

THE EFFECT OF PORNOGRAPHY CONSUMPTION
ON MALES' PROPENSITY TO RAPE

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THESIS ABSTRACT
THE EFFECT OF PORNOGRAPHY CONSUMPTION
ON MALES' PROPENSITY TO RAPE

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The legality of pornography and its effects on viewers has been a topic of debate for decades in the United States. The purpose of this study is to identify the relationship of pornography and its effects on sexual aggression toward women. This research quantitatively analyzed this relationship using data from the National Health and Social Life Survey. The sample consists of 3432 English speaking respondents between the ages of 18 and 59, located in the United States.

Unlike prior research the present study found little connection between forcing sexual contact on a woman and pornography use. The implications and limitations of these results are discussed.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	8
Pornography and Rape	8
Feminism and Pornography	10
Pornography and Sexual Offenders	14
Pornography and Rape Myth Acceptance	16
III. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	21
IV. METHODOLOGY	27
Present Study	27
Data and Methods	28
Variables	29
Research Questions	31
V. FINDINGS	33
VI. DISCUSSION	43
Limitations and Direction for Future Research	46
REFERENCES	51
APPENDIX	57

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Conceptions of pornography have changed considerably over time. An example of the changing perception of pornography is the excavation at Pompeii in the 18th century. When the archeological excavations began, small artifacts of a sexual nature were found, and dismissed by the diggers as anomalies (Kendrick, 1987). A number of theories were proposed to explain the increasing amount of sexual material that was being discovered. In the end, the research provided evidence that erotic material was a common public and private decoration in Pompeii. One reason for this was the worship of Priapus, whose main symbol was the erect or semi-erect penis. This image was used in everything from jewelry to frescos (Lane III, 2000). As D. H. Lawrence (1930) asserts, “What is pornography to one man is the laughter of genius to another”(1). It is a temporal construct and subject to change across cultures and time.

The United States courts and legislature have struggled for decades to define obscenity and determine how it affects society. The first anti-obscenity law was passed in 1842 and allowed customs officials to confiscate imported prints or pictures of an obscene or immoral nature (Tone, 2001, p. 4). Many lawmakers believed that pornography was mainly a European phenomenon and believed this statute would protect Americans’ virtue. It quickly became apparent foreign pornographers were not the problem. By the time of the Civil War pornography consumption, especially among

soldiers, was rampant (Tone, 2001). A number of statutes were passed during and after the Civil War to restrict the distribution of obscene material, but a lack of enforcement left the law without much power. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) learned this lesson when an anti-obscenity law it lobbied for had little effect in New York due to non-enforcement. Anthony Comstock, a fierce opponent of obscenity, joined forces with the YMCA in his crusade to rid the country of material he perceived as obscene. "It was a perfect match: Comstock acquired extensive financial backing and a certain legitimacy for his efforts, and the YMCA obtained the services of an apparently tireless zealot" (Lane III, 2000, p. 14). From his position as a special agent for the United States Postal Service and the secretary of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, Comstock went on to become "one of the most powerful moral censors in the nation's history" for almost half a century (Lane III, 2000, p. 15). Even though obscenity laws have a long history in the United States, pornography was not defined legally until a Supreme Court decision in 1973.

In *Miller v. California* (1973) the United States Supreme Court decided obscene material is not protected under the First Amendment, the amendment protecting free speech. The material does not need to be "utterly without redeeming social value" but the law must specifically define the conduct, both public and private, that would bring about prosecution. Further, the ruling created three standards by which to judge whether material is obscene. The first is "whether the average person, applying contemporary community standards, would find that the work, taken as a whole, appealed to the prurient interest" (*Miller v. California*, 1973). Second, the content of the material must meet the state's specific requirements for obscenity. Third, the work must lack any

“serious literary, artistic, political or scientific value” (*Miller*). Finally, obscenity should be determined by “contemporary community standards” not “national standards” (*Miller*). There have been at least two efforts to deal with obscenity on the executive side of the government in the past 30 years.

The first was the 1970 Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. This commission was unable to determine that pornographic material contributed to delinquency or the commission of sex crimes (*United States Commission on Obscenity and Pornography*, 1970). The harm of pornography was not perceived as an abstract concept: “Absent direct harm, the meaning of sexuality and pornography lies in ‘the eye of the beholder’” (Downs, 1989, p. 2). The second report compiled by the U. S. Attorney General in 1986 came to a very different conclusion on the issue of harm. That definition centered on the perceived moral issues surrounding pornography and took into account secondary harm such as potential sexual violence. Pornography, whether violent, degrading or not, was considered by the commission to be harmful to some extent (*Attorney General's Commission on Pornography Final Report*, 1986). Many scholars view this commission as much more conservative than the first and driven by different social and political forces (Downs, 1989).

The issue of harm is at the center of the debate over pornography. Feminist thought is divided on this issue. Some argue that the existence of pornography is inherently harmful to women, especially to those in the sex industry. One vocal opponent of pornography is feminist theorist Catherine McKinnon. She argues that pornography is not simply speech, but real action. She asserts that women are inevitably harmed in the process of making pornographic pictures or films in order to produce this type of material

and for this reason it should not have constitutional protection (MacKinnon, 1993). Other feminists argue that pornography, like other forms of speech, may be offensive to some, but is nonetheless constitutionally protected. Feminists for Free Expression asserts that historically censorship has been detrimental to women and that “the best protection for women’s ideas and voices is the constitutional protection of free speech” (Britton, Maguire, & Nathanson). A third group of feminists believe it is a woman’s right to participate in and enjoy the products of the pornography industry (McElroy, 1995). Feminist thought may be divided on the issue of harm, but the literature tends to focus on two types of harm. The first is actual violence that is initiated by the viewing of pornographic material. The second is the creation or reinforcement of negative attitudes toward women. Rape myths are an example of negative attitudes and are often used in research to understand any negative effects of viewing pornographic material.

Rape myths are perceptions regarding the motives for rape and attributions of rape victims. One important myth that lies at the heart of all others is the understanding of rape as sex. The perception that rape is solely sex does not recognize the violence of the act and the harm inflicted upon the victim (Benedict, 1992). If rape is only sex it diminishes the pain and fear victims experience as a result of the rape. The next myth associates lust with the motivation of the offender, and views the perpetrator as unable to control his sex drive. The rapist as crazy or perverted is a myth associated with the offender as uncontrollable (Benedict, 1992). From this perspective the attractive, married or “normal” male is not capable of this type of crime. Another popular belief centers on issues of race and class. Rape tends to be perceived as a crime perpetrated by an African

American man victimizing a white woman or lower-class man victimizing a higher-class woman. As Benedict points out, rape is predominantly intra-class and intra-race in nature.

According to Benedict, the blame for rape also falls on the victim. Female rape victims are believed to have instigated the rape by failing to prevent the attack. This includes attracting the offender through their behavior, attire or attractiveness. According to this myth, the victim in effect encourages the rape. These victims are then labeled as “loose” or promiscuous (Benedict, 1992). Another myth is fueled by the idea that rape is the consequence or punishment for past bad deeds. The final rape myth denies the credibility of rape victims in general and suggests that women cry rape for attention or revenge. Benedict asserts that in reality, victims of rape tend not to report the crime for fear of reliving the trauma and humiliation (Benedict, 1992). The danger of the rape myth is its insidious infiltration of popular belief. Both men and women can accept at least some rape myths as reality. These myths lessen the legitimacy of the trauma caused by rape and desensitize the public to sexual violence in the media. Pornography is believed to reinforce these myths and perceptions. Benedict's claims seem to be supported by violent crime data.

There are two main sources for statistical information about violent crime committed in the United States. One is the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the other is the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS). According to the Uniform Crime Report (UCR), produced by the FBI, in 2004 94,635 women in the United States were victims of forcible rape. Completed forcible rape accounted for 91.6 percent of the reported incidents. The remainder represents attempted assaults ("Forcible rape", 2004). These results differ dramatically from those collected by the National Crime Victimization

Survey (NCVS) conducted by the BJS. In 2004, 203,680 women reported being the victim of a rape/sexual assault ("Criminal victimization", 2004). The disparity in these statistics is a result of data collection methods. Data from the UCR is collected from law enforcement while the NCVS is collected from crime victims. From these statistics, it is clear that rape is a significantly underreported crime. This may be due to the level of rape myth acceptance among victims, the legal system and the general public, among other factors. Victims of sexual assault may believe that they may be responsible in some way for the attack. The police and witnesses may also be inclined to believe that the victim's behavior prior to the attack might have caused or contributed to the attack. Benedict (1992) discusses a young woman raped in a barroom in Bedford, Massachusetts and the resulting media uproar. After the rape accusation many people asked why she was in the bar so late at night while her children were at home. Others reported that she was dressed provocatively and was making advances toward one of the accused men. This type of questioning is not unusual and is an example of the blame that often falls on victims. This example offers an explanation for the disparity between rapes reported to the police and women who allege they have been victims of rape.

