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Pornography consumption and non-marital sexual behaviour in a sample of young Indonesian university students

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Using a sample of Indonesian university students and a cross sectional design, this study investigated prevalence rates and patterns of pornography consumption in Indonesia, a religious, sexually conservative, Muslim-majority nation with strict anti-pornography laws. Further, the association between pornography consumption and common non-marital sexual behaviours was explored. The study found that in this sample, pornography is as widely and readily consumed as in comparable international studies predominantly utilising Western background samples from more sexually liberal and less religious countries with very few laws on pornography. Gender differences in patterns of pornography consumption were pronounced and comparable with findings in international counterpart studies. For men only, pornography consumption was found to significantly predict common sexual behaviours in non-marital relations. The study is the first to provide insights into prevalence rates and patterns of pornography consumption and its association with common non-marital sexual behaviours in a sexually conservative, Muslim-majority nation with strict anti-pornography laws.

Keywords: pornography; sexually explicit materials; sexual behaviour; Indonesia

Introduction

Is pornography as widely and readily consumed among university students in a religious, sexually conservative, Muslim-majority nation with strict anti-pornography laws as in the Western world? And is this consumption associated with common sexual behaviours in non-marital relationships over and above relevant control variables? We first provide a brief overview of sexuality and pornography in Indonesia. We then review existing literature on pornography consumption and its association with a variety of sexual behaviours. Finally, we outline the theoretical framework and aims of the study.

Sexuality and pornography in Indonesia

Indonesia has roughly 240 million inhabitants and is the world's most populous Muslim-majority nation, with approximately 90% of the population being Muslim (BPS–Statistics Indonesia 2010). Indonesian Muslims are diverse, ranging from liberal to conservative, with most being fairly moderate compared to Muslims in the Middle East (Houben 2003). Religion plays a big role in Indonesian society and everyday life and Indonesians are required to have their religious affiliation written on their national ID card (BPS–Statistics Indonesia 2010; Ministry of Religious Affairs 2005).

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Sexuality in Indonesia is generally assumed to be conservative and sex is socially acceptable only within monogamous, heterosexual, religiously recognised marriages (President of the Republic of Indonesia 1974; Situmorang 2003). Cohabitation is not officially permitted by government or sanctioned by society (Bennett 2005a). Premarital sexual activities are sanctioned by society and considered to bring shame on the person and family involved, particularly if the individual concerned is female (Padang 2012).

Sexuality in Indonesia is enmeshed in religious (Bennett 2005b), cultural (Davies 2010; Jennaway 2003; Withers and Browner 2012), racial (Munro 2012), legal (Wieringa 2010), political (Wieringa 2000), educational (Utomo 1997) and health (Jacubowski 2008) discourses. Consequently, official political opinions, attitudes, policies and laws concerning sexuality are widely contested. For instance, Utomo and McDonald (2009) reported how the implementation of sexual and reproductive health policies in Indonesia in the last two decades have been struggling within the conflicting forces of traditional values, Westernisation and Islamic fundamentalism. Other examples may be found in the works of Blackwood (2007), Boellstorff (2007) and Wright-Webster (2008) which reveal the complex dynamics of sexual diversity beyond dominant heteronormative discourses in Indonesia.

The effects of socio-economic change, modernisation and globalisation among Indonesian youth have resulted in greater freedom and autonomy during the past two decades, presumably contributing to a more open and liberal expression of sexual identity, attitudes and behaviours (Harding 2008; Utomo 1997; Utomo and McDonald 2008). Nevertheless, young people's awareness of risky sexual behaviour related to sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and unwanted pregnancies is still relatively limited (Ford, Shaluhiah, and Suryoputro 2007; Simon and Paxton 2004), presumably due to a strong prohibitive discourse among sexuality educators and religious leaders (Holzner and Oetomo 2004). This has given rise to recent studies focusing on sexual education and HIV-prevention programmes (e.g. Diarsvitri et al. 2011).

Regarding pornography in Indonesia, scholars have paid considerable attention to the controversy of the anti-pornography law passed in 2008. This law prohibits Indonesians to 'produce, make, copy, distribute, broadcast, import, export, offer, trade, lease, provide, show, utilise, own, or save' pornography (President of the Republic of Indonesia 2008). Violation of the anti-pornography law carries sentences of between 6 months and 12 years of imprisonment. The anti-pornography law has been discussed extensively in the academic literature in relation to religious conservatism and gender activism (Allen 2007), legal process (Sherlock 2008) and human rights (Nilsson 2010).

Beside the anti-pornography law controversy, another strand of research on pornography in Indonesia has involved media analyses of pornographic videos and magazines (Kitley 2008). However, in-depth studies focusing on Indonesian youth engagement with pornography are few, problematic with regard to methodology and data analysis, not available in English and not published in peer-reviewed journals.

Prevalence rates and patterns of pornography consumption

With few exceptions (see also Wright 2013), international studies have reported consumption rates in the range of 50–99% amongst men and 30–86% amongst women (Hald et al. 2013). However, these rates have been found to be heavily influenced by sample characteristics (e.g. age), time period assessed (e.g. pornography consumption in the past six months, year, ever), definition of pornography and study methodology and

design. In an Indonesian context, using a sample of 395 junior high school students, Supriati and Fikawati (2009) found that 83% of respondents had been exposed to pornography.

Compared to women, men have been found to use pornography more frequently, spend more time on pornography consumption, be exposed to pornography at a younger age, use pornography more often during masturbation (Hald 2006), prefer pornography with many different actors as compared to pornography with the same actors performing different acts, be more attracted to both a wider range of hardcore pornography and hardcore pornography devoid of relationship context and emotional attachments and generally be more sexually aroused by pornography (Chivers et al. 2010; Hald and Malamuth 2008).

