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PORN SEX VS. REAL SEX: EXPLORING PORNOGRAPHY'S IMPACT ON SEXUAL
BEHAVIORS, ATTITUDES, AND RELATIONSHIPS

by

STACY GORMAN

Under the Direction of Wendy Simonds

ABSTRACT

For over forty years, researchers, activists, and policymakers have questioned how, if at all, pornography affects its viewers. Previous research has focused on how pornography relates to many factors including sexual risks, sexual permissiveness, violence, rape myth acceptance, and sexual behaviors. Much of this research, though, has been unable to identify the direction of the relationship between viewing sexually explicit material and various sexual attitudes and behaviors, and rarely studies a sample that is representative of the U.S. adult population. Instead, much of the research on pornography has relied on college student samples or other convenience samples. My study addresses these gaps by exploring a wide range of sexual behaviors and attitudes through surveying a sample of respondents who participate in online survey research

panels. By accessing online survey panels, researchers are able to specify the demographics they would like their particular sample to reflect. For this study, a sample has been selected to reflect the U.S. population on age, race, and gender. To better assess the directionality of the relationship between exposure to sexually explicit material and respondents' sexual behaviors and attitudes, I have included several closed-ended items that may help to better identify the temporal order of these variables. Additionally, I have used open-ended questions to provide a more in-depth account of respondents' perceptions of pornography and how it relates to their sexual behaviors and relationships. Findings suggest that not only are there correlations between viewing pornography and the sexual acts participants engage in and find arousing, but that the material individuals are exposed to may be shaping their behaviors and attitudes. I discuss the quantitative findings in relation to respondents' qualitative remarks within the context of sexual scripts theory.

INDEX WORDS: Pornography, Sex, Internet, Sexually explicit material

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STACY GORMAN

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2014

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Stacy Gorman
2014

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography in 1968 initiated the first major studies to explore how pornography impacts its viewers (Byrne & Kelley 1984). The findings from these works ultimately suggested that pornography was not harmful to society and so restrictions on such material should be few (Malamuth 1984). Even after the findings from this report were released, many, including researchers, were skeptical that pornography had so few implications for individuals or for society. Psychologists were among the first researchers to further add to this body of research, often using an experimental approach that involved exposing participants to pornography in a lab setting and then measuring the various effects on behavior (see Byrne & Kelley 1984). Results from these studies were consistent with the President's Commission and showed negligible effects. Still unconvinced, researchers continued to explore pornography's impact, this time with more emphasis on exposure over time and the viewing of aggressive sexually explicit material.

Psychologists have devised experiments to measure pornography's impact in various ways, including using self-reports and physiological assessments such as penile tumescence, blood pressure, and vaginal vasocongestion. These first experiments focused on the impact of sexually explicit materials on sexual arousal, finding, as expected, that pornography arouses its viewers (Malamuth 1984). Researchers then sought to determine whether pornography impacts the behaviors and attitudes of viewers. Quite often these experiments involved exposing participants to pornography and then measuring their attitudes by self-report or creating a setting in which behavior was measured through participants' interactions with confederates. Because the Commission

on Obscenity and Pornography did not fully explore the effects of viewing aggressive sexual material, researchers were particularly interested in how aggressive and violent pornography might impact behavior differently from non-aggressive pornography.

Findings from studies of aggressive pornography varied, with some indicating that exposure to violent sexually explicit material had negative effects on participants' attitudes and behaviors. Other studies suggested little impact. At the same time that these studies of violent sexual material were occurring, some second wave feminists started speaking out against pornography. Two camps emerged among feminists – those who were against pornography and those who were against censorship. Anti-censorship feminists did not support degrading or violent pornography, but they also were not in favor of using the law to censor such material. Anti-pornography feminists believed that pornography was harmful to women, specifically because of its potential to lead to violence. Robin Morgan explained that, “Pornography is the theory, rape the practice” (Morgan 1994:92). Anti-pornography feminists and researchers made distinctions between the terms “pornography” and “erotica.” Pornography was the material that had the potential for harm while erotica was sexually explicit material that was neither violent nor aggressive; it did not degrade women or show them as unequal to men. Pornography was clearly a problem, and for anti-porn feminist activists, it needed to be stopped. Academic researchers seemed to agree that there was the potential for harm but did not necessarily see censorship as the best solution. Instead, psychologists continued their work in this particular area, many wondering about the role of more frequent or repeated exposure to pornography.

Repeated exposure studies often made use of multiple incidents of exposure to pornography in a lab setting, followed by some kind of measure of behavior or attitudes. While researchers were not completely unaware that where participants viewed pornography (a lab setting or in private, for instance) might have an effect, many studies continued to take an experimental approach with exposure occurring under the control of the researcher. Experiments involving repeated exposure indicated changes in respondents' attitudes toward pornography, their perceptions about the commonness of certain sexual practices, and attitudes of sexual callousness and rape myth acceptance.

More recently, studies of pornography tend to use surveys or even qualitative methods such as interviews, rather than experimental designs. One reason for this may be that it is not difficult to create samples that include individuals with various levels of exposure to pornography. Technology clearly plays a role in that pornography is readily available via the Internet. Cooper's (2002) theory, the "triple A engine effect," probably best explains the proliferation of pornography today. The internet has helped make pornography accessible, affordable, and anonymous. If an individual has internet access, they also have access to pornography. Pornography online is inexpensive and often free, and also more appealing because individuals perceive their access of it to be anonymous. While it is possible for an individual's computer use to be tracked in various ways, accessing pornography online is less public or more anonymous than purchasing or renting pornography from a public location such as a store or newsstand. Even pornography available on cable television may not be free, as affordable and accessible, or anonymously purchased. With such ease of access, more and more individuals are viewing pornography online.

While psychological experiments dominated much of pornography research in the 1970s and 1980s, others have criticized that experimental designs are a poor way to study the effect of pornography (Ciclitira 2002). A laboratory setting cannot create the context in which most individuals use pornography, nor the situations or emotions that one might experience after exposure in everyday life. For other researchers and, at first, especially those outside of the area of psychology, qualitative methods like interviews and even focus groups became a better choice for sex research. These methods, however, are still not often used to explore how individuals use pornography and the effects of such use (Ciclitira 2002).

From the 1990s to the present, researchers have used surveys to correlate pornography use and behaviors as well as attitudes and beliefs, like sexual permissiveness and rape myth acceptance. Much like the samples in experimental research, survey samples are usually convenience samples, often comprised of college students. While important information can be learned from college student samples, there is still much diversity unaccounted for. Few studies have addressed how pornography impacts non-violent sexual behaviors, especially among individuals who are not college students. Much of the focus of pornography researchers up to this point includes experiments that test immediate effects of exposure to pornography (Fisher and Grenier 1994; Malamuth 1981; Zillmann and Bryant 1982), surveys on violent sexual behaviors and attitudes (Buzzell 2005; Carr and VanDeusen 2004; Chapleau, Oswald, and Russell 2007; Carroll et al. 2008; Cowan 1992; Davies 1997; Morgan 2011; Weinberg et al. 2010), and content analyses of pornographic material (Barron and Kimmel 2000; Cowan and Campbell 1994; Gossett and Byrne 2002; Russell 1998).

Little research, however, has addressed how pornography may influence the type of sexual acts that one finds desirable, if this varies by race, gender, or sexual identity, and whether the sexual acts that one performs or expects in sexual relationships are related to the sensationalized images most often found in pornographic material.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE FIELD

For at least the last 40 years, researchers have studied the link between pornography use and sexual behaviors, attitudes, and aggression. With increased access to pornography on the Internet, the answers to these questions are even less clear. My study aims to further identify whether and how pornography is related to these other variables but does so by addressing several gaps in the field. First, few studies are of nationally representative samples. While the sample for this project is not a probability sample, I have taken steps to gather the most diverse sample available with the help of more recent technological developments that make acquiring online sample panels a more affordable option. I have also included measures in the survey that can be used for comparisons to other studies with probability samples; this will be useful for identifying how closely my sample matches actual samples that are nationally representative and generalizable to the larger population.

While there are some studies currently available with representative samples that ask questions about sexual behavior and pornography use, few ask detailed questions about pornography use, behaviors, and attitudes, while also sampling broadly. Studies with nationally representative samples, like the General Social Survey or National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior include items that measure aspects of sexual behavior and pornography use, but they are not able to capture the detailed aspects of sexual behavior

that my study addresses. This is not necessarily a limitation of these studies but simply a result of a different focus. With the vast array of pornographic material available, much of it due to the availability, accessibility, and affordability of pornography on the Internet (Cooper 2002), I aim to identify whether the viewing of various types of sexual acts is at all correlated with the type of acts in which respondents report engaging (or wishing to engage) or that they find arousing. I hope to better understand whether there is a correlation between the material people watch and their behaviors, or if it is possible or even common for individuals to enjoy watching certain material without an interest in also replicating what they see. This is after all one of the greater conflicts surrounding the pornography debate, or even media in general. Do the images that people see or interact with influence their behavior, and is this effect a negative or positive one?

Researchers that have included similar measures of behavior as I include on my survey are not completely absent from the literature. Mine is not the first to ask about such a variety of specific sexual behaviors, but it is one of the first to also do so with a larger and more diverse sample. This is also the case for researchers that have used similar measures of sexual attitudes, pornography use, and sexual aggression. Moreover, I have included qualitative questions that can provide more in depth information from participants about their own pornography use and sexual relationships. Again, including open ended questions similar to these in quantitative studies of pornography and sexual behaviors is not necessarily new, but has mostly been done in studies of traditional-aged (18 to 22-year-old) college students.

College students are often the focus of studies on pornography use and behavior because of their availability to researchers. This means, however, that much less is

known about the pornography use and sexual behaviors of individuals who are outside of traditional college age, less educated, or of a different socioeconomic status. Using an online sampling strategy, I am able to reach a population that has often been unavailable to other researchers, but especially those who rely on samples made up of college students. Through asking specific questions about one's interests in types of sexually explicit material, the behaviors one finds arousing, and attitudes toward pornography and sexuality, I attempt to learn more about the ways that media and sexuality are associated. Ultimately, this study hopes to offer a greater understanding of the ways in which the increasing availability of sexually explicit material plays a role in U.S. adults' sexual lives and relationships.

SUMMARY

In this chapter I have provided an overview of pornography research and identified the goals of the study to address gaps in the field. In Chapter Two, I review more in depth the literature on pornography in two major sections: adolescents' use of porn and adults' use of porn. Chapter Two also presents Gagnon and Simon's sexual scripts theory and explains how previous research has applied it to the study of pornography. Chapter Three describes the methods for this study, including the sample and survey instrument. In chapters four through six, I review the results of the study. Chapter Four presents the descriptive results to measures of pornography use, frequency of sexual behaviors, and sexual attitudes. In Chapter Five I answer the five research questions using correlations and regression analyses. I review the responses to the open-ended questions in Chapter Six, and in Chapter Seven discuss the quantitative and qualitative findings together.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTERNET PORNOGRAPHY AND PORNOGRAPHY USE

According to Ropelato (2006), in the United States, pornography is a \$13 billion industry. Internet pornography is the most popular format, with the largest pornography website claiming 4.4 billion viewers per month (Anthony 2012). The amount of time that individuals spend on porn sites compared to non-porn sites varies, with users on porn sites spending an average of 15 to 20 minutes, while the amount of time spent on a non-porn site may only be from 3-6 minutes, such is the case with news websites. It is estimated that of all the data transferred across the Internet, pornography consists of up to 30% of it. Pornography is clearly readily available for anyone who has Internet access.

Studies consistently show that users of pornography are more likely to be men, and men are also more likely than women to have accepting or positive attitudes toward pornography (Beaver and Paul 2011; Carroll et al. 2008). Not only do men have different attitudes toward and use of pornography than women, but there are also differences in who has access to the Internet, and how often and why they go online. Using the General Social Survey of 2000, Wasserman and Richmond-Abbott (2005) found that who had access to the Internet did not vary by gender but was correlated with race, age, income, education, and marital status. African Americans and those living in rural areas were less likely to have access to the Internet, compared to their white and urban counterparts. Respondents' frequency of Internet usage varied by gender but not socioeconomic status. In addition to using the Internet more frequently, men were also more likely than women to visit financial, government, and sexually explicit sites.

As Internet access and use have increased, researchers have become more concerned about adolescents' exposure to pornography. For this reason, researchers distinguish between unwanted and wanted exposure, or exposure that one intentionally seeks out versus exposure that the adolescent user unintentionally accesses. Researchers focused on adolescent pornography use have found that boys are more likely to experience wanted exposure to sexually explicit material while girls' exposure is more often unwanted (Bleakley, Hennesy, and Fishbein 2011; Sabina, Wolak, and Finkelhor 2008; Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor 2007). These studies usually rely on self reporting, and so there is the potential that girls are also less likely to want to admit to intentional pornography use. In fact, Johansson and Hammaren's (2007) research found that girls reported that it is just as acceptable for girls to watch pornography as it is for boys, but at the same time, more girls reported that they found pornography degrading and were ashamed of watching it than boys.

Wolak, Mitchell, and Finkelhor (2007) found that for boys, both unwanted and wanted exposure increased with age. Girls reported lower rates of wanted exposure in all age categories than boys, with the highest percentage being 8% of girls 16-17 years old purposely seeking pornographic websites. In comparison, 30% of boys 16-17 years old reported wanted exposure to pornography. Additionally for girls, unwanted exposure to pornography also increased among age groups.

In a study that asked college students to reflect on their exposure to sexually explicit material prior to age 18, Sabina, Wolak, and Finkelhor (2008) found that over 90% of boys and 60% of girls had been exposed to pornography online. Involuntary exposure was more characteristic of girls than boys; boys were more likely than girls to

report having viewed pornography for sexual excitement. Boys were also more likely to have been exposed to extreme images such as sexual violence or sex between people and animals.

Adolescents also view various forms of pornography. Findings from a national sample of adolescents surveyed on their intentional seeking of sexually explicit material (SEM) suggest that they were most likely to look for sexual content in movies, TV, music, and pornographic web sites (Bleakley, Hennesy, and Fishbein 2011). Adolescents were least likely to look for it in pornographic magazines and other magazines or sexual health websites, podcasts, and chatrooms. Consistent with other studies, men were more likely to look for sexually explicit material than women. Respondents aged 16-18 who had ever engaged in sex were also more likely to seek out SEM than those who had not had sex, and this correlation was stronger for men than women.

The kinds of characteristics that might influence pornography use have also been of interest to researchers. Beaver and Paul (2011) explored various factors that may be related to use among college students, including gender, family structure, family income, academic achievement, religiosity, and alcohol consumption. Men were more likely to access pornography online compared to women, and they were also more likely to view this behavior as “normal.” Aside from gender, though, the only other factors that were correlated with online pornography use were alcohol consumption and viewing pornography in other formats.

While it is still not entirely clear why some individuals watch pornography and others do not, there is also little known about the kinds of material that viewers prefer. In one study that did attempt to address this issue, Paul (2009) categorized genres of

pornography using factor analysis. Categories of porn based on respondents' reported arousal from specific genres were created; specifically for men, three categories arose, which Paul called "standard fare," a more "specialized" category, and a "male focused" category. The standard fare included genres described as "hardcore," "group," "interracial," "barely legal," and lesbian pornography. The specialized category included pornography featuring "watersports," "shemales," and overweight individuals. Finally, the male focused category describes pornography featuring only males, or gay pornography. For females, only two categories emerged, "standard fare," which included similar categories as the men's standard fare, and "specialized," which was a combination of both the specialized and male focused genres found in the men's categories.

Identifying the kind of pornography that viewers are most interested in may have implications for researchers who focus on the behavioral effects of pornography.

PORNOGRAPHY AND VIOLENCE

Some of the first concerns of pornography researchers were how pornographic images impact violent behavior and attitudes toward women. Anti-pornography feminists have made major theoretical contributions to the study of pornography in this area. These contributions suggest that pornography is harmful and degrading to women because it primes men to objectify and even become violent toward women. Feminist theorists such as Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon are well known among feminists for their activism and attempts to censor pornography because of what they believed to be dangerous consequences of exposure to such images. For these feminists, pornography is defined as material that reduces women to body parts; includes objectification, degradation, or humiliation; or features scenarios of torture and injury

(Dworkin 2007). Dworkin and MacKinnon are also known for their proposal of the Dworkin/MacKinnon Civil Rights Anti-Pornography Ordinance, which would have made it possible to file “civil suits for sex discrimination by those who can prove harm through pornography” (MacKinnon and Dworkin 2007:121). The City Council of Indianapolis passed the ordinance but the U.S. Supreme Court overturned it (West 2013).

Other anti-pornography feminist work includes that of Diana E. H. Russell (1998) who proposes that pornography and erotica must first be distinguished and defined separately. Russell acknowledges that erotica is not the same as pornography, and some anti-pornography feminists who are against pornography are very much in favor of erotica. Russell (1998:3) defines pornography as “material that combines sex and/or the exposure of genitals with abuse or degradation in a manner that appears to endorse, condone, or encourage such behavior.” On the other hand, erotica is “sexually suggestive or arousing material that is free of sexism, racism, and homophobia and is respectful of all human beings and animals portrayed” (Russell, 1998:3). Russell’s definition of pornography does not specify women as the only potential victims of that kind of material, suggesting that men may also be harmed by pornography. She does, however, go on to acknowledge that generally it is women who are most often degraded or abused in pornography in the U.S., and that exposure to material that meets her definition of porn may be a cause of rape.

Russell (1998: 122) does not suggest that pornography is the only cause of rape, but that it “can be a sufficient (though not a *necessary*) condition for males to desire to rape.” There are four factors that Russell identifies as stemming from pornography exposure that may be causally related to rape. First, pornography may predispose men to

want to rape because of violent images that are sexualized, by promoting rape fantasies, by sexualizing dominance and submission, and by creating a desire for more explicit or stronger material. Pornography may also contradict the internal inhibitions that already prevent men from raping through various factors such as exposing viewers to images of women being objectified, trivializing rape, and promoting rape myths and callousness towards women. In addition to the undermining of internal inhibitions, pornography also has the ability to contradict social inhibitions that prevent rape by decreasing men's fear of social sanctions and disapproval from others. Russell also suggests that pornography can have an effect that makes it difficult for women to avoid rape. Through exposure to pornography, Russell states that women are more likely to believe certain sex acts are "normal" and engage in them even when they do not want to. Additionally, Russell also points out that women performing in pornography are often victims of rape, because the acts taking place may not be consensual.

Influenced by these and other similar theories of pornography causing harm, researchers have used various methods to determine whether there is a correlation between pornography use and sexual violence, or often specifically rape. Experiments attempt to identify a causal link between exposure to pornography during a particular study and the respondents' attitudes and behaviors afterwards (Donnerstein, Berkowitz, & Linz 1986; Fisher & Grenier 1994; Malamuth & Check 1980; Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach 1980; Malamuth, Reisin, & Spinner 1979; Milburn, Mather, & Conrad 2000; Zillmann & Bryant 1982, 1984). While experiments can test for causal relationships, in the study of pornography, many of the results have been conflicting (Linz 1989). Donnerstein, Berkowitz, and Linz (1986) have shown that exposure both to violent

pornographic and violent nonpornographic material had an effect on respondents' attitudes toward rape myths. Malamuth and Check (1980), however, suggest that the correlation to rape myth acceptance was only found when participants were exposed to material that depicted rape as arousing; there was no correlation to rape myth acceptance when participants were exposed to material that portrayed mutually desired sex or material that depicted rape as abhorrent. At the same time, other experiments, such as those of Malamuth, Reisin, and Spinner (1979) indicated that exposure to violent sexually explicit material had little influence on attitudes toward rape.

As Boyle (2000) explains, the experimental approach to determine how pornography influences behavior overlooks important elements of pornography use that are not recreated in a lab setting. More specifically, when individuals watch pornography out of the lab, they usually do so to masturbate (Boyle 2000). To expose participants to pornography and then test their reactions ignores the fact that exposure to sexually explicit material does not generally occur in controlled settings. Instead, exposure to sexually explicit material occurs over time, and it is this exposure over time that will most likely have an effect on the viewer's attitudes and behaviors.

Some researchers have attempted to account for this longitudinal effect, but in most cases these attempts only extend exposure from a one-time setting to exposure over several days or weeks (Linz, Donnertsein, & Penrod 1988; Malamuth & Centi 1986; Padgett & Brislin-Slutz 1989; Zillmann & Bryant 1982; 1984). Zillmann and Bryant (1982) looked at differences between "massive exposure," "intermediate exposure," and "no exposure" to pornography. Researchers exposed students to films at one setting per week over the course of six weeks. "Massive exposure" consisted of about 48 minutes of

pornographic films per session; after six weeks this totaled almost 5 hours of exposure. “Intermediate exposure” equated to about 2 hours and 30 minutes of exposure, and the “no exposure” group saw only non-erotic films. Zillmann and Bryant (1982) determined that compared to intermediate and no exposure groups, massive exposure resulted in men reporting more callousness towards women, and both men and women overestimating the frequency with which people engage in various sexual activities (including oral sex, anal sex, sadomasochism, and group sex), as well as approving of more lenient punishments for rapists. Similar to short-term exposure studies, overall there are mixed results, with some indicating evidence for negative effects of pornography (Zillmann & Bryant 1982) and others finding very few differences between exposure to violent material and non-violent material (Malamuth & Centi 1986; Padgett & Brislin-Slutz 1989).

Attempts to correlate porn usage and violent behavior have not been limited to experimental settings. Researchers have also looked at how exposure to pornography and sexually degrading images influence violent attitudes or self-reports of violent behavior through surveys (Davies 1997; Milburn, Mather, & Conrad 2000). Similar to experimental research, though, results are conflicting. Milburn Mather, & Conrad (2000) determined that exposure to video clips they identified as sexually degrading negatively impacted men and women’s attitudes toward rape, while Davies’ (1997) work suggests that there is no association for men between viewing pornography and attitudes that are tolerant of rape. Other work has suggested that perhaps pornography plays a role in sexually aggressive attitudes, but in combination with other factors (Busch, Bell, Hotaling, & Monto 2002; Carr & VanDeusen 2004; Monto & Hotaling 2001).

PORNOGRAPHY AND BEHAVIOR

Adolescents

More recently, researchers have focused on behavioral effects of pornography, including within sexual relationships and especially among children and teenagers. Because Internet pornography is so prevalent, researchers have explored how both wanted and unwanted pornography exposure affects adolescents. Flood (2009) suggests that pornography may be particularly harmful for young children and adolescents because it “shows a much higher degree of sexual explicitness (by definition) than other sexual media,” and because its “content is arguably more sexist and hostile towards women than other sexual media content” (386-387).

Researchers exploring the connections between adolescent exposure to pornography and their sexual behaviors tend to focus on risky sexual practices, condom usage, age at first intercourse, and the contracting of sexually transmitted infections (Braun-Corville and Rojas 2009; Flood 2009; Luder et al. 2011; Ybarra and Mitchell 2005). Kjellgren, Priebe, Svedin, and Langstrom (2010) found correlations between sexual coercion and conduct problems in male adolescents and the sexual attitudes and behaviors in which they engage; their findings suggest that frequent pornography use and watching violent pornography were more prevalent among adolescents with conduct problems and sexually coercive adolescents than those who did not have conduct problems and were not sexually coercive. A higher number of lifetime partners is related to pornography use among male and female adolescents (Braun-Corville and Rojas 2009; Luder et al. 2011). Adolescents who use pornography are also younger at the first time of

intercourse (Johansson & Hammarén 200), and have higher rates of engaging in oral and anal sex (Braun-Corville and Rojas 2009; Johansson & Hammarén 2007).

Many of the studies on adolescent pornography use have taken place outside of the U.S, including among Swiss, Swedish, Taiwanese, and Italian adolescents (Bonino, Ciairano, Rabaglietti, & Cattelino 2006; Häggström-Nordin, Hanson, and Tydén 2005; Johansson & Hammarén 2007; Kjellgren, Priebe, Svedin, & Långström 2010; Lo & Wei 2005; Luder et al. 2011). Häggström-Nordin, Hanson, and Tydén's (2005) study gives an overview of pornography use of Swedish adolescents, including who views pornography, the type they reported viewing, their attitudes about the effects of pornography, and specific sexual behaviors that correlated with pornography consumption. The majority of the sample had consumed pornography (86%) and the most common sources were the Internet and cable TV. Researchers also asked the teens how they would categorize the pornography they watched and how often they view it – “soft porn” was the most common at 58%, followed by “hard porn” (31%), and finally “violent porn” (3%); it is unclear how, though, how these types of porn were defined. Seventy-one percent believed that porn influenced other people's behaviors but only 29% believed they had been influenced by pornography; respondents were not asked about whether they believed that specific types or categories of pornography were more or less likely to impact viewers. In this study, respondents were identified as either “high consumers” or “low consumers of porn,” based on whether they watched pornography every day or every week (high consumers) or a few times a month or less (low consumers). Within these categories for males, high consumers were more likely to report being aroused by the idea of acting out something they had seen in pornography,

engaging in anal sex, and having sex with a friend (someone they were not in a romantic relationship with). Because so few women (2%) reported viewing pornography frequently, there was not a comparison category of female high consumers. Between male high consumers and low consumers, there were no background differences with the exception of age at first intercourse; high consuming males reported engaging in intercourse for the first time at an earlier age. Of those who had engaged in anal sex, men were more likely to report having a positive experience whereas women more often reported having negative experiences.

Other Swedish researchers have looked more specifically at women's use of pornography among adolescents and young adults (Johansson & Hammarén 2007; Rogala & Tyden 2003). Johansson & Hammarén's study (2007) asked about usage and attitudes toward pornography among men and women aged 15-18 years old. While women were more likely to have negative responses to pornography than men, this study does indicate that more women reported finding it arousing compared to previous studies, that women believed they have just as much right as men to watch pornography, and that almost half of women reported only seldom or never feeling ashamed of watching pornographic videos. There were also attitudinal differences between those who had seen pornography and those who had not, including more positive attitudes about body image, more acceptance of sex without love, and less shame of masturbation for both male and female respondents who had viewed pornography.

Pornography rarely depicts condom usage, which then may have an impact on whether viewers of pornography also choose to use condoms. Among Swedish adolescents and adult women, research suggests that condom usage for oral and anal sex

is low (Rogala & Tyden's 2003), but it is unclear if this is related to pornography use. Swiss adolescents who intentionally viewed pornography were more likely to have had early first sexual intercourse (before the age of 15), four or more sexual partners, and to have not used a condom during their last sexual intercourse than teens who had never been exposed to pornography or who had unwanted exposure to pornography (Luder et al. 2011). Compared to adolescents who had never been exposed to pornography, those who had unwanted exposure were also less likely to have used a condom at last sexual intercourse. This suggests that whether the exposure is intentional or unintentional, pornography use may contribute to risky sexual behaviors among adolescents.

In a study of African American girls, Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, Davies, Hook, and Oh (2001) found that exposure to X-rated movies was correlated with negative attitudes toward condom use, a greater likelihood of not having used contraceptives at the time of last intercourse, and also not having used contraceptives within the last 6 months. Similarly, Braun-Corville and Rojas (2009) found that teens who had been exposed to sexually explicit websites were more likely to engage in what they identify as risky sexual behaviors, including having more multiple lifetime partners, using alcohol at their last sexual encounter, and having ever engaged in anal sex. Visiting sexually explicit sites, however, did not influence the likelihood of condom use, engaging in prostitution, or having contracted sexually transmitted infections. Their findings also suggest that sexually explicit sites are easily accessible to adolescents, and more than 50% of those in their sample had accessed such sites. Additionally, the more frequent the exposure to sexually explicit material, the more permissive the adolescents' attitudes toward sex.

Flood (2009) suggests that studies have also found correlations between pornography use and sexual violence or acceptance of sexual violence among adolescents. Bonino, Ciairano, Rabaglietti, Cattelino (2006) address this question in their study of Italian high school students to determine whether students who had viewed pornography (in magazine or video format) had also engaged in sexually violent behavior. They first identify two forms of violence: active and passive. Active violence was defined as sexually harassing a peer or forcing someone to have sex with them, and passive violence identified whether students had been sexually harassed or forced to have sex by a peer. Girls were more likely to have experienced passive violence while boys were more likely to engage in active violence and view pornography. Ultimately, their findings suggest that viewing pornographic magazines and videos was correlated with participating in active violence.

