle, 2015; Lewczuk, Nowakowska, Lewandowska, Potenza and Gola, 2021).

For this purpose, the issues of the characteristics of people's pornography use in the initial period, how it became problematic later, what this situation had in their lives and what they did to cope with are tried to be clarified. At the end it is aimed to describe the psychological structure of the problematic porn use phenomenologically.

Method

In order to understand the problematic experience of pornography use, the descriptive phenomenological method of phenomenology, one of the qualitative research methods, created by Giorgi, was used. According to Giorgi and Giorgi (2008), phenomenological research is the search and analysis of the psychological meanings that make up any phenomenon that we experience in the flow of daily life without being fully aware of it, and living examples in the context of people's lives. The descriptive phenomenological method is based on Husserl's phenomenology in terms of its main features and attempts to reach the psychological essence of the phenomenon studied through psychological reductions (Giorgi, 2009; Langdrige, 2007; Polkinghorne, 1989). Thus, it is aimed to capture the immutable structures of the studied phenomenon beyond the idiosyncratic experience (Gallagher and Zahavi, 2020). However, what is sought is not an absolute universal essence, but rather an attempt to grasp everyday situations psychologically (Giorgi ve Giorgi, 2009).

For the aforementioned purposes, interviews were conducted with the participants through the online zoom platform, and the statements obtained were subjected to a series of analysis, phenomenological reduction, and imaginative variation methods, thus trying to reach the common components of the experience shared among the participants and the general structure that emerged with their relations (Dinçer, Kütük-Yılmaz and Ekşi, 2023).

In the research, the process started with the parenthetical application required by phenomenological research, suspending the researcher's previous knowledge and prejudices with pornography as much as possible. The interviews with the participants were read repeatedly in a phenomenological manner and divided into units of meaning, and then the units of meaning were transformed into components of experience and then into psychological structure by phenomenological reduction and imaginative variation methods (Giorgi, 2009). The process steps of the process are shown in detail in Dinçer (2022).

Participants

In phenomenological research, unlike quantitative research, the unit of analysis is not a sample consisting of individuals or groups, but experiences. Therefore, participants are selected from people who have experienced different aspects of the experience under study and who can express the structure of this experience, so that an explanation can be created that describes the general characteristics of this experience based on the experience of these few people (Polkinghorne, 2005). As a matter of fact, the first of the selection criteria of the participants is that they have had that experience, and the second is that they have an expression skill to reflect these experiences (Colaizzi, 1978 from Polkinghorne, 1989). Creswell (2007) stated that a group of 3-4 to 10-15 people with a size between is a suitable sample for phenomenological research. Giorgi's (2009) phenomenological method necessitates a small number of participants because the method is very labor-intensive. Hence, Giorgi stated that he could reach deep structures with a very small number of participants in his studies, and reflecting this, doctoral theses he consulted consisting of a three-person study group (Raya, 2012; Stephens, 2010).

Since the subject is an area where stigmatization concerns are high, the participants are people who respond to calls from online channels (social networks, online help groups, etc.). Participants were selected based on specific inclusion criteria: they had to be older than 18-year-old and self-identify as experiencing problematic pornography use. Additionally, the recruitment process ensured that participants had sufficient linguistic skills to articulate their experiences comprehensively. The interviewees and their characteristics are given below.

Table 1. Characteristics of In-Depth Interviewees

	Gender	Age	Occupation
P1	M	25	Architect
P2	M	23	Engineering Student 4 th . Year
P3	M	27	Medical Student 3 rd . Year

Data Collection Tools

In phenomenological research, in-depth interviews are typically a primary data collection method (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2022). This is because direct, moment-to-moment interaction with participants allows flexibility for the researcher to explore lived experiences (Eatough and Smith, 2017).

According to Giorgi (2009), the process begins by asking participants generally how a phenomenon is experienced and then follows up with questions to understand the experience better based on their responses. Hence, in these semi-structured interviews, the participants were asked to describe their initial experiences with pornography and the characteristics of their use at that time. Finally, participants were asked to describe “an experience that they saw as problematic in their use,” which is the main focus of the research. They were then asked about the effects of this experience, and any attempts to quit or reduce their use. All of these questions are included in the interview list as they represent the main themes found in the literature regarding problematic porn use, such as the beginning of use, usage motivations, factors influencing use, problematic perceptions regarding use, observed effects, and attempts to quit or reduce use. To clarify and deepen participants’ answers, the interviews continued with additional questions as needed. The average duration of the interviews was 45 minutes.

Ethical Considerations

Before the data collection phase, the ethical suitability of the research was decided by the Ethics Committee of Marmara University Institute of Educational Sciences. Interviews with volunteer participants who declared that they were over the age of 18 were conducted online via the zoom program. All participants in this study completed the required informed consent forms as per protocol. Prior to their involvement, participants were briefed on the study’s objectives and were assured that they could terminate the interview if they experienced any discomfort or potential harm. With the permission of the participants, audio recordings of the interviews were taken to be used in the transcription process. Raw data was kept anonymous to safeguard participants’ identities. Any documents containing sensitive participant information will be securely stored until their disposal. After the transcription processes, the relevant audio recordings were deleted. Again, all statements containing information about the identities of the people in the audio recording transcripts were also deleted.

Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher consciously set aside personal ideas, emotions, and biases during both the interviews and data analysis to ensure openness in eliciting each participant’s perspective on the phenomenon. A crucial initial step in

achieving this was the researcher's self-awareness of personal attitudes towards the subject of authority. By these means rigor was tried to be maintained.