Scandinavian, US and Italian studies all reveal significant gender differences in attitudes towards pornography, with women being significantly more likely than men to describe pornography as dull, not exciting or repulsive and favour restrictions on pornography (e.g. Flood 2010; Herrman and Bordner 1983; Sabina, Wolak, and Finkelhor 2008; Træen, Spitznogle, and Beverfjord 2004). In an Indonesian context, Puspa (2010), using a sample of 98 Indonesian college students, found that attitudes toward pornography and common sexual behaviour (i.e., holding hands, hugging, kissing, petting and coitus) were positively correlated.

Up until the 1990s, the dominant media outlets for pornography consumption were magazines, videos/DVDs and television. However, this changed in the wake of the Internet and Smartphone revolution, where high-speed Internet connections increasingly allow for easy, cheap and convenient access to all types of pornography (Edelman 2009). Today, the predominant media outlets of pornography consumption are the Internet, videos/DVDs, television and magazines (Morgan 2011).

Few studies have examined the situational and interpersonal characteristics of pornographic consumption. In the studies done, however, for both men and women the main place of use has been found to be 'home' and the interpersonal context of use being either 'alone' or with a 'regular sexual partner' (e.g. Hald 2006; Svedin, Akerman, and Priebe 2011; Træen, Nilsen, and Stigum 2006).

Perceived realism of pornography, that is, the extent to which the consumer perceives the pornographic content as realistic (see also Peter and Valkenburg 2010; Stulhofer, Busko, and Schmidt 2012), has rarely been investigated in pornography research. However, in the studies conducted, perceived realism has been found to be significantly positively correlated with pornography consumption (Hald 2007), a mediator of the impact of internet pornography consumption on young people's instrumental attitudes toward sex (Peter and Valkenburg 2010) and a predictor of relationship intimacy (Stulhofer, Busko, and Schmidt 2012). Therefore, we think it of interest to also assess perceived realism of pornography in this sample.

Pornography consumption and sexual behaviours

Previous research in a range of cultural contexts has consistently found associations between pornography consumption and a variety of sexual behaviours. These include having pre-coital sexual behaviours, lower age at first intercourse, number of sexual partners, extramarital sex, having engaged in oral, anal or group sex, engaging in a larger range of sexual practices, not having used contraception during the last intercourse and having had a sexually transmitted infection (Braun-Courville and Rojas 2009; Brown and L'Engle 2009; Morgan 2011; Stulhofer, Busko, and Landripet 2010; Træen, Nilsen, and Stigum 2006; Wingood et al. 2001). In an Indonesian context, Novita, Hasanat, and

Supriyati (2006) found that increased exposure to pornography was significantly associated with increases in young people's sexual behaviours. Reflecting the findings of this research, concerns have been raised that pornography may exert a potentially strong and adverse influence on sexual behaviours and increase sexual vulnerability and risk (Hald et al. 2013).

However, as Wright's (2012) review of the literature demonstrates, much of this previous research has failed to adequately assess and control for the combined influence of relevant controls and/or focus almost exclusively on STI-related sexual behavioural outcomes, e.g. condom use (e.g. Luder et al. 2011; Peter and Valkenburg 2011; Sinkovic, Stulhofer, and Bozic 2012; Wright 2012, 2013; Wright and Randall 2012). Both separately and combined, these limitations may result in overestimating or overstating the influence of pornography on sexual behaviours (Hald et al. 2013). Thus, to address these limitations of previous cross-sectional research, a more robust assessment of the associations between pornography and a broader range of sexual behaviours, controlling for other relevant covariates, is needed.

Theoretical framework

Theoretically, Sexual Script Theory has only recently emerged as a theoretical perspective to guide research and analyses of quantitative data pertaining to pornography. According to Frith and Kitzinger (2001), sexual scripts may be understood as 'culturally available messages that define what "counts" as sex, how to recognise sexual situations, and what to do in sexual encounters' (210). Repeated exposure to pornography may influence the scripting process, the sexual scripts or the evaluation of sexual relations (Hald, Malamuth and Lange, forthcoming). Consequently, the explicit imagery, underlying messages, symbolic normative nature and order of sexual behaviors as portrayed in pornography may influence the affective, cognitive and behavioral aspects of sexuality (Stulhofer, Busko, and Landripet 2010) and the perceptions of sexuality (e.g. what is sex), sexual situations (e.g. when is a situation sexual), sexual behaviours (e.g. what to do when having sex) and evaluations of sexual relations (e.g. what constitutes good sex).

On this basis, Wright and colleagues have proposed the 3AM model, a sexual-script-based theory specifically developed to explain effects of media sex such as pornography (e.g. Wright 2013; Wright and Randall 2012). According to this model, pornography, through culturally available messages and social learning processes, may be written into the sexual scripts. However, the acquisition, activation and application of these sexual scripts is subject to a number of content, audience, and situational factors and do not happen automatically or uniformly across individuals (see also Wright 2013; Wright and Randall 2012). Based on previous research on pornography and sexual behaviours as well as on the 3AM model, we hypothesise that pornography consumption will be significantly associated with common sexual behaviours in non-marital relationships (specified below) over and above included control variables (also specified below).

By common sexual behaviours we refer to kissing, petting, oral sex and coitus (de Graaf et al. 2009; Herbenick et al. 2010; Smiler, Frankel, and Savin-Williams 2011). By non-marital relationships we refer to all relationships, whether casual or committed, in which consenting parties are not married. We focused on non-marital relationships as sex in Indonesia is normatively located within the institution of marriage (Nilan 2008). Consequently, asking participants about their attitudes toward marital sex or sexual behaviours within marital relations would most likely yield little response variation in

relation to the common sexual behaviours studied. Further, most pornography portrays sexual relationships outside the marital context (Wright 2012).

