

FEMALE PORNOGRAPHIC CONSUMPTION, RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE, AND  
ETHNICITY: IS THERE A RELATIONSHIP?

A THESIS

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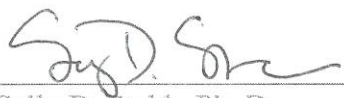
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To the Dean of the Graduate School:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Justine Guzman entitled "Female Pornographic Consumption, Rape Myth Acceptance, and Ethnicity: Is There a Relationship?" I have examined this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Counseling Psychology.

  
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## ABSTRACT

JUSTINE GUZMAN

### FEMALE PORNOGRAPHIC CONSUMPTION, RAPE MYTH ACCEPTANCE, AND ETHNICITY: IS THERE A RELATIONSHIP?

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Research on women as consumers of pornography has generally been sparse. The present study investigated the relationship among female pornographic consumption, rape myth acceptance, and ethnicity. The investigator predicted that there would be a positive relationship between female pornographic consumption and rape myth acceptance; this was partially supported. The second hypothesis predicted that when women of color and their White counterparts consumed equal levels of pornography, women of color would endorse more rape myths; this was not supported. One hundred and fifty female participants were recruited from a local university and online sources and completed a pornographic consumption measure and the revised Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011). Data were analyzed with Pearson correlation analyses and an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) statistic. Implications for practice and future research are offered.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The topic of pornography can be provocative and controversial. Most people have an opinion about it, laypeople and academics alike. Pornography can be broadly defined as material created for the purpose of sexually stimulating or gratifying a user (Rea, 2001). Most scholarship about pornography is comprised of investigations that examine the effects of consuming pornography (Allen, Emmers, Gebhardt, & Giery, 1995; Cooper, Morahan-Martin, Mathy, & Maheu, 2002; Mayerson & Taylor, 1987; Milburn, Mather, & Conrad, 2000) or descriptive reports on what pornography entails (Cooper, Scherer, Boies, & Gordon, 1999; Palys, 1986; Paul, 2009).

The research base is small and ambiguous compared to other topics. For example, typing the search term *pornography* into two search engines, Google Scholar and PsychINFO, produced 117,000 and 216,898 results, respectively. For point of comparison, entering the search term *depression* into the same two search engines yielded 2,470,000 and 2,864,163 results, respectively. In addition, there does not seem to be consensus in much of the research related to pornography. For instance, while some researchers have found harmful behavioral and relational connections regarding pornography for men (Malamuth, Addison, & Koss, 2000; Mesch, 2009; Paul, 2009; Russell, 1988; Ryu, 2004), others have not (Cooper,



McLoughlin, & Campbell, 2000; Padgett, Brislin-Slütz, & Neal, 1989; Seto, Maric, & Barbaree, 2001). Exploration continues but there are still many subtopics within this province that are under-researched or have not been researched at all.

To date, most research has focused on men, their pornographic use, and the relational, criminal, behavioral, and psychological effects and associations of this use (Barak, Fisher, Belfry, & Lashambe, 1999; Fisher & Grenier, 1994; Goldstein, Kant, Judd, Rice, & Green, 1971; Ryu, 2004). Women's experiences with pornography remains an under-researched domain of study (Bhattacharjya & Ganesh, 2009; Senn, 1993). However, some investigations have explored the relationship between women and pornography. Senn (1993) conducted a study that analyzed and described women's experiences with and opinions of different types of pornography. Women of color's experiences with pornography have been particularly neglected (Scott, 2008; Shaw, 1999). This gap in the literature has led to the current study, which seeks to add to the knowledge base of diverse women's pornography use.

Rape myths and their relationship to pornography will be another area of focus within this study. Some research has been conducted regarding this relationship (Allen et al., 1995; Barak et al., 1999; Mayerson & Taylor, 1987; Palys, 1986; Russell, 1988), and the current project seeks to continue this fruitful inquiry while adding to it by looking at ethnicity as a variable. Rape myths have been defined as "prejudicial, stereotyped or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (Burt, 1980, p. 217). Rape myths involve the faulty logic that holds the victim responsible for rape and excuses the perpetrator (Johnson, Kuck, & Schander, 1997).

Rape myth research has been conducted for more than 30 years. Investigators have consistently found that rape myth acceptance and beliefs are prevalent among the population in general (Burt, 1980) as well as among specific groups such as Asian American women (Devdas & Rubin, 2007), men in general (Johnson, et al., 1997; Malamuth & Check, 1981), and Black men (Sapp, Farrell, Johnson, & Hitchcock, 1999). These findings have troublesome real-world implications. First, when individuals accept and endorse rape myths, rape survivors may be reluctant to talk about their experiences, seek legal action, and pursue counseling (Burt, 1980). Secondly, the proliferation of false beliefs about rape might unwittingly contribute to a rape-supportive culture, defined as an environment in which rape is minimized or endorsed through various means and victims are not supported (Johnson et al., 1997). Lastly, if those involved in the criminal justice system also believe rape myths, the impact can have a lasting negative impact on those who turn to the legal system for help.

Rape myth acceptance and endorsement can affect many aspects of life, including how some people interact with media (Franiuk, Seefeldt, & Vandello, 2008) and how others create their personal identities (White, Strube, & Fisher, 1998). Along with associations that have emerged from the research on rape myth acceptance, researchers have also learned about various aspects of those who endorse these sentiments. Kahlor and Morrison (2007) conducted a study that examined rape myth acceptance and television use among college women. The investigators discovered that the more the participants watched television, the more rape myths they believed and the more they believed rape claims to be false (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). Emmers-Sommer, Pauley,

Hanzel, and Triplett (2006) studied media contact and rape myth beliefs and found that men preferred sexually violent film to suspense and love story films. Of the men and women who prefer sexually violent fare, men endorsed more rape myths than women (Emmers-Sommer et al., 2006).

Some researchers have found that women of color endorse more rape myths than their White counterparts (Devdas & Rubin, 2007; Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). In one study, researchers studied first and second-generation South Asian American and White women and found that first-generation South Asian American women displayed higher rape myth acceptance rates compared to second-generation South Asian American women and White women (Devdas & Rubin, 2007). Second-generation South Asian American women and White women held comparable levels of rape myth acceptance, which suggests that level of acculturation could have a moderating effect on rape myth belief. Kahlor and Morrison (2007) found that participants of color and those with international origins endorsed rape myth-supportive opinions more than White individuals.

The purpose of the current investigation was to explore women's experiences of pornography in general and to elucidate the possible connection among their consumption, ethnicity and rape myth acceptance. This study was important for two reasons. First, this investigation sought to fill a void within the literature, extending the knowledge on women's pornographic usage, rape myth acceptance, and ethnicity. No known study has explored these three variables together. Historically, women's experiences regarding pornography have been underrepresented. By conducting this

study, the principal investigator's intent was to include women's experiences of pornography as consumers. In addition to complementing the extant literature, the results could work as a stepping-stone to better, more specific sexual assault and media education efforts that incorporate knowledge of the effects of watching pornography and inaccurate beliefs about rape.

Utilizing a diverse sample of women, pornography use and rape myth acceptance were investigated. One research question guided the present study: What is the relationship between female pornographic consumption, rape myth acceptance, and ethnicity?

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Pornography**

##### **Definitions**

People, including academics and those involved in the legal system, have routinely struggled with generating an accurate and comprehensive definition of pornography. Researchers have often operationally defined pornography by giving examples of it in their work, making academic rigor difficult (Allen et al., 1995). There also appear to be differences in opinion regarding whether or not pornography should be defined at all. Shaw (1999) suggested that trying to form a concrete classification of pornography is not necessary and might even dilute intricate individual definitions. Pope, Voges, Kuhn, and Bloxsome (2007) noted that when someone tries to classify pornography, moral and creative standards set forth by culture- specific dictums have to be acknowledged as well. With their suggestions in mind, many variables need to be considered in generating a definition of pornography, such as the current time period, personal culture, larger social context, and subjective experience. Rea (2001) proposed three criteria that a media form must meet in order to be described as pornographic: the consumer must seek to be sexually stimulated, the article must not have any other uses, and the maker of the object must have had sensual provocation in mind for the consumer. Scholars have distinguished between pornography and erotica.

One definition of pornography is “a communication material provided for the purpose of sexually arousing or gratifying a user in isolation from others” (Rea, 2001, p.168) while erotica has been operationalized as “a communication material provided for the purposes of arousing or titillating individuals who will consume it in company” (Rea, 2001, p. 168). Padgett and colleagues (1989) used pornography and erotica interchangeably and stated that both are thought to produce sexual longing.

While some scholars have defined pornography in morally neutral terms, others have defined it in a negative, value-laden light. Milburn and colleagues (2000) defined pornography in feminist terms by stating that humiliating representations of women should be labeled as pornographic. Fisher and Barak (1991) described pornography as material that depicted people in debasing acts, usually women, while erotica was defined as demonstrating non-aggressive, non-demeaning consensual sexual performances between individuals. Some people also differentiate between sexually explicit material and pornography (Flood, 2007). Sexually explicit material includes, but is not limited to, partial or complete male or female nudity and/or alleged or definite sexual activity while the term pornography, often used disapprovingly, is defined as sexual endeavors that are distasteful or damaging (Flood, 2007).

In general linguistic terms, pornography is derived from the Greek word *pornographos*, which means “the writing of harlots” (Seto et al., 2001, p. 37). Descriptions of pornography are characterized by subtle nuances. Scott (2008) stated that some individuals use blanket assumptions and believe that all material that depicts sex is pornography while others finely delineate between an instructional video meant to aid

married couples as non-pornographic and crude pictures of women being tortured as pornographic. Senn's (1993) qualitative investigation of women and their knowledge of pornographic material garnered this individualized characterization of pornography from one participant: "I just see pornography as explicit doings...things, just that reveal lots of say the person's body, doing acts which should only be kept private or not even done at all" (p. 331).

Lottes, Weinberg, and Weller (1993) surveyed a predominantly White sample of 663 college students, both men and women, about their experiences and reactions to pornography. Most of these participants offered that they would call material showing explicit sexual activity pornography (Lottes et al., 1993). More specifically, 11% of the female participants and 9% of the male participants reported that materials depicting naked adults were certainly pornographic. Twenty-three percent of the male participants and 32% of the female participants stated that materials displaying genitalia were pornographic. One quarter of the female participant pool and 19% of the male participant population reported that materials suggesting sexual activity were pornographic while 60% of the men and 69% of the women reported that materials demonstrating obvious sexual activity were certainly pornographic. Women were more likely to define magazines such as *Playboy* or *Penthouse* as pornographic compared to men. For the purposes of the current investigation, pornography will be defined as sexual images or stories from magazines, videos, DVDs, the internet, and books that depict or discuss nude individuals or individuals engaging in sexual activity (The Kinsey Institute, 2002).

## **Availability**

Pornography, in all of its diverse forms, is available in many places. It has been hypothesized that the advent of the VCR, coupled with the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, cultivated pornography's rise to popularity, with pornographic material symbolizing, for some people, erotic liberty (Farooq, 2005). Pornographic videos can be bought or rented at specialized businesses, which are numbering fewer and fewer these days due to the rise of internet pornography (Palys, 1986). In 1996, there were 8,000 new pornographic videos released which were dispersed to 25,000 video rental establishments in the U.S. (Johansson & Hammarén, 2007). In addition to specialized adult retail organizations, pornography can be purchased in more mainstream businesses like grocery stores and fuel stations (Ryu, 2004).

The internet makes pornography obtainable to the masses in an extraordinary quantity and often free of charge (Flood, 2007; Scott, 2008). Never before have so many individuals been able to access pornography so readily (Weinberg, Williams, Kleiner, & Irizarry, 2010). *Sex* is the most often searched word online (Cooper et al., 2000). Cooper and colleagues (1999) found that 15% of people who use the internet visited one of the top five adult websites monthly. Online pornography has been reported to account for up to 83% of all internet material, and in 2002, the number of pornographic websites approached 200,000 (Lo & Wei, 2002). Day-to-day pornographic search engine requests in 2003 reached almost 68 million (Farooq, 2005). Online pornography can be intrusive through the use of pop-up advertisements, spam email, and mousetrapping, an internet traffic action that involuntarily forwards a visitor to another webpage, possibly



pornographic (Flood, 2007). Mousetrapping also makes it difficult for the visitor to exit the website. Flood (2007) proposed that the internet, more so than any other outlet, might be the perfect vehicle for pornography due to its easy storage, exhibition, and transmission of pictures and text. This ease is reflected in the extensive variety of available content. The ease with which Americans can access online pornography is not experienced in all countries, especially in West Asia, where material deemed risqué is completely barred (Bhattacharjya & Ganesh, 2009).