The finding intended to be obtained as a result of phenomenological research is the basic structure of the experience under study. This consists of the basic elements/components that enable that experience to be experienced in the same way as it is experienced, and the network of relationships between them. Giorgi (2009) calls this "general structural description" or "synthetic description". Although Giorgi has detailed the analysis steps he used to reach this general structure at different levels over the years, he generally used four steps in summary:

1. Assume a Phenomenological Attitude and Read the Entire Account
2. Delineate Meaning Units
3. Transform Meaning Units
4. Synthesize General Structure

According to these steps, the following processes have been carried out:

Transcription and Reading of Interviews: Audio recordings have been verbatim transcribed. The resulting transcripts were sent to participants to ask if they wanted to add or remove anything, thus confirming their approval. The researcher, as much as possible, suspended all prior knowledge and judgments related to pornography and read each interview transcript three times in a relaxed manner to gain a general understanding of the subject.

Division into Meaning Units: While reading the transcript, the researcher marked the places on the text where semantic and psychological changes occurred with a slash (/), identifying these as meaning units. There are no predefined criteria for the length of meaning units; the criterion here is intuitively noticing transitions in meaning. The researcher thus tries to discern meaning transitions in the conversation that even the participant may not be aware of. As a result, the participants' statements have been divided into meaning units.

Elucidation of Psychological Significance of Meaning Units: Giorgi (2009, p. 132) advises at this stage to "linger with, vary, and creatively diverge the data, imagining the complete opposite of what the person might want to express until a fitting expression is found" and describes this step as the most challenging in analysis. Here, the meaning units obtained in the previous step

are transformed through phenomenological reduction and imaginative variation into “transformed meaning units.” These transformed units are expressions of psychological meanings that implicitly emerge in regard to the phenomenon, articulated by the researcher.

The challenge here is to transform the data into a general psychological language without slipping into specific theoretical interpretations and terminologies. The phenomenological attitude used in previous steps is crucial, requiring the researcher to bracket (epoché) their experiences, theories, and expectations related to the subject. At this point, it is essential to adhere not to theories and terminologies but to the data itself.

The mentioned processes were concretely done as follows: The participants’ statements, divided into meaning units, were written in the leftmost column. Then, each psychological meaning obtained through phenomenological reduction was written to a column on the right. Reaching the far right columns with two or more reductions, more abstract psychological meanings have been written, and then the related meaning units were grouped into components.

Description of the General Structure of the Experience: At this stage, from these transformed units, develop a comprehensive description that captures the psychological essence of the experience. The components that are essential for the phenomenon and their relationship with each other are revealed from a psychological perspective (Giorgi, 2009). If a single general structure cannot be reached from the descriptions of the participants, create a structural explanation for each participant separately (Giorgi and Giorgi, 2008). The researcher used the method of imaginative variation to discover the invariant components of the experience. In this method, each component is hypothetically removed to see if what remains still represents the problematic pornography experience. If the phenomenon no longer represents the problematic pornography use experience when a component is removed, that component is considered essential for the phenomenon. These components are integrated to synthesize a general psychological structure for each participant. The resulting general structure has been presented in the findings section.

Findings

Following the process steps mentioned, the general psychological structure of problematic pornography use has been constructed. However, as Giorgi

(2009) emphasizes, it must be remembered that the psychological structure is not a definition of the phenomenon because reality itself cannot be fully reduced to a specific structure. In this respect, the psychological structure serves to describe how the phenomenon is experienced from a psychological perspective. Thus, it forms a representation of the “lived reality” of an abstract, representational individual who might experience it.

Consequently, the psychological structure formed as a result of the analyses is presented below:

“P (a representative individual), typically encountered pornography during early adolescence, often through peer influence and participation. The initial discovery of pornography was a source of great excitement and curiosity due to its secretive nature, as well as being a significant source of pleasure. Early usage was reinforced by the prevalent male culture during adolescence. P assessed pornography use through lenses shaped by religious, moral, and humanistic values. If P struggles to manage emotional difficulties and has easy access to pornography, the likelihood of increased usage escalates. Emotions experienced post-use include guilt, shame, anger, and sadness. Additionally, fatigue, lack of motivation, and concentration problems, compounded by increased loneliness due to frequent use, make it challenging for P. Moreover, P’s responsibilities suffer due to his usage, leading to internal conflict. Excessive pornography use results in viewing individuals of the opposite sex in a sexualized manner, causing further tension. Combined with unsuccessful efforts to quit or reduce usage, P begins to feel addicted. This perception negatively impacts his self-view, making him feel powerless and immature.”

The fundamental six components of the psychological structure identified concerning problematic pornography use are as follows:

1. Initial encounter and beginning of use,
2. Perspectives shaping attitudes towards pornography,
3. Motivations for use,
4. Factors influencing use,
5. Starting to perceive pornography use as problematic,
6. Attempts to address problematic pornography use.