By relevant control variables, we refer to variables previously shown or hypothesised to affect associations between pornography consumption and sexual behaviours. In our study these include socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., age, relationship status and religiosity) (Morgan 2011; Peter and Valkenburg 2011; Wright 2012; Wright and Randall 2012), personality characteristics (i.e., sensation seeking) (Luder et al. 2011; Peter and Valkenburg 2011), sexual background variables (i.e., sexual attitudes) (Luder et al. 2011), media use characteristics (i.e., Internet consumption per week) (Morgan 2011; Træen, Nilsen, and Stigum 2006) and parental involvement (Lam and Chan 2007; Sinkovic, Stulhofer, and Bozic 2012).

Study aims and hypothesis

The study aimed to investigate prevalence rates and patterns of pornography consumption using a large university sample of Indonesian young adults and a cross sectional design. Further, using this sample and design, the association between pornography consumption and sexual behaviours is investigated. In this regard, it is hypothesised that pornography consumption will be significantly associated with sexual behaviours over and above included controlling variables.

Method

Participants

Participants included 556 Indonesian college students aged 18–23 years from a well-known private university in Surabaya, the second-largest city of Indonesia. Students at the university are ethnically and religiously diverse but predominantly middle class. Most students come from the greater Surabaya area (East Java) or other cities/islands in the central and eastern part of Indonesia, such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Bali and Nusa Tenggara. The mean age of male subjects was 20.28 years ($SD = 1.27$). The mean age of female subjects was 19.96 ($SD = 1.29$; $p = 0.02$; independent t -test). For socio-demographic sample characteristics, see Table 1.

Procedures

The study protocol was approved by the Dean of the Faculty of Psychology and the Head of the Research and Community Service Board, University of Surabaya, Indonesia. Data were collected during June 2011. Four research assistants, three females and one male, randomly approached potential participants on the campus area of the university. A total of 578 potential participants were approached, of which 556 consented to participate in the study (96.2%). After a short oral and written explanation of the study, consenting participants were asked to complete a formal form of consent followed by the study questionnaires. To guarantee participants' anonymity, consent forms were initially separated from the anonymous study questionnaires, which, upon completion, were dropped in a separate closed box. Due to the potentially sensitive nature of the topic, research assistants made sure that participants were alone during the questionnaire response phase. Further, participants were carefully instructed to leave items blank rather than giving dishonest answers to items they felt uncomfortable answering.

Table 1. Background measures stratified by gender ($N = 556$).

Variable	Men %	Women %	Tests	df	Cohen's d
Gender	26.6 (148)	73.4 (408)			
Age			$\chi^2 = 8.49^*$	2	0.26
18–19	30.0 (42)	44.1 (171)			
20–21	55.0 (77)	44.3 (172)			
22–23	15.0 (21)	11.6 (45)			
Relationship status			$\chi^2 = 2.36$	1	0.13
Not in a relationship	60.0 (87)	52.6 (213)			
In a relationship	40.0 (58)	47.4 (192)			
Average hours of religious attendance per week			$t = -0.54$	517	-0.05
<i>M</i>	6.3	7.2			
<i>SD</i>	15.7	16.7			
<i>N</i>	137	382			
Sensation seeking			$\chi^2 = 7.54$	3	0.23
Very high	17.6 (26)	12.3 (50)			
High	52.0 (77)	47.1 (192)			
Low	25.7 (38)	37.3 (152)			
Very low	4.7 (7)	3.4 (14)			
Average hours of internet use per week			$\chi^2 = 13.36^*$	4	0.32
0–10	57.3 (82)	66.5 (264)			
11–20	14.7 (21)	14.9 (59)			
21–30	12.6 (18)	12.6 (50)			
31–40	4.9 (7)	2.8 (11)			
More than 40	10.5 (15)	3.3 (13)			
Parental involvement			$\chi^2 = 4.45$	3	0.18
Very high	25.3 (37)	33.8 (137)			
High	58.9 (86)	54.3 (220)			
Low	15.1 (22)	11.6 (47)			
Very low	0.7 (1)	0.2 (1)			
Sexual attitude ^a			$t = 3.34^{**}$	552	0.28
<i>M</i>	10.8	9.8			
<i>SD</i>	3.3	3			
<i>N</i>	146	408			
Sexual behaviour ^b			$t = 0.80$	548	0.11
<i>M</i>	1.4	1.3			
<i>SD</i>	1.7	1.3			
<i>N</i>	147	402			

Note: Missing values excluded; numbers in parentheses represent n/cell; $*p < 0.05$; $**p < 0.01$.

^a Sexual attitude scores ranged from 5 to 20, with 5 indicating a strong negative attitude towards non-marital sexual behaviours and 20 indicating a strong positive attitude towards common non-marital sexual behaviours.

^b Sexual behaviour scores ranged from 0 to 5, with higher scores indicating having engaged in a larger range of non-marital sexual activities.