Some people approach pornography's online prevalence in a different way, offering that the percentage of pornographic internet content is small but makes up a noteworthy portion of online dealings (Mesch, 2009). In fact, pornography is so readily accessible on the internet that many become unwittingly exposed. In a study conducted by Mitchell, Finklehor and Wolak (2003), 1,501 predominantly White boys and girls and their caretakers were surveyed on their involvement with unsolicited sexual material. Over one year, 25% of the youth who frequently use the internet had experienced one or more unwanted exposures to sexual subject matter (Mitchell et al., 2003). A large majority of those individuals were exposed to sexual material while surfing the internet at home, although 15% of the participants experienced unwanted exposure at school. Twenty-four percent of the participants reported that they were embarrassed about such exposure. In Flood's (2007) study, 60% of the teenage girls and 84% of the teenage boys reported that they had been unintentionally exposed to online pornography.

Many people oppose bans on adult access to pornography (Lottes et al., 1993). In Lottes and colleagues' (1993) survey of college students' experiences of pornography, a

sizable group of participants believed that magazines such as *Playboy* should be available for adults. A minute minority, who were both more religious and less sexually active than other participants, felt that these materials should be prohibited. Additionally, most participants did not endorse access for minors. Lo and Wei (2002) found that women with little experience with online pornography believed that pornography could have undesirable results on men, and hence were more willing to seek restrictions on pornography.

### **Types**

Pornography has an extensive and reliable history, spanning from Paleolithic cave drawings and medieval texts all the way to the film and website methods the public is familiar with today (Garcia, 2013). Throughout the age, pornography has been a mode of self-expression, titillation, and served as a cultural comment of the times that it was produced in (Garcia, 2013). Pornography has many different categories and types; pornographic films are one example. Pornographic films are given ratings of X, XX, or XXX (Milburn et al., 2000). Typically films that depict penetration or oral sex garner ratings of X (Milburn et al., 2000). If the film in question does not have either of these depictions, they receive a rating of R. Initially pornography producers started using XX and XXX to indicate that their films were more graphic than those with X ratings, which is the only rating of this kind that the Motion Picture Association of America actually recognized (Rotslter, 1973). Along with pornography producers, film critics also utilized the X rating system when reviewing films (Rotslter, 1973). Rotslter (1973) states that films with XX ratings typically include simulated sex and films with XXX ratings

typically include hardcore content. Some videos depict heterosexual pairings while others utilize either all-female or all-male casts of actors (Palys, 1986). Actors in pornographic films engage in a wide array of sexual activities, including oral sex, exhibitionism, voyeurism, and anal sex. Some pornographic videos contain aggressive behavior, such as verbal and physical hostility, imprisonment, and mistreatment. Violent pornography can be defined as using bodily force to engage in sexual activity with a disinclined companion (Allen et al., 1995).

Online pornography offers an array of content. Adult websites offer photographs, full-length videos, and on-screen shows that involve performers playing independently or per customers' requests as they watch the show unfold (Cooper et al., 2000). There is content that features individuals at varying ages and of various ethnicities (Paul, 2009). Some people produce amateur videos (Paul, 2009). Barely legal pornography is content typically involving young women, 18 or 19 years old who engage in sex acts. Urination videos feature individuals who either urinate on themselves, urinate on others, or both. Some other types of pornography are ejaculation pornography, group sex videos, and masturbation videos (Redtube, n.d).

Some pornographic material only utilizes models or people of size while others depict interracial pairings or transgendered people (Redtube, n.d). Some internet videos concentrate on specific body parts; others depict various forms of bondage (Pornhub, 2012). Celebrity sex tapes are a featured category on some websites as well (Pornhub, 2012). Feminist pornography is characterized by material that depicts nonaggressive, respectful, consensual sex within a romantic situation (Scott, 2008). Candida Royalle, an

adult film actress who has become an adult film director, manufactures such content (Scott, 2008). Some internet pornography is so specialized that it caters to consumers with hair color fetishes (Redtube, n.d). Other pornographic videos, known as cream pie films, focus on male ejaculation into a female partner's vagina or anus. Some women experience female ejaculation on camera; this is called squirting. Some adult websites have a video category devoted solely to squirting pornographic content (Pornhub, 2012; Redtube, n.d). Hentai is pornography in the form of Japanese anime videos (Pornhub, 2012; Redtube, n.d). This type of material typically portrays Japanese schoolgirl cartoon characters in sexual situations. These videos can also have a fantasy element to them, in which the characters engage in sexual activity with fantasy science-fiction beings.

Another type of pornographic content is hidden camera pornography (Scott, 2008). Women in these videos are not aware that they are being filmed nor do they agree to have their likenesses uploaded to the internet (Scott, 2008). A related genre of pornography involves ex-boyfriends who choose to publish old photos of their ex-girlfriends online after they have parted ways. Graphic design artists have also entered the market and can create whatever sexual images customers want.

Pornographic magazines are another medium of choice for some consumers and include titles such as *Penthouse* and *Hustler* (Lottes et al., 1993). These types of publications typically depict semi-nude or completely nude women and also contain editorials, letters from readers, and erotic stories. Erotic fiction is typically aimed at women and is touted as a substitute to pornography (Ciclitira, 2004). These paperbacks

are available in many nations including the United Kingdom and the U.S. (Ciclitira, 2004).

### **Financial Profit**

Financially, pornography and its revenue accounts for a substantial portion of the economy. Americans spend over \$4 billion on pornographic DVDs (Egan, 2000). Russell (1988) reported that pornography had grown into an \$8 billion a year business. In 1999, 30,000 pornographic websites existed, generating between \$150 and \$200 million annually (Morias, Nelson, & LaFranco, 1999). By 2003, profits exceeded \$57 billion (Farooq, 2005). In 2006, worldwide pornography profits exceeded \$97 billion, with China leading the pack with \$27 billion in profits (Ropelato, 2012). Rich (2001) hypothesized that the pornography industry makes \$10-14 billion a year in profit from a plethora of outlets like films, websites, and magazines. Rich (2001) stated that the pornography industry produces more profit than most sports franchises and that people spend more on pornography each year than on fine arts performances. Put another way, the pornography business brings in more revenue than ABC, CBS, and NBC combined (Ropelato, 2012). Every second, consumers spend a little more than \$3,000 on pornography. The pornography business brings in more profit than Microsoft, Google, Amazon, eBay, Yahoo, Apple, Earthlink, and Netflix combined (Ropelato, 2012). Pornographic film remains the most popular medium, accounting for a little more than \$3 billion in revenue in 2006. Individuals making more than \$75,000 annually tend to consume the most pornography, accounting for 35% of pornography consumption with those making between \$50,000 and \$75,000 accounting for another 26% of consumption.

Playboy Enterprises, the leading organization in pornography production, netted \$331 million in 2006 alone (Ropelato, 2012).

Slowly, economists are recognizing pornography as a legitimate part of the market (Pope et al., 2007). Compared to the modern film industry's well-known difficulties regarding new entry into the business for actors and actresses, large budgets, and cutthroat competition between studios, the pornography industry has few issues involving entry for talent, small film budgets, and collaboration between competitors, most notably on the internet (Cameron, 2005). Even taking into account the many barriers that hamper pornography's success, such as limits regarding advertisement and lawful restraints, pornography continues to enjoy financial success.

### **Typical Consumers**

In general, men tend to utilize the internet more than women; this trend carries over to internet pornography (Cooper et al., 1999). Mesch (2009) concluded that men and low-income participants were more likely to use pornography, which contradicts Ropelato's (2012) findings. Palys (1986) questioned adult video store proprietors on their customer demographics. Storeowners estimated that their clientele consisted mostly of young couples and single men (Palys, 1986). In Peter and Valkenburg's (2006) study, adolescent boys reported consuming more sexually graphic material than adolescent girls. Johansson and Hammarén's (2007) analysis of pornography and those who use it described young or middle-aged men as the characteristic customer. Flood's (2007) survey of Australian adolescents' contact with pornography concluded that boys were more prone to seek and utilize X-rated films and internet pornography compared to girls.

When young men were questioned about the pornographic habits of their age mates, 84% reported that consumption was extensive amongst their male peers (Flood, 2007).

Wallmyr and Welin (2006) reported that young men aged 15 to 25 normally visit sexually explicit websites as their main source of pornographic material. Ropelato (2012) reported that 35-44 year-olds use pornography the most. Cooper and colleagues (2002) found that individuals who sought online sexual material tend to be young, male, and single.

### **Women and Pornography**

Comparatively little is known about women who use pornography (Bhattacharjya & Ganesh, 2009) although relatively more research has been initiated since the 1980s (Senn, 1993). Early on in pornography research, women were typically excluded from studies. Additionally research theories that had been developed for men were broadly applied to women; thus, these investigations failed to identify the differences among women (Senn, 1993). Initially, researchers focused on whether visual erotica appealed to women with some reports finding it did not (Scott, 2008), although some women have reported that imagining oneself as a participant in the pornography they watch added to their sexual excitement (Janssen, Carpenter, & Graham, 2003).

Currently 9.4 million women log onto pornographic websites per month (Ropelato, 2012). Generally, female adolescents use the internet as a means of sexual education (Boies, Knudson, & Young, 2004). In Cooper and colleagues' (2002) study, 59% of female participants stated that they engaged in online sexual activities for distraction. Female users are also more likely not to be married but to be in a dedicated relationship compared to their male counterparts (Cooper et al., 2002).

In Cooper and colleagues' (1999) investigation of problematic internet usage, 51% of their female sample reported never downloading pornographic material. In another study conducted by Cooper and colleagues (2000), 12% of women reported using computers at their places of work for sexual activity. In 2012, Ropelato's sample included 13% of women reporting such use. In Johansson and Hammarén's (2007) work in Sweden, 45% of women reported that they had read a pornographic magazine and 57% reported having viewed a pornographic movie (Johansson & Hammarén, 2007). In Padgett and colleagues' (1989) study, women reported that they typically view erotica for a little more than an hour each month; this figure was reported as an hour and a half in Cooper and colleagues' (2002) study. In Love's (2006) investigation of sexual conduct, women were less likely than men to engage in sexual activities like pornographic consumption. Ropelato (2012) reported that women comprise 28% of those who utilize pornography. Ropelato (2012) also reported that 70% of women labor to keep their internet sexual habits a secret and 17% of women currently grapple with pornography dependence.

Flood (2007) studied 100 male and 100 female Australian adolescents and reported that one-tenth of teenage girls, ages 16-17, have watched a pornographic film. Two percent of female participants report purposefully seeking out online pornography. This statistic is noteworthy considering that 60% of girls reported accidental exposure. Within this analysis, participants were also asked about the habits of their peers. Seven percent of female adolescents stated that internet pornographic consumption was widespread among their gender cohort while 16% of boys polled stated that consumption



was prevalent among girls. Eighty-eight percent of the boys reported that internet pornographic consumption was widespread among their gender cohort; 83% of the girls reported male pornographic consumption.

There is mixed evidence regarding how women feel about pornography. Some researchers have found that women enjoy pornography and feel positively about it. Hald (2006), utilizing a Danish sample, studied 688 women and men and discovered that women usually consume pornography with a partner. Only 16.8% of the female participants reported utilizing pornography during masturbation, a trend indicative of possible social stereotypes that pornography is appropriate for men to use during masturbation but is forbidden for women (Hald, 2006). Women tended to consume pornography within their homes although more female than male participants reported utilizing pornography outside the home. Women chose to watch content containing soft-core pornography and group sex, usually containing one woman and many men. It is important to remember cultural climate when interpreting results; this study utilized Danish individuals who generally hold more open-minded opinions towards sex compared to Americans, which may be reflected in the results.

Janssen and colleagues' (2003) work focused on specific materials utilized in pornographic studies. Their study included 15 mostly White men and 17 women (Janssen et al., 2003). They found that women experience more arousal when viewing pornographic clips chosen by female research assistants; few women reported high sexual excitement to male-selected clips. Although great pains were taken to utilize clips in this study that would be arousing for women, women still reported lower levels of arousal

compared to men. Whether or not this is due to female societal restrictions regarding pornography or women's aforementioned disinclination for visual erotica (Scott, 2008) is unknown. The study's sample size may also not have allowed for true effects to surface.