While much research has focused on whether there are correlations between pornography use in adolescence and behaviors and attitudes, others have proposed that there may be psychosocial factors that contribute to pornography use. Ybarra and Mitchell (2005) found that sexual and physical abuse, substance use, delinquent behavior, and indicators of depression were significantly more common among those who intentionally sought pornography online. Through their analysis, though, it is not possible to determine whether adolescents who viewed pornography were more likely to develop these characteristics as a result of use or if these characteristics led to pornography use. The authors speculate that certain characteristics, like depression, may contribute to an adolescent's seeking of pornography online, rather than pornography influencing depression.

Adults

It is not only adolescents who are impacted by exposure to pornography, but researchers have explored its effects on adults as well. Attention has been given to how pornography affects relationships, commitment and fidelity, sexual behaviors such as condom use and number of lifetime partners, sexual violence, and sexual satisfaction (Butler, Holm, and Ferraro 2011; Carroll et al. 2008; Daneback, Træen, and Månsson 2009; Lambert, Negash, Stillman, Olmstead, Fincham 2012; Poulsen and Busby 2013; Štulhofer, Buško, and Landripet 2010; Wright 2012; Wright and Randall 2012). Much of the research on adult pornography use has included college student samples or samples that were obtained online. When gender is a primary focus, it is usually men who are studied, but more recently researchers have started to look more closely at how women perceive pornography and their attitudes toward various sexually explicit materials.

Senn's (1993) work suggests that women hold one of four different perspectives toward pornography: the "radical feminist," "conservative," "humanist-child-centered," and the "ambivalent but mildly propornography" stance. The radical feminist perspective includes both women who identify as feminists and those who do not. Women whom Senn identified in her sample as holding a radical feminist perspective about pornography have a shared dislike of porn and believe that it is violent and portrays women negatively. The conservative perspective is also anti-pornography, but unlike radical feminists, these women think that all sexually explicit material is pornographic. Women in the humanist-child centered category do not like pornography, believe that it may be harmful, but tend to have men in their lives who use it and are glad that they do not have to participate in viewing or replicating behaviors that their partners see in pornography. They also report

being more concerned about how pornography affects children, both as potential participants and users. According to Senn, women who fit into the ambivalent but mildly propornography category haven't really thought a lot about pornography or used it, but for the most part the experiences that these women have had with pornography are not negative. While Senn's work presents a range of attitudes that the women participants in her research held toward pornography, it is interesting to note that she does not identify a category for women who enjoy or use pornography similarly to how other studies have described men's use and enjoyment of pornography. As pornography becomes more acceptable and more easily accessible through the Internet, it seems unlikely that these four categories can fully represent women's attitudes and viewing habits of sexually explicit materials.

Ciclitira (2004) interviewed women about their use of and attitudes toward pornography, finding that feelings of guilt were quite prevalent. Many of the women in her sample identified as feminists and some made connections between feminism and their stance on porn. Some expressed ambivalence about pornography; these women reported enjoying porn but also knew there could be negative aspects to pornography production. Ultimately, for these women there were feelings of guilt associated with identifying as a feminist but also acknowledging that one was aroused by or enjoyed pornography.

Taking into account these feelings of guilt, Parvez (2006) suggested that women's perspective on the actual work and workers within pornography videos would influence how female viewers felt about pornography. Through interviews with thirty women who viewed pornography, Parvez (2006) found that while these women used and enjoyed

pornography, they also felt ambivalent for two reasons: 1) they questioned the authenticity of pleasure as portrayed by female actresses, as well as the actresses' overall wellbeing in the film, and 2) women who had had experiences of violence reported more sensitivity to scenes that involved coercion.

Not only have women reported various levels of enjoyment or dislike of pornography, but researchers also suggest that women evaluate sexually explicit material differently from how men do. Eck's (2003) study explored how gender influences interpretations of nude images found in medical texts, pornographic magazines, art books, and mainstream magazines. Eck found that men are more likely to judge the images with comments about how attractive the woman in the picture is, whereas women are more likely to make comparisons between themselves and the model. Women's comparisons indicate that they wished their bodies resembled the models more. When shown an image of a heavier woman, the women tended to report that they found her unattractive, but that they saw themselves in her as well. This evaluating of same sex nude images was found to be specific to women; men claimed that they were not able to comment on men's bodies because they had no opinion about them, unlike women's bodies, which they would identify as attractive or unattractive.

While women's negative attitudes toward pornography are often most closely related to an anti-pornography feminist perspective, this is not the perspective that all women have toward pornography. In fact, the anti-pornography feminist perspective is more characteristic of second wave feminism and may not best represent the attitudes toward pornography that women, whether feminists or not, currently hold. Third wave feminists emphasized a sex positive ideology, suggesting that pornography and other

forms of sex work can be empowering for women. As Corsianos (2007) points out, this is more likely to be the case if the pornography produced challenges the mainstream ideals of female beauty that one normally finds in porn. Feminist erotica, for instance, is one kind of pornography that diverges from more mainstream porn that is generally marketed toward men and is more likely to objectify women. Candida Royale's (2007) company is one that works to create pornography that appeals to women and portrays them in non-degrading and non-exploitative ways. However, even Royale (2007) admits that much of her porn has been on the "softer" side to attract women, and that she does have an interest in making films that, as she describes, are "edgier."

More recent feminist work criticizes the anti-pornography feminist movement for holding a position similar to conservatives and so creating an alliance between two otherwise very opposing groups on many other issues. Third wave feminists suggest that anti-pornography feminists do not take into account that there is pornography that does not objectify women, such as pornography where women are dominant characters. Additionally, Frug (2007:262) suggests that not all porn users want to reproduce exactly what they see and instead may view it as fantasy or use it "to transform their lives by a more complicated reaction than simple imitation."

One such example of using pornography in a transformative way is discussed by Hooijer (2002), who describes using pornography to experience sexual pleasure that otherwise is not easily accessible to her due to a medical condition. Hooijer's work in *Jane Sexes It Up* supports the third wave pro-pornography stance, and she admits that some of what she watches may be sexist, but because of how she uses it, she is "mak[ing] porn feminist" (273). She further explains that, "Pro-sex feminists promote bad-girl sex,

the kind without love and commitment with or without partners, definitely *with* porn, the kind that guarantees no strings attached grrrl powered orgasms” (Hooijer 2002:275).

Here, the idea is that pornography can be empowering and sexually satisfying for women, not degrading and objectifying as anti-porn feminists suggest.

Despite the contributions of third wave feminists who promote pornography as empowering for women, other researchers who study marriage and the family suggest that there are negative consequences to pornography use. Lambert, Negash, Stillman, Olmstead, and Fincham (2012) explored how pornography consumption influences commitment to one’s partner in romantic relationships among college students. The overall results of five different studies they did suggest that viewing pornography does influence one’s level of commitment. More specifically, two of the studies addressed how pornography use influenced extradyadic behavior, ranging from flirting to infidelity. Similarly, using data from the RELATionship Evaluation questionnaire project, Poulsen, Busby, and Galovan (2013) found that men’s use of pornography had a negative impact on the sexual quality of relationships. More specifically, sexual quality was measured by how satisfied respondents reported their experiences of physical intimacy to be and how frequently intimacy was a problem in their relationships. At the same time though, this study found that couples’ use of pornography (when both partners used porn rather than just one) was related to higher sexual quality.

Other work has explored how the type of pornography consumed might impact level of commitment in romantic relationships. Štulhofer, Buško, and Landripet (2010) compared the sexual behaviors of Croatian men who used “mainstream” and “paraphilic” sexually explicit material. For this study, paraphilic SEM included images of

sadomasochism and bondage and discipline, fetishism, bestiality, and violent or coercive sex. Results indicated that paraphilic pornography viewers reported more sexual boredom and more dissatisfaction in their relationships compared to viewers of mainstream pornography.

While these studies have focused on the presumed negative impacts of pornography, others have either found little impact or asked whether there might also be benefits to pornography use in relationships (Butler, Holm, and Ferraro 2011; Daneback, Træen, and Månsson 2009). In Daneback, Træen, and Månsson's (2009) study, couples were asked about their use of pornography to enhance their sex life. Specific to online pornography, most couples had not used pornography, but individually, 32% of men reported watching online porn and 2% of women reported having done so. A little less than half (43%) of the men respondents indicated that their partner knew about their use of online pornography, 29% said their partner did not know, and 28% did not know if their partner knew. For women, almost 60% of their partners knew, 27% did not, and 14% were unsure if their partner knew. The authors suggest that because most couples reported not using porn, "use of pornography is not part of the sexual script guiding sexual conduct in Norwegian heterosexual couples" (751). This does not necessarily mean, though, that one person within a heterosexual couple is viewing pornography with little or no effect on the couple's relationship. In fact, couples where one person used pornography and the other did not reported more dysfunctions in their sexual relationships. As the authors suggest, one possible explanation for this is that the use of pornography could be influencing dysfunction. At the same time though, this study

found that couples who use pornography reported more communication than couples that did not view pornography.

While many researchers propose that pornography impacts relationships and mental health and well-being, few studies have asked participants their thoughts on whether pornography has impacted them and in what ways. In one study that did just this, researchers sought to determine whether respondents felt their viewing of pornography was problematic in various ways, such as having feelings of guilt or shame, experiencing psychological or spiritual problems, or having problems with family or significant others. Depending on the type of problem, a range of 20% to 60% of male respondents felt their viewing was somehow problematic (Twohig, Crosby, & Cox 2009). Respondents reported psychological/spiritual problems and behavior outcomes, including damaged relationships and problems at work or school as most problematic. Increased viewing, though, did not result in an increase in problems. While still an under-researched area, there is some evidence to suggest that viewing pornography contributes to negative psychological and behavioral issues. Weaver et al. (2011) found that respondents who used sexually explicit material were more likely to report depression and poorer physical and mental health.

Contrary to the negative effects that Twohig, Crosby, and Cox's (2009) sample reported, a study of Danish men and women's self-perceived effects of pornography revealed that overall, men and women found hardcore pornography to have more positive than negative effects (Hald & Malamuth 2008). For both women and men, the more one consumed pornography, the greater one thought the positive effects to be. Rogala and Tyden (2003) found that 80% of the women in their sample aged 14 to 24 believed that

they and others were influenced by pornography. Of qualitative comments that described how pornography impacted the respondent, 53% were coded as positive comments and 27% as negative. Positive comments included ideas about learning new positions and prompting one to try new things while negative comments alluded to pornography as unnatural or putting pressure on one's own sexual performance. Women in this study also believed that pornography impacted others and gave examples of how, with 19% of the comments being positive and 66% as negative. Positive comments were similar to what women thought to be the benefits of pornography in their own lives: that it provided new ideas or things to try in one's personal relationships. Negative comments indicated that women thought that teens and especially men or boys might get the wrong impression from pornography about what sex looks like or what women like sexually.

A study of Swedish women found similar results to those of Rogala and Tyden (2003). Löfgren-Mårtenson and Månsson (2010) found that some women expressed concern that a partner might be disappointed if a couple were to first view pornography and then have sex. Similar to Eck's (2003) work, these women also reported being influenced by the type of bodies displayed in pornography; some reported worrying about their bodies not meeting their partners' expectations and expressed insecurity. They also were concerned that men would want to engage in acts they saw in pornography, like anal sex. Interestingly, contrary to what the women respondents thought about men's reactions to pornography, men respondents in this study suggested that they did not want to try everything they saw in pornography and that they were able to differentiate between sex in real life and what is displayed in pornography. Overall, most respondents

agreed that pornography does have an impact, but that it does not extend into psychological harm for most people.

There have been some studies that have addressed whether pornography is psychologically harmful for viewers, most of which have focused on aspects of depression, pornography addiction, sexual compulsivity, impulsivity, and whether the respondent finds their viewing problematic (Perrin et al. 2008; Wetterneck, Burgess, Short, Smith, & Cervantes 2012; Weaver et al. 2011). Weaver et al. (2011) concluded that respondents who used sexually explicit material were more likely to report depression and poorer physical and mental health. A study of college students found that of those who used internet pornography, almost a third believed their use was problematic, and those who thought their use was problematic viewed pornography more frequently than those who did not believe their use to be a problem (Wetterneck, Burgess, Short, Smith, & Cervantes 2012). Some have suggested that problematic use of pornography can lead to addiction, which then may impact behavior (Paul 2005; Perrin et al. 2008). Ultimately, while there may be some research to indicate that pornography impacts mental health, this area is still under-researched.

PORNOGRAPHY, BEHAVIOR AND SEXUAL SCRIPTS

Gagnon's and Simon's theory of sexual scripts has been applied to the study of pornography by sociologists and other researchers as a way to understand how pornography influences behavior and how individuals learn to participate in sexual relationships. Unlike anti-porn feminist theory, sexual scripts theory acknowledges that our sexual interactions are socially constructed and that "without the proper elements of a script that defines the situation, names the actors, and plots the behavior, nothing sexual

is likely to happen” (Gagnon and Simon 2011:13). Many of the situations played out in pornography are sexual because they already belong to a society’s sexual script, but also because sexual scripts allow us to navigate new situations (Gagnon and Simon 2011).

As the social scripting approach suggests, “the sexual is not viewed as an intrinsically independent or universally significant aspect of human conduct” (Simon and Gagnon 1987:363). Instead, it occurs at three different levels, through cultural scenarios, interpersonal scripts, and intrapsychic scripts. Cultural scenarios are those scripts that are generally accepted by society as appropriate and are constructed outside of the individual. Interpersonal scripts allow for the sexual conduct between individuals to occur and are based on cultural scenarios. Intrapsychic scripting provides the motivation for sexual behavior for an individual. Interpersonal scripts then occur because of a society’s cultural scenarios but also in order to meet the needs of intrapsychic scripting.

The sexual script approach suggests that interpersonal relationships are based on larger cultural scripts, but that there also can be individual variation. Larger cultural scripts then include the acts and behaviors that one is familiar with through various interactions, including viewing pornography. While sexual scripts do vary, as Štulhofer, Buško, and Landripet (2010:169-170) explain, “The theory allows for variations and innovations in sexual scripting, but postulates, nonetheless, that only a limited number of scripts are commonly pursued within a certain (sub)culture (Simon & Gagnon, 1999).” It is possible for women and men to find some types of pornography appealing and others less so. It is also possible that the kind of sexually explicit material one is exposed to has an influence on the kinds of behaviors in which one wishes to engage.

Applying a sexual scripting approach to understand how pornography influences sexual behavior should identify the cultural scenarios that are most common in pornography, and then ask respondents about behaviors that they desire to engage in and those in which they have actually engaged. This research should include both men and women, in order to best understand how interpersonal scripting plays out and is influenced both by cultural scenarios and intrapsychic scripting. Some important research on pornography has attempted to understand men's attitudes and behaviors as a result of pornography (including Davies 1997, Fisher and Grenier 1994; Malamuth 1981), but has neglected to study how women may also be impacted from viewing such material. Some more recent work has started to address how pornography might be influencing sexual behaviors and relationships, especially for young men and women (Morgan 2011; Weinberg et al. 2010).

Weinberg et al. (2010) applied Gagnon's and Simon's theory of sexual scripts to their study of college students' thoughts on whether and how pornography has influenced their sexual behaviors and attitudes. Their findings suggest that the "viewing of pornography can broaden appeal, and practice, of a variety of sex acts" (Weinberg et al. 2010: 1398). Viewing pornography increased the likelihood of engaging in certain sexual acts, such as masturbation, oral sex, anal sex, and heterosexual intercourse (Weinberg et al. 2010). Similarly, Morgan's (2011) work uses sexual scripts to help explain how pornography may act as a guide to the kinds of sex acts that are socially acceptable and satisfying for young adults. Morgan's sample, though, was limited to only students who identified as heterosexual. Through surveying heterosexual college students on their use of sexually explicit material and sexual attitudes and behaviors,

Morgan (2011) found that frequency of viewing was related to the three sexual preferences she identified as ‘hot sex,’ ‘kinky sex,’ and ‘sexual appearance.’ ‘Hot sex’ described aspects like trying new positions, initiating sex, and talking dirty. ‘Kinky sex’ involved using pornography, engaging in group sex, and role playing. Measurements of ‘sexual appearance’ included dressing sexy, wearing lingerie, and having shaved pubic hair. Both women and men’s interests in these sex preferences increased with frequency of viewing pornography. As Morgan (2011: 528) explains, these relationships between sexual preferences and frequency of porn use “indicate that heavy consumers of SEM [sexually explicit materials] hold similar sexual preferences to those frequently portrayed in SEM.”

Between these two studies (Morgan 2011; Weinberg et al. 2010), the theory of sexual scripts has helped to explain the role that pornography plays in relationships and the sexual behaviors desired and engaged in by men and women of college age. Unfortunately, the samples do not provide any insight into how other individuals in the U.S. might be influenced by pornography, including those not of conventional college age, who might be more or less educated, or of varying socioeconomic status. To address this gap that exists in the literature, my study uses an internet survey to further explore how exposure to sexually explicit material influences sexual behaviors, attitudes, and desires. From the use of Internet surveys that reach a larger and more diverse population than usual convenience sampling, I can better assess quantitative aspects of pornography use and sexual behaviors through closed ended questions, as well as exploring qualitative aspects through open ended questions. Surveying a sample of adults with more variation demographically and using both qualitative and quantitative measures will then help to

broaden understanding of pornography use and its relationship to sexual behaviors and attitudes among adults currently living in the U.S.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

SAMPLE

The sample for this project comes from an online survey company, Qualtrics, which designs samples based on requested demographic characteristics. Qualtrics is able to compile a sample based on various demographics, which then will offer a representation of the targeted population. The goal for this project was to gather a sample that better reflects the adult population in the United States, compared to other studies that often use university student samples or other convenience samples. With this in mind, Qualtrics generated a sample from their population of survey takers that representatively reflects U.S. adults based on age, race, and gender. Consistent with research recommending sample size for correlational survey research, the minimum number of adults to be surveyed was 400 (Onwuegbuzie & Collins 2007).

While the sample is able to reflect the general population on these characteristics, it is important to acknowledge that Internet survey takers may differ from the general population in some ways, including the very fact that they have access to the Internet. Because only those with access to the Internet, and more specifically, those who currently participate in Qualtrics' system to take surveys can be selected for this particular sample, the sample used in this study cannot be described as a probability sample. Instead, it is better described as a quota sample because participants were selected in order to represent the general U.S. population based on specific demographic variables.

The sample consisted of 417 respondents, 49.3% (n=205) of whom were women and 50.5% (n=210) men. One respondent identified as gender queer. The majority (62.6%; n=261) of respondents were non-Hispanic whites. The sample included 15.3%

(n=64) Hispanics, 13.4% (n=56) non-Hispanic Blacks, and 5.3% (n=22) Asians. The remaining respondents (3.4%; n=29) identified as Indian/Alaska Native, Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, or other. Respondents' ages ranged from 21 to 99 years old, with a mean age of 46 years old.

I asked respondents to indicate their sexual identity by choosing from heterosexual, gay, lesbian, bisexual or other. The majority of participants (91.6%; n=381) identified as heterosexual and 3.1% (n=13) identified as gay. One respondent (.2%) identified as lesbian and 3.1% (13) identified as bisexual. Fewer than 2% (n=7) of respondents selected "other," but those who did wrote in responses including asexual, pansexual, and trans. I coded these respondents as "other" for frequencies, and later created a dichotomous variable for regression analyses to identify "straight" and "non-straight" participants. Respondents who identified as "other" were coded as "non-straight."

The most commonly reported marital status was married (51.9%; n=214), followed by never married 23.8% (n=98). Of those who were not married, 24.2% (n=100) were single and not dating, 12.1% (n=50) were living with their partner, 6% (n=25) were in a relationship, and 5.8% (n=24) were dating. Most respondents (61.9%; n=258) indicated that they have at least one child.

Respondents reported their religious and political preferences by identifying their religious affiliation, their frequency of religious attendance, and by rating themselves on a scale ranging from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Protestantism (34.8%; n=145) was the most commonly reported religious affiliation, followed by Catholicism (25.3%; n=105) and non-religious (19.3%; n=80). Jewish respondents accounted for

3.1% (n=13) of the sample, while another 17.1% (n=71) of respondents identified as having some “other” religious affiliation. Over half of respondents (51.3%; n=213) reported never going to church or going less than once a year, and 22.7% (n=94) reported going nearly every week or more. A slightly greater number of respondents (35.2%; n=132) identified themselves as more on the conservative end of the political spectrum than liberal (34%; n=127), and 30.7% (n=115) identified as moderate.

Most respondents (32.9%; n=137) had at least a high school education. Only 2.4% (n=10) reported having less than a high school education, and 27.2% (n=113) had an associate’s degree. Twenty-three percent (n=98) had a bachelor’s degree and 13.9% (n=58) had a graduate degree. Slightly more women (2.9%; n=6) than men (1.9% n=4) had less than a high school education. More men (33.5%; n=70) had also finished high school than women (32.2%; n=66). Fewer men (24.4%; n=51) had an associate’s degree than women (29.8%; n=61), but more men (23.9%; n=50) had a bachelor’s degree than women (23.4%; n=48). Women (11.7%; n=24) also made up fewer graduate degrees than men (16.3%; n=34) in this sample.

Over half of the sample (57%; n=236) made \$49,999 a year or less. A little more than a third of respondents (33.8%; n=140) earned somewhere between \$50,000 and \$99,999 a year. Another 9.1% (n=38) made more than \$100,000 a year. Over half of women (59.8%; n=122) and men (53.9%; n=112) reported earning less than \$50,000 a year. Slightly more women (34.8%; n=71) than men (33.2%; n=69) made between \$50,000 and \$99,999 a year, but more men (13%; n=27) than women (5.4%; n=11) earned over \$100,000.

INTERNET RESEARCH

Internet research is becoming more common, especially as researchers begin to make use of various strategies for recruiting participants online. Some of the benefits of this approach are the accessibility of individuals, the availability of larger sample sizes, and the inexpensiveness of collecting data (Couper 2000). At the same time, though, Internet survey research leaves out individuals who do not have access to the Internet and generally those who have lower socioeconomic status (Schonlau, van Soest, Kapteyn, & Couper 2009). Couper (2000) also suggests that Internet surveys can be problematic because it may be difficult to identify response rates and not always possible to use recruiting strategies often used in mail surveys, such as incentives.

For researchers hoping to recruit a sample that represents the general population, many Internet sampling techniques will not be an option. More recently, companies have created representative samples of the United States by including individuals who otherwise would be excluded from online research by giving those individuals access to the Internet (Valliant & Dever 2011). Much like traditional probability sampling, these online samples are cost prohibitive for many researchers.

An alternative for researchers who cannot afford a representative probability internet sample but would like to move away from convenience (internet) sampling strategies is to use samples provided by companies like Qualtrics. These samples have the potential to be larger than what a convenience sample might provide and generally can be designed to match demographic features of a larger population. Additionally, companies that create audiences for survey research make use of incentive programs in

order to encourage participation, much like researchers might use for other sampling strategies.

While more affordable sampling strategies generally are not representative of the U.S. population, they may be close to representative of Internet users in the U.S. According to Zickurh and Smith (2012) of the Pew Research Center, 78% of adults over 18 use the internet. This is a significant increase compared to only 47% of adults who reported using the internet in 2000. There is variation among Internet users by education, income, and age, but the digital divide between whites, blacks, and Hispanics seems to be closing. With the internet becoming one of the most popular ways for adults to access pornography, an online survey might be one of the best ways to reach such users. Despite its inability to be fully representative, the sample in this study is a closer representation of U.S. adults that use pornography than samples used in other pornography studies up to this point in time.

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The survey instrument (see appendix) was comprised of 107 closed ended questions and 9 open-ended questions that assess respondents' sexual behaviors, attitudes, pornography use, and demographic factors. Closed ended questions were used to determine how often respondents use pornography, the genres they view most often, and how arousing they find certain specific genres of pornography. More specifically, I asked respondents how often they view sexually explicit material, with the options to answer with "every day," "several times a day," "once a week," "once a month or less," or "never." I also asked about their preferred format for viewing pornography: the internet, DVDs/videos, magazines, pay per view or television source, or stories or novels.

I used items that ask about specific types of pornography in order to measure how often respondents view each type of material, followed by asking how arousing they find each type. For instance, I asked respondents to check whether they view material that includes a specific act, such as heterosexual sex, “never,” “once a month or less,” “once a week,” “several times a week,” or “every day.” In addition to heterosexual sex, this item was repeated to include: lesbian sex, men having sex with men, group sex, bondage and discipline, sadomasochism, masturbation, “barely legal,” violent sex, rape, fellatio with ejaculation on face or body, cunnilingus, amateur pornography, mature or older adults, and interracial sex. I then asked respondents to rate how arousing they find each of these items on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being not at all arousing to 5 being very arousing. I also included a “NA” answer choice for those who may have never viewed a certain type of material.

The instrument also included items that address sexual behaviors, including the frequency of which respondents engage in specific behaviors, how often they use condoms, whether other forms of birth control are used, and if participants have ever had or currently have any sexually transmitted infections. I also asked about respondents’ current relationship status and age of first intercourse. Similar to the categories used for various types of pornography above, I then asked respondents how often they engage in each of the following types of sexual behaviors: kissing, vaginal-penile intercourse, receiving oral sex, performing oral sex, anal sex, bondage and discipline, sadomasochism, group sex, ejaculation on partner’s face or body, being ejaculated on face or body by partner, masturbation, masturbation with a partner, and role playing. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they engage in each of these activities.

To better understand whether pornography influences sex behaviors or the behaviors one is already interested in influences porn viewing, I included four items that attempt to measure the direction of any correlations between viewing and behaviors. I later refer to these items as “directional” variables. These questions ask how frequently respondents have: 1) seen things in pornography they would *like to try*; 2) seen things in porn they then *have tried out*; 3) experienced something sexual that they *would like to see* in pornography; 4) experienced something sexual they have *sought out* in pornography. Questions regarding the use of sexually explicit material and sexual behaviors correspond to the research questions and hypotheses:

Q1: Does exposure to pornography correlate with the sexual behaviors in which respondents engage?

H1: As pornography viewing increases, the variety and frequency of sex behaviors will increase.

Q2: Does viewing pornography correlate with the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behavior?

H2: The greater the exposure to pornography, the less likely respondents will use protection including birth control and condoms, and the more likely they will have ever had a sexually transmitted infection.

I also included questions from previous studies that measure attitudes toward pornography (Bois 2002), sexual permissiveness (Hendrick, Hendrick, & Reich 2006), and rape (Koss et al. 2006). Bois’s (2002) items ask respondents to rate how much, on a scale of 1 to 6, they agree or disagree with statements that ask about their feelings toward

and perceived impact of pornography. These survey items address the following research questions and hypotheses:

Q3: Does exposure to pornography correlate with the sexual behaviors that respondents find arousing?

H3: The type of pornography that respondents view will correlate with the type of sexual behaviors they find arousing.

I also included some items from the sexual permissiveness scale from Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich (2006). The items from this scale that I included ask respondents to rate how strongly they agree or disagree with various statements on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 equals strongly disagree and 5 equals strongly agree. These statements ask about casual sex, having sex with multiple partners, who should be responsible for birth control, and the importance of sex as a human interaction.

Q4: Does exposure to pornography correlate with one's sexual attitudes?

H4: The greater the exposure to pornography, the more positive one's attitudes toward sexuality will be, including sexual permissiveness.

The sexual experiences survey by Koss et al. (2006) is used to measure experiences of rape or forced sex as well as experiences of perpetrating rape or forced sex. In its original format, these items not only ask about the occurrence of forced sex but about the number of times it has occurred and with which method of force (e.g. threatening physical harm or using a weapon). I have modified these items to no longer ask about frequency or type of force but simply, whether or not it has ever occurred. I asked respondents to check whether they have (yes) or have not (no) experienced oral, anal, or vaginal penetration without giving their consent, and whether they have had oral,

anal, or vaginal sex with someone else who did not give consent to them. This particular scale is used to answer the following research question:

Q5: Does exposure to pornography correlate with the likelihood that one engages in violent or coercive sexual behavior?