Measures

Main outcome measures

Pornography consumption. Pornography related variables were measured using a modified version of the Pornography Consumption Questionnaire developed by Hald (2006). Items were related to prevalence rates of pornography consumption, the situational and interpersonal context of pornography consumption, pornography consumption outlets, acceptance of pornography consumption (i.e., the extent to which the viewing of pornography is acceptable for adults above 18 years of age), perceived realism of

pornography (i.e., the extent to which the consumer perceives the pornographic content as realistic) and partner knowledge of and reactions to participant's pornography consumption (Carroll et al. 2008; Hald 2006; Hald and Malamuth 2008; Stulhofer, Busko, and Schmidt 2012). Following Hald (2006), participants were told to refer to the following definition of pornography whenever the term was used throughout the questionnaire:

Any kind of material aiming at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the recipient and, at the same time, containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals and clear and explicit sexual acts such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, oral sex, masturbation, bondage, sadomasochism, rape, urine sex, animal sex, etc. (579)

To yield a better overall estimate of pornography consumption, following Hald (2006) and Hald and Malamuth (2008), several indicators of pornography consumption (time since last consumption, frequency of consumption, duration of consumption) were collapsed into a 'pornography consumption composite' measure, using the average standardised score of the indicators. The pornography consumption composite was used in all subsequent analyses.

Non-marital sexual behaviours. Non-marital sexual behaviours (sexual behaviours) were measured using five sexual behavioural items indicating whether participants had engaged in certain sexual activities in non-marital relationships. These included dry kissing (mouth-to-mouth kiss without involving saliva), deep kissing (mouth-to-mouth kiss involving saliva), petting (manual stimulation of erogenous zones), oral sex (oral-genital stimulation) and coitus (penetration with the penis) (Herbenick et al. 2010). Responses were given in a 'yes' and 'no' manner (0 = no/never engaged in the activity, 1 = yes/have engaged in the activity). A 'sexual behaviour score' was computed by summing scores across items. Higher scores indicate having engaged in more sexual behaviours outside marital relationships.

Controlling variables (covariates)

Socio-demographic variables. Sociodemographic variables included gender, age (in years), relationship status (0 = not in a relationship; 1 = in a relationship) and religious attendance. Religious attendance was assessed as the average time per week in hours spent on religious activities, whether individually or communally (see also Rohrbaugh and Jessor 1975).

Internet consumption. Internet consumption was measured by the average number of hours of internet use per week during the previous 12 months.

Parental involvement. Parental involvement was measured by six items taken from Lam and Chan (2007). Parental involvement refers to the degree of 'participation of parents/guardians in the children's life and their dedication in trying to help solve their children's problems' (Lam and Chan 2007, 592). Responses ranged from 1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree. Higher scores indicate more parental involvement in the participants' life. The internal consistency of the scale was satisfactory (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.76$).

Sensation seeking. Sensation seeking was assessed using the eight-item Brief Sensation Seeking Scale developed by Stephenson et al. (2007). Responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Higher scores indicate higher sensation seeking. Internal consistency of the scale was satisfactory (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.74$).

Attitude towards non-marital sexual behaviours. Attitude towards non-marital sexual behaviours (sexual attitude) was assessed using five items measuring participants' attitude towards certain sexual activities in non-marital relationships. Items included dry kissing (mouth-to-mouth kisses without involving saliva), deep kissing (mouth-to-mouth kiss involving saliva), petting (manual stimulation of erogenous zones), oral sex (oral-genital stimulation) and coitus (sex involving penetration with the penis) (Herbenick et al. 2010). These items were chosen to align with the study outcome measure of 'non-marital sexual behaviours' described below. Responses were given on a four-point scale (1 = highly unacceptable; 2 = unacceptable; 3 = acceptable; 4 = highly acceptable). A sexual attitude composite score was created by summing scores on each item. Higher scores indicate a more positive attitude towards sexual activities in non-marital relationships. The internal consistency of the scale was good (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.85$).

Results

Missing data

Gender stratified missing value analyses were performed for all included variables due to the sensitive nature of the topic. Except for variables related to 'partner's knowledge of participant's pornography consumption' and 'type of sexual activity accompanying pornography consumption', missing values ranged from 0 to 8%, with the vast majority of missing values being below 5%. For the two items noted above, missing values ranged from 7 to 18%. No systematic differences between respondents and non-respondents were found across missing values (see also Howell 2007).

Background variables

No significant gender differences were evident for relationship status, sensation seeking, parental involvement, religious attendance or sexual behaviours. However, compared to women, men were found to be significantly older, spend significantly more time on Internet use per week and hold significantly more positive sexual attitudes ($p < 0.05$). The magnitude of these differences was found to be small to moderate (Cohen's d range: 0.26–0.32, see also Table 1).

Patterns of pornography consumption

With two exceptions, noted below, significant gender differences were found across all measures of pornography consumption (see Table 2). The magnitude of these differences were predominantly found to be large (Cohen's $d > 0.8$).

Significantly more men than women were found to have ever consumed pornography ($p < 0.01$). Men were also found to have been exposed to pornography at a significantly younger age than women, spend significantly more time on pornography consumption, consume pornography significantly more often and have consumed pornography significantly more recently than women ($p < 0.01$). Further, men's consumption of pornography was significantly more often accompanied by solitary sexual activity than women's ($p < 0.05$). Significantly more women (34.9%) than men (7.8%) reported to have had sexual activity with a partner during pornography consumption ($p < 0.01$). For both genders, pornography was most often accessed from home, through the Internet, a Mobile phone or a DVD/VCD and used in solitude. No significant gender differences were found in the acceptance of pornography, with the majority of both men and women

Table 2. Pornography consumption measures stratified by gender ($N = 556$).