Women who are exposed to pornography meant for women demonstrate different effects compared to male-intended pornography. In Mosher and MacIan's (1994) study, 195 women and 200 men, predominantly White, were randomly assigned to watch one of six pornographic films, three male-intended films and three female-intended films.

Women exposed to the female-intended pornography reported more self-reported sexual arousal, positive affect, preoccupation with the film, frequent sexual relations afterwards, and less negative affect than women who were exposed to the male-intended films (Mosher & MacIan, 1994).

Murnen and Stockton (1997) conducted a meta-analysis focused on sexual arousal self-report between men and women when exposed to pornography and found a small to medium effect size regarding gender, such that men reported more arousal than women in the studies under review. Looking at each study paints a more sophisticated picture of this variable, for instance, the disparity in self-reported arousal increases when pornography and erotica are compared and when the participants are tested in isolation rather than in a small group versus in a larger group (Murnen & Stockton, 1997). College-aged men and women displayed more disparity in self-reported arousal as well compared to older individuals.

It is important to demarcate between self-reported arousal and physiological arousal and to keep in mind that the two may be discrepant. Men's self-reported and

physiological arousal regarding pornography is typically more consistent compared to women's (Chivers, Seto, Lalumière, Lann, & Grimbos, 2010; Suschinsky, Lalumière, & Chivers, 2009). Some believe that this difference is due to how physiological arousal is measured in women, with a vaginal photoplethysmograph, which has not been accurately or consistently validated and may not effectively measure arousal (Suschinsky et al., 2009). Seeking to establish validation, Suschinsky and colleagues (2009) studied 20 women and 20 men, mostly White, and exposed them to sexual and non-sexual film clips while self-report and physiological arousal data were gathered. Women displayed physiological arousal to all sexual stimuli and no physical arousal to the non-sexual clips, indicating that vaginal photoplethysmography may be a valid measure of physical arousal for women. Women and men reported the highest levels of self-reported arousal to the sexual clips. Comparatively, men and women did not report significantly different self-reported arousal levels to neutral and non-sexual clips. Men's physical and self-reported arousal levels were more highly correlated compared to women's. There could be many reasons for these results. Physical arousal in women is subtler than male physical arousal (vaginal lubrication versus erection). Men are also perhaps given more permission to experience and endorse sexual pleasure.

Chivers and colleagues (2010) conducted a meta-analysis to figure out the reason behind this difference in concordance between men and women and the two types of arousal report. Stimuli diversity and assessment timing were identified as key variables in this relationship (Chivers et al., 2010). Different types of pornography are used in different studies--pornography intended for either a male or female audience, written

erotica, and internet pornography can contribute to the demonstrated disparity. Chivers and colleagues (2010) discussed the importance of assessment timing. Some researchers choose to gather subjective and physical arousal data simultaneously, while participants are being exposed to the stimuli; others choose to gather physiological data during exposure and gather self-report data afterwards, when recall errors and other cognitive issues can affect data. These variables can account for much of the variation regarding arousal and should be kept in mind when investigating women's responses to pornography.

Paul's (2009) analysis explored individual differences and how they related to pornographic use and sexual excitement. Paul (2009) surveyed 179 women and 158 men. Of the sample, 85% were White while Black, Asian, and Hispanic participants comprised 6%, 5%, and 1.5% of the sample, respectively. Women self-reported arousal towards hardcore content and content involving male models; they mostly consumed pornography involving ejaculation and hardcore content. Men self-reported arousal and consumption of content featuring female models and lesbian actresses. As the population of this study was mostly made up of White women, these results mostly reflected their preferences and the preferences of the participants of color were not adequately captured.

Other researchers have found that some women respond negatively to pornography and do not enjoy it. In Senn's (1993) qualitative study, 59 predominantly White women discussed their experiences with and opinions of pornography. Most women endorsed a feminist viewpoint regarding pornography (Senn, 1993). This opinion involved feelings of opposition and disgust towards pornography. Participants who

endorsed this opinion reported that feminism as an ethos helped mold their sentiments on pornography, had a lot of familiarity with pornography, and had a tendency to dislike pornography because they believed that it exhibits extremely harmful representations of women while also presenting society with unrealistic images of beauty. The second most endorsed perspective was a more humanist-like perspective. These women were specifically worried about the harm pornography can do to children, did not like having pornography in their homes for fear their children might see it, and believed that lawful restrictions should be in place. The third most endorsed perspective was a more traditional perspective. These women reported very little experience with pornography and generally felt negatively about pornography compared to their counterparts. Lastly, a perspective not well represented in the investigation but nevertheless important was an undecided but slightly pro-pornography stance. These women had not seen much pornography and were comfortable with their partners using pornography but emotionally felt ambivalently. Ambivalent women did not think that all pornography involves hostility and oppression or is linked to brutality towards women. These participants agreed that pornography depicts women as objects meant for male enjoyment, but did not feel this was harmful. This study's small sample size prohibits generalizing to the larger population of diverse women.

This complex interplay of elements was replicated in Shaw's (1999) work that focused on the effect of pornography on a small sample of 32 White and East Asian women. Participants were given pictures to sort through and asked about their reactions to the photographs (Shaw, 1999). Pictures were either of an explicitly or implicitly

violent nature or depicted nonviolent sexuality. Women typically reacted to the violent images with horror, fury, revulsion, or surprise and especially attended to the pictures of women who looked as though they were being harmed, as opposed to men in similar situations, believing those situations to be unrealistic. Violent depictions used in the survey seemed to be the only material that participants felt comfortable labeling as pornographic, perhaps reflecting possible negative connotations of pornography for these women. When asked to comment on the nonviolent content, the women responded with feelings of embarrassment, jealousy, or sadness at the lack of love between those depicted. These reactions seem less negative than the reactions to the violent images presented yet were not explicitly positive either. While looking at the nonviolent centerfold representations, participants' reactions could be described as both envious and skeptical. Most women discussed the idealistic qualities of the pictures while also disclosing that such figures made them feel unhappy with their own bodies. Participants also worried that men would compare them to women in the pornographic industry and be disappointed. Another worry reported by the participants dealt with sexual coercion resulting from pornographic material. Some women in the sample felt that women in general can be pressured into sexual situations they may not want due to men's use of pornographic content. Regarding censorship, participants reported wanting to keep pornography out of children's hands while recognizing adults' freedom of choice.

Ryu's (2004) work focused on her qualitative experience with Asian American women and how they experience their partners' pornographic use. Ryu (2004) theorized that pornography hurts women implicitly and explicitly. Graphically violent and coercive

images can remind the women watching them of their history of victimization. Harmful effects can be compounded for women if they characterize material as both violent and as entertainment; this can be trivializing to women or cement in their minds that violence and degradation are normative.

Lottes and colleagues (1993) studied men and women and found that women, less sexually active participants, more religious participants, and individuals who had never watched pornography tended to hold negative views toward pornography that involve believing that pornography is harmful, that viewing pornography can produce no positive effects, and that such material should be prohibited (Lottes et al., 1993). Most women within this sample had viewed movies with sexually implicit scenes or had seen *Playboy*. An overwhelming majority of the female sample had also seen *Playgirl*, the female equivalent of *Playboy*. Of the women surveyed, 79% stated that they had never been to an adult bookstore with 1% reporting that they had been 4 or more times. Women, compared to their male counterparts, considered adult magazines to be more harmful although 84% of the women stated that in general, pornography can be enjoyed by men and women alike.

Traeen, Spitznogle, and Beverfjord's (2004) assessment of Norwegian men and women's pornographic attitudes and patterns revealed that few participants disclosed repeated, continuous usage (Traeen et al., 2004). A sizeable group of women described pornography as "dull, repulsive, not entertaining, and not exciting" (Traeen et al., 2004, p.195). A small minority of female participants reported positive feelings towards pornography but women in general tended to express anti-pornography opinions. Of the

women surveyed, 38% stated that they had been exposed to pornographic magazines less than once every year, 37% reported never viewing a pornographic film, and 75% stated never consuming online pornographic content.

Women's feelings about the use of pornography often reflect ambivalence. Ciclitira (2004) outlined the relationship between women and pornography with an emphasis on feminism's role in this multifaceted relationship. The author interviewed 25 Caucasian, 4 Asian, 1 biracial and 4 African American women (Ciclitira, 2004). Some of the participants stated that at times they aligned closely with condemning opinions of pornography by radical feminists; other times, they believed that pornography is not just for men and is a healthy way to express sexuality. A slightly different take on the issue involves enjoying pornography personally while disagreeing with it politically. Other women have reconsidered their involvement within the feminist movement because of some radical feminists' strong anti-pornography feelings which they do not share. Some of the participants expressed liking and using pornography individually and with partners when they were younger. Upon their introduction to feminism, these same women reported not being able to enjoy pornography in a "historical vacuum" (Ciclitira, 2004, p.292), free from gendered political knowledge. One woman in the study disclosed a dual wish to explore her sexuality through pornography but not to be complicit with the sometimes disempowered actions of those within the industry:

Half of me wants to look and explore and desire and go as far as I can go and another half of me is very aware that the people who make those kinds of images...are maybe not doing it out of free choice. (Ciclitira, 2004, p.292)



Some anti-pornography advocates in the survey reported feeling dually sexually excited and disgusted with pornography. Women who offered counterintuitive opinions also conveyed a certain level of disjointedness or discomfort with their incongruent sentiments. Some feminists within this sample disclosed that they felt they were given permission to enjoy feminist-friendly erotica and that feminism as a whole is starting to change and evolve to allow for sexual exploration through pornographic material. Small sample size should be considered when interpreting these results.

Some young women look upon pornography with more lenient or encouraging attitudes; this trend was reflected in Johansson and Hammarén's (2007) analysis, which utilized 1,331 young men and women from Swedish high schools and junior high schools. Although most young women stated that pornography is not sexually arousing for them, 42 reported that it was (Johansson & Hammarén, 2007). Currently, young women are more likely to utilize pornography than ever before and a growing section of the population report that the material does sexually stimulate them although women continue to be the main critics of pornography. Overall, 45% of the young women reported having ever read a pornographic magazine; 57% of the junior high girls surveyed reported having watched a pornographic film; this number increases to 73% for the high school girls surveyed. An overwhelming majority of young women in this study specified that women have just as much right to watch pornography as men. Less than 2% of the young women sampled felt differently, believing that women should not engage with pornographic material at all. In this sample, young women reported more arousal from reading pornographic stories than from watching erotic movies, possibly

reflecting a gendered preference for erotic literature. A quarter of the young women stated that they do not feel guilty about their pornographic film consumption; 13% disclosed that they often feel embarrassed about their use of erotic movies. A duality of experience is demonstrated in this exploration. Some young women hold a negative opinion of pornography but still respond with arousal to the content. When interpreting this study's results, the country under investigation, issues with self-report, and young age of the participants should be taken into consideration.

Mayerson and Taylor (1987) conducted an analysis looking at the effects of female exposure to pornographic undertones of consent and arousal on confidence, opinions of rape, relational violence, and gender stereotyping of 96 women. Participants were exposed to one of three pornographic stories that depicted differing levels of consent and arousal (Mayerson & Taylor, 1987). One story depicted the female character as consenting and aroused regarding male-initiated sexual activity. Another story depicted the woman as non-consenting but aroused while the third story characterized the woman as non-consenting and not aroused. After exposure, the participants completed measures on gender stereotyping, relational aggression, and sexual assault. The control group completed the measures before reading the stories. Women who read any of the stories before completing the study's measures reported more acceptance of rape myths and relational violence and demonstrated changes in self-esteem compared to the control participants. Participants who held more traditional views regarding gender and were exposed to the consent story agreed with more rape myth-supportive statements when compared to the other two experimental groups and the control group; the participants

who were exposed to the non-consenting stories were also more accepting of relational violence. The researchers believed that the consent results may have been affected by participants' traditional opinions regarding gender. Participants who held traditional views on gender and were exposed to the arousal story endorsed more rape-supportive and relationally violent views than all of the other groups. Results could have been affected by small sample size, the young age of the participants, and year the study was conducted.

While researchers have reported some variation in women's pornographic use, gradually a marketplace tailored especially for women is developing (Attwood, 2007). This market includes stores, online and off, that sell sex toys as well as pornography suited particularly for women (Attwood, 2007). Women have also started occupying various positions of power within the pornographic world, like Kristin Patrick, who serves as chief marketing officer for Playboy and Jenna Jameson, who is regarded as a business mogul within pornography (Miller, 2005; Playboy Enterprises International, 2013; Traeen et al., 2004). As this marketplace continues to flourish, some report that a female customer base is also developing. As explored in this section, most research has dealt with how women feel about pornography in general and their opinions regarding their partners' usage. More research is needed to understand how women engage with pornographic material personally.