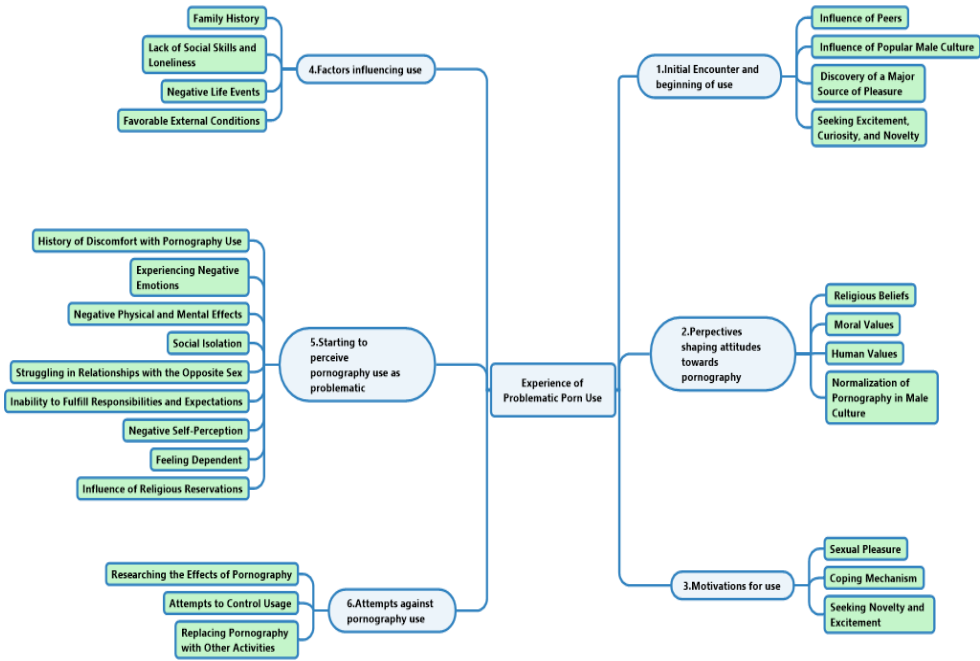


Figure 1. The General Psychological Structure of the Problematic Porn Use Experience

The psychological structure of the experience components and the sub-elements they include are shown in Figure 1 for a better understanding. In table 2 below, these components are presented in columns based on where they appear in the transcripts of different users. Themes under these components are provided, and the numbers of the meaning units in those participants’ transcripts are shown in parentheses. Components and sub-elements that are not located in a specific part but are found throughout a participant’s entire transcript are presented without a meaning unit number. Meaning units related to multiple components can appear in multiple places in the table. Due to word limit constraints in the article, only the 3rd and 5th components could be presented in the table below. The components highlighted in Table 2, particularly components 3 (Motivations for use) and 5 (Beginning to perceive porn use as problematic), were selected based on their direct relevance to the research question. These components capture critical aspects of the transition from casual to problematic use and the psychological impact of this transition, including the roles of religious guilt and moral conflict. The thematic contents of

these components reflect a comprehensive analysis of the participants' experiences. The original study (Dinçer, 2022) displays all components in detail.

Table 2. Comparison of Components for K1, K2, K3

Components	K1	K2	K3
3) Motivations for use	Pleasure (30) Using it to deal with negative emotional states: Using it as a means of coping with anxiety and stress (54, 55, 56) Feeling of novelty and excitement (33, 40)	Pleasure (5,10) Using it to deal with negative emotional states: Using it as a means of coping with anxiety and stress (18) Leisure time. (14, 21, 23) Feeling of novelty and excitement (23)	Pleasure (4) Using it to deal with negative emotional states: A tool for coping with anxiety and stress (13, 15, 16, 19, 21, 32) When negative self-evaluations such as worthlessness and rejection come (1, 14, 15, 21) Using pornography instead of approaching the opposite sex to avoid potential rejection (30) To feel masculine (12, 15)
5) Beginning to perceive porn use as problematic	History: Feeling guilty from the beginning of its use (4, 8, 10, 20, 26, 36, 37) Experiencing negative emotions: Guilt and shame (8,34) Temper (41) Anxiety, anxiety (41, 45, 46) Depression, despair (41) Loathe (8) Experiencing anhedonia when not using it (42) Physical and mental effects: Fatigue, reluctance (48) Blood Pressure (45) Concentration difficulties (49) Being socially isolated: Not being able to tell friends, not being understood (58) Experiencing negative effects in relationships with the opposite sex: Refraining from talking to the opposite sex (43) Perceiving the opposite sex as sexual (51, 53) Concerns about the possibility of problems with the future spouse: Fear of not liking his partner (52, 59) Fear of making his partner feel like she is being cheated on (59) The possibility that his wife is angry with him, etc 59 Failing to meet responsibilities and expectations (49) Causing negative self-perception: Feeling immature (57) Seeing oneself as weak-willed, weak (61) Feeling addicted: Increase in duration (32) Selectivity (34) Feelings of deprivation (38, 39, 42) Failed cessation or reduction attempts (32, 42) Impact of religious concerns: Contradiction of pornography with the belief that sexuality is sacred and belongs within marriage (37) Religious belief that looking at forbidden things weakens memory (50) Fearing of pornography could lead to extramarital relationships (60) Religious incongruity, being considered sinful (41, 47)	History: Until the last few years, she had never questioned her porn use (5,19) He starts to see the effects in elementary school, but he doesn't care about them (4) Seeing their peers having romantic relationships and thinking that prevents them from doing so (20) Physical and mental effects: Fatigue, reluctance (11, 12, 24, 25, 30, 31, 47) Concentration difficulties (26,30) Becoming socially isolated: Choosing pornography over friends (22) Nothing to talk about with friends other than porn (28) Experiencing negative effects in relationships with the opposite sex: Inability to be comfortable with the opposite sex (15, 16) The feeling that is an obstacle to relationships (20) Comparing women's bodies in terms of sexual attractiveness (17, 38) Shame and guilt caused by sexual fantasies about women he knows/doesn't know (38,39) Failing to meet responsibilities and expectations (26,30) Causing negative self-perception: Feeling immature (20) Feeling addicted: Increased selectivity (22, 23) Search for novelty (45) Mentally preparing and having it in mind (22, 23) Failed cessation attempts and relapse (34) Lying about usage (22)	Experiencing negative emotions: Guilt and shame (14,39) Thinking that he has become shameless (42, 45) Physical and mental effects: Fatigue, reluctance (14, 39) Concentration difficulties (31) Becoming socially isolated: Being lonely, not being able to talk about it to everyone (41) Experiencing negative effects in relationships with the opposite sex: Inability to form a dating relationship with the opposite sex (26) Not making an attempt to get a girlfriend Not wanting to be seen as hungry for sex in the eyes of girls (36, 39) Prolonged ejaculation in current sexual relations (29) Fear that he will ejaculate prolongedly in his future relationship as well (29) Perfectionism related to sexuality Thinking that he is expected to be perfect (29, 40) Fear of not liking his future spouse (40) Failing to meet responsibilities and expectations Academic failure (22) Conflict with the family (23) Causing negative self-perception: believing that only by quitting he would become a successful, noticeable person (35) Feeling addicted: Viewing it like alcohol and cigarettes (19) Transition from relaxation purpose to addictive use, excessive use (20) Failed cessation attempts and relapse (26, 28)