To fully understand harm associated with pornography, one must first know the definitions associated with sexually explicit material. There are a number of different ways to describe sexually explicit material. In any discussion of pornography, it is important to define three terms: (1) pornography, (2) erotica, and (3) obscenity. These terms tend to be used interchangeably in the public discussion of sexually explicit material. For the purpose of this research, pornography will be defined as "sexually oriented material that is not acceptable to the viewer" (Allgeier & Allgeier, 1995, p. 518).

Erotica will be understood as “sexually oriented material that is acceptable to the viewer” (518). Obscenity will be defined as “the legal term for material that is foul, disgusting, lewd, and offensive to accepted standards of decency” (527). From these definitions, it is clear why there is so much debate over what constitutes erotica, pornography or obscenity. Classification is dependent on the viewer’s interpretation of the material. This underscores the difficulty researchers and law-makers face when trying to define sexually explicit material.

The purpose of this study is to use the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSL) to identify the relationship between pornography consumption, rape and negative attitudes toward women. This study will attempt to answer two questions through the use of a nationally representative sample: (1) Does pornography use coincide with self-reported instances of forcible sex? (2) Do men who consume pornography have more negative attitudes concerning women than men who do not consume pornography?

The next chapter explores the literature on the correlation between pornography, rape and negative attitudes toward women.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Pornography and Rape

Research findings regarding the effects of pornography on male sexual aggression are mixed. Some argue that pornography is a leading factor in sexual violence against women. Russell (1988) argues that pornography is a correlate to rape predisposition in men and correlates to their negative attitudes toward women. She also argues pornography serves to lower male inhibition toward sexual violence. Similarly, from a small sample of male university students in the southeast, Boeringer (1994) found sexual aggression to be significantly correlated to experience with sexually explicit material, including pornography with violent or rape content. He found sexual aggression was not correlated with the use of soft-core pornography (Boeringer, 1994). One problem with Boeringer's method, however, is the small convenience sample he employs to investigate the question. The sample is not representative of the population in question. A related study examined adult magazine circulation and found it to be significantly related to the incidence of rape in those areas with the highest circulation rates. When controlling for other factors related to the incidence of sexual assault, results remained significant. Adult magazine circulation was not correlated to any other violent crime (Scott & Schwalm, 1988). This type of analysis is informative, but should be interpreted with caution. In aggregate analysis there is always the concern of confounding variables affecting the

results. The discrepancies in research designs could account for the difference in findings of other researchers who assert that pornography and rape are unrelated.

Kutchinsky's (1991) analysis of crime data from the United States, Denmark, Sweden and West Germany between 1964 and 1984 is an example of contradictory results. He argues that this analysis is not sufficient alone to causally link pornography use and rape, but it provides a correlation in which the two variables would change in the same way over the same period of time, which is a necessary condition for causal linkage. Kutchinsky found that in Denmark, Sweden and West Germany, rape either increased at a lower rate than nonsexual violent crime or not at all, even though pornography became abundantly available. In the United States rape and other violent crimes rose at the same rate, while the availability of pornography rose rapidly. He concludes that the availability of pornography does not increase the level of sexual violence and the results are more indicative of rape as a violent instead of sexual crime (Kutchinsky, 1991). This is supported by the finding that sex magazine consumption was unrelated to violence against women (Gentry, 1991).

Like Kutchinsky, Winick and Evans (1996) examined rape and sex crime arrests in four states which suspended obscenity laws. Over a thirteen-year period, the relationship between rape and sex crime arrests did not have a statistically significant relationship with the suspension of obscenity laws in those states (Winick & Evans, 1996). Similarly, Kimmel and Linders (1996) analyzed changes in obscenity laws in six cities and pornographic magazine circulation. Availability of pornography was based on circulation rates in these areas, and nine magazines were tracked over an eleven-year period. In four of the six cities, rape rates went up as pornography circulation dropped

over the same period of time. The authors propose that magazine circulation alone is not an accurate measure of pornography availability due to the increase in availability of video and Internet pornography. Finally, they argue the results do not support the notion that high pornography availability raises rates of rape, and banning pornographic material does not lower rape rates. Clearly, there is no consensus regarding the effects of pornography on the incidence of rape.

Feminism and Pornography

To test feminist contentions that pornography has become increasingly violent, researchers conducted a content analysis of Hustler magazine from 1974-1987 to document violence in a well-circulated men's magazine. To determine the level of violent content in Hustler, six undergraduate students were asked to review all cartoon and pictorial content for violence. Any violence was then categorized as either sexual or nonsexual. Sexually violent material then was described as "rape, sadomasochism or exploitive/coercive sexual relations"(Scott & Cuvelier, 1993, p. 6). Feminists argue that the increasing level of violent material in adult magazines has contributed to an increase in rape in the United States. The authors found that there was no rise in the level of violence portrayed by Hustler over this time period, contrary to feminist assertions (Scott & Cuvelier, 1993).

Barron and Kimmel (2000), in a review of three types of pornographic material, suggest that violence is related to the type of media. The three types of media identified were magazines, videos and Usenet Internet pornography. Out of the media types, Usenet offered the highest level of violence, with videos and magazines second and third respectively. The authors offer the observation that Usenet is both created and consumed

by the individual. The progression of media from magazines in the 1950s to video in the 1970s and 1980s and the internet in the 1990s has demonstrated a rise in the level of violent content as well as a progressive decline in the ability to regulate content. In Gossett and Byrne's (2002) analysis of Internet pornography sites, rape and violent sexual depictions were easily accessible through search engines and linkage between sites. Prior to the Internet, rape and violent content in pornography represented a small portion of the readily available media (Gossett & Byrne, 2002).

Barron and Kimmel (2000) argue that feminist criticism tends to paint all pornography with the same brush, and more distinction should be made between the forms of pornography instead of pornography as a whole. Further, Gossett and Byrne (2002) assert that discussion regarding increasingly violent content continues to be warranted, but it must address the issue with the understanding that not all pornography is created equal. From this research it is clear that aggregate analysis of pornography availability is not the only factor that could contribute to rape and other sex crimes. The content is an important factor. Violent content will have a larger impact on attitudes and behavior than soft-core or non-violent pornography. This is consistent with the 1986 Attorney General's finding (*Attorney General's Commission on Pornography Final Report*, 1986).

Barak and Fisher (1997) investigated the correlation between interactive computer erotica, attitudes toward women, including rape myth acceptance, and aggressive behavior toward women in a sample of college-aged males. No significant relationship was found between use of computer erotica and attitudes toward women. The authors assert that the development of negative attitudes toward women in males is difficult just

from the use of Internet pornography. This research does not support the belief that computer erotica causes harm in the form of development of negative attitudes or violent acts. Similarly, Barak, Fisher, Belfry and Lashambe (1999) conducted two studies to analyze the relationship between Internet pornography and attitudes toward women. The first study used a sample of 24 male undergraduates who were split into four groups. Each group had their Internet navigation limited by bookmark lists. The four bookmark lists had 0 percent, 10 percent, 50 percent and 80 percent pornography sites respectively. The level of exposure to pornography demonstrated no effect on participants' attitudes toward women. In the second study, 34 male undergraduates were measured on several scales, such as hypermasculinity, sensation seeking and similar measures. This was correlated to attitudes toward women and time spent viewing pornography sites. The results demonstrate that attitudes toward women are correlated to an individual's orientation, such as hypermasculinity, as opposed to use of pornographic Internet sites. The discussion now turns to violent versus nonviolent pornography.