Variable	Men %	Women %	Tests	df	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Pornography consumption			$\chi^2 = 27.47^{**}$	1	0.46
Yes	94.6 (140)	74.4 (302)			
No	5.4 (8)	25.6 (104)			
Age of first exposure			$t = -6.64^{**}$	437	0.64
<i>M</i>	14.4	16.1			
<i>SD</i>	2.4	2.7			
<i>N</i>	138	301			
Time since last consumption			$\chi^2 = 151.70^{**}$	6	1.45
In the last 24 hours	7.1 (10)	1.7 (5)			
In the last 48 hours	7.1 (10)	1.0 (3)			
In the last week	35.0 (49)	4.0 (12)			
In the last month	24.3 (34)	10.6 (32)			
In the last 6 months	10.7 (15)	16.6 (50)			
In the last year	7.9 (11)	18.3 (55)			
More than 1 year ago	7.9 (11)	47.8 (144)			
Frequency of pornography consumption in the last six months			$\chi^2 = 160.10^{**}$	5	1.52
Never	15.9 (22)	66.6 (199)			
More than five times per week	5.8 (8)	0.3 (1)			
3–5 times per week	8.0 (11)	0.7 (2)			
1–2 times per week	29.0 (40)	2.3 (7)			
1–2 times per month	21.7 (30)	6.7 (20)			
Less than once per month	19.6 (27)	23.4 (70)			
Duration of use (hours per week in the last 6 months)			$\chi^2 = 115.20^{**}$	5	1.25
Never	16.9 (22)	71.6 (199)			
Less than 1 hour	26.9 (35)	14.0 (39)			
1–3 hours	50.0 (65)	13.7 (38)			
4–6 hours	3.8 (5)	0.4 (1)			
7–10 hours	0.8 (1)	0.4 (1)			
More than 10 hours	1.5 (2)	0 (0)			
Location of pornography consumption			$\chi^2 = 20.00^{**}$	3	0.45
Home	77.0 (107)	55.1 (152)			
Friend's home	7.9 (11)	20.3 (56)			
Internet café	2.2 (3)	2.5 (7)			
Campus	0.7 (1)	7.6 (21)			
Other (not specified, anywhere, workplace, WiFi area, etc.)	12.2 (17)	14.5 (40)			
Interpersonal context of pornography consumption ^a					
Alone	89.8 (106)	58.8 (60)	$\chi^2 = 128.40^{**}$	1	1.28
Romantic partner	0.8 (1)	14.7 (15)	$\chi^2 = 4.93^*$	1	0.21
A friend	2.5 (3)	11.8 (12)	$\chi^2 = 0.97$	1	0.09
A group of friends	15.3 (18)	43.1 (44)	$\chi^2 = 0.22$	1	0.04
Other	1.7 (2)	2.9 (3)	$\chi^2 = 0.17$	1	0.04
Most frequent type of pornography consumption outlet			$\chi^2 = 31.16^{**}$	4	0.56
Internet	63.6 (89)	39.6 (112)			
DVD/VCD	17.9 (25)	24.4 (69)			
Cell phone	9.3 (13)	25.8 (73)			
Printed magazine	0.7 (1)	4.6 (13)			

(Continued)

Table 2 – continued

Variable	Men %	Women %	Tests	df	Cohen's <i>d</i>
Other	8.6 (12)	5.7 (16)			
Does sexual activity accompanies pornography consumption?			$\chi^2 = 145.90^{**}$	3	1.43
Always	2.9 (4)	1.0 (3)			
Often	16.4 (23)	1.4 (4)			
Sometimes	53.6 (75)	12.4 (36)			
Never	27.1 (38)	85.2 (247)			
Context in which sexual activity accompany pornography consumption ^a					
Solitaire	89.2 (91)	67.4 (29)	$\chi^2 = 4.91^*$	1	0.38
With partner	7.8 (8)	34.9 (15)	$\chi^2 = 19.38^{**}$	1	0.80
Acceptance of pornography consumption for adults > 18 years of age			$\chi^2 = 7.09$	3	0.23
Highly acceptable	15.0 (22)	7.9 (32)			
Acceptable	59.9 (88)	69.2 (279)			
Unacceptable	17.7 (26)	16.1 (65)			
Highly unacceptable	7.5 (11)	6.7 (27)			
Perceived realism of pornography ^b			$t = -0.72$	427	-0.07
<i>M</i>	4.4	4.6			
<i>SD</i>	2.1	2.1			
<i>N</i>	140	289			
Partner knowledge of participant's pornography consumption			$\chi^2 = 19.46^{**}$	1	0.47
Yes	37.1 (43)	61.8 (155)			
No	62.9 (73)	38.2 (96)			
Partner's response if knowing			$\chi^2 = 23.33^{**}$	2	0.67
Supporting	1.5 (1)	4.8 (8)			
Neither supporting nor opposing	37.9 (25)	68.3 (114)			
Opposing	60.6 (40)	26.9 (45)			

Note: Missing values excluded; numbers in parentheses represent n/cell; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

^aFor interpersonal context of use and type of activity accompanying pornography consumption participants were allowed to select more than one option;

^bResponses ranged from 1 = very unrealistic to 9 = very realistic.

reporting acceptance of pornography consumption. Finally, no significant gender differences were found for the perception of pornography as realistic.

The association between pornography consumption and sexual behaviours

To test our study hypothesis that pornography consumption would be significantly associated with common sexual behaviours in non-marital relationships over and above relevant control variables, we employed a two-step analytic approach in our hierarchical multiple regression analyses. In the first step, socio-demographic, personality, sexual background, media use and parental involvement control variables (i.e., age, relationship status, and religiosity, sensation seeking, sexual attitudes, Internet consumption per week and parental involvement) were force entered into the regression analyses. In the second step, the pornography consumption composite was force entered into the regression analyses.

Across gender, the final model for sexual behaviours was significant (Men: $F [8, 99] = 4.64$, $p < 0.000$, $R^2_{adj} = 0.21$; Women: $F [8, 246] = 28.49$, $p < 0.000$, $R^2_{adj} = 0.46$). However, as evident from Table 3, for men only, pornography consumption significantly

Table 3. Hierarchical regression analyses predicting sexual behaviour.

