



1987

Power, Pain, and Pleasure in Pornography: A Content Analysis of Pornographic Feature Films, 1972-1985

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Abstract

Within the last decade, a view has emerged in governmental publications, the popular press, and research conducted in the fields of communications and film studies which regards pornography as being typified by material which is violent or which exhibits unequal relations of power between the sexes. This dissertation employs content analysis to investigate the portrayal of male and female characters and relationships in pornographic films. The investigation empirically operationalizes certain broadly defined concepts that are often used in conjunction with pornography, concepts of unequal power relations and of the subordination or de-humanization of characters. Specifically, certain observable components of unequal power relations have been postulated and investigated throughout the range of films sampled. In addition, communication patterns, demonstrations of affection and of sexual pleasure are analyzed, as well as rates of violent and abusive behavior.

Three units of analysis are employed: characters, sex scenes, and violent acts. Although the violent-acts unit of analysis made provisions for the coding of violent behavior, the sex-scene unit of analysis was defined so that it, too, would contain variable categories permitting the coding of abusive or violent acts. The sample is 32 "classic" or top-selling pornographic feature films, covering the years 1972-1985. Each film was coded by a male and a female coder. On a variety of measures, male and female characters were found to be portrayed in relatively equivalent terms. The average number of violent acts per film was 1.4. 21 percent of all sex scenes contained abuse. The hypothesis that rates of violence have been increasing in pornography in recent years was not supported.

Degree Type

Dissertation

Degree Name

Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

Department

Communication

First Advisor

Paul Messaris

Subject Categories

Communication | Film and Media Studies | Mass Communication | Other Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies

POWER, PAIN, AND PLEASURE in PORNOGRAPHY:
A Content Analysis of Pornographic Feature Films,
1972-1985

Stephen Robert Prince

A DISSERTATION
in
Communications

Presented to the Faculties of the University of
Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1987



Supervisor of Dissertation



Graduate Group Chairperson

ANNENBERG / P/002/1987/P957

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of

Power, Pain, and Pleasure in Pornography

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project would not have been completed without the generous assistance of many people. I would like to thank my advisor, Paul Messaris, who contributed many hours to consideration of the issues studied here and who helped shape to a significant degree the methodology of the study. He was an active participant on this study in every sense, and his suggestions and assistance were both thorough and relevant. His generous support of my endeavors is greatly appreciated. Larry Gross and Joseph Turow, members of the faculty committee, contributed much to the conceptualization of this project. Their helpful insights and suggestions pointed out the importance of this particular area of research and how best it might be pursued. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank Gail Chalef, Leslie Galan, Ian Gale, Eva Goldfarb, the team of coders who helped generate data for this study. Their patience and good spirits helped lighten the otherwise mechanical task of data collection. Thanks also extend to Amy Jordan, who helped code several films during the test film coding phase.

ABSTRACT

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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF PORNOGRAPHIC FEATURE FILMS,
1972-1985

Stephen Prince

Paul Messaris (supervisor)

Within the last decade, a view has emerged in governmental publications, the popular press, and research conducted in the fields of communications and film studies which regards pornography as being typified by material which is violent or which exhibits unequal relations of power between the sexes. This dissertation employs content analysis to investigate the portrayal of male and female characters and relationships in pornographic films. The investigation empirically operationalizes certain broadly defined concepts that are often used in conjunction with pornography, concepts of unequal power relations and of the subordination or de-humanization of characters. Specifically, certain observable components of unequal power relations have been postulated and investigated throughout the range of films sampled. In addition, communication patterns, demonstrations of affection and of sexual pleasure are analyzed, as well as rates of violent and abusive behavior.

Three units of analysis are employed: characters, sex scenes, and violent acts. Although the violent-acts unit of analysis made provisions for the coding of violent behavior, the sex-scene unit of analysis was defined so that it, too, would contain variable categories permitting the coding of abusive or violent acts. The sample is 32 "classic" or top-selling pornographic feature films, covering the years 1972-1985. Each film was coded by a male and a female coder. On a variety of measures, male and female characters were found to be portrayed in relatively equivalent terms. The average number of violent acts per film was 1.4. 21 percent of all sex scenes contained abuse. The hypothesis that rates of violence have been increasing in pornography in recent years was not supported.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Issues relating to gender representation and the portrayal of sexuality in films have, very often, been addressed within the field of film studies, where qualitative, psychoanalytically-derived models have been employed (Ellis, 1980; Johnston, 1985; Mulvey, 1975; Neale, 1983; Pajaczkowska, 1981; Willeman, 1980). The application of Freudian categories to film study is an old tradition. It has incorporated as one of its basic models the notion of film-as-dream. Freudian dream analysis was primarily an analysis of images, mediated through verbal language, which paid close attention to the properties of images as analog codes (i.e., to the lack of clear, built-in distinctions between denotation and connotation) and to syntactic principles of image construction. Basic also to the Freudian project was a discourse on the sources of pleasure, one of which was rooted in looking. The application of such a model to film analysis would seem to be fairly clear and direct. Film, too, is an analog code, a construction of images which appeals to deep-seated sources of pleasure in an audience which might

be regarded as voyeuristic.

As noted, much recent work has employed Freudian categories (e.g., "fetishism," "scopophilia") based on the assumption that such concepts can account for forms of sexual representation in the cinema. Mulvey's (1975) analysis of the representation of women in Hollywood cinema, for example, argued that certain formal elements -- close-ups that fragment the body, flat screen space, interruptions of the narrative -- were understandable in Freudian terms as devices operating to contain the sexual anxieties felt by male spectators as they viewed the female body. Mulvey's analysis has proven very influential and has been extended by other writers to types of film other than the Hollywood product, namely, pornography (Ellis, 1980; Kuhn, 1985; Pajaczkowska, 1981; Willeman, 1980).

Analyses of the pornographic image within the field of film studies are concerned with connecting such Freudian categories as "castration anxiety" and "fetishism" with the forms of the pornographic image (e.g., particular camera movements, compositions). In doing so, many writers seem to implicitly assume that pornography is one thing (essentially heterosexual) and that it takes one form (in which women are portrayed as anonymous and subordinated to the wishes of the male

characters). Kuhn, for example, (1985:21) asserts that pornography is "a regime of representation." Assumptions in the film studies literature that pornography is essentially undifferentiated may be responsible for a persistent problem in these accounts. The sample of pornographic works from which film analysts draw their inferences are rarely defined in explicit terms. Kuhn, for example, says nothing about how many adult magazines she studied in her essay on pictorial erotica. The question of the extent to which pornography assumes differentiated forms is an important one, and a position noting different forms has been advanced by several authors (Jarvie, 1986; Thomas, 1986) operating outside the field of film studies. Within the field, however, assumptions about the homogeneous nature of pornography and lack of attention to issues of sampling have raised problems of validity for the existing analyses. To what extent is the shape of pornography as film studies sees it -- as a "regime of representation" -- consistent with data which a systematic content analysis might reveal? In particular, the use of Freudian categories by film studies has tended to privilege a view which locates pain and punishment as central to pornography:

The pornographic film text responds by multiplying instances of possible pleasure by multiplying its little stories of sexual incidents. Either that, or,

in its more hardcore manifestations, it turns upon the object of the enquiry, the woman, and vents its (and the audience's) frustrations at the impossibility of gaining an answer to the question by degrading and humiliating woman, by attacking her for her obstinate refusal to yield this impossible secret. This aggression reaffirms the power of the phallus in response to a terror at the possibilities of the woman's escape from that power (Ellis, 1980, p.105).

This biasing is inherent in the Freudian project, as Freud argued that the impulses of both looking and cruelty were fundamental to sexual excitement. Thus, commitment to a Freudian model has also tended to commit analysts to such categories as cruelty, abuse, and violence in the analysis of pornography. This affirmation of a connection between pornography and representations of cruelty and abuse is congruent with perceptions operating outside of film studies. Indeed, throughout society, a powerful current of contemporary thought affirms the existence of various connections between pornography and violence.

In investigating its claims about gender representation in the cinema, and in pornography in particular, film studies has been quite reluctant to call upon quantitative methods which are more accepted in the field of communications. This tradition, however, has not prevented film studies scholars from making implicitly quantitative statements about the frequency of occurrence of features of pornography:

Fragmentation is much more common in photographic images of the female body than of the male: in pornography, it is the woman's sex that is constructed as the prime object of the spectator's curiosity (Kuhn, 1985, p.40).

In the majority of porn images the bodies represented as objects of desire are shown as contained, sheathed in paraphernalia such as boots, stockings, garter belts, leather clothing, etc... (Willeman, 1980, p.59).

Quantitative assertions about the frequency of codes within pornography should be investigated using quantitative methods, but the qualitatively-oriented tradition of film studies scholarship has tended to prevent this. This tradition has been responsible for helping establish many useful analytical insights, especially the foregrounding of visual codes as the carriers of "meaning" in film. However, future research in film studies might profitably draw upon approaches and methodologies furnished by other disciplines, such as the social sciences. The tradition of critical introspection could make room for more empirically-based methods which, in the case of pornography, could help clarify currently disputed issues (e.g., the frequency of certain codes within a given body of work).

A certain over-theorization has occurred in film studies to date, whereby psychoanalytic accounts of gender representation or the film spectator's perceptual activity have been elaborately developed, but without

much empirical confirmation of their validity. In part, this is a consequence of the tradition of psychoanalysis, in which verification of theory has always been a very slippery matter. But, even so, much work in film studies has theorized about spectatorial perception or the frequency of codes within a given set of works without building in an empirical component to the theories. This is unfortunate because these topics are eminently researchable from an empirical perspective. Empirical methods are beginning to be felt in research on film history and the economic organization of the Hollywood industry, but, thus far, such methods have not been widely adopted throughout the field. However, integration of these methods into the discipline could well constitute the future development of film studies, permitting much fruitful research.

This dissertation, in particular, is an attempt to use such methods to investigate a range of issues connected with pornographic films: the representation of male and female characters, the portrayal of male-female relationships, the representation of expressions of emotional affection and sexual pleasure, and the portrayal of expressions of violence and abuse. This investigation has attempted to empirically operationalize certain broadly defined concepts that are

often used in conjunction with pornography, concepts of unequal power relations and of the subordination or de-humanization of characters. Such concepts are frequently employed in analyses of pornography, and an attempt has been made here to deal with these ideological notions in empirical terms. Specifically, certain observable components of unequal power relations have been postulated and investigated throughout the range of films sampled. It is hoped that this exercise may demonstrate the usefulness of a position which is informed by traditions of research in the fields of both communications and film studies.

With all of this in mind, the discussion will now proceed on the more specific course of the investigation. Earlier, it was noted that film studies scholarship shares certain assumptions about pornography and violence with a more general cultural perspective operating outside of the discipline. The discussion will now proceed to outline this more general social perspective and how it connects with the present study.

When the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography issued its report in 1970, it concluded that no evidence could be found to indicate that pornography had harmful behavioral or social consequences. Thus, the Commission recommended that the government ought not

to enact laws restricting the rights of consenting adults to privately consume pornographic materials. In the years since that report, a dissenting view has been passionately argued on many fronts: among feminists, among social science researchers, in the popular press, and in the government itself. A new governmental commission, appointed by Attorney General Edwin Meese, has conducted another investigation of the social effects of pornography and concluded that a causative link does exist between pornography and crime (New York Times, July 10, 1986). The conclusions of the Meese Commission are but the official articulation of a more widespread perception that the production and consumption of pornography has harmful social consequences. Specifically, this view argues that pornography is characterized by violence, that its characters, images, stories, and settings are informed by violent attitudes and behaviors and that the targets of these behaviors and attitudes are women. Pornography, in this view, is regarded as an expression of violence against women, an expression so intense or arousing that it actually culminates in real acts of violence against women. In the famous phrase of Robin Morgan (1977), pornography is the theory, rape the practice. The articulation of these views within an

anti-pornography variant of feminism relates pornography to the structures of a culture run and ruled by men, a culture marked by violence. As "a philosophy of rape," pornography is regarded as the ideological expression of a patriarchal culture (Brownmiller, 1976:443).

The contention of anti-pornography critics that pornography is an expression of violence against women and that such violent acts as raping, beating, even killing, are endemic to porn films has been strongly argued and has captured a measure of national media attention (Time, Apr.5,1976; Feb.7,1977; Village Voice, May 9, 1977). The charges of the anti-pornography critics have also stimulated a body of empirical research by social scientists which attempts to specify factors in pornographic films which may trigger aggressive responses in viewers. However, the arguments of the anti-pornography feminists, the articles in the popular press, and the empirical studies all assume the validity of the basic contentions: that violent behaviors are pervasive throughout pornography and that the violent content of pornography has even been increasing during the 1970s. When one asks about the evidence for such assertions, one confronts a very limited range of proofs. The available evidence is essentially provided by three articles in the popular

press, two in Time Magazine, one in the Village Voice, and three content analyses of pornographic books and magazines (Dietz and Evans, 1982; Malamuth and Spinner, 1980; Smith, 1976). The articles in the popular press offer a range of anecdotal evidence but no systematic research. The content analyses offer some evidence on the extent of violent acts in the materials studied, but this evidence is in some cases minimal and, in general, hardly constitutes firm support for charges of extensive violence throughout pornography. Such charges, therefore, remain in need of substantiation.

Since these charges are stated in implicitly quantitative terms, research employing a quantitative method is an appropriate means of assessing them. Therefore, this study uses a quantitative design to investigate two basic contentions of the anti-pornography position: that violence is prevalent in pornography and that such violence has been increasing throughout the 1970s. The study deals with pornographic feature films, since such materials have not yet formed the basis of a systematic, empirical study. The study is not concerned with the effects of pornography on society or on individuals who consume such materials. Similarly, the question of whether pornography causes violence against women is outside the

purview of this study. Instead, this research was designed to furnish evidence on a basic theoretical assumption which has guided the work of anti-pornography critics, social scientists researching the effects of pornography, presentations in the popular press, and the work of the Meese Commission itself.

The study is a content analysis of pornographic feature films spanning the years 1972-1985. The pornographic feature film is a recent phenomenon and marks the entry of pornographic films into popular culture. The first public showing of a hard-core pornographic feature did not occur until 1968 (Slade, 1984:150). Prior to that, hard-core pornographic films were short (and called "stag" films), were illegal, and circulated clandestinely. The sample consists of 32 feature films, each of which was coded by a male and a female viewer. Three units of analysis were employed: characters, sex scenes, and violent acts. Although the violent acts coding sheet made provisions for the coding of violent behaviors, the sex scenes coding sheet, additionally, contained variable categories permitting the coding of abusive or violent acts. Thus, over the range of films sampled, information on the rate and type of violent behavior in these films was collected.

The charges leveled against pornography are

frequently emotional and are stated with passion. However, the question of evidence is a problem for the anti-pornography position. This study is a tightly focused attempt to ascertain whether such evidence can be found in the pornographic feature film.

CHAPTER II

PORNOGRAPHY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the relevant literature bearing on the question of pornography and violence against women and to describe the research problem which the present study will investigate. As will be seen, the literature is both theoretical and empirical. The theoretical framework has largely been supplied by feminist criticisms of pornography which charge that pornographic books and films are expressions of male hatred for women and are the theory of such contempt, while rape is the practice (Morgan, 1977). The strongly-worded feminist arguments against pornography have, in turn, stimulated a body of social science research on the effects of viewing erotic and aggressive-erotic films. Much of this research has addressed itself to feminist concerns by focusing on pornographic films that feature sexually violent or aggressive behaviors and studying the effects on subjects of viewing such films. If pornography is the theory and rape the practice, then aggressive-erotic films should have deleterious effects on those who view

them, and many studies have attempted to specify those effects.

The other stimulant to this work has been an inadequacy in the research conducted by The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, initially commissioned by President Johnson in 1967. The Commission's studies on the effects of pornography consumption tended to use non-violent erotic materials and, therefore, came to be regarded as providing insufficient evidence on the question of the social effects of violent pornography (Nelson, 1982: 180-181).

This chapter will begin by exploring the feminist charges against pornography, since they have provided the animating energy to much of the subsequent empirical work. This will be followed by a consideration of the studies done as part of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography in the late 1960s. After this, a detailed examination will focus on more recent studies, done in the wake of the Commission's report, that utilize violent sexual materials. These studies are based on the notion that the incidence of violence in pornography has been increasing in recent years. As we will see, the notion of increasing violence is, in turn, based on a handful of content analyses (Malamuth and Spinner, 1980; Smith, 1976) and anecdotal evidence in popular

publications (Time, April 5, 1976; Time, Feb. 7, 1977;
Village Voice, May 9, 1977).

THE FEMINIST ANTI-PORNOGRAPHY POSITION

Feminist critics of pornography have viewed pornography as a form of sexual violence against women and as a practice which encourages such violence by portraying it as normal behavior (Barry, 1981: 206). For Barry, in her wide-ranging cultural and historical account of forms of female sexual enslavement, pornography is the principal medium which transmits anti-female abuse into the sexual practices of individual males (p.206). She characterizes the ideology inside pornography thus:

The most prevalent theme in pornography is one of utter contempt for women. In movie after movie women are raped, ejaculated on, urinated on, anally penetrated, beaten, and, with the advent of snuff films, murdered in an orgy of sexual pleasure. Women are the objects of pornography, men its largest consumers, and sexual degradation its theme (p.206).

Barry mentions three ways in which pornography distorts reality, the first of which is the presentation of sexual sadism as a source of pleasure for women. "The male fantasy insists that beatings, rape, humiliation and pain turn women on" (p.209). Secondly, pornography assumes that both partners in a sexually violent episode participate of their own free will and hold equal power, thus creating a guilt-free environment for the consumer of the book or film. Thirdly,

pornography does not show cuts or bruises to the body from brutal sex acts or a woman's expressions of pain:

In films, for example, women's pain from violent sexual intercourse or beatings is edited out by turning off the sound of that scene and replacing it with music and by not showing the woman's face at times when she would be expressing pain (p.209).

These charges have been seconded by an article in the popular press ("Pretty Poison," Village Voice, p.23). According to the Village Voice article, the aesthetic of violence in pornography, which shows no suffering or bruises following violent sexual behavior, trivializes sadomasochism and makes the victim disappear.

Susan Brownmiller in her historical and cultural analysis of rape, views pornography as "the undiluted essence of anti-female propaganda" and as the visualization of a philosophy of rape because of its presentations of "females as anonymous, panting playthings, adult toys, dehumanized objects to be used, abused, broken and discarded" (p.443). Pornography, like rape, is viewed by Brownmiller as "a male invention, designed to dehumanize women..." by invoking images of the female body that are regarded by men as shameful (p.443).

The argument that pornography evokes images of women seen as hateful and shameful by men has been

argued extensively by Susan Griffin in Pornography and Silence (1981). Her argument is that pornography represents the symbolic silencing of women through the binding, beating and mastering of their bodies. This silencing is necessary because women's bodies are "symbols for natural feeling and the power of nature, which the pornographic mind hates" (p.2). The reason the pornographic mind hates these symbols is because they represent the denied feminine components of the male psyche:

In the pornographic mind, women represent a denied part of the self; in this mind a woman is a symbol for a man's hidden vulnerability. Here disguised in a woman's body are his own feelings and his own heart (p.83).

In Griffin's analysis, opposition to pornography is rooted to a belief in the soul because pornography reduces "a whole being with a soul to mere matter..." (p.47). Pornography destroys the soul and turns people into things:

For the pornographic camera performs a miracle in reverse. Looking in on a living being, a person with a soul, it produces an image of a thing...And rather than an accidental quality of pornography, this objectification of a whole being into a thing is the central metaphor of the form (p.36).

Because of male rage against the feminine components of the male psyche, the movement toward violence in pornography is an inevitable one and eventually carries over into actual behavior:

...his images must accelerate in their violence. They must indeed accelerate in intensity until they become actual enactments. ...For never does he succeed in murdering the real object of his rage (p.67).

Indeed, pain is central to pornography:

There is almost no pornographic work without the infliction of pain, either to a vulnerable psyche or to a vulnerable body...every pornographic device we have described as defining the form is in itself only a milder form of sadomasochism (p.47).

Finally, the ferocity of violent activity contained and symbolized by pornography becomes significantly powerful: "...pornography exceeds the boundaries of both fantasy and record and becomes itself an act. Pornography is sadism" (p.83).

Griffin's analysis is informed by categories of innocence, wholeness and the spoilage of the soul, and it is congruent with the main currents of feminist anti-pornography analysis. Gloria Steinem (1978) distinguishes between "erotica" and "pornography" based on the presence or absence of love between partners who both exercise a positive choice to participate in a sexual act:

...'erotica' is rooted in 'eros' or passionate love, and thus is the idea of positive choice, free will, the yearning for a particular person...'Pornography' begins with a root meaning 'prostitution' or 'female captives,' thus letting us know that the subject is not a mutual love, or love at all, but domination and violence against women (p.54).

The erotic is "a mutually pleasurable sexual expression between people who have enough power to be there by positive choice," whereas the pornographic promotes a message of "violence, dominance and conquest. It is sex being used to reinforce some inequality or to create one, or to tell us the lie that pain and humiliation (ours or someone else's) are really the same as pleasure" (p.54).

The charges that pornography dehumanizes women, objectifies them as "things," and is an expression of sadistic hatred toward women are central to the anti-pornography position being outlined here. They have been formulated with greatest passion by Andrea Dworkin. She was co-author with Catherine MacKinnon of a Minneapolis bill which attempted to find a legislative mechanism for eradicating pornography by providing a legal ground upon which women might bring civil suits against traffickers in pornography or against anyone who commits an assault or injury "that is directly caused by pornography" (Film Comment, 1984:31). Dworkin and MacKinnon conceive of pornography as promoting "pain, rape, humiliation, and inferiority as experiences that are sexually pleasing to all women because we are women..." (p.30). Their ordinance defined pornography as "the sexually explicit subordination of women" in

pictures or words in which women are presented as dehumanized, as sexual objects who enjoy pain or humiliation, or who experience pleasure in being raped, or who are presented in "postures of sexual submission" (p.31).

In addition to her work with MacKinnon, Dworkin has written on pornography, passionately denouncing it in ways that elaborate on assertions we have seen in the writings of Barry, Brownmiller and Griffin. She sees pornography as inseparable from the great evils of history. Pornography is "Dachau brought into the bedroom and celebrated, every vile prison or dungeon brought into the bedroom and celebrated, police torture and thug mentality brought into the bedroom and celebrated..." (1981, p.69). Men are the source of this evil:

...terror is the outstanding theme and consequence of male history and male culture. Terror issues forth from the male, illuminates his essential nature and his basic purpose (p.15-16).

Male power is the *raison d'etre* of pornography; the degradation of the female is the means of achieving this power (p.25).

Pornography reveals that male pleasure is inextricably tied to victimizing, hunting, exploiting; that sexual fun and sexual passion in the privacy of the male imagination are inseparable from the brutality of male history (p.69).

Pornography, she argues, is rooted in a culture and practice of male supremacy and violence. Like Griffin

(1981, p.3), Dworkin regards gender oppression as transhistorical:

It is ancient and it is modern; it is feudal, capitalist, socialist; it is caveman and astronaut, agricultural and industrial, urban and rural. For men, the right to abuse women is elemental, the first principle...(p.68).

Like Griffin's, Dworkin's analysis is an "essentialist" one, based on the idea that men and women are fundamentally, and by "nature," different. Given the oppressiveness of a male supremacist culture, pornography becomes a means of subordinating and terrorizing women, becomes "the collective scenario of master/slave" (Dworkin, 1974:53).

Dworkin offers a detailed account of how the pornographic image functions as a form of violence and terror directed against women. She describes in detail a photograph which appeared in Hustler magazine in which two men were seen sitting in a jeep and carrying rifles. Spread-eagle across the hood of the jeep, naked, bound in ropes tied to the bumper and the mirror of the jeep lay a woman, whose pubic hair and crotch were in the compositional center of the picture. The photograph was captioned "Beaver Hunters" and under the picture the text read:

Western sportsmen report beaver hunting was particularly good throughout the Rocky Mountain region during the past season. These two hunters

easily bagged their limit in the high country. They told Hustler that they stuffed and mounted their trophy as soon as they got her home (quoted in Dworkin, 1981: 26).

After an extensive, detailed description of the photograph, Dworkin discusses it as an emblem of violence and terror against women:

In the photograph, the power of terror is basic. The men are hunters with guns. Their prey is women. They have caught a woman and tied her onto the hood of a car. The terror is implicit in the content of the photograph, but beyond that the photograph strikes the female viewer dumb with fear. One perceives that the bound woman must be in pain. The very power to make the photograph (to use the model, to tie her in that way) and the fact of the photograph (the fact that someone did use the model, did tie her in that way, that the photograph is published in a magazine and seen by millions of men who buy it specifically to see such photographs) evoke fear in the female observer unless she entirely dissociates herself from the photograph: refuses to believe or understand that real persons posed for it, refuses to see the bound person as a woman like herself. Terror is finally the content of the photograph, and it is also its effect on the female observer. That men have the power and desire to make, publish, and profit from the photograph engenders fear. That millions more men enjoy the photograph makes the fear palpable (p.27).

In the pornographic image, the threat of violence is twofold: first, for what it symbolizes about what men would like to do to women (the rifles, the bondage); secondly, for what it shows was actually done to a model (physically tying her to the hood of the car). In the terms of this analysis, the first dimension (the symbolic) and the second dimension (the real) are

conflated as one. The pornographic image does violence to the women inside of it and to the women who see the image.

Not only do pornographic images contain and express violence against women, but consumption of those images by men is an addictive process. Judith Bat-Ada (1979: 122) has applied a sexual domino theory to pornography, whereby consumption of non-violent pornographic images leads directly and inevitably to a hunger for more sadistic imagery:

Saturation with straightforward female sexual stimulus leads slowly but inevitably to the need for, and the acceptance of, such things as child molestation, incest, and sexual violence.

As formulated by Barry, Brownmiller, Morgan, Dworkin, and Steinem, the major points of the anti-pornography argument are the following:

1. Contemporary culture is either male dominated or contains powerful currents of male supremacist values.

2. Men and women are by nature different. Male nature is aggressive, violent, exploitative. Female nature is nurturing, loving, egalitarian.

3. To maintain their social power, men use violence against women (and against other men). They also do this as a way of repressing their feminine

selves.

4. Pornography is an embodiment of this violence. In pornography, women are bound, beaten and murdered by men.

5. There is no difference between the symbolic representation of these behaviors and the actual behaviors. Symbol and reality are one.

6. This is so for two reasons. One reason is that the models in the films or photographs are physically harmed.

7. The second reason is that pornography leads to rape. Pornography has harmful social consequences because it leads men to act out women-hating behaviors that they see on screen or in a magazine.

This argument, based on ahistorical categories of gender identity, frequently proceeds by assertion and often seeks to compel by reason of its passionate articulation. It has stimulated some research among anti-pornography feminists seeking to substantiate its assertions. For example, Lederer (1980: 17) reports that researchers from Women Against Violence in Pornography and Media viewed twenty-six pornographic films in San Francisco and found that twenty-one "had rape scenes, sixteen had bondage and torture scenes, two

were films of child molestation, and two featured the killing of women for sexual stimulation." However, this study cannot be evaluated because the sampling procedure and the logic of the coding categories are not defined or discussed.

The anti-pornography position has generated opposition within the feminist movement among feminists who question many of its implicit assumptions. In her critique of the Canadian film Not a Love Story, Susan Barrowclough (1982) notes that the film shares with much feminist anti-pornography discussion a social psychology that makes the following questionable assumptions about the male viewer:

1. His fantasy is one and the same as the pornographic fantasy.
2. Pornographic images directly influence behaviour; sexuality flows continuously from fantasy to enactment.
3. There is one undifferentiated male viewer; all men react the same way, and all identify with the male point of view (p.32).

Barrowclough notes that a similar, undifferentiated view of pornography runs throughout the discussion:

One of the main inadequacies of Not a Love Story's approach to its subject is that it confuses all such pornographies into one. Yet various pornographies operate differently, cater to different audiences and their different sexual responses (p.30).

The problem with much feminist discourse on pornography is its underlying tendency to deny the different practices which compose our sexualities, one of them being voyeurism (p.34).

Similarly, Hazen (1983) has noted the variety of differentiated forms of pornography, though she regards all as means to the end of masturbatory pleasure: "The very fact that there is such a variety of means all leading to the same end tends to prove rather convincingly that there is a variety of male yearnings for just those means" (p.112).

In partial response to the monolithic focus of anti-pornography critics, Carol Vance (1984:5) insists upon complexity as the hallmark of sexuality and upon an attention to symbolic representations which avoids stressing unitary meanings. Failing to explore the ability of people to manipulate and transform the symbols they encounter "grants mainstream culture a hegemony it claims, but rarely achieves" (p.15).

Moreover, she notes that the anti-pornography discourse reproduces the values of the gender system of the dominant culture:

The anti-pornography movement in a sense restates the main premises of the old gender system: the dominant cultural ideology elaborates the threat of sexual danger, so the anti-pornography movement responds by pushing for sexual safety via the control of public expressions of male sexuality...