Meyer (1962) investigated the effect of violent and sexually arousing films on aggressive behavior. The sample consisted of 48 college freshmen who composed essays on the importance of a college education as instructed by the experimenter. The essays were then graded by the experimenter's accomplice through a series of electrical shocks administered to the authors. The number of shock represented the paper's grade as determined by the accomplice. A high number of shocks represented a low grade. Each subject received eight shocks. This was meant to arouse hostility toward the instigator. For five minutes, the different experimental groups either saw a scene of violence from a movie, a segment of a "stag" film or a non-violent, non-sexual, but exciting scene from a

film. The results demonstrated that angered subjects that viewed the violent film gave the accomplice significantly more shocks than those who viewed the sexually arousing film. Those that viewed the sexually arousing film delivered a significantly greater number of shocks than the exciting and non-film groups. Meyer asserts that sexually arousing films may not have harmful effects in the form of rape, but may have an effect on aggressive tendencies. Consistent with previous research Demare, Lips and Briere (1993) found that nonviolent pornography has little or no effect on behavior, but it is the combination of both sex and violence that facilitates sexual aggression. Like Demare et al.; Pollard (1995) argues that it is not the sexually explicit materials that facilitates aggression, but the themes of violence and dominance within sexually violent pornography which trigger sexual aggression (Pollard, 1995). In a study of risk factors related to male sexual aggression on college campuses, pornography was found to be a risk factor among the men interviewed, but other factors, such as alcohol and negative gender attitudes were important factors as well. Few of the participants acknowledged the use of physical force to obtain sex; instead they tend to use sexual coercion. Pornography seemed to play only a peripheral role in their behavior (Carr & VanDeusen, 2004).

Davis, Norris, George, Martell, and Heiman (2006) found sexual arousal to be predictive of sexual aggression after viewing violent pornography. Sexual arousal was found to be influenced by three factors. "Alcohol intoxication facilitated men's self-reported sexual arousal to violent sexual materials, which subsequently predicted their self-reported likelihood of rape" (587). Victim reaction to rape was also predictive of sexual arousal similar to previous studies. When the victim experienced pleasure during the rape as opposed to revulsion, subjects found the scenario arousing. Finally, greater

arousal occurred when the rape victim was portrayed as being intoxicated. This finding is believed to be related to notions that women are more sexually responsive when intoxicated. To understand the effect of pornography on both normal and abnormal subjects, some research has incorporated both institutionalized and non-institutionalized populations to study the issue of harm and pornography.

Pornography and Sexual Offenders

The behavior of the sexual offender lends support to the argument that pornography consumption affects men who are predisposed toward sexual aggression. Malamuth's (2000) findings support this notion:

Associations between pornography consumption and aggressiveness toward women could be explained by a circular relationship between high coercive tendencies and interests in certain content in pornography, whereby aggressive men are drawn to images in pornography that reinforce and thereby increase the likelihood of their controlling, impersonal, and hostile orientation to sexuality.

(45)

Much of the research supports this understanding of pornography's effect on male consumers. Sexually aggressive men are drawn to more sexually violent or aggressive pornography than to mainstream material like Playboy. As Malamuth suggests, pornography simply reinforces the aggressive male's natural aggressive sexual tendencies.

Seto and colleagues (2001) found men who are predisposed to engaging in sexual aggression are more likely to be affected by pornography exposure and will feel the strongest effects. Those men not predisposed to sexual aggression will feel little or no

effect from this exposure (Seto, Maric, & Barbaree, 2001). Similarly, a sample of rapists and child molesters who victimized children other than their own admitted to significantly higher rate of pornographic use than either incest offenders or non-offenders. The use of pornographic material was reportedly used at a significant rate prior to offending by both rapists and child molesters (Marshall, 1988). Similarly, in interviews conducted with 64 sex offenders living in a treatment facility, pornography seemed to play a role in their crimes. The rapists and child molesters interviewed tended to be exposed to pornographic or explicit material in childhood more often than the non-offenders. They also used the material prior to or during their assaults. The child molesters had a higher frequency of use than the rapists (Carter, Prentky, Knight, Vanerveer, & Boucher, 1987). This finding offers insight into the role pornography plays in the sexual offenders' crimes, but due to the small sample size and the nature of the subjects it is difficult to generalize the findings to men in the larger population. Malamuth (1981) examined literature on rape proclivity among males and found that rapists have more calloused attitudes toward victims and higher arousal when presented with rape depictions. Further, it was found that men who had a higher self-reported likelihood of raping shared many characteristics with convicted rapists. The issue of predisposition is important to the discussion of the harms of pornography. From the literature presented to this point, non-violent pornography viewed by men who have no predisposition to violence seems to have little effect on their behavior. Violent content viewed by men who are predisposed to violent behavior seems to be a more worrisome combination.

Pornography and Rape Myth Acceptance

The literature regarding the effects of nonviolent pornography on the viewers attitudes toward women are contradictory. In an experiment on the inhibitory and disinhibitory effects of rape depictions, the sexual responsiveness to these images was studied in both male and female college students. In the first experiment, as found in previous research, normal individuals became more sexually aroused when viewing portrayals of consenting sex than when viewing sexual assault. In the second experiment, both males and females found a rape depiction as sexually arousing as the mutually consenting sex depiction, when the victim experienced an involuntary orgasm. Males tend to be highly aroused when the victim experienced an involuntary orgasm and pain, while females tend to be aroused when the victim experienced an orgasm and no pain. The authors suggest that in a depiction of a sexual assault, if the victim experiences an orgasm, the viewer may reinterpret the events prior to the orgasm as not strictly coercive. This finding is similar to other research that finds rapists tend to believe the victim is experiencing pleasure related to the assault. To explain the reaction of non-rapists, the authors suggest that a process of misattribution or mislabeling occurs. The victim's pain may be interpreted as pleasure (Malamuth, Heim, & Feshbach, 1980). A short explanation of misattribution will offer a greater understanding of these findings.

Misattribution or excitation transfer theory proposed by Zillmann (1971) offers insight into aggressive behavior due to misinterpretation of arousal. Generally, this construct is used to explain the interaction of high levels of arousal due to viewing aggressive or erotic material and increased emotional excitation. In a highly aroused state

an individual's ability to regulate their behavior is temporarily overridden by their aggressive tendency. This idea can be extended to the use of violent pornography.

In similar research, male and female students were subjected to either nonviolent or sadomasochistic¹ sexual scenarios. They were then exposed to rape scenarios to determine their level of arousal and punitive feelings toward the rapist. Prior to exposure, the subject's aggression anxiety levels were measured. Male subjects exposed to the violent passage were more punitive toward the rapist than those who viewed the nonviolent passage. Further, those men exposed to the violent story and who had low aggression anxiety tended to view the rape victim as experiencing less pain and putting up less resistance than men with higher aggression anxiety scores. The researchers concluded "that certain forms of pornography create an image of women as essentially masochistic in nature and thus affect reactions to violence perpetrated against women" (Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980, p. 133).

In a review of literature on attitudes toward rape and exposure to pornography, it was concluded that nonviolent pornography tends to generate ambiguous results, but violent "slasher" films affect viewers' sensitivity to victims of rape after short- and long-term exposure (Linz, 1989). Similarly, a sample of over one thousand men arrested for solicitation of prostitutes accepted some rape myths as true, but generally were low in overall rape myth acceptance. Those subjects who found violent sexuality appealing tended to believe that women deserve violence or are responsible for violent acts committed against them. The authors found a correlation between rape myth acceptance,

¹ Sadomasochism is "sexual gratification through experiencing pain and humiliation", while sexual sadism is "the intentional infliction of pain or humiliation on another person for sexual excitement" (Allgeier & Allgeier, 1995, p. 651). Consent is the main factor that differentiates the two.

sexually conservative attitudes and frequency of pornography use. Unlike sexual conservatism, pornography was not a significant predictor of rape myth acceptance. It was found that rape myth acceptance was related with “attraction to violent sexuality” (Monto & Hotaling, 2001, p. 288). These results could indicate that those men who are attracted to violent sexuality will be more likely to harbor the belief that women deserve violence or are to blame for any violence perpetrated against them (Monto & Hotaling, 2001).

In a comparable study, researchers sampled male university students, dividing the sample between self-reported sexually aggressive and not sexually aggressive men. The subject’s penile tumescence and inhibition were measured when exposed to consensual sex and rape scenarios. Those men who consider themselves sexually aggressive responded with arousal to both consensual and nonconsensual scenarios. Those who held traditional sex role beliefs demonstrated the highest level of arousal to the rape scenario, while non-sexually aggressive men exhibited the highest level of inhibition to the rape scenario (Bernat, Calhoun, & Adams, 1999).