	ΔR^2	B	T
Men ($n = 140$)			
Step 1	0.17**		
Age		-0.11	-1.21
Relationship status		0.20	2.17*
Religious attendance		-0.10	-0.89
Sensation seeking		0.12	1.37
Sexual attitude		0.30	3.07**
Internet use		0.10	0.91
Parental involvement		0.01	0.13
Step 2	0.05*		
Pornography consumption		0.23	2.48*
Total ΔR^2 adjusted	0.21**		
Women ($n = 302$)			
Step 1	0.46**		
Age		0.03	0.62
Relationship status		0.19	3.98**
Religious attendance		0.05	0.90
Sensation seeking		0.22	4.45**
Sexual attitude		0.51	9.97**
Internet use		-0.02	-0.30
Parental involvement		0.01	0.11
Step 2	0.01		
Pornography consumption		0.09	1.87
Total ΔR^2 adjusted	0.46**		

Note: Missing values deleted 'listwise'; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

added to the total explained variance of sexual behaviours over and above included control variables accounting for an additional 5% of this variance ($R^2_{\text{change}} = 0.05$).

Discussion

Using a sample of university students from a religious, sexually conservative, Muslim-majority country with strict anti-pornography laws, the study found that among this Indonesian sample, pornography is as widely and readily consumed and accepted as in comparable international studies predominantly using Western-background samples from more sexually liberal and less religious countries with no or very few laws on pornography (Hald 2006; Morgan 2011; Peter and Valkenburg 2011). Furthermore, gender differences in pornography consumption patterns and rates in this Indonesian sample were pronounced and comparable with that of their international counterparts, with men consuming pornography significantly more often, with higher duration, at an earlier age and more often during solitary sexual activity than women.

These findings help to validate findings from recent Indonesian studies on young people's sexuality demonstrating a constant liberalisation of Indonesian youth sexuality during the past decade (Harding 2008; Utomo 1997; Utomo and McDonald 2008). Also, it gives an indication that the effectiveness of the Indonesian anti-pornography law may be less than intended, although the unavailability of baseline data and choice of study design preclude such definitive conclusions. However, if correct, this ineffectiveness may be due to the pluralism inherent to Indonesian culture (Blackwood 2007; Boellstorff 2007; Wright-Webster 2008), in which political laws and policies concerning sexuality are

continuously challenged and contested (see also Introduction) and often weakly enforced by authorities (Assegaf 2002).

Interestingly, and in contrast to previous findings (e.g. Træen, Spitznogle, and Beverfjord 2004), no gender differences in acceptance of pornography were found, with the vast majority of both genders finding pornography acceptable. This may be because, across gender, both attitudinally and behaviourally sexual permissiveness is on the rise in Indonesia, as demonstrated in recent research utilising Indonesian samples (see also Bennett 2007; Simon and Paxton 2004). Also, it may be due to peer interactions and/or youth sexual lifestyles in which the normative discourse, across gender, is that of positive attitudes towards pornography and pornography consumption (see also Ford, Shaluhiah, and Suryoputro 2007).

Partly supporting our study hypothesis, for men, pornography consumption was found to be significantly associated with common sexual behaviours in non-marital relations over and above control variables accounting for an additional 5% of the total explained variance in these behaviours. This finding corresponds to previous findings in the area predominantly using STI-related sexual-risk behavioural outcomes (Luder et al. 2011; Peter and Valkenburg 2011; Sinkovic, Stulhofer, and Bozic 2012). Among women, the lack of significant association was contrary to our study hypothesis and highlights the possibility that pornography consumption may in fact not be significantly associated with sexual behaviours. Alternatively, that, among women, these associations are accounted for by other factors included in this study as controls (Luder et al. 2011).

Theoretically, among men, the finding that pornography consumption only modestly contributes to non-marital sexual behaviours fits with the basic contention of sexual script theory and the 3AM model (see Introduction). That is, the continuous reshaping of sexual scripts and influence of pornography on sexual behaviours depends on a multitude of culturally mediated messages about sex and sexual relations, such as sexual experiences, motivations, emotional investments and so on, and not only on pornography *per se* (see also Wright, Malamuth, and Donnerstein 2012).

The current study has several limitations. First, due to the recruitment and sampling procedures, the study probably includes a non-probability type sample and therefore the study findings cannot be generalised to the Indonesian population at large. Second, the cross-sectional design of the study precludes the assessment of causality. Third, this is the first survey study of pornography consumption and associated variables ever published using a sample of this type. Therefore, we lack an adequate body of literature in which to situate our findings. Thus, more research is needed to inform such questions as the generalisability of the study results. Fourth, the study does not differentiate between different kinds of non-marital relationships. This is a limitation because pattern of pornography consumption and pornography consumption-sexual behavioural associations may vary across different types of non-marital relationships. Fifth, the study relies on self-report, which may be subject to a variety of systematic biases (van de Mortel 2008).

Nevertheless this study advances research on pornography by providing the first insights into pornography consumption and associated factors in a religious, sexually conservative, Muslim-majority country with strict anti-pornography laws. We encourage future research to utilise different comparable samples to validate the current study findings and provide further insight into pornography consumption and associated factors in Muslim majority nations.