H5: As exposure to pornography, and particularly violent pornography increases, the likelihood of having engaged in violent or coercive sexual behaviors also increases.

Open-ended questions asked participants to report how they feel about pornography, its impact on relationships, and how they define (good) sex. More specifically, I first asked respondents two questions about impact: “What positive impacts do you think pornography has on your relationships?” and “What negative impacts do you think pornography has on your relationships?” I then asked, “Do you think watching pornography impacts what you find arousing?” I then included questions to measure whether respondents think pornography impacts men and women differently and how so. To explore aspects of pornography that respondents find arousing, and especially any that might not have been captured by the closed ended questions, I asked respondents to describe what makes for appealing or arousing pornography. The next two qualitative questions asked respondents to explain how they personally define sex, and more specifically, what is “good” sex. Lastly, I included an open-ended question that asks if there is any other information the respondent would like to share about this topic.

ANALYSIS

Data from closed-ended questions were coded and entered into SPSS for analysis. To address whether use of sexually explicit material is associated with behaviors, I looked for correlations between variables that measure type and frequency of use and the

sexual behaviors that respondents reported performing. I then used ordinal logistic regression and multinomial logistic regression to identify associations between viewing pornography and the variables measuring sexual behaviors and arousal. For questions that assess sexual attitudes, including sexual permissiveness and attitudes toward pornography, I used ordinary least squares regression to determine the association between viewing porn and holding these attitudes. Using modified items from Koss et al. (2006), I measured whether respondents have ever experienced nonconsensual oral, anal, or vaginal sex, and whether respondents had perpetrated nonconsensual oral, anal, or vaginal sex. I then used logistic regression to explore associations between viewing pornography and nonconsensual sex.

The sampling strategy of this study played a role in the data analysis. Because the sample in this study was a quota sample, it was important to create a sample that matched characteristics of the broader U.S. population on as many criteria as possible, as well as to compare aspects of this study's sample to the findings of similar studies using probability samples. Qualtrics gathered a sample that matches the population based on the U.S. census, with the exception of age in that only those 21 and older were allowed to participate in the survey. In addition to the sample reflecting the U.S. census, I make comparisons, when possible, between my sample and the National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior (NSSHB), the most recent study of sexuality to use a large-scale probability sample.

The NSSHB surveyed participants about their sexual practices in three ways. Researchers asked how frequently participants engaged in various behaviors in the last month, the last 90 days, the last year, and more than a year ago. Of the time periods that

articles from the NSSHB report frequencies for, behaviors respondents engaged in within the last year is the best possible comparison to frequencies reported by participants in my study. For instance, I asked participants how often they engaged in a particular act, allowing them to choose never, indicating that they have never engaged in the behavior at all, or less than once a year as the fewest number of times possible. The NSSHB allows for a measurement of “never” within the past year, but that does not indicate that a participant has never engaged in the act in their entire life.

The NSSHB survey also measured behaviors like vaginal intercourse, oral sex, and anal sex by specifying the gender of the person’s partner. The NSSHB’s measurement of these behaviors is different from my measurement in that I ask participants whether they engaged in oral sex acts without identifying whether the respondent’s partner was a woman or a man. These differences in question wording make it difficult to precisely make comparisons between the NSSHB and my study. However, I attempt to provide general comparisons about the frequency of behaviors between my participants and those in the NSSHB and more specific comparisons when possible. When applicable, I also discuss findings from the National Health and Social Life Survey, which was published in 1994 (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata 1994).

Open ended questions further explored respondents’ attitudes toward sexually explicit material, relationships, and sexuality. I analyzed the qualitative data resulting from these questions to learn more about participants’ pornography use and how they perceive porn to impact their relationships and sexual behaviors. Questions that asked specifically about how respondents define “good sex” and what makes for arousing pornography offer a qualitative approach to understanding whether there are similarities

between expectations for sexual acts respondents see in the media and the sexual acts they find pleasurable. To analyze participants' answers to these questions, I used an approach similar to the open coding and axial coding stages of Grounded Theory Methods, as described by LaRossa (2005). In the open coding stage, I read responses and assigned indicators to represent major ideas within the statement. For instance, if a participant wrote that porn might encourage someone to cheat on their partner, that statement would be labeled with the indicator "infidelity."

As I went through the open coding process, I began to take note of indicators that were more prominent than others. I then analyzed the most prevalent indicators, or themes (as I refer to them in the results section), to better understand the context in which they were written. The approach I took here is more consistent with axial coding than open coding because I attempted to understand aspects of process, like how participants reported using pornography or the context in which they perceived others use porn. I also noted how factors like age and gender played a role in the participants' experiences. The limited responses of the majority of respondents, though, made it difficult to progress beyond axial coding in order to conclusively extend, refine, or generate any kind of theory based on the qualitative data alone. However, this was not really the goal of these open ended questions, and instead, combined with the quantitative responses, these data offer a bit more insight into the participants' attitudes about and use of pornography.

CHAPTER FOUR: DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

VIEWING PORNOGRAPHY

Respondents answered questions indicating how often they viewed pornography, the media format in which they viewed porn, and the frequency of specific types of porn they watched. In response to the question measuring overall pornography viewing (no particular format was specified), almost a third of the sample (27.6%) reported never watching porn, while a little more than a third (33.7%) reported watching pornography about once a month or less. Sixteen percent watched pornography once a week; 19.5% watched several times a week. A small percentage (3.1%) reported watching pornography every day.

The most frequently viewed medium of pornography was online, followed by DVDs, novels, magazines, and television. Nineteen respondents (4.6%) reported watching Internet pornography every day. Forty percent reported never watching porn online, and 55.4% reported viewing pornography online several times a week, once a week, or once a month or less.

DVDs were the second most frequently viewed format of pornography. The majority of respondents reported either never watching porn on DVDs (59%) or watching once a month or less (33%). A total of 8% of respondents watched pornography on DVDs once a week, several times a week, or every day.

Interestingly, respondents indicated that novels were the third most popular format of pornography. While 71.6% of respondents never viewed pornography in this particular format, 20% reported using erotic novels or stories once a month or less. The

remaining 8.4% of respondents read pornographic stories and novels once a week or more.

Few respondents reported using pornography in magazine format. A little over 75% never used pornographic magazines while 21% looked at them once a month or less. Fewer than 4% of respondents viewed pornographic magazines more than once a month.

The least commonly viewed format of pornography was cable television. Eighty-four percent of respondents never watched pornography on TV, and only 11.3% watched it once a month or less. Fewer than 5% of respondents watched pornography on TV once a week or more. Table 4.1 displays participants' frequency of overall viewing and viewing by each medium. Table 4.2 displays frequencies for only those who reported viewing porn (non-viewers have been removed).

Respondents also indicated how often they viewed types of pornography or specific sexual acts. These acts ranged from those most commonly found in pornography, such as heterosexual intercourse, masturbation, group sex, and oral sex, to acts less common in mainstream pornography, like violent sex and rape. Respondents more frequently viewed acts that are more common in mainstream pornography. The most frequently viewed acts were heterosexual intercourse, cunnilingus, group sex, and fellatio. Respondents reported less frequently viewing sadomasochism (S&M), violent sex, and rape. Of the most commonly viewed sex acts, heterosexual sex, 28.8% of respondents reported never watching this type of pornography, while 35.6% reported viewing it once a month or less. Over a third of respondents (35.5%) viewed heterosexual sex once a week or more.

The least commonly viewed type of pornography was rape. Over 90% of respondents reported never watching rape scenes. Of those who viewed this type of pornography, 4.8% do so less than once a month. Few respondents (3.4%) viewed pornography with rape scenes once a week or more. Table 4.3 reports the frequency of viewing various sex acts.

Men and women reported different amounts of viewing. More women (39.5%) than men (15.8%) reported never viewing pornography. No women reported viewing pornography every day, while 6.2% of men reported watching it every day. Many women (41%) reported watching pornography once a month or less, compared to 26.8% of men who watch that frequently. More men (30.1%) reported watching pornography several times a week, whereas only 8.3% of women reported watching that often. Table 4.4 indicates women and men's viewing frequency.

Respondents' frequency of viewing differed significantly based on church attendance and political ideologies. Many of those who identified as conservative (41.4%) or extremely conservative (59.1%) indicated that they never watch pornography, while only 11.5% of extremely liberal and 23.3% of liberal respondents reported never watching pornography. Similarly, a slight majority of those who reported attending church every week (53.7%) never watched pornography.

SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

The majority of respondents (94%) reported having had sex at some point in their lives, and 71.7% indicated that they are currently in at least one sexual relationship. I did not define sex or sexual relationships in the survey for respondents, and so their answers most likely reflect their own definitions of these terms. Of respondents in a sexual

relationship, the majority (91.6%) reported being monogamous; 8.3% of respondents were currently in two or more sexual relationships. Respondents also reported how often they engaged in a variety of sexual acts. The act most frequently engaged in was kissing, with 40.5% of the sample reporting this as an everyday occurrence. More women (46.3%) reported kissing every day than men (35.2%). Only 12.5% of respondents never kissed, and 7.2% kissed once a year or less.

The majority of respondents engaged in sex at least once a year or more, with only 19.8% reporting never doing so. A little more than half (52.7%) of the sample reported engaging in sex once a week or more. Slightly more women (55.2%) reported engaging in sex once a week or more than men (50.3%). These findings are fairly consistent with Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, and Kolata's (1994) findings from the National Health and Social Life Survey. Their study showed that slightly more women reported more frequently engaging in sex than men, but that about a third of men and women reported engaging in sex a couple times a week or more.

Other more commonly engaged in sex acts included giving and receiving oral sex and masturbating. About a third of the sample (30.5%) reported never receiving oral sex or giving oral sex (29%). All other respondents reported giving oral sex once a year or less (15.5%), about once a month (23.7%), about once a week (19.1%), several times a week (11.4%), or every day (1.4%). Receiving oral sex was reported as occurring once a year or less for 16.5% of participants. Almost a quarter of respondents reported receiving oral sex about once a month, followed by 15.3% receiving oral sex once a week, 11.8% several times a week, and 1% receiving oral sex every day.

The NHSLS asked participants if they had ever had oral sex in their lifetime, and whether they had engaged in oral sex during their last sexual encounter. They found that 23% of men and 32% women had never given oral sex in their lifetime, and that 21% of men and 27% of women had never received oral sex (Michael et al. 1994). These findings are similar to the number of participants who reported never giving or receiving oral sex in my sample. However, because I did not ask about lifetime behavior, it is less clear whether participants in my sample had actually never participated in oral sex or whether they did so so infrequently, that they opted to report that they never engage in the behavior. Women and men in my sample also reported statistically significant differences in their frequencies of receiving and giving oral sex. Men reported more frequently receiving oral sex while women reported more frequently giving oral sex. More men participants in the NHSLS reported both having ever given and received oral sex than women, but both more women and men reported receiving oral sex than giving oral sex.

Almost two-thirds of the sample reported masturbating; the remaining 32.3% indicated that they never masturbate. Among men and women, more women (38%) reported never masturbating, compared to 26.4% of men who say they never masturbate. Of respondents who masturbated, most did so about once a month (19.3%), followed by 18.8% who reported masturbating several times a week. More men (24.5%) reported masturbating several times a week than women (13.2%), and more women (22.4%) than men (16.3%) reported masturbating about once a month.

The National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior (NSSHB) found differences in frequency of various sexual behaviors by gender and age. The NSSHB asked

respondents about how often they engaged in sexual behaviors over their lifetime, in the last 90 days, and within a typical month in the last year. The measurement NSSHB researchers reported using to measure masturbation, vaginal intercourse, and anal intercourse within a typical month is similar to how I measured all sexual behaviors on my survey. Much like findings from the NSSHB, frequency of engaging in sex, masturbation, and anal sex decreased with age for both men and women.

The sexual behaviors that respondents in my sample reported engaging in the least were sadomasochism (S&M), bondage and discipline (B&D), and group sex. Most participants reported never engaging in these behaviors. Most participants who did engage in these behaviors, did so infrequently. Nineteen participants (4.6%) reported engaging in group sex once a year or less. Sixteen participants (3.8%) reported participating in B&D once a year or less; eight (1.9%) participated in S&M once a year or less. Table 4.5 displays the frequency of all sexual behaviors in which respondents engage.

RISKY SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

I measured risky sexual behaviors by asking questions about the use of birth control and condoms or other barrier methods. More specifically, I asked about contraceptive use at participants' last sexual encounter as well as their overall frequency of using "condoms or some other barrier method contraceptive such as dental dams." I also asked respondents to report whether they had ever contracted any sexually transmitted infections.

The majority of respondents (79.4%) did not use a condom or other barrier method at their last sexual encounter, and only 21.6% reported currently using some

other kind of non-barrier method contraceptive. When asked about their frequency of condom (or other barrier method) usage, most respondents (63.9%) reported never using condoms. Another 21% reported rarely or sometimes using condoms; 6.4% said that they often use condoms and 8.7% said they always do. Condom use varied by gender and race. More women (74.1%) reported never using a condom than men (55.3%), and slightly more men (8.9%) reported always using a condom than women (7.8%). Fewer women (14.9%) reported using a condom at their last sexual encounter than men (25.4%). These results differ somewhat from the findings of the National Survey of Sexual Health and Behavior (NSSHB). The NSSHB asked specifically about condom use at last vaginal intercourse and found that 21.8% of women and 24.7% of men reported using a condom. In my study, men respondents' use of condoms at their last sexual encounter is similar to findings from the NSSHB, but women's reported condom usage is not.

Condom use also varied by race. The majority of white respondents (72%) reported never using a condom, while fewer than half (43.1%) of African American respondents never used condoms. About half (50.8%) of all Hispanic respondents reported never using condoms. More Hispanic (11.9%) and African American (11.8%) respondents reported always using condoms compared to white respondents (8.5%). Respondents also indicated whether they had used a condom at their last sexual encounter. More African Americans (35.4%) reported using a condom at their last sexual encounter than did Hispanic respondents (30.5%) or white respondents (14.9%). These differences in condom use by race are similar to findings from the NSSHB in that Black and Hispanic respondents were more likely to have used a condom at their last sexual encounter than white respondents. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 present condom usage by race.

Despite reporting low condom usage, the majority of respondents (86.6%) have never had a sexually transmitted infection. The NHSLS reported that 1 in 6 of their participants reported ever having a sexually transmitted infection, which is slightly more than the rate in my sample. Of the 13.4% who ever had a STI, gonorrhea (4.3%) and chlamydia (3.4%) were the most common. Three respondents (.7%) reported having HIV or AIDS, making it, along with syphilis, the least common sexually transmitted infection among respondents. More women (17.6%) reported ever having a STI than men (9.5%). Of the STIs that men and women have had, trichomoniasis and chlamydia were more common among women. More men (5.7%) reported having gonorrhea than women (2.9%). These findings are quite similar to the NHSLS's findings of men reporting higher rates of gonorrhea and women reporting more instances of chlamydia. In Table 4.8 I identify the percentage of women and men who reported having each sexually transmitted infection.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCES SURVEY

I included a modified version of Koss' (2006) Sexual Experiences Survey in order to measure experiences of nonconsensual sex and the perpetration of nonconsensual sex. Nonconsensual vaginal penetration was the most commonly reported type of nonconsensual sex. Of 223 women, 39 (19.5%) reported ever experiencing nonconsensual vaginal penetration. A 2004 study of sexual aggression using a modified version of the sexual experiences survey found that 2.9 to 9.9% of women ages 18 to 30 living in Buffalo, New York reported some type of nonconsensual sex (Testa, VanZile-Tamsen, Livingston, & Koss 2004).

Nonconsensual oral and anal sex among my sample occurred at a lower rate than nonconsensual sex, with 7.5% of respondents experiencing oral sex without their consent and 6.1% reporting nonconsensual anal sex. Both men and women reported experiencing nonconsensual oral and anal sex; 4.8% of men and 10.3% of women had experienced oral sex without giving consent, and 2.9% of men and 9.5% of women reported nonconsensual anal sex. In the study by Testa et al. (2004), 3.2% of women reported experiencing coerced oral or anal sex.

Unlike the 2004 study, I did not specify the context in which the sexual assault occurred. For instance, Testa et al (2004) asked whether the vaginal, oral, or anal sex occurred by force or threat of force or in some other context, such as through the use of drugs or alcohol. I only asked participants whether they had ever had vaginal, oral, or anal sex with someone without giving consent. Differences in these reported rates of nonconsensual sex could be due to the ways the questions were worded, the sample demographics, or even the method of data collection. Testa et al. (2004) had participants first answer a computerized version of the SES, followed by participating in an interview. The NHLS also asked their respondents about forced sex and found that 22% of women had ever been “forced to do something sexually by a man,” and 2% of men were forced by a man or woman (Michael et al. 2004:223).

I also asked respondents whether they had ever had sex with someone without their consent, including oral, anal, and vaginal penetration. Few respondents reported perpetrating nonconsensual sex, but for those who did, nonconsensual oral sex (2.7%) was the most common, followed by vaginal penetration (1.9%), and anal penetration (1.7%). Both men and women reported having oral and anal sex without their partner’s

consent. Six women (3%) and 5 men (2.4%) reported having oral sex with someone without their consent. Two women (1.4%) and 4 men (1.9%) reported having anal sex with someone without their consent. Only men (3.3%) reported having vaginal sex without the other person's consent. A 2013 study of college men found that 15.1% had committed some kind of sexual assault and that 4.9% "...reported perpetration that meets the legal definition of rape (i.e., attempted or completed oral, anal, or vaginal penetration by use of force or incapacitation via alcohol or drugs)" (Mouilso, Calhoun, & Rosenbloom 2013:434). The perpetration rate that Mouilso et al. (2013) found using the SES is slightly less than that of my sample, and may be due to asking their participants about the circumstances of the nonconsensual sex act. Because I did not define the ways in which sex could be nonconsensual, it is less clear how my participants are interpreting the phrase "without consent." Additionally, most studies using the SES only ask men about perpetration rates, but some women in my sample also reported having nonconsensual oral and anal sex with someone without that person's consent. Without having asked for more information about how the nonconsensual sex act took place, it is difficult to know how women perpetrators compare to men who also reported perpetrating nonconsensual sex.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PORNOGRAPHY

Using items from Bois (2002), I measured respondents' attitudes toward pornography on a six point scale ranging from completely disagree (1) to completely agree (6). Overall, the majority of respondents had a more favorable attitude toward pornography. Only 26.9% disagreed that pornography is sexually arousing, while the remaining 73.1% reported finding it arousing. More than half of respondents agreed that

pornography satisfies their curiosity and teaches them new sexual techniques. However, more than half disagreed with the idea that pornography helps improve respondents' sexual relationships offline. The majority of respondents (71.9%) also disagreed that pornography is boring. Attitudes toward pornography varied by gender; men had more favorable attitudes toward pornography on some items than women. For instance, men were significantly more likely than women to agree that "porn is sexually arousing" or that "porn satisfies my curiosity," while women were more likely to agree with the statement "porn is boring." In Table 4.11 I identify gender differences in mean scores for each item on the scale.

In addition to Bois' scale, I asked participants to rate how arousing they find various types of pornography on a scale of 'not at all arousing' (1) to 'very arousing' (5). Respondents rated heterosexual sex the most arousing with a mean score of 3.81 (SD=1.40), followed by cunnilingus (M=2.90, S.D.=1.55), and lesbian sex or "girl on girl" (M=2.81, S.D.=1.60). The least arousing types of pornography were rape (M=1.35, S.D.=0.93), violent sex (M=1.40, S.D.=0.97), and sadomasochism (M=1.52, S.D.=1.01). While men and women's reported arousal scores significantly varied on some items, overall, their arousal rating suggest that both men and women find more mainstream sex acts arousing than acts that are less common. Acts like heterosexual sex, group sex, and cunnilingus were reported as highly as arousing for both men and women, although men rated all three as more arousing than women. Both men and women reported finding bondage and discipline, sadomasochism, and violent sex as much less arousing; in fact, there were no statistical differences in men and women's arousal scores for these items. Table 4.12 presents arousal scores for each act by gender.

SEXUAL ATTITUDES

Respondents reported their attitudes toward sexuality based on items taken from Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich's (2006) "Brief Sexual Attitudes Scale." These items measure attitudes toward birth control, sexual permissiveness, and sex as a form of communion. Birth control questions measure how important respondents believe birth control to be and whether men and women should share responsibility for contraceptives. A majority of respondents (68.8%) strongly agreed that birth control is important; only 4.8% strongly disagreed. Most participants also reported that men and women should share responsibility for birth control. These items are measured on a 1 to 5 scale where a 5 indicates strong agreement. The mean score for the birth control scale was 4.42 (S.D.=0.91). Scores for men and women differed significantly on this scale; women more strongly agreed on the importance of birth control.

Measures of sexual permissiveness included questions about participants' acceptance of casual sex and multiple partners. A majority of respondents strongly disagreed with two items regarding sex with multiple partners; 54% of respondents strongly disagreed that they "would like to have sex with many partners," and 52.4% strongly disagreed that "having sexual relationships with more than one person at a time is okay." At the same time, 46.1% either agreed or strongly agreed that "casual sex is acceptable." The scores on these items may reflect a difference in respondents' opinions about what is acceptable for others to engage in and what they want for themselves, as well as the type of language used to describe permissive sex. For instance, respondents may report that they personally do not want to have many partners, but are slightly more accepting of others having multiple partners or engaging in casual sex. Having sex "with

more than one person at a time” may also be interpreted as infidelity while “casual sex” simply means sex without commitment. Overall, the mean score on the permissiveness scale was 2.51 (S.D.=1.13), suggesting that on the 1 to 5 scale, the sample has a slightly less favorable attitude toward sexual permissiveness.

The third component measured by the brief sexual attitudes scale is communion. This scale measures “idealistic sex” or the belief that sex is an extremely intimate interaction. A majority of participants agreed or strongly agreed on items in this scale, including statements like, “Sex is the closest form of communication between two people,” and “Sex is usually an intense, almost overwhelming experience.” The mean score for this scale was 3.82 (S.D.=0.90). While there were significant differences between men and women’s mean scores on the birth control and permissiveness scales, there was no significant gender difference on the communion scale. This is also similar to Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich’s findings using the full scales in surveys of college students. However, the mean scores for men and women on the birth control and permissiveness scales varied between this study’s sample and theirs; college students had more permissive attitudes and rated birth control as less important compared to my sample.

PORNOGRAPHY & ORGASMS

I asked participants four questions that sought to determine the direction of any relationships between viewing pornography and sexual behavior. These items included two questions that asked how often participants see acts in pornography they *would like* to try out and how often they experience sexual acts that they *would like to see* in pornography; two other questions asked how often they then *try out* acts they have seen

in pornography, and how often they experience something sexual that they then *seek out* in pornography. I then asked participants how often they have orgasms with their partners and how often they have orgasms while watching pornography.

The majority of respondents reported that they never or rarely experience something sexual that they would like to see (72.2%) or actually do seek out (73.2%) in pornography. At the same time, the majority of participants also reported that they never or rarely see something in pornography that they would like to try (52.7%) or that they actually do try (66%). However, more participants indicated that they sometimes saw things in pornography that they would like to try (33.4%) or actually do try (28.4%) than those who first experience something and then would like to see (20.5%) or seek out (21.3%) in pornography. In other words, pornography may be a larger influence in what people are interested in sexually, rather than one's sexual interests shaping the pornography one watches. I further explore this idea in relation to respondents' qualitative comments in Chapter 7.

Men and women differed in these four measures. Men were more likely to report more frequently seeing things in pornography that they *would like to try out* and that they *have tried out*. The majority of men (55%) reported that they at least sometimes, if not more frequently, saw acts in pornography that they would like to try out, while the majority of women (60.5%) reported that they never or rarely did. Most participants, both men (59.3%) and women (72.7%) reported never or rarely trying out things they've seen in porn.

The majority of men (68.1%) and women (78.5%) reported never or rarely seeking out pornography that reflects sexual behaviors they have personally experienced, and

more men than women reported that they sometimes, or more frequently, do this. Women and men also differed in the frequency in which they have experienced something sexual that they would like to see in pornography; more men (32.1%) reported sometimes or more frequently experiencing something they would like to see in porn than women (23.1%). These gender differences most likely reflect the different frequencies in which men and women view pornography. Because men view more porn, they are not only more likely to see something they would like to try, but they may also be more comfortable turning to pornography to look for something after they have experienced it. Tables 4.15 through 4.18 report the frequencies of these variables for men and women.

Participants reported whether they experienced orgasms always, usually, sometimes, rarely, or never, when watching pornography and when having sex with their partner. Men and women differed in their frequency of orgasms with partners and when watching porn. The majority of women (48.3%) reported that they never have orgasms when watching pornography; 27.9% of men reported never having orgasms with porn. Both men and women reported more frequently having orgasms with a partner. The majority of men (60.8%) and a third of women (32.9%) reported always having orgasms with their partner. Few men (3.3%) or women (8.8%) reported never having orgasms with their partner.

The NHSLs also asked their respondents about how frequently (always, usually, sometimes, rarely, or never) they had orgasms during sex with their partners. Compared to the frequency of respondents in my sample, more men (75%) and slightly fewer women (29%) in the NHSLs reported always having orgasms with their partners. However, more men and women in my sample also reported never having orgasms

during sex than did men (1%) or women (4%) in the NHSLS. These differences in frequency of orgasm could reflect changes in the sexual script. Individuals may be engaging in sexual acts that do not always result in orgasm, or they may be having sexual difficulty that results in less frequent orgasms. Unlike the NHSLS, my survey did not ask about participants' experiences of sexual difficulties, and so I am unable to determine whether there is any link to that and less frequent orgasm.

Chapter 5 explores how respondents' sexual attitudes, behaviors, and pornography viewing are associated with one another. I address each of the five research questions in order to determine whether pornography and sexual behaviors and attitudes are correlated. I also explore the role of demographic variables in these associations, including race, gender, and sexual orientation.