Similar findings were evidenced from a sample of 156 college-aged men. The subjects viewed three films: (1) overtly violent, (2) overtly violent and sexually explicit which depict women as sexual objects, and (3) not sexually explicit, but depict women as sexual objects. After exposure to the three films, the subjects tended to be less sympathetic and less able to empathize with victims of rape when compared to the no-exposure group. A relationship between long-term exposure to this material and consequent attitudes toward women was not evidenced by the data (Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988). In a study evaluating mass media’s depiction of sexual violence, men

exposed to sexually violent movies evaluated a rape victim as significantly more worthless and devalued the significance of her injuries more than men not exposed to the films (Donnerstein & Linz, 1986).

To understand what role intelligence plays in perceptions of women, a sample of male college students was employed. The subject's intelligence quotient (IQ) was measured prior to viewing both erotica and violent pornography. Those subjects with lower IQs who viewed violent pornography were more likely to be sexually assertive or suggestive with the female confederates than men with higher IQs. The authors suggest that IQ is an important mediator in the effect of antisocial media (Bogaert, Woodward, & Hafer, 1999). Generally, the findings point toward the conclusion that men who hold more traditional sex role beliefs are more likely to use pornography and to be more accepting of rape myths, such as female precipitation and male sexuality (Caron & Carter, 1997; Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Garcia, 1986). These particular myths revolve around the idea that either women through their behavior or demeanor cause the attack to occur or that men because of their sexual needs use rape as a way of fulfilling those needs.

In contrast, a meta-analysis of relevant literature reveals mixed results when evaluating the relationship between pornography consumption and rape myth acceptance. Allen, Emmers, Gebhardt and Giery (1995) note that experimental studies consistently find a positive correlation between exposure to pornography and subsequent rape myth acceptance. In non-experimental settings, there is no clear relationship between exposure and acceptance of rape myths. In their discussion, the authors suggest that the way in which the instruments evaluate attitudes might contribute to these consistent findings. It

could also be a result of differences in habitual users and individuals who abstain from exposure to pornography. Those first introduced to pornography in a laboratory setting might be influenced to a greater extent than those consuming pornography on a day-to-day basis (Allen, Emmers, Gebhardt, & Giery, 1995). These mixed findings could also be a result of sampling differences between studies and the various methods researchers employ to explore this question. It is clear there is some consensus in the academic community regarding the effects of pornography, but the evidence is contradictory and is in need of clarification.

The literature is clearly divided, but many themes run throughout the findings. Pornography in all of its forms is not clearly linked to the commission of rape or negative attitudes toward women. However, violent and degrading pornography seems to have an effect which is amplified in men with predispositions to rape and negative attitudes. With these findings identified, the literature must be put in a theoretical context to further understand these issues. In the next section, two theoretical perspectives relevant to this topic will be reviewed.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Many theoretical perspectives can be employed to understand the effects of pornography. For the present research, power control theory will be utilized to understand deviance as it relates to the consumption of pornography. Power control theory focuses on the interaction of power and control both in the family and gender relationships to understand deviant behavior. A feminist perspective will be used as a framework for understanding the broader issues of gender inequality and patriarchy. The feminist perspective will also assist in the understanding of many of the ideas put forth in power control theory because many of the arguments are complementary.

The Feminist Perspective

The feminist perspective encompasses a wide range of disciplines and topics. When discussing pornography feminist thought offers insight into the harm that comes from the production and consumption of pornography. The harm comes both from broad social harm to women and individual harm. One issue put forward is how pornography depicts women and female sexuality. Longino (1994) argues that female sexuality and women's pleasure is represented as less important than male pleasure. Pornography not only lessens the importance of female pleasure and equality, but encourages the dehumanization of females. The depiction of humiliation or degradation in the context of sex acts: is "implicit, if not explicit, approval and recommendation of sexual behavior

that is immoral” (Longino, 1994, p. 155) The immorality lies in the physical and psychological abuse that denies the humanity of the participants. This idea is reflected in the definition of “verbal or pictorial material which represents or describes sexual behavior that is degrading or abusive to one or more of the participants *in such a way as to endorse the degradation*” (155). The acts of sex are not necessarily objectionable, but it is dehumanizing humiliating depiction of women present in the material. Dworkin (1994) argues that pornography portrays women as wanting to be hurt, raped and forced into sex and other abuse. This perpetuates an atmosphere of inequality and violence toward women.

Not only is pornography believed to perpetuate an atmosphere of inequality and violence, but also the perpetuation of patriarchal control of women. As Dworkin (1994) argues, “pornography further lessens our human value in the society at large and our human potential...pornography annihilates our chance for freedom” (153). Longino (1994) shares this sentiment when she asserts that “men in our society have a vested interest in maintaining their belief in the inferiority of the female sex” (157). She further contends that maintaining this sense of inferiority allows even the most oppressed male to believe he is superior to a group of individuals.

At an individual level pornography, from a feminist perspective, is not just words or images. It is action. The act of making pornography is considered harmful to the women participating in its’ production. MacKinnon argues even if women in the pornography are not directly harmed in the process, those that participate do so “under conditions of inequality based on sex” (MacKinnon, 1993, p. 20). Women who do not participate in the making of pornography are harmed through the secondary effects of

male consumption of pornographic material. MacKinnon argues that pornography leads to real action by the consumers. “Sooner or later, in one way or another, the consumers want to live out the pornography further in three dimensions. Sooner or later, in one way or another, they do” (19). Men are not considered passive viewers of pornography but active participants. The physical response men have to pornography is not an idea but a behavior. This reaction is in response to the humiliation and degradation of women in the material. The feminist perspective argues that depiction of rape, torture and violence “maintain a climate more tolerant of actual physical abuse of women” (Longino, 1994, p. 157). Feminist thought can often be controversial and many feminist theorists hold greatly differing opinions, but this perspective offers an important framework for understanding many of the issues surrounding pornography. Power control theory is the main perspective that will be used to guide the present study. Like the feminist perspective it understands social relationships from a patriarchal perspective, but is based on Marx’s ideas regarding patriarchy. Power control offers an understanding of deviance and its differential effects on the genders.

Power Control Theory

Hagan, Gillis, and Simpson (1985) suggest a theoretical model to explain the correlation between delinquency and gender. “Power control theory asserts that the class structure of the family plays a significant role in explaining the social distribution of delinquent behaviour through the social reproduction of gender relations” (Hagan, 1988, p. 145). “Family class structure” discusses the power each spouse attains through their work both inside and outside of the home. Through work outside the home a spouse can gain power within the family (145). “The social reproduction of gender relations refers to

the activities, institutions, and relationships that are involved in the maintenance and renewal of gender roles, in the family and elsewhere” (145). The social reproduction of gender relations occurs through the socialization of children. Institutions beyond the family also influence gender relations such as the government, religious institutions and the educational system. For this reason gender relations are dependent on the time and culture. Power control theory asserts that family class structure influences the social reproduction of gender relations. The authors argue that power or class is not a matter of higher or lower, but the relationship between one another. When trying to understand juvenile delinquency “both the presence of power and the absence of control contribute to these conditions” (Hagan, Gillis & Simpson, 1985, p. 1154).

In their data analysis they look at “two kinds of relations of dominance: the controls exercised or experienced by the head of household in relation to others in the workplace and the controls exercised by parents in relation to their children” (1156). The power differential exists between both men and women and between those with high social status and those with low status. “A particular concern of power control theory, for example, is to identify intersections of class and family relations that provide the greatest freedom for adolescent deviation” (Hagan, 1988, p. 151).

In this class-delinquency model Hagan, et al. expects a positive class-delinquency relationship. The extent to which an adolescent can deviate from social norms is determined by “the presence of power and the absence of control” (1155). The authors argue that “a fundamental instrument-object relationship structures family-based relations of dominance (1156). A “patriarchal family structure” leads mothers more than fathers to be the main instruments of control over the children and daughters more than sons are the

main objects of control. Less control over the behavior of males will allow them to deviate to a greater extent than females. Further, those males with more power and higher social status, will be more delinquent than those of lower status (Hagan, Gillis, & Simpson, 1985). These ideas are helpful in understanding the gender differences in juvenile delinquency, but for the present study an extension of the basic ideas must be used to understand the relationship between pornography use and rape.

The power control theory does not specifically address adult deviance but it is possible to extend this theoretical approach to adult behavior and various forms of deviance. This model discusses the issue of patriarchy and its effect on socialization and to what extent individuals will be deterred from deviant behavior through threat of legal sanctions. Males, from this perspective, are more likely than females to deviate from social norms because they experience less parental control as adolescents. Males are also bestowed with more social power than females within this patriarchal framework.