### **Pornography's Impact**

While relatively few researchers have focused on how women interact with pornography, a greater amount of energy has been devoted to describing men's

relationships with and the effects of consuming pornography. Malamuth and colleagues (2000) studied 2,972 predominantly Caucasian men. They found a relationship between frequent pornographic usage and sexually violent actions, especially for those who consumed violent pornography and for men predisposed towards sexual assault (Malamuth et al., 2000). Malamuth and his collaborators (2000) reported that consequences of pornographic consumption may be significant for some but not others and that the relative strength of their findings may depend on an interaction between many variables. Other studies have found that individuals who are repeatedly exposed to sexually explicit images start to increasingly evaluate sexual acts in a positive, healthy manner (Boies et al., 2004). This finding only held true for people who did not start off evaluating the images negatively.

Some investigators have warned that continuous usage of pornography can lead to a reduction in attraction to one's partner and a corresponding wish to engage in casual sexual relationships (Boies et al., 2004). Boies and colleagues' (2004) summary of current research on the internet, teenagers, and sex reports that rampant teenage usage of online sexual activities like pornographic consumption and cybersex can result in a disruption in developmentally appropriate searches for connection. Benedek and Brown (1999) concurred in their summary, asserting that exposing children to pornography can obstruct or improperly accelerate typical sexual growth. Pornography, when shown to children, can inspire and normalize early sexual actions as well as cause conflict in families in which this behavior runs counter to parental behavioral standards (Benedek & Brown, 1999). Peter and Valkenburg's (2006) study on teenage contact with pornography

and resulting recreational outlooks towards sex utilized 471 predominantly Dutch teenage boys and girls. The researchers found that male teenagers tended to regard what they viewed as more realistic than their female peers (Peter & Valkenburg, 2006). Higher levels of supposed realism of erotic material led to more recreation-oriented stances towards sex.

Men who frequently utilize pornography may become dissatisfied with their current partners or unhappy with the fact that they do not have a partner and can subsequently devote more energy towards sexual activity; this can mean more willingness to engage in sexual coercion (Seto et al., 2001). Ryu (2004) proclaimed, based on her observations, that pornographic usage is extremely harmful to the preservation of long-term relationships and stated that when a couple presents to therapy for problems with communication or devotion to one another, that appraisal of the presenting issue must include examination of the male partner's use of pornography. Similarly, 734 participants in Cooper et al.'s (1999) study stated that their online sexual activities did not have a constructive impact on their personal relationships.

Attwood (2007) extrapolated that society gives too much negative credit to pornography as a cultural text/media outlet: "It is assumed that only low cultural media texts have effects, an assumption that reveals all kinds of prejudices about the class of different media and their audiences" (p. 2), meaning that media outlets that are deemed perverse or immoral by the society in which they exist are also assumed to have powerful, negative effects. Attwood (2007) stated that at worst, most of society feels that erotic material numbs genuine sexual reactions, turns sexual mindsets callous, and

motivates vicious or depraved wishes. Cooper and colleagues (2000) hypothesized that while pornography might not have a negative effect on most, for some it can strengthen established predispositions of objectification, compartmentalizing one's sexuality, and generating antisocial or anti-woman feelings. Russell (1988) positioned pornographic content prominently in her theory in which she offered an explanation for some men's tendencies towards sexual aggression. Russell (1988) stated that experience with pornographic material prompts men to want to rape, weakens men's inner and societal reticence against acting out rape wishes, and undercuts possible victims' capabilities to circumvent or repel sexual aggression or exploitation. Russell (1998) added one caveat, stating that some of her theoretical effects only surface when men are exposed to violent pornography. Love's (2006) correlational study found that the less self-control one has, the more likely they are to read erotic content. Johansson and Hammarén's (2007) correlational survey on young people's pornography use revealed links between pornographic material utilization, sexual behaviors, and feelings. Those who used pornography were more likely to engage in sexual activity, masturbate, engage in same-sex sexual activities, and have single isolated sexual encounters (Johansson & Hammarén, 2007) than participants who did not use such material. Additionally, those who had seen an erotic film also reported being more content with their bodies, feeling less shameful about masturbation, and believing sex without love and prostitution are permissible. Due to the correlational nature of this survey, causality is impossible to determine.

Mitchell and colleagues (2003) studied 796 boys and 705 girls and their experiences with unsolicited contact with internet pornography. Of the sample, 73% were White and 8% were Black (Mitchell et al., 2003). While most of the participants were not particularly distressed with their unwanted contact, 25% of participants stated that they were very or tremendously upset by their accidental exposure; one-fifth of the sample reported stress symptoms related to their exposure. The researchers speculated that some effects of unwanted exposure to pornography for youths could be attitudinal shifts in sexual beliefs, the internet, safety, and community.

Mesch (2009) examined the relationship between social ties and teenage internet pornographic use in an Israeli sample consisting of 987 participants, 52% of whom were men (Mesch, 2009). Mesch's (2009) findings revealed that frequent use of pornography by teens was related to poor connection to social establishments like family and school. Mesch (2009) also asserted that poor connections to important foundations like school and family left frequent users of pornography at risk for aberrant conduct.

Milburn and colleagues (2000) studied 137 participants, 53% women and 47% men. Of the sample, 61% identified as White, 18% identified as Black, 12% identified as Asian, and 4% identified as Hispanic (Milburn et al., 2000). Participants were either shown control materials or scenes from contemporary R-rated films that were nonviolent but objectified women. Afterwards, participants were given one of two stories to read, one depicting a rape scenario involving a woman and a stranger and the other, a rape scenario involving a woman and an individual she knew. Male participants who were exposed to the objectifying subject matter and the date-rape story were more likely to

think that the victim in the story experienced gratification from the assault than other individuals in other groups.

Barak and colleagues' (1999) work focused on the consequences of internet pornography and men's feelings toward women. In the first study's sample, 24 male college students surfed the internet for 90 minutes in a laboratory setting and then completed several measures (Barak et al., 1999). Each participant was placed in one of four groups; one group's computers contained bookmarks that did not contain any pornographic sites; this group served as control. The next group's computer bookmarks contained three pornographic sites. The third group's computers contained bookmarks with 15 pornographic sites and the last group's bookmarks contained 24 pornographic sites. Increasing exposure to pornography had no significant effect on attitudes towards women. In the second half of this study, 31 male participants completed questionnaires on variables such as sensation-seeking behavior and past experience with pornography. They were placed in one of three experimental conditions, mirroring those used in the prior study with the exception of the control group, for 90 minutes. Data analysis revealed that hypermasculinity, thrill seeking, and past exposure to pornography significantly predicted rape myth acceptance while experimental exposure to pornography did not figure prominently into this relationship.

Fisher and Grenier (1994) conducted a two-part experiment exploring the relationship between violent pornographic consumption, fantasy, and men's attitudes towards women. The investigators randomly assigned 65 male participants into one of four groups: a neutral condition that exposed the individuals to a clip from a game show,



a violent but positive condition that depicted violent sex between a man and woman in which the woman appeared to have consented by the end of the exchange, a violent but negative condition in which the woman never consented to violent sexual activity, and an erotic condition in which consensual sexual activity took place. No significant effects were found regarding the participants' fantasy variables and attitudes towards women. In the second half of the study, men were provoked by a female confederate, which involved the female confederate giving the participant an unfavorable assessment of an essay that the male participant wrote, being exposed to violent pornography, and then given an opportunity to aggress toward the female confederate. Of 14 participants, two aggressed toward the female confederate (Fisher & Grenier, 1994).

Weinberg and colleagues (2010) conducted a study focusing specifically on whether pornographic consumption affects sexual behavior normalization and sexual empowerment. Among the 155 women and 90 men, 70% of the sample identified as White, 15% identified as Black, 6% identified as Latino(a), and 10% identified as another ethnicity (Weinberg et al., 2010). Participants were interviewed on a wide range of topics including sexual behavior and related factors. Results showed a significant relationship between pornographic consumption and masturbation for heterosexual men, women, and non-heterosexual men, revealing that the more pornography consumed, the more participants engaged in masturbation. Also, the more one engaged in partnered sex or masturbation, the more they tended to utilize pornography. Analysis of the qualitative data from the study uncovered themes of sexual empowerment, normalization, and a broadening of sexual horizons related to the consumption of pornography.

Traeen and colleagues' (2004) work also focused on exploration and normalization. Generally in this study, more men than women reported positive attitudes towards pornography (Traeen et al., 2004). Overall, men, younger individuals, and those with less education tended to feel more positively about viewing pornography as a resource for sexual enrichment. Additionally, younger participants and participants with higher levels of schooling tended to feel more positively about pornography as an ethical matter. Of the male participants, 43% stated that they somewhat believe that pornography commands more frankness about sexuality and 64% of male participants stated that pornography should not be prohibited. In addition, 31.1% stated that pornography does not lead to more sexualized aggression among the public and 44.7% of men reported that pornography improves people's sex lives. In this same vein, 55.9% of male participants stated that they totally opposed the belief that pornography is damaging to human sexuality. Lastly, 34.6% of men sampled indicated they believed that pornography humiliates women while more than half of the male participants state that pornography does not disgrace men. Results from this study regarding women have been discussed previously in this chapter.

Goldstein and colleagues (1971) conducted an early study in which they interviewed imprisoned male rapists, pedophiles, gay men, transsexuals, frequent pornographic content consumers, and Black and White control groups. The researchers questioned participants on their experiences with pornography in adulthood and teenage years (Goldstein et al., 1971). Teenage contact with pornography was significantly less for the rapist, gay, transsexual, pedophile, and frequent user groups compared to the two

control groups. In adulthood, the rapist, pedophile, and transsexual groups reported less experience with erotic material than their control counterparts. The gay men and those identified as heavy pornographic material users tended to have higher levels of adult exposure compared to the control groups. As teens, the rapists, frequent pornography users, and two control groups were more driven to engage in masturbation by the erotic content they utilized compared to the other groups of participants. As adults, the rapists and control groups reported a sharp decrease in their wish to masturbate after viewing erotic material; heavy erotic content consumers continued their trend from adolescence and gay men's rate of engaging in masturbation after seeing pornography rose, revealing that pornography is a central impetus for masturbation among this group. A majority of all participants did not re-create behaviors depicted in the pornography they utilized. The control participants in this investigation reported more teenage use of pornography than the other groups, possibly suggesting that adolescent use of erotic content does not necessarily lead to harmful sexual behaviors in adulthood.

Padgett and colleagues' (1989) analysis of continued contact with pornography on views towards women revealed that frequent pornographic contact did not act as a dependable negative predictor of negative opinions towards women for either of the groups (39 male and 79 female college students and one female and 20 male customers of an erotic theater) used in the study. In fact, the adult theater customers reported more positive opinions towards women than the college students; more specifically, male adult theater customers endorsed more complimentary opinions of women than female college students (Padgett et al., 1989). When compared to the male college students in the study,

adult theater customers consumed twice as much pornography. While an increase in consumption for theater clientele could affect their tendency to think favorably of women, age could also be a contributing factor.

Ryu (2004) theorized that pornography shows men how to classify women and how to use sexual aggression as a means to get what one wants. Endorsement of such negative views could further solidify a patriarchal view of women as a collection of external characteristics and providers of sex for men as well as resulting in inflation of ethnic typecasts (Ryu, 2004).

In Janssen and colleagues' (2003) work on gender differences in pornographic film preference, male participants found the clips presented to them more stimulating than their female peers, especially when the clips were selected by male researchers. The investigators discerned that four factors worked together to predict male participant sexual stimulation: physical appeal of the female actress in the clip, feeling absorbed in what is being displayed, visualizing oneself as a member in the sexual acts depicted in the clips, and viewing the sexual acts as a spectator; these four factors explained 77% of the variance for male participants in the sample (Janssen et al., 2003).