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Résumé

L'Indonésie est un pays religieux, conservateur vis-à-vis de la sexualité, avec une population majoritairement musulmane et des lois strictes contre la pornographie. Cette étude a examiné la prévalence et les modèles de la consommation de la pornographie en Indonésie parmi un échantillon d'étudiants universitaires indonésiens et en se basant sur une approche transversale. En outre, elle a exploré l'association entre la consommation de la pornographie et les comportements sexuels courants en dehors du mariage. L'étude a révélé que dans cet échantillon la pornographie était aussi largement et facilement consommée que dans des études internationales comparables qui avaient utilisé des échantillons de participants dont la majorité étaient des Occidentaux et vivaient dans des pays plus libéraux vis-à-vis de la sexualité et moins religieux, avec très peu de lois sur la pornographie. Dans les modèles de consommation de la pornographie, les différences de genre ont été significatives et comparables à celles qui avaient été révélées par les résultats d'autres études internationales semblables. Concernant uniquement les participants de sexe masculin, la consommation de pornographie s'est révélée en tant que facteur fortement prédictif des comportements sexuels courants en dehors du mariage. L'étude est la première à apporter un éclairage sur la prévalence et les modèles de la consommation de la pornographie, ainsi que sur l'association de cette dernière aux comportements sexuels courants en dehors du mariage, dans un pays conservateur vis-à-vis de la sexualité, avec une population à majorité musulmane et des lois strictes contre la pornographie.

Resumen

El presente estudio investigó las tasas de prevalencia y los patrones de consumo de pornografía en Indonesia, país religioso, sexualmente conservador, de mayoría musulmana y con severas leyes contra la pornografía, apoyándose en una muestra de estudiantes universitarios indonesios y en un diseño transversal. Asimismo, examinó la asociación entre el consumo de pornografía y los comportamientos sexuales extramaritales más comunes. El estudio constató que, en la muestra seleccionada, el consumo de pornografía era tan amplio y fácil como en países occidentales, más liberales desde el punto de vista sexual, menos religiosos y con pocas leyes que regulan la pornografía, según lo demuestran otros estudios internacionales realizados en este sentido. El consumo de pornografía dirigida sólo a hombres resultó predecir de manera significativa los comportamientos sexuales más comunes en las relaciones extramaritales. Este es el primer estudio que ofrece hallazgos en torno a las tasas de prevalencia y a los patrones de consumo de pornografía, así como en relación a su asociación con los comportamientos sexuales extramaritales comunes en un país sexualmente conservador, de mayoría musulmana, con estrictas leyes en contra de la pornografía.