Women are vulnerable to being shamed about sex, and the anti-pornography ideology makes new forms of shaming possible (p.6).

Similarly, in her account of the emergence of a conservative feminism around such issues as the

censoring of pornography, Echols (1984: 51) notes that anti-pornography feminism has come to "reflect and reproduce dominant cultural assumptions about women." Anti-pornography feminists "have developed a highly mechanistic, behaviorist analysis that conflates fantasy with reality and pornography with violence" (p.58-59). By polarizing male and female sexuality, and by viewing the former as lethal, the analysis reduces male sexuality to its most violent and alienated forms (p.59). Like Vance, she concludes with a call for "a feminist understanding of sexuality which is not predicated upon denial and repression, but which acknowledges the complexities and ambiguities of sexuality" (p.66).

As the statements of Vance and Echols indicate, contemporary feminism is divided over its analysis of sexuality and pornography. If Vance and Echols are concerned with emphasizing sources of pleasure for women and their sexuality, the anti-pornography strain of feminism emphasizes that zones of danger and violence are connected with expressions of sexuality (Vance, p.6-7). It has been the latter emphasis -- a concern with practices of sexual violence against women which has come to center largely on pornography -- that has commanded the public forum. The charges of

anti-pornography critics that pornography is a way of symbolically murdering women, or a form of sadism, or a theory which finds its practice in rape have proven too volatile to be ignored. Accordingly, both popular and academic publications have taken up the issue of the alleged connection between pornography and violence against women.

In the following sections of this chapter, most of the attention will be devoted to empirical studies stimulated by the anti-pornography arguments, but, before turning to those studies, a brief account will be offered of an important development in the popular press regarding the connection between pornography and violence, specifically, a charge that in recent years the sadomasochistic content in pornography has been on the increase.

ACCOUNTS IN THE MASS MEDIA

The April 5, 1976 issue of Time featured a cover story entitled "The Porno Plague" which evoked for the reader a sensationalized note of alarm. Los Angeles' porn district was described as follows:

It is, in a way, a bit of the Old West, a semi-lawless, laissez-faire street of chance, a zone of temptation and humiliation, harshly lit by

neon signs...Here only stereotypes live: carnival barkers with army-ant tenacity who pounce on passersby; cellulite-scarred ladies with bad teeth who strut, pose and eventually curse their embarrassed admirers... (p.58).

The article evokes the spectre of an oncoming tidal wave of pornography against which the legal establishment is helpless:

Raids on porn establishments and arrests continue, but they are increasingly taking on the look of ragtag rear-guard actions against an onrushing horde (p.59).

It is important to establish the emotional and ideological tone of this article, since it would later be cited by researchers (Malamuth and Spinner, 1980; Donnerstein and Berkowitz, 1981) as evidence of the rising tide of violence in pornography. The relevant passage is the following: "The taboo currently under the heaviest assault is sadomasochism...In X-rated movies and throughout the world of voyeur sex, sadomasochism is in" (p.61). The following pieces of evidence were cited: the sex films The Story of O, The Story of Joanna and Snuff, in which a woman was allegedly murdered on-camera. (Carol Vance (1986:81) points out that, despite the notoriety of alleged "snuff" films, an actual "snuff" film has never been identified). Also cited were recent pictorials featuring bondage in Oui and Hustler magazines, a sadomasochistic pictorial in Penthouse, references to

bondage in the lyrics of rock music and in advertisements in Vogue magazine. Finally, an editor of Playboy was quoted as saying, "Bondage is where the action is...but we've been slow to pick up on it" (p.61).

The article closed by envisioning the consequences of ignoring the threat posed by pornography: "...the worst conceivable outcome of the porno plague: a brutalizing of the American psyche that turns U.S. society into the world portrayed in A Clockwork Orange" (p.63).

In its February 7, 1977, issue, Time followed up its concern over the "porno plague" with an article detailing examples from popular culture -- record album covers, billboard advertisements, photographic spreads in Vogue -- in which women were shown being beaten, abused or tied up. The article noted:

Despite the rise of feminism -- or perhaps because of it -- images of women being physically abused are becoming increasingly common. In record-album photos, fashion and men's magazine layouts, and even a few department-store windows and billboards, women are shown bound, gagged, beaten, whipped, chained or as victims of murder or gang rape (p.58).

An article in the Village Voice (May 9, 1977) echoed these charges:

It's an increasingly popular style, with touches of sadism and bondage, hints of sexual tension and

hostility, the occasional eruption of outright violence. In the past few years, it's been turning up all over the place, most frequently and most elegantly in fashion magazines...more crudely on pop-record album covers and in record advertising (p.18).

The article noted that the women in these images were the objects of "sexual sadism, hostility and fear" (p.19).

The articles in Time and The Village Voice proceed similarly, from citations of a handful of examples to assertions about how these examples are part of a rising trend of violent sexuality in the media. This is important to note because in all three articles, anecdotal evidence is used to support broad sociological assertions, and, as noted, these articles have been cited in several empirical studies as constituting conclusive proof. Carol Vance (p.6) has noted the potential sources of error in drawing conclusions from public discussions of sexually violent practices:

Feminism has succeeded in making public previously unmentionable activities like rape and incest. But the anti-pornography movement often interprets this as an indicator of rising violence against women and a sign of backlash against feminism.

Given the obvious shortcomings of anecdotal analyses such as those in Time and The Village Voice, some researchers have attempted to more precisely measure the incidence of violence and other forms of sexual behavior in pornography. A few content analyses

of pornographic books and magazines have been made, and these, along with the popular press articles, have been used to justify behavioral research in the laboratory into pornography and aggression, based on the notion that forms of violent sexuality are, indeed, prevalent and increasing in pornography. As we shall see, however, the evidence that emerges from these content analyses is quite tentative.

CONTENT ANALYSES OF PORNOGRAPHY

In an oft-cited study, Smith (1976) drew a sample of 428 adults-only paperbacks from news-stands and regular bookstores, but not from adult bookstores. Between 1968-1974 (excluding 1971), every fifth adults-only paperback was taken off the shelf of one store in eight communities in five states. Unfortunately, his study does not provide details of the coding procedure. Smith analyzed characters and sexual episodes, and his unit of analysis was variable: sometimes the entire book, sometimes the sex episode, or individual sex act. He found that the typical character appearing in these books was "young, single, white, physically attractive and heterosexual" (p.20). He found that only nine percent of the sex acts involved

expressions of love (either overt or implicit) toward partners. Three per cent of these expressions were mutual, but six per cent were made by the female and not returned by the male. The crucial result was a finding that almost one-third of the episodes involved the use of force (physical, mental, or blackmail) by a male on a female. The overall incidence of sexual episodes increased during the years studied. He computed an index of sexual activity based on the proportion of pages in a book devoted to that activity. The index nearly doubled from 1968 to 1974, although this says nothing about an increase in violent sexuality.

Inspired by the articles in Time and The Village Voice, Malamuth and Spinner (1980) did a content analysis of sexual violence in the pictorials and cartoons of all issues of Playboy and Penthouse between 1973-1977. One female and one male rated the images as violent based on the presence of depictions of rape, sadomasochism, or "exploitative/coercive sexual relations," though how the latter notion was operationalized is unclear. During the five-year period, about ten percent of cartoons were rated as violent, and they found violent sexuality in pictorials increasing from one percent in 1973 to five percent in 1977. This was regarded as confirmation that violence

in pornography was increasing.

Dietz and Evans (1982) classified 1,760 heterosexual pornographic magazines according to the type of photograph on the cover. They assumed that the prevalence of types of imagery in pornography will reflect the prevalence of consumers' taste for those practices. Their sample was drawn from a random selection of 4 shops taken from a list of 14 shops on West 42nd Street in New York. The researchers (p.1495) note that cover photos showing a woman posed alone -- the mainstay of the market in 1970, according to the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography -- comprised only 10.7 per cent of the covers in their sample. Bondage and domination covers were found in 17.2 per cent of sampled magazines. They described the imagery of such covers:

The common imagery of bondage and domination pornography is a woman bound with ropes, handcuffs, chains, shackles, constrictive garments or other materials...Gags, taped mouths, blindfolds, and hoods are also common. Torture is depicted through clothespins, clamps, and vises attached to the breasts or genitals, burning or dripping of hot wax onto the skin, and extreme postures such as hanging by the wrists or ankles (p.1494).

They concluded with the claim that their data indicate that "bondage and domination imagery is by far the most prevalent nonnormative imagery of current heterosexual pornography..." (p.1495).

In a historical survey of "stag" films (short pornographic films sold and marketed illegally during decades prior to the 1960s), Slade (1984) argues that such films were relatively non-violent and that pornographic films did not become more violent until their emergence into popular culture after 1968 as feature films publicly presented in theaters. Summarizing statistical profiles compiled by the Kinsey Institute of sexual behavior on stag films produced from 1915-1972, Slade (p.158) indicates that rape was used to initiate sexual activity in only 5 percent of the films.

He concludes that in stag films, brutal violence was relegated to fetish films, such as sadomasochistic films, rather than to the mainstream stags. Based on his own surveys of the three largest arcades in Times Square, conducted between 1979-1984, in a sample of approximately 300 loops or videotapes, only in 1981 did coded violence exceed 11 percent (by one-half of one percent).

However, he argues differently for pornographic feature films:

Only recently, as the hard-core film has edged closer to the status of an artifact of popular culture, has violence made much headway in the genre ... (p.149).

As the most public of these contemporary pornographic formats, the feature also derives its

forms of discourse from legitimate film and from television. Since both these media, but especially the cinema, have developed an articulate discourse of violence, the probability is that the pornographic feature will become saturated with similar images (p.162).

Based on a random viewing of porn features between 1980-1984, he estimates that violent acts occur in about 16 percent of such films. Slade's estimate may be examined against the more systematic evidence to be provided by this study.

Although Slade's work summarizes some evidence on rates of violent acts in stag films in previous decades, the other studies are cited more frequently in accounts of violence and pornography. The Time and Village Voice articles and the content analyses by Smith, Malamuth and Spinner, and Dietz and Evans have formed the collective basis for the notion that violence in pornography is increasing. But, of the three, only the Malamuth and Spinner study employs a longitudinal design. The Dietz and Evans study does not utilize longitudinal data, and Smith's finding of force present in one third of sexual episodes is not analyzed as fluctuating within the years 1968-1974.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF
PORNOGRAPHY CONSUMPTION

The initial wave of empirical research on the effects of viewing pornography was conducted by the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, which issued its report in 1971. This section will begin with the Commission studies and then consider more recent studies which have attempted to correct the deficiencies of the Commission studies. Established in 1967, the Commission was directed by Congress

...to study and report on (a) constitutional and definitional problems relating to obscenity controls, (b) traffic in and distribution of obscene and pornographic materials, and (c) effects of such materials, particularly on youth, and their relationship to crime and other antisocial conduct (Technical Report, 1971, Vol. 1:v).

The Commission conducted a number of experimental studies. Mosher (1971) showed two sex films, portraying a heterosexual couple engaged in intercourse and oral-genital sex, to a sample of male and female undergraduates. They completed follow-up questionnaires 24 hours following the screenings and again two weeks later. These questionnaires included self-report arousal items.

Mosher's questionnaires included items measuring "sex callousness" toward women, defined as a willingness

to use physical aggression and to treat the woman as a sexual thing and by beliefs that love and sex are separate and that sex is for fun. Mosher (p .306) reported that sex-calloused males were more aroused by the films than other groups, but that their callous attitudes toward women also decreased after viewing the films. Mosher's questionnaire items were used in a later experiment by Zillmann and Bryant (1982), prompting a criticism of the questionnaire by Christensen (1986), which will be discussed below.

Reifler et al. (1971) conducted a high-dosage, longitudinal study in which 23 males spent 90 minutes daily for three weeks viewing pornographic films and reading pornographic books. Attitude measurements were taken before and after exposure, and levels of physiological arousal were monitored daily. Repeated exposure to the films and books resulted in a decrease of response rates, both physiologically and in terms of self-reports of arousal and interest. The researchers (p.581) concluded that the experiment indicated that extensive exposure to pornography had no lasting effects on the feelings, attitudes or behavior of the subjects.

However, as with the Mosher (1971) study, the erotic materials used in the experiment did not include sexually violent material, and the attitudes measured

were standard sociological ones, such as attitudes toward school, politics, work, friends, and not attitudes regarding rape or other forms of violence against women. These omissions have led Nelson (1982) to conclude that the Commission studies are of limited value to the question of the effects of viewing violent pornography.

There were, however, at least two Commission studies that attempted to address the issue of the link between pornography and violence. Tannenbaum (1971) examined the fusion of erotic and aggressive stimuli by mixing them together in a film treatment. Tannenbaum exposed his experimental subjects to one of four film treatments: a silent film showing a woman sensuously undressing; the same film with her spoken commentary about how much she was looking forward to making love to her boyfriend; the same film with her enraged commentary on his infidelity and bad treatment of her and on her plans to murder him; the previous condition with insert shots of such weapons as a gun and knife.

This was an aggression experiment using the familiar design: male subjects were angered by a confederate, exposed to one of the film conditions, and then given a chance to shock the confederate. Tannenbaum found that the shock intensity was greatest

for the two films which fused eroticism and aggression. "Thus, we find an increased effect when the elements of eroticism and aggressiveness are joined in the same presentation," he concluded (p.340). As will be seen, this aggression-imitation model would be reproduced again and again in the late 1970s and early 1980s as the notion of "fusion" emerged and researchers sought to investigate more precisely possible links between pornography and violence. (Interestingly, Tannenbaum's study portrayed the woman as aggressor and her boyfriend as the (implied) victim.)

The other Commission study to examine the effects of pornography on aggression against women was conducted by Mosher and Katz (1971). They examined the influence of pornographic films on the incidence of male verbal aggression against women. They presented 120 male subjects with either a non-aggressive pornographic film or a neutral film. They told half of the men that if they wanted to see another sex film, they would have to verbally insult the female experimenters. The subjects who were so instructed and who had viewed the pornographic film did insult the female experimenters.

Non-experimental data on pornography and the incidence of sex crimes in Denmark were also gathered as part of the Commission's efforts. Since 1965,

pornography had become readily available to the Danish public. Ben-Veniste (1971) examined trends in police statistics on the incidence of sex crimes from 1958-1969 and concluded that the availability of pornography was associated with a decrease in reported sex crimes. As Ben-Veniste reported:

If pornography is indeed a cause of sex crime, we would expect to see a rise in Copenhagen's sex crime rate, since pornography began to be freely disseminated...An analysis of Copenhagen police statistics reveals that the rate of reported sex crimes has declined sharply during the period that hard-core pornography has been freely disseminated (p.246).

Ben-Veniste's data and claim that the sex crime rate decreased have been controversial and subject to dispute (Court, 1984). Indeed, an examination of Ben-Veniste's tables indicates that the decrease is more evident for such nonphysical offenses as exhibitionism. With regard to reported rapes, however, there is minimal downward trend. Ben-Veniste admits:

Finally, such serious offenses as rape and attempted rape are probably not diminished statistically by changes in attitudes toward reporting or, at least to the same extent as with minor offenses, by the ability of hard-core pornography to channel potentially deviant behavior into inoffensive auto-eroticism.

Court is skeptical regarding Ben-Veniste's data. He notes that the data are not helpful in predicting the effects of pornography on sexual offenses because violent pornography (the alleged culprit in triggering

sex crimes) was only just becoming widely available in Denmark. Court concludes that the data provide "...no evidence that serious sex offenses, like rape, decreased or could be expected to decrease. It contributes little to our understanding either of the impact of porno-violence on behavior or to understanding of trends in serious sex offenses" (p.147).

However, the Ben-Veniste study, along with the studies by Mosher and by Reifler et al., contributed findings which the Commission used to support its final recommendation against legal restrictions on the right of consenting adults "to read, obtain or view explicit sexual materials" (Rist, 1975: 64). The Commission supported this recommendation by citing its empirical investigations that showed no links between consumption of pornography and harmful behavioral or social consequences:

Studies show that a number of factors, such as disorganized family relationships and unfavorable peer influences, are intimately related to harmful sexual behavior or adverse character development. Exposure to sexually explicit materials, however, cannot be counted as among these determinative factors (Rist, p.65).

Post-Commission Studies

Although the Commission concluded that pornography

did not have socially deleterious consequences, subsequent researchers continued to explore attitudinal, physiological, and behavioral reactions attendant upon the consumption of pornography. A consistent finding throughout many studies was a confirmation of the ability of erotica to produce sexual arousal in the reader or viewer, whether this arousal was measured by self-reported descriptions of mood or by physiological indicators (e.g., penile tumescence) (Byrne, 1977; Fisher and Byrne, 1978; Griffitt, 1973; Kelley and Byrne, 1983; Przybyla, Byrne, and Kelley, 1983). Many early experiments (Byrne and Lamberth, 1971; Cattell, Kawash, and DeYoung, 1972; Eisenman, 1982; Kutchinsky 1971) indicated that erotica had no short-term effect on behavior or that its effects lay in reinforcing previously existing channels of sexual behavior (e.g., married couples exposed to pornography reporting an increase of activity in their sex life). Furthermore, studies indicated that subjects continually exposed to erotic materials soon developed decreased response rates, implying a habituation effect (Howard, Reifler, and Liptzin, 1971; Mann, Berkowitz, Sidman, Starr, and West, 1974). Moreover, other studies indicated evidence regarding possible positive effects and uses of pornography. In this tradition, therapists have used

pornography as a tool to help sexually inhibited patients overcome their anxieties through exposure to images of uninhibited sexual behavior (Anderson, 1983; Heiby and Becker, 1980; Madsen and Ullman, 1967; Wish, 1975).

However, despite the findings of the Commission and the evidence of additional studies indicating minimal or no effects, and despite clinical use of pornography in the treatment of sexual dysfunctions, doubts persisted about whether pornography was without socially harmful effects upon its consumers. As indicated, one reason for these doubts was the lack of study of sexually aggressive material in the Commission studies. But another reason for doubt stemmed from research findings on the imitative learning of aggressive behavior (Bandura, 1965; Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1963a, 1963b). These studies indicated that models whose aggression was rewarded could elicit imitative behavior from subjects who had observed the models. Researchers were concerned that behavior that was sexually aggressive might function in a similar way. In addition, earlier studies had shown that erotica could produce physiological arousal in subjects. Concern focused upon the effects of negative emotions -- anger, hatred, in sexually aggressive materials -- operating within a state of

heightened physiological arousal. What effects might such emotions have within a context of heightened arousal?

As researchers examined possible connections between viewing erotic films and subsequent aggressive behavior, some early findings were contradictory. A series of studies found that subjects who had been exposed to erotic materials displayed higher levels of aggression than did subjects not exposed (Jaffe, Malamuth, Feingold, and Feshbach, 1974; Meyer, 1972; Zillmann, 1971). Interestingly, in light of later findings concerning the cue properties of targets, the study by Jaffe et al. found that aroused males and females delivered higher levels of shock against confederates regardless of the victim's gender.

Another set of studies found erotica to have an aggression-diminishing effect (Baron, 1974; Donnerstein, Donnerstein, and Evans, 1975; White, 1979, Zillmann and Sapolsky, 1977). In this respect, subjects exposed to erotic materials displayed lower rates of aggression than those not exposed.

By way of resolving these apparently conflicting findings, it is now generally agreed that the aggression-inhibiting effects are essentially a property of mild erotica, whereas more highly arousing erotica is

not generally found to have this effect. The studies by Donnerstein, Donnerstein and Evans (1975) and Zillmann and Sapolsky (1977) support this view, which has also been noted by Christensen (n.d., p.43).

Furthermore, with regard to sexually aggressive erotica, the role of disinhibiting factors may have an important function in shaping the response of the consumer. The importance of disinhibiting factors was raised in a study by Donnerstein and Barrett (1978), in which they found that, for angered subjects, the viewing of erotica increased their aggression, but that less aggression was administered to the female confederate than the male, even though blood pressure data indicated a higher level of arousal toward the female confederate. Because of the blood pressure data, it might have been expected that the female confederate would have received more aggression, and the authors postulate that in laboratory settings, aggression against females is inhibited for fear of disapproval and that disinhibiting factors are required for pornography to influence aggression against a female.

Disinhibiting factors which have been extensively explored involve various properties of the target of aggression as well as the question of whether the aggression is "rewarded" or not. Many studies have

attempted to specify dimensions of the victim's status which may serve as cues affecting the consumer's response. Malamuth, Heim and Feshbach (1980) were interested in identifying the elements in portrayals of sexual violence that inhibit or disinhibit sexual arousal in male and female viewers. For some subjects, portrayals of rape may inhibit their arousal by stressing the inappropriateness of the act or the suffering of the victim. Correspondingly, by minimizing such factors, rape portrayals may have a disinhibiting effect, leading to sexual arousal among viewing subjects. In a first experiment, a sample of male and female undergraduates were given rape and non-rape versions of a sexual encounter, and their reactions were assessed by means of a self-report mood checklist. Subjects who read the non-rape version reported being more aroused than those who read the rape version. This finding was consistent with a similar finding reported by Schmidt (1975).

Using only rape stories, Malamuth, Heim and Feshbach then examined the female victim's reaction as a relevant variable. In the first experiment, the rape story had emphasized the woman's disgust, revulsion and pain. For the second experiment, Malamuth et al. manipulated the pain variable (so that one version

featured pain, the other no pain) and the outcome variable (one version ending with the female experiencing nausea, the other with the female experiencing orgasm).

A sample of undergraduates read the stories and completed a mood checklist. Stories portraying the victim having an involuntary orgasm were reported as more arousing than those in which the woman reacted with nausea. Moreover, "...females were relatively highly aroused when the victim was described as experiencing an orgasm and no pain, whereas males were most aroused when the victim experienced orgasm and pain" (p.404).

Malamuth et al. concluded that their results indicated that sexual arousal among males may result from rape accounts which stress the victim's pleasure (even if some pain is present) and that such accounts may have a conditioning effect: "The elicitation of sexual arousal within a violent context may result in a conditioning process whereby violent acts become associated with sexual pleasure..." (p.407).

In a related study, Malamuth, Haber and Feshbach (1980) had a sample of male and female undergraduates read sadomasochistic and nonviolent versions of the same sexual passage, then read a rape story and fill out a questionnaire on rape, measuring such dimensions as

degree of sexual arousal and degree of punitiveness toward the assailant. In comparison to males who read the non-violent passage, males who read the sadomasochistic version found the rape portrayal more arousing sexually.

Malamuth et al. concluded, "Although the findings with respect to sexual arousal are by no means conclusive, the results raise the possibility that exposure to sexual violence may increase sexual responsivity to rape depictions" (p.135). In a similar experiment, Malamuth and Check (1980a) found that ratings of sexual arousal were significantly affected when the outcome of a rape story presents the woman victim as being aroused and that such an outcome may produce arousal in the male viewer by overriding other, potentially inhibiting, aspects of the rape portrayal. "Indications that a woman is sexually aroused...may create a context wherein other potential inhibitors (e.g., lack of consent, pain, violence, presence of a knife, etc.) have no effect" (p.765).

Through these and other studies, Malamuth hypothesized an interactive effect in which an individual's propensity to commit sexually aggressive acts would draw that person to erotic materials depicting these themes, which would, in turn, strengthen

behavioral and dispositional tendencies toward aggression. "We thus hypothesized similar effects, anticipating that individual differences in tendencies to aggress against women would mediate gratifications derived from and susceptibility to be influenced by media portrayals of violence against women" (Malamuth, 1984, p.21).

In a series of studies (Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth, Haber, and Feshbach, 1980; Malamuth and Check, 1980b), males indicated on a five point scale their likelihood to rape if they knew they could not be caught. Based on these self-reports, groups were isolated who indicated a high likelihood to rape. The groups' responses were then found to be similar to the responses of known rapists in (1) holding callous attitudes about rape and belief in rape myths (e.g., rape is provoked by the victim) and (2) finding depictions of rape to be highly sexually arousing. The self-reports of subjects who said they are likely to rape were found to be positively correlated with sexual arousal to rape depictions, but not to consenting depictions (Check and Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth and Check, 1980b, 1983).

Assuming that rape is related to other acts of aggression against women, Malamuth (1981b, 1983) found that subjects with higher likeliness-to-rape

demonstrated higher levels of aggression against a female confederate than they did against a male confederate.

The studies by Malamuth indicated that exposure to sexually aggressive pornography may alter subjects' perceptions of rape and rape victims and may be associated with higher levels of aggression. Concern about the effect of heightened arousal from presentation of a rape victim deriving pleasure from the assault was related to the issue of the effect of "negative" emotions in a context of heightened arousal. In this case, the concern was that the violence in an aggressive-erotic film could have a greater aggression-triggering effect because it was "fused" with the sexual content of the film. In this view, the arousal effect of aggressive-erotic material would be additive, since such an effect would be composed of arousal produced by aggressive materials and of arousal produced by the erotic stimuli. The resulting effect would be "double" that produced by either the violent or erotic stimuli, taken alone. Studies which attempted to go beyond questionnaire measures of attitudinal results of exposure to pornography essentially borrowed the classic design of laboratory aggression experiments. In this design, experimental subjects are angered by a

confederate of the researcher, are then exposed to a test condition, and then given a chance to aggress against the confederate or against someone else. Using the familiar technique of the administration of electric shocks as a measure of aggression, Zillmann (1971) found that subjects who viewed a non-aggressive erotic film gave significantly more intense shock responses to the confederate than did subjects who viewed either a neutral film or a non-erotic, aggressive film. Zillmann et al. (1974) replicated these results and concluded that:

...erotic communications, because they are generally associated with a greater excitatory potential than are aggressive materials, tend to intensify post-exposure aggressiveness to a higher degree than communications depicting aggressive and violent acts (p.303).

Zillmann (1984) elaborated upon connections between aggression and sex by describing a model of transfers between sexual excitedness and aggressive behavior. In this excitation-transfer model, residual excitation from an antecedent stimulus may intensify the emotional reaction evoked by a subsequent stimulus. Excitation due to sexual arousal may not be fully differentiated from excitation due to provocation or conflict:

"Sympathetic excitation associated with reactions to conflict, provocation, and physical pain, then, is commensurate with sympathetic excitation fueling sexual

desire and consummatory action...in many mammals, including nonhuman primates, penile erection may accompany numerous aggressive and nonaggressive actions in nonsexual contexts" (p.150). Zillmann is clear that transfers between sexual and aggressive behaviors are limited and not automatic and are dependent upon contextual or dispositional stimuli. These might include the cue value of the target or dispositions like Malamuth's likeliness-to-rape.

With a series of studies in place (Donnerstein, Donnerstein, and Evans, 1975; Donnerstein and Barrett, 1978) noting the apparent aggression-inducing effects of erotic films, the next step involved studying the effects of materials which fused erotic and violent stimuli. Donnerstein (1980) found that male subjects who viewed an aggressive-erotic film (depicting the rape of a woman at gunpoint) displayed greater levels of aggression against female confederates than they did against male confederates, and this occurred even for male subjects who had not been previously angered. Donnerstein (p.276) speculated, "One possible explanation is that the female's association with the victim in the film made her a stimulus that could elicit aggressive responses."

In a follow-up study, Donnerstein and Berkowitz

(1981) replicated the design of the previous experiment but added the variable of the female victim's reaction in the aggressive film. Male subjects who had been angered by a male or female confederate viewed either a neutral film, a nonaggressive-erotic film or one of two aggressive-erotic films. In one of the latter films, the female victim responded pleasurably, while in the other she was shown to suffer from the attack. The films had no effects on aggression toward the male confederates, but both types of aggressive-erotic films increased aggression toward the female confederates. When non-angered subjects and only female confederates were used, only the aggressive-erotic film that portrayed the victim's pleasure resulted in increased aggression toward the female confederates. Non-angry viewers were not led to aggress against a woman after seeing the film victim's pain. After citing the academic studies and popular press articles claiming an increase of violent behavior in pornography, Donnerstein and Berkowitz speculated about the social consequences of their findings:

...they indicate that the addition of aggression to the sex in pornographic materials is probably more dangerous (in terms of possible aggressive consequences) than the display of pure erotica. As noted earlier, this combination is appearing with increasing frequency in pornographic material, which could stimulate aggressively-disposed men

with weak inhibitions to assault available women.

Another important factor to consider is the reaction of the woman in the sexual scene to the attack on her...Both studies suggest that women depicted as enjoying assaults on them can serve to justify aggression and reduce general inhibitions against aggression (p.722).

As an extension of the Donnerstein and Berkowitz study, Malamuth and Check (1981) employed a field experiment to test longer-term effects of media stimuli that fuse sex and violence. Moreover, their study was inspired by the feminist charges already reviewed:

The dependent measures were selected to directly test the feminist contention that mass media exposures that portray violence against women as having favorable consequences contribute to greater acceptance of sexual and nonsexual violence against women (p.437).

A sample of male and female undergraduates were assigned to view one of two pairs of films at a campus theater: films that portray violence against women as having justification and positive consequences (Swept Away and The Getaway) and films which do not portray any such acts (A Man and a Woman, Hooper).