Some investigators have found no link between pornographic usage and sexual violence (Barak et al., 1999; Fisher & Grenier, 1994; Goldstein et al., 1971; Padgett et al., 1989; Seto et al., 2001). Other researchers have found links between pornography use and violence with caveats. Malamuth and colleagues (2000) and Russell (1988) found a connection between pornographic usage and sexual violence but only for men who were predisposed and for those who consumed violent pornography. Ryu (2004) noted an

anecdotal link between pornography and aggression, positing that pornography shows men how to use sexual aggression to get what they want. Other researchers have found that pornography usage is linked to a greater likelihood of engaging in sex, masturbation, same-sex sexual activity, more positive bodily self-evaluations, reduced shame regarding masturbation, more permissive attitudes regarding sex without love, and prostitution (Johansson & Hammeren, 2007; Weinberg et al., 2010). Still others have found a link between usage and poor connections to family, school, increases in sexual empowerment, normalization, and broadening of sexual horizons (Mesch, 2009; Weinberg et al., 2010). Boies and colleagues (2004) found that the more exposure one has to pornography, the more one positively evaluates sexuality but only when no prior negative evaluation existed. Barak and colleagues (1999) found that past usage led to rape myth acceptance for men.

Reviewing the literature on pornography's impact illustrates conflicting results. There are many reasons for this, including but not limited to chance results, varying sample sizes, individual differences like violence predisposition, different types of pornography used in the studies, age, social desirability, use of self-report and the correlational nature of many of the studies (Fisher & Grenier, 1994). Individual differences like violence predisposition and age could skew results, elucidating habits of those predisposed to violence, for instance, and not the habits of the larger population. Different types of pornography used across studies also add another layer to the conflicting findings in pornographic research.

## **Pornography and Ethnicity**

There are two important areas of consideration involving ethnicity and pornography: the ethnic breakdown of consumers and ethnic stereotypes utilized within pornography. Research on ethnicity and pornography has been sparse with study samples reflecting little diversity (Dellner, 2008). Of the 45 studies focusing on pornography in the present literature review, 11 reported ethnicity breakdown of their participants and most of these samples were comprised mainly of White participants. No studies regarding the ethnic breakdown of consumers have been conducted, though some nationality diversity is seen when evaluating profits from pornography. In 2006, China led the way with \$27 billion in revenue from pornographic markets, in spite of prohibiting pornographic consumption within their country (Ropelato, 2012). South Africa, Ireland, and New Zealand were the top three countries, respectively, to utilize the word pornography in search engine requests (Ropelato, 2012). The U.S. is the top video pornography-producing nation and Brazil and the Netherlands follow closely behind (Ropelato, 2012).

Ryu's (2004) theoretical work also highlighted racial stereotypes employed for consumer arousal. Ryu (2004) asserted that gender and ethnic myths are rampantly utilized in pornography in order to heighten sexual excitation for viewers. According to Ryu (2004), in the world of pornography, women are submissive, Asian women are "depicted as sweet young lotus blossoms...Latin women are sexually voracious...and black women are dangerous and contemptible sexual animals" (p. 81). These racially sexualized images are described elsewhere in similar fashion, "Black women are

portrayed as (sexual) slaves and savages whose animal sexuality must be tamed” (Scott, 2008, p. 347) and Asian women sometimes represent hypersexuality (Shimizu, 2010). Ryu (2004) also drew attention to U.S. tendencies towards using racial labels within pornography as a way to separate out special interest groups (Black, Asian, and Latina categories of pornography online).

Racial stereotypes of women of color are evident elsewhere such as in magazine advertisements where Black women are portrayed as hypersexual (Sengupta, 2006) or described by travelers as sexually malleable and as sexual predators (Thompson, 2012) or sexually deviant (Nash, 2008). In television, “hot Latina” characters are prevalent (Merskin, 2007, p. 134), and in interviews where Asian women talked about interactions they have had with others, they report that others have described them as both sexually voracious and sexually obedient (Lindblad & Signell, 2008); in the national imagination, indigenous women are painted as both the sexual masochist and drone (Merskin, 2010). In many different contexts, racial sexual stereotypes dominate the discourse regarding women of color.

Looking at women of color’s experiences of others’ pornographic usage, Ryu (2004) stated that when presented with spousal usage, immigrant Asian American women fight silently to make sense of it within their cultural worldview of sex roles, affection, and familial devotion. Ryu’s (2004) qualitative, theoretical experience with these women illustrated that they are bound by cultural proscriptions of male entitlement and female obligation to serve their husbands dutifully. An added variable of shame can also be prevalent for Asian American immigrant women. Comparing themselves to what is

typically portrayed in the pornographic world (White women who are sexually aggressive), they can feel as if they are falling short of what their husbands desire.

## **Rape Myths**

### **Definitions**

Franiuk and colleagues (2008) broadly defined rape myths as “generalized and false beliefs about sexual assault that trivialize a sexual assault or suggest that a sexual assault did not occur” (p. 790). Some types of myths include blaming the victim for the event by accusing them of deceit, implying that the victim deserved to be raped, or suggesting that assault was their main goal, implied by attire (Franiuk et al., 2008). Other myths excuse sexual assault by suggesting that the perpetrators could not help themselves or by saying that the perpetrator is not the type to assault individuals. Yet another kind of rape myth minimizes the gravity of the situation by describing the effects of sexual assault as unimportant or even a routine part of life. Johnson and colleagues (1997) delineated three types of rape myths: accusing the victim, defending the perpetrator, and providing a rationalization for acquaintance rape. Most rape myths tend to center around the idea that victims are responsible for whatever befalls them, thereby absolving the rapist from accountability (Johnson et al., 1997). Victim-blaming myths tend to focus on women’s believed desires involving sexual assault and alleged behavior on the victim’s behalf that would provoke rape. Perpetrator-excusing myths involve a polarizing and dismissive view on rape (men who rape are ill and disturbed). Justifications for acquaintance rape myths typically involve inaccurate information regarding sexual assault, such as most women are raped by strangers, and assumptions about sexual



activity, such as any sexual contact means an individual consents to all sexual contact. Endorsement of these types of thoughts and beliefs has consequently been termed “rape myth acceptance” (Emmers-Sommer et al., 2006, p. 313-314).

Rape myths depict harmful, fixed, or incorrect views about rape, victims, and culprits (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). Rape myths can work by perpetuating sexual and ethnic stereotypes, belittling the injured parties, and hampering the legal system with regards to sexual assault cases (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). Giacopassi and Dull (1986) offered examples of rape myth endorsing statements such as that a woman cannot be made to have sex against her will, women often falsely accuse men of sexual assault, and that one of the most frequent kinds of sexual assault is that of a Black man perpetrating against a White woman.

Popular myths discussed in White and colleagues’ (1998) research reflect typical rape myth fare such as women like sexual assault and ask for it but they added another layer, choosing to focus on ethnic stereotypes regarding Black men as hypersexual and dangerous and Black women as immoral and incapable of being raped. These sentiments are expressed in the following rape myth endorsing statements: Black men are responsible for most sexual assaults and Black women are licentious and cannot be assaulted (White et al., 1998).

Burt (1980) proposed that rape myths and corresponding acceptance are integral in creating an unsupportive environment for victims of rape. Burt (1980) offered the following myths: only immoral girls [*sic*] get assaulted, any fit woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to, and women falsely claim rape only when they have been rejected

or have something to cover up. Further myths include that a woman's sexual history should be an issue, women cannot be assaulted without a weapon, and men have carnal urges they cannot control.

### **Rape Myth Endorsement**

In the 1980's, when Burt first initiated research on rape myths, many Americans believed in rape myths. Later, studies showed that people still accepted rape myths but men tended to accept them more than women (Emmers-Sommer et al., 2006; Hinck & Thomas, 1999, Johnson et al., 1997). In Milburn and colleagues' (2000) investigation, men who were exposed to sexually objectifying film content and had read an account of a date-rape scenario reported that the woman in the acquaintance-rape condition felt gratification and received the treatment that she wanted. Female college students who watch large amounts of television are more likely to accept rape myths and to believe that sexual assault allegations are untrue (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007).

Giacopassi and Dull (1986) investigated gender and ethnic dissimilarities in rape myth acceptance for Black and White men and women. The sample was comprised of 181 men and 254 women; 129 participants identified as Black and 306 identified as White (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). Gender and race were significant predictors of participants' opinions of rape in this investigation. For instance, women were more likely than men to reject myths that involve women falsely accusing men. Black men reacted defensively in their approaches towards rape. Black men agreed more strongly than their White male counterparts that sexual assault is typically unintended and impetuous. Black men were more likely than their White male counterparts to think that women could not

be coerced into sexual activity against their will. Overall, Black men accepted more rape myths than White men, White women, and Black women. Correspondingly, Black women typically saw both the victim and the perpetrator as more responsible than their White female counterparts. Black women were more likely to believe that rape is prearranged. Black women endorsed that women cannot be forced into sexual activity, women fantasize about rape, and that victims are usually at least a little at fault for their sexual assault. Black women also disagreed with the statement that described one of the most common types of rape is that of a Black man against a White woman. Giancopassi and Dull (1986) did not know if this result was due to Black women wanting to repel blame from their race or if the participants believed that Black women were the most frequent victims of sexual assault. These results have been replicated in other studies, suggesting that people of color and individuals with ancestors outside of the United States may be more likely to accept sexual assault myths (Devdas & Rubin, 2007; Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). The findings discussed appear to reflect a delicate societal-psychological propensity towards refusing opinions that portray similar individuals in a negative light and to assign blame to those who are different.

White and colleagues (1998) combined an ethnic identity paradigm with a feminist identity paradigm and used them to explore differences in rape myth acceptance for activists and non-activists. The sample was comprised of 59 Black female activists involved in local anti-rape organizations and 50 Black women who did not identify as activists from the local university, fitness classes at a YMCA, and a local women's social club (White et al., 1998). They found that participants who identified as activists rejected

rape myths more than non-activists. The investigators also found that those who were in the early stages of the ethnic and feminist identity model tended to accept more rape myths than those that were in the latter stages of both models.

Hinck and Thomas (1999) investigated rape myth acceptance within a college population of 158 participants, 53% of whom were female and 47% of whom were male. Ethnically, 95% of the participants were White and 2% identified as Black. Participants reported disagreement with rape myths but this varied based on a few individual differences (Hinck & Thomas, 1999). Men and those who had not participated in a sexual assault consciousness program reported weaker disagreement with rape myth statements than women and those who had participated in a sexual assault program.

Johnson and colleagues' (1997) study on rape myth acceptance utilized 149 participants, 41% male and 58% female. Of the participants, 79% were White and 20% identified as non-White (Johnson et al., 1997). Participants typically adhered to rape myths that excuse perpetrators more than myths that blame victims. Almost one-third of the participants reported that men, in particular circumstances, have sexual impulses that they cannot manage. A large majority of participants agreed with most rape myths proposed, with 89.4% believing that men who sexually assault are sick, emotionally troubled individuals. The sexual assault myths that participants chose to endorse paints an inconsistent portrait of men as naturally sexually aggressive coupled with the idea that rape can only be committed by disturbed individuals. Of the participants, 25% reported that a woman's past sexual reputation should come into account when rape allegations manifest themselves; 16% of participants also felt that most sexual assaults could be

evaded if women did not incite them and that any healthy woman could fight off a perpetrator. Ethnic dissimilarities appeared most powerfully regarding rationalization for acquaintance rape myths. More Black than White participants believed that perpetrators only rape strangers. Black participants also tended to excuse the perpetrator more and blame the victim less than White participants. An interesting result was also found regarding age. Participants younger than 25 years of age agreed more than participants who were older than 25 years of age that most men are capable of sexual assault. Older participants also believed that men who sexually assault hate women. Lastly, participants who held more traditional gender opinions believed more rape myths than participants who were more non-traditional in their beliefs.

Malamuth and Check (1981) conducted a study regarding how mass media contact affects acceptance of aggression against women. In total, 271 people participated. On two separate nights, participants watched one of two full-length films that either depicted sexually violent behavior where the woman eventually accepts the sexual violence, or a control movie. The sexually aggressive movies seemed to increase rape myth belief for men in the study while women experienced the opposite effect, meaning that exposure to the sexually aggressive movies seemed to decrease rape myth belief for women, although effects did not reach a statistically significant level (Malamuth & Check, 1981).

Researchers have also investigated rape myth acceptance among South Asian American women (Devdas & Rubin, 2007). Participants included 23 White, 23 first-generation, and 29 second-generation women (Devdas & Rubin, 2007). The researchers

compared first- and second-generation South Asian American women and White women to find differences in rape myth belief. First-generation South Asian American women displayed more rape myth acceptance than their second-generation and White counterparts while second-generation and White women displayed similar rates of rape myth acceptance.