As mentioned earlier, the feminist perspective suggests that pornography dehumanizes and humiliates the female participants and that this degradation extends to males perception of women in general. This perpetuates an atmosphere of inequality and violence toward women. Hagan's (1988) work extends these ideas to understand deviant behavior. Males raised in a patriarchal family are socialized early in life to understand that women hold less power in society and within the family. This is demonstrated through the power differential between parents through the jobs they hold. Further, mothers do not exert the same control over their son's behavior as they do their daughters because of the difference in power based on gender. Males in this situation can display more deviant behaviors, are not subject to the same level of control and will believe that

women are not equal in status or power because of their gender. This theory further supports the argument that pornography is linked to violence against women, specifically in the form of rape. Pornography reinforces the belief that males are superior to women and that violence toward women is acceptable. Males from patriarchal families have fewer controls over their behavior and will find it easier to engage in deviant behavior, such as rape.

Research on the effects of pornography on both rape and attitudes toward women are mixed and often contradictory. Some research has indicated that pornography is a significant factor in the incidence of rape, while others, using similar methods, have not found evidence supporting that assertion. Previous research has been split between two methodologies: (1) aggregate data analysis and (2) small convenience samples.

Aggregate data analysis has focused on rape rates and indicators of pornography availability, such as adult magazine circulation. The small samples often were taken from sexual offenders or university students. These methods have yielded important insight into the effects of pornography on rape, but are not as accurate as the use of a nationally representative sample of noninstitutionalized individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

Present Study

The majority of previous research has employed small survey samples, interviews with convicted offenders, and aggregate level analysis using data such as magazine circulation in the United States. There are numerous drawbacks to these types of data analysis. Small samples derived from populations of male college students or convicted sexual offenders can offer insight about what factors affect these men's attitudes and behaviors, but do not represent the general male population. Convenience samples, such as students or convicts, yield limited results. The drawback for aggregate data analysis is the risk for confounding variables and erroneous conclusions. As noted previously, not all pornography is equal in violence or explicitness. Men's magazines like Hustler and Playboy are qualitatively different from rape pornography found on the Internet. Each has a different audience with different motivations and attitudes. These problems with data are represented in the contradictions that exist in the available literature. The proposed study will use the National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLS) to identify relationships between pornography consumption and rape and negative attitudes toward women. The use of nationally representative data offers the ability to analyze sexual behavior and attitudes that more accurately reflect the general population. This study will attempt to answer two questions through the use of a nationally representative sample: (1)

Does pornography use coincide with self-reported instances of forcible sex? (2) Do men who consume pornography have more negative attitudes concerning women than men who do not consume pornography? These questions are at the heart of the controversy surrounding the legality of pornographic material.

For the purpose of this research, only the respondents who identify themselves as male will be used in the analysis, which is a total of 1511 cases. Chi Square is the chosen method of analysis because of the type and quantity of data available. In normal or non-institutionalized samples generally representative of the United States population, there are few individuals who engage in deviant behaviors, such as forced sex. For this reason, the data are quite skewed. Chi Square offers the most reliable determination of relationships among variables.

Data and Methods

The data were obtained from the Interuniversity Consortium for Public and Social Research (ICPSR) The National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSL), developed by Robert T. Michael, John H. Gagnon, Edward O. Laumann and Gina Kolata, is nationally representative data compiled from a sample of non-institutionalized adults in the United States. The purpose of the NHSL is to gather detailed information from adults on their past and present sexual behavior (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1995). The researchers chose face-to-face interviews as their primary data collection method (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michaels, 1994).

Michael, et al. used a multistage area probability sample to allow each household an equal chance of being selected. Participants were randomly selected from the eligible individuals living in the selected residence. Those individuals who declined to participate

were counted as a nonrespondent. The researchers obtained two samples. The first was a cross-sectional sample of 3,159 cases. The second was an over-sample of 273 cases to ensure proper representation of Black and Latino respondents. This sampling resulted in a total sample of 3,432 cases. The overall response rate achieved from eligible respondents was 78.6% (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1995).

Variables

The NHSLS is not specifically designed test these hypotheses, but it offers some important information regarding pornography and behavior related to its use. For this analysis a number of independent variables associated with previous studies are used to approximate the behaviors and attitudes measured in past research. Each of the variables is described below.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variable forced sex (rfrcdw) measures whether or not the respondent has ever forced a woman into a sexual act. The variable is dichotomous with two possible answers: 0—No and 1—Yes. To analyze the relationship between rape and other behaviors and attitudes forced sex is identified as a variable that would best describe that crime. Rape is the legal term used to identify the act of forced sex. Often terms used for the purpose of legally defining behaviors are different from terms used by social scientists. For example, murder is a legal term for certain types of homicides. For these reasons forced sex is an appropriate variable to use for this analysis.

Independent Variables

For the purpose of this research twelve independent variables have been identified, based on a review of the relevant literature, as possibly affecting men's

attitudes and behaviors toward women based on a review of the relevant literature. The first group of independent variables addresses the appeal of engaging in certain behaviors. The item force appeal (appeal3) is an ordinal variable which indicates an individual's preference for engaging in forced sex and it has four possible responses: 1—Very Appealing, 2—Somewhat Appealing, 3—Not Appealing, 4—Not At All Appealing.

The second group of independent variables addresses the respondent's behavior. Nighclub (redlight1) is a dichotomous variable to answer the question "Did respondent go to nightclubs with nude dancers" with the possible answers of: 1—Yes and 2—No. Massage (redlight2) is another dichotomous variable which addresses whether the respondent has received a professional massage with the possible answers of: 1—Yes and 2—No. Paid sex (redlight3) is also a dichotomous variable which determines if the respondent has ever paid someone for sex with the possible answers of: 1—Yes and 2—No. Item x-rated video (sxthing1) addresses whether the respondent has ever purchased or rented an X-rated video with possible answers of: 1—Yes and 2—No. Similarly, sex books (sxthing2) indicates whether or not the respondent has ever bought "sexually explicit books". This variable also has two possible answers: 1—Yes and 2—No.

Finally, the third set of variables examines the respondent's attitudes toward sexual behavior. Pornography (pornlaw) is an ordinal variable which measures level of agreement with the statement "Pornography should be illegal". There are four possible answers: 1—Strongly Agree, 2—Agree, 3—Disagree and 4—Strongly Disagree. The variable thinksex is another ordinal variable which measures how often the respondent thinks about sex. There are six possible answers: 1—Less Than Once A Month, 2—A Few Times A Month, 3—A Few Times A Week, 4—Everyday, 5—Several Times A Day

and 6—Never. Guiltsex is ordinal and determines whether or not the respondent ever feels guilty for thinking about sex. This variable has five possible answers: 1—Never, 2—Rarely, 3—Occasionally, 4—Often and 5—Nearly Always. The variable men’s needs (mengneed) an ordinal variable that measures the respondents level of agreement with the statement “Men have greater sexual needs” with four possible answers: 1—Strongly Agree, 2—Agree, 3—Disagree and 4—Strongly Disagree. The last independent variable is enjoy sex (enjoysex) an ordinal variable which determines the respondent’s attitude toward the question “Which gender enjoys sex more?” and there are three possible answers: 1—Men, 2—Women and 3—Both the Same.

Demographic Variables

Demographic variables will include the respondent’s age, ethnicity, educational level attained, region in which the interview took place, race, and gender. Because males are the focus of this investigation, only those respondents who identify themselves as male will be included in the analysis.

Research Questions

The research previously conducted on this topic raise a number of questions regarding the behavior and attitudes associated with forced sex. The first questions are those related to the appeal of certain behaviors. Will men who find forced sex appealing be more likely to have engaged in forced sex? The literature is divided on the issue of rape as a purely violent crime and rape as an act of sex. As Benedict (1992) asserts one prominent myth is rape as sex. She argues rape is a violent crime and should not be considered the result of a man’s inability to control his sexual appetite. This argument is echoed by Kutchinsky (1991) who found rape to be a fairly consistent crime unrelated to

the increased availability of pornographic material. Are men who go to nightclubs with nude dancers more likely to have engaged in forced sex? Are men who have professional massages likely to have engaged in forced sex? Nude or exotic dancing is not covered in previous literature to any great extent, but one could argue that pornography and nude dancing are similar. Scott and Schwalm (1988) noted that those areas with a rate of pornographic magazine circulation also had a high rate of rape. Men who frequent nightclubs with nude dancers may be more inclined to engage in forced sex than those who do not go to establishments with nude dancers.