Three days later, subjects were given a survey on sexual attitudes, with questions from the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale (ex: "A man is never justified in hitting his wife"); the Rape Myth Acceptance scale ("Many women have an unconscious wish to be raped and may then unconsciously set up a situation in which they are likely to be attacked");

and the Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale ("A woman will only respect a man who will lay down the law to her").

Exposure to the two sexually violent films portraying positive consequences of that violence led to a higher acceptance by males of interpersonal violence against women and to non-significant increases of male acceptance of rape myths. The researchers concluded that their study demonstrates the "relatively long-term antisocial effects of movies that fuse sexuality and violence" (p.443). However, by long-term the researchers are still only talking about a matter of a few days.

Using physiological and self-report measures of arousal, Malamuth (1981) found that males classified as force-oriented (those who indicated they found the idea of coercive, forced sexual acts somewhat or very attractive) created more arousing fantasies in response to a slide-audio show depicting rape than did non-force-oriented males. These results were similar to those obtained by Abel et al. (1977). The study concluded with the by-now familiar warning: "To the extent that such fantasies persist beyond the confines of the laboratory, they may contribute to deviant behavior" (p.44).

Whether using films or stories, the studies cited

above, examining attitudinal and behavioral effects, were limited to specifying short-term effects following upon conditions of brief exposure to pornography. A study examining the effects of longer-term, "massive" exposure to pornography was conducted by Zillmann and Bryant (1982). 80 male and 80 female undergraduate students were randomly assigned to various experimental conditions. A "massive exposure" group viewed 36 erotic films over a six-week period, for a total exposure time of 4 hours and 48 minutes. An "intermediate" exposure group viewed 18 erotic and 18 non-erotic films over a 6 week period, and a "no exposure" group viewed 36 non-erotic films. None of the erotic films featured coercive or sadistic relations. Zillmann and Bryant argue that a liberal bias has prevented researchers from finding negative effects associated with the consumption of pornography, and they claim that their study indicates negative effects issuing from non-aggressive erotic materials.

For example, when asked to evaluate the percentage of adults practicing various sexual behaviors, massively exposed subjects produced assessments of less popular practices -- group sex, sadomasochism, animal sex -- that were overestimated in comparison to what survey data indicate. "It can only be speculated," the authors

wrote, "that massive exposure to materials exhibiting sadomasochism and bestiality would have produced an even stronger distortion in the perception of the popularity of these behaviors" (p.16).

In addition, subjects massively exposed to pornography, when asked to evaluate it, tended to consider it less offensive and objectionable, and reported less need to restrict access to it, than did subjects exposed to smaller amounts.

The researchers also reported that the massively exposed group tended to suffer a loss of faith in women. The group tended to "trivialize" rape as an offense. This group recommended lower sentences for convicted rapists, as well as reporting less support for the women's movement and manifesting a significant increase of sex callousness toward women as measured on the Mosher questionnaire.

The study prompted responses from Gross (1983) and Christensen (1986). Gross pointed out that not enough is known about the procedures of the study, specifically, about what the students thought was going on in the study, and that, consequently, a problem of validity exists. He raised questions about demand characteristics and suggested that the findings might be due to the researchers having legitimized pornography by

virtue of the study. "Additionally, or alternatively, I might suggest that by showing these films the researchers legitimated not pornography but the expression of sexist and misogynist sentiments that are pervasive but often publicly inhibited" (p.110).

Zillmann and Bryant had argued that demand characteristics were not a problem because pornography is culturally legitimated outside the laboratory, but Gross points out that, contrary to this argument, pornography outside the laboratory is culturally stigmatized. Therefore, situations inside and outside the laboratory are not congruent.

Christensen (1986) points out that Zillmann and Bryant ignore alternative interpretations of their data. For example, it is unjustified to equate support for "women's liberation" with concern for the welfare of women. "Surely not all proponents of traditional gender roles lack compassion for women" (p.176). He points out that even "the young women students not exposed to erotic films in the experiment accorded the statement an average of only 79 percent support; surely they weren't saying, 'We have only 79 percent faith in women'" (p.177). Regarding the "trivial" rape sentence, Christensen ("Pornography: The Other Side," p.37), like Gross, points out that a sentence of 4-5 years may not

be altogether trivial, especially as compared to sentences that rapists actually serve in the U.S. and Canada.

In addition, Christensen criticizes the sex callousness questionnaire designed by Donald Mosher and used in the experiment. He points out that, although many items do reveal an unfeeling attitude toward women, many do not. He observes that the questionnaire seems to reflect a culturally traditional judgement that equates a large appetite for sex with lack of respect for women. Thus, an increase of scores on the test is not good evidence of an increase of sex callousness.

Christensen observes that Zillmann and Bryant's "loss of faith in women" explanation of their results is based on a contention that pornography will activate conflict between the sexes due to the films portraying women as more highly sexually active than is really the case. Zillmann and Bryant suggest that resulting misperceptions of female nature will lead to abusiveness as men come to expect too much of women sexually.

Christensen responds that:

There is something very strange about the implied proposal that fantasy should simply mirror reality. Surely an essential motive for fantasizing in the first place is to imagine things as being better, vis-a-vis the imaginer's yearnings, than they actually are. Women are shown that way because the males who seek out pornography already fantasize

about that kind of woman. Moreover the women and men of pornography are surely no less realistic than those of much other fiction. Especially worthy of note in this regard are the ubiquitous romantic love stories, which many women dote on and which certainly idealize their characters. That only pornography is damned for the sin of dreaming about things that are not smacks of pretext and reflects this culture's traditional feeling that sexual desire is less than legitimate" (1986:180).

In a more recent study, Zillmann and Bryant (n.d.) claim that their data indicate that consumers of pornography will eventually develop a taste and desire for violent pornography. They exposed a sample of students and nonstudents to nonviolent pornography or to innocuous materials for one hour in six weekly sessions. Then, for fifteen minutes, the subjects were allowed to watch what they wanted from tapes on subjects ranging from nonerotic materials to nonviolent pornography, violent pornography, and bestiality. Subjects previously exposed to nonviolent pornography tended to choose tapes featuring violent pornography or bestiality. From this, Zillmann and Bryant conclude, in agreement with Bat-Ada's's domino theory of pornography consumption, that "the consumer of nonviolent erotic fare is likely to advance to violent pornography sooner or later" (p.21-22).

Discussion of Empirical Findings

Empirical studies on the links between pornography and aggression have employed laboratory and field experimental designs, have attempted to consider both short-term and relatively long-term effects, have attempted to examine conditions of massive exposure, and have studied variables of victim representation and the fusing of sexual with violent behaviors, as well as the effects of previous attitudes and dispositions on the responses to pornography.

The results of this research indicate that for some subjects the viewing of pornographic films leads to expressions of aggressive behavior under some circumstances (e.g., given appropriate victim representation, or the presence of a "force-orientation" in the viewer). However, serious objections have been raised to studies that attempt to elicit aggressive behavior in the laboratory on the basis of insulting or otherwise provoking experimental subjects and then having them view aggressive materials. Weiss (1969) has provided an articulate criticism of such laboratory aggression studies as those by Berkowitz and Geen (1966) and Bandura et al. (1961, 1963), and his remarks are applicable to the laboratory aggression studies which

utilize pornographic materials. Weiss acknowledges that in the laboratory subjects may be manipulated into aggressing against an experimental confederate when "the intervening fantasy aggression is presented as deserving" and when "an associative connection exists between the victim of the witnessed aggression and the frustrator" (p.139).

However, all such studies require the subjects to aggress against the confederate as part of their design. Weiss continues:

In addition, external as well as internal barriers to expressing aggression should be minimal...In all the studies, the testing situation is designed to give the impression that aggression is permissible, if not encouraged; in the shock studies, aggression is required and only the degree of aggression can vary. And it is only under this circumstance that there are any data suggesting that the mere viewing of filmed violence alone may increase the self-expressed display of aggressive behavior (p.139)

Weiss also notes that there is no evidence that the subjects of such experiments intend to inflict harm. He argues that evidence regarding the motivations of subjects who aggress in these experiments is needed in order to understand the meaning of the observed aggression:

More generally, there is a total lack of information concerning the subjects' definitions of the experimental situations and the meanings or interpretations they gave to the movie or the behavior of the models, or concerning their

reactions during the observation of the model or movie (p.140).

Despite these objections to the laboratory aggression studies, the work by Donnerstein, Malamuth, Zillmann, and others has been presented as evidence of a possible connection between pornography and acts of sexual violence (Donnerstein, 1984; Malamuth, 1984). These studies, in turn, have been stimulated by assertions in anti-pornography theory, popular press articles, and the findings of academic content analyses. However, as noted, the popular press articles are essentially anecdotal, and the content analyses do not, generally, furnish longitudinal data. Thus, one theoretical component of the empirical studies on pornography and violence is insufficiently documented -- that pornography is filled with violence and has been getting even more violent. The intensity of the anti-pornography arguments has often overwhelmed a perception of the lack of reliable data available to substantiate the charges. Frequently, in discussions about the connection between pornography and violence, examples from films and books are chosen because of their shock value and their ability to provoke an emotional response from an audience (Vance, 1984:16). Similarly, in the laboratory aggression studies, examples of sadomasochistic behaviors or rapes are shown

to experimental subjects. But such selection of the most notorious instances of pornographic aggressive sexuality says nothing about the basic contention that such images are widespread throughout all pornography.

These, then, are the research questions which guide this dissertation: What is the frequency of violent sexual behaviors, or of violent acts not coupled with sexual behaviors, in pornographic feature films? Has this frequency increased during the years since pornographic features have become publicly available? How are expressions of violence inside the films patterned with regard to the male and female characters? If the contention of anti-pornography theory is correct, one would expect that the incidence of violence in such films has been increasing over the years and that sexual activities in these films are regularly coupled with violent behaviors directed against women. In particular, one would expect the frequency of rape and sadomasochism to be quite high. The purpose of this study is to explore these questions in detail and to furnish quantitative evidence on this issue.

The following chapter describes in greater detail the selection of the sample of films to be studied, the design of the research instrument, and the analyses that were performed.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology of the study. First, a brief design section will present a short overview of the method and its major conceptual categories. Following this, sampling procedures will be discussed, indicating how a group of films was selected for study. Next will come a procedure section, specifying the physical details of the coding. The instrument section will describe in detail the coding sheet and the logic of the variable categories. Finally, the analysis section will indicate the analyses that were performed.

DESIGN

This study employs content analysis to investigate the portrayal of male and female characters and male-female relationships in pornographic films. Concentration is given to aspects of power relations and

to violent or abusive behaviors, the latter motivated by charges alleging a high incidence in pornography of violent behaviors and violent sexual behaviors directed against women. It has also been charged that such violence has been increasing in recent years (Malamuth and Spinner, 1980; Time, Apr 5, 1976; Feb. 7, 1977). The study is longitudinal in design, permitting the investigation of rates of violence in pornographic feature films from the early 1970s, when such films became widely and easily accessible, to the present time.

A sample of 32 pornographic feature films was selected, covering the years 1972-1985. Three units of analysis were employed: characters, sex scenes, and violent acts. Although the violent acts unit of analysis made provisions for the coding of violent behaviors, the sex scene as a unit of analysis was defined so that it, too, would contain variable categories permitting the coding of abusive or violent acts. Thus, over the range of films sampled, information was collected on the rates and types of violent behavior, as well as on the portrayal of male and female characters.

Data collected on characters included their ages, races, occupations, relationships with other characters

in the films, and number of sexual partners.

Data collected on sex scenes dealt (1) with the number of participants in the scene, (2) with the organization of the scene in terms of distinct temporal phases, (3) with the location of the scene, (4) with the relationships among the participants, (5) with the clothing and costuming of participants, (6) with the sexual behaviors displayed in the scene, (7) with sexual paraphernalia (e.g., dildos) displayed in the scene, (8) with verbal communication between the participants, (9) with displays of affection and/or pleasure, and (10) with displays of abuse and/or suffering.

Data on acts of major violence were collected for acts occurring at any point in the film, whether or not such violence occurred as part of a sex scene. Acts of major violence were defined to include killing, shooting, knifing, hitting, raping, sexual molestation, and suicide.

SAMPLE

As Smith (1976) discovered, drawing a sample of a cultural product like pornography is a difficult and challenging undertaking. The pornography industry does not make public data on its most profitable books or

films. Unlike the case for Hollywood films, research on the audience for pornographic films is notoriously lacking. Given this situation, in order to define a group of mainstream pornographic features, the sample was drawn based on information compiled from a variety of sources. Although the adult film industry has no centralized data available on its operations, adult film magazines do conduct their own surveys of the best-selling films or videotapes in a given year. Adam Film World, published by Knight Publishing Corporation, produces a biweekly newsletter called Film World Reports. The newsletter offers a column of adult film industry news and conducts a survey of sales of X-rated videocassettes by retailers and distributors. The newsletter publishes a chart of the top ten videotapes, and at the end of the year the annual top ten is published.

For the years 1984 and 1985, the top selling films from the Film World Reports annual top ten lists were selected. For information on films in prior years, the editor of Film World Reports referred the author to James Holiday, an independent researcher who has published on the pornography industry. Holiday indicated that economic data on pornographic films going back to the early 1970s did not exist and that, even if

such data existed, it would be unreliable. In the absence of this kind of data, he offered his own list, broken down by year, of those feature films he considered to have been the most popular or famous.

This list was then checked against entries in a reference book on adult movies published by Pocket Books (Smith et al., 1982). Smith et al.'s listings were based on their evaluations of what were the best pornographic films, the most famous, or the most popular. The listings in Smith et al. corroborated Holiday's choices.

Based on these sources -- Film World Reports, the list furnished by Holiday, and the entries in Smith et.al. -- a sample of films was drawn, spanning the years 1972-1985, with at least two films per year.

PROCEDURE

Prior to any data collection, an extensive pre-testing phase was conducted to formulate variable categories and to design the units of analysis. This phase lasted for an entire semester and involved a team of five trained coders (3 females, 2 males), all graduate students in communications. The coding instrument was pre-tested through the coding of a series

of films (not included in the final sample) by the five coders working independently of one another. Variable items were retained only if they elicited agreement among four out of the five coders. Items were eliminated if they failed this standard of intercoder reliability.

In the study proper, another measure of reliability was obtained during the actual coding phase. Toward this end, intercoder reliability was evaluated in terms of the reproducibility of the data obtained during the coding. Reliability was assessed in terms of the extent to which data obtained through coding could be reproduced by different coders working at different times. Accordingly, two teams of two coders applied the same recording instructions independently on a sample of films. Two coders worked separately and without communication on each film. For testing, a subsample of four films was selected. This subsample was representative of all categories of analysis and of all instructions specified by the coding sheets (i.e., all three units of analysis were applied to the subsample). Agreement between the two coders was used as a measure of the reliability of the coding. Reliability figures for all variables are displayed in Appendix I.

During the coding phase of the study, films were

rented once a week from a local video store in Philadelphia. Each film was viewed and coded by two people, a male and a female. The films were examined on video-cassette recorders, enabling close checking and re-checking of information through the use of pause controls and picture search functions. This enabled the coders to review and to verify behaviors or dialogue which were unclear upon a first viewing. Coding was done on three separate sheets, corresponding to the three units of analysis. Separate coding sheets were used for characters, for sex scenes, and for violent acts. After coding for a film was completed, data for that film were entered into the computer.

INSTRUMENT

This section discusses in detail the coding categories. The coding scheme contained three units of analysis, which dealt, respectively, with: (a) characters; (b) sex scenes; (c) violent acts. Separate coding forms were filled out for each character, sex scene, and violent act, as defined below.

Before discussing the coding categories, however, the analysis for which they will be used will be briefly profiled. This should help explicate the logic of the

various categories and will be useful to keep in mind during the lengthy discussion of these categories which is about to follow. The first section of the analysis will discuss the characters who appear in the films. Characters will be profiled according to their demographic features, and male and female characters will be compared on the basis of these demographic variables. Additionally, the relationship dimensions prevailing among characters in a sex scene will be discussed. The next section of the analysis discusses overt forms of lethal and non-lethal violence occurring in the films. The incidence of various kinds of violent acts will be considered, along with the gender of the perpetrators and the victims. The discussion will also consider the distribution of categories of lethal and non-lethal violence across the years of the sample.

Next, violence and abuse occurring as part of a sex scene will be considered. A variety of issues will be discussed in this regard: the frequency of various categories of abusive behavior, displays of resistance, suffering, or pleasure by the victims, and the longitudinal distribution of abusive behavior. Abusive and non-abusive scenes will be compared to explore possible differences in character relationships, sexual behavior and costuming.

The final section of the analysis deals with relations of power among male and female characters. Relations of power are explored in terms of the reciprocity of various relations among male and female characters: the reciprocity of representations of sexual initiation, the reciprocity of representations of sexual pleasure, the reciprocity of representations of communication about sexual activity, the reciprocity of representations of affection, and the reciprocity of rates of dress and undress. The longitudinal distribution of variables dealing with sexual initiation, sexual pleasure, communication about sexual activity, and affection will also be explored.

With this brief profile of the analysis in mind, the discussion may now detail the logic informing the coding categories within the three units of analysis (characters, sex scenes, and violent acts).

A CHARACTER was coded if he/she had a substantial speaking role (whether or not he/she was shown having sex) OR if he/she played a substantial part in a sex scene [as defined below] (whether or not he/she had a speaking role). A substantial speaking role was defined as the delivery of more than five lines of dialogue by a character. Although the number of people who appeared in each sex scene was counted, characters who were shown

briefly (e.g., during an orgy or during a "montage" scene) were not regarded as playing a substantial part in the scene.

A SEX SCENE was a scene whose main focus was on sexual activity. In this context, "sexual activity" implies genital stimulation. For example, a scene of a woman taking a shower would not qualify as a sex scene, but a scene of a woman masturbating in a shower or a scene of a man masturbating while watching a woman take a shower would qualify. Typically, a sex scene occurred in a single location, although the participants within that location might change over the course of the scene. For example, a person who "walks in" on a sex scene might be shown joining it; or, in an orgy scene, several different groupings might be shown in sequence. An exception to the single-location rule would be a "montage" of several different sexual episodes presented as a single unit (e.g., a series of brief shots of a woman having sex with one partner after another; or: cutting back and forth between two different couples in two different locations). Another rare exception to the single location rule would be a scene in which a couple moves from one location to another (e.g., a man and woman who are having sex outdoors go inside and continue having sex). With the above exception, a permanent

shift to a new location and a new set of participants was regarded as the beginning of a new sex scene, regardless of whether any non-sexual episodes occurred in between. Conversely, the interruption of a sex scene by "non-sexual" episodes (e.g., a husband trying to call his wife on the phone while she is shown having sex with another man) did not result in the scene being counted twice and double-coded.

To qualify as a sex scene, a scene must have had sexual activity as its main focus. So, sexual activity shown in the background (e.g., couples copulating in the lobby of a sex spa as the heroine walks by them to get to the registration desk) or incidentally (e.g., the heroine walks in on her two roommates in bed with each other, apologizes, and walks out again) was not taken as constituting a sex scene. A "montage" of material composed exclusively of material from other sex scenes in the film (e.g., an opening "preview" montage showing brief flashes from scenes which will occur later) was also not counted as a separate sex scene.

The third unit of analysis, VIOLENT ACTS, entailed attempted or actual use of weapons or one's body to cause substantial physical pain, injury, or death at any point in the film (including sex scenes). Situations where violence was threatened but did not become

manifest in a violent act either did not occur or were included in the "other violence" coding category (as described below). To count as violence, an act must have been clearly deliberate, and it must have been clearly ill-intentioned. The main category which the criterion of "clearly ill-intentioned" excluded was accidents (e.g., a car accident), but not violence which appeared playful. The category was an expansive one. So, for example, accidental injury to someone would not be counted. The definition of violence was made as inclusive as possible. Violent acts committed as part of a sado-masochistic sexual encounter, even if consented to by both parties, were defined as ill-intentioned and were, therefore, coded as violence. To count as a single act of violence, violent activity must have been confined to one set of participants, and there must have been no lapse in time or space. So, the addition of a new victim or a new perpetrator of violence was taken as indicating a new act of violence, and likewise for a break in time or space.

CHARACTERS

Now that the units of analysis have been defined, the discussion will focus upon the variables within each unit of analysis, beginning with characters. Based on criteria defining a major speaking role and a

substantial role in a sex scene, two sets of characters were coded: characters who have major speaking roles (whether or not they appear in a sex scene) and anonymous characters who have no speaking role but who do play a major role in a sex scene. A major speaking role was defined as delivering more than five lines of dialogue. With regard to a substantial role in a sex scene, a character might appear in a sex scene but not be classified as having a substantial role. For example, if a character appears only briefly during an orgy scene or during a "montage" scene, such a character would not be regarded as having a substantial part in the scene.

Characters were coded in terms of the following variables: sex, age, race, socio-economic status, occupation, marital status, love life, number of sex scenes in which they appear, and number of sexual partners. Characters who were not classified as having a major speaking role were only coded for their sex, age, and race.

With regard to their sex, characters were coded as being either male or female. In cases where a character displayed primary and/or secondary sexual characteristics of both genders, such a character was coded as transsexual. (Additionally, each of the

variables within all three units of analysis had a provision for "cannot code" when presentation of the variable was ambiguous or other circumstances made coding impossible.)

A character's age was coded based upon the presence of sets of social roles associated with general age categories and based upon agreement between both coders regarding how old a character "looked." As is done in the Cultural Indicators Project (Cultural Indicators Project, 1980), categories of "social age" were employed. Characters were classified as "(implied) adolescent" if they were portrayed as being an adolescent; as "young adult" if the character had few or no family responsibilities and had an age from eighteen to forty; as "settled adult" if the character had a family or was established in a career and was aged between forty-one and sixty-five; and as an "older adult" if the character was clearly elderly and over sixty-five.

Based upon his/her visual appearance, a character's race was coded as "white," "black," or "oriental." For races other than these three, the character's race was recorded as "other."

A character's socio-economic status was classified as either "clearly upper," "middle," or "clearly lower."

These classifications were based upon explicit visual cues. For example, if a character was driven to and from home in a chauffeured limousine and if that home rested on several acres of land and was filled with servants, the character's status was classified as "clearly upper." As is done in the Cultural Indicators project, the character's field of activity most closely related to his/her occupation was classified as falling in the area of entertainment (e.g., art, sports, mass media), agriculture (e.g., farming, nature, animals), business (e.g., industry, finance, transport, private agency), government (e.g., courts, law, official authority), health (e.g., medicine, social welfare), education (e.g., student, teacher), science, religion, illegal activity, or the sex industry (e.g., prostitution, pornographic filmmaking). These categories were mutually exclusive. Only one was selected for each character.

Information was also collected on the characters' marital status and love life. Based on clear, explicit information (either spoken or seen) in the films, characters were classified as being either married or unmarried, and, if they were married, according to whether or not their spouse appeared as another character within the film. If explicit information

regarding marital status was lacking, the "cannot code" value was used.

Characters were coded as being either "in love" or not in love and, if "in love," for whether their lover appeared as another character within the film. Characters were also coded according to whether or not another character in the film was portrayed as being in love with them. The criteria for classifying a character as "in love" required that some explicit portrayal of "love" be evident, either as a verbal declaration or as clearly manifest devotion. If a character's being in love or being loved by another character was unclear or was ambiguously portrayed, the "cannot code" value was used. If the character was clearly portrayed as not being in love, the variable was coded as "no."

In addition to the above classifications, a character was also coded as either being or not being a virgin at the beginning of the film. The coding was based on the presence of explicit information about a character's virginity, either through a verbal reference or other clear cue. Inferences about a character's virginity, however reasonable, were not used. For example, even if someone was a prostitute, he/she was not assumed to have had previous clients unless this was

explicitly mentioned.

For each character coded as having a major speaking role and as playing a substantial part in a sex scene, the number of sex scenes in which that character appeared were counted, as were the number of his/her male partners, female partners, and/or transsexual partners.

SEX SCENES

This concludes a discussion of the character as a unit of analysis. The sex scene will now be considered. Variables coded as part of the sex scene fall into the following general categories: variables dealing (1) with the number of participants in the scene, (2) with the overall organization of the scene in terms of distinct temporal phases, (3) with the location of the scene, (4) with relationships among the participants, (5) with the clothing and costuming of participants, (6) with sexual behaviors displayed in the scene, (7) with sexual paraphernalia (e.g., dildos) displayed in the scene, (8) with verbal communication between the participants, (9) with displays of affection and/or pleasure, and (10) with displays of abuse and/or suffering. Each of these general categories will be considered in turn.

Number of participants

The number of male participants, of female participants, and of transsexual participants in each scene was counted. To qualify as a participant, the character must have been clearly and physically involved in the sexual behavior. So, for example, if a character was physically involved in sexual activity during the scene, whether or not the character gave signs of being aroused, he/she was coded as a participant. Conversely, if a character became aroused by watching a couple having intercourse but did not participate physically at any point, the character was not counted as a participant. If the sheer number of characters having sex in a given scene and/or the editing of the scene made an accurate count of participants impossible (e.g., an orgy scene in which a huge number of participants is presented in many brief shots), the number of participants received a special coding indicating that there were too many participants to accurately count.

If characters were present in the sex scene who did not participate physically in sexual activity but who showed clear signs of arousal from watching the sexual activity of others, such characters were coded as witnesses. The number of male, female, and transsexual witnesses was counted for each scene in which sexual activity was witnessed by a non-participant.

Organization of the scene

The organization of the sex scene was coded in terms of the presence or absence of a period of initiation preceding foreplay or genital contact, a period of sexual activity characterized by genital contact or stimulation, and a period of post-sex activity following the period of genital stimulation. The period of initiation was a period of non-sexual activity in which one or more of the sexual partners initiated sexual contact. For example, the period of initiation might involve a romantic dinner by candlelight that culminates in sexual activity, or it might simply involve a couple engaged in talk at which point one of the partners begins kissing or fondling the other. The period of initiation must have been explicitly portrayed, not inferred by the coder in terms of a state prior to the beginning of the scene as observed.

For each film, the presence or absence of a period of initiation was coded, the gender of the character who initiates sexual activity (i.e., male, female, or mutual initiation), and the mode of initiation (i.e., verbal initiation, physical initiation, or an initiation that is both verbal and physical).

The presence or absence of resistance to the

initiation was coded. Resistance would entail clear verbal or physical expressions by a character that he/she was uninterested in having sex or unwilling to do so. If there was resistance to sexual initiation, the gender of the resisting character was coded (i.e., male, female, both males and females), as was the form by which the resistance was expressed (verbally, physically).

The period of genital contact and/or stimulation must have been present in all scenes coded in order that they qualify as sex scenes. This period involved sexual behaviors engaged in by a single character (e.g., masturbation) or among more than one character (e.g., fellatio, cunnilingus). Additionally, it may or may not have involved abusive behaviors during sexual activity or expressions of pleasure and affection. The variables pertaining to sexual, abusive, and affectionate behaviors will be described fully when the discussion takes up those general variable categories (categories (6), (9), and (10), as described above).

The third organizational phase of the sex scene as coded involved post-sex activity engaged in by the sexual participants. Such activity might have been present or absent. For example, a scene might present a couple having intercourse and conclude at the moment of

orgasm, at which point a shift to a new location and a new set of characters might occur. In such a case, post-sex activity does not occur. However, if the scene of the couple having intercourse continued after orgasm to show the couple lying in bed, talking and sharing a drink, then post-sex activity does occur.

Accordingly, the coding indicated whether or not any post-sex activity was present at the end of a sex scene. Post-sex activity was defined to include talking, embracing, and/or kissing, and it must have occurred between or among any or all of the participants in the immediately preceding sexual activity. Each form of post-sex activity (talking, embracing, kissing) was coded.

Location of the scene

The location of the sex scene was coded as either indoors or outdoors (e.g., a couple engages in sexual activity in the woods while on a camping trip). If the scene involved cross-cutting between two locations, one of which was indoor and the other of which was outdoor, then the location was coded as "both," meaning both indoors and outdoors. Similarly, if a couple began making love while indoors and then moved outdoors while still having sex as part of the same scene, the scene was coded as "both."

If the scene's location was coded as indoors, then the location was further classified as either "bedroom," "other" (e.g., sexual activity occurring on a living-room couch) or "both" (e.g., a scene in which cross-cutting links sexual activity occurring in a bedroom with sex occurring on the living-room couch).

For scenes where the category of "other indoor" location applied, that coding was further specified as either "residential" or "non-residential" (e.g., sexual activity occurring on top of a desk in a corporate office).

Character relationships

Coding of relationships among the characters in a sex scene proceeded in the following way. If any of the participants in the scene manifested a given relationship, then that relationship was coded as present among at least some of the characters in the scene, even if that relationship did not obtain among other of the characters. Furthermore the relationship categories were not mutually exclusive. More than one relationship category might apply to any given scene.