CHAPTER FOUR TABLES

Table 4.1 Frequency of Viewing Pornography

	Total	Internet	Magazines	DVDs	TV	Novels
Viewing						
Never	115 (27.6%)	167 (40%)	314 (75.7%)	245 (59%)	351 (84.4%)	298 (71.6%)
Once a month or less	140 (33.7%)	98 (23.5%)	87 (21%)	137 (33%)	47 (11.3%)	83 (20%)
Once a week	67 (16.1%)	61 (14.6%)	4 (1%)	16 (3.9%)	11 (2.6%)	18 (4.3%)
Several times a week	81 (19.5%)	72 (17.3%)	7 (1.7%)	16 (3.9%)	6 (1.4%)	15 (3.6%)
Every day	13 (3.1%)	19 (4.6%)	3 (.7%)	1 (.2%)	1 (.2%)	2 (.5%)
Total	416 (100%)	417 (100%)	415 (100%)	415 (100%)	416 (100%)	416 (100%)

Table 4.2 Frequency of Viewing Pornography (without non-viewers)

	Total	Internet	Magazines	DVDs	TV	Novels
Viewing						
Once a month or less	140 (46.5%)	98 (39.2%)	87 (86.1%)	137 (80.6%)	47 (72.3%)	83 (70.3%)
Once a week	67 (22.3%)	61 (24.4%)	4 (4.0%)	16 (9.4%)	11 (16.9%)	18 (15.3%)
Several times a week	81 (26.9%)	72 (28.8%)	7 (6.9%)	16 (9.4%)	6 (9.2%)	15 (12.7%)
Every day	13 (4.3%)	19 (7.6%)	3 (3.0%)	1 (.6%)	1 (1.5%)	2 (1.7%)
Total	301 (100%)	250 (100%)	101 (100%)	170 (100%)	65 (100%)	118 (100%)

Table 4.3 Frequency of Porn Viewing by Type

	Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	Every day	Total
Heterosexual Sex	120 (28.8%)	148 (35.6%)	63 (15.1%)	74 (17.8%)	11 (2.6%)	416 (100%)
Lesbian	227 (54.6%)	101 (24.3%)	49 (11.8%)	34 (8.2%)	5 (1.2%)	416 (100%)
Sex between men	354 (85.1%)	40 (9.6%)	7 (1.7%)	13 (3.1%)	2 (0.5%)	416 (100%)
Group sex	201 (48.3%)	129 (31.0%)	46 (11.1%)	32 (7.7%)	8 (1.9%)	416 (100%)
Bondage & Discipline	325 (78.1%)	64 (15.4%)	15 (3.6%)	11 (2.6%)	1 (0.2%)	416 (100%)
Sadomasochism	359 (86.5%)	41 (9.9%)	9 (2.2%)	4 (1.0%)	2 (0.5%)	415 (100%)
Masturbation	259 (62.4%)	97 (23.4%)	35 (8.4%)	20 (4.8%)	4 (1.0%)	415 (100%)
Barely legal	313 (75.4%)	60 (14.5%)	20 (4.8%)	17 (4.1%)	5 (1.2%)	415 (100%)
Violent sex	370 (88.9%)	29 (7.0%)	10 (2.4%)	4 (1.0%)	3 (0.7%)	416 (100%)
Rape	379 (91.8%)	20 (4.8%)	7 (1.7%)	5 (1.2%)	2 (0.5%)	413 (100%)
Fellatio	224 (53.8%)	96 (23.1%)	46 (11.1%)	44 (10.6%)	6 (1.4%)	416 (100%)
Cunnilingus	197 (47.6%)	113 (27.3%)	56 (13.5%)	42 (10.1%)	6 (1.4%)	414 (100%)
Amateur	228 (54.9%)	101 (24.3%)	40 (9.6%)	35 (8.4%)	11 (2.7%)	415 (100%)
Mature adults	273 (65.6%)	82 (19.7%)	39 (9.4%)	16 (3.8%)	6 (1.4%)	416 (100%)
Interracial	220 (53.0%)	127 (30.6%)	40 (9.6%)	21 (5.1%)	7 (1.7%)	415 (100%)

Table 4.4 Frequency of Viewing by Gender

	Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	Every day
Women	81 (39.5%)	84 (41.0%)	23 (11.2%)	17 (8.3%)	-
Men	33 (15.8%)	56 (26.8%)	44 (21.1%)	63 (30.1%)	13 (6.2%)
Total	114 (27.5%)	140 (33.8%)	67 (16.2%)	80 (19.3%)	13 (3.1%)

Pearson $\chi^2 = 71.811$ ($p < .001$)

Cramer's V = .416

Table 4.5 Frequency of Sexual Behaviors

	Never	Once a year or less	Once a month	Once a week	Several times a week	Every day	Total
Kissing	52 (12.5%)	30 (7.2%)	28 (6.7%)	27 (6.5%)	110 (26.5%)	168 (40.5%)	415 (100%)
Heterosexual sex	82 (19.8%)	52 (12.6%)	62 (15.0%)	109 (26.3%)	98 (23.7%)	11 (2.7%)	414 (100%)
Same-sex sex	372 (90.1%)	14 (3.4%)	9 (2.2%)	10 (2.4%)	6 (1.5%)	2 (0.5%)	413 (100%)
Receive oral sex	127 (30.5%)	69 (16.5%)	104 (24.9%)	64 (15.3%)	49 (11.8%)	4 (1.0%)	417 (100%)
Give oral sex	120 (29.0%)	64 (15.5%)	98 (23.7%)	79 (19.1%)	47 (11.4%)	6 (1.4%)	414 (100%)
Anal sex - penetrator	358 (86.5%)	26 (6.3%)	10 (2.4%)	13 (3.1%)	7 (1.7%)	-	414 (100%)
Anal sex - penetrated	355 (85.3%)	30 (7.2%)	16 (3.8%)	12 (2.9%)	3 (0.7%)	-	416 (100%)
Bondage & discipline	384 (92.1%)	16 (3.8%)	8 (1.9%)	5 (1.2%)	4 (1.0%)	-	417 (100%)
Sadomasochism	399 (95.9%)	8 (1.9%)	4 (1.0%)	2 (0.5%)	3 (0.7%)	-	416 (100%)
Group sex	384 (92.3%)	19 (4.6%)	5 (1.2%)	5 (1.2%)	3 (0.7%)	-	416 (100%)
Perform facial	351 (84.2%)	24 (5.8%)	23 (5.5%)	7 (1.7%)	10 (2.4%)	2 (0.5%)	417 (100%)
Ejaculate on body	313 (75.2%)	38 (9.1%)	33 (7.9%)	19 (4.6%)	12 (2.9%)	1 (0.2%)	416 (100%)
Receive facial	362 (87.0%)	20 (4.8%)	18 (4.3%)	8 (1.9%)	7 (1.7%)	1 (0.2%)	416 (100%)
Receive ejaculate on body	325 (78.1%)	27 (6.5%)	30 (7.2%)	14 (3.4%)	17 (4.1%)	3 (0.7%)	416 (100%)
Masturbate	134 (32.3%)	40 (9.6%)	80 (19.3%)	65 (15.7%)	78 (18.8%)	18 (4.3%)	415 (100%)
Masturbate with partner	245 (58.9%)	49 (11.8%)	57 (13.7%)	35 (8.4%)	26 (6.3%)	4 (1.0%)	416 (100%)
Role playing	315 (76.1%)	41 (9.9%)	34 (8.2%)	12 (2.9%)	11 (2.7%)	1 (0.2%)	414 (100%)

Table 4.6 Condom Use by Race

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	Total
Black	22 (43.1%)	6 (11.8%)	9 (17.6%)	8 (15.7%)	6 (11.8%)	51 (100%)
Hispanic	30 (50.8%)	8 (13.6%)	9 (15.3%)	5 (8.5%)	7 (11.9%)	59 (100%)
White	157 (72.0%)	19 (8.7%)	19 (8.7%)	8 (3.7%)	15 (6.9%)	218 (100%)

Pearson Chi² = 24.360 (p< .01)

Cramer's V = .193

Table 4.7 Condom Use at Last Encounter by Race

	Yes	No	Total
Black	17 (35.4%)	31 (64.6%)	48 (100%)
Hispanic	18 (30.5%)	41 (69.5%)	59 (100%)
White	33 (14.9%)	188 (85.1%)	221 (100%)

Pearson Chi² = 14.254 (p< .01)

Cramer's V = .208

Table 4.8 Crosstabulations of STI Status by Gender

	Gonorrhea	Syphilis	Chlamydia*	HPV	Herpes	HIV	Trich***	Other	None**
Women	6 (2.9%)	1 (.5%)	11 (5.4%)	6 (2.9%)	6 (2.9%)	-	13 (6.3%)	1 (.5%)	169 (82.4%)
Men	12 (5.7%)	2 (1.0%)	3 (1.4%)	4 (1.9%)	2 (1.0%)	2 (1.4%)	-	1 (.5%)	190 (90.5%)

***p value >.001

**p value >.01

*p value >.05

Table 4.9 Crosstabulations of Experiencing Nonconsensual Sex by Gender

	Oral Sex*	Vaginal Sex*	Anal Sex**
Women	21 (10.3%)	39 (19.5%)	19 (9.5%)
Men	10 (4.8%)	-	6 (2.9%)

**p value >.01

*p value >.05

Table 4.10 Crosstabulations of Perpetrating Nonconsensual Sex by Gender

	Oral Sex	Vaginal Sex*	Anal Sex
Women	6 (3.0%)	-	2 (1.4%)
Men	5 (2.4%)	7 (3.3%)	4 (1.9%)

*p value >.05

Table 4.11 Mean Scores for Items on Bois' Scale by Gender

	Women	Men
Porn...		
is sexually arousing***	3.83	4.78
satisfies my curiosity***	3.33	4.13
teaches me new things**	3.33	3.81
disturbs me***	2.84	2.03
fulfills my fantasies*	3.47	3.80
improves my relationships**	2.96	3.43
is boring***	2.87	2.32
satisfies me*	2.66	3.00

***p value >.001

**p value >.01

*p value >.05

Table 4.12 Mean Arousal Scores by Gender

	Women	Men
Heterosexual sex**	3.59	4.06
Lesbian***	2.34	3.23
Men having sex with men	1.61	1.55
Group sex***	2.44	3.13
Bondage & discipline	1.80	1.74
Sadomasochism	1.52	1.53
Masturbation	2.24	2.53
Barely legal***	1.44	2.60
Violent sex	1.33	1.46
Rape*	1.24	1.46
Fellatio***	1.95	3.15
Cunnilingus***	2.58	3.18
Amateur***	1.77	2.54
Interracial***	2.16	2.77

*** p value > .001

**p value >.01

*p value >.05

Table 4.13 Mean Scores of Sexual Attitudes Scales by Gender

	Women	Men
Birth Control Scale*	4.56	4.30
Sexual Permissive Scale**	2.17	2.83
Communion Scale	3.80	3.84

**p value >.001

*p value >.01

Table 4.14 Frequency of Porn Viewing and Sexual Behaviors

	Like to Try	Try Out	Like to See	Seek Out
Never	106 (25.5%)	158 (38.3%)	207 (50.0%)	205 (49.5%)
Rarely	113 (27.2%)	114 (27.7%)	92 (22.2%)	98 (23.7%)
Sometimes	139 (33.4%)	117 (28.4%)	85 (20.5%)	88 (21.3%)
Often	48 (11.5%)	21 (5.1%)	24 (5.8%)	21 (5.1%)
Always	10 (2.4%)	2 (.5%)	6 (1.4%)	2 (.5%)
Total	416 (100%)	412 (100%)	414 (100%)	414 (100%)

Table 4.15 Responses to “How often do you see things you’d like to try?” by Gender

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Women	68 (33.2%)	56 (27.3%)	65 (31.7%)	14 (6.8%)	2 (1.0%)
Men	37 (17.7%)	57 (27.3%)	73 (34.9%)	34 (16.3%)	8 (3.8%)
Total	105 (25.4%)	113 (27.3%)	138 (33.3%)	48 (11.6%)	10 (2.4%)

Pearson Chi² = 21.522 (p< .001)

Cramer’s V = .228

Table 4.16 Responses to “How often do try things out that you’ve seen in porn?” by Gender

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Women	89 (44.3%)	57 (28.4%)	46 (22.9%)	9 (4.5%)	-
Men	68 (32.5%)	56 (26.8%)	71 (34.0%)	12 (5.7%)	2 (1.0%)
Total	157 (38.3%)	113 (27.6%)	117 (28.5%)	21 (5.1%)	2 (.5%)

Pearson Chi² = 10.436 (p< .05)

Cramer’s V = .160

Table 4.17 Responses to, “How often do you experience something you’d like to see in porn?” by Gender

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Women	125 (61.6%)	31 (15.3%)	37 (18.2%)	9 (4.4%)	1 (.5%)
Men	81 (38.8%)	61 (29.2%)	48 (23.0%)	15 (7.2%)	4 (1.9%)
Total	206 (50.0%)	92 (22.3%)	85 (20.6%)	24 (5.8%)	5 (1.2%)

Pearson $\chi^2 = 23.822$ ($p < .001$)

Cramer’s V = .240

Table 4.18 Responses to, “How often do you seek out in porn something you’ve experienced?” by Gender

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
Women	121 (59%)	40 (19.5%)	34 (16.6%)	10 (4.9%)	-
Men	83 (40.1%)	58 (28.0%)	54 (26.1%)	10 (4.8%)	2 (1.0%)
Total	204 (49.5%)	98 (23.8%)	88 (21.4%)	20 (4.9%)	2 (.5%)

Pearson $\chi^2 = 16.921$ ($p < .01$)

Cramer’s V = .203

Table 4.19 Orgasms with Partner & Orgasms with Porn

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always	Total
Orgasm with Partner						
Women	15 (8.8%)	20 (11.8%)	39 (22.9%)	40 (23.5%)	56 (32.9%)	170 (100%)
Men	6 (3.3%)	4 (2.2%)	14 (7.7%)	47 (26%)	110 (60.8%)	181 (100%)
Orgasm with Porn						
Women	98 (48.3%)	28 (13.8%)	39 (19.2%)	18 (8.9%)	20 (9.9%)	203 (100%)
Men	58 (27.9%)	27 (13.0%)	47 (22.6%)	44 (21.2%)	32 (15.4%)	208 (100%)

Orgasm w/partner: Pearson $\chi^2 = 44.598$ ($p < .001$) Cramer’s V = .329

Orgasm w/porn: Pearson $\chi^2 = 24.634$ ($p < .001$) Cramer’s V = .245

CHAPTER FIVE: HYPOTHESIS TESTING

In this chapter I explore the relationships between variables in order to address five research questions. Research question 1 asks how viewing pornography correlates with the sexual behaviors in which respondents report engaging. Research question 2 explores whether pornography viewing correlates with risky sexual behaviors, including the frequency in which respondents use condoms or other contraceptives. Question 3 focuses on how porn viewing correlates with the sexual behaviors that respondents report finding arousing. Question 4 explores whether respondents' frequency of viewing pornography is correlated to their sexual attitudes. Lastly, research question 5 seeks to determine if engaging in coercive sexual behaviors, as measured by the Sexual Experiences Survey, is correlated with pornography viewing.

PORNOGRAPHY & SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

To determine whether pornography and sexual behaviors are associated, I correlated respondents' reported frequency of viewing pornography and the frequency of their sexual behaviors. Respondents reported how frequently they watched pornography in general as well as how often they viewed pornography online, in magazines, on DVD, in novels, and on television. When describing correlations between viewing porn and sexual acts, if a particular porn medium (DVD, TV, online, etc.) is not specified, then the frequency variable refers to the overall question of, "About how often do you view sexually explicit material?"

Viewing pornography was positively correlated with each sex act except participating in anal sex as the person penetrated. This exception may be explained by the fact that women in the sample were more likely to experience penetrative anal sex than men, and women were also less likely to watch pornography than men. Table 5.1 outlines the correlations between viewing

pornography and sexual acts. The sexual acts most strongly correlated with viewing pornography were masturbating, masturbating with a partner, and ejaculating on the body of one's partner.

The correlation between viewing and masturbating are not surprising considering that many watch pornography with the intention of masturbating. Interestingly, the correlation between viewing pornography and ejaculating on one's partner may suggest that viewers are replicating an act they see in pornography or are seeking out an act in pornography that they frequently engage in sexually. Ejaculating on the body of one's partner could also be a result of withdrawal, or pulling out as a method of birth control, especially considering the low rates of condom use reported by the sample.

Respondents reported how frequently they used different types of pornography, which I then correlated with their reported frequency of sexual behaviors. The frequency of most sexual acts positively correlated with the frequency in which respondents use each type of pornography, but the strength of these correlations varied by type. For instance, the correlation between viewing internet pornography and masturbation was stronger (.570) than the correlation between viewing pornographic magazines and masturbating (.246). Respondents' frequency of kissing was correlated to every medium of pornography except the Internet. Similarly, the frequency of anal sex as the penetrated partner also correlated with every medium of pornography except magazines.

Associations between the format of pornography that individuals use and the sexual behaviors they engage in (presented in Table 5.2) may also suggest an association between pornography medium and the kinds of acts that are likely to be portrayed in that particular medium. For instance, the more frequently respondents view pornography on DVD, the more

frequently they reported participating in role playing. Perhaps role playing is a feature of porn on DVD that these respondents are likely to watch. As frequency of reading pornographic novels increases, so do respondents' frequency of engaging in bondage and discipline; the correlation between this medium and behavior is stronger than the correlations between B&D and other pornography formats. Perhaps respondents are choosing to view porn formats that are more likely to portray their sexual interests. Individuals may also have a preferred medium for viewing pornography that has then influenced the types of acts they are interested in experiencing.

In order to explore how other variables may play a role in the above correlations, I used ordinal logistic regression models to regress each sexual behavior on the frequency of pornography viewing and demographic factors, such as gender, age, relationship status, political affiliation, church attendance, education, and income. The only sexual behaviors that were not included in regression models were bondage and discipline, sadomasochism, and group sex because over 90% of all respondents reported never engaging in these behaviors. Because so few respondents reported watching pornography every day (3.1%), I collapsed this category with watching porn several times a week when including it as an independent variable. I collapsed categories among other variables including age, church attendance, political affiliation, income, education, and sexual orientation in order to decrease the number of empty cells that resulted in regression models because of variables with numerous categories.

I combined categories when analyses suggested that there were few differences between groups. For instance, more variation in frequency of sexual behaviors existed for those younger than 50 years old and for those over 50. I created a dichotomous age variable to represent those under and those over 50 years old. Similarly, education was reduced to a dichotomous variable

identifying those with a college degree and those without. The income variable in these models identifies participants who either make less than or more than \$50,000 a year. Few differences among church attendance emerged in early models and so I collapsed these categories into two, those who attend several times a year or less and those who attend more frequently. I reduced political affiliation to conservative, moderate, and liberal so that the higher the score the more liberal one is. Because so few people identified as lesbian, gay, or bisexual that it was not possible to create separate categories, I created a variable that identifies respondents as either straight or not straight. In Table 5.3 frequencies for recoded variables are displayed.

I also recoded dependent variables in order to decrease the number of empty cells in the models. For acts in which few respondents reported engaging every day, I collapsed that category with those who reported engaging several times a week. After combining the every day respondents with several times a week respondents, variables measuring sex, receiving oral sex, giving oral sex, having one's body ejaculated on, role playing, anal sex as the penetrated partner, and masturbating were reduced to five categories instead of the original six. For acts in which the majority of respondents reported never engaging, I further collapsed categories to reduce empty cells. Most respondents (58.9%) reported never engaging in masturbation with a partner, and so I combined those who reported doing so once a week or more into one category. I also did this for variables measuring anal sex (penetrating one's partner), ejaculating on the face or body of one's partner, and receiving ejaculate on the face. Because 90% of the sample reported never engaging in same-sex sex I further collapsed categories for this variable to identify respondents who reported never engaging in same-sex sex, engaging once a month or less, or engaging once a week or more.

In SPSS, ordinal regression predicts the likelihood that respondents will fall into numerically higher categories compared to lower ones. The dependent variable (each sexual act) has been coded so that numerically higher categories correspond with more frequently engaging in the act. In these regression models, the odds of engaging more frequently in a sexual behavior are predicted by the frequency in which one views porn. For the models presented below, I have removed any demographic variables that are insignificant unless removing them negatively impacts the model. The regression coefficients for these models are presented in tables 5.4 through 5.14.

With the exception of same-sex sex, viewing pornography remained associated with more frequently engaging in sexual behaviors. The only significant variable associated with more frequently engaging in same-sex sex was identifying as other than straight. Sexual orientation was only significant in a few other sexual behaviors. Those who identified as straight were significantly more likely to engage more frequently in sex and less likely to engage in masturbation with a partner.

In addition to porn viewing frequency, gender, age, race, income, political affiliation, and relationship status were the variables most often associated with the frequency of engaging in various sex acts. One might expect education also to be significant for certain behaviors, but it was only significantly associated with frequency of giving oral sex. Respondents with a college degree or more education engaged less frequently in oral sex than those without a degree. This particular finding contradicts findings from the NHSLS (Michael et al. 1992). Michael et al. (1992) reported that oral sex was more common among white respondents and those with more education.

Gender was also associated with giving oral sex; men were significantly less likely than women to report giving oral sex more frequently. There was no difference between how frequently men and women reported receiving oral sex. Men more frequently reported ejaculating on their partner's body and engaging in anal sex as the one penetrating their partner. Women more frequently reported participating in anal sex as the penetrated partner and having their bodies ejaculated on by their partner.

When differences by age were significant, younger respondents engaged in sex acts more frequently than older respondents. Those under 50 were more likely to have sex, give and receive oral sex, participate in role playing, and report ejaculating on their partners' bodies. There were no acts in which those older than 50 reported engaging in more frequently than younger respondents. The NHSLS similarly found that those over 50 years old were less likely to report engaging in oral or anal sex compared to younger age groups (Michael et al. 1994).

Income was statistically significant in giving oral sex, receiving oral sex, and ejaculating on one's partner's body. Respondents who earned \$50,000 a year or more reported more frequently engaging in oral sex than those who earned less. The odds of more frequently ejaculating on the face and body of one's partner also increased for those who reported higher salaries.

Black and Hispanic respondents reported significantly different frequencies of engaging in various sex acts than whites. Black respondents reported higher frequencies of sex than white respondents. Black respondents were also more likely to receive oral sex more frequently. Hispanic respondents were more likely to give oral sex more frequently. The NHSLS found that oral sex was more common among white respondents than Black or Hispanic respondents. Michael et al. (1994) explain differences in oral sex by education and race as due to "...little

cross-racial dating and little sexual contact between better- and less-educated people,” (143). My study’s findings may be a reflection of an increase in interracial dating within the last twenty years, as well as greater acceptance of oral sex practices. Oral sex is commonly portrayed in mainstream pornography and so may have played a role in the increased rate at which Black and Hispanic respondents in my sample reported engaging in the behavior.

Race also correlated with masturbation, role playing, and ejaculation behaviors. Hispanic respondents more frequently reported being ejaculated on by their partners than white respondents. Black respondents reported more frequently participating in role playing and less frequently engaging in masturbation. The NHSLS also reported that Black men were twice as likely as white men to report that they had not masturbated in the past year.

Liberal respondents reported more frequently engaging in certain sex acts compared to those who identified as moderate or conservative. Liberal respondents more frequently received oral sex, but were no more likely to report frequently giving oral sex. Ejaculating on the body of one’s partner occurred more frequently for those who reported more liberalism. Liberal participants also more frequently engaged in anal sex as the penetrated partner, as well as reporting more frequent masturbation.

Relationship status consistently played a role in the type of acts in which individuals reported engaging. Individuals who are single and not dating report less frequently engaging in many sexual behaviors, including masturbation, compared to the reference category of married respondents. Michael et al. (1994) suggested that the more frequently one has sex, the more often one thinks about sex, and so one may be more likely to masturbate more often. A similar explanation may fit for single adults in my sample who reported having less frequent sex and masturbating less often than married adults.

Adults in my sample who identified their relationship status as dating had greater odds of engaging more frequently in acts like anal sex, ejaculating on another person, or being ejaculated on by another. While these models control for factors one might expect to play a role in these differences, like age, education, and porn viewing frequency, type of relationship remains significantly associated to the frequency in which ones engages in various types of sexual acts. This may be a reflection of individuals in newer relationships (like those who are dating and living together are more likely to be compared to married couples) engaging more frequently in a greater variety of sexual behaviors.

Results from these regression analyses seems to indicate that there is a clear association between frequency of viewing pornography and frequency of engaging in various sexual acts, even when controlling for other factors. It is still less clear, however, whether porn viewing is encouraging individuals to more frequently engage in certain sexual acts, or whether individuals who engage in certain sexual acts watch more porn. To better understand how frequency of pornography viewing and sexual behaviors may be associated, I asked respondents to report how often they saw things in pornography that interested them and how often they experienced things that they further sought out in pornography. The goal of these questions was to attempt to identify the direction of any associations between watching porn and sexual behaviors. Participants were first asked how often they saw things in porn that they *would like* to try out, and then how often they saw things in porn that they then *try out*. With these two variables, I looked for associations between frequency of viewing pornography in general and the various formats of pornography that respondents reported using. Overall frequency of viewing porn (and all formats of pornography) was positively correlated with the frequency in which respondents saw things they would like to try out and actually do try.

The correlations between frequency of viewing pornography and seeing things that one would like to try out was strongest for overall viewing (.674) and viewing Internet porn (.617). The association between frequency of wanting to try out what one sees and viewing porn on TV was the weakest (.270). Viewing pornography in other formats than online was more strongly associated with actually trying out what one sees. The correlation between viewing porn online and trying out what one sees (.401) was weaker than the correlation between viewing and wanting to try things out (.617). The opposite was true for the other formats. For instance, the correlation between viewing porn on DVD and the frequency in which respondents see things they would like to try (.374) is weaker than the frequency in which they actually try things out (.507). This may reflect a narrower range of sexual behaviors portrayed in non-Internet pornography formats. The behaviors that respondents view in these formats of porn may be more aligned with the types of acts in which they themselves are already interested or choose to engage.

Respondents also reported how often they experienced something sexual that they would either like to see in pornography or have later sought out in pornography after experiencing it. These two variables were positively correlated with overall viewing and each pornography medium. The strengths for these associations varied by pornography format. As respondents experience something they would like to see in pornography, their overall frequency of viewing increases. Among the different formats of pornography, the association with this variable of seeking out something one has experienced is strongest with Internet viewing (.503); it was weakest for pornographic novels (.292). Similarly to trying out behaviors they saw in pornography, some respondents reported actually seeking out in pornography things they have experienced sexually. The association between seeking something out and format of

pornography was strongest for Internet porn (.503). Frequency of reading pornographic novels and seeking out behaviors in porn was the weakest association (.267). In Table 5.14 the correlations for each of these variables and type of pornography is displayed. The term “like to try” describes how often respondents see something in pornography they would like to try. “Have tried” describes the frequency in which respondents have tried something that they have seen in pornography. “Like to see” refers to participants experiencing something sexually that they would like to see in porn, and “have sought out” describes respondents experiencing something sexual that they have then looked for in pornography.

Using ordinal logistic regression, I further explored the association between overall viewing of pornography and the four directional variables by controlling for demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, race, income, education, political affiliation, and relationship status. As shown in Tables 5.15 through 5.18, relationship status, political affiliation, and frequency of viewing porn are more consistently able to explain variation in how frequently respondents 1) see something in porn they would like to try out; 2) actually try out something they have seen in porn; 3) experience something sexual and the seek it out in porn; and 4) experience something sexual that they would like to see in porn. As frequency of pornography viewing increases, the odds of these four outcomes also increase.

Porn viewing and more liberal political affiliation were significantly associated with more frequently reporting seeing something in porn that one would like to try and actually trying it out. As porn viewing increases, the odds of more frequently seeing something one would like to try (5.51) increase more than the odds of actually trying something out (2.84). The odds of trying out what one sees in porn are also greater for those Black respondents compared to white respondents and those who are dating compared to married respondents. Respondents who are

single and not dating were less likely than married respondents to report trying out things they have seen in pornography.

As respondents' frequency of viewing porn increased, so did the odds of experiencing something sexual that one would like to see or that one has sought out in porn. Liberal respondents and those who earn more than \$50,000 a year were more likely to report experiencing something sexual they would like to see in pornography, but they were no more likely to experience something and then to actually seek it out. Straight respondents were less likely than non-straight respondents to report experiencing something they would like to see in porn. Respondents who were dating were much more likely than married participants to experience something sexual they would like to see and to seek it out in pornography.

PORNOGRAPHY & RISKY SEXUAL BEHAVIORS

Research has suggested that viewing pornography may correlate with the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviors (Braun-Corville and Rojas 2009; Flood 2009; Luder et al. 2011; Ybarra and Mitchell 2005). I tested this idea by comparing respondents' frequency of viewing pornography with their condom use, contraceptive use, and history of sexually transmitted infections. Condom use was measured in two ways. Participants identified whether they had used a condom or other barrier method at their last sexual encounter and how frequently (never, rarely, sometimes, often, always) they use condoms or some other barrier method. Participants also answered whether they or their current partner were using a contraceptive other than a barrier method. I measured sexually transmitted infections by asking respondents to check from a list any STIs that they currently had or had ever had. I then created a dichotomous variable to represent ever having had any STIs.

The frequency of viewing pornography correlated positively with using condoms. In other words, respondents who watched pornography more frequently reported using condoms more often. This was true with each medium of pornography. When controlling for relationship status, this positive correlation only remained for respondents who were married or single and not dating. For those who were dating, in a relationship, or living with their partner there is no significant difference between frequency of viewing pornography and condom usage. For those who were married and single, as pornography watching increased, so did condom usage. This correlation was stronger among single respondents than those who are married.

An ordinal regression test of this association between pornography and condom usage results in a significant parallel lines test, suggesting that multinomial regression is more appropriate for this analysis. Multinomial regression identifies whether independent variables are significantly correlated to each level at which the dependent variable is measured. So for a Likert scale variable that measures condom usage at occurring “never,” “rarely,” “sometimes,” “often,” or “always,” multinomial regression coefficients will determine whether independent variables are significantly associated with one or more of these levels. A multinomial regression test of condom use indicated that frequency of viewing porn was only significantly associated with condom use when respondents reported using condoms sometimes. Sometimes using condoms, as opposed to never using condoms, was associated with more frequent viewing of pornography. Black respondents were more likely than white respondents to report sometimes and often using condoms, but were no more likely to report never, rarely, or always using condoms. Men were more likely than women to rarely and sometimes use condoms. Respondents who were dating and not dating were more likely to report more condom usage overall than those who were married. Being in a relationship was significantly associated with

sometimes and always using condoms. Participants who more frequently reported going to church were significantly more likely to also report always using condoms. Multinomial regression coefficients are presented in Table 5.19.