Rape myth acceptance is not limited to individuals; pornographic films can support rape myths as well (Palys, 1986). Some pornographic movies reaffirm rape myths by inferring that *no* really means *yes* in depicted situations, showing women eventually relishing forced sexual activity, and implying that the women in the films deserve such action (Palys, 1986). Pornography's sometimes ambiguous handling of consent regarding certain types of material like voyeur pornography and pornography with sleeping or drunk individuals also contributes to rape myth propagation.

Other variables have been discovered amongst those who accept rape myths. Factors such as victim blame, sex role outlooks, misrepresentation, communication and relationship skills, ethnicity, age, sex, and education can contribute to one's tendency towards rape myth acceptance (Hinck & Thomas, 1999; Johnson et al., 1997). Kahlor and Morrison (2007) revealed that the more politically conventional one was, the more one accepted rape myths compared to participants who held more liberal political ideals. Women in Mayerson and Taylor's (1987) analysis who endorsed rape myths also held rigid, stereotypical beliefs regarding sex roles. Johnson and colleagues (1997) related this outcome to gender role socialization. While men are raised to be domineering, driven, and antagonistic, women are raised to be obedient, obliging, and passive. Participants

who viewed this forceful-compliant sexual relationship as normal accepted rape myths more so than more liberal participants. Burt (1980) also ascertained that the more one accepted relationally violent behavior and confrontational sexual principles, the more one accepted rape myths. Older and less educated individuals also appear to accept rape myths more readily than younger or more educated people. People who watch soap operas tend to endorse more rape myths than individuals who watch other types of television (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011).

Franiuk and colleagues' (2008) study investigated rape myths in media headings and their results on approaches toward sexual assault. They investigated 76 men and 78 women (Franiuk et al., 2008). The participant pool was 94% White and 3% Asian. Male participants who were shown news features that contained rape myths were more likely to hold rape-encouraging outlooks than those subjected to control headlines. These male participants also appeared more likely to hold rape-supportive views than their female experimental equals.

Emmers-Sommer and colleagues (2006) conducted an analysis that assessed male and female preferences towards different film genres and their effects on rape myth acceptance. Male participants preferred movies saturated with eroticism and aggression more than their female equivalents (Emmers-Sommer et al., 2006). Women preferred romantic movies more than men. Individuals in the survey who preferred sensuality and hostility in their film choices (typically men) were also more accepting of rape myths than those who preferred romance or suspense. Although this study involved variable

manipulation, conclusions regarding causality should not be made lightly given that the researchers cannot say with certainty that film preference causes rape myth acceptance.

Silbert and Pines (1984) conducted a survey in which they gathered qualitative information from 200 current and past female sex workers in an effort to distinguish a relationship between pornography and sexual abuse; 69% of the participants were White and 18% were Black. The researchers found that of the 193 instances of sexual assault discussed amongst the participants, 24% reported that their perpetrator made references to pornographic material during the assault (Silbert & Pines, 1984). Many of the rapists made comments that alluded to the material and how the victim would not only enjoy the sexual assault but also the life-threatening brutality that comes with it given that all of the women in the films had appeared to like the assaultive behavior.

In general, men have reported more rape myth acceptance (Emmers-Sommer et al., 2006; Franiuk et al., 2008; Hinck & Thomas, 1999; Johnson et al., 1997; Malamuth & Check, 1981) compared to women. Other studies have found that women, especially those who consume large amounts of television and those who are in the early stages of feminist or ethnic identity development, endorse rape myths (Johnson et al., 1997; Kahlor & Morrison, 2007; White et al., 1998). People of color, as well as individuals with close ancestors outside of the U.S., tend to agree with rape myths (Devdas & Rubin, 2007; Giacomassi & Dull, 1986; Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). Individuals who have not participated in a sexual assault awareness program, who hold traditional gender views, and who possess conservative political values tend to accept rape myths (Hinck & Thomas, 1999). Participants who endorse rape myths have also been shown to accept



domestic violence and combative sexual behavior (Burt, 1980). Although many studies have focused on rape myths, none have looked at rape myth endorsement trends of women who consume pornography.

### **Harmful Impact of Rape Myths**

Rape myths in the media teach harmful and faulty sexual values to consumers by reinforcing already-developed rape myth acceptance and by introducing rape myths to new individuals (Franiuk et al., 2008). Burt (1980) postulated that a world in which 50% of the people whom she surveyed agreed with rape myth statements is not a safe world for potential sexual assault victims. Rape myths, such as *no* means *yes*, that have been incorporated into dating scripts can lead to dire consequences for women (Milburn et al., 2000). Rape myths have been so fully merged into U.S. culture that they have created a rape-supportive society that condones forced sex (Milburn et al., 2000). Some feminists have stated that rape myths and sexual assault aid male dominion and chauvinism (White et al., 1998).

Rape myth acceptance impacts the criminal justice system (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986; Johnson et al., 1997; Sapp et al., 1999). For example, Black women do not receive the same treatment under the law due to harsher sentences being imposed when men rape White women compared to Black women, which likely adds to rape myths regarding ethnicity (Sapp et al., 1999; White et al., 1995). Black men are also more likely to receive more severe consequences for raping White women than White men receive for committing the same act against Black women. Rape myth belief affects the perpetrator, the victim, and the police force (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). If the female victim was

under the influence of alcohol, knew her attacker, or was not violently harmed, she may refuse to report the crime for fear of not being seen as a valid victim of a crime (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). Rapists may continue with their harmful behaviors, safe in the certainty that if a victim was not interested in sex, then the sexual act could not be performed (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). The criminal justice system may perpetuate myths by not believing sexual assault cases that go against cultural biases (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986). Prosecuting attorneys may select to only continue in court cases where indications of classic involuntary sexual behavior are clear (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986).

Franiuk and colleagues' (2008) work on rape myths in media headlines outlines reasoning behind why rapists and third parties believe in rape myths. First, believing in sexual assault myths allows men to separate themselves from bad men or the perpetrators (Franiuk et al., 2008). Second, blame-the-victim sexual assault myths allow rapists to justify their actions. As society continues to perpetuate rape myths, it may remain difficult to eradicate the incidence of sexual assault (Franiuk et al., 2008). Dismissal of rape reports decreases the likelihood of victims making claims, which could contribute to continued occurrences of sexual assault and certainly to higher instances of perpetrators going unpunished (Franiuk et al., 2008). Accurate reports of sexual assault are important in helping society to recognize the true nature of this problem and potentially work harder to eliminate this crime (Franiuk et al., 2008).

Rape myths contribute to society in many destructive ways (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). Regarding many of the rape myths that pervade our culture, many women believe that they cannot be raped because sexual assault victims are not like them; they are the

good women who believe that if they act properly, no sexual harm will ever come to them (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). Some rape myths create a false sense of safety for women, who then may not be as cautious in circumstances in which the possibility of rape increases. The belief about goodness that some women adhere to may also affect sexual assault education efforts. Because rape is mistakenly believed only to happen to other women, some women may feel sexual assault prevention programs are not relevant to them (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007).

### **Importance of Studying Women, Ethnicity, Pornography, and Rape Myths**

It is important to investigate female pornographic consumption and rape myth acceptance for both academic and practical reasons. No other investigation of these three variables together exists. This study focused on women of differing ethnicities and how their experience of pornography affects their rape myth beliefs. This analysis has helped to fill in gaps about what is known about the female consumer outside of sexual excitement and attitude (Scott, 2008). On a more practical note, the results of this research as well as continued work in the same vein can be used to inform and improve sexual assault prevention programs and media literacy (Giacopassi & Dull, 1986).

The results from the current study helped to fill an important gap in the literature as little is known about women and pornographic material in general nor about how consuming pornography may affect a woman's beliefs about rape. While researchers have begun studying women and their unique experiences with consuming pornography, more attention should be paid to this specific media outlet for women since more women are engaging with pornography (Attwood, 2007). Also, while little has been written about

women and pornography, even less has been said about women of color and how pornography affects their beliefs about rape.

### **What Can This Study Add to the Research Base?**

This study examined three variables that have not been researched together to see if relationships exist. Women have not been adequately represented and their opinions and standpoints on pornography have not received the same amount of consideration as men's (Scott, 2008; Senn, 1993); the current study was conducted by a woman and utilized only female participants. Some basic demographic and usage analyses have been conducted (Hald, 2006) and the current survey continued this line of inquiry for women. Inquiries involving women of color are especially important as there is a significant gap in the literature due to limited diversity in samples (Ciclitira, 2004; Franiuk et al., 2008; Scott, 2008; Shaw, 1999). More specifically, particular findings regarding women of color, pornography, and rape myths can both add to the research base and also lead to specialized anti-rape activism that involves looking at the multifaceted interaction between race and rape myths (White et al., 1998). This study extended the research base for various types of pornography with an intention to benefit the field given that academics' interest in internet pornography has not risen to meet the increasing usage and interest in it from consumers (Mesch, 2009). Finally, different media outlets have proven to be influential regarding rape myths (Franiuk et al., 2008) and this examination focused on the way pornography may impact women's beliefs about rape myths.

## **Hypotheses**

H1. There will be a positive relationship between female pornographic consumption and rape myth acceptance across participants.

H2. Women of color will endorse more rape myths than their White counterparts, when controlling for pornographic consumption.

## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

#### **Participants**

The study consisted of a final sample of 151 women of diverse ethnicities. Participant minimum age was 18 years.

One hundred and sixty-three participants completed the survey. Four male participants were excluded from analysis due to the gender exclusion criterion and eight female participants were excluded due to vague responses such as “a few” or “a couple of times” that could not be statistically analyzed. The final participant pool consisted of 151 participants. A majority (63.6%) of the participants identified as White while the rest either identified as non-White, other, or mixed race (36.4%). A detailed ethnic breakdown is displayed in Table 1. One hundred and fifty individuals identified as female (99.3%) and one individual identified as a male-to-female transgendered individual (.7%). The average age of a participant was 29 years old ( $M = 29.14$ ,  $SD = 8.11$ ). The participants had an age range of 18-65 years.

Table 1  
*Ethnic Breakdown in Frequencies and Percentages*

Ethnicity	Frequency	Percent
White	96	63.6
African American	22	14.6
Hispanic/Latina	12	7.9
Asian	10	6.6
Mixed Race	8	5.3
Other	3	2.0
Total	151	100.0

### **Procedure**

Participants were recruited through various means, including online recruitment through social networking sites such as Reddit, Facebook, and academic listservs (see Appendix A). Interested participants completed two measures online via psychdata.com. Psychdata.com records participant data and assigns a number to each participant instead of their names, thereby preserving their anonymity. Psychdata.com is a secure site that uses Secure Socket Layer (SSL) 256-bit encryption, which adds another protective layer to the site and the information it gathers from participants.

Participants were also drawn from a Southwestern public university primarily for women through an on-campus psychological data collection system called SONA. Through SONA, undergraduate students can sign up to participate in current studies conducted by students and faculty. Online recruitment is especially important in pornographic research, given that the internet pornography is an important medium for

pornography (Hald, 2006) and to increase anonymity. Individuals who agreed to participate in the study indicated their consent (see Appendices B & C) as well as completed a pornographic consumption measure created by the principal investigator for this investigation (see Appendix D) and the revised Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011; see Appendix E). Participants were given an opportunity to supply their email address at the conclusion of the study in order to receive the results. Participants who were recruited through SONA received course credit. A link to referral sources was provided in the event participants experienced any discomfort and wished to speak with a professional (Appendix F).