Discussion

The main components that make up the psychological structure of problematic pornography use will be presented as topics in the discussion section and compared with the literature.

Initial Encounter and Beginning of Use

Pornography, the first encounter with which is often during adolescence, is perceived as a completely new realm and a source of great excitement. During this initial phase, pornography usage among teenagers evolves into a form of entertainment shared within the peer group, sometimes becoming a shared secret within the group and occasionally even serving as a performance arena where competition arises among peers. All three participants either heard about pornography from their friends while still in elementary school or found it through exposure to their friends' usage. The participants expressed the following statements:

P3: when I was going to secondary school, sometimes I had to stay at school. One of my friends brought a CD and went inside, entered the classroom. He locked the door, he had the key, I didn't realise it at once, it was four or five boys. I was inside studying normally. I realised later that there was a TV in the room. There was a VCD on top of the TV. He put a CD in there, I remember the first time I came across it, I remember watching it.

According to research, men are ahead of women in terms of first encounter, frequency, and duration of use; problematic use is also more common (Chen, 2022; Grubbs, Kraus, and Perry, 2019; Harper and Hodgins, 2016; Rissel et al., 2017). During adolescence, pornography and masturbation are normalized and even idealized in popular male culture, often introduced by peers as part of social and sexual exploration (Adarsh and Sahoo, 2023). Factors such as pubertal timing, parenting style, and peer influence significantly shape patterns of pornography use (Nieh, Chang, Chang, Chiang and Yen, 2020). These behaviors are commonly accepted and frequently practiced among male youth, driven by peer pressure to view pornography as a social activity (Kheswa and Notole, 2014; Vanden Abeele, Campbell, Eggermont, and Roe, 2014). Exposure to pornographic material occurs through erotic games and social media, both voluntarily and involuntarily (Lewis, Somers, Guy, Watchirs-Smith and Skinner, 2018; Peter and Valkenburg, 2016; Ševčíková, Šerek, Barbovschi and Daneback, 2014).

When we look at the first exposure age, different results are obtained

from different studies at the age of first acquaintance with pornography. Peter and Valkenburg (2016), who state the earliest age in this regard, say that one third of young people met pornography before the age of 11. In a more recent study conducted in the USA, the age of first encounter was found to be 13.8 for males and 17.8 for females (Herbenick et al., 2020). In a recent study conducted in Turkey, it was found to be 12.8 years for males and 14.5 years for females (Dinçer, 2022).

Declining age at first exposure to pornography has been associated with problematic pornography use (Harper and Hodgins, 2016), risky sexual behaviours in adolescence (Sinković, Štulhofer and Božić, 2013), increased criminal behaviour and substance use in later years (Ybarra and Mitchell, 2005), and having current mental health problems (Lim, Agius, Carrotte, Vella and Hellard, 2017). However, there are also studies that found no relationship between age at first encounter and problematic pornography use (Baranowski, Vogl, and Stark, 2019; Štulhofer, Jelovica, and Ružić, 2008).

Motivations for Use

Participants mentioned different motivations related to pornography. Especially in the early periods, the fact that pornography is a source of pleasure seems to be the primary motivation.

P2: It was incredible, incredibly enjoyable.

This result is generally in line with the literature, as sexual pleasure has been described as the primary motivation in studies conducted in different countries and in different age groups (Chen, Leung, Chen and Yang, 2013; Emmers-Sommer, 2018; Grubbs et al., 2019; Mattebo, Tydén, Häggström-Nordin, Nilsson and Larsson, 2013; Ševčíková and Daneback, 2014) It has been observed that this motivation is similar in terms of gender variable (Esplin, Hatch, Hatch, Deichman, and Braithwaite, 2020). In the results obtained from studies in Muslim-majority countries, the discharge of sexual needs emerges as an important motivation under porn use (Al Mamun, Yasir Arafat, Ambiatunnahar, and Griffiths, 2019; Wijaya Mulya and Hald, 2014).

In addition to the initial enjoyment, other motivations that stand out in the statements are relaxation, boredom relief and the search for novelty and excitement.

P1: I mean, new, feels novelty, I mean, since it is novelty, you get a new excitement, new excitement, new happiness and you become happier,

so you numb yourself.

Novelty seeking is associated with the fact that the reward centres of the brain become desensitized to similar stimuli over time and that a certain level of arousal can now only be reached by novel stimuli (Banca, Harrison and Voon, 2016; Brand, Snagowski, Laier and Maderwald, 2016; Gola et al., 2017; Seok and Sohn, 2018).

From the statements of the participants, it is understood that over time, motivation ceased to be about pleasure and turned into a coping tool:

P3: we were going to a friend's house, then we were both going to separate rooms, we were masturbating, for example. We were doing something like that, and we were doing it much more at that time because the university exam, this and that, pressure, stress were too much.