Respondents indicated whether they used a condom during their last sexual encounter. I used logistic regression to identify which factors may best explain participants' condom usage at their last sexual encounters. Frequency of viewing porn was significantly associated with having used a condom at one's last sexual encounter. Black respondents were also more than twice as likely as white respondents to have used a condom at their last sexual encounter. Compared to those who are married, respondents who identified as single and not dating, in a relationship, and dating one or more people were more likely to have used a condom at their last sexual encounter. Respondents who lived with their partners were no more likely to have used a condom than were married individuals. The odds of having used a condom at one's last sexual encounter decreased for those over 50 years old. More frequent church attendance also increased the odds of having used a condom at one's last sexual encounter. Table 5.20 presents the logistic regression coefficients for significant variables in the model.

Birth control use (specifically non-barrier methods) and STI status were not associated with using pornography. Age, or being under 50 years old, was the only variable that was significantly associated with birth control use. Black respondents and non-straight respondents were more likely to report having had a STI.

PORNOGRAPHY & AROUSAL

Not surprisingly, frequency of viewing pornography was positively correlated with finding various types of porn arousing. I correlated viewing frequency with how aroused respondents indicated they were by various types of pornography, and in every instance there

was a significant correlation. The strengths of these correlations, however, vary by the type of arousal and the medium of pornography. Overall viewing frequency was most strongly associated with finding fellatio arousing (.557). As pornography viewing increased, respondents increasingly reported being aroused by seeing acts of fellatio. While still a significant correlation, viewing frequency and rating men having sex with men as arousing was the weakest association (.206). Table 5.21 displays the correlations between arousal and pornography viewing.

Using ordinal logistic regression, I regressed each sexual arousal variable on to the frequency of pornography viewing and demographic variables (Tables 5.22 through 5.32). Variables measuring arousal to heterosexual sex and cunnilingus were not conducive to ordinal logistic regression and so I used multinomial logistic regression for these two models (Tables 5.33 and 5.34). In all instances, viewing pornography was associated with finding various sex acts arousing. As pornography viewing increased, so did respondents' reported arousal to various sex acts, including fellatio, masturbation, interracial porn, and "barely legal" porn. Among ordinal regression models, the greatest increase in odds was for arousal to group sex, with an increase of 2.98 as porn viewing increased. The smallest increase in odds was for mature porn at 1.82. Gender, age, race, sexual orientation, and relationship status were also significantly associated with finding certain sex acts more arousing.

Men were significantly more likely to find amateur porn, "barely legal" porn, fellatio, interracial sex, and mature sex more arousing than women found them. Men were less likely than women to find men having sex with men and bondage and discipline sexually arousing. Women and men reported no differences in finding group sex, masturbation, sadomasochism, heterosexual sex, or violent porn arousing. The NHSLS measured how appealing respondents

found various sex acts, although not specific to viewing in pornography. Respondents reported the most appealing sexual acts to be vaginal intercourse, receiving oral sex, and watching one's partner undress (Michael et al. 1994). Women were more likely to find various acts unappealing than men. For instance, a majority of women aged eighteen to forty-four found group sex not at all appealing, but only a third of men this age found group sex unappealing. The findings from my sample may be suggesting that since the NHSLS was carried out, women and men are finding a wider variety of sexual acts appealing, at least when displayed in pornography.

Arousal to sex acts varied between respondents who were over 50 years old and those who were younger. Younger participants were more aroused by "barely legal" porn, violent porn, and bondage and discipline. Older participants were twice as likely to find mature porn more arousing than respondents younger than 50 years old. Both "barely legal" porn and mature porn are genres based on age and so a correlation between age of viewers and these genres most likely reflects viewers' interests in watching pornography that features performers who are closer to their own age. No significant differences were found with arousal to other sex acts between these age groups, which suggests that age does not correlate with having any other pornography preference.

Both Black and Hispanic respondents were significantly more likely to find interracial porn arousing compared to white respondents. For Hispanics, the odds increased by 2.09 as porn viewing increased, and for Black respondents there was a 3.70 increase in the odds of finding interracial sex arousing. The odds of finding mature sex arousing also increased for Black respondents. Compared to white respondents, Hispanics were significantly less likely to report being aroused by men having sex with men. In the multinomial regression models for heterosexual sex and cunnilingus, Black respondents were more likely than whites to find these

sex acts arousing at different points on the scale. Arousal was measured from 1 to 5, with 1 indicating an act is “not very arousing” and 5 indicating the respondent finds the act “very arousing.” Points in between were not specifically identified on the survey for participants, but would be consistent with a semantic differential scale so that a 2 indicates less arousal, 3 is neutral, and 4 suggest more arousal. Black respondents were more likely to find cunnilingus arousing at a 3 and at a 5, than were white respondents. Black respondents were also more likely to report finding cunnilingus as very arousing (5 on the scale).

Few differences emerged in the type of porn that straight and non-straight participants found arousing. Straight respondents were significantly less likely to be aroused by men having sex with men, but were much more likely to find heterosexual sex very arousing (at both a 4 and 5 on the scale). Straight participants were also more likely to report being aroused by cunnilingus. Sexual orientation was significant in the multinomial regression model for arousal to cunnilingus at points 3, 4, and 5 of the arousal scale.

The relationship status of “not dating,” was most often associated with finding various sexual acts arousing. Compared to married participants, non-dating respondents were less likely to find cunnilingus most arousing (a 5 on the arousal scale); they were also less likely to find group sex, amateur porn, and fellatio arousing. They were, however, more likely to find men having sex arousing. Respondents who identified as single but dating had greater odds than married respondents of finding B&D and S&M arousing.

PORNOGRAPHY & SEXUAL ATTITUDES

Using items from the scales of Bois and Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich, I explored respondents’ attitudes toward sexuality and pornography (Table 5.35 through 5.38). Bois’ scale measures respondents’ attitudes toward pornography, including items to measure whether they

believe that pornography is sexually arousing or teaches them new sexual techniques. I coded each item so that higher scores indicated more positive attitudes toward pornography, and then added respondents' answers for each item together to create a final measurement of attitudes toward porn. As one might expect, the more frequently respondents watched pornography, the higher they scored on this scale, indicating that those who watch more pornography have more favorable attitudes toward it. Hispanic respondents scored higher on this scale compared to white respondents. No other variables were significant in this model.

Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich's scale measures sexual attitudes regarding sexual permissiveness, communion, and birth control. While I did not include all of the items that usually comprise these scales, of the items I did include, I created three independent scales to regress on frequency of viewing pornography. Frequency of viewing porn was significantly associated with scales measuring permissiveness, but not attitudes toward communion or birth control. As porn viewing increased, so did participants' permissive attitudes toward sex. Men, those who are single and dating, and respondents with higher income also had more sexually permissive attitudes. Participants who reported living with their partners scored higher on the communion scale. Those who attended church more frequently and respondents over 50 years old were also more likely to have these beliefs. While viewing porn was not correlated with attitudes toward birth control, gender, church attendance, and age were significantly associated. Women had more positive attitudes toward birth control than men, as did those who reported attending church less frequently. Respondents over 50 years old also scored higher on the birth control scale, indicating more positive attitudes.

PORNOGRAPHY & THE SEXUAL EXPERIENCES SURVEY

The Sexual Experiences Survey measures experiences of non-consensual sex from the perspectives of victims and perpetrators. I modified these measures to identify whether respondents had ever experienced non-consensual vaginal sex, oral sex, and anal sex, as well as whether respondents reported ever having sex with someone without that person's permission. I used logistic regression to determine whether pornography viewing was associated with the likelihood of having forced someone to participate in oral, vaginal, or anal sex without their consent. There were no associations between viewing porn and having anal or vaginal sex without someone's consent. There was, however, a significant correlation between more frequently viewing pornography and engaging in oral sex with someone without their consent. Other variables that were significantly associated with non-consensual sex include political affiliation, relationship status, gender, and church attendance. Tables 5.39 through 5.43 display regression coefficients for each model discussed below.

The odds of having had vaginal or oral sex with someone without their consent increased for respondents who were more liberal. Compared to those who were married, participants who were dating also had increased odds of having had vaginal sex with someone without their consent. Participants who were 50 years and older had increased odds of having had oral sex with someone without getting consent. This was also true for participants with incomes over \$50,000 a year and those who reported more frequent church attendance. There were no factors significantly associated with having had anal sex with someone without their consent.

Some participants reported having been forced to engage in oral, anal, or vaginal sex without their consent. Viewing pornography was not associated with a greater likelihood of experiencing any type of nonconsensual sex act. Men were significantly less likely to report

experiencing nonconsensual anal sex, but gender was not significant for nonconsensual oral or vaginal sex. Respondents who were more liberal were also more likely to report having experienced non-consensual oral sex. Participants living with their partners had increased odds of having vaginal sex without giving their consent, while dating participants had increased odds of experiencing nonconsensual oral sex.

Regression models consistently indicated more frequent pornography viewing to be associated with the sexual behaviors respondents reported engaging in and finding arousing. Viewing porn also correlated with certain sexual attitudes, including more favorable attitudes toward pornography and more permissive sexual beliefs. In the next chapter, I discuss the qualitative data of the survey. Findings from the open ended questions help to support much of the quantitative results as well as offer a greater understanding of why participants use pornography and how they perceive porn to impact personal relationships.

TABLES FOR CHAPTERS FIVE

Table 5.1 Sexual Behaviors and Frequency of Viewing Pornography

Kissing	.106*
Heterosexual sex	.142**
Same-sex sex	.167**
Receiving oral sex	.273***
Giving oral sex	.257***
Anal sex – penetrate partner	.251***
Anal sex – penetrated by partner	-
Bondage & discipline	.137**
Sadomasochism	.151**
Group Sex	.166**
Ejaculate on partner's face	.260***
Ejaculate on partner's body	.419***
Partner ejaculates on face	.178***
Partner ejaculates on body	.185***
Masturbation	.598***
Masturbation with partner	.331***
Role playing	.227***

***p<.001 **p<.01 * p<.05

Table 5.2 Sexual Behaviors and Frequency of Viewing by Pornography Medium

	Internet	Magazines	DVDs	TV	Novels
Kissing	-	.112*	.138**	.138**	.115*
Heterosexual sex	.108*	.159**	.148**	.194**	.143**
Same-sex sex	.228***	.245***	.251***	.175***	.152**
Receiving oral sex	.252***	.270***	.360***	.252***	.212***
Giving oral sex	.222***	.295***	.341***	.273***	.263***
Anal sex – penetrate partner	.304***	.309***	.292***	.288***	.229***
Anal sex – penetrated by partner	.135**	-	.133**	.114*	.173***
Bondage & discipline	.136**	.222***	.224***	.258***	.301***
Sadomasochism	.175***	.255***	.206***	.239***	.229***
Group Sex	.258***	.379***	.300***	.360***	.282***
Ejaculate on partner’s face	.296***	.215***	.331***	.224***	.238***
Ejaculate on partner’s body	.431***	.271***	.363***	.231***	.165**
Partner ejaculates on face	.230***	.183***	.268***	.221***	.196***
Partner ejaculates on body	.225***	.119*	.292***	.255***	.267***
Masturbation	.570***	.246***	.264***	.177***	.267***
Masturbation with partner	.305***	.203***	.337***	.220***	.307***
Role playing	.242***	.327***	.361***	.311***	.299***

***p<.001 **p<.01 * p<.05

Table 5.3 Frequencies of Recoded Variables

	N	Percent
Age		
Under 50	238	57.2%
Over 50	178	42.8%
Income		
Less than \$50,000	236	57.0%
\$50,000 or more	178	43.0%
Church Attendance		
Several times a year or less	285	68.3%
More than several times a year	132	31.7%
College		
Less than college	260	62.4%
Some college or more	156	37.5%
Sexual Orientation		
Straight	381	91.4%
Not straight	36	8.6%
Race		
Black	56	14.7%
Hispanic	64	15.3%
White	261	68.5%
Political Ideology		
Conservative	132	35.3%
Moderate	115	30.7%
Liberal	127	34.0%

Table 5.4 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.357	11.161	.001	1.43
Gender	-.252	1.253	.263	.78
Age	-1.031	22.406	.000	.36
Black	1.037	11.742	.001	2.82
Hispanic	.549	3.765	.052	1.73
Straight	1.953	20.330	.000	7.05
Not dating	-3.951	135.666	.000	.02
In a relationship	-.050	.015	.903	.95
Dating	-.633	2.017	.156	.53
Living w/partner	1.052	9.832	.002	2.86

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 574.990 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .551

Table 5.5 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Receiving Oral Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.537	23.385	.000	1.71
Gender	-.251	1.091	.296	.78
Age	-.645	8.650	.003	.52
Income	.534	5.767	.016	1.71
Black	.659	4.944	.026	1.93
Hispanic	.542	3.515	.061	1.72
Liberal	.319	5.950	.015	1.38
Not dating	-1.931	37.165	.000	.15
In a relationship	.517	1.428	.232	1.68
Dating	.847	3.431	.064	2.33
Living w/partner	.898	7.106	.008	2.45

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 1018.385 p<.001
Nagelkerke R-Square .366

Table 5.6 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Giving Oral Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.658	37.998	.000	1.93
Gender	-.833	13.389	.000	.43
Age	-.549	6.607	.010	.58
Income	.436	4.134	.042	1.55
Black	.416	2.095	.148	1.52
Hispanic	.555	4.168	.041	1.74
College	-.422	3.910	.048	.66
Not dating	-2.362	59.898	.000	.09
In a relationship	.209	.282	.595	1.23
Dating	.468	1.038	.308	1.60
Living w/partner	.977	10.208	.001	2.66

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 925.188 p<.01
Nagelkerke R-Square .412

Table 5.7 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Masturbation

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.294	101.358	.000	3.65
Gender	-.245	1.014	.314	.78
Age	-.209	.871	.351	.81
Black	-.622	4.009	.045	.54
Hispanic	-.556	3.478	.062	.57
Liberal	.388	8.496	.004	1.47
Not dating	-.290	1.107	.293	.75
In a relationship	1.103	5.667	.017	3.01
Dating	-.091	.040	.841	.91
Living w/partner	-.255	.531	.466	.77

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 876.512 p<.001
Nagelkerke R-Square .409

Table 5.8 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Ejaculating on Partner's Body

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.943	32.713	.000	2.57
Gender	1.593	18.198	.000	4.92
Age	-.888	7.386	.007	.41
Income	1.184	11.717	.001	3.27
Black	.331	.601	.438	1.39
Hispanic	.375	.951	.329	1.45
Liberal	.391	4.171	.041	1.48
Not dating	.062	.019	.890	1.06
In a relationship	1.009	2.950	.086	2.74
Dating	1.934	12.984	.000	6.92
Living w/partner	.645	1.914	.166	1.91

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 369.386 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .459

Table 5.9 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Role Playing

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.589	16.201	.000	1.80
Gender	-.238	.546	.460	.79
Age	-.742	5.949	.015	.48
Black	.847	5.547	.019	2.33
Hispanic	.501	2.110	.146	1.65
Liberal	.338	3.562	.059	1.40
Church Attendance	.601	4.036	.045	1.82
Not dating	-.825	3.744	.053	.44
In a relationship	.332	.416	.519	1.39
Dating	.835	3.089	.079	2.30
Living w/partner	.393	.900	.343	1.48

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 829.448 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .211

Table 5.10 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Anal Sex (Penetrating one's partner)

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.497	7.888	.005	1.64
Gender	1.976	17.480	.000	7.21
Age	-.250	.425	.514	.78
Black	.650	1.878	.171	1.92
Hispanic	.708	2.845	.092	2.03
Straight	-1.193	5.536	.019	.30
Not dating	-.822	2.142	.143	.44
In a relationship	.219	.102	.750	1.24
Dating	1.857	12.240	.000	6.40
Living w/partner	1.315	8.321	.004	3.72

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 416.226 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .315

Table 5.11 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Anal Sex (As penetrated partner)

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.483	5.503	.019	1.62
Gender	-2.016	18.172	.000	.13
Age	-.589	2.082	.149	.55
Black	-.270	.307	.580	.76
Hispanic	-.212	.200	.655	.81
College	-.490	1.598	.206	.61
Liberal	.610	6.146	.013	1.84
Straight	-1.534	8.772	.003	.22
Not dating	-.515	.918	.338	.60
In a relationship	-.092	.015	.903	.91
Dating	1.313	4.374	.036	3.72
Living w/partner	.583	1.277	.258	1.79

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 740.476 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .263

Table 5.12 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Partner Ejaculating on Body

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.852	28.167	.000	2.34
Gender	-2.164	35.226	.000	.11
Age	-.379	1.422	.233	.68
Black	-.047	.013	.909	.95
Hispanic	.706	4.430	.035	2.03
Straight	-1.209	7.396	.007	.30
Not dating	-.736	3.001	.083	.48
In a relationship	-.065	.013	.909	.94
Dating	1.810	12.206	.000	6.11
Living w/partner	.541	1.884	.170	1.72

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 615.425 p<.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .301

Table 5.13 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Masturbating with a Partner

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.721	39.128	.000	2.06
Gender	-.585	5.706	.017	.56
Age	-.187	.662	.416	.83
Black	-.176	.301	.583	.84
Hispanic	.339	1.470	.225	1.40
Not dating	-1.001	10.648	.001	.37
In a relationship	.449	1.226	.268	1.57
Dating	.671	2.279	.131	1.96
Living w/partner	.095	.090	.764	1.10

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 512.200 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .200

Table 5.14 Viewing Porn and Frequency of Same-Sex Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.377	2.124	.145	1.46
Gender	-.137	.061	.805	.87
Age	.607	1.471	.225	1.83
Income	.464	.772	.380	1.59
Black	-.576	.779	.377	.56
Hispanic	.019	.001	.975	1.02
College	.186	.151	.697	1.20
Liberal	.736	5.373	.020	2.09
Church attendance	.357	.475	.491	1.43
Straight	-3.564	38.530	.000	.003
Not dating	-.527	.554	.457	.59
In a relationship	-.072	.006	.940	.93
Dating	1.211	2.390	.122	3.36
Living w/partner	-.425	.297	.586	.65

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 530.051 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .401

Table 5.15 Porn Viewing – Trying Out vs. Seeking Out

	Like to try	Have tried	Like to see	Have sought out
Overall Viewing	.674	.483	.529	.545
Internet	.617	.401	.503	.503
Magazines	.329	.428	.349	.310
DVDs	.374	.507	.395	.381
TV	.270	.349	.320	.312
Novels	.297	.312	.292	.267

All correlations significant at p<.001

Table 5.16 Viewing Porn and Like to Try

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.707	131.475	.000	5.51
Gender	-.069	.077	.781	.93
Age	-.227	.990	.320	.80
Black	-.115	.135	.714	.89
Hispanic	-.177	.339	.560	.84
Liberal	.482	12.374	.000	1.62
Not dating	-.321	1.296	.255	.73
In a relationship	-.384	.697	.404	.68
Dating	-.091	.038	.846	.91
Living w/partner	.096	.074	.786	1.10

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 751.735 p<.001
Nagelkerke R-Square .547

Table 5.17 Viewing Porn and Try Out

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.044	69.265	.000	2.84
Gender	-.161	.405	.524	.85
Age	-.009	.002	.967	.99
Income	.452	3.687	.055	1.57
Black	.661	4.569	.033	1.94
Hispanic	.165	.299	.584	1.18
Liberal	.308	4.994	.025	1.36
Not dating	-1.031	10.618	.001	.36
In a relationship	.271	.359	.549	1.31
Dating	1.151	5.713	.017	3.16
Living w/partner	.154	.190	.663	1.17

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 583.063 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .378

Table 5.18 Viewing Porn and Like to See

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.127	71.472	.000	3.09
Gender	.078	.084	.772	1.08
Age	-.338	1.918	.166	.71
Income	.683	7.319	.007	1.98
Black	.327	.978	.323	1.39
Hispanic	.490	2.499	.114	1.63
Liberal	.320	4.744	.029	1.38
Straight	-.984	5.691	.017	.37
Not dating	-.513	2.237	.135	.60
In a relationship	-.245	.235	.628	.78
Dating	1.635	11.212	.001	5.13
Living w/partner	.043	.013	.909	1.04

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 552.339 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .450

Table 5.19 Viewing Porn and Seek Out

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.202	92.835	.000	3.33
Gender	-.323	1.764	.184	.72
Age	-.172	.562	.454	.84
Black	.236	.557	.455	1.27
Hispanic	.529	3.473	.062	1.70
Not dating	-.531	3.404	.065	.59
In a relationship	-.069	.026	.872	.93
Dating	1.218	6.959	.008	3.38
Living w/partner	.400	1.558	.212	1.49

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 345.563 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .396

Table. 5.20 Viewing Porn & Frequency of Condom Use

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Rarely				
Viewing porn	.170	.618	.432	1.185
Gender	1.546	7.966	.005	4.692
Age	-1.468	8.212	.004	.230
Not dating	2.141	8.283	.004	8.507
In a relationship	.156	.019	.890	1.169
Dating	2.099	4.059	.044	8.159
Living w/partner	.353	.294	.588	1.423
Sometimes				
Viewing porn	.549	5.547	.019	1.732
Gender	1.260	5.139	.023	3.526
Age	-1.991	12.971	.000	.137
Black	1.268	4.381	.036	3.554
Not dating	1.671	3.955	.047	5.318
In a relationship	1.365	2.682	.102	3.917
Dating	3.120	10.400	.001	22.653
Living w/partner	-.144	.039	.843	.866
Often				
Viewing porn	.388	1.429	.232	1.474
Black	1.717	4.499	.034	5.569
Not dating	3.525	13.943	.000	33.955
In a relationship	2.241	4.212	.040	9.406
Dating	3.100	6.533	.011	22.187
Living w/partner	-.509	.165	.684	.601
Always				
Viewing porn	.250	.947	.330	1.284
Age	-3.270	16.915	.000	.038
Church	1.138	3.986	.046	3.121
Not dating	2.656	10.142	.001	14.242
In a relationship	1.721	3.937	.047	5.590
Dating	2.868	7.312	.007	17.610
Living w/partner	-1.087	.908	.341	.337
Model Fitting Chi-Square		184.718	p<.001	
Nagelkerke R-Square		.518		

Table. 5.21 Viewing Porn & Condom Use at Last Encounter

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing Porn	.352	4.681	.030	1.422
Gender	.667	3.174	.075	1.949
Age	-1.572	14.861	.000	.208
Black	.883	4.289	.038	2.419
Hispanic	.406	1.001	.317	1.501
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients Chi-Square		53.168	p<.001	
Nagelkerke R-Square		.258		

Table 5.22 Sexual Arousal and Frequency of Viewing by Pornography Medium

Viewing	Internet	Magazines	DVDs	TV	Novels	Overall
Heterosexual sex	.311***	.223***	.262***	.193***	.149**	.402***
Lesbian sex	.374***	.131*	.202***	.114*	.112*	.428***
Men having sex with men	.208***	-	.123*	-	.195***	.206***
Group sex	.479***	.258***	.304***	.177**	.217***	.519***
Bondage & discipline	.327***	.202***	.236***	.202***	.328***	.317***
Sadomasochism	.288***	.148**	.163**	.164**	.268***	.252***
Masturbation	.392***	.230***	.251***	.206***	.160**	.394***
Barely Legal	.479***	.228***	.155**	.135*	-	.478***
Violent sex	.345***	.222***	.116*	.154**	.220***	.287***
Rape	.321***	.234***	.129*	.111*	.180**	.276***
Fellatio	.541***	.261***	.303***	.103*	-	.557***
Cunnilingus	.363***	.247***	.279***	.121*	.243***	.425***
Amateur	.509***	.248***	.204***	.126*	.155**	.504***
Mature	.324***	.353***	.262***	.161**	.133*	.311***
Interracial	.418***	.307***	.321***	.202***	.176**	.418***

***p<.001 **p<.01 * p<.05

Table 5.23 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Amateur Porn

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.939	55.136	.000	2.56
Gender	.752	9.424	.002	2.12
Age	-.387	2.589	.108	.68
Black	.172	.292	.589	1.19
Hispanic	-.049	.028	.868	.95
Straight	.555	1.937	.164	1.74
Not dating	-.732	5.580	.018	.48
In a relationship	-.008	.000	.986	.99
Dating	.107	.058	.810	1.11
Living w/partner	.511	2.349	.125	1.67

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 540.287 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .354

Table 5.24 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Barely Legal Porn

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.744	29.756	.000	2.10
Gender	1.520	26.033	.000	4.57
Age	-.698	6.154	.013	.50
Black	-.310	.629	.428	.73
Hispanic	.239	.522	.470	1.27
Liberal	.060	.034	.855	1.06
Church Attendance	-.496	2.718	.099	.61

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 477.591 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .367

Table 5.25 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Bondage & Discipline

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.805	30.494	.000	2.24
Gender	-.817	7.674	.006	.44
Age	-.583	4.396	.036	.56
Black	-.289	.515	.473	.75
Hispanic	.191	.338	.561	1.21
Income	.854	9.279	.002	2.35
Straight	-.414	.965	.326	.66
Not dating	.058	.024	.877	1.06
In a relationship	.569	1.291	.256	1.77
Dating	1.025	4.091	.043	2.79
Living w/partner	.049	.015	.904	1.05

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 693.907 p<.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .214

Table 5.26 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Fellatio

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.043	68.300	.000	2.84
Gender	.921	13.924	.000	2.51
Age	.144	.367	.545	1.15
Black	.446	1.901	.168	1.56
Hispanic	.323	1.160	.281	1.38
Not dating	-.761	6.137	.013	.47
In a relationship	.135	.094	.759	1.14
Dating	-.417	.842	.359	.66
Living w/partner	.436	1.719	.190	1.55

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 451.455 p>.05

Nagelkerke R-Square .390

Table 5.27 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Group Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.092	79.951	.000	2.98
Gender	.094	.161	.689	1.10
Age	-.115	.265	.607	.89
Black	-.164	.275	.600	.85
Hispanic	-.083	.083	.773	.92
Not dating	-.619	4.909	.027	.54
In a relationship	.065	.024	.876	1.07
Dating	-.327	.542	.462	.72
Living w/partner	-.015	.002	.962	.99

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 508.358 p<.05

Nagelkerke R-Square .333

Table 5.28 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Interracial Porn

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.733	33.137	.000	2.08
Gender	.559	4.332	.037	1.75
Age	.005	.000	.983	1.01
Black	1.308	16.879	.000	3.70
Hispanic	.738	5.484	.019	2.09
Liberal	.369	6.312	.012	1.45
Not dating	.170	.326	.568	1.19
In a relationship	-.367	.508	.476	.69
Dating	.410	.804	.370	1.51
Living w/partner	.191	.260	.610	1.21

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 623.249 p>.05

Nagelkerke R-Square .310

Table 5.29 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Masturbation

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.809	45.867	.000	2.25
Gender	-.344	2.035	.154	.71
Age	-.237	1.092	.295	.79
Black	.381	1.523	.217	1.46
Hispanic	.069	.057	.811	1.07
Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 159.914 p>.05				
Nagelkerke R-Square .196				

Table 5.30 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Mature Porn

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.600	24.569	.000	1.82
Gender	.732	8.400	.004	2.08
Age	.782	10.148	.001	2.19
Black	1.019	10.361	.001	2.77
Hispanic	.458	2.263	.132	1.58
Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 156.296 p>.05				
Nagelkerke R-Square .213				

Table 5.31 Viewing Porn and Arousal to MSM Porn

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.667	13.951	.000	1.95
Gender	-.957	6.400	.011	.38
Age	.378	1.286	.257	1.46
Black	-.303	.549	.459	.74
Hispanic	-.948	3.928	.047	.39
Liberal	.724	11.854	.001	2.06
Straight	-2.388	28.173	.000	.09
Not dating	.911	5.827	.016	2.49
In a relationship	-.075	.013	.910	.93
Dating	.304	.238	.626	1.36
Living w/partner	.280	.317	.573	1.32
Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 633.250 p>.05				
Nagelkerke R-Square .311				