## **Measures**

### **Pornographic Consumption Measure**

Participant pornographic consumption was measured with a questionnaire developed by the principal investigator (Appendix D). The 12-item measure included questions about general demographics, overall frequency and duration of pornographic consumption, specific frequency and duration, consumption of pornography that includes aggressive and perceived humiliating treatment of women, and pleasure. Since this measure was developed for this study, no reliability or validity data currently exist. The demographics section included 3 questions regarding gender, ethnicity, and age. The overall frequency/duration section was comprised of 2 questions that asked how many times in a typical month and for how many hours the participant consumed 2 types of pornography (sexual photographs/videos and sexual stories). The specific frequency and duration section was comprised of 4 questions, which separated out each of the 2 modes



of pornography mentioned previously and ask the participant how many times and for how many hours they consumed each type of pornography. The aggressive-perceived humiliation section of the measure included 2 questions that asked the participant to report in hours how much of their typical monthly consumption involved pornography that depicted women in degrading situations or with individuals behaving aggressively towards women. The questionnaire concluded with 1 question involving how much pleasure the participant garnered from pornography. This question utilized a 7-point Likert scale with answers ranging from *very much* to *not at all*. With the exception of the gender, ethnicity, and pleasure questions, all other questions utilize a fill in the blank format for answers. Descriptive statistics for this measure are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2

*Pornographic Consumption Descriptive Data*

	Obtained Range	Mean	Std. Deviation
Monthly frequency of sexual photograph/sexual video/sexual story usage on the internet/books/magazines	0- 100	6.37	12.507
Monthly frequency of sexual story usage	0 - 60	2.73	7.723
Monthly frequency of sexual photograph/video usage	0 - 100	5.26	11.674
Monthly duration of pornographic usage	0 - 250	4.8	22.727
Monthly duration of sexual story usage	0 - 200	3.859	19.263
Monthly duration of sexual photograph/video usage	0 - 120	3.164	11.017
Monthly duration of pornography containing aggression towards women	0 - 120	2.04	11.424
Monthly duration of pornography containing humiliating behavior towards women	0 - 120	1.91	11.406
Pleasure garnered from pornographic usage	1 - 8	4.44	2.410

$n = 151$  for all analyses. Duration was measured in hours. Pleasure was measured on a scale from 1-8.

**Rape Myth Acceptance Scale**

Rape myth belief was measured with the Rape Myth Acceptance Scale compiled by Kahlor and Eastin (2011; see Appendix E) with a previously reported Cronbach's alpha of .91. The 14-item scale is composed of questions from three other scales (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978; Ward, 1988) which have been empirically validated through extensive

use with a range of populations; the compiled measure benefits secondarily from the established psychometrics of the previous measures. Items include statements such as “women who claim rape are usually loose women” and “most women fantasize about rape” (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011, p. 223). This measure also employs a 7-point Likert scale, with responses ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. The Cronbach’s alpha for this study’s sample was .90, indicating strong internal consistency. The overall average rape myth acceptance score for the sample was 19.12, with a range of 14-66, possibly indicating acculturation and/or education variables at play.

### **Statistical Analyses**

Hypothesis 1, which stated that there would be a positive relationship between female pornographic consumption and rape myth acceptance, was tested using a correlational analysis. Hypothesis 2, which stated that women of color would endorse more rape myths than their White counterparts even when controlling for pornographic consumption, was tested using an ANCOVA statistic.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

Hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be a positive relationship between female pornographic consumption and rape myth acceptance. The results of the Pearson correlation analyses partially supported this hypothesis. Participants' rape myth acceptance was weakly but significantly correlated with pornographic video/photograph frequency of usage. Rape myth acceptance was moderately and positively correlated with usage of pornography containing aggressive and humiliating behavior towards women. Additionally, rape myth acceptance was moderately and significantly correlated with pornographic video/photograph duration of usage. However, rape myth acceptance was not correlated with other measures of pornographic consumption, including monthly frequency use of sexual photographs, sexual videos, sexual stories on the internet, in magazines, or in books or monthly duration of pornographic usage. A detailed summary of the correlation findings is displayed in Table 3.

Hypothesis 2 predicted that women of color would endorse more rape myths than White women when controlling for levels of pornography consumption; analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were conducted to assess for significant differences. Rape myth acceptance for women of color and their White counterparts did not differ significantly when controlling for frequency of pornographic usage (women of color:  $M = 20.93$ ,  $SD = 11.74$ , White:  $M = 18.08$ ,  $SD = 6.95$ ,  $F(1,148) = 3.09$ ,  $p = .081$ ) nor when controlling for

duration of pornographic usage ( $F(1, 148) = 3.44, p = .066$ ); Hypothesis 2, therefore, was not supported. Disregarding the rape myth acceptance variable, women of color and their White counterparts did differ regarding overall pornography frequency (women of color:  $M = 7.78$ , White:  $M = 5.56$ ) and duration (women of color:  $M = 7.98$ , White:  $M = 2.98$ ), but not significantly.

Table 3

*Rape Myth Acceptance, Pornographic Frequency, Pornographic Duration, Aggressive Pornographic Consumption, Humiliating Pornographic Consumption, and Pornographic Pleasure Correlations*

	RMAS
Monthly frequency of sexual photograph/sexual video/sexual story usage on the internet/books/magazines	.116
Monthly duration of pornographic usage	.016
Monthly frequency of sexual story usage	.055
Monthly frequency of sexual photograph/video usage	.178*
Monthly duration of sexual story usage	.004
Monthly duration of sexual photograph/video usage	.330**
Monthly duration of pornography containing aggression towards women	.347**
Monthly duration of pornography containing humiliating behavior towards women	.346**
Pleasure garnered from pornographic usage	.025

*Note.* \*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed). \*\*Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed). RMAS = Rape Myth Acceptance Score.  $n = 151$  for all analyses. Duration was measured in hours.

Although not included as part of the study's original hypotheses, there were two other significant correlations found during exploratory analyses: pleasure derived from pornographic usage was moderately and negatively correlated with frequency of pornographic usage ( $r(148) = -.457, p < .001$ ) and weakly and negatively correlated with duration of pornographic usage ( $r(148) = -.173, p = .036$ ).

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

#### **Summary of Findings**

Two hypotheses guided the current study: first, the researcher predicted there would be a positive relationship between female pornographic consumption and rape myth acceptance for all participants and secondly, when controlling for levels of pornography, women of color would endorse more rape myths than White women. The first hypothesis was partially supported; a weak, significant correlation was found regarding pornographic video/photography frequency of usage and rape myth acceptance and a moderate, significant correlation regarding pornographic video/photograph duration of usage and rape myth acceptance was found, meaning that the more often and longer a participant consumed pornographic videos or photographs in a month, the more she endorsed belief in rape myths. It should be noted that only video/photography forms of pornography were those types that resulted in significance. The second hypothesis was not supported; there was not a significant difference in rape myth acceptance averages between women of color and their White counterparts when controlling for pornographic frequency of usage and duration of usage. Also, though not part of the original predictions that guided this study, the investigator found that rape myth acceptance was moderately and positively correlated with usage of pornography containing aggressive or humiliating behavior towards women, meaning that the more a participant consumed pornography containing aggressive or humiliating behavior towards women, the more she

endorsed rape myths. Also, pleasure derived from pornographic usage was moderately and negatively correlated with frequency of pornographic usage and weakly and negatively correlated with duration of pornographic usage, meaning that the more frequently and the longer participants consumed pornography, the less pleasure they derived from their usage.

### **Integration of Findings with Existing Literature**

The current study's focus on women helps build the existing knowledge base involving women and pornography, much like Senn's (1993) earlier work; the focus on women of color helps fill a gap within the research base as well. The current study's results regarding rape myth acceptance and usage of pornography containing aggressive or humiliating behavior towards women complement previous studies that have found negative side effects of such usage on rape myth acceptance (Mayerson & Taylor, 1987; Milburn et al., 2000) while contrasting others' findings that found no negative side effects (Malamuth & Check, 1981). In Malamuth and Check's (1981) study on media and its effect on the acceptance of aggression towards women, exposure to the sexually aggressive movie seemed to decrease rape myth belief for women, although effects did not reach a statistically significant level. Malamuth and Check's study was experimental while the current study was correlational. Also their study took place in 1981, 34 years before the current study.

The present investigation's findings regarding pornographic video/photograph frequency and duration of usage and rape myth acceptance complement past studies that have found negative effects of such usage in general (Barak et al., 1999; Goldstein et al.,

1971; Malamuth et al., 2000; Mesch, 2009) while contrasting others' findings that did not find a negative relationship (Fisher & Grenier, 1994; Padgett et al., 1989). In Fisher and Grenier's (1994) study of violent pornographic consumption, fantasy, and men's attitudes towards women, no combination of the experimental variables yielded negative attitudes towards women. Fisher and Grenier's results could differ from the current study's for a number of reasons like difference in experimental design or difference in participant gender breakdown. In Padgett and colleagues' (1989) study on pornographic usage and attitudes towards women, continued usage did not negatively affect attitudes towards women. Padgett and colleagues' work looked at frequent, erotic theater usage specifically whereas the current study was not as specific. In general, the current results mirror much of the previously established knowledge base in its mixed findings.

The present study adds to Kahlor and Morrison's (2007) work regarding television usage and rape myth acceptance for college women. In their study, the more participants watched television, the more rape myth acceptance they endorsed; the current study's findings that pornographic video/photograph frequency and duration usage are positively related to rape myth acceptance are consistent with that study's findings (Kahlor & Morrison, 2007). Emmers-Sommer and colleagues' (2006) study on media contact and rape myth acceptance found that those who preferred sexually violent movies endorsed more rape myths than those who preferred suspense or love story movies; this previous study's findings complement the current study's results regarding aggressive pornographic usage and rape myth acceptance and adds to a growing body of literature



that suggests that media exposure in various forms is positively related to the endorsement of rape myths.

Devdas and Rubin's (2007) study on rape myth acceptance rates between first and second-generation South Asian American and White women found that first-generation South Asian American women reported more rape myth acceptance than their second-generation and White counterparts, which contrasts the current study's finding of a lack of a significant difference in rape myth acceptance between women of color and their White counterparts. While that specific finding contrasts with the current study's results, second-generation South Asian American women and White women from Devdas and Rubin's (2007) study did not differ significantly in rape myth acceptance- a finding similar to the current study's results. Kahlor and Morrison (2007) found results similar to Devdas and Rubin (2007) regarding participants of color and those with international origins compared to their U. S White counterparts. A few variables could help explain the discrepancy between the current study and Devdas and Rubin's (2007) and Kahlor and Morrison's (2007) studies. First of all, the current study did not ask participants to identify nationality whereas the other two studies did; nationality could account for differences in results. Level of acculturation may be another variable as the Asian participants in Devdas and Rubin's (2007) study were first- and second- generation Americans- the current study did not look at level of acculturation as a variable. Ethnicity could also account for the difference: Devdas and Rubin's (2007) study focused on Asian and White women solely whereas the current study focused on a more diverse group of women of color.

Drawing from results from other studies, Scott (2008) asserted that women do not typically like visual erotica; this may account for the negative correlation found in the current study regarding frequency/duration and pleasure derived from pornographic consumption. Perhaps women in the current study viewed pornographic videos because that is what is widely available but do not garner much pleasure from it. Most of the female participants in Senn's (1993) and Johansson and Hammarén's (2007) studies did not find pornography pleasurable. The more the current study's participants consumed pornography, the less they reported enjoyment of it- maybe this is due to a decreased rate of returns after a while. It might be possible that after a person has consumed a certain level of pornography, that their pleasure will not increase but instead plateau or even decrease. It should be noted that most of the pornography available caters largely to a male audience which could account for participants' level of enjoyment in the current study given that there have been different results regarding enjoyment depending on whether female participants consumed pornography geared towards men or women (Chivers et al., 2010). Lastly, although a negative relationship was found regarding pleasure and consumption in the current study, participants still reported a medium level of pleasure in general.

### **Directions for Future Research**

The present study's results suggest many other potential research projects for the future; for instance, based on the results from this study, there is a relationship between pornographic video/photograph consumption and rape myth acceptance. A future study could investigate what specific kinds of pornographic videos or photographs affect rape

myth acceptance the most. Feminist-produced and directed pornography may yield different results than traditional mainstream pornography or more violent, graphic pornography. Also, participants of color in the current study did not report more rape myth acceptance compared to their White counterparts; this finding partially deviates from the findings of previous studies (Devdas & Rubin, 2007; Kahlor & Morrison, 2007) suggesting the need for additional research in this area- could women of color and their White counterparts be more similar than different regarding rape myth acceptance? Future studies could focus on these possible similarities.

While the current study investigated pornography use as it relates to White and non-White women, no data regarding variables such as social class or sexual orientation were gathered. Additional research could study both the type of pornography women use as well as the potential relationship between these other demographic variables and pornography use among diverse women. In addition, because this investigation employed a correlational study design, results cannot and should not be used to infer causation between pornographic usage and rape myth acceptance. An experimental design in which participants are experimentally exposed to various types of pornography, including a control group who is exposed to a film with no sexual content, followed by completion of a measure of rape myth acceptance would allow researchers to explore the relationship between pornography and rape myth acceptance, if there is one. Lastly, a replication of the current study with a greater number of participants of color could help to improve odds of detecting relationships. In light of the difference between the current study's findings and previous findings by Devdas and Rubin (2007) and Kahlor and Morrison

(2007), measures of acculturation and ethnic identity would also contribute to knowledge about the complex relationship among diverse women, pornography use, and rape myth acceptance.