The following are the relationship categories coded as present or absent for each of the sex scenes:

(1) Some of the participants know each other. As long as some of the participants knew each other, this

variable was coded "yes," even if other characters didn't know each other. If two characters had seen or spoken to each other during scenes prior to their sexual activity, they were considered to have known each other. If the two characters, one a famous pornographic film actress, the other a famous pornographic film producer, knew each other through their reputations before meeting and having sex, they were considered to have known each other.

(2) Some of the participants do not know each other. As long as some of the participants didn't know each other, this variable was coded "yes," even if other characters did know each other. If two characters met each other for the first time in an orgy room at a sex club while having sex with each other, they were considered as not knowing each other.

(3) Some of the participants are married to each other (e.g., a married couple participating in an orgy).

(4) Some of the participants are married to other people (e.g., a married woman participating in an orgy which doesn't include her husband).

(5) Some of the participants are romantic lovers of the same sex. In this case, the character's relationship must have clearly involved mutual love and have clearly preceded the sex scene, although they need

not have had sex with each other before. Clear evidence of mutual love might involve verbal declarations of such love or other clear signs of persistent devotion.

(6) Some of the participants are romantic lovers of the opposite sex.

(7) Some of the participants are friends of the same sex.

(8) Some of the participants are friends of the opposite sex.

(9) Some of the participants are incestuous: siblings. Clear, explicit evidence of the incestuous relationship must have existed (e.g., the characters refer to each other as "brother" or "sister"). If an incestuous relationship is strongly implied, but not explicitly defined, this relationship category was coded as "cannot code." If all participants were clearly not siblings, the category received a coding of "no."

(10) Some of the participants are incestuous: father-daughter.

(11) Some of the participants are incestuous: mother-son.

(12) Some of the participants are incestuous: other.

(13) Some of the participants are co-workers of the same sex.

(14) Some of the participants are co-workers of the opposite sex -- woman superior (e.g. a female corporate executive and the office coffee boy).

(15) Some of the participants are co-workers of the opposite sex -- man superior.

(16) Some of the participants are co-workers of the opposite sex -- equal status.

(17) Some of the participants are being paid -- male prostitute. Clear explicit evidence (seen or heard) of a sex for fee contract was required.

(18) Some of the participants are being paid -- female prostitute.

(19) Some of the participants have clearly had sex with one another before. Prior sex might have been witnessed in an earlier sex scene or the characters might have referred verbally to a previous sexual encounter with each other.

(20) Some of the participants are clearly having sex with one another for the first time. A first-time status was not inferred by the coder but must have been explicitly portrayed (through dialogue or other clear reference) within the film.

(21) Some of the participants are clearly being coerced materially (e.g., an actress who must have sex with her producer in order to get a valuable role).

Clothing and costuming

The general variable category of costuming and clothing included variables dealing with the types of costuming worn in a scene and with whether a character used his/her clothing for erotic display while disrobing. The following types of costuming were coded as present or absent within a scene (the categories were not mutually exclusive): a garter belt with stockings, lingerie (e.g., nightgown, corset), bondage and domination outfits (e.g., elaborate, usually leather costumes, often outfitted with studs, chains, or whips), masks and/or blindfolds, leather (leather costumes other than bondage and domination outfits), rubber (costumes worn by or for a rubber fetishist). If a scene featured no costuming in any of the above categories, it was coded for no costuming. If any of the above costumes were present, the gender of the characters wearing the costumes was coded.

If any male or any female character made a display out of disrobing, removing their clothing in a provocative way for either the camera or for another character in the film, this behavior was coded as present in the scene.

Male and female characters were also coded for the reciprocity of states of dress and undress. At the

beginning of the scene, during the period of genital sexual activity, and at the end of the scene, male and female participants were coded for the following states of dress and/or undress:

- (1) Are any male participants clothed?
- (2) Are any male participants semi-clothed?
- (3) Are any male participants nude?
- (4) Are any female participants clothed?
- (5) Are any female participants semi-clothed?
- (6) Are any female participants nude?

"Clothed" pertained to a state of full dress, while "semi-clothed" involved a state of partial dress. For example, a man with his shirt fully unbuttoned, exposing his chest, was coded as semi-clothed. Conversely, a woman with a low-cut dress that was still fully buttoned or zippered was coded as clothed. A person dressed only in underwear or lingerie was coded as semi-clothed. A person wearing a bikini, because of the amount of skin visible, was coded as semi-clothed. To code for nudity, a state of undress had to be total (excepting such adornments as earrings or a string of pearls worn by someone without any clothes). If a character wore only socks or stockings and nothing else, he/she was coded as semi-clothed.

Sexual behaviors

A range of sexual behaviors was coded as present or absent or as not applicable to the scene (e.g., fellatio would be a behavior not applicable for a scene involving sex between two lesbians, while neither fellatio nor cunnilingus would apply to a scene featuring a woman, alone, masturbating). The following sexual behaviors were coded as present, absent, or not applicable to the scene:

- (1) Fellatio.
- (2) Cunnilingus.
- (3) Vaginal intercourse (excluding penetration by objects such as dildos).
- (4) Anal intercourse (excluding penetration by objects such as dildos).
- (5) Multiple penetration (e.g., simultaneous penetration in the vagina and the mouth or in the vagina and the anus or in the mouth and the anus).
- (6) Penetration (in the vagina or anus) using a dildo or other object.
- (7) Whipping or beating. As a rule, striking or beating of one character by another during sexual activity must have been clearly intended to inflict pain or injury. Often, contextual factors helped in making the decision about how to code this behavior (e.g., a scene in which a woman who clearly refuses penetration

by a male is struck repeatedly by that male character while crying out in protest). The coding of whipping or beating was deliberately made as inclusive as possible. Hitting or beating committed during a sado-masochistic encounter, even if consented to by the partners, was coded as violence. In one or two cases, hitting occurred in the films which appeared playful and which did not elicit a negative response from the character who was hit. Even in such cases, the behavior was coded as whipping or beating.

(8) Male masturbation (e.g., a man masturbates himself while alone in a room, or a man withdraws his penis from a woman's vagina and masturbates himself to climax).

(9) Female masturbation (a woman masturbates herself while alone in a room or masturbates herself while having intercourse or oral sex with another man or woman).

(10) Masturbation of a male by a female. If a woman fondled a man's penis while fellating him and he ejaculated into her mouth, this was not counted as masturbation. However, if she stopped fellating him and brought him to climax using her hand, this was regarded as masturbation.

(11) Masturbation of a female by a male. Fondling

of a woman's vagina and clitoris by a male was accepted as evidence of masturbation, but not if performed by the mouth or tongue during cunnilingus.

During any of these sexual acts, the presence of close-ups focusing exclusively on a character's genitals was coded.

If, during any of these sexual behaviors, a woman is presented as kneeling before a man, the scene was classified as having such kneeling present.

In addition to the range of sexual behaviors within the scenes, the coding noted male and female orgasms. A graphic ejaculation shot was coded as either present or absent within each scene. Such a shot presented a penis ejaculating outside the vagina. If male ejaculation occurred, but semen was not clearly visible (i.e., occurred while the male was being fellated by a woman), this was not taken to constitute a graphic ejaculation shot. Generally, such a shot had ejaculation as its main focus. If the sex scene involved only lesbian activity or a woman masturbating alone, the ejaculation shot was coded as "not applicable."

If an ejaculation shot was present in the scene, the coding noted whether a male ejaculated onto a woman's face, as well as whether any woman was shown swallowing semen. The swallowing had to be clearly

visible (e.g., a man ejaculates into a woman's open mouth, she swallows the semen, and then begins to fellate him). If a woman was seen as clearly refusing to swallow (i.e., the actress was careful not to get semen into her mouth or, if she did, to spit it out), swallowing was coded as "no." If the presentation was ambiguous, "cannot code" was used.

The coding noted whether a woman requested that a man ejaculate onto her (e.g., onto her body or face). The request must have been clearly stated, rather than inferred by the coder.

The coding noted whether any woman was shown smearing semen on her body or whether any man was shown smearing semen on a woman's body. If smearing was shown, the scene was coded "yes" for a man smearing or "yes" for a woman smearing. However if ejaculation was shown, but a woman or a man did not smear the semen, the scene was coded "no" for a woman smearing and "no" for a man smearing.

Coding for female orgasms was considerably more difficult than for male orgasms. The ejaculation shots presented clear evidence of male orgasms, whereas the evidence for female orgasms was less straightforward. Pleasurable moaning by female characters was a standard part of the sex scenes, but, as a general rule, such

characters were not coded as having orgasms unless they made some clear, explicit verbal reference indicating an experience of orgasm. This was a rigorous, reliable standard, but it did result in many "cannot codes" for this variable. However, if one or both of the coders felt strongly, based on a reading of a female character's bodily movement and/or vocal cries, that a portrayal of orgasm was intended, then the variable might be coded "yes" in the absence of other, explicit verbal evidence.

Sexual paraphernalia

Sometimes the range of sexual behavior within the scenes was accompanied by various kinds of sexual paraphernalia (e.g., vibrators, dildos). The coding indicated whether or not sexual toys or other objects were used as part of the sexual activity. If such paraphernalia were present, they were classified into the categories of "vibrators," "dildos," or "other." The application of paraphernalia was coded as being from male to female (e.g., a man masturbates a woman with a vibrator), from female to male (e.g., a woman inserts a vibrator into a man's anus), from female to female, from male to male, applied reciprocally (e.g., both characters use the paraphernalia on each other), or self-applied (e.g., a woman masturbates herself with a

vibrator).

Communication among partners

Communication among sexual partners about desired sexual activities and compliance or non-compliance with such expressed desires were also coded as part of the sex scene.

(1) In the course of the sex scene, does any woman tell any man what sexual activities she desires? A clear, explicit verbal request or command was required in order to code this variable as "yes." Whether any man ever complies (i.e., performs the sexual activity the woman requested) was coded as "yes" or "no." Similarly, whether any man does not comply was also coded as "yes" or "no." In the latter case, when a female character told her male partner about a specific sexual behavior she'd like, her male partner did not respond to her communication by engaging in the activity.

(2) In the course of the sex scene, does any man tell any woman what sexual activities he desires? Does any woman ever comply? Does any woman ever not comply? The standards of evidence and the coding options were the same as in the variables dealing with a woman's requests.

(3) If this encounter involves lesbian activity,

does any woman tell her partner what sexual activities she desires? Does any partner ever comply? Does any partner ever not comply? The standards of evidence and the coding options were the same as in the variables dealing with requests among heterosexual partners.

The coding did not make provisions for the communication of desired sexual activities among male homosexual partners. It was known a priori that there would be little male homosexual contact in the films, and, accordingly, the coding sheet was limited in this one instance.

As part of the coding of communication variables, the coding also noted whether or not any character addressed any other character by his/her name.

Affection and pleasure

Another major category of variables dealt with displays of affection and pleasure within the sex scene. With regard to the period of initiation, the coding noted whether or not any physical demonstrations of affection (e.g., kissing, embracing) preceded the sexual activity. The coding also noted whether or not sexual activity was preceded by any verbal declarations of love (i.e., dialogue in which a character explicitly professes love for another character who is also a sexual partner). If such declarations were coded as

being present in the scene, they were further classified as occurring from male to female (e.g., a man tells a woman that he loves her), from female to male, from female to female, and from male to male. Additionally, the coding noted whether such declarations were reciprocated by the partner to whom they were made.

During the period of sexual activity, the coding noted whether or not any of the participants expressed pleasure vocally (through words or moans). If vocal pleasure occurred, the scene was coded for whether or not a woman expresses such pleasure and for whether or not a man expresses such pleasure.

Furthermore, during the period of sexual activity, the scene was coded for whether or not any participant expresses pleasure through a close-up facial expression. For example, while a man performs cunnilingus on her, a woman may be shown, in close-up, responding with a pleasurable facial expression. If a close-up of a pleasurable facial expression occurred, the gender of the character receiving the close-up was coded: "male," "female," "both male and female."

The coding also noted whether or not, during sexual activity, any kissing occurred among the participants.

Abuse

Categories of abusive behavior which were coded

included both verbal and physical behaviors. These behaviors were coded for their presence or absence at two points within the sex scene: during the period of initiation and during the period of sexual activity. Behaviors classified as abusive were coded independently of whether any character requested that he/she be insulted, hit, or tied up, etc., and independently of whether any character was portrayed as deriving enjoyment from the practices. Abusive verbal behaviors were defined as threats and insults, which were coded as threatening or insulting in terms of either their content or their intonation. For example, if a male character said to a female, "If you don't get undressed, I'll smack you," this would be coded as a verbal threat for its content. If, however, he said, very softly, "You have a very beautiful body; I'd hate to see anything happen to it," while stroking her cheek with the blade of a knife, his statement would be coded as a verbal threat by virtue of its intonation.

Like the coding of threats for their content, the coding of insults for their content required that some explicit, insulting statement be made by one character about another. If a male character said to a woman, "Get undressed, bitch," his statement would be coded as a verbal insult for its content (and, depending on the

context, might also be coded as a threat -- the categories were not mutually exclusive). The coding of insults due to intonation, like that of threats due to intonation, was dependent upon contextual factors. For example, a young man might describe his partner as an older woman, stressing the term "older" in a derogatory way.

Abusive physical behaviors were defined to include striking or slapping of one or more characters by another character or characters and the use of physical restraint by one or more characters upon another character or characters. Behaviors coded as striking or slapping included not only slaps or punches but also whipping. These behaviors were defined as inclusively as possible. In one or two cases, hitting occurred in the films which appeared playful and which did not elicit a negative response from the character who was hit. Even in such cases the behavior was coded as striking or slapping.

Behaviors coded as physical restraint included not only any binding or tying of a character, but also cases where one character forcibly held down another character (e.g., a man grips a woman's wrists, pinning her on top of a pool table).

Other forms of abuse coded at the stages of

initiation and sexual activity included the coercion of sex for material favors (e.g., a woman applies for a job and the male executive interviewing her makes it clear that she can have the job if she has sex with him). Additionally, a general category of "other abuse" made provision for the coding of forms of abuse that did not fall into the other categories of verbal or physical abuse (e.g., a man pinches a woman's nipple during sex).

The gender of the abusive character(s) and the gender of the abused character(s) were coded whenever the stages of initiation or sexual activity included abuse. Furthermore, the coding noted whether or not any character resisted the abuse and the form of the resistance. The form of resistance included verbal resistance (e.g., explicit statements or cries prevailing upon the abusive character to cease the abuse), physical resistance (e.g., physical attempts to resist or to struggle against the abuse), and both verbal and physical resistance. The presence or absence of sexual arousal accompanying the abuse was coded, as was the gender of any character who becomes aroused. At the end of the scene, the presence or absence of suffering resulting from the abuse was coded, the gender of the character who suffers, and the form by which the suffering is expressed (i.e., verbal, physical, both

verbal and physical). For example, if a woman had been beaten during sex, and, at the end of the scene, cries and gingerly touches her bruises, the expression of her suffering would be coded as both verbal and physical. Conversely, if a woman had been beaten during sex, but exhibits no pain or distress afterward, the scene would be coded for no suffering displayed. Display of suffering was coded independently of whether or not the abused character was presented as being sexually aroused by the abuse (e.g., a character might be presented both as sexually aroused and as, later, suffering).

In order to cover instances where sexual activity was forced upon a participant, evidence of a character's unwilling participation in sexual activity was coded as present or absent from the scene. For example, if a woman physically resisted the sexual advances of a man and/or told him that she did not want to have sex with him, the scene was coded for unwilling participation by a character, even if that character later became sexually aroused. The number of unwilling participants was counted by sex.

VIOLENT ACTS

This concludes a discussion of the coding of sex scene variables. Abusive behavior was coded within the context of sexual activity as part of the sex scene.

However, abusive or harmful behavior was also coded as a unit of analysis (violent acts) separately from the sex scene whenever such behavior occurred in the films (either in conjunction with sexual activity or not). Violent acts were defined to include killing and various forms of physical, non-lethal violence. Coding of non-lethal acts was independent of whether or not the acts were successful (i.e., whether or not the perpetrator succeeded in causing pain or injury). For both lethal and non-lethal forms of physical violence, the sex of perpetrator(s) and victim(s) was coded (coding for both male and female victims or perpetrators, whenever necessary).

The number of killings during the course of each violent act was counted as well as the number of male killers, the number of female killers, the number of male victims and the number of female victims. The overlapping of any killing with a sex scene was also coded (e.g., killing which occurs within or at the beginning or end of a sex scene).

Physical, non-lethal violence was defined to include hitting with hands (e.g., a character smacking or hitting another character with his/her hands); hitting with an object (here, a character must have actually hit another with, for example, a club or a

thrown bottle); knifing (e.g., a character stabs or cuts another with a knife); shooting (e.g., a character discharges a gun at another character, whether hitting him/her or not); other violence (e.g., other types of violence than hitting, knifing, or shooting). For each of these types of violent acts, in addition to coding the sex of the perpetrator and the sex of the victim, the coding indicated whether or not the violent act overlapped with a sex scene.

Violent acts were also defined to include rape and sexual molestation. Rape was defined as clear evidence (spoken or seen) of a character(s) unwilling participation in genital sexuality. Sexual molestation was defined as clear evidence of a character(s) unwilling participation in non-genital sexuality (e.g., an employer rubs his secretary's breasts or buttocks, and she slaps him). For each act of rape or sexual molestation, the number of unwilling participants who were male and the number of unwilling participants who were female were counted.

Finally, suicide, attempted or successful, was coded as a violent act. The number of men who attempted or committed suicide and the number of women who attempted or committed suicide were counted.

ANALYSIS

The central issues guiding the data analysis were: (1) to investigate the portrayals of male and female characters in the films and the portrayal of male-female relations and (2) to investigate the extent and types of violence in the films and how expressions of violence (or, conversely, of affection) are patterned in terms of the behavior of male and female characters. Discussion of the analysis will commence with character variables and will then take up variables dealing with violence in the films.

The analysis provides a general description of characters in terms of demographic variables. The analysis indicates the number of male and female characters who appear in the films, as well as their ages and races. The analysis also indicates the frequency of categories of characters' socio-economic status and occupation.

To begin investigating the charges directed against pornography, characters were described in terms of their marital status and love life. The analysis indicates the number of characters who are portrayed as being married and the frequency with which a character's spouse appears as another character within the films.

When a married character appears as a participant in a sex scene, the analysis indicates how often such a scene involves an adulterous relation (i.e., sex with someone other than the spouse). Characters were described in terms of their love life. The analysis indicates the number of characters who are portrayed as being in love and how often the character with whom they are in love appears in the films. Similarly, the analysis indicates the number of characters who are portrayed as being loved by someone else, and how often that other person appears as a character in the films. Male and female characters were compared according to the number of times they are presented as being in love with someone in the films and according to the number of times someone is presented as being in love with them. Since critics of pornography charge that "love" is a category these films lack, this comparison enables assessment of that charge as well as of the extent to which both male and female characters are presented in terms that involve love of another individual. Moreover, anti-pornography arguments often charge that pornography "reduces" people to a purely sexual status. By examining such variables as marital status, love life, and occupation, the analysis indicates the frequency by which characters are defined by a status other than that

of sexual behavior.

The analysis indicates the number of characters who are portrayed as having a major speaking role in a film and the number of characters who are portrayed as participating substantially in a sex scene. Of both groups, the analysis shows how many are men and how many are women.

The average number of sexual partners for male and for female characters was calculated. Additionally, the average number of male participants and the average number of female participants in a sex scene were calculated. These two sets of calculations provide a sense of whether men or women are portrayed as having sex more often and with more partners or whether the portrayals are more equal. Charges that the sexuality portrayed in pornographic films is male-centered often imply that a few male characters in a typical film are presented as having sex with many women. The calculations described above indicate whether this is true or whether women, as well, are portrayed in the films as having frequent sex and with many male partners.

In addition to calculating the number of sexual partners and participants in sex scenes, the number of characters who witness the sexual activity of others was

counted. These witnesses are characters who become aroused by watching the sexual behavior of others, but who do not participate in the sexual activity of others at any point. Witnesses were counted to see to what extent voyeurism plays a role in pornographic films (i.e., to what extent voyeuristic characters are a regular feature in such films).

In order to describe the social dimensions of the sexuality portrayed in the films, the analysis shows the frequencies of relationship categories among characters who appear in a sex scene. This provides further information relevant to evaluating the charge that pornography portrays characters only as sexual beings. These categories of relationship define various kinds of social contexts within which sexual activity may occur (e.g., friendship, marriage, romantic love, etc.) The frequencies with which these categories occur provides an indication of the larger social dimensions accompanying sexual behavior in the films. For example, if the anti-pornography charges are correct, one might expect very few instances of sex between characters who are portrayed as romantic lovers. Male and female characters are compared according to the number of scenes in which they make a display out of disrobing (i.e., remove their clothing in an erotic fashion for

either the camera or another character in the films). Anti-pornography arguments have stressed that women are made into sexual objects in pornographic films, and the number of times a woman is portrayed as "stripping," as compared to the number of times a man is so portrayed, may provide one indication of this.

Anti-pornography arguments have often stressed that pornography portrays women as passive and subservient to the sexual needs and desires of men in the films. Accordingly, to investigate this charge, male and female characters are compared in terms of their patterns of communication about desired sexual activities. The number of scenes in which a woman tells a man what sexual activities she would like, and the rates of compliance or non-compliance by her male partner, are compared to the number of scenes in which a man tells a woman what sexual activities he would like and the rates of compliance or non-compliance by his female partner. Such comparison indicates that both men and women communicate their desires in roughly equal proportions.

In addition to dealing with communication about desired sexual activities, the data analysis also deals with the portrayal of sexual behavior in the films. The analysis indicates the frequency of occurrence of a range of sexual behaviors in the sex scenes (e.g.,

fellatio, cunnilingus, vaginal and anal intercourse, etc.). Comparison of rates of fellatio, cunnilingus, and anal intercourse is important in light of charges that the sexuality portrayed in pornography is male-centered and designed to appeal to the male viewer. In terms of the logic of these charges, one would expect to find higher rates of fellatio and anal intercourse than of cunnilingus. For similar reasons, the analysis indicates the frequency of scenes in which various kinds of sexual paraphernalia (e.g., dildos, vibrators) accompany sexual activity and compares men and women in terms of the number of scenes in which they use such paraphernalia. Criticisms of the male-centeredness of pornographic sexuality, for example, often focus on lesbian scenes and argue that lesbian sexuality is portrayed in ways that would be appealing for male viewers (i.e., that lesbian scenes employ dildos as surrogate penises and that lesbian partners use these dildos as if they were having sexual intercourse with a male).

The analysis indicates how many scenes include a portrayal of a male and/or a female character achieving orgasm. With respect to scenes which feature a male ejaculation shot, the analysis indicates how many of these scenes present a woman swallowing a man's semen,

how many present a woman requesting that a man ejaculate on her, and how many present a woman or a man smearing semen on a woman's body. It has been argued that graphic ejaculation shots in which a man ejaculates onto a woman's face or body constitute a form of abuse, and it is, therefore, important to examine the frequency with which the smearing of semen on a woman's body occurs or requests by a woman that a man ejaculate on her.

Because anti-pornography arguments have stressed that pornography is an expression of violence against women and that, accordingly, portrayals of affection and pleasure are lacking in the films, the analysis compares male and female characters in terms of their expressions of affection and/or love for their sexual partners. The analysis shows how often the initiation phase of the sex scenes contains any demonstrations of affection between the participants, such as embracing or kissing. The analysis also shows how often during the initiation phase any character makes a verbal declaration of love for his/her sexual partner. The number of scenes in which such declarations are made from a woman to a man, from a man to a woman, or from a woman to a woman were compared. Additionally, the number of scenes in which declarations of love are made reciprocally (i.e., are

returned by the character to whom they are made) were counted.

During the period of sexual activity, male and female characters are compared according to the number of scenes in which they express pleasure vocally and/or through a facial expression presented in close-up. The analysis also indicates whether any kissing occurs between sexual partners during sexual activity.

The analysis indicates how many scenes include a period of activity following sex in which participants embrace and/or kiss each other.

In addition to describing the patterning of demonstrations of affection among male and female characters, the analysis also describes the incidence and range of abusive behaviors among male and female characters. This section of the analysis is the centrally relevant one to an investigation of charges of a pervasive violence throughout pornography.

The analysis indicates the frequency of sex scenes which include abusive behavior and the number of scenes in which abuse occurs in the initiation phase, during sexual activity, or both. The number of scenes in which sexual activity is initiated by male characters is compared for rates of abusive behavior to the number of scenes in which sexual activity is initiated by female

characters.

The analysis shows the frequency of occurrence of the particular categories of abuse: threats, insults, striking, restraint, coercion, other abuse, as well the over-time distribution of variables pertaining to abuse.

The sex of the abused characters is described as well as the sex of the characters who are abusers. If the anti-pornography arguments are correct, one would expect a high frequency of abuse in the films, a high frequency of male abusers, and a high frequency of female victims.

Additionally, the analysis indicates whether any characters become sexually aroused by the abuse and whether such characters are male or female. It has been argued that a particularly vicious aspect of the violence in pornography is the portrayal of women becoming aroused by the violence directed against them. It is important, therefore, to examine the extent to which this actually occurs. In addition to counting the number of abused characters who become sexually aroused, the number of participants, by gender, who unwillingly engage in sexual activity are also counted.

The analysis shows the number of scenes in which an abused character is presented as suffering following abuse. The gender of the suffering characters is

described as well as the mode by which suffering is expressed (verbal expression, physical expression). It is often argued that violence in pornography is presented as having no consequences (i.e., that abused characters are not shown suffering afterward). It is important, therefore, to examine the number of scenes in which abuse is followed by demonstrations of suffering. By examining the presentation of suffering in the films, the analysis investigates the evidence for this argument.

The analysis also indicates the frequency of violent acts (e.g., killing, knifing, shooting, rape, etc.) occurring throughout the films, whether as part of a sex scene or not. The analysis shows the frequency with which males and females appear as perpetrators or victims of the respective violent acts and the number of times each type of violent act overlaps with a sex scene, as well as the distribution of these violent acts over time.

* * *

The analysis described investigates the portrayal of male and female characters in pornographic films and, most centrally, the range and extent of violent activity within the films. The evidence provided enables a more complete assessment of charges that violence against

women is endemic to pornographic films.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the analysis of data collected during the coding phase of this study. The first section of the chapter contains a discussion of the characters who appear in these films. Characters will be profiled according to their demographic features, and male and female characters will be compared on the basis of these demographic variables. Additionally, the relationship dimensions prevailing among characters in a sex scene will be discussed.

The next section of the chapter discusses overt forms of lethal and non-lethal violence occurring in the films. The incidence of various kinds of violent acts will be considered, along with the gender of the perpetrators and the victims. The discussion will also consider the distribution of categories of lethal and non-lethal violence across the years of the sample.

Next, violence and abuse occurring as part of a sex scene will be considered. A variety of issues will be discussed in this regard: the frequency of various

categories of abusive behavior, displays of resistance, suffering, or pleasure by the victims, and the longitudinal distribution of abusive behavior. Abusive and non-abusive scenes will be compared to explore possible differences in character relationships, sexual behavior and costuming.

The final section of the chapter deals with relations of power among male and female characters. Relations of power are explored in terms of the reciprocity of various relations among male and female characters: the reciprocity of representations of sexual initiation, the reciprocity of representations of sexual pleasure, the reciprocity of representations of communication about sexual activity, the reciprocity of representations of affection, and the reciprocity of rates of dress and undress. The longitudinal distribution of variables dealing with sexual initiation, sexual pleasure, communication about sexual activity, and affection will also be explored.

Throughout the following analysis, percentages are reported as rounded figures. Thus, in a few instances, the total percentage may be slightly more or less than 100.

CHARACTERS IN THE PORNOGRAPHIC FEATURE FILM

Characters were chosen for coding based on the following criteria. A character was coded if he/she had a substantial speaking role (whether or not he/she was shown having sex) or if he/she played a substantial part in a sex scene (whether or not he/she had a speaking role). A substantial speaking role was defined as the delivery of more than five lines of dialogue by a character. Although the number of people who appeared in each sex scene was counted, characters who were shown briefly (e.g., during an orgy or during a "montage" scene) were not regarded as playing a substantial part in the scene.

Based on these considerations, 429 characters were coded. Each film contained an average of 13 characters. They were coded in terms of the following variables: sex, age, race, socio-economic status, occupation, marital status, love life, whether they had a major speaking role, whether they played a substantial role in a sex scene, the number of sex scenes in which they appeared, and the number of their sexual partners.

54 percent of these characters are male, and 46 percent are female. The modal age category is "young adult" (years 18-40): 76 percent of the 429 characters

fall in this group. Distribution of characters among the other age categories was as follows: 7 percent of characters were coded as "implied adolescent," 15 percent were coded as "settled adult" (years 41-65), 0 percent were coded as "older adult" (years 66 and older), and 3 percent were ambiguous and coded as "cannot code."

With regard to race, characters are overwhelmingly white (94 percent). Only 3 percent are black, 1 percent are oriental, and 1 percent belong to some other race.