The use of pornography as a means of emotional regulation against negative emotional states (sadness, worthlessness, etc.) (Peter and Valkenburg, 2016; Reid, Li, Gilliland, Stein and Fong, 2011) and to cope with boredom (Bóthe, Tóth-Király, Bella, et al., 2021; A.-S. Chen et al., 2013; Rothman, Kaczmarzsky, Burke, Jansen and Baughman, 2015) is one of the motivations for use. However, a relationship has been found between this form of pornography use, also called experiential escape, and problematic use (Bóthe et al., 2021).

One of the other important motivations not revealed in this study but mentioned in the literature is the satisfaction of sexual curiosity expressed by young people (Bóthe et al., 2021; Chen et al., 2013). Other important motivations of young people include learning new techniques in sexuality and satisfying fantasies that cannot be experienced in everyday life (Burtäverde, Jonason, Giosan, and Ene, 2021). These findings align with the motivations identified by Incekara, Bayram and Ula (2023), which include curiosity and seeking information, experiences of trauma within the family, the absence of role models and social skills, avoidance of emotional issues, stress, and feelings of boredom.

Usage and Factors Affecting Use

Participants mentioned factors affecting pornography use were family factors, loneliness, negative life events (academic failure, rejection in dating relationships, family conflicts, etc.) and conditions that facilitate access to and use of pornography.

The stressful nature of the family environment is at the forefront of familial influences. Participants P1 and P2 stated that they have been exposed to stress at home since they were young. In addition to the stress they were exposed to, they stated that they could not get the necessary life skills to cope with stress and self-confidence due to lack of interest or communication problems in the family. P1 also stated that there was no healthy information about pornography in her family. All these factors may have indirectly created a basis for pornography use.

P1: Since there are no activities at home that make me happy, you see violence, and on the contrary of being happy, you become negative, you see constant fights, you see sadness. My mother used to come and consult me, I supported my mother, imagine a small child trying to guide her mother. You support your mum. At that time, even though it is the stage that everyone goes through, many people can use porn, but that's where I mean, I find a drug for these negativities in this way.

Family dynamics significantly influence adolescents' pornography consumption. Research indicates that colder family relationships and increased adolescent freedom correlate with higher levels of pornography use (Ghavidel-Heidari, Kazemi and Nikmanesh, 2012). Conversely, family support acts as a protective factor, reducing the negative impacts of pornography, including mitigating its association with sexually violent behavior (Kim, Choi and Su, 2021). Active parental mediation, such as engaging in critical discussions about pornography content, effectively lowers pornography consumption and supports adolescents' self-esteem (Rasmussen et al., 2015). Conversely, negative active mediation, where parents condemn or disapprove of pornography, is associated with lower pornography use and healthier sexual attitudes (Rasmussen, Ortiz and White, 2015). Additionally, strong family functioning correlates inversely with problematic internet pornography use (PIPU) among adolescents, fostering high self-esteem and reducing the likelihood of PIPU (Li, Wang, Tang and Wang, 2023).

Participants reported other external factors such as lack of developed social skills, loneliness, easy access to pornography that facilitate or increase the use, and the lack of external stops to prevent the person from using pornography also pave the way for increased use. Additionally, having a fast internet connection, smartphone or laptop that allows access to pornography, going to a house or room that allows privacy, access to paid sites or making

them free as in the pandemic period, encountering materials that evoke pornography in channels such as social media, having more free time, were also stated by the participants.

P3: After a while, when things get easier, you have smart phones and computers. Especially when I first started university, when we first got the computer, for example, I remember directly downloaded porn.

Research consistently links internet pornography use with feelings of loneliness, often seen as a coping mechanism for isolation (Butler, Pereyra, Draper, Leonhardt and Skinner, 2018; Yoder, Virden and Amin, 2005). This connection is compounded by factors such as poor social skills, stress, and depression, which contribute to both problematic pornography use and heightened loneliness (Bibi, Fatima, Amin and Rowland, 2022; Segrin, 2019) Segrin, 2019). Moreover, inadequate external controls like parental supervision or content filters are associated with increased pornography exposure among teenagers (Wolak, Mitchell and Finkelhor, 2007) despite limited effectiveness of these measures (Mitchell, Finkelhor and Wolak, 2003).

The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated these issues by increasing anxiety, providing more free time, and offering discounted access to paid pornography sites, leading to a temporary surge in internet usage for entertainment, including pornography (Awan et al., 2021; Grubbs, Perry, Grant Weinandy and Kraus, 2022; Mestre-Bach, Blycker and Potenza, 2020). Additionally, exposure to pornography on social media platforms serves as a catalyst, encouraging further exploration among users, highlighting the significant influence of social media on consumption patterns (Olaleye and Ajuwon, 2022).

Pornography use is shaped by both external conditions and internal characteristics, emphasizing the importance of individuals' social and personal skills, their ability to self-regulate, and family awareness about pornography (Ševčíková et al., 2014). Moreover, within an ecological framework, similar risk factors for pornography use align with other adolescent problem behaviors, including attention deficit, low self-esteem, depression, familial factors like poor family functioning, and peer influences (Rothman, 2021)

Perspectives Shaping Attitudes Towards

Participants' perspectives on pornography appeared to include religious, moral and humanitarian thoughts, as well as a culture influenced by scientific research on pornography, which online self-help groups see as an

addiction. Religious and moral values are key elements in the process of evaluating use. Particularly for participants who grew up in religious families, religion played an important role in making sense of their use of pornography at a young age, but this led to negative feelings of shame, guilt and fear of becoming shameless and being punished. Pornography was also perceived negatively by the participants due to the positioning of women and its violent content.