### **Implications for Practice**

Some of the current study's results could inform future sexual assault programs. With the current study's establishment of a modest relationship between pornographic video/photograph frequency and duration of usage, pornography containing aggressive behavior or humiliating behavior towards women, and rape myth acceptance, those who direct sexual assault programs may want to look at these types of materials within the framework of their curricula; for instance, pornographic videos/photographs could be mentioned when discussing variables that interact to create rape-supportive environments, like the one in our society currently. These programs could focus especially on the relationship between pornography containing aggressive or humiliating behavior towards women and rape myths as this specific type of pornography seems to be associated with how women think about rape.

Regarding clinicians, it could be helpful to keep in mind that video and photographic types of pornography may affect their female clients' levels of rape myth acceptance. This relationship could be especially important with clients who have experienced sexual assault who also consume pornography, as this usage could be potentially harmful to them and their therapeutic progress. As indicated in the *Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Girls and Women*, psychologists and therapists should strive to be aware of all avenues of influence for their female clients (American

Psychological Association [APA], 2007); for some clients, this includes pornography usage. Clinicians should also work to educate and empower their female clients (APA, 2007); regarding the current study's findings, this could involve dispelling rape myths that video/photograph pornography exacerbates and that may be harmful to women.

The results from the current study show that certain types of pornography, duration of video/photograph usage, and frequency of video/photograph usage are related to rape myth acceptance. Future media education efforts could take these results into consideration and focus on these types of media. Media education programs currently focus on influential modalities like film, advertisement, and television but for some, pornography is equally as influential, and these programs should incorporate this into their curricula and focus on eradicating the negative influence this modality can have on its consumers while also helping create more informed consumers. Pornography containing aggressive or humiliating behavior towards women should also be highlighted in media education programs as these seem to be associated with rape myth acceptance. Those who consume this type of material may change their behavior after learning about this relationship.

### **Limitations**

One of the current study's limitations is its correlational design. Because no experimental control was used in the study, causality should not be inferred. Also, because a small amount of women of color participated, all participants of color were grouped into one group that was then compared to the White participants in the study. Grouping participants of color like this does not allow for conclusions to be made

regarding each separate ethnic group nor does it allow us to study unique variations between groups. The current study's participant pool also contained a small number of individuals who endorsed consuming pornography at all; this limitation made comparison difficult and resulted in a positively skewed distribution. Lastly, the researcher created a measure to measure pornography usage that has not been previously validated and does not have any reliability data. Future researchers should consider developing additional measures to capture both pornography usage and attitudes toward pornography that are subject to rigorous empirical validation.

### **Conclusion**

In summation, in the group of diverse women studied for the current investigation, participants' rape myth acceptance was weakly but significantly correlated with pornographic video/photograph frequency of usage and rape myth acceptance was moderately and positively correlated with usage of pornography containing aggressive behavior and humiliating behavior towards women. Additionally rape myth acceptance was moderately and significantly correlated with pornographic video/photograph duration of usage. Rape myth acceptance for women of color and their White counterparts did not differ significantly when controlling for frequency of pornographic usage or when controlling for duration of pornographic usage. Pleasure derived from pornographic usage was moderately and negatively correlated with frequency of pornographic usage and weakly but negatively correlated with duration of pornographic usage. To date, very few studies have focused on the female pornography consumer with even fewer investigations examining women of color and their experiences as consumers of

pornography. This study has added to the knowledge bases of both of these areas. The current investigation looked at consumption, rape myth acceptance, and ethnicity. No other study has researched this specific set of variables together and although no significant findings were found regarding ethnicity and rape myth acceptance, the current study's results demonstrated a relationship between rape myth acceptance and pornography in general as well as a relationship between aggressive/humiliating pornography and rape myth acceptance and pleasure and usage. The study's findings have implications for therapists who work with women who use pornography as well as for media educators and those who direct sexual assault prevention programs.

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## APPENDIX A

### Participant Recruitment Handout

### Participant Recruitment Handout

Hello. My name is Justine Guzman. I am a master's student in the counseling psychology program at Texas Woman's University.

Under the supervision of my research advisor, Debra Mollen, Ph.D., I am currently recruiting volunteers to participate in this study who identify as female and are at least 18 years of age. Participation should take 45 minutes. This study will continue until August 8, 2014. In exchange for participation, participants have the opportunity to receive course credit, if applicable, and receive the results of the study, if you so desire.

This study has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board of Texas Woman's University and has been approved. For detailed information regarding the study or to participate, please follow the link provided below:

<https://www.psychdata.com/s.asp?SID=161102>

Thank you,

Justine Guzman

Email: [JGuzman4@twu.edu](mailto:JGuzman4@twu.edu)

Phone: 972-8XX-XXXX

## APPENDIX B

### Informed Consent Form

Informed Consent Form

TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY  
Consent to Participate in Research

Title: Female Pornographic Consumption, Rape Myth Acceptance, Ethnicity: Is There A Relationship?

Investigator: Justine Guzman, B.A .....[JGuzman4@twu.edu](mailto:JGuzman4@twu.edu) 972/XXX-XXXX

Advisor: Debra Mollen, Ph.D. ....Dmollen@twu.edu 940/898-XXXX

Explanation and Purpose of the Research

You are being asked to participate in a research study for Justine Guzman's thesis at Texas Woman's University. This study will ask you questions about your experience with pornography, how you feel about ideas related to rape, and some general demographics questions. The purpose of this research is to explore women's beliefs about and experiences with these topics. You have been asked to participate in this study because you are a student at TWU and/or you meet the inclusion criteria.

Description of Procedures

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to spend approximately 45 minutes of your time by completing 2 surveys. In order to be in this study, you must be 18 years of age and identify as a woman. TWU students will sign up for the study in the SONA system and will be given a SONA study ID number and a link to the PsychData survey. The SONA ID number will not be linked to the actual responses; therefore, researchers will not know the names of those who participate and do not know the ID number associated with any particular response. When you sign up in the SONA system, you will be directed to the consent form in PsychData (see Appendix C). You will then be directed to the two surveys (see Appendices A and B).

Potential Risks

The surveys will ask questions related to sexuality. If at any time you feel too uncomfortable answering the questions, you can withdraw at any point of the study without penalty. You are free to take breaks if you become fatigued. After 90 minutes, the survey will time out and you will be advanced to the end of the study.

Another risk in this study is loss of confidentiality. Confidentiality will be protected to the extent that is allowed by law. There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality in all email, downloading, and internet transactions. Your personal identifying data will not be collected with the survey. Data collected through PsychData will be stored in a password-protected electronic file. Should you choose to participate, you will be given an option to provide your contact information if you would like to have the results of the study sent to

you. Please be informed that this information will not be linked to survey responses and will be in a separate electronic file that is password-protected.

The researchers will try to prevent any problem that could happen because of this research. You should let the researchers know at once if there is a problem and they will help you. However, TWU does not provide medical services or financial assistance for injuries that might happen because you are taking part in this research.

Since this study involves sensitive material, you may experience some emotional distress following completion of the survey. The researchers will provide you with an online search engine (<http://locator.apa.org>) for therapists in the event you want to speak with a professional. Another option for TWU students is the TWU Counseling Center in Denton (940) 898-3801.

#### Participation and Benefits

Your involvement in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. If you would like to know the results of this study, we will mail them to you. TWU students may receive course/extra credit through SONA. Please be advised that although your contact information will be stored separately from survey responses, anonymity cannot be guaranteed.

#### Questions Regarding the Study

You are welcome to print a copy of this consent form for your records. If you have any questions about the research study, please feel free to contact the researchers; their phone numbers/email addresses are located at the top of this form. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this research or the way this study has been conducted, you may contact the Texas Woman's University Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 940-898-3378 or via e-mail at [IRB@twu.edu](mailto:IRB@twu.edu).

If you have read and agree to the above statements, please click on the "Yes" button below to indicate your consent to participate. If you do not want to participate, please click "No".

☐      ☐  
Yes      No

## APPENDIX C

### IRB Approval Letter





**Institutional Review Board**

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs  
P.O. Box 425619, Denton, TX 76204-5619  
940-898-3378  
email: IRB@twu.edu  
<http://www.twu.edu/irb.html>

DATE: June 20, 2014

TO: Ms. Justine Guzman  
Department of Psychology & Philosophy

FROM: Institutional Review Board - Denton

Re: *Approval for Female Pornographic Consumption, Rape Myth Acceptance, Ethnicity: Is There a Relationship? (Protocol #: 17681)*

The above referenced study has been reviewed and approved at a fully convened meeting of the Denton Institutional Review Board (IRB) on 5/2/2014. This approval is valid for one year and expires on 5/2/2015. The IRB will send an email notification 45 days prior to the expiration date with instructions to extend or close the study. It is your responsibility to request an extension for the study if it is not yet complete, to close the protocol file when the study is complete, and to make certain that the study is not conducted beyond the expiration date.

If applicable, agency approval letters must be submitted to the IRB upon receipt prior to any data collection at that agency. A copy of the approved consent form with the IRB approval stamp is enclosed. Please use the consent form with the most recent approval date stamp when obtaining consent from your participants. A copy of the signed consent forms must be submitted with the request to close the study file at the completion of the study.

Any modifications to this study must be submitted for review to the IRB using the Modification Request Form. Additionally, the IRB must be notified immediately of any adverse events or unanticipated problems. All forms are located on the IRB website. If you have any questions, please contact the TWU IRB.

cc. Dr. Dan Miller, Department of Psychology & Philosophy  
Dr. Debra Mollen, Department of Psychology & Philosophy  
Graduate School

## APPENDIX D

### Pornographic Consumption Measure

### Pornographic Consumption Measure

- 1.) How old are you?
- 2.) Are you: ☐ Male ☐ Female ☐ Transgender (MTF) ☐ Transgender (FTM) other, specify:
- 3.) What is your ethnicity? ☐ Black/African American ☐ White ☐ Hispanic/Latina ☐ Native American/ American Indian ☐ Asian ☐ mixed race ☐ other

The following items will involve your experience with pornography, if any. If you do not or have not consumed pornographic content, just answer 0 for each question.

- 4.) How many times have you viewed sexual photographs, sexual videos, and/or sexual stories on the internet, in books or magazines in a typical month?
- 5.) How many hours in a typical month do you spend consuming pornography?
- 6.) How many times in a typical month do you read sexual stories?
- 7.) How many times in a typical month do you view sexual photographs or videos?
- 8.) How many hours in a typical month do you spend reading sexual stories?
- 9.) How many hours in a typical month do you spend viewing sexual photographs or videos?
- 10.) How many hours in a month do you consume pornography that involves aggressive behavior towards women? Aggressive behavior towards women is defined as verbal (i.e. calling a woman names), physical (i.e. pushing, hitting, choking), or sexual (rape) assault/abusive behavior.
- 11.) How many hours in a month do you consume pornography that involves behavior that could be perceived as humiliating towards women? Humiliating behavior is defined as behavior conducted with the intention to humble, debase, or embarrass the woman.
- 12.) How much pleasure do you get from your pornographic usage?

|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|

very much

not at all

## APPENDIX E

### Rape Myth Acceptance Scale

### Rape Myth Acceptance Scale (Kahlor & Eastin, 2011)

Women who claim rape are usually loose women.

If a girl makes out with a guy and she lets things get out of hand, it's her own fault if her partner forces her to have sex.

In the majority of rapes, the victim is promiscuous or has a bad reputation.

A woman who is stuck-up deserves to be raped.

If a woman gets drunk at a party and has intercourse with a man she's just met there, she should be considered "fair game" to other males at the party who want to have sex with her too, whether she wants to or not.

Many women have an unconscious wish to be raped, and may then unconsciously set up a situation in which they are likely to be attacked.

The majority of rape claims are false.

Many females who get raped have done something to deserve it.

Women who dress or behave in a sexually provocative manner are asking for it.

Good girls don't get raped.

Women who get raped while hitchhiking get what they deserve.

The degree of a woman's resistance should be a major factor in determining if she was raped.

Any healthy woman can successfully resist a rapist if she really wants to.

Most women fantasize about rape.

Response options ranged 1–7, with 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree.

## APPENDIX F

### Referral Sources

### Referral Sources

If you feel discomfort related to having participated in this study, below is an online search engine for therapists in the event you want to speak with a professional.

<http://locator.apa.org>