Table 5.32 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Sadomasochism

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.690	18.934	.000	1.99
Gender	-.422	1.721	.190	.66
Age	-.399	1.639	.200	.67
Income	.657	4.411	.036	1.93
Black	.091	.050	.823	1.10
Hispanic	-.117	.097	.755	.89
Straight	-.660	2.344	.126	.52
Not dating	.172	.175	.676	1.19
In a relationship	.651	1.258	.262	1.92
Dating	1.227	5.426	.020	3.41
Living w/partner	.166	.141	.708	1.18

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 599.480 p>.05
Nagelkerke R-Square .166

Table 5.33 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Violent Porn

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.886	21.003	.000	2.43
Gender	-.019	.002	.961	.98
Age	-.896	4.690	.030	.41
Income	.516	1.811	.178	1.68
Church Attendance	.727	3.367	.067	2.07
Black	-.183	.111	.738	.83
Hispanic	.603	2.279	.131	1.83
Not dating	.526	1.175	.278	1.69
In a relationship	.078	.011	.918	1.08
Dating	.453	.535	.465	1.57
Living w/partner	.210	.154	.695	1.23

Goodness-of-Fit Chi-Square 822.248 p<.001
Nagelkerke R-Square .213

Table 5.34 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Cunnilingus

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Arousing Level 2				
Viewing Porn	1.159	16.360	.000	3.186
Arousing Level 3				
Viewing porn	1.152	18.219	.000	3.165
Gender	1.630	10.377	.001	5.104
Black	1.322	5.120	.024	3.753
Straight	2.068	5.864	.015	7.906
Arousing Level 4				
Viewing porn	1.704	40.764	.000	5.498
Straight	3.412	8.409	.004	30.330
Not dating	-1.660	6.414	.011	.190
Arousing Level 5				
Viewing porn	1.587	35.646	.000	4.790
Black	1.172	4.270	.039	3.228
Straight	1.939	5.953	.015	6.951
Not dating	-1.653	6.300	.012	.191
Model Fitting Chi-Square	168.062	p<.001		
Nagelkerke R-Square	.458			

Table 5.35 Viewing Porn and Arousal to Heterosexual Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Arousing Level 2				
Viewing porn	.343	.644	.422	1.409
Arousing Level 3				
Viewing porn	.728	3.551	.060	2.071
Age	-1.373	5.740	.017	.253
Arousing Level 4				
Viewing porn	1.188	11.803	.001	3.280
Straight	2.965	9.001	.003	19.390
Arousing Level 5				
Viewing porn	1.769	26.480	.000	5.863
Black	1.432	5.285	.022	4.185
Straight	2.924	12.576	.000	18.623
Model Fitting Chi-Square	157.029	p<.001		
Nagelkerke R-Square	.425			

Table 5.36 Viewing Porn & Bois's Scale

	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.
Viewing porn	.756	.052	.663	.000
Gender	-.008	.110	-.003	.942
Age	.143	.111	.056	.197
Black	.217	.149	.060	.145
Hispanic	.294	.136	.089	.031

Constant 1.914

Adjusted R-Square .480

Table 5.37 Viewing Porn & Permissive Scale

	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.
Viewing porn	.375	.054	.371	.000
Gender	.325	.116	.144	.006
Age	.026	.116	.012	.820
Black	.133	.156	.041	.396
Hispanic	.136	.144	.046	.346
Income	.259	.114	.114	.024
Church attendance	-.243	.117	-.099	.039
Not dating	.133	.179	.050	.457
In a relationship	.037	.222	.008	.868
Dating	.813	.241	.165	.001
Living w/partner	.351	.167	.103	.036

Constant 1.184

Adjusted R-Square .268

Table 5.38 Viewing Porn & Communion Scale

	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.
Viewing porn	.096	.049	.118	.053
Gender	-.068	.105	-.038	.520
Age	.325	.105	.179	.002
Black	.107	.142	.042	.448
Hispanic	.004	.132	.002	.975
Church attendance	.296	.106	.152	.005
Not dating	-.029	.162	-.014	.857
In a relationship	.010	.199	.003	.958
Dating	.294	.220	.074	.184
Living w/partner	.316	.150	.116	.036

Constant 3.375

Adjusted R-Square .042

Table 5.39 Viewing Porn & Birth Control Scale

	B	Std. Error	Beta	Sig.
Viewing porn	.046	.047	.060	.327
Gender	-.304	.100	-.178	.003
Age	.205	.100	.119	.040
Black	-.240	.135	-.098	.075
Hispanic	-.016	.125	-.007	.897
Church attendance	-.265	.101	-.143	.009
Constant	4.321			
Adjusted R-Square	.036			

Tables 5.40 Viewing Porn and Experiencing Non-Consensual Anal Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.322	1.180	.277	1.379
Gender	-1.743	7.006	.008	.175
Age	.397	.503	.478	1.488
Black	.233	.114	.736	1.262
Hispanic	.635	1.025	.311	1.888
Liberal	.716	3.719	.054	2.047
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients	Chi-Square 27.415		p<.05	
Nagelkerke R-Square	.217			

Table 5.41 Viewing Porn and Experiencing Non-Consensual Oral Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	-.211	.629	.428	.810
Gender	-.799	2.175	.140	.450
Age	.595	1.395	.238	1.813
Black	-.707	.913	.339	.493
Hispanic	.031	.003	.958	1.032
Liberal	.922	8.362	.004	2.513
Not dating	.902	2.203	.138	2.465
In a relationship	.669	.505	.477	1.952
Dating	1.718	3.963	.047	5.572
Living w/partner	1.047	2.254	.133	2.850
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients	Chi-Square 28.242		p<.05	
Nagelkerke R-Square	.197			

Table 5.42 Viewing Porn and Experiencing Non-Consensual Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.284	1.124	.289	1.328
Gender	-20.334	.000	.998	.000
Age	.343	.525	.469	1.409
Black	-.257	.185	.667	.773
Hispanic	.098	.028	.867	1.103
Liberal	-.062	.049	.824	.940
Not dating	.441	.596	.440	1.555
In a relationship	.145	.027	.870	1.157
Dating	1.207	1.285	.257	3.343
Living w/partner	1.391	4.535	.033	4.019
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients Chi-Square 14.892			p>.05	
Nagelkerke R-Square .132				

Table 5.43: Viewing Porn and Perpetrating Non-Consensual Oral Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	1.449	7.336	.007	4.258
Gender	-1.972	2.898	.089	.139
Age	2.108	3.900	.048	8.228
Income	2.175	4.029	.045	8.799
Black	-1.565	1.117	.291	.209
Hispanic	-2.306	2.121	.145	.100
Liberal	1.494	4.981	.026	4.453
Church attendance	2.832	6.627	.010	16.973
Not dating	1.197	.614	.433	3.309
In a relationship	2.529	2.355	.125	12.537
Dating	1.795	.837	.360	6.017
Living w/partner	2.714	3.752	.053	15.088
Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients Chi-Square 32.378			p<.01	
Nagelkerke R-Square .422				

Table 5.44: Viewing Porn and Perpetrating Non-Consensual Sex

	Estimate	Wald	Sig.	Odds
Viewing porn	.719	1.553	.213	2.053
Gender	17.619	.000	.995	44860287
Age	.956	.586	.444	2.602
Black	-19.677	.000	.996	.000
Hispanic	-2.930	2.040	.153	.053
Liberal	2.055	4.481	.034	7.808
Not dating	-19.271	.000	.995	.000
In a relationship	2.725	2.100	.147	15.257
Dating	4.492	5.276	.022	89.312
Living w/partner	1.760	1.069	.301	5.811

CHAPTER SIX: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The survey in this study included nine open-ended questions. Through these questions, I hoped to gather more in-depth information about how individuals feel about and use pornography in their personal lives. While not everyone answered every question and most responses were brief, clear themes emerged from the information that respondents provided. In this chapter, I review respondents' most commonly cited positive and negative attitudes toward pornography, their perspectives on porn's impact on sexual arousal, and how they define sex. I present examples from responses that best exemplify the major themes that emerged from each question.

PORNOGRAPHY'S POSITIVE IMPACTS ON RELATIONSHIPS

The first open-ended question I asked respondents was, "What positive impact, if any, do you think pornography has on your relationships?" In total, 93.5% (n=390) of individuals responded in some way to this question. This total, however, includes minimal responses that were written in such as, "none" or "NA." About 130 responses (33%) included a phrase like, "none," "not much," or "NA." These phrases may suggest that the respondent believes that there is either no positive impact on their relationships or that the question is not applicable to them. When no other information is provided but a single phrase, these responses could also indicate that the respondent is choosing to skip the question. I only included "no" responses for analysis if other information was present that could further clarify the ideas of the writer. Through analyzing responses to this first question, five major themes emerged for this question: sexual enhancement or improvement, sexual arousal, sexual outlet, learning techniques, and negative or harmful impact.

Sexual Enhancement

About a third (n=73) of the sample wrote about how pornography is able to enhance their sexual experiences, often mentioning how they and their partners have benefited from watching porn. Responses that were coded as “sexual enhancement” described using porn with an intention of improving some aspect of one’s sexuality or relationship. Such aspects included using porn as a way to become more open about sex, initiating difficult conversations with partners, or maintaining sexual interest in one’s partner over time. While it may sound similar, this category is also distinct from the theme of “technique learning” because it is less about mimicking what one sees or using porn as an instructional guide, and more a reflection of how pornography has impacted respondents’ larger views on sexuality and the interactions they have with their partners.

Respondents’ positive thoughts about porn identified various aspects of pornography as a way to enhance one’s sexual experiences and relationships. One of the most basic aspects of this benefit of porn is that it helps to expand individuals’ ideas of sexuality. Respondents described becoming aware of new things, opening up to new ideas, and getting more comfortable with things they were once unsure of. Some participants wrote comments like, “It may give You [sic] some ideas,” and “[it] made me more curious and comfortable about certain subjects.” One woman respondent’s comment exemplifies the idea of enhancement as well as distinguishing this concept from technique-learning by explaining, “It allows [you] to see different sexual experiences without having to actually [sic] indulge yourself – unless you see something you’d like to try. It opens the door to possibilities.” This participant acknowledges that one may not like to experience firsthand everything that one is able to see in pornography. Rather than using

pornographic material as a how-to guide, this respondent suggests that viewers may see things they just want to watch and others that they may want to try.

I also coded comments that identified porn as a way to improve or sustain long term sexual relationships under enhancement. Terms like “spice up” and “reignite” were commonly used. One man explained, “I think that pornography helps some people reignite their sex life by showing different things and different positions they can try or do in the bedroom.” Another man respondent wrote that porn “takes the familiarity aspect out of a long term relationship, adds a little fantasy/excitement or spice into a long term partnership.” It is not entirely clear whether either of these respondents is speaking from firsthand experience. However, it is clear that the idea of sexual relationships losing their initial appeal and later needing “spicing up” is not uncommon in our culture, and something that these respondents think pornography can address.

Other respondents did write about their own use of pornography as a way to maintain interest in a sexual partner of many years. One woman wrote, “It’s given my husband and I new ideas to try to help keep our sex life from getting stale.” Another woman respondent explained that porn “gives us new ideas instead of the same every sexual experience.” In these instances, participants reported using pornography in the context of a relationship in order to improve their sexual experiences. They imply that over time sex gets boring, but pornography can add creativity that they otherwise would not be able to add themselves.

A third dimension of sexual enhancement relates to pornography encouraging communication between sexual partners. Respondents expressed this idea by suggesting that pornography can be a way to begin a conversation or to explore their sexual interests together. One woman participant wrote, “it can open up discussion within a relationship,” while another explained, “it makes us more open with each other and lets us try different things.” A third

woman elaborates on how pornography helps make talking about sex easier, writing: “In moderation, it has made a positive impact on our relationship. Although we do not mimic all that we see, it allows for a more open conversation about things we may have wanted to try but were to shy to ask of each other.” For these participants, pornography has provided an opportunity to talk more openly about sex. The last respondent’s answer, though, includes some caution, suggesting that it is possible to watch too much pornography and so potentially have a negative impact.

Arousal

The second most frequently cited benefit of pornography is its ability to arouse viewers. Forty-seven participants (18.1%) wrote about finding pornography arousing. This theme was conveyed in some of the briefest, but still quite clear, responses, including comments like: “Great turn on”; “prior arousal”; “arousal”; “its [sic] stimulating”; “It makes you horny”; and “gets me going.” Participants repeatedly acknowledged that pornography was a way for them, their partners, or others to become sexually aroused. Some reported using it before sex with their partner so that both would become aroused, as one woman explained, “it can be used as a form of forplay [sic], so we are both ready at the same time.” A man respondent wrote, “We watch it together and we both get aroused, then we have sex!”

Some reported using pornography to become interested in sex while others suggested that they use it to increase or intensify their sexual arousal. One woman explained, “Can get you interested in having sex even if you weren’t ‘in the Mood’ previous to watching it.” This respondent and others suggested that pornography can be used as a way to become sexually aroused, rather than watching after one is already aroused. Other participants explained why this might be desirable such as, “[porn] takes up a man’s lack of foreplay.” For this woman

participant, pornography may be acting as a form of foreplay or arousal in place of her partner. Foreplay is usually seen as leading to sexual arousal or a way to initiate sex, and occurs between partners. Instead, this woman is suggesting that she uses pornography to become aroused before sex, perhaps because her partner is unable or unwilling to engage in sufficient foreplay.

Another woman participant described using porn to increase sexual arousal, “It excites my husband and me and makes us have more intense sex.” Similar to this, another woman explained why sex while watching porn is so enjoyable, “It helps us become more intimate while watching pornography because we can enjoy our sexually encounter while we hear the same thing going on in the background.” A third woman respondent’s experience strengthens the idea that pornography is enjoyable for couples, “It gives a thrill to watch and the mutual feelings of passion and desire are very intense. Having sex after watching a porno movie gives a great feeling. This can really stimulate your partner.”

While these responses do not imply that pornography is necessary for arousal, other comments made this distinction. “They [pornography] tend to put me ‘in the mood’, which is currently my biggest issue in my sexual relationship.” The respondent did not clarify why, but unlike the others below who specify age as their reason for sexual difficulty, it is unlikely the reason for this 26 year old woman. One man wrote, “At my age, [porn] helps get it going.” Another man explained, “older now, takes more time for arousal. porn can help in that respect.” Unfortunately, these responses are still unclear as to why pornography is needed for arousal at their age. In other words, age may be affecting one’s ability to physically become aroused, or they could be suggesting that their sexual interests have declined over time. Whether used to initiate a sexual encounter, increase desire, or improve sexual response, these participants found pornography’s influence on sexual arousal to be one of its most positive impacts.

Sexual Outlet

Thirty-seven participants (14.2%) reported using pornography as a sexual outlet. More specifically, these respondents described porn as a healthy way to explore fantasies or direct sexual energy. Participants in and out of relationships reported using porn as a sexual outlet, but in different ways. For those in relationships, pornography was a way to satisfy sexual desires that were not met within the context of the relationship. One woman participant in a relationship explained that, “it satisfies [sic] a need my partner [sic] is not able to satisfy [sic].” It is unclear whether she is referring to a need for sexual stimuli or more sexual pleasure. She may also be referring to an interest in viewing sexual acts in which she is otherwise unable to engage. Some participants seemed to take this position and suggested that porn was a way to experience sexual acts and fantasies that one otherwise would not have access to. Lack of access could be due to no available partner or a current partner being unwilling to engage in a particular act. Two men participants vaguely expressed lack of access when they wrote comments like, “You can live out your fantasy,” and “indulge in fantasy without the complications.” Another man participant clarified and described porn as, “An outlet for me to fantasize about things my partner does not have interest.”

Not only did the individuals who use porn as an outlet recognize this as a benefit, but sometimes partners did as well. One woman wrote, “Might relieve sexual tension for my partner,” and another further explained, “If he is curious about something I am not comfortable with he watches porn instead of cheating on me with someone who is willing to do it.” In this last comment, it is unknown whether the respondent’s partner would actually have sex with someone outside of their relationship. Still though, she perceives infidelity as a possibility and

pornography as a way to prevent it. No men respondents wrote that pornography helped satisfy their partners' in ways that they could not.

Other respondents acknowledged infidelity as a potential problem that pornography helps to prevent. One woman participant wrote, "you can stay faithful to your partner without bringing someone else into the relationship. no jealousy factor." While one might think that pornography could also encourage or expose one to the idea of cheating (as some respondents suggested in response to the question about negative impacts of porn), several respondents wrote that pornography helps them stay monogamous. As one man participant explained, "[Porn] Helps fulfil [sic] a fantasy to be with another woman without actually doing it."

In a couple of other instances, respondents made it very clear that sex with their partners was no longer possible, and pornography was their only option for sexual release. In the response below, the participant acknowledges that pornography is not keeping him monogamous because he would have sex outside of his relationship given the opportunity, but he perceives porn to be his only option as a sexual outlet:

Pornography is my only sexual outlet[.] My wife has fibromyalgia and cannot have sex anymore. I've taken her to a gynecologist and there is no cure although hormone treatments may help. She and I agreed that we don't wish such treatments which can have all kinds of undesirable side effects, hence pornography is my only outlet. I am perfectly open to "getting some on the side", but at 67 years old, I doubt that such an opportunity would ever present itself to me.

Another participant explained: "Pornography gives me an outlet because my wife thinks sex is a sin unless it's to conceive, and at 55 and after 5 children, the last thing I want is another child. I'd have to say porn gets me through the hard times... (no pun intended)." Though for different reasons, both of these men use pornography as a sexual outlet. Traditional views on marriage and sexuality prevent them from having sexual relationships with partners other than their wives, even though the 67-year-old participant writes that he would welcome the opportunity. Despite

both men writing that they are not sexually fulfilled in their marriages, neither seem to suggest ending their relationships as a possible solution. While they are both clearly unhappy with their situations, pornography may provide enough of an outlet for them to remain in their marriages.

Some other respondents acknowledged that pornography was currently their only sexual outlet, but these respondents explained that it was because they were not currently sexually active or involved in a relationship. One woman participant simply explained, “I am not currently sexually active, but viewing pornography satisfies my sexual needs,” and a man participant wrote, “Since I’m by myself it satisfy [sic] my urges.” A third participant not only explained using porn as a sexual outlet but also described why she thought it was positive when she wrote, “I’ve never had a relationship, so pornography is a safe outlet for any sexual urges I feel. It’s positive in that I’m not out sleeping with people I’ve no feelings for and exposing myself to diseases and other things I don’t want to worry about.” For this participant, using pornography is a safe alternative to casual sex. Her statement clearly contradicts beliefs that pornography is correlated with sexual promiscuity or more permissive attitudes and behaviors. In fact, for all of these respondents, pornography is helping to prevent them from engaging in potentially risky casual sex rather than promoting it.

Learning Techniques

Some participants (13.5%, n=35) reported that they used porn in order to improve their own sexual techniques. Learning techniques refers to mechanical aspects of sexuality, such as what or how to perform sexual behaviors. Answers from respondents that demonstrate this concept often even include the word “technique” and describe how pornography has directly influenced how they perform sexual acts. Respondents used terms like “teach” and “learn,” which suggest that pornography can act as a how-to guide to sex. Some of the things

respondents reported learning include new positions, how to perform oral sex, and how to make sex last longer. While one might think that younger respondents would be more likely to report “learning” from pornography, some older participants also made these types of comments. One 61 year old man respondent wrote, “It shows me how to give pleasure to the one I’m having sexual relationship with.” Another 55-year-old man participant explained, “it has allowed me to learn and try new and different techniques with sexual partners.”

Some respondents included comments to suggest that they have succeeded in learning what pornography teaches. A 22-year-old man participant wrote, “The 1st (current & only) girl I’ve had sex with was amazed that I was a virgin and so good at sex... I’ve watched a lot of porn.” Another man participant’s comment demonstrated how porn has helped, “I’ve been able to perform certain positions and oral sex better based on what I saw in porn. I can please my partner better.” In these instances, pornography is not just acting as a way to arouse viewers or explore sexual fantasies; it is also teaching viewers how to do the very sex acts they are watching. Typically it was men respondents who reported using pornography to learn techniques, often suggesting that their partners benefited from what they had learned.

Few Upsides to Porn

I specifically asked respondents about positive impacts that pornography has on relationships, but some respondents (13.5%, n=35) replied that there *are* no positive effects of pornography. Often, negative responses included few justifications for why pornography is bad. Vague responses included, “I can’t think of single good thing that every [sic] comes from pornography,”; “none whatsoever,”; “Very little!” and “no positive impact.” Some participants clearly had strong feelings about the negative impact of pornography and further elaborated in their responses. One man wrote, “It has no positive impact. There should be stiffer penalties for

peddling and sharing pornography – both online and offline.” A woman explained, “Very little positive impact at this stage of life. Although I did not view much pornography in the past either, it seemed to be a bit more stimulating then than it is now.” Other participants agreed that porn can have negative impacts and indicated this in their response to the second question, but unlike the respondents quoted above, they were at least able to come up with something positive about pornography or simply left the question blank.

Some respondents seemed conflicted about giving a positive response and so explained how it could be both positive and negative. For instance, one man wrote, “Not much. When you’re young it creates [sic] false expectations. But when you’re not getting any [sic] a good between your next encounter type thing.” In this example, the participant explains that there are not many positive aspects of pornography, but then further clarifies that this may change depending on one’s age. More specifically, pornography is problematic when one is young, but beneficial when, presumably, one is older and in between relationships or sexual partners. He may also be suggesting that viewing pornography when young and sexually inexperienced can lead to a false understanding of sexuality. In other words, adults can distinguish between sex in pornography and sex in real life, but teens and even young adults may not be able to.

Another man respondent presented this contradiction of pornography, “It helps and it hurts. Gives new ideas, but may create a standard that can’t be fulfilled.” New ideas presented in pornography may come at a risk. This particular response is vague in that it’s unclear what new ideas or standards might be set by porn, but for this respondent, there is the potential for someone to want to engage in an act presented in pornography, but then be unable to for some reason. Single individuals may be unable to engage in certain acts because they have no partner,

while others in relationships may have partners who are uncomfortable with pornography influencing their sex lives. One woman's answer exemplified the latter when she wrote, "I didn't like to watch pornography with my husband when he was alive. I made myself a porn star when we made love." Like the responses above, this woman's response was to the question of positive impacts of pornography, but she is suggesting that porn has only been harmful to her relationship by setting unrealistic expectations she felt she needed to meet. Below I further describe negative attitudes about pornography that were given in response to the second open ended question.

PORNOGRAPHY'S NEGATIVE IMPACTS ON RELATIONSHIPS

A total of 386 responses were given to describe pornography's negative impacts on relationships. However, this total includes over 200 respondents that gave an answer of "none," "no," "NA," or some other answer that did not identify a negative impact of porn. Of the remaining responses that described how pornography can be harmful, I identified four major themes: porn sex isn't real sex; choosing porn over relationships with people; addiction; and infidelity. There were a total of 104 responses that expressed one or more of these four themes.

Porn Sex Isn't Real Sex

By far the most common (37.5%; n=33) negative impact that respondents gave about pornography and relationships was that porn sex and "real" sex are different, and confusing the two can be harmful and sometimes even hurtful. The concept "porn sex isn't real sex" describes various aspects of pornography that individuals recognize as different from real sex, and can range from the fantasies presented to the beauty standards porn portrays. Many participants were quick to point out that porn presents a different image of sex than what most experience. One woman respondent explained that porn "distorts perception of what sex between loving partners

is all about.” Here the emphasis is on sex in a loving context, which is almost never the case for porn sex. The respondent also seems to ignore, though, that sex outside of love can and does take place in real life. The lack of love in porn wasn’t the only problem that respondents pointed out. Other participants identified discrepancies between porn sex and real sex like, “A lot of it is not realistic,” and “gives some people bad ideas of what sex is about,” or “it can give you poor perceptions of what is acceptable,” but none of these explicitly identify what these bad ideas or unacceptable images are. Instead, some respondents wrote about how the images in pornography made them feel or their concern for how others might internalize these images.

Mostly women wrote about the concern that others will believe what they see in pornography as real, and only women were worried that porn viewers might develop unrealistic expectations for their partners. One woman wrote, “it may make you think that what you’re seeing is the norm. You may seek to compare sexual partners to what you see.” Another wrote about porn, “giving partner a false sense of woman’s body.” These women are concerned that men who view porn may have unrealistic expectation about women’s bodies because of the often photo-shopped body images portrayed in pornography. No men respondents wrote about porn bodies (men’s or women’s) being unrealistic. Instead, men’s comments were usually non-specific statements like, “Unrealistic expectations,” and “it can give you poor perceptions of what is acceptable.” Some men respondents seem to know that there are unrealistic images in pornography, but it does not seem to be something they identify as a negative impact of porn on their relationships.

Some women also wrote about how these comparison made them feel with comments like, “It makes me feel inferior,” and “i don’t like how my boyfriend watches so much makes me feel less attractive.” Not only are women concerned about the images portrayed in porn, but

some commented that viewers may try to incorporate the things they see in porn into real life sex. One woman explained, “partner wants to try things that i find very uncomfortable.” This participant’s experience of her boyfriend wanting to try out what he sees in porn lends support to other respondents’ concerns that porn viewers may not be able to distinguish between real sex and porn sex. One woman emphasized this idea when she wrote, “Porn films are fantasy that men adore as they actually think that this could be a norm in a relationship.” Another woman recalled a conversation with her husband and wrote, “Husband once said he wished women were like they are in porn. You just look at them and they rip their clothes off. That tells you that porn is many times not too accurate and could make some people think there is something wrong with them when there is not.” The fear that porn could make one think there is something wrong with them could be true for both those who want to have the kind of sex they see in pornography and those who do not. As I discuss in the next section, many respondents wrote that they get new ideas from porn, and some even see things they want to try; fewer respondents suggested that they do not believe pornography influences what they find arousing. If pornography has such an impact on arousal, as the respondent above suggested, it may also be shaping viewers’ sexual expectations in their personal relationships with others.

Porn Over People

The second most common theme (31.7%; n=33) expressed concern for what might happen to the significant other of an individual who watched “too much” pornography. I labeled this concern as “porn over people” to describe the idea that pornography can replace or become more important than a sexual partner or other potential relationships. Respondents expressed this concept in various ways, including the idea that someone who watches porn might prefer

viewing it to having sex with their partner or that viewing porn may prevent one from trying to establish relationships with others.

Various participants suggested the idea that one might choose porn sex over sex with another person. One woman respondent wrote, “Once [sic] partner can become completely dependent on porn and the other can feel left out.” Another suggested that, “if the focus is the porn and not the person, there is a huge problem.” In these two examples, pornography is described as distracting an individual from their significant other. The concern is less for the person who is watching porn and ignoring their partner, but more for the partner that gets less attention because of porn.

There were also examples of pornography completely replacing sex with one’s partner or removing the need for a partner altogether. One man explained that, “sometimes [porn] acts as a substitute for real sex with another person...easier, less strings attached.” In this case, the respondent clarifies that it is easier to use porn for sex than it is to have a relationship with another person. Another man respondent suggested a similar idea when he wrote, “Makes you too lazy to pursue woman.” These men acknowledge that not only is it possible to replace partnered sex with pornography, but that it is something they seem to have little control over. Porn “makes you” less likely to seek interactions with other people.

Some respondents reported on their experience as the significant other replaced by porn. One woman wrote, “my spouse has used it as an alternative for having sex.” In this particular example, though, she does not specify how she feels about this. Considering that she gave this response to a question about the negative impact of porn, it is likely that she considers it a problem for her relationship. Another woman described a similar situation when she wrote, “I’ve had a previous relationship with a man who watched porn rather than being intimate with

me, and that's had a pretty negative effect on our relationship." A third woman also highlighted the concept of porn over people when she explained, "My husband tends to use porn as a substitute for sex, therefore we do not have sex as often as I'd like." For both of these respondents, their partners' pornography use impacted the quality and quantity of their sexual relationships. Only women respondents reported their partners' pornography use as a problem.