P1: *You know, this is a bit taboo in religious, conservative people, so sexuality is a bit taboo. So we approached it as a sin and sinful behaviour.*

P2: *Because woman are put in certain positions in porn films*

P3: *Because after a while, it comes to such a point that pornography and masturbation bring people to the level of shamelessness.*

These findings align with existing literature, highlighting that individuals tend to adopt a more critical stance towards pornography as their religious orientation strengthens; moral approval of pornography decreases with increased religiosity (Grubbs, Grant and Engelman, 2018; Lewczuk et al., 2021). However, attitudes towards pornography are not solely shaped by religious beliefs; personal and societal values also play crucial roles. Criticism of pornography often revolves around its depiction of women and the violence portrayed, reflecting broader societal disapproval (Boyle, 2010; Dines, 2010). Feminist scholars argue that pornography objectifies and degrades women, potentially influencing sexual behaviors negatively over time. Furthermore, within popular male culture, pornography is often normalized and viewed as intrinsic to masculinity.

P1: *I mean, it's already a simple thing like eating and drinking water among men in our generation, so no one is aware of it. I see it as a problem, but when I share it with someone else, they don't even care. Because it's a very simple thing for him. I mean, it's as simple as using Instagram, Facebook, for a man to use it.*

Individuals raised with religious values may initially struggle with early pornography use, even if they later diverge from those beliefs. Conversely, conservative families today may encourage their children to explore sexual needs through pornography rather than through direct sexual experiences (Al Mamun et al., 2019), a sentiment echoed by participant P3. In the literature, factors such as lower religiosity, higher socioeconomic status, political liber-

alism, and greater sexual permissiveness are positively associated with pornography use (Perry, 2016, 2017; Peter and Valkenburg, 2016; Wright, 2013; Wright et al., 2013).

Problematic Porn Use

The users were asked about the reasons why and how they considered their use problematic. Two of the participants (P1, P3) stated that they experienced shame, guilt and fear due to their pornography use for religious reasons from the beginning. Another participant (P2) did not question his use until he started to feel the negative effects of pornography more intensely in recent years. While researching the causes of increased physical and mental fatigue, P2 realised that pornography could contribute to this. P1 and P3, on the other hand, started to think that their use was out of control and that it was wrong as they encountered negative consequences. In more detailed accounts, participants reported physical and mental effects of their use, including fatigue, lack of energy, lack of desire, difficulty concentrating, and concerns about current and potential future effects. These experiences provide important data for understanding the psychological nature of problematic pornography use.

P2: I always think about apathy, fatigue, and why this might be, for example. Why could it be? Why could it be? But I never thought that it could happen after watching it for 3-4 hours. Until 3-4 hours when I felt it seriously exhausted me.

P1: For example, one of the effects that I see the biggest damage is the problem of focusing.

P3: Because there is something negative that comes from doing this masturbation all the time. What is it, you feel tired all the time. I mean, how should I put it, you feel depressed. You cannot tolerate such things while studying, especially if you are studying a heavy course...

Participants frequently report experiencing emotional distress such as guilt, shame, anger, anxiety, and depression following pornography use. Anxiety and depression are commonly linked to pornography consumption, often mediated by moral conflicts where users' beliefs about its immorality clash with their behavior (Perry, 2018). Pornography use has also been associated with cognitive-affective distress, including internal conflicts and psychosocial stress. Users often describe feelings of guilt, shame, and internal conflict, which contribute to heightened anxiety and depression (Privara and Bob, 2023). Furthermore, studies have highlighted additional effects such as

general fatigue and attention problems among pornography users (Dwulit and Rzymiski, 2019; Hanseder and Dantas, 2023; Ince et al., 2023).

P1: Once you've done it, it's already self-loathing, here we are again, we did this again, I couldn't get rid of it again, you know, let's call it regret...

Underneath these feelings of guilt and shame, there were also feelings of religious guilt. One participant (P1) also stated that he felt religiously sinful, that he was afraid that pornography would lead him to a forbidden relationship outside marriage, and that he thought that looking at forbidden material affected his memory. Again, as mentioned above, it is also observed that they think that they have become shameless over time due to their use. From all these statements, it is understood that the person is afraid of damaging his religious and moral side due to the use of pornography. Again, P1 and P3 stated that they experienced religious remorse about their pornography use and as a result, they felt shame and guilt about their use:

P1: mean, I'm a believer, a person of faith should get rid of it. I remember that is the logic that he should not continue to commit this sin.

P3: You know, in a religious sense, I get afraid that I will be punished, as if I am committing adultery. However, after a while, it feels like a fight against fear at first, in fact, it's the thing about watching porn and masturbating all the time. It's like you're fighting God like this, "I'm not afraid of you."

Research indicates that many individuals who use pornography experience feelings of guilt and shame, often due to moral disapproval and perceived addiction, which can contribute to increased levels of depression and anxiety (Privara and Bob, 2023; Volk et al., 2019). This aligns with the moral incongruence model of pornography use (Grubbs, et al., 2019), where individuals feel distress not only because of their actual use but also due to conflicts with their moral values.

Studies also show that religious individuals tend to face more emotional and psychological difficulties related to pornography use, perceiving it as more problematic (Grubbs et al., 2015; Grubbs, et al., 2020). Dinçer's (2022) research highlights that individuals who morally disapprove of pornography often view their usage as more problematic, experiencing greater distress compared to others. This group predominantly includes those who adhere to reli-

gious practices, underscoring the link between moral disapproval and perceived problematic usage. These findings suggest that regardless of usage patterns, discomfort with pornography itself is prevalent among those who hold strong moral objections.