The coding of characters on the variables of socio-economic status, occupation, marital status, and lovelife was dependent on whether the character had a major speaking role. Characters who did not have major speaking roles (but who did play a substantial role in a sex scene) were not coded for these variables. 24 percent of the 429 characters did not have major speaking roles. Thus, the following frequencies exclude the 104 characters without major speaking roles.

With regard to socio-economic status, characters were coded as clearly upper, clearly middle, or clearly lower. 76 percent of the 325 characters with major speaking roles are "clearly middle," while 7 percent are "clearly upper" and only 3 percent are "clearly lower." 14 percent of characters were ambiguous and could not be

coded for SES. The modal category is "clearly middle."

With regard to occupation, the 325 characters with major speaking roles were classified in terms of the following fields of activity: entertainment, agriculture, business, government, health, education, religion, illegal activity, and the sex industry. 45 percent of these characters could not be coded in any of these fields because their portrayal was either undefined or ambiguous. 12 percent of the 325 characters with major speaking roles had their major field of activity in the areas of entertainment, art, sports, or the mass media. 8 percent were occupied in the sex industry (e.g., pornographic filmmaking, writing of adult novels), 7 percent in business, 6 percent in education, 4 percent in government, 3 percent in health or medicine, 2 percent in agriculture, 1 percent in religion, and 1 percent in illegal activities (e.g., professional burglary).

The variables discussed so far indicate that the world of the pornographic feature film is a world peopled by middle-class, young, white adults, in which the occupations of nearly half the speaking characters are undefined or unclear.

With regard to marital status, only 13 percent of the 325 characters with major speaking roles were

clearly portrayed as being married. Most often, the marital status of a character was undefined or unclear in the films. For example, 72 percent of characters with major speaking roles could not be coded for this variable. (The remaining 15 percent were clearly portrayed as being unmarried.) When characters were clearly married, 86 percent of the time their spouse appeared as a character in the films.

Like marriage, the conditions of being in love or being loved were not common features of character identity. For example, 86 percent of the 325 characters with major speaking roles could not be coded for whether they were in love. Only 11 percent of characters with major speaking roles were portrayed as being in love (the remaining 3 percent were portrayed as clearly not in love), and in each case the person they loved appeared as another character in the films. The criteria for classifying a character as "in love" required that some explicit portrayal of "love" be evident, either as a verbal declaration or as clearly manifest devotion.

On the question of how often characters are portrayed as being loved by someone else, again, most often (87 percent) characters with major speaking roles could not be coded for this information. Only 11

percent of characters with speaking roles were clearly portrayed as being loved by someone else, and in each case the other person appeared in the films. (In the remaining 2 percent, characters were portrayed as clearly not in love.)

As with portrayals of marriage and love life, information about a character's virginity was often not provided by the films, which might be surprising since these films focus primarily on the sex lives of the characters. 85 percent of the 325 characters with major speaking roles could not be coded on the question of their virginity. Only 5 percent of characters with major speaking roles were portrayed as virgins. The remaining 10 percent were portrayed as clearly not virgins. (This coding was based on the presence of explicit information about a character's virginity, either through a verbal reference or other clear cue. Inferences about a character's virginity, however reasonable, were not used. For example, even if someone was a prostitute, he/she was not assumed to have had previous clients unless this was explicitly mentioned.)

The remaining variables within the character unit of analysis deal with participation in a sex scene. All characters, regardless of whether they had a major speaking role, were coded for whether or not they played

a substantial role in a sex scene. (A substantial role was defined as participation in sexual activity, excluding cases where a character appeared only briefly during an orgy scene or a "montage.") Most of the 429 characters in the films did play a substantial role in a sex scene: 87 percent. The mean number of sex scenes per character was 1.93 (mode=1). The mean number of male partners for female characters was 2.28 (range 0-15, mode=1), and the mean number of female partners for male characters was 1.85 (range 0-10, mode=1).

This concludes a survey of the basic demographic features of characters who appear in the sample of pornographic feature films. The analysis will now go on to explore possible differences in the portrayal of male and female characters on the basic demographic variables.

The Portrayal of Male and Female Characters

The analysis has just indicated that male and female characters do not differ in the number of their sexual partners. As Table 1 indicates, male and female characters also do not differ on most basic demographic variables. Distributions of male and female characters on the variables of race, socio-economic status,

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF PORTRAYALS OF MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS

	<u>MALE</u> (n=231) <u>Percent</u>	<u>FEMALE</u> (n=198) <u>Percent</u>
<u>Age*</u>		
Implied Adolescent	5	10
Young Adult	72	80
Settled Adult	20	9
Older Adult	1	0
Cannot Code	3	2
<u>Race</u>		
White	95	93
Black	4	2
Oriental	1	2
Other	1	2
Cannot Code	0	1
<u>SES</u>		
Upper	5	6
Middle	51	65
Lower	3	2
Not Applicable	31	17
Cannot Code	10	11
<u>Occupation</u>		
Entertainment	12	11
Agriculture	3	1
Business	9	4
Government	6	1
Health	1	5
Education	4	8
Religion	2	0
Illegal	1	1
Sex Industry	4	13
Not Applicable	31	16
Cannot Code	28	41

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

	PERCENT MALE	PERCENT FEMALE
<u>Character Portrayed As Being Married</u>	9	11
<u>Character Portrayed As Being in Love</u>	7	11
<u>Character Portrayed as Being Loved</u>	7	9
<u>Character Portrayed as a Virgin</u>	1	6
<u>Character Has A Major Speaking Role*</u>	69	83
<u>Character Plays A Major Role In A Sex Scene</u>	85	89

* P < .05

occupation, marital status, and love life do not reveal any significant differences. In addition, roughly equal percentages of male and female characters are portrayed as playing a substantial role in a sex scene.

However, significant differences are found on the distribution of male and female characters by age. Female characters are relatively more often portrayed as "implied adolescents" or "young adult," while male characters are relatively more often portrayed as "settled adults." More female than male characters are portrayed as virgins, and significantly more female characters than males have a major speaking role in the films.

The information provided by the major speaking role variable can be used in conjunction with information provided by the classification of characters as playing a major role in a sex scene to reveal an interesting feature of these films. A criticism often directed against pornography is that it dehumanizes its characters by portraying them as sexual "objects," lacking such important definitions of identity as occupation or social relationship with the sexual partner. It is argued that women are most often portrayed in these terms, as anonymous sexual characters. In pornographic feature films, there is,

indeed, a class of anonymous characters who have neither name, nor identity, who deliver no lines of dialogue, and who only appear as sexual performers in a sex scene. These are characters who play a major role in a sex scene but who do not have a major speaking role in the film. To a significant degree, they tend to be men, not women. Of the 372 characters who play a major role in a sex scene, 196 are male and 176 are female. 36 percent (71) of these male characters have no major speaking role, as compared to only 19 percent (33) of the these female characters (sig.< .05). The anonymous character appears in sex scenes as an unidentified, non-speaking participant, and, when the scene is over, the character is not seen again. Such characters are totally defined by their sexual behavior, and the data indicate that these characters tend to be men relatively more often than women.

Relationships Among Characters in Sex Scenes

An additional dimension of information regarding the characters in the sample of films may be obtained by shifting the focus of the discussion from the character unit of analysis to the sex scene unit of analysis. Sex scenes in the sample of films were coded according to

various relationship categories prevailing among the characters in the scenes. Even though the unit of analysis here is the scene, this information tells us about the kinds of social relationships which prevail among the characters within a sex scene. This information defines various kinds of social contexts within which sexual activity may occur among characters and is relevant to evaluating arguments that pornography portrays characters only as sexual beings.

A sex scene was defined as a scene whose main focus was on sexual activity. In this context, "sexual activity" implies genital stimulation. Typically, a sex scene occurred in a single location, although the participants within that location might change over the course of the scene. An exception to the single-location rule would be a "montage" of several different sexual episodes presented as a single unit (e.g., cutting back and forth between two different couples in two different locations). Another rare exception to the single location rule would be a scene in which a couple moves from one location to another (e.g., a man and woman who are having sex outdoors go inside and continue having sex). With the above exception a permanent shift to a new location and a new set of participants was regarded as the beginning of a

new sex scene, regardless of whether any non-sexual episodes occurred in between. To qualify as a sex scene, a scene must have had sexual activity as its main focus. So, sexual activity shown in the background (e.g., couples copulating in the lobby of a sex spa as the heroine walks by them to get to the registration desk) or incidentally (e.g., the heroine walks in on her two roommates in bed with each other, apologizes, and walks out again) was not taken as constituting a sex scene.

248 sex scenes were coded, and within these scenes the following relationship categories prevailed among the characters. Typically, at least some of the sexual partners knew each other prior to having sexual relations. 71 percent (177) of the 248 sex scenes featured characters who already knew each other. 28 percent (70) of all sex scenes featured characters portrayed as strangers to each other, i.e., who did not know each other before having sexual relations.

Only 7 percent (18) of all sex scenes featured participants who were married to each other, while 15 percent (37) of all sex scenes featured participants who were married to other people than those they were having sex with. More of the scenes in the sample of films featured adulterous relations among characters than

portrayals of sex within the marriage unit.

Only 1 percent (3) of all sex scenes featured characters of the same sex who were portrayed as romantic lovers. 11 percent (26) of all sex scenes featured characters of the opposite sex who were portrayed as romantic lovers. 13 percent (33) of all sex scenes featured characters of the same sex who were portrayed as friends, while 11 percent (26) featured characters of the opposite sex who were portrayed as friends.

As these figures indicate, such character relationships as marriage, friendship, and love occur in a minority of sex scenes.

Incestuous relations were very low. Incest among immediate family members was featured in only one percent of sex scenes. The pornographic feature film, it would appear, respects the incest taboo.

Sex scenes featuring characters who are co-workers were coded for the status relations among the co-workers. Sexual relations featuring opposite sexed co-working characters where a woman was in a position of superior power (e.g., the "boss") were featured in 7 percent (19) of all 248 sex scenes. Sexual relations featuring opposite sexed co-working characters where a man was in a position of superior power were featured in

13 percent (31) of all sex scenes. In 3 percent (8) of all sex scenes, an equal status prevailed among opposite-sexed co-working characters.

Prostitution was not a common background for characters in a sex scene. Only 3 percent (7) of all sex scenes featured a male prostitute, while 11 percent (27) featured a female prostitute.

Participants in a sex scene were relatively more frequently portrayed as having sex for the first time with each other than as having had sex together before the current scene. Only 20 percent (50) of all scenes portrayed characters as having had sex with each other before, while in 47 percent (116) of all scenes, participants were portrayed as having sex with each other for the first time. When the history of sexual relations among participants is portrayed in the films, those characters are more likely to be having sex with each other for the first time.

Summary

This discussion of character variables and relationship categories among characters in a sex scene has indicated that the world of pornographic feature films is predominantly a white, middle-class one, filled

with young adult characters whose occupations are most often undefined or unclear. Most of the characters in the films have a major speaking role, and most of the characters appear as participants in a sex scene. However, female characters relatively more often than male characters have the major speaking roles, and male characters more often appear as non-speaking participants in a sex scene. No significant differences were found among male and female characters on race, socio-economic status, occupation, marriage or love life. Portrayals of characters in terms of such socially contextualizing variables as marriage and love life occurred infrequently in the films.

Dealing with relationships among characters in sex scenes, most relationship dimensions are infrequently portrayed, i.e., the majority of scenes lack this kind of information. Information about the social background of characters (i.e., professional, occupational, marital backgrounds) is not a regular feature of character portrayal. This kind of information is often sketchy and is provided on an irregular basis.

LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE OCCURRING IN THE FILMS

Controversies about pornography have often focused on allegations of widespread violence throughout pornographic books, magazines, and films. One of the purposes of this study is to provide information relevant to evaluating allegations of widespread violence throughout pornographic materials. Accordingly, lethal and non-lethal violent acts were coded whenever they occurred in the sample of films. Such violent acts entailed attempted or actual use of weapons or one's body to cause substantial physical pain, injury, or death at any point in the film (including sex scenes). To count as violence, an act must have been clearly deliberate, and it must have been clearly ill-intentioned. So, for example, accidental injury to someone would not be counted. The definition of violence was made as inclusive as possible. Violent acts committed as part of a sado-masochistic sexual encounter, even if consented to by both parties, were defined as ill-intentioned and were, therefore, coded as violence. To count as a single act of violence, violent activity must have been confined to one set of participants, and there must have been no lapse in time or space. So, the addition of a new victim or a new

perpetrator of violence was taken as indicating a new act of violence, and likewise for a break in time or space.

44 violent acts were coded, which included lethal violence (killing) and various forms of non-lethal violence: hitting with hands or an object, knifing, shooting, and other violence. Acts of rape, sexual molestation, and suicide were also coded as violent acts. Although all violent acts were confined to a single set of participants and occurred without a break in time or place, some of the acts contained several forms of violence (e.g., hitting with hands as well as hitting with an object). So, while the single set of participants criterion produces 44 separate acts of violence, the frequency that emerges by summing the individual categories of violence is higher (58). Each film had a mean of 1.4 violent acts. 69 percent (22) of the 32 films had violent acts, which were distributed evenly throughout the sample. The standard deviation was 1.15. The range of violent acts per film was between 1-5 acts. 9 films contained 1 violent act, 8 films contained 2 violent acts, 2 films contained 3 violent acts, 2 films contained 4 violent acts, and 1 film contained 5 violent acts.

The sample of films included 4 killings. 2 males

and 2 females were the killers, and 2 males and 2 females were the victims. Two of the killings overlapped with a sex scene.

21 cases of hitting with hands were recorded, and in 12 of these cases a male character did the hitting. 10 females and 9 males were among the victims. In 9 cases, the hitting overlapped with a sex scene.

8 cases of hitting with an object were recorded. 4 males and 3 females were among the perpetrators, and 5 males and 3 females were the victims. In 6 of these cases, the hitting overlapped with a sex scene.

1 knifing was recorded, performed by a female upon a male victim. The knifing did not overlap with a sex scene.

4 cases of shooting were recorded, in which 2 of the perpetrators and 3 of the victims were male. None of the shootings overlapped with a sex scene.

There were 9 violent acts of other forms in the sample of films, which featured 6 males among the perpetrators and 8 females among the victims. 4 of these cases overlapped with a sex scene.

Additionally, in the films 6 females were raped, and 3 females were sexually molested. None of the rapes or sexual molestations featured a male victim.

2 acts of suicide were featured, during which 1

male and 1 female took their lives.

To summarize, the coding of violent acts did not reveal widespread violent or sadomasochistic behavior throughout the films. Violence in the form of killing, shooting, knifing, suicide, and hitting with hands or an object is evenly distributed among male and female perpetrators and victims, while the rapes, acts of sexual molestation, and various non-classified forms of other violence tend to be more heavily directed at female victims.

Longitudinal Distribution of Violent Acts

The dates of the films were collapsed into categories representing three time periods, 1972-75, 1976-79, and 1980-85. The periods 1972-75 and 1976-79 each contained nine films, and the period 1980-85 contained 14 films. Films of the first period, 1972-1975, had a mean of 1.1 violent acts, with a standard deviation of .458. Films of the second period, 1976-1979, had a mean of 1.4 violent acts, with a standard deviation of 1.59. Films of the last period, 1980-1985, had a mean of 1.5 violent acts, with a standard deviation of .97. Analysis of variance indicated no significant differences among the mean

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF LETHAL AND NON-LETHAL VIOLENCE IN THREE TIME PERIODS AS PERCENTAGES OF FILMS IN WHICH THEY OCCUR

	1972-1975 (N=9)	1976-1979 (N=9)	1980-1985 (N=14)
KILLING	11	0	7
HITTING WITH HANDS*	33	44	66
HITTING WITH AN OBJECT	33	11	21
KNIFING	11	0	0
SHOOTING	11	11	14
OTHER VIOLENCE	33	22	14
RAPE	11	33	7
SEXUAL MOLESTATION	0	11	14
SUICIDE	22	0	0

* P < .05

scores of the three groups.

Table 2 displays the various forms of lethal and non-lethal violence in terms of the percentage of films within each time period in which they occur. For example, acts of killing occur in 11 percent of the films in the period of 1972-75. The table indicates that the frequency of most types of lethal and non-lethal violence is relatively low. An exception is the category of hitting with hands, which is the most frequent type of violence occurring as part of a violent act. It is found in 33 percent of the films in 1972-75 but then rises to between 44 and 66 percent of the films from 1976-1985, a significant level of increase. By contrast, such acts of extreme violence as knifing, shooting, or killing are less common across the sample. For example, no killing was found in films between 1976-79, and no knifing was found in films from 1976-1985.

With the single exception of hitting with hands, none of the other forms of lethal or non-lethal violence showed evidence of having significantly increased during the years of the sample. Hitting with an object remained fairly constant across the years of the sample. It occurred in 33 percent of films between 1972-1975, then declined to 11 percent of the films between

1976-79, and rose again to 21 percent of the films made between 1980-85. Acts of shooting were confined to between 11 and 14 percent of the films across all years of the sample. Various forms of other violence declined from 33 percent of the films between 1972-75 to 14 percent of the films in the most recent time period. No suicides occurred between 1976-1985. As an example of specifically sexual violence, no acts of sexual molestation occurred between 1972-75, although this type of violence could be found in between 11 and 14 percent of the films made from 1976-1985. By contrast, rape reached a high point between 1976-79, occurring in 33 percent of the films in those years, but then declined to 7 percent of the films in the most recent time period.

In sum, with the single exception of hitting with hands, types of lethal and non-lethal violence did not show evidence of a steady increase during the years of the sample. The frequency of such acts was generally low and remained low.

VIOLENCE AND ABUSE AS PART OF THE SEX SCENE

In addition to the coding of acts of lethal and non-lethal violence wherever they occurred in the films,

violent and abusive behavior which specifically occurred as part of a sex scene was also coded. This provides more precise information on the kinds of violence and abuse accompanying sexual activity than do the variables dealing with lethal and non-lethal violent acts.

Categories of violent and abusive behavior which were coded included both verbal and physical behaviors. These behaviors were coded for their presence or absence at two points within the sex scene: during the period of sexual initiation and during the period of sexual activity. Behaviors classified as abusive were coded independently of whether any character requested that he/she be insulted, hit, or tied up, etc., and independently of whether any character was portrayed as deriving enjoyment from the practices. Abusive verbal behaviors were defined as threats and insults, which were coded as threatening or insulting in terms of either their content or their intonation. For example, if a male character said to a female, "If you don't get undressed, I'll smack you," this would be coded as a verbal threat for its content. If, however, he said, very softly, "You have a very beautiful body; I'd hate to see anything happen to it," while stroking her cheek with the blade of a knife, his statement would be coded as a verbal threat by virtue of its intonation.

Like the coding of threats for their content, the coding of insults for their content required that some explicit, insulting statement be made by one character about another. If a male character said to a woman, "Get undressed, bitch," his statement would be coded as a verbal insult for its content (and, depending on the context, might also be coded as a threat -- the categories were not mutually exclusive). The coding of insults due to intonation, like that of threats due to intonation, was dependent upon contextual factors. For example, a young man might describe his partner as an older woman, stressing the term "older" in a derogatory way.

Abusive physical behaviors were defined to include striking or slapping of one or more characters by another character or characters and the use of physical restraint by one or more characters upon another character or characters. Behaviors coded as striking or slapping included not only slaps or punches but also whipping. These behaviors were defined as inclusively as possible. In one or two cases, hitting occurred in the films which appeared playful and which did not elicit a negative response from the character who was hit. Even in such cases the behavior was coded as striking or slapping.

Behaviors coded as physical restraint included not only any binding or tying of a character, but also cases where one character forcibly held down another character (e.g., a man grips a woman's wrists, pinning her on top of a pool table).

Other forms of abuse coded at the stages of initiation and sexual activity included the coercion of sex for material favors (e.g., a woman applies for a job and the male executive interviewing her makes it clear that she can have the job if she has sex with him). Additionally, a general category of "other abuse" made provision for the coding of forms of abuse that did not fall into the other categories of verbal or physical abuse (e.g., a man pinches a woman's nipple during sex).

75 percent (24) of all 32 films contained abusive sex scenes, which were distributed evenly across the sample. The number of abusive scenes per film ranged between 1-5. The standard deviation was 1.23. 10 films contained 1 abusive sex scene, 5 films contained 2 abusive sex scenes, 6 films contained 3 abusive sex scenes, 2 films contained 4 abusive sex scenes, and 1 film contained 5 abusive sex scenes (not the same film as contained 5 violent acts).

The frequencies of violent and abusive behavior will first be indicated for the period of sexual

initiation (a period of non-sexual activity in which one or more of the sexual partners initiates sexual contact) and then for the period of sexual activity. Then the figures for each period will be combined to yield total measures of violent and abusive behavior as part of the sex scene.

14 percent (34) of all 248 sex scenes featured abusive behavior during the period of initiation. 10 percent (25) of all sex scenes featured a male abuser during initiation, while only 2 percent (6) featured a female abuser. (The remaining 1 percent featured both male and female abusers.) In 12 percent (29) of all sex scenes, the victim of abuse during initiation was a woman, while only 2 percent (4) of the time it was a man. (In the single remaining scene, the victims were both male and female characters.)

Threats coded for their content during initiation were featured in 5 percent (12) of all sex scenes. Threats coded for their intonation during initiation were featured in 3 percent (8) of all sex scenes. Insults coded for their content during initiation were featured in 5 percent (12) of all sex scenes. Insults coded for their intonation were featured in 4 percent (11) of all sex scenes.

Striking during initiation was featured in 4

percent (9) of all sex scenes. Physical restraint was featured in 8 percent (20) of all sex scenes. Coercion was featured in 2 percent (6) of all sex scenes, and 3 percent (8) of all sex scenes featured some other form of abuse.

During the period of sexual activity, abusive behavior was featured in 15 percent (38) of all 248 sex scenes. In 11 percent (26) of all sex scenes, a male character is the abuser during the period of sexual activity, while only 2 percent (5) feature a female abuser. (3 percent of scenes featured male and female abusers.) In 12 percent (30) of scenes, a female is the victim, while only 2 percent (5) of scenes feature a male victim. (The remaining 1 percent feature both male and female victims.)

Although these rates of abuse during initiation or sexual activity are low, when abuse does occur, it most often features male abusers and female victims.

Threats coded for their content during sexual activity were featured in 4 percent (9) of all sex scenes. Threats coded for their intonation were featured in 2 percent (6) of all sex scenes. Insults coded for their content were featured in 5 percent (13) of all sex scenes, while insults coded for their intonation were featured in 3 percent (8) of all sex

scenes. Striking was featured in 3 percent (8) of sex scenes and physical restraint in 9 percent (23). Coercion was featured in 2 percent (5) of scenes, and 7 percent (16) feature some other form of abuse.

Because abusive behavior was coded at two points in the sex scene (i.e., during the periods of sexual initiation and of sexual activity), it was necessary to combine abusive behavior that occurred during either initiation or sexual activity into an overall level of abuse for the scene. Accordingly, if a scene was coded for abuse in any of the above categories during either initiation or sexual activity, the scene was counted as an abusive scene. Of a total of 248 sex scenes, 51 scenes, or 21 percent, contained abusive behavior during either initiation or the period of sexual activity.

Just as an overall level of abuse was calculated for the films, total frequencies were calculated for each of the categories of abusive behavior. If a category of abuse, such as striking, was present during either initiation or sexual activity, the scene was counted as having that category present. The following figures obtained:

Seven percent (16) of all sex scenes featured threats classified for their content and 4 percent (11) featured threats classified for their intonation. 8

percent (19) of all sex scenes featured insults classified for their content, and 6 percent (15) featured insults classified for their intonation. If both of the categories of threats are combined, and those of insults are combined, the following figures result: 9 percent (22) of all sex scenes featured insults of some kind during either initiation or sexual activity, and 7 percent (18) of all sex scenes featured threats of some kind during either initiation or sexual activity.

The other categories of abuse were as follows: 6 percent (15) of all sex scenes featured a character striking, hitting, or beating another. 12 percent (30) of all scenes featured some form of physical restraint. 3 percent (8) featured coerced sex. 8 percent (19) featured some other form of abuse.

Who are the perpetrators, and who are the victims of abusive behavior? Each time abusive behavior was coded -- during initiation and during sexual activity -- the genders of abuser and victim were coded. As was done for the categories of abuse, the numbers of abusers during initiation and sexual activity were combined to yield a total frequency of abusers by gender. The same was done for victims. 14 percent (34) of all sex scenes feature male abusers, as compared to only 4 percent (9)

featuring female abusers. (An additional 3 percent (8) feature both male and female abusers.)

16 percent (40) of all sex scenes featured a female victim, while only 3 percent (7) feature a male victim. (2 percent (4) feature male and female victims.) If the scenes that do not feature abuse are eliminated so that only the 51 scenes with abuse are used, 67 percent feature a male abuser, while 78 percent feature a female victim. In most abusive scenes, the abuser tends to be male, while the victim tends to be female.

Dimensions of Victim Portrayal

In order to explore questions about the representation of the victims of sexual abuse, the behavior of victimized characters was coded on a number of dimensions. The following discussion examines the behavior of these characters. Characters who were abused during sexual activity were coded for whether they offered any resistance to the abuse, for the manner or form of their resistance, and for the gender of the resisting character.

Abusive behavior during sexual activity was resisted by the abused character in 50 percent of the 38 scenes featuring abusive behavior during sexual

activity. The resisting character most often made use of both verbal and physical means of resistance (e.g., pleas to the abuser to stop and attempts to escape). 53 percent (10) of the 19 scenes featuring resistance to abuse during sexual activity featured this condition, while 21 percent featured only verbal resistance and 26 percent featured only physical resistance. Most often, the victimized character resisting abuse was female. This occurred in 79 percent (15) of the 38 scenes featuring abuse during sexual activity. A male character was the resisting victim in only 16 percent (3) of these scenes. (In the remaining scene, both male and female victims resisted.)

In addition to coding for resistance by the victim of abuse, sex scenes were also coded for resistance by a character to sexual initiation, and for any evidence of unwilling participation by a character in sexual activity, independently of the presence or absence of abuse. Though these variables do not measure abuse, per se, they do provide other indicators of the incidence of unwilling participation in sexual activity by characters.

A period of initiation was portrayed in 76 percent (189) of all 248 sex scenes. Of the 189 scenes depicting a period of initiation, 14 percent (27)

feature resistance by a character to sexual initiation. The resisting character is most likely to be a female. This occurs in 85 percent (23) of scenes depicting initiation where resistance occurs.

Any evidence of unwilling participation in sexual activity by a character was coded, regardless of whether a scene contained abuse. 10 percent (24) of all sex scenes featured a character who gave clear evidence of unwillingly engaging in sexual relations. In 88 percent (21) of the 24 scenes featuring unwilling characters, this character was female.

In addition to being coded for resistance to abusive behavior, the abused character was also coded for a demonstration of suffering following the abuse, regardless of whether the abuse occurred during the period of sexual initiation or of sexual activity. A demonstration of suffering occurred in only 31 percent (16) of the 51 scenes with abuse. Most often, it was a female character who demonstrated suffering. This occurred in 88 percent (14) of the 16 scenes featuring suffering. Only 2 scenes featured a male character as the suffering victim.

The mode of expression of suffering was most often verbal (e.g., crying). This occurred in 44 percent (7) of the 16 scenes featuring a demonstration of suffering.

25 percent (4) of these scenes featured the victim making a physical demonstration of suffering (e.g., treating a wound). An additional 25 percent of these scenes featured a demonstration of suffering that incorporated both verbal and physical dimensions.

A third important dimension of victim portrayal, in addition to those of offering resistance to abuse and demonstrating suffering, involves a display of pleasure in response to abusive treatment. Victimized characters in sex scenes sometimes respond to the abuse with sexual arousal. Verbal or physical ill-treatment may be portrayed as capable of "turning on" the victim. Victims of abusive behavior were coded for displays of sexual arousal during the periods of initiation and sexual activity. Abuse in the period of initiation was accompanied by sexual arousal in the victim in 47 percent (16) of the 34 scenes featuring abuse during initiation. Abusive behavior during sexual activity was accompanied by sexual arousal in the victim in 61 percent (23) of the 38 scenes featuring abuse during sexual activity. If rates of victim arousal during both periods of the sex scene are combined to yield a total measure for the scene, of the 51 scenes in the entire sample featuring abuse, 55 percent (28) portray a victim of abuse becoming sexually aroused.

The gender of the victim who becomes sexually aroused was coded during the period of sexual activity. Most often, it was a female character who became aroused, occurring in 74 percent (17) of the 23 scenes depicting a victim's arousal during sexual activity.

Summary

To summarize the findings on dimensions of victim portrayal, the data indicate that in nearly four out of five cases the victim of abuse is a female character and that the victim of abuse resists the ill-treatment only half of the time. Most often, the scenes do not include any portrayal of the victim suffering after the abuse. A portrayal of a suffering victim occurs in less than one-third of all abusive scenes. Instead of suffering, sexual arousal is the routine response of victims of abuse. These victims become aroused in more than half of all abusive scenes.