The next questions involve attitudes associated with forced sex. Are men who believe that men have greater sexual needs more likely to have engaged in forced sex? Are men who disagree with the statement “pornography should be illegal” more likely to have engaged in forced sex? Are men who believe that men enjoy sex more than women more likely to have engaged in forced sex? Are men who have guilty feelings when thinking about sex more likely to have engaged in forced sex? Feminist authors tend to link negative attitudes toward women, pornography use and the commission of violence against women. Each of these questions addresses traditional views of sexuality and specifically female sexuality.

The final questions examine behaviors that may be associated with forced sex. Are men who buy or rent x-rated videos more likely to have engaged in forced sex? Are men who buy sexually explicit books more likely to have engaged in forced sex? These questions specifically address the link between pornography use and the commission of rape. These questions directly address the relationship between rape and pornography consumption.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The results from the variable forced sex will be discussed in this section. There are a number of issues that must be addressed before analysis of the tables. First, the number of cases available from this data set will make statistically significant relationships more likely because of the large size. Secondly, forced sex is a deviant and illegal behavior that many people may not admit to committing. The numbers of individuals who admit to this behavior are relatively low, so interpretation will be conducted with caution.

In Table 1 the relationship between the appeal of forced sex and having had forced sex is examined. As expected those respondents who find forced sex appealing tend to have engaged in forced sex with a woman. In contrast, those respondents who do not find forced sex appealing tend not to have had forced sex. This is demonstrated with 98 percent who do not find forced sex appealing have not engaged in forced sex either. Rape is sometimes argued to be only a violent crime as Kutchinsky (1991) does after reviewing pornography availability and in four countries and their rates of rape. Rape in those countries tended to not have any relationship with pornography availability. He argued that rape tended to stay relatively constant over the time period studied. These results suggest that those men who find forced sex appealing tend to engage in forced sex. Further research is needed, but this finding suggests that there is a continuum of rape

on which the individual's action must be judged based on the context of the crime and the intent of the perpetrator.

Table 1. Cross tabulation forced sex and appeal of forced sex

Forced Sex/Appeal	Very Appealing	Somewhat Appealing	Not Appealing	Not At All Appealing
Yes	2 67%	5 17%	13 7%	22 2%
No	1 33%	25 83%	171 93%	1169 98%
Total	3	30	184	1191

$X^2=174.971, p<.001$

Table 2 documents the relationship between having had a professional massage and having engaged in forced sex. A professional massage in this context would be a massage that also includes services of a sexual nature. As asserted by McElroy (1995) there is little difference for many people between prostitutes and those women in the pornography industry. Both involve the exchange of sex for money. Obviously, this point is an issue of debate and therefore is important to examine further. Respondents who find sex with a stranger appealing tend not to have engaged in forced sex with only 7 percent of respondents who admit to having a professional massage also admit to engaging in forced sex, while 97 percent have not had a professional massage or forced sex. Monto and Hotaling (2001) also found a correlation between rape myth acceptance, sexually conservative attitudes and frequency of pornography use. In a sample of men arrested for solicitation of prostitutes those who found violent sexuality appealing were also more likely to believe that women deserve violence or are responsible for the violent acts committed against them. The authors did not find pornography use to be correlated to

negative attitudes toward women, but others have found men with more traditional sex role orientations to be more likely to use pornography and hold negative attitudes toward women (Caron & Carter, 1997; Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Garcia, 1986). The literature may be mixed, but it reasonable to hypothesize that men who retain the services of a prostitute may hold negative attitudes toward women or feel justified in sexual violence toward women based on those traditional or negative beliefs. From these data it would be hard to support that argument, but with the limitations imposed by this data set more information would be needed to further evaluate those relationships.

Table 2. Cross tabulation forced sex and had professional massage

Forced Sex/Massage	Yes	No
Yes	2 7%	40 3%
No	27 93%	1339 97%
Total	29	1379

$X^2=78.874, p<.001$

Table 3 examines the relationship between whether the respondent admits to having gone to a nightclub with nude dancers and having engaged in forced sex. Those men who have gone to a nightclub with nude dancers tend not to admit engaging in forced sex. Only 4 percent of those men who have gone to such a nightclub also have had forced sex, while 97 percent of men who do not admit to going to a nightclub with nude dancers also do not admit to engaging in forced sex. Nude or exotic dancing is not a type of pornography often covered in the literature, but offers some of the same sexual stimulation one could find in both pornographic magazines and videos. Scott and Schwalm (1988) found that in the areas with the highest levels of pornographic magazine

circulation rape rates were also high. Further, the circulation rates were unrelated to other violent crimes. This finding could be extended to nightclubs with nude dancers. If males who have forced sex also use pornography more than their non-offending counterparts, they may also frequent clubs with exotic or nude dancers at a higher rate. From the result Table 3 nude dancing does not seem to be related to forced sex which may lend support to Boeringer's argument (1994) as he suggests, as do others, that the pornography related to rape or forced sex must be violent in nature. Non-violent or soft-core pornography was not found to be related to the commission of rape and most nude dance clubs do not offer violent sexual displays.

Table 3. Cross tabulation forced sex and having gone to a nightclub with nude dancers

Forced Sex/Nude Dancing	Yes	No
Yes	13 4%	29 3%
No	301 96%	1065 97%
Total	314	1094

$X^2=70.722, p<.001$

Table 4 examines the relationship between attitudes toward female sexuality and having engaged in forced sex. Those respondents who agree that men have greater sexual needs than women tend not to engage in forced sex. The cross tabulation demonstrates that only 5 percent of respondents who agree that men have greater sexual needs than women also have engaged in forced sex. In contrast, 96 percent of respondents who disagree with that statement also do not admit to having engaged in forced sex.

Traditional views on sexuality have been linked to acceptance of violence against

women. The idea that men have greater sexual needs than women is a very traditional or conservative perspective and can be seen in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries. As discussed by Allgeier and Allgeier (1995), “in contemporary North American culture, it is believed that males are more sexual than females—that males have stronger and more readily stimulated sexual appetites and that they enjoy sex more than women” (5).

Women were believed to be disinterested in sex and passive participants. Men who hold these views of women do not seem to more prone to sexual violence through forced sex than other men.

Table 4. Cross tabulation forced sex and men have greater sexual needs

Forced Sex/Men's Need	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Yes	10 5%	12 3%	15 2%	5 4%
No	181 95%	395 97%	650 98%	129 96%
Total	191	407	665	134

$X^2=128.150, p<.001$

Table 5 evaluates the relationship between the opinion pornography should be illegal and having engaged in forced sex. This analysis resulted in a non-significant relationship between the variables. As previously addressed the large number of cases will tend to make bivariate relationships significant, but even with this as the case the large number of cases seems to have no effect on the significance level. There tends to be no difference in opinion between men who have had forced sex and those who have not regarding the legality of pornography.

Table 5. Cross tabulation forced sex and pornography should be illegal

Forced Sex/Men's Need	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Yes	3 3%	4 2%	23 3%	5 2%
No	117 97%	233 98%	702 97%	309 98%
Total	120	237	725	314

$X^2=23.355, p<.177$

Table 6 examines the relationship between which of the genders the respondents believe enjoys sex more and having engaged in forced sex. Those respondents who believe that men enjoy sex more tend not to engage in forced sex. Only 3 percent of respondents who believe that men enjoy sex more than women also have engaged in forced sex. In contrast, 97 percent who believe that both genders enjoy sex the same have do not admit to having engaged in forced sex. This is an important relationship to understand because the belief that men enjoy sex more than women is a traditional sexual belief. Women are believed to not enjoy sex or endure sex to satisfy their husband's sexual appetite (Allgeier & Allgeier, 1995). As previous research has indicated negative attitudes toward women, pornography use and traditional sexual beliefs are related. If pornography use is related to forced sex one can understand how attitudes may be related to behavior. As demonstrated in Table 6, attitudes do not seem to have an effect on the respondent's behavior.