However, the quantitative aspect of usage is also significant. For instance, quantitative dimensions such as frequency and duration can lead to disruptions in individuals' regulation, prompting them to perceive their pornography use as problematic (L. Chen et al., 2021; Lewczuk et al., 2021).

Participants stated that they became increasingly lonely due to their heavy use of porn, not being able to explain this situation to their friends or having nothing left in their lives to talk about outside of porn. This result is consistent with the literature that there is a relationship between pornography use and loneliness and depression (Bibi et al., 2022; Butler et al., 2018; Tian, Zhang, Wu, Wang, Gao and Chen, 2018). Participants expressed internal emotional difficulties, as well as the negative effects of pornography on their professional and academic performance. These negative effects include problems such as the inability to fulfill responsibilities and a decline in overall work or school performance. Additionally, socially, they experience social distancing from their friends and loneliness. This sounds consistent previous researches (Beyens, Vandenbosch, and Eggermont, 2015; Hanseder and Dantas, 2023; Incekara et al., 2023) in which the participants reported academic, vocational, and social adaptation problems. However, a recent study also found that adolescent pornography use does not predict academic achievement (Šević, Mehulić and Štulhofer, 2020).

Participants shared that another reason why they saw pornography use as problematic was the inability to establish comfortable relationships with members of the opposite sex. The sexualization of women they encounter in pornography negatively affects the relationships that people establish with the opposite sex, undermining these relationships.

P2: ... when you watch too much, you try to catch the points you watch outside. You just look at people's parts and try to think about sexuality. Or you make comparisons, or you look and say, for example, this one is not good, that one is even more beautiful... When you get caught up in ridiculous comparisons such as this one's breasts are not beautiful, this one is even more beautiful, this time it spreads to your life. You start using it everywhere.'

Research supports this observation, showing that pornography can create unrealistic expectations and distort perceptions of relationships and sexuality, portraying women as objects of sexual gratification, which may reduce empathy and respect in real-life interactions (Brown and L'Engle, 2009). Habitual pornography use can also hinder the development of intimate relationships by promoting superficial connections and fostering unrealistic expectations about sex and relationships (Lambert, Negash, Stillman, Olmstead and Fincham, 2012).

Participants expressed concern that their use of pornography could negatively affect their emotional and sexual relationships with potential partners in the future. They reported fears such as feeling like they are cheating on their future spouse, developing a dislike for their spouse, experiencing late ejaculation, and concerns about their own sexual performance.

Frequent pornography use is associated with delayed ejaculation and reduced sexual satisfaction with a partner, partly due to the conditioning effects of pornography, where individuals become accustomed to high levels of stimulation not easily replicated in real-life sexual encounters (Park et al., 2016). Although these negative effects are still being argued (McKee, Litsou, Byron, and Ingham, 2022) problematic and frequent usage is linked to sexual problems (Bóthe, Tóth-Király, Griffiths, et al., 2021; Hoagland and Grubbs, 2021).

The situations mentioned above reflect the tension between one's use and the consequences they experience, which is called conflict in the addiction literature. Participants experience internal, social, occupational/academic, and relational difficulties due to their pornography use, and yet are unable to control their use, which causes them to feel addicted. These failure of control attempts further strengthens this perception. It is also explained by factors such as feeling dependent, increasing duration of use, changing categories, feelings of withdrawal, increased selectivity, novelty seeking, depersonalization, lying about use, constant presence in the mind even if one does not watch pornography, and operational use being replaced by addictive use:

P1: I mean, just like the heroin you know, you know, those heroin users you see in films, when they don't use, they become desperate, believe me, we call a porn addict a crisis. We characterize it as a crisis, at that time, excuse me, he goes into a frenzy state, let me put it that way. So you want this. It's like you're going crazy. It's like you're going crazy. You desire this very much. I mean, let me do this and get rid of

it. I mean, how can I put it, the moment you don't do it, when you don't do it in that crisis situation, you are uncomfortable. I mean, you are, you are anxious, fearful, I mean, how should I put it, like your hands and feet are shaking. Trembling in a real sense, your brain, that is, your brain is begging you for it, your brain is squirming, let me put it that way. I mean, your brain is begging you to give me this so that I can relax, let's do this so that we can be, I mean, let's take a shower and then calm down.

P2: At the end of the 2nd year, this was not much, it was around half an hour a day. But it reached the highest point in the 3rd year. Especially at the beginning of the 3rd year, I remember it very well. I leave school and say to my friends, 'You know, I'm going to do something, I'm waiting for a friend to come etc.' I download videos from the university's internet. Because my own internet is running out now. I mean in a day. That 3-4 gb runs out after 2 hours. There is not much left. You also want to make 1080 p, you want to watch it, 480 or something doesn't satisfy you anymore. We are also constantly searching for different videos. The internet is constantly renewing research and research. Now I was trying to download it from the university and go home and watch it like that.

Looking at the other components of the protocols, it is seen that many elements of the problematic pornography use experience overlap with other components of behavioral addictions. Examples of these overlaps include salience, deprivation, deception, tolerance, failed attempts to quit, conflict, and continued use despite harm (Fernandez and Griffiths, 2021; Griffiths, 2005; Griffiths, 2019). These overlaps are thought to have a significant impact on people's perception of themselves as dependents.