Longitudinal Distribution of Sexual Abuse

Previously, allegations of increasing violence in pornography were explored in terms of categories of lethal and non-lethal violence (i.e., hitting, shooting,

killing). No evidence of such an increase was found. However, violent and abusive behavior was also coded as part of the sex scene, and it is possible that abusive behavior featured in sex scenes has been increasing, while forms of lethal and non-lethal violence have not. This question will now be considered.

The dates of the films were collapsed into 3 time periods. No significant changes in the distribution of abusive scenes over time were observed. As Table 3 indicates, the percentage of abusive scenes in the most recent time period, 1980-1985, is essentially the same as the percentage prevailing in the earliest period, 1972-1975.

Most abusive scenes feature a male abuser and a female victim. There is no indication a general upward trend in the portrayal of these character types. On the contrary, as Table 3 indicates, the incidence of male abusers and female victims has been quite consistent across the three time periods of the sample.

Portrayals of resistance to abuse are quite low in both the earliest and most recent time periods: 3 percent between 1972-1975 and 5 percent between 1980-1985. Portrayals of resistance reach a high point of 16 percent in the intervening period, 1976-1979.

As earlier analysis has indicated, most abusive

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF ABUSE VARIABLES AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL SEX SCENES IN THREE TIME PERIODS

	1972-1975 (N=63)	1976-1979 (N=70)	1980-1985 (N=115)
ABUSIVE SCENES	18 (11)	26 (18)	19 (22)
MALE ABUSER	11 (7)	16 (11)	14 (16)
FEMALE VICTIM	18 (11)	19 (13)	14 (16)
RESISTANCE TO ABUSE	3 (2)	16 (11)	5 (6)
ABUSE WITHOUT SUFFERING	10 (6)	19 (13)	14 (16)
ABUSE WITH AROUSAL	11 (7)	13 (9)	10 (12)

scenes do not include a portrayal of a suffering victim. However, the data do not indicate that the presentation of abuse without a portrayal of a suffering victim has become more common over the years. This kind of presentation was most common in 1976-79, but then declined in the most recent period.

On the question of the sexual arousal of the victims of abuse, again, the data show no significant indication of any increase in this kind of portrayal. Table 3 indicates that the incidence of this kind of portrayal has been quite consistent across the three time periods of the sample.

Thus, no evidence was found of an increase in portrayals of abusive behavior as part of the sex scene or in the portrayal of male characters as abusers and female characters as victims. No increase was found in the presentation of abuse without suffering, and no evidence was found of an increase in the portrayal of victims becoming sexually aroused by abuse.

Other Characteristics of Abusive Scenes

In addition to the foregoing profile of the dimensions of sexual abuse in the sample of films, the discussion of which characters tend to be the abusers

and which the victims, and the consideration of how the victims are portrayed, abusive behavior in the sex scenes can be characterized in the following additional ways. An important variable associated with the presence of abuse in the sex scene is the gender of the character who initiates sexual activity. Scenes initiated by men have a significantly higher amount of abuse than scenes initiated by women. First, however, it would be useful to indicate the general frequency with which male and female characters initiate sexual activity, irrespective of the presence of abuse. As has been mentioned previously, 76 percent (189) of all sex scenes feature a period of initiation. Initiation by male characters and initiation by female characters occurs equally often. 28 percent (70) of all sex scenes feature initiation by a male character, and 28 percent (69) feature initiation by a female character. 18 percent (44) of all sex scenes feature a mutual initiation, commenced by both or all characters. (The remaining 2 percent of scenes could not be coded for the gender of the initiating character.)

Now, with respect to abusive behavior, it may be seen that significantly more of the scenes initiated by men feature abuse. 40 percent (28) of the scenes initiated by male characters feature abusive behavior,

compared to only 17 percent (12) of the scenes initiated by female characters ($p < .05$). (16 percent (7) of scenes featuring mutual initiation contain abuse. 4 abusive scenes remain, which did not contain a period of initiation and were declared missing for purposes of the analysis.)

In addition to being male initiated, abusive scenes also tend to feature sexual partners who previously knew each other as opposed to strangers. Sex scenes were coded for whether the participants were portrayed as knowing each other prior to engaging in sexual relations. 86 percent (44) of the 51 abusive scenes feature characters who were previously acquainted as opposed to 68 percent (133) of the 197 scenes without abuse ($p < .05$).

To a significant degree, then, the abusive sex scene tends to feature male-initiated sex and relations among characters who previously knew each other prior to the sex (and the abuse).

A COMPARISON OF ABUSIVE AND NON-ABUSIVE SEX SCENES

One way of attempting a better understanding of the features of abusive sex scenes is through a comparison with sex scenes which lack abusive behavior. Since

issues relevant to the portrayal of male and female characters and of male-female relations have been of concern throughout this study, the analysis in this section, comparing abusive and non-abusive scenes, will use for its base only those scenes involving heterosexual sex (219), eliminating scenes involving only masturbation by a single character or lesbian relations. (In the sample of films, there were only 12 scenes featuring exclusively lesbian sex. Of these, 2 scenes (14 percent) contained abuse.) Heterosexual scenes were defined as scenes which contained at least one male and at least one female participant. Of this subsample, 49 scenes contained abusive behavior. The intention in this section is to see if abusive scenes differ from non-abusive scenes on other dimensions besides abuse, with an emphasis on variables pertaining to male-female issues.

Relationship Dimensions

Abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes were compared in terms of selected relationship dimensions prevailing among the sexual participants. These were relationships of marriage, adultery, romantic love, friendship, and work relationships. For relationships

of marriage and adultery, no significant differences of frequency were found in abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes. Relationships involving marriage occurred in 4 percent (2) of the 49 abusive heterosexual scenes and in 9 percent (16) of the 170 non-abusive heterosexual scenes. Relationships of adultery among sexual participants occurred in 12 percent (6) of the 49 abusive scenes and in 15 percent (26) of the 170 non-abusive scenes.

However, sex among characters portrayed as romantic lovers occurs significantly more often in the 170 non-abusive scenes (14 percent, 24) than in the 49 abusive scenes (4 percent, 2) ($p < .05$). Portrayals of friendship among opposite-sexed characters are also significantly higher in non-abusive scenes (15 percent, 25) than in abusive scenes (2 percent, 1) ($p < .05$).

Regarding relationships of status among opposite-sexed coworkers, no significant differences were found in the frequencies of male or female superiority (i.e., of male or female characters in the role of the "boss") in abusive and non-abusive scenes. Opposite-sexed coworkers with a male in a position of superior authority were featured in 20 percent (10) of the 49 abusive scenes and in 12 percent (21) of the 170 non-abusive scenes. Opposite-sexed coworkers with a

female in a position of superior authority were featured in 12 percent (6) of the abusive scenes and in 8 percent (13) of the non-abusive scenes.

In summary, then, with regard to relationship categories relevant to male-female portrayals, no significant differences were found among abusive and non-abusive scenes, except for relationships of romantic love and friendship which occurred more often in non-abusive scenes.

Abusive and non-abusive scenes were also compared on the question of whether any sexual participants call each other by name. (It was not especially common for sexual participants to address each other by name in these films. Of the total sample of 248 sex scenes, only 94 scenes, or 39 percent, featured participants addressing each other by name.) No differences were found on this variable for abusive and non-abusive scenes. 49 percent (24) of the 49 abusive scenes featured participants calling each other by name, while 38 percent (64) of the 170 non-abusive scenes featured participants calling each other by name.

Erotic Costuming

Next, abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes

were compared using categories of erotic costuming and the gender of the character who wears this costuming. Before discussing this comparison, however, a brief overview will be presented of the incidence of erotic costuming in the total sample of 248 sex scenes. Some form of erotic costuming was featured in 43 percent (107) of the 248 sex scenes. Costuming was classified in terms of the following categories: garters and stockings, lingerie, bondage and domination clothing, masks or blindfolds, leather costumes, and rubber costumes. Garters and stockings were featured in 30 percent (74) of all sex scenes, lingerie in 24 percent (60), bondage and domination clothing in 4 percent (11), masks or blindfolds in 1 percent (3), leather costumes in 3 percent (8), and no rubber outfits at all were featured. In 94 percent (100) of the 107 scenes featuring costuming, the costumes were worn by female characters. (Only one scene featured a male character exclusively wearing erotic costuming, while in the remaining scenes both male and female characters wore the costuming.)

No significant differences were found among most of the costuming variables within abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes. 55 percent (27) of the 49 abusive heterosexual scenes featured some form of erotic

costuming, compared to 41 percent of the 170 non-abusive scenes. Garters and stockings were featured in 33 percent (16) of abusive scenes and in 32 percent (54) of non-abusive scenes. Lingerie was featured in 20 percent (10) of abusive scenes and in 25 percent (42) of non-abusive scenes. Bondage and domination outfits were featured in 18 percent (9) of abusive scenes, as opposed to 1 percent (1) of non-abusive scenes ($p < .05$). Masks or blindfolds were featured in 4 percent (2) of abusive scenes and in 1 percent (1) of non-abusive scenes. Leather outfits were featured in 14 percent of abusive scenes (7) and in 1 percent (1) of non-abusive scenes ($p < .05$).

In summary, except for bondage and leather costumes, no significant differences were found with regard to the presence of categories of erotic costuming in abusive and non-abusive scenes.

Sexual Paraphernalia

Abusive and non-abusive scenes were also compared on the presence of categories of sexual paraphernalia. Before describing the results of this comparison, a brief discussion will be offered of the incidence of these categories in the entire sample of 248 sex scenes.

Sexual paraphernalia (e.g., sex toys, aids, etc.) were not a common feature of the sex scenes. Only 16 percent (40) of all scenes featured some form of paraphernalia. The most common form of paraphernalia was the dildo, featured in 5 percent (12) of all scenes. Vibrators were featured in 3 percent (7) of all scenes, and 9 percent of all scenes featured some other form of paraphernalia. Most often, the paraphernalia are self-applied (e.g., a woman uses a dildo on herself). This condition obtains in 6 percent (14) of all sex scenes.

With regard to abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes, no significant difference was found in the presence of sexual paraphernalia. 20 percent (10) of the 49 abusive scenes featured sexual paraphernalia, while 11 percent (19) of the non-abusive scenes featured paraphernalia. Vibrators were featured in 2 percent (1) of abusive scenes and in 1 percent (2) of non-abusive scenes. Dildos were featured in 6 percent of abusive scenes (3) and in 4 percent (7) of non-abusive scenes. Various uncoded forms of other sexual paraphernalia were featured in 20 percent of abusive scenes (10), as opposed to 3 percent (5) of non-abusive scenes. However, cell values were too low to provide a reliable chi-square.

Sexual Behavior

In addition to the foregoing types of comparisons, abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes were also compared in terms of types of sexual behavior. Before describing the comparison, a brief discussion will indicate the frequencies of the categories of sexual behavior for the entire sample of 248 sex scenes. Sexual behavior was coded in terms of the following categories: fellatio, cunnilingus, vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, multiple penetration (e.g., penetration in the mouth and the anus), penetration by a dildo or other object, male masturbation, female masturbation, masturbation of a male by a female, and masturbation of a female by a male.

Fellatio is a routine part of the sex scenes, occurring in 71 percent (177) of all 248 sex scenes. 48 percent (118) of all sex scenes feature cunnilingus. 70 percent (173) of all sex scenes feature vaginal intercourse, while 13 percent (31) feature anal intercourse. 7 percent (18) feature multiple penetration, while 10 percent (23) feature penetration by a dildo or other object. Male masturbation occurs in 27 percent (67) of all sex scenes, and female

masturbation occurs in 23 percent (57) of all scenes. Masturbation of a male by a female occurs in 22 percent (54) of all sex scenes, and masturbation of a female by a male occurs in 18 percent (44) of all sex scenes.

With regard to the comparison of categories of sexual behavior in abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes, no significant differences were found. Fellatio was present in 74 percent (36) of the 49 abusive scenes and in 82 percent (140) of the 170 non-abusive scenes. Cunnilingus was present in 43 percent (21) of abusive scenes and in 50 percent (85) of non-abusive scenes. Vaginal intercourse was present in 78 percent of abusive scenes (38) and in 79 percent (135) of non-abusive scenes. Anal intercourse was present in 18 percent (9) of abusive scenes and in 13 percent (22) of non-abusive scenes. Penetration with a dildo or other object was found in 12 percent (6) of abusive scenes and in 5 percent (8) of non-abusive scenes. Masturbation of a male by a female was found in 25 percent (12) of abusive scenes and in 25 percent (42) of non-abusive scenes. Masturbation of a female by a male was found in 27 percent (13) of abusive scenes and in 18 percent (31) of non-abusive scenes.

Location of the Scene

A final set of comparisons was run on abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes using variables dealing with the location of the scene, with the classification of the scene as real or fantasy, and with the presence of voyeurs who become sexually aroused but who do not participate physically at any point.

First, the frequency of these variables in the total sample will be reported. The location of the sex scenes was classified as taking place indoors as opposed to outdoors, in bedrooms as opposed to other rooms, and in residential as opposed to non-residential buildings. 90 percent (223) of all 248 sex scenes take place indoors, as opposed to outdoors. However, bedrooms are not the most common indoor location. 59 percent (147) of all sex scenes took place in some other room than a bedroom. 29 percent (72) of all sex scenes feature some type of non-residential location (e.g., an office). The sex scenes were also classified in terms of their location in "reality" or in "fantasy" (e.g., as part of a character's daydream). 91 percent (225) of all sex scenes occurred in "reality."

With regard to comparisons between abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes, 94 percent (46) of the 49 abusive scenes took place indoors, as did 92 percent

(155) of the 170 non-abusive scenes. 67 percent (33) of abusive scenes took place in some indoor room other than a bedroom, as did 60 percent (102) of non-abusive scenes. 37 percent (18) of abusive scenes took place in a non-residential indoor location, as did 29 percent (49) of non-abusive scenes.

All sex scenes were coded for the presence of voyeuristic witnesses who watched the sexual activity, who became sexually aroused, but who did not physically participate in the action at any point. Of the total of 248 sex scenes, only 9 percent (22) featured a witness of this type. 13 of these scenes featured only one male witness, as compared to only 3 which featured only one female witness.

No significant differences in the presence of witnesses were found among abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes. 4 percent (2) of the 49 abusive scenes featured witnesses, while 11 percent (18) of the 170 non-abusive scenes featured witnesses.

In summary, a comparison of abusive and non-abusive heterosexual scenes using categories of relationship, of erotic costuming, of sexual paraphernalia, of sexual behavior, of locations, and of voyeuristic witnesses failed to reveal many differences on these variables. In terms of these measures, abusive and non-abusive

scenes do not appear to be structurally distinct. The exceptions were in relationships of friendship and romantic love, which were more frequent in non-abusive scenes, and in bondage and leather erotic costumes, which were more frequent in abusive scenes.

RECIPROcity OF RELATIONS AMONG
MALE AND FEMALE CHARACTERS

Certain parameters of violent and abusive behavior have been explored, and an attempt has been made to differentiate abusive from non-abusive scenes on a range of variables. Thus far, the analysis has indicated that the frequency of violent and abusive behavior in the films is low but that when it occurs, it assumes a form consistent with what anti-pornography critics have argued, i.e., that the abusive characters tend to be male and the victims tend to be female. Resistance to abuse by the victim occurs only 50 percent of the time, and less than one third of the abusive scenes include a portrayal of a suffering victim. In more than one-half of abusive scenes, the victim becomes sexually aroused.

As noted, much criticism of pornography has centered on these dimensions of victim portrayal. However, yet another important issue on which

pornographic films have been criticized concerns the representation of power and the subordination of women in the films. Dimensions of power and subordination are implicit in the portrayal of violence and abusive behavior and the definitions of which characters shall be the aggressors and which the victims. However, representations which define relations of power and subordination also involve more extensive, subtle, and varied forms of behavior than merely the gross manifestations of violent behavior.

Portrayals of dimensions of power between the sexes are bound to the issue of the reciprocity of relations between the sexes. An imbalance in these relations might be taken as implying a dimension of power, i.e., that one group of characters is privileged in its ability to engage in behavior denied to another group. In terms of pornographic films, the relevant behavior might involve such dimensions as sexual aggressiveness, sexual pleasure, sexual communication, and demonstrations of affection. If, for example, communication about sexual desire and demonstrations of sexual aggressiveness and pleasure are defined by the films, primarily, as things that male characters do or experience, then such characters might be regarded as dominant or as holding positions of sexual power. What

follows is a comparison of male and female characters on these dimensions.

Representations of Sexual Aggressiveness

Male and female characters are sexually active to an equivalent degree in pornographic feature films. These films are not dominated by a few male characters who are shown having sex with many women. As a previous section of this chapter has indicated (i.e., that dealing with abusive behavior in the sex scene), male and female characters initiate sexual activity to an equivalent degree. Male and female characters each initiated sex in 28 percent of all 248 sex scenes. Assuming that the initiation of sexual activity by a character is an indication of sexual aggressiveness, then, on this indicator, male and female characters are aggressive to an equal degree.

Moreover, male and female characters have a roughly equal number of sexual partners. As the character section of this chapter has indicated, the mean number of male partners for female characters is 2.28 (range 0-8, mode=1), and the mean number of female partners for male characters is 1.85 (range 0-10, mode=1). These data indicate that female characters are as sexually

active as male characters.

Representations of Sexual Pleasure

Sex scenes were coded for a range of representations of sexual pleasure. For example, the scenes were coded for the presence of vocal expressions of pleasure by sexual participants (i.e., pleasurable moans or explicit comments regarding their enjoyment of the sex). The vocalization of pleasure during sexual activity was a common feature of the sex scenes, occurring in 71 percent (175) of all 248 sex scenes. In 47 percent (116) of all sex scenes, a male character vocalizes his pleasure, while in 61 percent (151) of all sex scenes a female character vocalizes her pleasure. Female characters tend to vocalize pleasure more frequently than do male characters, and the soundtrack of the films, therefore, tends to stress evidence of female pleasure more often than corresponding evidence of male pleasure. This is especially evident if the sex scenes are grouped according to which characters are vocalizing their pleasure. Of the 175 scenes featuring evidence of vocalized pleasure, most of the scenes feature vocalized pleasure by both male and female characters. This occurs in 53 percent (92) of these 175

scenes. However, when only one sex is presented as vocalizing pleasure, it tends to be the female. 34 percent (59) of the 175 scenes featured vocalizations of pleasure only by females, compared to 14 percent (24) which featured vocalizations of pleasure only by males.

As another indicator of sexual pleasure, sex scenes were coded for the presence of close-ups of characters' pleasurable facial expressions during sexual activity. As with vocal expressions of pleasure, close-up shots of facial expressions of pleasure are a common feature of the films, occurring in 64 percent (159) of all 248 sex scenes. Once again, when the scenes discriminate between male and female pleasure, evidence of female pleasure tends to be stressed relatively more often than that of male pleasure. Although 47 percent (74) of the 159 scenes featuring close-ups present both males and females in close-up, another 43 percent (68) present close-ups of only female facial pleasure, as opposed to 11 percent (17) which present only male characters in close-up.

As a third indicator of sexual pleasure, sex scenes were coded for representations of male and female orgasms. Here, however, as is generally known, clear representations of male orgasmic pleasure are biased over corresponding representations of female pleasure.

A graphic ejaculation shot, presenting the moment of male climax, was present in 61 percent (152) of all 248 sex scenes. By contrast, only 15 percent (37) of all sex scenes featured clear evidence of a female orgasm (coded in terms of an explicit verbal reference or other clear cue).

In addition to the frequency of male ejaculation shots, much attention in the films is devoted to details of male ejaculation. Male characters don't simply ejaculate. Instead, they may ejaculate onto a female character. They may smear their semen on that character, or the character herself may smear the semen. On occasion, a woman will request that the male ejaculate onto her.

The coding took note of all such details. For example, in 23 percent (56) of all 248 sex scenes, a male ejaculates directly onto the face of a female character. 24 percent (60) of all sex scenes present clear evidence of a woman swallowing semen, while 7 percent (16) present a woman requesting that a man ejaculate onto her. In 23 percent (57) of all sex scenes, a woman smears a man's semen on her body, while in 18 percent (45) a man smears his semen on a woman's body.

By way of summary, visual and auditory

representations of purely sexual pleasure are quite common in the sex scenes. The scenes routinely present verbal expressions of pleasure and close-ups of facial pleasure on the part of both male and female characters. However, when the scenes discriminate between male and female characters, scenes presenting vocal or facial evidence of pleasure by only female characters are more frequent. By contrast, with regard to orgasms, the scenes clearly bias and routinely give a great deal of attention to the male orgasm.

Representations of Sexual Communication

Sex scenes were coded in terms of the reciprocity of male-female communication patterns. The coding noted whether male and female characters told their partners about the sexual activities they desired and the rates of compliance and non-compliance by the partner. To the extent that sexual depictions in pornographic films are male-centered or are functions of male power, one might expect a higher frequency of male characters telling their female partners what they wanted sexually than the reverse situation. However, the data indicate that these rates of communication occur equivalently among men and women. 32 percent (79) of all 248 sex scenes

featured a female telling a male character what sexual activities she desired. In 86 percent (69) of these cases, the male character complied with his partner's request, while in 13 percent (10) he did not comply. 28 percent (69) of all sex scenes featured a male telling a female character what sexual activities he desired. In 86 percent (60) of these cases, his female partner complied with the request. In 9 percent (6), the female partner did not comply. (The 3 remaining cases were ambiguous and could not be coded.)

In addition to coding communication patterns in scenes involving heterosexual activity, communication patterns in scenes involving lesbian activity were also coded. 4 percent (10) of all sex scenes featured a woman telling her female partner what sexual activities she desired, and there were no cases in which the partner refused to comply with the request.

In sum, overall rates of communication of this kind in the sample of scenes are low, occurring in less than one-third of the scenes. However, when communication occurs, sexual partners are more likely to comply with the requests rather than to refuse them. Furthermore, these communication patterns are evenly distributed among male and female characters. Communication patterns in these scenes are not dominated by male

characters telling or commanding their female partner to service their needs. Instead, as we have seen, the scenes portray female characters as being as eager and desirous for sex as the males and as communicating their wishes equally often.

Representations of Affection

Sex scenes were coded for declarations of love made by the participants during the period of initiation and for the gender of the characters making the declarations. Verbal declarations of love by sexual participants are quite rare in the scenes. Only 6 percent (11) of the 189 scenes with initiation featured declarations of love among the participants. 6 cases featured declarations made by a male to a female, and 5 cases featured declarations made by a female to a male. Declarations of love do not form a context within which sexual activity takes place.

In general, displays of affection among sexual participants are not common parts of the sex scenes. Sex scenes were coded for a variety of representations of emotional affection among sexual partners, and these indicators occurred infrequently. The following discussion will briefly describe these other measures of

affection and their frequency of occurrence.

During the phase of initiation, characters were coded for displaying physical demonstrations of affection (i.e., hugging, kissing). These demonstrations preceded any sexual behavior. However, most scenes did not feature any such displays. As a general rule, the initiation of sex in these films is not accompanied by demonstrations of affection, such as kissing or hugging. Only 26 percent (50) of the scenes depicting a period of initiation (189) feature any physical demonstration of affection. In such scenes, instead, a sexual encounter may be initiated in word or gesture in a somewhat abrupt manner. For example, a sexual encounter may follow a dinner in an expensive restaurant during which each character eyes the other hungrily and makes sexually suggestive remarks. The transition to sex is often made quickly and, apparently, is understood by the characters as inevitable.

Sex scenes were coded during the period of sexual activity for any kissing by the participants. This, too, was infrequent. Only 34 percent (85) of all 248 sex scenes featured kissing during sexual activity.

Sex scenes were coded for a period of post-sex activity following sexual relations. Such a period involved a prolongation of the scene into a period of

time immediately following sexual activity, during which the characters would be doing something of a non-sexual nature. If, immediately upon the conclusion of sexual activity, the film cut to a new scene, no period of post-sex activity could be regarded as taking place. 45 percent (112) of all sex scenes involved a period of post-sex activity. Talking was featured in 80 percent (89) of the 112 scenes with post-sex activity. Hugging was only featured in 35 percent (39). Kissing was only featured in 31 percent (35).

Representations of affection, whether physical demonstrations during initiation, kissing during sexual activity, or hugging or kissing during post-sex activity, are infrequent in the sex scenes. In addition to these physical representations of affection, as we have seen, verbal declarations of love are quite infrequent.

Representations of Dress and Undress

In addition to being coded for the reciprocity of male-female representations of affection and of sexual aggressiveness, pleasure, and communication, sex scenes were also coded for the reciprocity of male-female representations of states of dress and undress.

Patterns of dress and undress might be regarded as revealing power dimensions of male-female relationships. For example, if sex scenes reveal a clear pattern in which male characters retain their clothing while female characters appear naked, this might be regarded as a means of subordination of the female characters.

Rates of dress and undress were coded for sex scenes at three points: at the beginning and end of the scene and during the period of sexual relations. Three states of dress and undress were coded: clothed, semi-clothed, and nude. "Clothed" pertained to a state of full dress, while "semi-clothed" involved a state of partial dress. For example, a man with his shirt fully unbuttoned, exposing his chest, was coded as semi-clothed. Conversely, a woman with a low-cut dress that was still fully buttoned or zippered was coded as clothed. A person dressed only in underwear or lingerie was coded as semi-clothed. A person wearing a bikini, because of the amount of skin visible, was coded as semi-clothed. To code for nudity, a state of undress had to be total (excepting such adornments as earrings or a string of pearls worn by someone without any clothes). If a character wore only socks or stockings and nothing else, he/she was coded as semi-clothed.

63 percent (155) of all 248 sex scenes featured a

male character clothed and 58 percent (144) featured a female character clothed at the beginning of the scene. 15 percent (36) featured a male semi-clothed and 31 percent (76) featured a female semi-clothed at the beginning of the scene. 17 percent (43) featured a male nude at the beginning, while 20 percent (50) featured a female nude at the beginning.

During the period of sexual relations, 18 percent (44) of all scenes featured a male clothed, and 17 percent (41) featured a female clothed. 38 percent (95) featured a male semi-clothed, and 56 percent (138) featured a female semi-clothed. 42 percent (103) featured a male nude, and 41 percent (101) featured a female nude.

At the end of the scene, 15 percent (36) of all scenes featured a male clothed, while 20 percent (49) featured a female clothed. 32 percent (80) featured a male semi-clothed at the end of the scene, while 47 percent (117) featured a female semi-clothed. 51 percent (126) of all scenes featured a male nude at the end, while 44 percent (110) featured a female nude.

Rates of dress and undress are roughly similar for male and female characters, except for the semi-clothed condition, which occurs relatively more frequently for female characters at all three points in the sex scene.

Sex scenes were also coded for whether any characters made a provocative display out of disrobing (i.e., "stripping" for the camera or for another character in the film). Although provocative displays of disrobing were not common parts of the sex scenes, when they occurred they involved female characters relatively more often than male characters. A female character made a display out of disrobing in 16 percent (39) of all sex scenes, compared to only 3 percent (7) for male characters.

Summary

On a variety of measures, relations between males and females were found to be portrayed in terms of a general reciprocity of features. Male and female characters had a similar number of sexual partners and initiated sex in an equal number of scenes. Vocal expressions of sexual pleasure and close-ups of a character's facial expression of pleasure typically represented both male and female characters, although when a discrimination was made, female characters were more frequently represented. By contrast, representations of orgasms heavily biased the male and focused a great deal of attention upon the event. Male

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION OF VARIABLES PERTAINING TO AGGRESSIVENESS, PLEASURE, COMMUNICATION, AND AFFECTION AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL SEX SCENES IN THREE TIME PERIODS

	1972-1975 (N=63)	1976-1979 (N=70)	1980-1985 (N=115)
MALE INITIATES	18 (11)	39 (27)	28 (32)
FEMALE INITIATES	29 (18)	29 (20)	27 (31)
VOCAL EXPRESSION OF PLEASURE*	52 (33)	66 (46)	84 (96)
VOCAL EXPRESSION BY MALE*	27 (17)	40 (28)	62 (71)
VOCAL EXPRESSION BY FEMALE*	44 (28)	51 (36)	76 (87)
CLOSE-UP OF FACIAL PLEASURE	56 (35)	63 (44)	70 (80)
MALE ORGASM*	33 (21)	74 (52)	69 (79)
FEMALE ORGASM	18 (11)	9 (6)	17 (20)

TABLE 4: (CONTINUED)

	1972-1975 (N=63)	1976-1979 (N=70)	1980-1985 (N=115)
FEMALE COMMUNICATES DESIRES*	21 (13)	21 (15)	44 (51)
MALE COMMUNICATES DESIRES*	11 (7)	26 (18)	38 (44)
AFFECTION DURING INITIATION	19 (12)	19 (13)	22 (25)
KISSING DURING SEX	38 (24)	30 (21)	35 (40)
POST-SEX HUGGING	19 (12)	10 (7)	17 (20)
POST-SEX KISSING	18 (11)	9 (6)	16 (18)

* P < .05

pertaining to violence and abuse, however, some of these variables are distributed in a significantly different fashion over time. Ironically, given the allegations of increasing violence in pornography, these are variables dealing with displays of sexual pleasure and with communication by characters about their sexual desires. These variables will be discussed first. Vocal expressions of sexual pleasure showed a significant upward trend over the years of the sample, rising from 52 percent of all sex scenes in 1972-1975 to 84 percent of all scenes in 1980-1985. Vocal expressions by both male and female characters showed a similar upward trend. Vocal expressions by a male character rose from 27 percent of all scenes in 1972-1975 to 62 percent of all scenes in 1980-1985. Vocal expressions by a female character rose from 44 percent of all scenes in 1972-1975 to 76 percent of all scenes in 1980-1985. A significant increase was also found for graphic ejaculation shots. They rose from 33 percent of all scenes in 1972-1975 to 69 percent of all scenes in 1980-1985. This increase lends support to anecdotal evidence regarding a higher prevalence of male ejaculation shots in the 1980s (Dworkin, 1984) as compared to the early 1970s. By contrast, no such increase in the portrayal of female orgasms was found.