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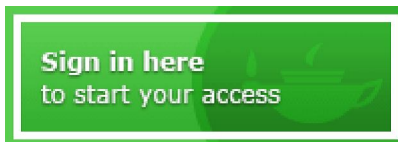
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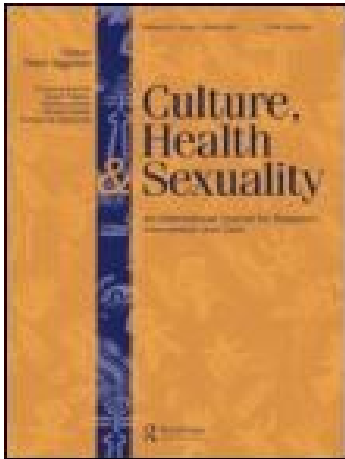
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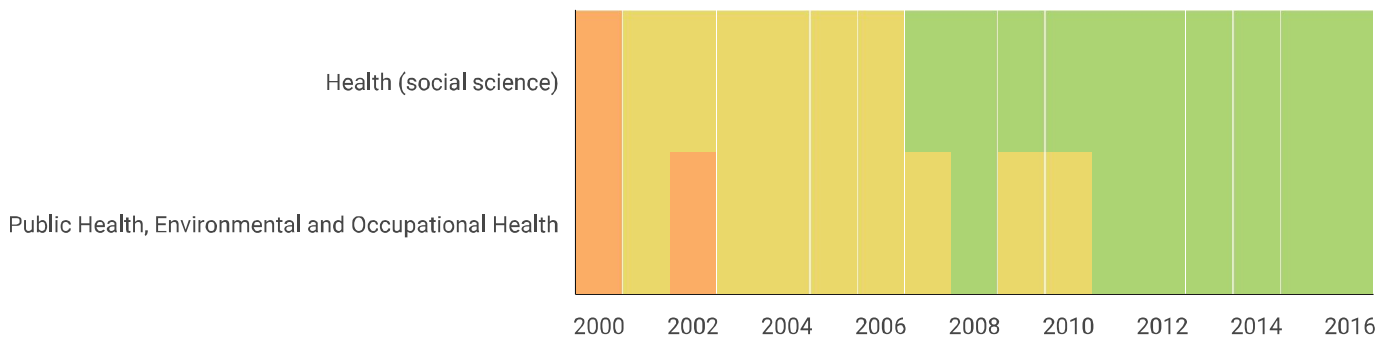
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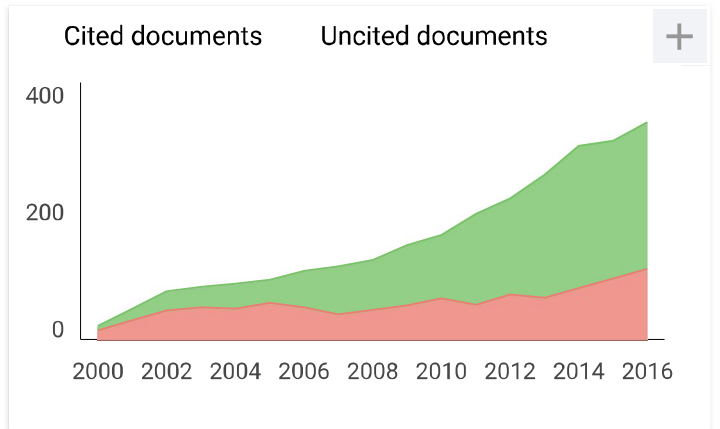
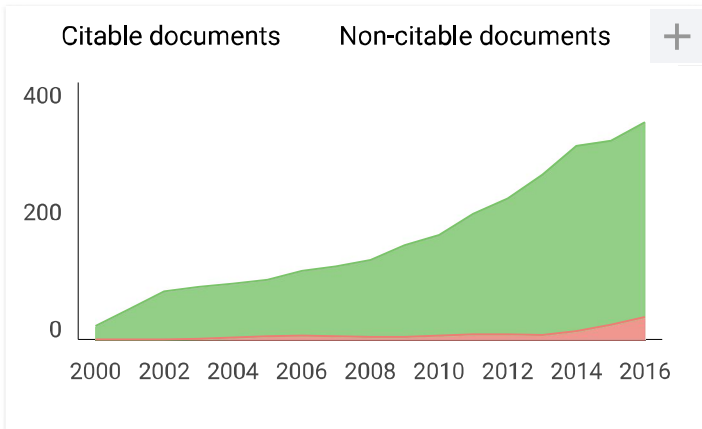
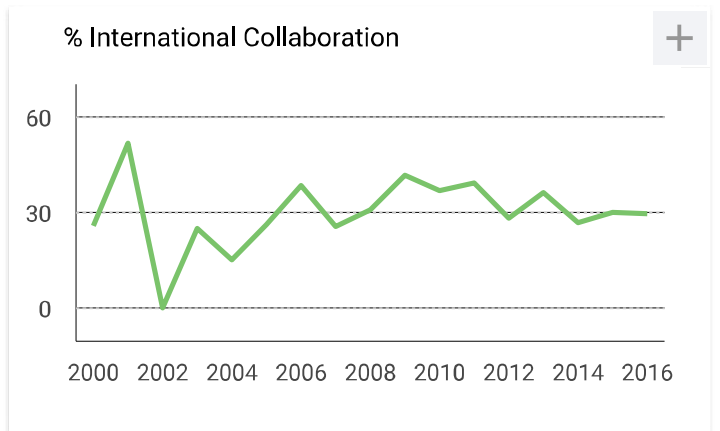
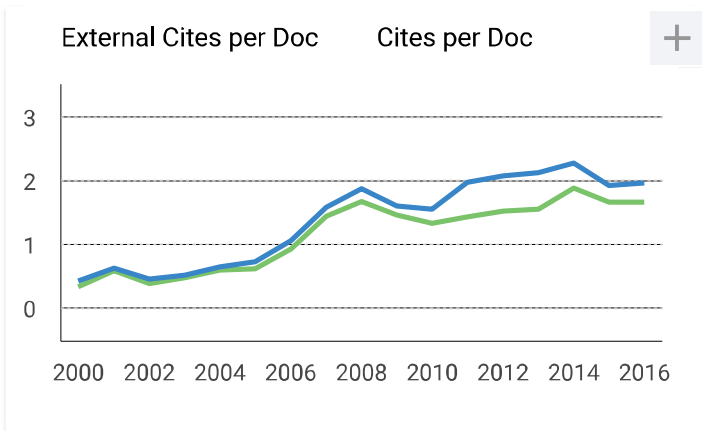
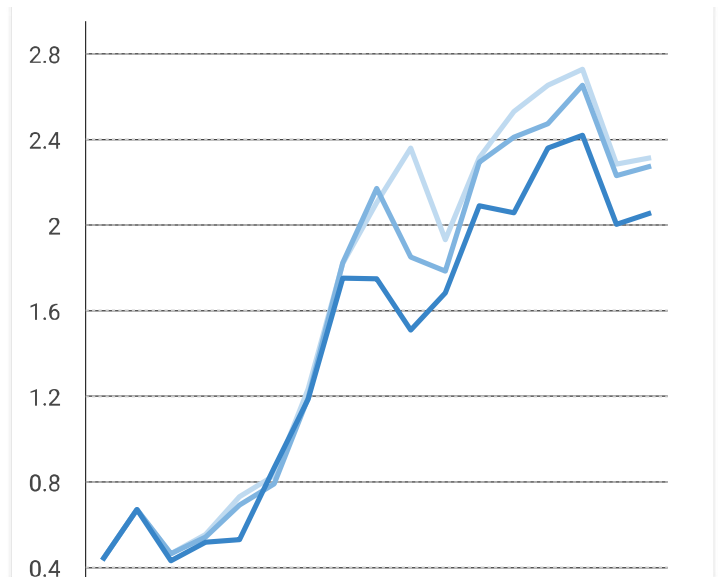
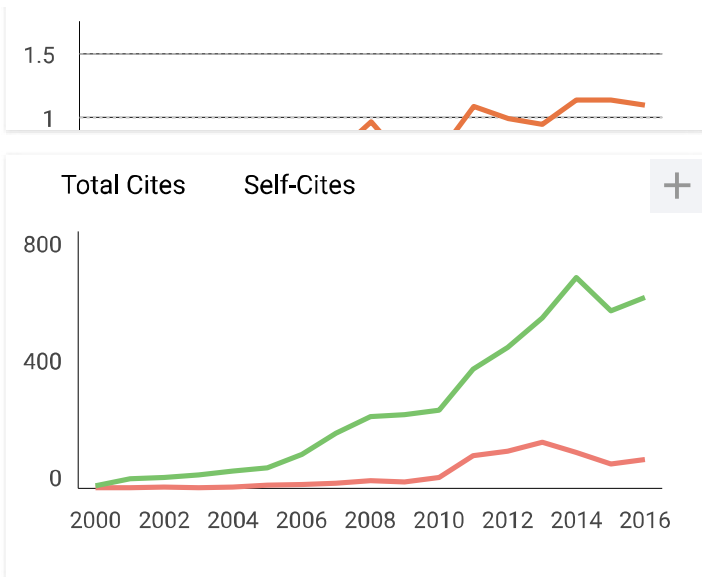


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