Participants highlighted the detrimental impact of pornography on their self-perception, feeling inadequate, weak, and unsuccessful. There's a cultural expectation that individuals should transition from pornography to real sexual relationships as they mature, and failing to do so can lead to feelings of not having grown up sufficiently. This negative self-perception is reinforced by societal norms that prioritize mature relationships over continued pornography consumption. Additionally, feeling inadequate can exacerbate low self-esteem (Kim, 2011) and contribute to a cycle of increased pornography use and emotional distress. However, it's important to note that research also suggests that young people with low self-esteem may be more likely to watch pornography (Doornwaard, van den Eijnden, Overbeek and Bogt, 2015) suggesting a complex interplay between self-esteem and pornography consumption.

P2: *I mean, you look around and everyone has a girlfriend. You can't open conversations from primary school to others anymore. Life doesn't last like that. You can't go to university just because you said "Oh, I sent two letters" in primary school. Everyone has a girlfriend, everyone has a love relationship. When you don't have that and I go and have a relationship at home with my own hands. So you say, "What's going on? How old are you now? What's the reason for all this? Are you going to have a love relationship? Or not? What is it? Is that why it's not happening?". Slowly these questions started to be asked at that time.*

Interventions Against Problematic Pornography Use

Participants stated that they primarily made attempts to try to control their use by reducing their use and quitting completely.

P2: *My first process already lasted 170 days. 170 days neither porn nor masturbation, in my first process.*

P3: *I said the only way to get rid of this is to get rid of pornography and masturbation. I tried it for the first 21 days off. I started when I was here, in March. I tried it for 21 days.*

It is also understood that participants have tried to control their use by changing the pattern of their use, such as trying to masturbate without watching porn or not watching their favourite porn categories. This strategy reflects an attempt to reduce the dependency on visual stimulation from pornography and to gain more control over their sexual behaviors.

P2: *No, I don't watch it in any way. I mean, I don't watch it to the level of addiction. When I watch it, as I said, I don't look at the category I want. I keep the duration part very fast only for masturbation, I leave it, that's it.*

Another way in which participants responded to problematic pornography was by substituting pornography use with other things. These included activities such as positive habits such as sport and music, as well as experimenting with sexual intercourse as a substitute for pornography.

P1: *I mean, if you want to be happy, for example, I started to play an instrument. I started to play the baglama at the age of 22, I was doing a lot of baglama exercises, I was practicing the baglama. Later, I was interested in wood carving again, and I am currently learning traditional Turkish archery. I mean, ...being happy by practicing. Let's say it's like trying to provide dopamine by practicing. Things that make you happy in the long run.*

Another initiative is to get in touch with people around them or with

online help groups and to try to raise awareness about pornography use and to raise awareness of other people.

P1: I mean, for example, when he was 11-12 years old, I explained to my younger brother what masturbation is, everything about sexuality. I mean, I explained it in a mature way, I didn't explain it as a joke. I explained it seriously. I explained to him how porn addiction is, you know, that dopamine cycle. This child also perceived it. He is not an idiot, I mean, at the age of 11-12, the child is really smart and is at an age where he can comprehend everything, and I think it should be explained, it should be explained in schools.

Although many issues related to problematic porn use have been examined, studies on evidence-based intervention programs are very few (Minarcik, 2016). A web-based self-help tool demonstrated promising results, with participants reporting significantly lower levels of problematic pornography use, reduced frequency of use, and increased self-efficacy in avoiding pornography after a six-week intervention (Böthe, Baumgartner, Schaub, Demetrovics, and Orosz, 2021) However, many of these attempts were unsuccessful, leading to various negative consequences. Despite efforts to quit, many individuals find it difficult to reduce or stop their pornography use, resulting in significant emotional distress, including feelings of guilt, shame, and frustration (Hall, 2019).

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the psychological construct of problematic pornography use among men in Turkey through a descriptive phenomenological approach. The findings indicate a multifaceted relationship between various factors influencing problematic pornography use, which aligns with and expands upon previous literature.

The initial encounter with pornography often occurs during adolescence and is influenced by peer groups. This early exposure can lead to normalized consumption patterns within male culture. This finding is consistent with other studies. However, discrepancies exist as some studies found no direct link between the age of first exposure and problematic use. These differences may be due to varying cultural and social contexts that shape individuals' experiences and perceptions.

Religiosity and moral approval play significant roles in shaping attitudes towards pornography. Participants in this study reported feelings of guilt, shame, and moral conflict, which align with the moral incongruence

model. This model suggests that psychological distress arises from moral discrepancies, particularly among religious individuals, leading to higher perceived addiction and distress.

Participants cited multiple motivations for pornography use, including pleasure, coping with negative emotions, and seeking novelty. Over time, the motivation for use shifted from seeking pleasure to using pornography as an emotional regulation tool. This shift underscores the complex interplay between psychological needs and behavior.

The study also highlighted the negative consequences of problematic pornography use, such as physical and mental fatigue, difficulty concentrating, social isolation, and impaired relationships. These findings are consistent with international research linking pornography use to psychological distress and relational problems. Participants' accounts of feeling addicted, despite attempts to control their use, reflect common addiction symptoms like tolerance, withdrawal, and continued use despite harm.

The study's limitations include its focus on a small sample, additionally the reliance on self-reported data can introduce biases. Future research should explore the experiences of diverse demographic groups for comparison (including youngsters and elders, secular and religious people, different genders, and people from different socioeconomic status etc.) and utilize longitudinal designs to understand the long-term impacts of problematic pornography use and the effects of various factors on problematic use. Investigating interventions and support mechanisms that address both the emotional and behavioral aspects of pornography use can also provide valuable insights for developing effective treatment strategies.

Overall, this study contributes to the understanding of problematic pornography use by highlighting the intricate relationships between personal, social, and cultural factors, suggesting the need for tailored psychological interventions and communication strategies. It underscores the need for culturally sensitive approaches in addressing this issue and offers a foundation for further research in this area.

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