Significant evidence was also found of an upward trend in the representation of male and female characters communicating their desires for particular sexual activities. Throughout the 1970s, communication by female characters of a desire for particular sexual activities remained at 21 percent of all sex scenes, but it increased to 44 percent of all scenes in the 1980s. Communication by male characters rose from 11 percent of all scenes in 1972-1975 to 38 percent of all scenes in the 1980s.

With regard to other variables, however, no significant differences in their distribution in different time periods were found. Rates of sexual initiation by male and female characters show no upward or downward trend during the years of the sample. Close-up shots of facial pleasure show a slight, non-significant increase during the three time periods of the sample. Finally, demonstrations of affection, whether during initiation, sexual activity or post-sex activity, have remained consistent over the years sampled.

To conclude the investigations of over-time differences in the representations of various categories of behavior in pornographic films, the data do not support allegations of an increase in violent or abusive

behavior. Instead, when significant upward trends were found, they involved variables dealing with representations of sexual pleasure and with the communication by both male and female characters of their sexual desires. Ironically, these representations were most common in the 1980s, the period of time alleged to be given over to sexually violent representations.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Chapter II outlined the components of a widespread perception that the production and consumption of pornography has harmful social consequences. The data analysis presented in Chapter IV now leaves us in a position to better discuss these arguments. The purpose of the present chapter is to use the findings of this study to examine some of the arguments against pornography and to discuss the implications of the findings for our understanding of the role of pornography in society.

Before proceeding to these issues, a compact summary of the results of the data analysis will be offered. The findings will be discussed in four sections: findings dealing with the characters in the films, with relations of power among male and female characters, with overt forms of lethal and non-lethal violence occurring in the films, and with violence and abuse occurring as part of a sex scene.

Characters in the sample of films tended to be

young adults (aged between 18 and 40 years), white, and middle class. 94 percent of all characters were white, and 76 percent of characters with speaking roles were of the middle-class. A character's occupation was, typically, ambiguous or undefined. (Socio-economic status was determined through clear visual cue -- e.g., dress, type of residence). Nearly half of the characters with major speaking roles could not be classified for their occupation. Of those who could, the largest occupational grouping was found in the areas of entertainment, art, sports, and the mass media.

Character portrayals often left undefined such statuses as marriage or love life. 72 percent of characters with major speaking roles could not be coded for marital status, and 86 percent could not be coded for whether they loved someone else. Only 11 percent of the characters with major speaking roles were portrayed as being in love. This is similar to Smith's (1976) finding that only nine percent of the sex acts in the paperback books surveyed involved expressions of love (either overt or implicit) toward partners.

Most of the characters in the films played a substantial role in a sex scene (87 percent), but relationships among sexual partners were infrequently defined. It seems that the social, professional,

occupational, or marital backgrounds of sexual partners are not often portrayed as relevant to the sexual activity of the characters.

Male and female characters were compared on a number of variables (e.g., age, race, occupation) to see if any important differences emerged, but in most cases no significant differences were found. One exception, however, concerned major speaking roles. A significantly higher proportion of female characters than male was found to have a major speaking role.

The reciprocity of relations among male and female characters was explored in terms of such dimensions as sexual aggressiveness, sexual pleasure, sexual communication, and demonstrations of affection. Male and female characters were found to be sexually active to an equivalent degree. With regard to demonstrations of sexual pleasure, sex scenes routinely presented verbal expressions of pleasure and close-ups of facial pleasure on the part of both male and female characters. However, when the scenes discriminated between male and female characters, scenes presenting vocal or facial evidence of pleasure by only female characters were relatively more frequent. By contrast, with regard to orgasms, sex scenes clearly biased and routinely gave a great deal of attention to the male orgasm.

One additional point is worth making about the presentation of sexuality in these films. Just as details of the characters' occupational or marital backgrounds are often irrelevant to the presentation of sexual activity, another type of contextualizing information is omitted as well. This information has to do with a certain kind of consequence which may, on occasion, follow sexual activity. In these films, pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases never occur. No matter how much sex or how many partners a character may have, issues of birth control or disease never come up. The characters remain healthy and child-free, and in few other respects is the fantasy-quality of pornography so evident. However, largely due to AIDS, public concern over issues of sexually transmitted disease is rapidly rising. By contrast, the disease-free environments depicted in pornographic films are quite striking. It remains to be seen how heightened public fears about sexually transmitted diseases may impact upon pornographic films. There is talk in the pornographic industry about making "safe sex" films, and some have been produced. However, the disease-free representations dominant in pornographic films seem not to have changed.

While rates of communication by sexual partners

about their desired sexual activities occurred in less than one-third of sex scenes, the communication patterns were evenly distributed among male and female characters.

Representations of affection, whether physical demonstrations during initiation, kissing during sexual activity, or hugging or kissing during post-sex activity, were relatively infrequent in the sex scene. Similarly, verbal declarations of love were relatively uncommon, but such declarations occurred equivalently among male and female characters.

Variables pertaining to aggressiveness, sexual pleasure, communication, and affection were examined longitudinally, and evidence was found of an increase over time of portrayals of vocalizations of sexual pleasure, of male orgasms, and of communications by male and female characters about their sexual desires.

With regard to overt forms of lethal and non-lethal violence occurring in the films, 44 violent acts were found in the sample of 32 films. These included such forms as hitting with hands or an object, knifing, shooting, rape, sexual molestation, suicide, and a category of other violence. To examine allegations of an increase in violence over time, the films were grouped into three time periods (1972-75; 1976-79;

1980-85). Films in the earliest time period had a mean of 1.1 violent acts. Films in the middle period had a mean of 1.4 violent acts, and films in the final period had a mean of 1.5 violent acts. Analysis of variance did not reveal significant differences among the three time periods.

Violent and abusive behavior was also coded as part of the sex scenes. 21 percent of all sex scenes were found to contain some form of violent or abusive behavior. This percentage is higher than the estimate of 16 percent offered by Slade (1984). However, his estimate (based on a random viewing of pornographic features between 1980 and 1984) only used the categories of rape, flagellation, and slapping or punching as evidence of abuse. By contrast, in the present study, abusive behavior was defined in terms of the following categories: verbal threats or insults (by virtue of either content or intonation), striking, physical restraint, coercion of sex for material favors, and a general category of other abuse.

Of those scenes featuring abuse, it was found that 67 percent featured a male abuser and 78 percent featured a female victim. An important variable associated with the presence of abuse in the sex scene is the gender of the character who initiates sexual

activity. Significantly more of the sex scenes initiated by male characters featured abusive behavior.

Various dimensions of victim portrayal were explored. It was found that abusive behavior was resisted by the victim only 50 percent of the time. In only 31 percent of all abusive scenes was there a portrayal of suffering by the victim. Instead of suffering, sexual arousal is a more common response of victims of abuse. In 55 percent of abusive scenes, the victim becomes sexually aroused.

Variables pertaining to abuse and suffering as part of the sex scene were examined longitudinally, but no evidence was found over the years of the sample of an increase in abusive scenes or in portrayals of abuse without victim suffering or in abuse coupled with victim arousal.

Discussion and Conclusions

In order to provide some closure and context on the findings relating to violence, the figures provided by this study might be compared to recent findings reported by Gerbner et al. (1986) on the incidence of violent acts in prime-time television programming. Coding for acts of overt physical violence during the 1985-86

television season, they analyzed 62 program hours and reported a total of 421 violent acts and an average occurrence of 6.8 violent acts per hour. It will be recalled that in the sample of pornographic feature films in this study, an average occurrence of 1.4 violent acts per film (i.e., roughly 75 minutes) was found.

Although violence and abuse were not common features of most sex scenes, the routine equation within the films of abusive behavior with sexual arousal in the victim and with a lack of suffering is consistent with what anti-pornography critics have claimed. However, the data do not reveal such an equation as a pervasive feature of the films, present in a majority of sex scenes. Thus, although the nature of violent and abusive representations in pornographic feature films is consistent with what anti-pornography critics have claimed, the frequencies of such representations appear to be smaller than what has been alleged. Since the findings of this study do not support allegations of widespread violence in pornography, it will be useful to return briefly to certain of the anti-pornography arguments and to reconsider them.

Objections to pornography have tended to center about issues of power and violence: allegations that

pornography subordinates women to various kinds of male power, that pornography "dehumanizes" or makes anonymous its performers or characters, that pornography avoids portrayals of love or eros in favor of purely sexual (and often coerced) relations, or that pornography represents a form of symbolic violence against women. Susan Brownmiller (1976) has argued that pornography subordinates women to the status of being merely objects of male desire. Pornography presents "females as anonymous, panting playthings, adult toys, dehumanized objects to be used, abused, broken and discarded" (Brownmiller, 1976:443).

Examining power relations in terms of sexual aggressiveness, demonstrations of sexual pleasure, and communication about sexual desires, this study has found that power relations in its sample of films are defined in a roughly equivalent fashion. Sexual activity is not something that only male characters initiate or profess desire for. Instead, sexual aggressiveness, pleasure, and communication are portrayed as qualities available to, and exhibited by, females as well as males.

On the other hand, consistent with anti-pornography arguments, such character relationships as marriage or romantic love are not common features of the films. Indeed, social, political, or occupational relationships

do not seem especially relevant to the sexual transactions among characters in the films. When male and female characters meet in these films, it is safe to assume that they will soon have sexual relations, regardless of their class, occupational, or marital backgrounds. But inattention to statuses such as marriage or love does not necessarily mean that the films are "dehumanizing" their characters. (Nor does it follow that "dehumanized," anonymous characters tend to be females. For example, as we have seen, the characters without identity who exist in the films purely in terms of their sexuality are males significantly more often than they are females.) Notions that characters lacking identity -- dehumanized or anonymous characters -- are typical of and prevalent throughout pornography need to be rethought and reformulated.

Most of the characters, it is true, do appear in sex scenes, and sexual activity is the most common and important behavior in the films. However, very few of the films in the sample could be described as being uninterested in anything but sex. The films do construct stories and create characters who move through these stories with motivations that are intended to be plausible. The range of narrative context varied widely

from film to film, with some stories being more elaborate and intricately plotted than others. But none of the films entirely dispensed with a narrative. Sometimes, the bulk of a film may have been composed of sex scenes, but, even then, some framing material (e.g., a character's recollections of past sexual experiences) served to organize and integrate the various sexual episodes. The dimension of narrativity (however varying in its elaboration), with its demand for characters whose behavior is somehow motivated, works against conditions of complete character anonymity or "dehumanization."

Various kinds of "identities" often find their way into the films and hinder their capacity to "dehumanize" or render anonymous the characters (assuming that that is the intention of the form). These identities are formed in part by the narratives and by the characters who people them. But they may also come from other sources. Like the Hollywood industry, the pornographic film industry has its own stable of stars and celebrities, both male and female. In the sample of films studied, a group of recognizable performers kept reappearing. Many of these were "name" performers within the industry, celebrities such as Annette Haven, Veronica Hart, Seka, Eric Edwards, Jamie Gillis, and Ron

Jeremy. Promotional material often stressed the presence of one or more of these stars in a single film or a group of them in an "all-star," prestige production. Directors, too, may function as an organizing code lending a certain character or "personality" to a product. Henri Pachard directed a number of the films sampled, and often his name was "above the title," functioning as star celebrity.

Allegations that pornography renders anonymous or "dehumanizes" its characters are not supported by the data analysis, but, additionally, such notions are complicated by the range of codes that intervene in a given film. However "inartistic" such a film may be, these codes operate in ways that secure various identities for the characters. Such codes as narrativity may operate inside the films, but other codes, such as those of the celebrity, may intervene from "outside" the films. In either case, it is difficult to say that characters in pornographic films are necessarily without identity and, therefore, "dehumanized".

With regard to the other component of the anti-pornography argument, that pornography represents a form of symbolic violence against women, as we saw in Chapter II, a fairly widespread consensus exists on this

point. For Griffin (1981), pain is the central fact about pornography:

There is almost no pornographic work without the infliction of pain, either to a vulnerable psyche or to a vulnerable body...every pornographic device we have described as defining the form is in itself only a milder form of sadomasochism (p.47).

The logic of such phrasing is to create a monolithic structure called pornography in which pain and sadism are the central qualities. It has a predictive quality according to the terms of which all pornographic films should manifest various kinds of sadistic behaviors. However, the lack of verification offered by the sample of films studied here constitutes a serious problem for the monolithic anti-pornography position, because it indicates that pornography contains variance, that it is not a single class of homogenous material. Both Barrowclough (1982) and Hazen (1983) have been sensitive to this issue. They have noted that pornography is a product possessing an internal differentiation. Barrowclough points out that "various pornographies operate differently, cater to different audiences and their different sexual responses" (p.30).

This perspective, however, has not seemed to be a dominant one. Instead, a view that pornography is typified by violence and sadism has gained a measure of national media attention. Issues of Newsweek (March 18,

1985), Time (April 5, 1976; Feb. 7, 1977), and The Village Voice (May 9, 1977) all claim that an emphasis on sadomasochism is common throughout pornography and has been on the increase. Furthermore, these articles claim that sadomasochistic images have been spilling out of pornography and into mainstream culture (e.g., in record-album photos, fashion advertising). According to the views contained in these publications, sado-masochistic and violent sexual behavior is becoming so common as to pose an imminent social threat.

The popular currency of this view is evident from yet another quarter. In its recent report, the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography (1986) endorsed the view that violent behavior is prevalent in pornography. The Commission distinguished three major classes of pornographic materials. The first class of pornography the Commission called "sexually violent material." This class features actual or simulated violence, or the threat of violence, portrayed in a sexually explicit fashion. Examples are sadomasochistic pornography or the "recurrent theme" (p.323) of a man raping a woman after she refuses his sexual advances. (No such "recurrent theme" was found in the sample of pornographic feature films in this study.) The Commission felt that, "Increasingly, the most prevalent

forms of pornography, as well as an increasingly prevalent body of less sexually explicit material, fit this description" (p.323). The Commission concluded that a causal relationship exists between this material and crimes of violence against women.

The second class of pornographic material was nonviolent material that depicted degradation, domination, subordination or humiliation:

An enormous amount of the most sexually explicit material available, as well as much of the material that is somewhat less sexually explicit, is material that we would characterize as 'degrading,' the term we use to encompass the undeniably linked characteristics of degradation, domination, subordination and humiliation. The degradation we refer to is degradation of people, most often women, and here we are referring to material that, although not violent, depicts people, usually women, as existing solely for the sexual satisfaction of others, usually men, or that depicts people, usually women, in decidedly subordinate roles in their sexual relations with others, or that depicts people engaged in sexual practices that would to most people be considered humiliating. Indeed, forms of degradation represent the largely predominant proportion of commercially available pornography (p.331-32).

As with the first class, this group of material, the Commission felt, was implicated in crimes of violence against women.

The third set was the non-violent and non-degrading materials. In this category, sexual participants are fully willing to engage in sex and possess equal roles and power, and the setting lacks any violence or pain.

The Commission, however, felt that this category was quite small in regard to currently available materials (p.335). Although the Commission recognized that no evidence exists of a relation between this class of material and crimes of violence against women, some commissioners still felt that this class was socially harmful because portrayals of promiscuous sex and sex outside the contexts of marriage, love, or commitment could undermine the institutions of marriage and the family. Thus, the Attorney General's inquiry into pornography affirmed that pornography containing violent or degrading behavior was the most prevalent kind of material currently available and that non-violent, non-degrading forms of pornography constituted a decided minority of materials.

The argument that pornography (defined as violent) has harmful social consequences generally defines those consequences as either crimes of violence against women (e.g., rape) or as attitudinal shifts in the consumers of pornography (e.g., beliefs that women who are raped have, in some way, provoked the rape) which may lead to violent crime. The first step, then, in implicating pornography in social harm and crime is to define it, fundamentally, as symbolic violence. Once an ideological context is established in which pornography

is regarded as an essentially sadistic form, it may then be linked with crimes or with malevolent attitudinal shifts it is said to have inspired in its consumers.

What is at issue here is the basic contention, i.e., that pornography is undifferentiatedly violent. This contention still needs to be proven. The data from this study do not support the view of pornography as being the visualization of a "philosophy of rape." To the extent that the anti-pornography arguments and the Attorney General's Commission have formulated a role for pornography in society as a corrosive agent eliciting violent crime, the findings of this study indicate that such a causal hypothesis may be flawed in that its central assumption was not supported by a sampling of pornographic films readily available for public consumption.

Interestingly, the Attorney General's Commission noted that, in terms of a causal connection between pornography and violent crime, the important element was violence presented in a sexual context, not the degree of sexual explicitness. The Commission admitted that such mainstream productions of the commercial cinema as slasher films, in which a crazed killer with a knife carves up nubile teenagers, "which depict a great deal of violence connected with an undeniably sexual theme

but less sexual explicitness than materials that are truly pornographic, are likely to produce the consequences discussed here to a greater extent than most of the materials available in 'adults only' pornographic outlets" (pp.328-29).

If the public concern is with lessening the rate of violent crimes against women, then, according to the Commission itself, more likely candidates for reform would be mainstream cultural products which are heavily violent and which present violence within a sexual context. One area of future research might take as its object of study the "slasher" film and use the methodology of the present study to examine the rates of violence in these films and how often violent behavior is presented within a sexual context. Effects research might also take its cue from the Commission report and use "slasher" films designed for a mass audience in the way it now uses sadomasochistic sex films designed for a more limited and specialized audience.

To the extent that content analysis is used to investigate questions of the extent of violence in particular classes of media materials, caution should be exercised in extrapolating from the content analysis to any presumed effects. The amount of violence found in a given class of material may be mediated by the

consumption patterns of an audience. For example, with regard to pornographic materials, particular kinds of viewing habits may prevail. To the extent that a distinction exists between heavy and light viewers of pornographic films, are their consumption patterns different? Do heavy viewers view the same film or films repeatedly? If films are rented from a videotape store, how long are they kept out? Is this, on average, longer than is the case for non-pornographic materials? In other words, an interpretive move should not be made directly from content analytic data to presumed effects because consumption patterns may be a mediating factor. It is possible that even slight amounts of violence may be amplified if heavy or repeated consumption patterns prevail among sectors of the audience, and this is an issue needing research.

If research is to continue in the area of pornographic materials, it is worth noting that a surfeit of laboratory studies on pornography and aggression already exist. Instead of adding more studies to this mushrooming literature, attention might be directed toward eliciting types of data which currently do not exist. For example, research on the production of pornographic films might involve interviews with filmmakers and the performers who appear

in the films or might concentrate on interviews with female filmmakers working in the industry. The nature of pornographic films, the basis of their appeal, and public perception of their social significance have tended to be defined from sources outside the industry. However, the object "pornography" might also be defined by the workers engaged in producing it, and such definitions and perceptions might manifest interesting differences from the assessments that routinely issue from outside the industry. This might be particularly true with regard to such hotly debated topics as a performer's working conditions.

The nature of the films and of the work itself would make an ethnographic study of pornographic performing and filmmaking inherently interesting. But, in addition, it is clear that the pornographic film industry, as an industry, constitutes an alternative mode of film practice to that of the Hollywood studios with their national distribution networks. There is apparently very little cross-over of talent between the "legitimate" Hollywood studios and the pornographic industry. Dworkin (1984), for example, discusses how Brian De Palma initially considered pornographic star Annette Haven for a role in his film Body Double only to encounter the unambiguous verdict from studio executives

that a pornographic star would never appear in one of their films. (In addition, De Palma himself decided on another actress whom he considered a superior performer.)

Shunned and shut out of mainstream film production, workers in pornographic films have nevertheless created a kind of pseudo-Hollywood, a smaller community than its more famous progenitor, but one where celebrity status, industry awards, and the ability for the biggest stars (e.g., Seka, Traci Lords) to manage their own careers are available privileges. The industry has annual awards ceremonies, like the Oscars, where the "best" pornographic films and performers are honored. An interesting study, then, of the pornographic industry remains to be written, one that would specifically explore the ties and tensions with Hollywood production -- one that would explore the pornographic star system, the mode of film and video production, the industry's perception of its audience -- just as studies have been done on these attributes of Hollywood production, but with the additional complicating demand of exploring how production of an outlaw product skews and alters production methods, working relationships, and models of celebrity status apparently lifted from the example of Hollywood.

Such a detailed study would, of necessity, need to consider alternative modes of pornography to the heterosexual mode. To what extent are the various different pornographic modes (e.g., hetero- and homosexual pornographies, as well as pornographies catering to the specialized fetishes of sub-groups) unified within a coherent system of production and distribution? Especially useful would be attention to the conventions of sexual representation operative in lesbian and gay-male pornography. If conventions governing character portrayal, the integration of sexual with non-sexual episodes, and the representation of sexual desire through body movement and camera placement are found to be similar in both heterosexual and homosexual pornography, then the various pornographic modes might become intelligible in terms of a restricted set of codes. To the extent that pornographic films can be defined in these terms as a genre whose codes are operative in films aimed at different audiences, many of the anti-pornography arguments would need to be re-thought, since they tend to reify pornography in terms of a single, heterosexual mode.

But there are several modes and various audiences, and much of the discourse on or against pornography has tended to ignore this. Most of the films in the sample

had a range of types of sexual encounters: "straight" male-female sex, lesbian scenes, "one-on-two" or three-way scenes, interracial sex, orgy scenes, bondage scenes (with both males and females in the dominating role). The aim of the filmmaker is, apparently, to appeal to a fairly wide audience (but still, for the sample films, a heterosexual one) in terms of differing fetishes, preferences, orientations. This would seem to be the starting point for any adequate analysis of pornography: the necessity for keeping in view both its restricted codes and its heterogenous sub-genres appealing to different audiences. An adequate understanding of the role of pornography in society should keep in mind the persistent human desire for narrative and fiction of all kinds (including the pornographic) and the restlessness of sexual energy itself, its dissatisfaction with existing boundaries, and the creative play of sexuality exercised through the imagination. It is to this imagination that the fantasy discourse of pornography directs its appeals.

* * * * *

In closing, the discussion will briefly return to a point made at the beginning of this dissertation.

There, it was argued that the field of film studies could usefully incorporate certain approaches and methodologies from other disciplines, particularly the social sciences. Accordingly, this dissertation has employed content analysis to investigate claims regarding pornography which are usually framed in terms of such ideological concepts as "power," "subordination," and "dehumanization." An attempt was made to operationalize these terms, to ask what kinds of surface features they might generate within the films. If, for example, female characters are regularly subjected to the will and desires of male characters, what observable consequences might this entail? These consequences were hypothesized in terms of the lack of reciprocity of certain relations between the sexes. It was suggested that unequal power relations might manifest themselves in terms of non-reciprocal displays of sexual aggressiveness, sexual pleasure, communication of sexual desire, and demonstrations of affection. An imbalance in these relations might be taken as implying a dimension of power, i.e., that one group of characters is privileged in its ability to engage in behavior denied to another group. If, for example, communication about sexual desire and demonstrations of sexual aggressiveness are defined by the films, primarily, as

things that male characters do or experience, then such characters might be regarded as dominant or as holding positions of sexual power.

The data analysis indicated that these dimensions of male-female relations were generally defined in reciprocal terms. For example, male and female characters had a similar number of sexual partners and initiated sex in an equal number of scenes. They also communicated their sexual desires to an equal degree, and their partners generally complied with these requests. In addition, representations of sexual pleasure were extended in roughly equal degrees to both male and female characters, except for representations of orgasms, which biased the male characters. In short, on a range of observable dimensions, male and female characters are portrayed in roughly symmetrical ways in this sample of pornographic features. This finding does not appear consistent with notions that pornography, as a rule, constructs unequal power relations between the sexes. Though the finding does not necessarily invalidate such claims, adherents to the unequal-power argument should demonstrate how that position may incorporate the findings of this study, which appear to go against its grain. However the apparent discrepancies between the data of this study and the

unequal-power argument are resolved, the outcome will certainly be one which enriches our theoretical grasp of pornography. It is the contention of this dissertation that such enrichment is due to the application of empirical methodologies to research problems within film studies which have traditionally been developed without an empirical component. Adding this component has made possible a sharpening and testing of certain theoretical positions that are often broadly defined and rarely subjected to rigorous testing. This application can only strengthen the work of theory in film studies, as well as the field itself, and in this direction a rewarding future for the discipline lies.

APPENDIX I

The Sample of Films

1972

Deep Throat
The Devil in Miss Jones
Behind the Green Door

1973

The Resurrection of Eve
Wet Rainbow

1974

The Private Afternoons of Pamela Mann
Memories Within Miss Aggie

1975

Honey Pie
The Story of Joanna

1976

Misty Beethoven
The Autobiography of a Flea
Alice in Wonderland

1977

Barbara Broadcast
Babyface

1978

Debbie Does Dallas
Candy Stripers

1979

Babylon Pink
Her Name Was Lisa

1980

Insatiable
Taboo
Inside Seka

1981

Amanda By Night
Bad Girls
Nothing to Hide

1982

Roommates
Centerspread Girls

1983

The Devil in Miss Jones II
Suzie Superstar

1984

Every Woman Has a Fantasy
Firestorm

1985

New Wave Hookers
Stiff Competition

APPENDIX II

Appendix I displays raw numbers and percentages for all of the variables in the three units of analysis. In addition, reliability figures are displayed for all of the variables. These figures reflect the average agreement per item by pairs of coders working on four films. Reliability figures are displayed beside the name of each variable.