Some respondents recognized that they have put pornography before their personal relationships with others. One man respondent simply wrote, "Separated myself from other people." Another elaborated, "Sometimes I spend too much time searching for good pornography when I could be doing something more useful for my partner." The significant others above suggested that too much porn watching meant less sex with their partners, but this respondent's answer may also indicate that it is not just the quality or quantity of the couple's sex life that diminishes. Spending time together or doing the work to maintain a relationship may also get pushed aside for pornography.

Addiction

Twenty-three respondents (22.1%) expressed concern about pornography by highlighting the potential for addiction. This included warnings like, "watch in moderation," and "very addictive...have to remember that it's NOT real." Others explained that, "it can be addicting," or that, "to some people it can become addictive and not good for your mental health." Besides the potential for harming a partner through one's porn addiction, few of these responses suggested exactly what porn addiction might look like or how it is harmful to the individual with the problem. One woman who clarified her concern explained that, "Sometimes you watch too much or too often and expect things that don't really happen in real life." Other respondents described

a similar outcome (described below as, “porn sex is not real sex”), but did not specify addiction as a necessary condition to this result.

While no one in this sample reported becoming addicted to porn, there were some instances where a respondent acknowledged that they or someone they knew watched porn to the point of it being a problem. It is not always clear, though, when porn viewing becomes a problem. Addiction could be defined by the amount of time one spends watching or by any effects it might have on one’s sexual relationships. One man seemed to describe the latter type of problem when he wrote, “I am sometimes too dependent on it for sexual arousal, which I need to decrease.” Another participant explained a problem that she relates to pornography addiction:

There is a chance that one could become addicted to pornography and this could take a negative turn in the relationship. My previous husband became addicted to porn and started going online posing as a woman because this would get him aroused. He enjoyed chatting [sic] with men and exchanging pictures of his erected penis. His addiction grew and finally he became aware that he also had gay feelings. He had sex with other men and had a lover.

There is no way to know if the problem this respondent described is in fact porn addiction, but even so, the negative outcome of addiction that she identifies is for herself as the partner. One could imagine that from her husband’s perspective the outcome was positive in that pornography helped him to better understand and explore his sexual attraction to men.

Infidelity

Infidelity is mentioned as both a positive and negative impact of pornography, specifically in that porn can prevent cheating or it can encourage it. Above I described how respondents wrote that pornography helped them stay monogamous, but for this question (“What negative impact, if any, do you think pornography has on your relationships?”), some participants (8.7%; n=9) suggested that pornography can lead to cheating on one’s partner. Few respondents equated actual pornography viewing as a form of infidelity. Instead, this theme describes the

idea that pornography may cause one to engage in sex with someone other than one's partner. It is interesting to note that more of the responses describing porn as a way to prevent cheating came from the first person perspective, while more of the responses suggesting that porn leads to cheating were written in the third person. In other words, more of those who believed porn to have a positive impact were describing their own personal experiences than were those who believed it to have a negative impact. For example, one man respondent wrote, "It could cause one [of] the people in the relationship to wonder what it is like to have other partner," and another simply explained, "makes some people have affairs."

There were, however, three instances where respondents described their own personal experiences of pornography and infidelity. Two respondents acknowledged that viewing pornography does impact them negatively, and one described an experience with a partner who used pornography and cheated. One woman wrote, "i look for sex outside my relationship," but it is not clear if she is suggesting that pornography had already led to infidelity. Another respondent wrote, "It keeps my mind wandering, wishing I could cheat. I think watching porn makes me more dissatisfied in my relationships." For this man, it is clear that he hasn't cheated, but he perceives pornography to make infidelity seem appealing. A third respondent wrote, "ha! it's been damaging to my relationship. it can lead to the husband getting in touch w/real people via the internet." While this woman did not say "my husband," her suggestion that pornography has damaged her relationships indicates that this was her experience. No men reported concern that pornography could lead their partner to cheat on them. Instead, men were more likely to identify pornography as either preventing or influencing them to cheat. It may not be that men have nothing to worry about, though; they may just perceive their women partners as less likely to view pornography, have sex outside of the relationship, or both.

THE TURN-ONS AND TURN-OFFS OF PORN

The third open-ended survey question asked respondents how they thought pornography influenced what they found arousing. Respondents' answers suggested: that they thought porn had little to no effect on what they find arousing (n=86); that porn introduced them to new ideas that they now find arousing (n=55); or that they saw things in porn that they want to try out (n=12). The majority of participants reported that porn does not influence what they find arousing, either because they only watched things they were already interested in or simply because they just did not believe it had an impact. Respondents who did not elaborate beyond claiming there was no impact gave responses like, "I don't think it influences me," and "I don't think it changes what i find to be arousing." Others who explained that they only watched porn they were already interested in made comments like, "I prefer to watch what already arouses me," and "I search for the porn I find arousing based on what happens between me and my partner." In these instances, respondents' comments indicate that they believe their pornography choices are based on what they already find arousing. What is unclear from all of these respondents is what exactly any of them find arousing, either in porn or real life. Responses to the next two open-ended questions on the survey can offer a better understanding of respondents' turn-ons and turn-offs in pornography.

Of participants who wrote that pornography affected them in some way, the belief that porn introduces new ideas was by far the most common category. Respondents' wrote comments like, "Opens the doors so you can see what maybe arousing," and "The more you see something, the more arousing it can become." These kinds of comments suggest that the things participants find arousing are at least in some way shaped by the pornography that they see. In

fact, the latter comment indicates that as one watches more porn, it may have an increased effect on what one finds arousing.

For some participants, the images they see in pornography not only impact what they find arousing, but also shape the kind of sexual acts in which they would like to engage. These comments were much rarer, but what is particularly interesting about them is that they were given in response to a question about pornography's impact on sexual arousal, not sexual behavior. In other words, the question did not ask, "How do you think pornography impacts your sexual behavior," but "How, if at all, do you think watching pornography influences what you find arousing?" A couple of examples of responses that reflect an interest in trying out what one sees include, "Sometimes it gives me new things to try," and "If you are aroused by something that you see, you may want to try it too." While the concern described above that porn influences the behaviors viewers want to try comes mostly from women, both men and women described viewing porn that influenced the sexual acts they became interested in trying.

Two questions asked respondents to identify what they found most and least arousing in pornography. Respondents reported a range of porn characteristics that they found appealing and unappealing, many of which overlapped. Like all of the questions discussed so far, there were quite a few respondents (n=88) who wrote in answers like, "none," "nothing," and "NA," as their response to the most arousing question, as well as "all" and "everything" (n=23) for the least arousing question. There were also quite a few respondents (n=67) who wrote in "NA," "none," or "nothing," for the least arousing question, but it is unclear if they are suggesting that there is nothing they find least arousing about pornography or if they are simply choosing not to answer the question. However, there was no shortage of responses that identified various acts or characteristics of sex that respondents identified as their least or favorite parts of porn. Here I

will discuss some of the most commonly mentioned of these, as well as identify when a particular feature appears on both the most and least favorite list.

Perhaps the only major category that appeared on the most arousing list and not once as least arousing was heterosexual sex. Several participants clearly identified sex between a man and a woman as the aspect of porn they found most arousing. No one specified straight sex as something they found least arousing. On the other hand, same-sex sex appeared as both some respondents' most and least arousing act in porn. Many participants identified the type of same-sex sex they found most and least arousing by specifying whether they were referring to sex between two or more women or two or more men. Both categories appeared on both the most appealing and least appealing lists, but sex between two women was more common on the most arousing list while sex between two men occurred more frequently on the least arousing list. Considering that most of the respondents are straight, and those who watch porn more frequently are men, this is not too surprising.

Participants also identified anal and oral sex as both most and least arousing. More respondents identified anal sex as the least arousing (n=15) part of porn than respondents who identified it as the most arousing (n=4). The opposite was the case for oral sex; more respondents identified it as most arousing (n=16) than least arousing (n=9), and several identified specifically whether they had a preference for cunnilingus (n=5) or fellatio (n=2). Of the five respondents who found cunnilingus most arousing, four of them were women. Of all the responses regarding oral sex, two men specified their preference was for oral sex performed on men; one woman wrote that she found "gay oral sex" arousing, but it is unclear whether she means between men or women. When oral sex was described as the least arousing aspect of

pornography, the only type specified was fellatio. Two women and one man reported it as least arousing. No participants specifically listed cunnilingus as the least arousing aspect of porn.

Ejaculation on the face (“facials”), body, or anywhere else appeared as the most and least arousing aspects of porn for some participants. It was more common, though, for participants to identify it as the least arousing (n=14) aspect rather than the most arousing (n=5). Somewhat surprisingly, both men and women identified ejaculate and facials as the aspect that they found most arousing and least arousing. Specifically, four men identified ejaculate on the body or face as most arousing, and one woman simply wrote, “cum” as what she found most arousing. Eight women and six men found ejaculation to be the least arousing aspects.

Most participants seemed to agree that women are one of the most arousing aspects of pornography, while men are not. In fact, there were only a few instances when women were listed as the least arousing part of porn. Most of these least arousing aspects about women were described in reference to same-sex sex, “ugly women,” women’s bad acting, or violence toward or degradation of women. Both men and women mentioned violence, degradation, and rape as least arousing. There were two instances, however, where rape was also identified as one of the most arousing aspects of porn, but the respondents’ comments did not specify rape of women, although it is probably implied. Both of the respondents who listed rape as most arousing were women. When respondents identified women as the most arousing aspect of porn (n=36), it was in connection to women’s attractiveness, sexual appeal, their bodies, and youth. No participants identified characteristics of men they found most arousing in porn except for one participant who wrote that she used to like to look at pictures of nude men.

Beyond the individuals in porn or the acts they perform, respondents identified a few other aspects of pornography that they found most and least arousing. Several respondents

reported that they do not like talking in porn, particularly when it is for “no purpose” or there is too much of it. Bad acting or when interactions appear staged or unnatural was also a common example of the least arousing aspect of porn. The story or plotline was mentioned as both a most and least arousing characteristic. Both men and women respondents found a “good storyline” to be a strength of porn; when the plot is unbelievable, it was listed as one of the least arousing parts of pornography. A few respondents listed storyline as a weakness but suggested that any storyline at all was unnecessary.

PORN SEX, REAL SEX, AND “GOOD” SEX

Above I describe qualitative data that have provided insight into how individuals use pornography, what they find most & least arousing, and how respondents believe porn influences their sexual interests. To further explore this latter idea of porn's impact on interests, I also asked respondents about their thoughts on sex. More specifically, I asked respondents how they define sex & “good sex.” The ways that respondents think about sex, and especially what makes for good sex, may or may not be similar to respondents' attitudes toward porn, as measured by the open ended responses described above. More specifically, I am interested in determining whether and how respondents' attitudes about pornography are reflected in their definitions of sex. Below I present participants' responses to the two open ended questions about defining sex, and then compare these findings to the responses about pornography, in order to better understand the direction of the relationship between pornography and sexual behaviors.

There were a wide variety of ways that respondents defined sex, but some of the most frequently mentioned themes include intimacy, love, heterosexual sex, marriage, the union of two people or “becoming one,” genitalia, orgasm, and consent. Some participants' definitions only included one of these ideas while others incorporated several of them. Based on these

themes, many definitions seemed to fall into one of two broader categories - defining sex in the context of a relationship or focusing on sex as a physical act. Some definitions that incorporated multiple themes could be described as highlighting both the physical and relationship aspects of sex. In addition to the themes listed above, there were some other concepts included in a few respondents' definitions that I would have expected to see more frequently but did not, like reproduction or religion. While some respondents specifically mentioned God and procreation, this was actually quite rare.

Relationship-focused definitions of sex

Many respondents chose to focus on aspects of intimacy (n=34) and love (n=33) in their definitions of sex. Some participants would include phrases that described both, but quite often only one or the other was chosen. I interpreted this distinction to suggest that for some participants, sex should occur in the context of love, while for others there was the belief that intimacy can occur even if love between individuals is not present. Intimacy definitions focused more on the relationship between the individuals involved in the sex act and less on what physical acts occur. When the number of individuals involved in sex was mentioned, it was almost always two. Definitions that explained beyond the vague description of, "intimate contact," or "any intimate physical contact between two people," were more likely to portray both the importance of relationship and the physical act of sex by mentioning orgasms and genitalia. One man participant wrote, "Intimacy that leads to at least one partner having an orgasm." Another man explained sex as, "An intimate act involving the nether regions." Even more specific, a woman participant wrote, "The intimate relationship between a man and woman where a man inserts his penis into a woman's vagina [sic]." Few other definitions in this category were as descriptive as these three, though.

Participants whose definitions focused on love wrote responses like, “a physical relationship between 2 people in love”; “an act between two people who love each other;” and “making love with someone that you love.” For these respondents, the focus is less on what occurs during the sexual encounter itself and more that it is occurring between people who are in love. By using phrases like “two people,” “someone,” or “a partner,” these responses also often indicated that sex occurs between no more than two people. As I discuss below, other participants’ definitions greatly contrasted these ideas by focusing less on the relationship between individuals and more on the acts that occur, but also by expanding their definitions to include two or more people.

Of participants whose definitions mention how many people should be involved in sexual acts, more than 25 participants also identified gender as an important factor. These respondents typically defined sex as any number of acts that occurred between “a man and a woman.” Some of the more vague responses suggested that sex was, “a man and woman”; “an experience between a man and a woman”; or “interaction between a man and a woman.” In none of these responses is it clear what exactly the man and woman are doing, just that they are essential for sex to occur. Some respondents gave somewhat more descriptive definitions like, “getting very personal with the opposite sex, doing what comes natural” and “Between a man and woman in the heat of the moment [sic]” In both of these definitions, not only does sex occur between a man and a woman but it is also defined as something “natural” that just happens, sometimes spontaneously.

Some participants were not only concerned about sex occurring in the context of a relationship between two people, but also emphasized that the only acceptable relationship form was marriage. Respondents (n=12) who gave definitions of sex that were specific to marriage

stressed that sex is or should be tied to marriage. A woman participant explained, “an act of showing love to your spouse when you are very much in love I don’t think casual sex is right.” Another woman respondent was a bit more flexible by suggesting that those planning to get married could also have sex, “I define sex as something that should be performed by a husband and wife, or two people in love and planning marriage.” Most of these respondents also specified marriage as between a man and a woman.

Several (n=10) respondents wrote definitions that mentioned an idea of sex leading to a kind of union or oneness between sexual partners. Examples of these definitions include, “the union between two people”; “two consenting adults becoming one”; and “Sex is the union of two souls.” Unlike love and intimacy definitions, these seem to give some focus to the act of sex by suggesting that something happens between the people involved, but it is less physical and more spiritual or mental. It is also clear from these definitions that participants were not referring to union in a legal sense like marriage, and were also less likely to specify union as between a man and a woman.

Defining the physical acts of sex

Many of the definitions were people and relationship focused, like the ones mentioned above. But some participants gave definitions that placed emphasis on physical acts, rather than who was performing them. In these definitions, participants’ focus was on genitalia, orgasm, and pleasure. Respondents who wrote these definitions were clearly not as concerned with the gender of the individuals having sex or what, if any, kind of relationship they had together. Instead, sex was about the acts that occurred. Twenty-two participants’ definitions made specific references to genitalia. Examples of definitions mentioning genitalia include, “Genital stimulation”; “Genital penetration must occur, either vaginal, anal, or oral”; and “intercourse involving two or

more people with a least one set of genitalia being exposed and/or manipulated.” According to many of these participants’ definitions, if it involves genitals, then it is sex. Some did further specify that sex happens when there is penetration, like the second example above, but again, the focus of these definitions was that an act involving genitalia took place.

For another 22 respondents, orgasms are an essential component of sex. Orgasm definitions took the involvement of genitals a bit farther and suggested that sex occurs when someone has an orgasm. Again, many of these responses do not acknowledge how many people are involved in the interaction. Instead, the respondents wrote definitions like, “anything that gets you off”; “anything involving sexual arousal usually ending with climax”; and “Something that results in an orgasm.” In many of these definitions, it does not seem to matter how one has the orgasm, just that it happens. These participants are less interested in the process of having sex, and more interested in achieving the goal of orgasm.

Two final aspects of definitions that some participants included, although with less frequency than most of the other concepts described above, are that of the number of people involved (n=16) and consent (n=15). Some definitions did not limit the number of people required for sex to only two. These respondents used the phrase “two or more” in their definitions, ultimately suggesting that sex does not have to be between only two people, or one man and one woman. One man participant described sex as, “Between two or more people who want to have fun.” Another wrote, “when two or more people get together, get naked, and have fun doing whatever.”

Some definitions, even those that highlighted one of the other concepts above, also included the importance of consent in defining sex. Examples of definitions that include consent are “a sensuous activity among consenting persons!”; “consensual acts between two people”; and

“sex is when two consenting adults get together sexually to arouse one another.” The number of participants who left out consent or limited sex to two people, and frequently to only “one man and one woman,” was far greater than those that stressed the importance of consent or were accepting of more than two people. Interestingly, most participants who included the ideas of two or more people or consent in their definitions did not usually mention love, intimacy, or union in their definitions. Instead, their definitions were much more focused on the acts that occur in sex, making their definitions more similar to the definitions reflecting physical aspects of sex rather than relationship aspects.

Defining “good sex”

When one compares respondents’ definitions of sex to their descriptions of arousing aspects of porn, there does not appear to be much overlap. Some respondents give very inclusive definitions of sex by identifying consent, potential for multiple partners, and general ideas of behaviors that are not specific to gender or sexual orientation. But few definitions are as explicit as the responses regarding most or least arousing aspects of porn. For participants who identified the lack of emotion or plot in pornography, this could correspond to definitions of sex in the context of love or intimacy. Beyond this, there seems to be little connection between the aspects of porn that respondents indicated they found most arousing and their definitions of sex. Respondents’ ideas about what constitutes as “good sex” may act somewhat as a bridge between their definitions of sex and thoughts on porn. Reviewing responses to the “good sex” question, it is clear that there are still some components from the definitions of sex but also some concepts borrowed from porn. The most common themes of good sex include aspects like pleasure, love, orgasm, or length of time.

More than 100 people reported that good sex included pleasure or satisfaction. This could take several forms. Some participants included a general idea of satisfaction without specifying who was experiencing it. Other participants insisted that, “‘Good’ sex is when everyone involved in the sex is left satisfied.” A few others were more concerned with the satisfaction of their partners, and did not identify their own pleasure as necessary for “good sex.”

Respondents who mentioned this vague idea of satisfaction or pleasure wrote comments like, “‘Good’ sex is when the act is satisfactory [sic]”; “good sex involves both physical and emotional satisfaction”; or “when you finish and feel complete and satisfied.” Most of the participants who described “good sex” as about pleasure or satisfaction clarified that they meant for themselves and their partners. One woman respondent wrote, “Anything that makes both partners happy, pleased, that communicates mutual pleasure both giving and receiving.” Another wrote, “Good sex is when two people mutually agree to please each other sexually, with or without penetration.” Participants in this group often implied “good sex” as occurring between two people by using phrases like, “satisfying to both people,” but it was not always specified whether the participants must be of the opposite sex or in any kind of relationship. The last few respondents who mentioned pleasure as a key component of “good sex,” focused on the needs of their partner. These participants wrote definitions like, “my partner is satisfied”; “When I make a woman cum hard”; and “sex between two committed partners with the emphasis on the other persons pleasure.” In these instances, good sex happens when one’s partner is satisfied, and not necessarily oneself.

Love and intimacy remained an important part of respondents’ ideas about good sex, and were not mutually exclusive from definitions that mentioned pleasure or satisfaction. Over 50 respondents defined good sex as being tied to love, intimacy, or feelings for one’s partner. These

participants wrote definitions that emphasized, “being in love with your partner,” and that good sex is “between two who love each other.” For some, it was also important to include marriage in their definitions, and others specified good sex as between a man and a woman. Others left it open by just specifying that good sex happens with someone “you truly love.”

Respondents’ emphasis on good sex as pleasurable and satisfying is a better reflection of the kinds of images pornography portrays than are aspects of love or intimacy. Perhaps even more aligned with porn’s depiction of sex, though, are some of the more mechanical aspects of sex that some participants’ reported as their definitions of “good sex.” I categorized definitions that highlighted characteristics like length of time, spontaneity, or number of orgasms as focusing more on a mechanical aspect of sex that best resembles what porn sex looks like. Respondents (n=23) who gave definitions like this wrote comments like, “going for hours”; hot sweaty, a little gentle, a little rough and different positions”; and “when you cum at least two or three times.” While these responses were fewer compared to the two groups discussed above, definitions like this further demonstrate stereotypes of sex that are sensationalized in the media. For some of these respondents, “good sex” is spontaneous, lasts for hours, and includes multiple orgasms. While some individuals may experience some or all of these aspects of sex at various points in their lives, to think that they are always necessary for “good sex” is perhaps unrealistic. One participant further demonstrated this unrealistic, yet sensationalized idea of sex when she described “good sex” as, “When you explode from within you feel as though your heart, body, and soul has left this planet. Your loss of breath leaves you unable to speak.”

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have presented respondents’ answers to the qualitative questions on the survey. Participants’ responses to these questions have provided a more in depth look at the type

of pornography that viewers find most and least arousing, as well as their own perceptions of its impact in their personal lives. These perspectives provide insight that goes beyond the scope of the quantitative data presented in earlier chapters, but also lends support to some of those findings. While quantitative data are less clear about the extent to which pornography influences respondents' sexual interests and behaviors, the participants' own words have helped to fill in some of these gaps. In the concluding chapter, I consider the qualitative and quantitative findings together and explore their implications in relation to Gagnon and Simon's theory of sexual scripts.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Gagnon and Simon's sexual scripts theory suggests that what we know to be sexual is socially constructed. Larger cultural scenarios dictate what individuals identify as sex or sexually arousing, but there also can be variation among individuals. Both the quantitative and qualitative findings from this survey support this idea. A majority of participants reported engaging in and finding acts arousing that are engrained in cultural scenarios of sex, including kissing, heterosexual sex, and oral sex. Acts that are less familiar to cultural scenarios, like violent sex and rape, were reported as less arousing and less frequently engaged in. In this chapter, I answer each research question based on findings from the closed-ended and open-ended questions of the survey with a sexual scripts approach. I conclude by discussing the final thoughts provided by participants, limitations of the study, and suggestions for future research.

EXPLORING RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Does exposure to pornography correlate with the sexual behaviors in which respondents engage?

The quantitative data clearly suggest that respondents who viewed pornography also more frequently engaged in various sexual behaviors. This was expected, but more importantly, what I sought to better understand was whether pornography influenced the type of acts in which people engage, or whether the acts people are already interested in influence pornography watching. Quite often research has assumed that pornography viewing happens first, and the behaviors follow. It is also quite possible, though, for individuals who are sexually more adventurous to watch more pornography. Along with responses to qualitative questions, the four items I refer to as "directional" variables suggest that more often, pornography does influence

the sexual behaviors in which one is interested, rather than sexual interests leading to more frequent porn consumption.

Overall, the majority of participants never or rarely said they 1) see things they would like to try; 2) see things they then try; 3) experience something they would like to see; or 4) experience something they look for in porn. However, when respondents did report experiencing any of these, more of them reported seeing something in porn that they would like to try, followed by actually trying out the behavior. Fewer respondents reported experiencing something sexual that they then would like to see in porn or actually sought out in porn. One could explain that part of this difference may be due to the ubiquity of pornography. Because sexually explicit images are everywhere, there is just more opportunities for even those who less frequently seek out porn to still see something sexual that they would like to try. Reviewing participants' responses to open-ended questions, though, further suggest that for more of the sample, viewing porn leads to an interest in what one sees, rather than simply watching what one is already interested in or seeking out what one has first experienced.

Many respondents explained that pornography gives them new ideas or makes them want to try new things. Some did acknowledge that they only watch what they already find arousing, but these responses were fewer in comparison to those who identified porn as influencing their sexual interests and behaviors. No respondents gave any indication in their qualitative responses that they used porn as a way to see something sexual that they had first experienced personally. Several participants expressed the idea that not only had porn introduced them to something new, but that they probably would not have thought of it themselves or found it arousing if it were not for porn. For instance, one participant wrote, "I think it does [influence what I find arousing], to a point--many things I've watched in pornographic videos are things I would never have heard of

or known about until I watched/read, and now I find them arousing.” This quote further demonstrates Gagnon and Simon’s theory that what is sexual is not natural, but socially constructed. For participants like this, porn has influenced the behaviors they find arousing and potentially the acts in which they do or would like to engage.

Masturbation, while very much a part of the cultural script, is still stigmatized and not openly discussed. Kaestle and Allen’s (2011) study suggests that the media is one source through which college students have reported learning about masturbation. If adolescents are learning sexual scripts from the media, and pornography in particular, the portrayal of certain acts, like masturbation, could help to lessen the stigma that currently surrounds them. Further, some research suggests that adolescents who view more sex on TV engage in more sexual acts at earlier ages than their peers who are exposed to less sex on TV (Collins et al. 2004).

Another concern is that the media may also normalize violence, degradation, or heteronormative gender roles. Kim et al. (2007) identified the Heterosexual Script that is pervasive in primetime television and reinforces expectations of men as sexually aggressive and women as sexually passive. Research indicates similar gender roles are the norm in pornography as well (Cowan & Campbell 1994). Brown and L’Engle’s (2009) work found that porn exposure for teens correlated with holding less progressive gender role attitudes. While the sample in my study is adults 21 years and older, there is still the implication that what viewers learn from pornography, whether positive or negative, can then impact their behaviors and attitudes.

Does viewing pornography correlate with the likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behavior?

Participants in this sample reported infrequent condom use. National studies, like the NSSHB have suggested that condom usage differs by gender and race (Reece et al. 2010). Similarly, both of these demographic factors were significant predictors of condom use in this

study. Men reported more frequently using condoms than women, and in fact the percentage of men respondents who used a condom at their last sexual encounter was similar to that of men respondents in the NSSHB. Black and Hispanic respondents were also more likely to use condoms in both my study and NSSHB.

The two measures of condom use in this study, using a condom during one's last sexual encounter and an overall frequency of condom use (never, rarely, sometimes, often, always), had different associations with pornography viewing. The dichotomous measure of having used a condom during one's last sexual encounter was associated with more frequent pornography viewing. As porn viewing increased, the odds of having used a condom the last time respondents had sex also increased. This was not the case for the overall frequency measure of condom use. According to the multinomial regression model, viewing porn was not significant for condom use, except for those who reported sometimes using condoms. Compared to those who reported never using condoms, viewing porn more frequently significantly increased the odds of sometimes using condoms. Findings for both of these variables contradict what most researchers have suspected and even found in other studies; specifically that exposure to sexually explicit material reduces condom usage (Diekman, McDonald, & Gardner 2000).

Viewing pornography was not associated with birth control use. While non-barrier birth control methods are specific to women (with the exception of a vasectomy), men were also instructed to answer this question for their current sex partner or choose "not applicable." Less than a third of women (27.8%) reported using birth control, and even fewer men (16.1%) reported that their partner currently used birth control. Unlike condom use, the question about birth control use was specific to methods that would only prevent pregnancy, not sexually transmitted infections. While being sexually active and not using birth control can be considered

risky, there are lots of reasons why a woman may or may not use birth control. Hormonal birth controls can be used for other reasons besides preventing pregnancy, and at the same time, women may choose to avoid using those same methods because of their side effects. Though it may seem like lack of birth control use could be a good indicator of risky sex, and so then might be associated with pornography use, it is actually much more complicated to measure through the one question I included in the survey.

Responses to the open-ended questions did not often mention birth control, condom use, or safe sex. This can somewhat be explained by the fact that I asked no specific questions about risky sex. There was one response, though, that suggested that watching pornography was a way for the respondent to avoid engaging in risky sex. Other respondents described pornography as a way to stay faithful to one's partner, which could also be interpreted as having safer sex through being monogamous. But even in response to the question of defining sex and "good" sex, few respondents suggested that safe sex was important or essential. One of these exceptions included a man who wrote that sex is, "when a man and woman is actually in love and they can handle the responsibility of sex and can feel safe they are not going to catch some sexual disease." Beyond this, few others mentioned preventing diseases, using birth control, or condom use in any of their open-ended responses.