Table 6. Cross tabulation forced sex and which gender enjoys sex more

Forced Sex/Enjoy Sex	Men	Women	Both the Same
Yes	10 3%	1 1%	29 3%
No	308 97%	70 99%	961 97%
Total	318	71	990

$\chi^2=100.160, p<.001$

Table 7 examines the relationship between whether they have feelings of guilt when they think of sex and having engaged in forced sex. Respondents who nearly always feel guilty about their thoughts of sex tend not to engage in forced sex. Guilt about sexual thoughts can be classified as a traditional sexual perspective. As Allgeier and Allgeier (1995) point out, the Christian faith historically has focused on sexual purity of mind and body. This is demonstrated in the requirement that the clergy abstain from sexual activity and impure thoughts. “We must not forget that by making sex into that which always hides, the insidious presence that speaks in a voice so muted and often disguised that one risks remaining deaf to it” (Foucault, 1990, p. 35). Having sexual thoughts, especially thoughts about deviant sexual practices, might then cause that individual to have feelings of guilt.

Table 7. Cross tabulation forced sex and feel guilty thinking about sex

Forced Sex/Guilt Sex	Nearly Always	Often	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Yes	0 0%	1 10%	6 7%	9 5%	25 2%
No	12 100%	9 90%	81 93%	169 95%	1079 98%
Total	12	10	87	178	1104

$X^2=208.744, p<.001$

Table 8 examines the relationship between the renting or purchasing of x-rated videos and engaging in forced sex. Those respondents who buy or rent x-rated videos tend not to engage in forced sex. Only 2 percent of those who buy or rent x-rated material have engaged in forced sex, while 97 percent of those who do not buy x-rated material also do not admit to having had forced sex. This result must be interpreted with caution because the type of x-rated material is not specified. Previous literature has suggested that violent pornography is correlated to the occurrence of sexual aggression or forced sex, but soft-core pornography is not related (Boeringer, 1994). Since the majority of commercial pornographic videos tend not to include graphic depictions of sexual violence these results are similar to results those found by Barron and Kimmel (2000) who found differences in pornography based on the type of media. While internet pornography was found to have the highest level of violent sexual depictions, movies and magazines were second and third respectively in violent content. As pornography production has moved into the public realm there is little ability to regulate the content. Prior to the internet rape and violent content in pornography represented a small portion of the readily available media (Gossett & Byrne, 2002).

Table 8. Cross tabulation forced sex and buy or rent x-rated videos

Forced Sex/X-rated Video	Yes	No
Yes	8 2%	34 3%
No	323 98%	1043 97%
Total	331	1077

$X^2=71.097, p<.001$

Table 9 examines the relationship between having purchasing sexually explicit books and engaging in forced sex. Those who have purchased sexually explicit books tend not to engage in forced sex. This is demonstrated with only 4 percent of those who have purchased such books admitting to having engaged in forced sex, while 97 percent of those who do not purchase that type of material also have not had forced sex. Again, these results must be interpreted with caution because information regarding the content of the books is not available. Not all pornographic material is equal and increasingly violent content must still be addressed in research (Gossett & Byrne, 2002).

Table 9. Cross tabulation forced sex and buy sexually explicit books

Forced Sex/Sex Book	Yes	No
Yes	8 4%	34 3%
No	216 96%	1150 97%
Total	224	1184

$X^2=69.749, p<.001$

As the findings have suggested those who find forced sex appealing tend also to have engaged in forced sex. Further, those men who use pornography tend not to engage in forced sex. Men with more traditional attitudes toward sexuality tend not to engage in forced sex. The next chapter will further discuss the present studies findings and in what ways they are similar or different from the results of previous research.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The findings tended not to support the power control model suggested as a way to understand the relationship between pornography and rape. As suggested by Hagan (1988) males raised in a patriarchal family will have less parental control exerted over their behavior because the mother is the main instrument of control. Within the power dynamic of this type of family the female children are the main objects of control because of their lower status due to their gender. The mother also has lower status and can only exert full control over her daughter.

Extending this idea to the commission of rape, males from this type of family structure will perceive women as having a lower status and will have a lower opinion toward women. Due to this lower opinion they will use pornography at a higher frequency than other men and will be more likely to engage in violent behavior toward women. As the data demonstrate those men who buy or rent pornographic videos or books tend not to engage in forced sex with women. This finding is supported by literature that argues the availability of pornography is not related to rape rates in those areas with the most access to pornographic material (Kutchinsky, 1991; Gentry, 1991; Winick & Evans, 1996; Kimmel & Linders, 1996). One explanation for this might be the use of pornography as a substitute for acting on the impulse to engage in rape.

Due to the limitations put on interpretation because of the method employed it is also possible that the type of pornography has an impact on the findings. As Gossett and Byrne (2002) suggest the type of media is important to the pornography's impact on the individual who uses it. Relatively benign types would be magazines such as Playboy and Hustler. Homemade pornography depicting either real or fake acts of rape can be posted on the internet and made instantly available to likeminded individuals all over the world. As Malamuth (2000) suggests, those men who have violent sexual tendencies may be drawn to violent sexual depictions because of their own preference toward violent sexuality. To further explore this question more information would be needed to understand the type and frequency of use. This issue will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.

Another finding that was surprising was the relationship between those men who find forced sex appealing and having engaged in forced sex a some point in their past. Those men who found it appealing also tend to have engaged in forced sex at some point. Often rape or forced sex is argued to be a violent crime unrelated to sex. This is an explanation put forth by Kutchinsky (1991) who offered that suggestion that rape is like any other violent crime and is therefore unaffected by pornography availability. The finding from this study would seem to suggest that rape as a violent crime does not fully explain the phenomenon. Forced sex or rape seems to have both a violent and sexual component. This supports the idea that there may be a continuum on which rape falls based on the context and intention of the perpetrator.

The relationship between having a professional massage and engaging in forced sex offers another element not thoroughly covered in the past literature. Those men who

had received a professional massage or a massage that had an illegal sexual component tended not to have engaged in forced sex. Often there is little distinction made by some between women in the pornography industry and those engage in prostitution (McElroy, 1995). The argument behind this perspective is that both groups of women are trading sex for money. If pornography as many assert is related to the commission of rape it could be argued that men who engage the services of a prostitute are more likely to engage in forced sex. This does not seem to be the case.

An unexpected finding was the relationship between the belief that pornography should be illegal and having engaged in forced sex. This relationship was not significant. As previously suggested, the size of the data set would make the likelihood of significant bivariate relationships greater. The size of the data set seems to have impacted the significance of many of the relationships. For this reason the analysis has been conducted with caution. This relationship seems to be unaffected by the size of the data set. To understand the dynamics of this relationship a more precise method of analysis is needed as well as more information regarding the respondent's attitudes and behavior.

More surprising relationships were found between the statement "men have greater sexual needs", which gender enjoys sex more and having engaged in forced sex. Neither of the attitudinal variables tended to be related to forced sex. Much of the feminist literature suggests that men who have negative attitudes toward women are more likely to engage in violent behavior toward women and that pornography aids in fostering those beliefs (Russell, 1998; Longino, 1994). Linz supports this contention to an extent with his research which consistently finds a relationship between the male subjects' exposure to violent films or those that depict women as purely sexual objects and

lessened empathy toward a female rape victim. Further, Bernat, Calhoun and Adams (1999) found that sexually aggressive men who hold traditional sex role beliefs demonstrated the highest level of arousal to a rape scenario than non-sexually aggressive men. From this literature it was expected that those respondents who believe that men have greater sexual needs would tend to engage in forced sex. Similarly, those men who believe that men enjoy sex more than women would also tend to engage in forced sex. More precision in measuring attitudes may yield different results, but in the context of this study feminist claims are not supported by the data.

Limitations and Direction for Future Research

There are several limitations associated with the present study which serve as evidence of gaps in available data. The goal of the NHSLS was to collect data on a full range of sexual behaviors to have a general understanding of the average American's sex life. These data offer quite detailed information on a large range of sexual behaviors, but it was not designed to ask the types of questions offered in the present study.

The first limitation is the original intent of the survey was not to understand this particular set of questions. For example, more information is needed on the type and frequency of pornography use. At the time NHSLS data was collected the internet was a relatively new technology with limited access. As the technology has progressed people generally have greater access to information on the internet. This has opened the door for homemade pornography to be posted for millions of people to view. As Gossett and Byrne (2002) argue, the means of production have put into the hands of the masses and mainstream pornography producers have no influence on the new material being disseminated. For this reason homemade pornography can be as graphic and violent as

desired by producers and consumers. The survey conducted in the early 1990's cannot adequately understand the scope of pornography use and the type that the majority of people are viewing. Gossett and Byrne (2002) point out that all pornography is not created equal. Magazines, such as Playboy and Hustler are much different than simulated or real rape depictions found on the internet. According to Nielsen/NetRatings, there are 140 million individuals who have internet access in their homes. In the month of March 2007 individuals who accessed the internet did so, on average, 36 times and visit approximately 65 websites. This accounted for almost 35 hours of internet time per person (Nielsen/NetRatings). The widespread availability of internet access and the amount of time per person spent surfing is important to any future work on sexual behavior.