Though safe sex is becoming a more familiar part of society's understanding of sexuality, it is still rarely the way that sex is portrayed in the media. For the most part it is absent from television shows and movies, and when it is included, it is not portrayed as sexy. In pornography, safe sex is invisible. Condoms are almost never seen in porn and there is never any discussion of preventing pregnancy or getting tested for sexually transmitted infections, even though both are very much a part of the professional pornography industry (Grudzen & Kerndt

2007). The lack of safe sex in our cultural scenario is not only apparent in the media, but has carried over into interpersonal interactions, and the responses provided by the participants in this sample demonstrate this. Not only do respondents report low rates of birth control and condom use, but very few mention safety as a necessary part of how they define sex. How, then, does one explain the finding that condom use increases with porn viewing?

Applying the sexual scripts theory, one might expect that individuals who view more pornography would use condoms less frequently. Instead, I would suggest that pornography is only one source that contributes to the larger sexual script. Respondents who viewed pornography more frequently may also be receiving sex information from other sources, including ones that might encourage condom use. Additionally, much of the research linking lower rates of condom use and pornography exposure comes from research with adolescents (Luder et al. 2011; Wingood, DiClemente, Harrington, Davies, Hook, and Oh 2001). Perhaps teens are less likely to use condoms when they have more exposure to porn, but something else might be happening for adults who watch porn and use condoms more frequently. For my study's sample, the frequency in which respondents engaged in a variety of sex acts also increased with porn viewing. Participants who frequently engage in sex may be more aware of their risk for STIs and so take the necessary precautions.

Does exposure to pornography correlate with the sexual behaviors that respondents find arousing?

Just as porn viewing positively correlated with the sexual behaviors respondents reported engaging in, it also correlated with what respondents found arousing. There is some overlap in what participants found arousing and the behaviors they actually engaged in, but there are also clearly instances where respondents found certain acts arousing that they did not experience

regularly or ever. For instance, few respondents reported engaging in nonconsensual sex acts, but slightly more reported finding rape arousing. Similarly, more respondents reported finding group sex, bondage and discipline, sadomasochism, and same-sex sex arousing than did those who reported engaging in these acts. Open-ended responses to questions about what participants found most and least arousing about pornography further confirmed the distinction between finding acts arousing and actually engaging in them. These findings also support the sexual scripts theory. Sexual acts that are not a part of the broader cultural scripts, such as violence, rape, or even BDSM in some instances, are still viewed as arousing by some participants because they are portrayed in the context of pornography. As some participants described, they learned to identify certain acts as arousing because they saw them in pornography. For some respondents, this then would sometimes lead them to want to try the things they saw. Others wrote that pornography offered an outlet through which they could explore their interests without having to actually seek out certain acts in their own personal relationships.

Some participants insisted that pornography did not influence what they found arousing, or that they only looked at pornography that depicted the acts in which they were already interested. While this may in fact be the case, or at least the perceptions of these respondents, sexual scripts theory would suggest that the ideas of what one finds sexual and arousing do not come solely from the individual. So even though these participants suggest that their viewing preferences are determined by their own interests, these interests have been shaped by a cultural scenario of sexuality, whether it was through pornography or some other socializing agent. Considering how extensive online pornography is, and that it is the most commonly used form of porn, for those who view more frequently, it could be difficult to view only acts that one intends

to see. In fact, it is quite likely that online viewers encounter images that deviate from their usual interests. For these viewers in particular, it seems likely that what they see shapes what they also find arousing. The ordinal regression models also confirmed this with a positive association between viewing pornography and arousal to each sexual behavior included on the survey.

Does exposure to pornography correlate with one's sexual attitudes?

The scale I included from Bois measures attitudes toward pornography. As one might expect, participants who watched pornography more frequently also had more favorable attitudes toward it. Comparing mean scores for each item between my sample and Bois' sample of college students, there are a few differences. For instance, participants in my sample were more likely to disagree that pornography is disturbing ($M=2.43$), and Bois' sample more strongly agreed with this statement ($M=3.44$). Bois' sample disagreed that porn helped improve their sexual relationships offline ($M=2.86$), but my sample agreed more with this statement ($M=3.20$). Overall, participants in my study seemed to have more favorable attitudes toward pornography than did the respondents in Bois' study. This may also reflect a growth in Internet pornography use that has taken place between Bois' study in 2002 and my study.

The three scales I included from Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich measure attitudes toward birth control, sex as a form of communion, and sexual permissiveness. Respondents' attitudes toward birth control or sex as a form of communion were not associated with pornography use. Sexually permissive attitudes increased as respondents' pornography viewing increased. This finding is consistent with previous research that suggests that individuals who watch more pornography are more sexually permissive (Braun-Corville and Rojas 2009). This scale, though, does not allow for determining whether individuals who are sexually permissive watch more

porn or if it is the exposure to pornography that increases sexual permissiveness. Respondents' feedback from questions about arousal, discussed above, suggests that some viewers believe pornography influences them while others believe it has little to no impact.

While Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich and Bois' scales identify numerous aspects of how people might think or feel about porn and sexuality, the open ended questions I asked about the positive and negative aspects of porn and definitions of sex helped to expand on some of these attitudes. Many participants' responses confirmed items on Bois' scale by suggesting that porn did in fact teach them new things or that it helped fulfill fantasies. In addition to confirming, some respondents' answers helped to explain exactly how this happens. The theme of porn as a sexual outlet, discussed in chapter 5, suggests that using pornography to fulfill fantasies are sometimes respondents' only options for sexual release. For other respondents, porn fulfills fantasies that one cannot or does not want to engage in with one's partner.

Similarly, respondents' definitions of sex and 'good sex' often matched items on Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich's scale. While their scale measures attitudes rather than how someone defines sex, I would argue that one's definition of sex, and especially 'good sex', is one way to capture the sexual attitudes of a person. Many participants wrote about the importance of love and connection to their partner, which fits with Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich's attitude of communion. Fewer participants mentioned the importance of safe sex, which is similar to the birth control theme of the attitudes scale. A component found in many respondents' definitions was that of pleasure and satisfaction. These participants' attitudes toward sex is that it should be about pleasure, but this particular theme is not captured in Hendrick, Hendrick, and Reich's scale.

Does exposure to pornography correlate with the likelihood that one engages in violent or coercive sexual behavior?

To measure coercive sexual behaviors, I included modified items from Koss' Sexual Experiences Survey. Few respondents reported participating in sexual behaviors with another person without that person's consent. Even still, viewing pornography correlated with having had oral sex with someone without their consent. Viewing porn did not, however, correlate with perpetrating nonconsensual vaginal or anal sex. Some of the first research on porn was out of concern that porn could influence violent or aggressive sexual behaviors. While this study's measurement of aggressive sexuality was limited to asking about nonconsensual sex, it would seem that there is little correlation between pornography and aggressive behavior. This may partly be due to the way I modified items from the Sexual Experiences Survey, as well as omitting any questions that explicitly ask about rape or sexual assault.

In addition to little evidence from the quantitative data of a connection between porn and violent behavior, respondents' qualitative responses also lacked this association. Only one respondent wrote about a concern for pornography leading to violent behavior regarding the negative impact of pornography on relationships. The woman respondent simply wrote, "rapes" as her answer. Almost all other answers about rape or violence were in response to what participants found least arousing; only two participants included rape as one of the aspects of porn that they found most arousing, and both were women. One wrote, "I like black men with a white woman, rape, bondage with penetration, a good story line (rare), a little S/M, anal." While no other specific comments suggested rape as appealing, responses to the closed-ended question measuring arousal to rape resulted in 20 respondents who identified rape as arousing (marking a four or five on the five point scale). Another 22 respondents marked violent sex as arousing. It

is clear from these data that viewing pornography is associated with finding rape and violent sex arousing, but there is no reason to suggest that this translates to behavior for the participants in this sample.

Gagnon and Simon's sexual scripts theory might suggest that the intrapsychic scripts of individuals may more easily allow for arousal to sexual behaviors that the cultural scenario of sex identifies as deviant. Our larger sexual scripts identify rape and violent sex as abnormal and deviant, an idea which comments from many more respondents in this sample seem to support. But some individuals also clearly find images of rape and violent sex arousing. It is less clear, though, how what might be a conflict between individual interests and the larger socially constructed views of sex play out at the interpersonal interaction level. Looking back at the items on the survey that were meant to identify the direction of the association between porn viewing and sexual behaviors, one sees that more respondents reported viewing something they *would like* to try than those who reported actually *trying* out what they see. This could suggest that even though one might see something he or she would like to try, they do not always act on it.

“THIS IS THE BEST SURVEY I HAVE EVER DONE. GOT AROUSED JUST BY DOING IT”: THINGS I LEARNED BUT DIDN'T NEED TO KNOW FROM MY PARTICIPANTS

The last open ended question included on the survey asked respondents, “Is there anything else you'd like to say about this topic?” Much like the other questions discussed above, many of the participants wrote responses like, “no,” “nothing,” or “NA.” But in addition to these few word answers, I also received many responses from participants who wanted to share their stories, even if, to me, they seemed only tangentially related to the topic of study. Because they took the time to write these responses, I felt it important to find a way to include them. Below I

highlight some of what I felt to be the most compelling or important final responses from the survey participants.

People want to talk about sex!

Finding a company willing to facilitate this survey was a challenge, primarily because of the fear that a study of pornography and sexual behaviors would be considered offensive to survey panel participants. For participants who provided feedback regarding their reaction to the survey, the overwhelming majority of it was positive. Only one participant expressed displeasure at the topic when she wrote, “Yes, it is really kinda tacky and tasteless this survey to me!” It should be acknowledged that participants were given plenty of warning that the survey sent to them was about sex, and so if they did not like the topic, they should choose not to take the survey. In a matter of days, over 400 respondents opted to take the survey. According to the Qualtrics survey facilitator, 109 survey takers chose not to take the survey once they encountered the consent form or the content warning that followed it.

I believe this indicates that many more survey panelists wanted to take this survey, and some even appreciated the opportunity to share their thoughts about sex and pornography. Some participants expressed this with short comments like, “enjoyed it,” “good topic,” and “great topic like to see more.” A few other participants offered more in depth responses. One respondent who identified as genderqueer, wrote,

“I think that sex work in general (not just porn) is often looked down upon by our society, and I think that there should be more discussions about our bodies and being queer/trans affirming, especially to teens, such as cis girls who are taught to be ashamed of their bodies.”

This comment clearly comes from a sex positive and perhaps even feminist perspective, but it was not the only one. A man respondent wrote, “...sex needs to stop being taboo, a dirty act practiced in secret. Any issues, such as rape, are nigh impossible to address or even take

seriously when just plain normal sex is also considered wrong in public talk....” Both of these respondents identify the importance of talking about sex in order to effect change, and particularly in a more feminist way. Another man made a similar comment, but it seems that he equated viewing pornography with criminal behavior when he wrote, “I find this an enjoyable survey. It gives me a chance to voice my opinion about pornography and other sexual crimes. There needs to be stricter penalties against sexual violence of any kind.” Clearly each of these participants have a different focus for the change they would like to bring about, but they all seem to agree that being able to talk about sex is a necessary first step.

People want to talk personally about sex

For the most part, the comments mentioned above were either vague statements expressing an interest in talking about sex, praise for the survey topic, or impersonal call to action statements. Quite a few respondents shared more personal stories that also expressed an interest in talking about sex. Some of these responses were even phrased in a way that suggested to me that the respondent may have felt like they were addressing a particular person directly. One man wrote, “I think you get my point here. And we've been married 53 years. I was married before, so I know the difference between good and real sex and a sham.” The use of the phrase, “I think you get my point here,” seems to suggest that through answering the open-ended questions he has been telling a story to whomever ends up reading his responses, perhaps someone he believes might be genuinely concerned about his issues.

Other participants wrote comments that not only suggested they felt like they were writing to an unknown, yet sympathetic party, but one who might be able to help them in some way. One woman literally made a request for help when she wrote, “i'm looking for a man to

SHARE with...help me please!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!” One 82-year-old woman elaborated further on her struggle to meet someone:

It is maddening to not find a partner. The singles online sites like match.com are such a turn-off, all the men in their 70s want women as young as 25 and I think there were two ads from men in their 80s who'd allow a year or two older for the woman. Almost all my relationships including my marriage have been with men 10 years younger. I just had a relationship for over a year with a very generous man, it's over, but he was hung up on his 3rd wife, said she was the only one in the world for him and he didn't want to have sex with me. She kicked him out. It's been 12 years since I've had a partner, it's very discouraging.

Several participants shared personal stories like this, giving the impression that they may have few other venues available to them for talking about sex and relationships. A man whom I quoted earlier mentioned again his problem of not being able to have sex with his wife and wrote about his wish of a potential solution:

It is very disappointing to me that my wife of 45 years cannot have sex w/o pain anymore. I wish that this were the kind of society where a man could have a handmaiden or some other female who was hot and horny and lived within the household. But, alas, that is probably the dream of many males.

Other men and women respondents wrote about their sexual interests. One woman wrote, “I'd like to have more sex and now you've really got me started,” and a man respondent wrote, “I wish my woman was willing to perform oral sex more often.” While the focus of some participants like these was a lack of sex, others wanted to write about the great sex they have had. One woman wrote, “My husband and I were together 32 years and had a great sex life. We had sex in different places to keep it interesting. We made love every day or at least 5 days of the week. Sometimes multiple times a day.” Another woman wrote, “When I went thru [sic] “the change” I had and wanted sex all the time – I never had hot flashes or any of the other symptoms, my desire was extremely strong and my partner was more than happy to take care of

me.” No men respondents wrote positive answers as detailed as these, but one stated, “I have and live to have sex.”

Warning & Advice

The final responses of some participants gave an impression of concern for others' sex lives. Sometimes this was phrased more like advice, as in, “just enjoy it while you can” or “sex in an exclusive relationship is best.” A few others referred to pornography or the expectations that it might perpetuate. One man wrote, “We need to learn to live within our limitations and abilities without making demands upon our partner.” A woman respondent warned that, “Pornography watching shouldn't interfere with your real life.” Comments like these came across somewhat as warnings, but without judgment. Other participants' seemed to be upset by the sexual choices that others make and used this open question to express these concerns. One woman explained, “...that there are to [sic] many people that are having sex unprotected.” A man respondent wrote that, “sex out side of marriage should not be encouraged [sic].” Another man respondent elaborated, “To many young people think geting [sic] sex is just the norm and don't care about [sic] each other. Just get it and let it go. Girls end up pregnant [sic] and the guy doesn't want to take responsibilty [sic] for their actions.” For these participants, it would seem that a survey about sexual behaviors only reminded them of the problems associated with sex, but specifically what they believe to be problems with other people's sexuality and presumably not their own.

LIMITATIONS

According to some respondents, my study would have been improved by asking about more diverse sex acts. One man suggested that, “more fetishes need to be named in the study (outfits, latex, etc.) to reflect a broader middle ground between "vanilla" and "rough/kinky"

interests.” Similarly, another reminded me in the last question that I did not ask about fetishes in the survey. This is a limitation in that I cannot speak to any connection between viewing pornography and interests in fetishes, and it seems likely that such an association might exist.

The sample size for this study meets a minimum requirement for generalizability, but it is still fairly small. While a representative sample for demographic factors like age, race, and gender, it is much less representative of those whose sexual orientation is something other than straight. Ideally, a larger sample size would correct for this and also strengthen the generalizability of the study’s findings.

A strength of survey research is its ability to reach large numbers of people and acquire quantitative information. I attempted to also gather more qualitative information through open-ended questions. This was not necessarily a weakness of the study considering that many respondents did provide answers, but the data that resulted would have probably been much richer had they been acquired through other means, like interviews.

When asking about sexual practices, I used a measurement to determine how frequently respondents engaged in each act. This may not have accounted for whether a participant had *ever* engaged in an act, even if they did not currently do so. For instance, participants who had only engaged in a particular act once in their lives, or who consider themselves as no longer engaging in that particular act, may have decided to choose “never” as opposed to “once a year or less.” Beyond the frequency of engaging in various acts, I know little about how participants felt about the particular acts in which they reported engaging. The measurement of how arousing one finds a particular act is not the same as knowing whether a person also enjoys actually doing it.

FUTURE RESEARCH

I attempted to better understand the association between pornography viewing and sexual behaviors and attitudes. Unlike most previous work in this area, this study's sample was more diverse and better represented the U.S. adult population. I also included measurements to determine the direction of any associations between viewing porn and sexual behaviors, in addition to open ended questions that could further clarify these associations. My findings are consistent with Gagnon and Simon's sexual scripts theory in that viewing pornography was positively associated with behaviors and attitudes, as well as demonstrated through many of the participants' open-ended responses. Future research in this area would benefit from further exploring individuals' pornography interests and sexual behaviors through qualitative interviews.

This study begins to suggest that pornography is playing a larger role in how people learn about sex and what they identify as arousing. Such a change is most likely due to the availability of pornography online, and may have further implications for individuals' sexual interests and relationships. Through responses to open-ended questions, I have started to identify how people perceive pornography to play both negative and positive roles in their lives and the lives of their partners. More work is needed in this area, especially considering the frequency in which respondents in this sample reported either viewing pornography themselves or having partners who did.

Furthermore, my survey did not ask about participants' sexual expectations and how those might correlate with viewing pornography. While I was able to measure how frequently participants engaged in various sexual behaviors, it is unknown whether participants are content with the frequency at which they have sex and whether their expectations are being met. I cannot answer whether participants believe they should be engaging more or less frequently in

various sexual behaviors, or how pornography might be influencing such perceptions. It does, however, seem likely that participants who watch more pornography could have higher expectations for the frequency at which they would like to be engaging in certain sexual behaviors.

While not the focus of this study, I believe it has also helped to highlight that sexuality is a topic that even those outside of related academic fields believe needs more attention. Several participants in this study reported enjoying taking the survey and wrote that they would like to see more surveys like it. Others used it as a forum for venting their personal troubles or sexual frustrations, and a few others expressed concern for sexual issues like sexual health, sex work, and violence. Their individual concerns vary, but the overall message is the same – that avoiding conversations about sex does not help solve any of the problems. It seems that many people are in fact ready and willing to have these conversations; still others fear that talking about sex is offensive and try to “protect” the public from being exposed to topics of sexuality, even by simply refusing to field an academic survey about sex. Despite this challenge, future research needs to continue to find ways to explore individuals’ concerns about sex in an effort to open up more discussion.

Findings from this study suggest that pornography viewing has both positive and negative effects. Respondents provided their own examples of these effects, but the quantitative data also suggest that there is an association between viewing porn and condom use; viewing porn was also associated with more permissive sexual attitudes. Most would agree that increased condom use is a good thing, but fewer might also agree that holding permissive attitudes is positive. Previous research has linked permissive attitudes to pornography viewing (Braun-Corville & Rojas 2009), but there has been little suggestion as to how to understand this association. One

might argue that for teenagers, this could be problematic, especially if permissive attitudes lead to earlier engagement in risky sexual behaviors. For adults, though, are permissive attitudes a problem or a benefit? I would argue that what is often identified as “permissive” is also simply more sex positive, and so does not need to be labeled in a negative way. Many respondents in my sample demonstrated sex positive attitudes, especially through their definitions of sex and “good” sex. If some pornography is helping to perpetuate sex positive messages, this could be beneficial to the larger cultural script that is currently in place. Future research is needed to further explore this link, especially to better understand how individuals’ negotiate the potentially conflicting messages they receive about sex from the various sources in their lives, including from pornography.

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APPENDIX: SURVEY INSTRUMENT

WARNING: This survey contains questions about sexually explicit materials and behavior. If you find such topics offensive, please do not attempt this survey.

Sexually explicit material refers to any kind of material or media that portrays nudity and/or sexual acts. All of the information that you provide is anonymous and cannot be used to identify you. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

For the items below, mark the number that corresponds with how much you agree or disagree with each statement

1=completely disagree; 2=mostly disagree; 3=somewhat disagree; 4=somewhat agree; 5=mostly agree; 6=completely agree

Viewing porn or sexually explicit material...

Is sexually arousing	1	2	3	4	5	6
Satisfies my curiosity	1	2	3	4	5	6
Teaches me new sexual techniques	1	2	3	4	5	6
Disturbs me	1	2	3	4	5	6
Is a way to fulfill sexual fantasies	1	2	3	4	5	6
Helps improve my sexual relationship(s) offline	1	2	3	4	5	6
Is boring	1	2	3	4	5	6
Satisfies my sexual needs	1	2	3	4	5	6

How often do you view sexually explicit material?

Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

How often do you view each type of sexually explicit material?

Internet

Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Pornographic magazines

Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

DVDs/videos

Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Pay per view or other television source			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Erotic or pornographic stories or novels			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Check how often you view material that includes the following:

Heterosexual sex			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Lesbian sex			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Men having sex with men			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Group sex			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Bondage and discipline (B&D)			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Sadomasochism (S&M)			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Masturbation			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

“Barely legal”			
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week
	Every day		

Violent sex				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			
Rape				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			
Fellatio with ejaculation on face or body (oral sex with “cum shot” or “money shot”)				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			
Cunnilingus (oral sex performed on a woman)				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			
Amateur or non-professional pornography				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			
Mature or older adults				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			
Interracial sex				
Never	Once a month or less	Once a week	Several times a week	
	Every day			

For each category listed below, indicate how arousing you find it, where 1 = not at all arousing to 5 = very arousing. Mark NA if you have never seen this type of sexually explicit material.

Heterosexual sex	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Lesbian sex	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Men having sex with men	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Group sex	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Bondage and discipline (B&D)	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Sadomasochism (S&M)	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Masturbation	1	2	3	4	5	NA
“Barely legal”	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Violent sex	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Rape	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Fellatio with ejaculation on face or body (oral sex with “cum shot” or “money shot”)	1	2	3	4	5	NA
Cunnilingus (oral sex performed on a woman)						

1 2 3 4 5 NA

Amateur or non-professional pornography

1 2 3 4 5 NA

Mature or older adults

1 2 3 4 5 NA

Interracial sex

1 2 3 4 5 NA

Select or enter the answer that best applies.

Have you ever had sex? Yes No

Are you currently in any sexual relationships? Yes No

If so, how many? 1 2 3 4 5 or more

At what age did you first have consensual sex?

Please mark about how often you currently engage in each type of sexual activity

Kissing

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Vaginal-penile intercourse

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Receiving oral sex

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Giving oral sex

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Anal sex – I penetrate my partner

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Anal sex – My partner penetrates me

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Bondage and discipline (B&D)

Never Once a year or less Once a month Once a week Several
times a week Every day

Sadomasochism (S&M)

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
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Group sex (sex with more than two people or “threesomes”)

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
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Ejaculating on partner’s face (“Facial”)

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
-----------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------

Ejaculating on partner’s body

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
-----------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------

Your partner ejaculating on your face (“Facial”)

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
-----------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------

Your partner ejaculating on your body

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
-----------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------

Masturbation

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
-----------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------

Masturbation with a partner

Never	Once a year or less	Once a month	Once a week
Several times a week	Every day		

Role playing

Never times a week	Once a year or less Every day	Once a month	Once a week	Several
-----------------------	----------------------------------	--------------	-------------	---------

How often do you use condoms or some other barrier method contraceptive such as dental dams?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
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Did you use a condom (or other barrier method) at your last sexual encounter?

Yes No

Are you or your partner currently using a form of birth control other than condoms or another barrier method?

Yes No NA (I am not currently sexually active)

Have you ever had or do you currently have any sexually transmitted infections?

Please check all that apply.

Gonorrhea Syphilis Chlamydia HPV (Human Papillomavirus) or genital
warts Herpes HIV/AIDS Trichomoniasis (trich) Other _____

How often do you see acts in sexually explicit material that you might like to try out?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

How often do you actually try out behaviors in your own sexual encounters that you view in sexually explicit material?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

How often do you experience something sexual that you then seek out in pornography?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

How often do you experience something sexual that you would like to see in pornography, even if you haven't ever sought it out?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

How often do you have orgasms, or "cum," when watching pornography?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

How often do you have orgasms, or "cum," when having sex with your partner?

Never Rarely Sometimes Often Always

Check whether you have experienced any of the following:

Someone had oral sex with you or made you have oral sex with them without your consent.

Yes No

A man put his penis into your vagina, or someone inserted fingers or objects without your consent. If you are a man, select NA.

Yes No NA

A man put his penis into your butt, or someone inserted fingers or objects without your consent.

Yes No

You had oral sex with someone or had someone perform oral sex on you without their consent.
Yes No

You put your penis (men only) or you put your fingers or objects (all respondents) into a woman's vagina without her consent.
Yes No NA

You put your penis (men only) or you put your fingers or objects (all respondents) into someone's butt without their consent.
Yes No NA

Mark the number that best represents how much you agree or disagree with each item below where 1= Strongly disagree and 5=Strongly agree.

Casual sex is acceptable. 1 2 3 4 5

I would like to have sex with many partners.
1 2 3 4 5

One-night stands are sometimes very enjoyable.
1 2 3 4 5

It is okay to have ongoing sexual relationships with more than one person at a time.
1 2 3 4 5

The best sex is with no strings attached.
1 2 3 4 5

Life would have fewer problems if people could have sex more freely.
1 2 3 4 5

Birth control is part of responsible sexuality.
1 2 3 4 5

A woman should share responsibility for birth control.
1 2 3 4 5

A man should share responsibility for birth control.
1 2 3 4 5

Sex is the closest form of communication between two people.
1 2 3 4 5

A sexual encounter between two people deeply in love is the ultimate human interaction.
1 2 3 4 5

Sex is usually an intense, almost overwhelming experience.
1 2 3 4 5

The questions above do not capture everything there is to know about your opinions and thoughts on sexually explicit media. The questions below give you the opportunity to tell us more about this topic, and we invite you to provide as much or as little detail as you'd like.

What positive impact, if any, do you think pornography has on your relationships?

What negative impact, if any, do you think pornography has on your relationships?

How, if at all, do you think watching pornography influences what you find arousing?

How, if at all, do you think the experience of watching pornography is different for men and women?

What do you find most arousing in pornography?

What do you find least arousing in pornography?

How do you define "sex"?

What is "good" sex?

Is there anything else you'd like to say about this topic?

Select the answer that best applies.

Age _____

Gender Woman Man Other _____

Select the region in which you live:

New England
Middle Atlantic
East North Central
West North Central
South Atlantic
East South Central
West South Central
Mountain
Pacific

Are you currently living in a:

Rural area (less than 10,000 population)
Small town (10,000 to 20,000 population)
Large town (20,000 to 50,000 population)
Small city (50,000 to 100,000 population)
Medium-sized city (100,000 to 1 million population)
Suburb of a medium-sized city
Large city (more than 1 million population)
Suburb of a large city

What is your sexual orientation?

- Heterosexual
- Gay
- Lesbian
- Bisexual
- Other _____

The highest level of education you have completed:

- Less than high school
- High school diploma
- Associate/Junior College
- Bachelor's degree
- Graduate degree
- Don't know

Annual income:

- Less than \$10,000
- \$10,000-\$19,999
- \$20,000-\$29,999
- \$30,000-\$49,999
- \$50,000-\$99,999
- \$100,000 or more

Are you Hispanic?

- Yes
- No

What race do you consider yourself?

- White or Caucasian
- Black or African American
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- Other _____

How often do you attend religious services?

- Never
- Less than once a year
- Once a year

Several times a year
Once a month
2-3 times a month
Nearly every week
Every week
More than once a week
Don't know

What is your religious preference?

Baptist
Methodist
Lutheran
Presbyterian
Episcopalian
Protestant
Catholic
Non-Religious
Jewish
Muslim
Other _____

What is your marital status?

Married
Never married
Divorced
Living with partner
Widowed
Separated

What is your relationship status?

Married
Living with partner but not married
In a relationship but not living together
Single but dating one or more people
Single and not dating

Do you consider yourself to be...

Extremely liberal
Liberal

Slightly liberal
Moderate
Slightly conservative
Conservative
Extremely conservative
Don't know

How many children have you ever had?

0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8 or more

If you have children, how old are they? Check all that apply.

Under 5 years old
6-10 years old
11-17 years old
18 years or older