The second limitation is the analysis used in this study. The statistical method employed to understand data is a critical factor. The most useful and most clear analysis is regression. Unfortunately, these data do not lend themselves to that particular analytical method. The use of Chi-Square offers important insight, but looking only at a bivariate relationship does not allow for precise results. There is a greater chance that confounding variables are acting on the relationship than with regression. The limitations associated with this study are important to understand, but the benefits must be examined as well. This is the first study of the relationship between pornography and rape that has employed a nationally representative data set. The data may not have been originally intended for this use, but this study provides a starting point for future research using nationally representative data.

The third limitation is the definition of forced sex. As the creators of the NHSLS point out many more women report having been forced into sex and men who admit to forcing a woman into sex (Michaels, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1995). The perception of what constitutes forced sex often differs between the sexes. To a man who believes when a woman says no she actually means yes the sexual encounter would not be perceived as forced or rape. To the woman who says no and actually means no that encounter would be considered forced or rape. Many men who are married do not understand they are fully capable of raping their spouse even though current rape laws in many areas do recognize spousal rape. Forced sex or any other nonconsensual act of sex is dependent in large part on the perceptions of the participants. This characteristic makes it difficult to measure that particular variable accurately. These limitations offer ideas for any future research on their topic.

The original intent of the NHSLS was not to understand this particular set of questions, but it does offer some valuable insight into the relationship between rape and pornography. Many of the independent variables have not been examined the context of having engaged in forced sex. Determining what type of relationship attitudinal variables such as the belief that men have greater sexual needs than women examine how attitudes may affect behavior. This data set offers a wide range of behaviors and attitudes for study in relation to engaging in forced sex. The NHSLS offers another benefit not seen in other research. Few researchers have access to nationally representative data regarding sexual behavior. In the past aggregate level data or small convenience samples were used because data such as that produced by Alfred Kinsey did not offer representative data.

There may be limitations associated with this data, but it offers the first step in more representative analysis of these questions.

Another benefit of the present study is the ability to ask questions that previous data would not have been able to answer. Previously, males who had engaged in forced sex were mainly formerly institutionalized or under correctional supervision at the time of data collection. This data offers a look at men who have engaged in forced sex who were not institutionalized or under supervision at the time of the original survey. The data offers insight into their sexual behaviors and attitudes. Previously, negative attitudes and pornography use were measured, but with this data negative attitudes and having engaged in forced sex can be measured.

A revised and updated version of these data would offer more detailed information on some of the variables already present in this study. As mentioned previously, a revised version should include questions regarding internet use habits as they relate to internet pornography. The type of pornography, violent or nonviolent, as well as the frequency of use is important for a complete understanding of how individuals are using the internet for sexual purposes. Further, the type of video pornography they are using is important to document, not just a differentiation between paper and video materials. Is the video material violent or nonviolent, does it use professional actors or is it of the homemade variety? As the literature discusses violent pornography has a very different effect on the viewer than nonviolent material. The frequency of use and the context in which the material is being used is another important aspect. There is a difference between chronic individual users and those who infrequently use pornography as a part of a consensual sexual encounter. The type of pornography in magazine form

would also offer important information. There are a number of publications like Playboy as the literature points out will not have a great effect on an individual's behavior because they have no overtly violent content. Other publications may have overt violence against women or portray women in such a ways as to endorse violence. It is important to differentiate between these types of publications and determine in what context they are used. Another important change would be the measurement of rape myth acceptance. The variables currently measure negative attitudes, but do not specifically look at common rape myths. These changes would allow for a greater depth of analysis.

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APPENDIX

Independent Variables:

Variable Name: APPEAL3

Description: Appeal of Forcing Someone to Have Sex

Value	Description
1	Very Appealing
2	Somewhat Appeal
3	Not Appealing
4	Not At All Appeal
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: APPEAL6

Description: Appeal of Having Sex w Stranger

Value	Description
1	Very Appealing
2	Somewhat Appeal
3	Not Appealing
4	NotAtAll Appeal
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: REDLGHT1

Description: Did R Go to Night Clubs w Nude Dancers

Value	Description
1	Yes
2	No
6	Other
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: REDLGHT2

Description: Did R Get a Professional Massage

Value	Description
-------	-------------

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1 | Yes |
| 2 | No |
| 6 | Other |
| 7 | Refusal |
| 8 | DK |
| 9 | Missing |

Variable Name: REDLGHT3

Description: Did R Pay Someone for Sex

Value	Description
-------	-------------

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 1 | Yes |
| 2 | No |
| 6 | Other |
| 7 | Refusal |
| 8 | DK |
| 9 | Missing |

Variable Name: PORNLAW

Description: Pornography Should Be Illegal

Value	Description
-------	-------------

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Strongly Agree |
| 2 | Agree |
| 3 | Disagree |
| 4 | Strong Disagree |
| 5 | Not Applicable |
| 7 | Refusal |
| 8 | DK |
| 9 | Missing |

Variable Name: THINKSEX

Description: How Often R Thinks About Sex

Value	Description
1	< Once a Month
2	1-Few Times Mon
3	1-Few Times Week
4	Every Day
5	Sev. Times Day
6	Never
97	Refusal
98	DK
99	Missing

Variable Name: GUILTSEX

Description: Does R Feel Guilty Thinking About Sex

Value	Description
1	Never
2	Rarely
3	Occasionally
4	Often
5	Nearly Always
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: SXTHING1

Description: Did R Buy or Rent Xrated Videos

Value	Description
1	Yes
2	No
6	Other
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: SXTHING2

Description: Did R Buy Any Sexually Explicit Books

Value	Description
-------	-------------

1	Yes
2	No
6	Other
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: SXTHING5

Description: Did R Call Any Sex Phone Numbers

Value	Description
-------	-------------

1	Yes
2	No
6	Other
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Dependent Variables:

Variable Name: RFRCDW

Description: Has R Ever Forced a Woman Into Any Sex

Value	Description
-------	-------------

1	Yes
2	No
6	Other
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: ENJOYSEX

Description: Which Gender Enjoys Sex More

Value Description

- 1 Men
- 2 Women
- 3 Both the Same
- 7 Refusal
- 8 DK
- 9 Missing

Variable Name: MENGNEED

Description: Men Have Greater Sexual Needs

Value Description

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Agree
- 3 Disagree
- 4 Strong Disagree
- 5 Not Applicable
- 7 Refusal
- 8 DK
- 9 Missing

Demographic Information:

Variable Name: DEGREE

Description: Highest Year of Schooling R Completed

Value Description

- 1 Grade 8 or Less
- 2 Some High School
- 3 Fin HS or Equiv.
- 4 Voca./Trade/Bus.
- 5 Some / 2Yr Deg.
- 6 Fin 4-5 Yr Deg
- 7 Masters or Equi
- 8 Other Adv. Deg
- 9 Missing

Variable Name: REGION

Description: Region of Interview

Value	Description
0	Other
1	New England
2	Middle Atlantic
3	East North Cent.
4	West North Cent.
5	South Atlantic
6	East South Cent.
7	West South Cent.
8	Mountain
9	Pacific
97	Refusal
98	DK
99	Missing

Variable Name: PRESTIGE

Description: Occupational Prestige of R

Value	Description
996	Plus
997	Refusal
998	DK
999	Missing

Variable Name: AGE

Description: Age of R

Value	Description
97	Refusal
98	DK
99	Missing

Variable Name: EDLEVEL1

Description: Educational Level of R

Value	Description
1	< 12Th Grade
2	High School Grad
3	Some /Vocat. Sch
4	College Graduate
5	> Coll Grad
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: ETHNIC

Description: Combined Race Ethnicity of Respondent

Value	Description
1	White, Non-Hisp.
2	Black, Non-Hisp.
3	Hispanic
4	Asian/Pacif (Nh)
5	Natam/Alask (Nh)
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: GENDER

Description: Gender of R

Value	Description
1	Male
2	Female
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing

Variable Name: RACE

Description: Race of Respondent

Value	Description
1	White
2	Black
3	Alaskan/Nat Amer
4	Asia/Pacifisland
5	Other
6	Hispanic
7	Refusal
8	DK
9	Missing