CHARACTERS

429 characters were coded, in terms of the following variables: sex, age, race, socio-economic status, occupation, marital status, love life, whether they had a major speaking role, whether they played a substantial role in a sex scene, the number of sex scenes in which they appear, and the number of their sexual partners. The following frequencies obtained for these variables:

SEX OF CHARACTER R:1

	N	%
Male	231	54
Female	198	46

AGE OF CHARACTER R:.94

	N	%
Cannot Code	11	3
Implied Adolescent	31	7
Young Adult	324	76
Settled Adult	62	15
Older Adult	1	0

CHARACTER'S RACE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
White	404	94

Black	12	3
Oriental	6	1
Other	5	5

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF CHARACTER R: .88

	N	%
Cannot Code	46	11
Clearly Upper	24	6
Middle	246	57
Clearly Lower	9	9
Not Applicable	104	24

OCCUPATION OF CHARACTER R: .88

	N	%
Cannot Code	146	34
Entertainment	50	12
Agriculture	7	2
Business	28	7
Government	15	4
Health	12	3
Education	24	6
Religion	5	1
Illegal Activity	2	1
Sex Industry	36	8
Not Applicable	104	24

CHARACTER'S MARRIAGE STATUS R: .94

	N	%
Cannot Code	233	54
Married	42	10
Not Married	50	12
Not Applicable	104	24

CHARACTER'S SPOUSE APPEARS IN FILM R: .90

	N	%
Cannot Code	0	0
Spouse Appears in Film	36	8
Spouse Does Not Appear in Film	6	1
Not Applicable	387	90

CHARACTER PORTRAYED AS BEING IN LOVE R:.89

	N	%
Cannot Code	280	65
Character in Love	37	9
Character Not in Love	8	2
Not Applicable	104	24

CHARACTER'S LOVED ONE APPEARS IN FILM R:.85

	N	%
Cannot Code	0	0
Lover Appears in Film	37	9
Lover Does Not Appear in Film	0	0
Not Applicable	392	91

CHARACTER IS LOVED BY ANOTHER CHARACTER R:.89

	N	%
Cannot Code	283	66
Character is Loved	34	8
Character is Not Loved	8	2
Not Applicable	104	24

OTHER CHARACTER WHO LOVES APPEARS IN FILM R:.85

	N	%
Character Who Loves Appears in Film	34	8
Character Who Loves Does Not Appear In Film	0	0
Not Applicable	395	92

VIRGINITY OF CHARACTER R:.83

	N	%
Cannot Code	277	65
Virgin	15	4
Not Virgin	33	8
Not Applicable	104	24

CHARACTER HAS A MAJOR SPEAKING ROLE R:1

	N	%
Major Speaking Role	325	76
No Major Speaking Role	104	24

CHARACTER PLAYS SUBSTANTIAL ROLE IN SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
Substantial Role	372	87
No Substantial Role	57	13

NUM SEX SCENES IN WHICH CHARACTERS APPEAR R:1

Num Scenes:	Number of Characters:	%
1	143	33
2	75	18
3	16	4
4	14	3
5	10	2
6	1	0
7	6	1
8	3	1
Not Applicable	161	38

NUMBER OF MALE PARTNERS R:1

Num Partners:	Number of Characters with These Partners:	%
0	111	26
1	72	17
2	30	7
3	23	5
4	12	3
5	6	1
8	5	1
9	4	1
10	2	1
15	1	0
**	2	1
Not Applicable	161	38

NUMBER OF FEMALE PARTNERS R:1

Num Partners:	Number of Characters with These Partners:	%
0	59	14
1	122	28
2	44	10
3	11	3
4	6	1
5	7	2

6	7	2
7	6	6
8	1	0
9	1	0
10	1	0
21	1	0
**	2	1
Not Applicable	161	38

NUMBER OF TRANSSEXUAL PARTNERS R:1

Num Partners:	Number of Characters with These Partners:	226	% 62
0			
**	2		1
Not Applicable	161		38

** Denotes orgy scenes in which participants could not be reliably counted.

SEX SCENE

248 sex scenes were coded, with variables falling into the following general categories: variables dealing (1) with the number of participants in the scene, (2) with the overall organization of the scene in terms of distinct temporal phases, (3) with the location of the scene, (4) with relationships among the participants, (5) with the clothing and costuming of the participants, (6) with sexual behavior displayed in the scene, (7) with sexual paraphernalia (e.g., dildos) displayed in the scene, (8) with verbal communication between the participants, (9) with displays of affection and/or pleasure, and (10) with displays of abuse and/or suffering. Frequencies of variables within each of these categories are as follows:

The Number of Participants in the Scene

NUMBER OF MALES IN THE SCENE R:1

Num males:	Number of scenes:	27	% 11
0			
1	166		67

2	23	9
3	13	5
4	5	2
5	2	1
9	2	1
10	1	0
30	1	0
**	8	3

NUMBER OF FEMALES IN THE SCENE R:1

Num females:	Number of scenes:	%
0	2	1
1	168	68
2	53	21
3	6	2
4	5	2
5	1	0
6	1	0
7	1	0
8	1	0
14	1	0
20	1	0
**	8	3

NUMBER OF TRANSSEXUALS IN THE SCENE R:1

Num transsexuals:	Number of scenes:	%
0	239	96
1	1	0
**	8	8

SEXUAL ACTIVITY WITNESSED BY A NON-PARTICIPANT R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	1
Witnessed	22	9
Not Witnessed	225	91

NUMBER OF MALE WITNESSES R:1

Num male witnesses:	Number of scenes:	%
0	3	1
1	13	5
2	2	1

**	4	2
Not Applicable	226	91

NUMBER OF FEMALE WITNESSES R:1

Num female witnesses:	Number of scenes:	%
0	14	6
1	3	1
2	1	0
**	4	2
Not Applicable	226	91

NUMBER OF TRANSSEXUAL WITNESSES R:1

Num trans. witnesses:	Number of scenes:	%
0	18	7
**	4	2
Not Applicable	226	91

** Denotes orgy scenes which featured more participants than could be reliably counted.

Organization of the Scene

PERIOD OF INITIATION BEFORE SEXUAL ACTIVITY R:.91

	N	%
Initiation Present	189	76
No Initiation	59	24

GENDER OF CHARACTER INITIATING SEX R:.91

	N	%
Cannot Code	6	2
Male Initiates	70	28
Female Initiates	69	28
Mutual Initiation	44	18
Not Applicable	59	24

FORM OF INITIATION R:.91

	N	%
Cannot Code	5	2

Verbal Initiation	55	22
Physical Initiation	51	21
Verbal and Physical Initiation	78	32
Not Applicable	59	24

RESISTANCE TO THE INITIATION R:.82

	N	%
Resistance to Initiation	27	11
No Resistance	162	65
Not Applicable	59	24

GENDER OF RESISTER TO INITIATION R:.88

	N	%
Male Resists	4	2
Female Resists	23	9
Not Applicable	221	89

FORM OF RESISTANCE TO INITIATION R:.88

	N	%
Verbal Resistance	16	7
Physical Resistance	11	4
Not Applicable	221	89

STAGE OF FOREPLAY PRESENT R:.89

	N	%
Foreplay	112	45
No Foreplay	136	55

SEXUAL AROUSAL RESULTING FROM FOREPLAY R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	4	2
Arousal	71	29
No Arousal	37	15
Not Applicable	136	55

POST-SEX ACTIVITY AT END OF SCENE R:.93

N	%
---	---

Post-sex Activity	112	45
No Post-Sex Activity	132	53
Not Applicable	4	2

POST-SEX ACTIVITY IS TALKING R:.96

	N	%
Post-sex Talk	89	36
No Talk	23	9
Not Applicable	136	55

POST-SEX ACTIVITY IS EMBRACING R:.96

	N	%
Post-sex Embrace	39	16
No Embrace	73	29
Not Applicable	136	55

POST-SEX ACTIVITY IS KISSING R:.96

	N	%
Post-sex Kiss	35	14
No Kiss	77	31
Not Applicable	136	55

Location of the Sex Scene

INDOOR OR OUTDOOR LOCATION OF SCENE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	5	2
Indoors	223	90
Outdoors	20	8

TYPE OF INDOOR LOCATION R:.90

	N	%
Cannot Code	9	4
Bedroom	65	26
Other Indoors	147	59
Both Bedroom and Other	2	1
Not Applicable	25	10

TYPE OF OTHER LOCATION R:.81

	N	%
Cannot Code	11	4
Residential	66	27
Non-Residential	72	29
Not Applicable	99	40

STATUS OF SEX SCENE R:.89

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Real	225	91
Fantasy	21	9

Character Relationships

PARTICIPANTS KNOW EACH OTHER R:.88

	N	%
Cannot Code	30	12
Know	177	71
Not Know	29	12
Not Applicable	12	5

PARTICIPANTS DO NOT KNOW EACH OTHER R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	40	16
Strangers	70	28
Not Strangers	126	51
Not Applicable	12	5

PARTICIPANTS MARRIED TO EACH OTHER R:.93

	N	%
Cannot Code	51	21
Married	18	7
Not Married	159	64
Not Applicable	20	8

PARTICIPANTS MARRIED TO OTHER PEOPLE R:.93

	N	%
Cannot Code	155	63
Married to Other People	37	15
Not Married to Other People	41	17
Not Applicable	15	6

PARTICIPANTS ARE LOVERS OF THE SAME SEX R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	40	16
Lovers Same Sex	3	1
Not Lovers Same Sex	110	44
Not Applicable	95	38

PARTICIPANTS ARE LOVERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX R:.90

	N	%
Cannot Code	75	30
Lovers Opposite Sex	26	11
Not Lovers Opposite Sex	123	50
Not Applicable	24	10

PARTICIPANTS ARE FRIENDS OF THE SAME SEX R:.93

	N	%
Cannot Code	40	16
Friends Same Sex	33	13
Not Friends Same Sex	79	32
Not Applicable	96	39

PARTICIPANTS ARE FRIENDS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX R:.93

	N	%
Cannot Code	81	33
Friends Opposite Sex	26	11
Not Friends Opposite Sex	116	47
Not Applicable	25	10

SIBLING INCEST R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	36	15
Sibling Incest	3	1
No Sibling Incest	194	78

Not Applicable 15 6

FATHER-DAUGHTER INCEST R:.90

	N	%
Cannot Code	24	10
Father-Daughter Incest	2	1
No Father-Daughter Incest	201	81
Not Applicable	21	9

MOTHER-SON INCEST R:.90

	N	%
Cannot Code	24	10
Mother-Son Incest	2	1
No Mother-Son Incest	201	81
Not Applicable	21	9

OTHER INCEST R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	32	13
Other Incest	5	2
No Other Incest	196	79
Not Applicable	15	6

PARTICIPANTS ARE COWORKERS OF SAME SEX R:.91

	N	%
Cannot Code	24	10
Workers Same Sex	28	11
Not Workers Same Sex	136	55
Not Applicable	60	24

OPPOSITE SEX COWORKERS WOMAN SUPERIOR R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	49	20
Workers Opposite Woman Superior	19	8
Not Workers Opposite Woman Superior	157	63
Not Applicable	23	9

OPPOSITE SEX COWORKERS MAN SUPERIOR R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	47	19
Workers Opposite Man Superior	31	13
Not Workers Opposite Man Superior	135	54
Not Applicable	35	14

OPPOSITE SEX COWORKERS EQUAL STATUS R:.91

	N	%
Cannot Code	46	19
Workers Opposite Equal Status	8	3
Not Workers Opposite Equal Status	159	64
Not Applicable	35	14

MALE PROSTITUTE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	38	15
Male Prostitute	7	3
No Male Prostitute	181	73
Not Applicable	22	9

FEMALE PROSTITUTE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	42	17
Female Prostitute	27	11
No Female Prostitute	165	67
Not Applicable	14	6

PARTICIPANTS HAVE HAD SEX BEFORE R:.91

	N	%
Cannot Code	102	41
Had Sex Before	50	20
Not Had Sex Before	83	34
Not Applicable	13	5

PARTICIPANTS ARE HAVING SEX FOR FIRST TIME R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	88	36
Sex First Time	116	47

Not First Time	31	13
Not Applicable	13	5

PARTICIPANTS ARE COERCED MATERIALLY R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	45	18
Material Coercion	18	7
No Material Coercion	171	69
Not Applicable	14	6

Clothing and Costuming

COSTUMING IN SCENE R:.95

	N	%
Costuming	107	43
No Costuming	141	57

GARTERS AND STOCKINGS R:.92

	N	%
Garters	74	30
No Garters	33	13
Not Applicable	141	57

LINGERIE R:1

	N	%
Lingerie	60	24
No Lingerie	47	19
Not Applicable	141	57

BONDAGE AND DOMINATION CLOTHING R:1

	N	%
B&D Outfits	11	4
No B&D Outfits	96	39
Not Applicable	141	57

MASKS OR BLINDFOLDS R:1

	N	%
Masks	3	1
No Masks	104	42
Not Applicable	141	57

LEATHER COSTUMES R:1

	N	%
Leather	8	3
No Leather	99	40
Not Applicable	141	57

RUBBER COSTUMES R:1

	N	%
Rubber	0	0
No Rubber	107	43
Not Applicable	141	57

GENDER OF CHARACTER WHO WEARS COSTUMES R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	3	1
Male	1	0
Female	100	40
Both Male and Female	3	1
Not Applicable	141	57

FEMALE MAKES DISPLAY OUT OF DISROBING R:.84

	N	%
Female Strips	39	16
No Female Strips	206	83
Not Applicable	3	1

MALE MAKES DISPLAY OUT OF DISROBING R:.93

	N	%
Male Strips	7	3
No Male Strips	214	86
Not Applicable	27	11

MALE CLOTHED AT BEGINNING OF SCENE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Clothed	155	63
No Male Clothed	62	25
Not Applicable	30	12

MALE SEMI-CLOTHED AT BEGINNING OF SCENE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Semi-Clothed	36	15
No Male Semi-Clothed	181	73
Not Applicable	30	12

MALE NUDE AT BEGINNING OF SCENE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Nude	43	17
No Male Nude	174	70
Not Applicable	30	12

FEMALE CLOTHED AT BEGINNING OF SCENE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Female Clothed	144	58
No Female Clothed	101	41
Not Applicable	2	1

FEMALE SEMI-CLOTHED AT BEGINNING OF SCENE R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Female Semi-Clothed	76	31
No Female Semi-Clothed	169	68
Not Applicable	2	1

FEMALE NUDE AT BEGINNING OF SCENE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Female Nude	50	20

No Female Nude	195	79
Not Applicable	2	1

MALE CLOTHED GENITAL PHASE R:.93

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Male Clothed	44	18
No Male Clothed	173	70
Not Applicable	29	12

MALE SEMI-CLOTHED GENITAL PHASE R:.83

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Male Semi-Clothed	95	38
No Male Semi-Clothed	122	49
Not Applicable	29	12

MALE NUDE GENITAL PHASE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Male Nude	103	42
No Male Nude	114	46
Not Applicable	29	12

FEMALE CLOTHED GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Female Clothed	41	17
No Female Clothed	202	82
Not Applicable	5	2

FEMALE SEMI-CLOTHED GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Female Semi-Clothed	138	56
No Female Semi-Clothed	106	42
Not Applicable	4	2

FEMALE NUDE GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Female Nude	101	41
No Female Nude	142	57
Not Applicable	5	2

MALE CLOTHED END OF SCENE R: .93

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Clothed	36	15
No Male Clothed	184	74
Not Applicable	27	11

MALE SEMI-CLOTHED END OF SCENE R: .96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Semi-Clothed	80	32
No Male Semi-Clothed	140	57
Not Applicable	27	11

MALE NUDE END OF SCENE R: .96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Nude	126	51
No Male Nude	94	38
Not Applicable	27	11

FEMALE CLOTHED END OF SCENE R: .96

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Female Clothed	49	20
No Female Clothed	193	78
Not Applicable	4	2

FEMALE SEMI-CLOTHED END OF SCENE R: 1

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Female Semi-Clothed	117	47
No Female Semi-Clothed	126	51
Not Applicable	3	1

FEMALE NUDE END OF SCENE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Female Nude	110	44
No Female Nude	133	54
Not Applicable	3	1

Sexual Behavior

FELLATIO R:.96

	N	%
Fellatio	177	71
No Fellatio	52	21
Not Applicable	19	8

CUNNILINGUS R:.96

	N	%
Cunnilingus	118	48
No Cunnilingus	117	47
Not Applicable	13	5

VAGINAL INTERCOURSE R:1

	N	%
Vaginal Intercourse	173	70
No Vaginal Intercourse	54	22
Not Applicable	21	9

ANAL INTERCOURSE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Anal Intercourse	31	13
No Anal Intercourse	197	79
Not Applicable	19	8

MULTIPLE PENETRATION R:1

	N	%
Multiple penetration	18	7
No Multiple penetration	217	88
Not Applicable	13	5

PENETRATION BY DILDO OR OTHER OBJECT R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Penetration Dildo	23	9
No Penetration Dildo	222	90
Not Applicable	2	1

BEATING R:1

	N	%
Beating	8	3
No Beating	235	95
Not Applicable	5	2

MALE MASTURBATION R:.95

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Male Masturbation	67	27
No Male Masturbation	159	64
Not Applicable	21	9

FEMALE MASTURBATION R:.88

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Female Masturbation	57	23
No Female Masturbation	188	76
Not Applicable	2	1

MASTURBATION OF MALE BY FEMALE R:.95

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Masturbation	54	22
No Masturbation	170	69
Not Applicable	23	9

MASTURBATION OF FEMALE BY MALE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Masturbation	44	18
No Masturbation	180	73
Not Applicable	23	9

FEMALE KNEELS BEFORE MALE DURING SEX R:.82

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Kneeling	65	26
No Kneeling	157	63
Not Applicable	25	10

CLOSE-UPS OF GENITALS R:.96

	N	%
Close-ups	203	82
No Close-ups	45	18

GRAPHIC EJACULATION SHOT R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Ejaculation shot	152	61
No Ejaculation shot	65	26
Not Applicable	30	12

EJACULATION ONTO FACE OF WOMAN R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	7	3
Ejaculation Face	56	23
No Ejaculation Face	84	34
Not Applicable	95	38
Uncoded	6	2

WOMAN SWALLOWS SEMEN R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	5	2
Woman Swallows	60	24

No Swallowing	132	53
Not Applicable	51	21

WOMAN REQUESTS THAT MAN EJACULATE ON HER R:.92

	N	%
Woman Requests	16	7
No Woman Requests	181	73
Not Applicable	51	21

WOMAN SMEARS SEMEN ON HER BODY R:1

	N	%
Woman smears	57	23
No Woman smears	130	52
Not Applicable	61	25

MAN SMEARS SEMEN ON WOMAN'S BODY R:1

	N	%
Man Smears	45	18
No Man Smears	142	57
Not Applicable	61	25

WOMAN PORTRAYED AS HAVING AN ORGASM R:.75

	N	%
Cannot Code	47	19
Orgasm Portrayed	37	15
No Orgasm Portrayed	159	64
Not Applicable	5	2

Sexual Paraphernalia

PARAPHERNALIA IN SCENE R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Paraphernalia	40	16
No Paraphernalia	207	84

VIBRATORS R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Vibrators	7	3
No Vibrators	33	13
Not Applicable	207	84

DILDOS R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Dildos	12	5
No Dildos	28	11
Not Applicable	207	84

OTHER PARAPHERNALIA R:.96

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Other Paraphernalia	21	9
No Other Paraphernalia	19	8
Not Applicable	207	84

PARAPHERNALIA APPLIED MALE TO FEMALE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Applied Male Female	12	5
Not Applied Male Female	17	7
Not Applicable	218	88

PARAPHERNALIA APPLIED FEMALE TO MALE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Applied Female Male	8	3
Not Applied Female Male	21	9
Not Applicable	218	88

PARAPHERNALIA APPLIED FEMALE TO FEMALE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Applied Female Female	7	3

Not Applied Female Female	23	9
Not Applicable	217	88

PARAPHERNALIA APPLIED MALE TO MALE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Applied Male Male	0	0
Not Applied Male Male	28	11
Not Applicable	219	88

PARAPHERNALIA APPLIED RECIPROCALLY R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Applied Reciprocally	0	0
Not Applied Reciprocally	30	12
Not Applicable	217	88

PARAPHERNALIA APPLIED TO SELF R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Applied to Self	14	6
Not Applied to Self	19	8
Not Applicable	214	86

Communication Among Partners

FEMALE TELLS MALE OF DESIRED SEX R:.95

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Woman Tells	79	32
No Woman Tells	141	57
Not Applicable	27	11

MAN COMPLIES WITH WOMAN'S REQUEST R:.91

	N	%
Cannot Code	4	2
Man Complies	69	29
Man Doesn't Ever Comply	7	3

Not Applicable 168 68

MAN DOESN'T COMPLY TO WOMAN'S REQUEST R:.80

	N	%
Cannot Code	4	2
Man Does Not Comply	10	4
Man Doesn't Ever Not Comply	66	29
Not Applicable	168	68

MALE TELLS FEMALE OF DESIRED SEX R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Man Tells	69	28
No Man Tells	150	61
Not Applicable	28	11

WOMAN COMPLIES WITH MAN'S REQUEST R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	4	2
Woman Complies	60	24
Woman Doesn't Ever Comply	6	2
Not applicable	178	72

WOMAN DOESN'T COMPLY TO MAN'S REQUEST R:.88

	N	%
Cannot Code	4	2
Woman Doesn't Comply	6	2
Woman Doesn't Ever Not Comply	60	24
Not Applicable	178	72

LESBIAN TELLS PARTNER HER DESIRED ACTIVITIES R:.85

	N	%
Lesbian Tells	10	4
No Lesbian Tells	54	22
Not Applicable	184	74

LESBIAN COMPLIES WITH PARTNER'S REQUEST R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Lesbian Complies	8	3
Lesbian Doesn't Ever Comply	0	0
Not Applicable	238	96

LESBIAN DOESN'T COMPLY TO PARTNER'S REQUEST R:.84

	N	%
Cannot Code	2	1
Lesbian Doesn't Comply	0	0
Lesbian Doesn't Ever Not Comply	8	3
Not Applicable	238	96

SEXUAL PARTNER ADDRESSES ANOTHER BY NAME R:.80

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Address by Name	94	38
No Address by Name	94	38
Not Applicable	59	24

Affection and PleasurePHYSICAL DEMONSTRATIONS OF AFFECTION
DURING INITIATION R:.84

	N	%
Affection	50	20
No Affection	139	56
Not Applicable	59	24

VERBAL DECLARATIONS OF LOVE DURING INITIATION R:.90

	N	%
Verbal Declarations	11	4
No Declarations	178	72
Not Applicable	59	24

DECLARATIONS BY MALE TO FEMALE R:.88

	N	%
Delcarations	6	2

No Declarations	5	2
Not Applicable	237	96

DECLARATIONS BY FEMALE TO MALE R:.96

	N	%
Declarations	5	2
No Declarations	6	2
Not Applicable	237	96

DECLARATIONS BY FEMALE TO FEMALE R:.90

	N	%
Declarations	2	1
No Declarations	9	4
Not Applicable	237	96

DECLARATIONS BY MALE TO MALE R:.93

	N	%
Declarations	0	0
No Declarations	11	4
Not Applicable	237	96

DECLARATIONS OF LOVE ARE MADE MUTUALLY R:.79

	N	%
Mutual Declarations	4	2
No Mutual Declarations	7	3
Not Applicable	237	96

VOCAL PLEASURE EXPRESSED DURING SEX R:.93

	N	%
Vocal pleasure	175	71
No vocal pleasure	73	29

FEMALE EXPRESSES PLEASURE VOCALLY R:.93

	N	%
Female Vocal	151	61
No Female Vocal	24	10
Not Applicable	73	29

MALE EXPRESSES PLEASURE VOCALLY R:.85

	N	%
Male Vocal	116	47
No Male Vocal	59	24
Not Applicable	73	29

CLOSE-UP SHOT OF FACIAL PLEASURE DURING SEX R:.93

	N	%
Close-up	159	64
No Close-up	89	36

GENDER OF CHARACTER SHOWN IN CLOSE-UP R:.84

	N	%
Male	17	7
Female	68	27
Male and Female	74	30
Not Applicable	89	36

KISSING DURING SEXUAL ACTIVITY R:.89

	N	%
Kissing	85	34
No Kissing	150	61
Not Applicable	13	5

Abuse and Suffering

ABUSE DURING INITIATION R:.95

	N	%
Abusive Initiation	34	14
Non-Abusive Initiation	155	63
Not Applicable	59	24

SEX OF ABUSER DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Male	25	10

Female	6	2
Male and Female	3	1
Not Applicable	214	86

SEX OF ABUSED PERSON DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Male	4	2
Female	29	12
Male and Female	1	0
Not Applicable	214	86

THREATS (CONTENT) DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Threats	12	5
No Threats	22	9
Not Applicable	214	86

THREATS (INTONATION) DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Threats	8	3
No Threats	26	11
Not Applicable	214	86

INSULTS (CONTENT) DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Insults	12	5
No Insults	22	9
Not applicable	214	86

INSULTS (INTONATION) DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Insults	11	4
No Insults	23	9
Not Applicable	214	86

STRIKING DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
--	---	---

Striking	9	4
No Striking	25	10
Not Applicable	214	86

PHYSICAL RESTRAINT DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Restraint	20	8
No Restraint	14	6
Not Applicable	214	86

COERCION DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Coercion	6	2
No Coercion	28	11
Not Applicable	214	86

OTHER ABUSE DURING INITIATION R:1

	N	%
Other Abuse	8	3
No Other Abuse	26	11
Not Applicable	214	86

SEXUAL AROUSAL OF ABUSED CHARACTER
DURING INITIATION R:.93

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Arousal	16	7
No Arousal	17	7
Not Applicable	214	86

ABUSE DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Abuse	38	15
No Abuse	210	85

GENDER OF ABUSER DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

N	%
---	---

Male	26	11
Female	5	2
Male and Female	7	3
Not Applicable	210	85

GENDER OF ABUSED PERSON DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Male	5	2
Female	30	12
Male and Female	3	1
Not Applicable	210	85

THREATS (CONTENT) DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Threats	9	4
No Threats	29	12
Not Applicable	210	85

THREATS (INTONATION) DURING GENITAL PHASE R:.96

	N	%
Threats	6	2
No Threats	32	13
Not Applicable	210	85

INSULTS (CONTENT) DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Insults	13	5
No Insults	25	10
Not Applicable	210	85

INSULTS (INTONATION) DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Insults	8	3
No Insults	30	12
Not Applicable	210	85

STRIKING DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Striking	8	3
No Striking	30	12
Not Applicable	210	85

PHYSICAL RESTRAINT DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Restraint	23	9
No Restraint	15	6
Not Applicable	210	85

COERCION DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Coercion	5	2
No Coercion	33	13
Not Applicable	210	85

OTHER ABUSE DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Other Abuse	16	7
No Other Abuse	22	9
Not Applicable	210	85

RESISTANCE TO ABUSE DURING GENITAL PHASE R:.95

	N	%
Resistance	19	8
No Resistance	19	8
Not Applicable	210	85

GENDER OF CHARACTER WHO RESISTS ABUSE R:.95

	N	%
Male	3	1
Female	15	6
Male and Female	1	0
Not Applicable	229	92

FORM OF RESISTANCE TO ABUSE R:.95

	N	%
Verbal Resistance	5	2
Physical Resistance	4	2
Verbal and Physical Resistance	10	4
Not Applicable	229	92

SEXUAL AROUSAL FROM ABUSE DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Arousal	23	9
No Arousal	15	6
Not Applicable	210	85

GENDER AROUSED CHARACTER DURING GENITAL PHASE R:1

	N	%
Male	3	1
Female	17	7
Male and Female	3	1
Not Applicable	225	91

ABUSED CHARACTER SHOWN SUFFERING AFTER ABUSE R:.95

	N	%
Suffering	16	7
No Suffering	35	14
Not Applicable	197	79

GENDER OF SUFFERING CHARACTER R:.95

	N	%
Male	2	1
Female	14	6
Not Applicable	232	94

FORM OF EXPRESSION OF SUFFERING R:.90

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Verbal	7	3
Physical	4	2
Verbal and Physical	4	2
Not Applicable	232	94

EVIDENCE OF UNWILLING PARTICIPATION
IN SEXUAL ACTIVITY R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	0
Unwilling Participation	24	10
No Unwilling Participation	216	87
Not Applicable	7	3

NUMBER OF MALES WHO UNWILLINGLY PARTICIPATE R:1

Number of males:	Number of scenes:	%
0	20	8
1	4	2
Not Applicable	224	90

NUMBER OF FEMALES WHO UNWILLINGLY PARTICIPATE R:1

Number of females:	Number of scenes:	%
0	3	1
1	21	9
Not applicable	224	90

NUM TRANSSEXUALS WHO UNWILLINGLY PARTICIPATE R:1

Num transsexuals:	Number of scenes:	%
0	24	10
Not Applicable	224	90

VIOLENT ACTS

44 violent acts were coded, which included lethal violence (killing) and various forms of non-lethal violence: hitting with hands or an object, knifing, shooting, and other violence. Acts of rape, sexual molestation, and suicide were also coded as violent acts. All of the violent acts, by definition, were confined to a single set of participants and occurred without a break in time and place. However, some of the violent acts included several categories of violence (e.g., hitting with hands as well as hitting with an object). Thus, if the frequencies for each category of violence are summed, a higher figure results (58).

TOTAL KILLINGS R:1

Number of killings: 4

NUMBER OF MALE KILLERS R:1

Number of Males Who Kill: 2

NUMBER OF FEMALE KILLERS R:1

Number of Females Who Kill: 2

NUMBER OF MALE VICTIMS OF KILLING R:1

Number Male Victims: 2

NUMBER OF FEMALE VICTIMS OF KILLING R:1

Number Female Victims: 2

KILLING OVERLAPS WITH SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
Cannot code	2	5
Killing With Sex	2	5
Not Applicable	40	91

HITTING WITH HANDS R:1

	N	%
Hitting	21	48
No Hitting	23	52

SEX OF PERPETRATOR R:1

	N	%
Male Hits	12	27
Female Hits	7	16
Male and Female Hit	2	5
Not Applicable	23	52

SEX OF VICTIM R:1

	N	%
Male Victim Hitting	9	21
Female Victim Hitting	10	23
Male and Female Victim Hitting	2	5
Not Applicable	23	52

HITTING OVERLAPS WITH SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
Hitting Overlaps	9	21
No Overlap	12	27
Not Applicable	23	52

HITTING WITH AN OBJECT R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	2
Hit with Object	8	18
No Hit with Object	33	75
Not Applicable	2	5

SEX OF PERPETRATOR HITTING WITH OBJECT R:1

	N	%
Male	3	7
Female	4	9
Male and Female	1	2
Not Applicable	36	82

SEX OF VICTIM HITTING WITH OBJECT R:1

	N	%
Male	3	7
Female	5	11
Not Applicable	36	82

HITTING WITH OBJECT OVERLAPS WITH SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
Hitting overlaps	6	14
No overlap	2	5
Not Applicable	36	82

KNIFING R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	2
Knifing	1	2
No Knifing	41	93
Not Applicable	1	2

SEX OF PERPETRATOR KNIFING R:1

	N	%
Female	1	2
Not Applicable	43	98

SEX OF VICTIM KNIFING R:1

	N	%
Male	1	2
Not Applicable	43	98

KNIFING OVERLAPS WITH SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
No overlap	1	2
Not Applicable	43	98

SHOOTING R:1

	N	%
Shooting	4	9
No Shooting	39	89
Not Applicable	1	2

SEX OF PERPETRATOR SHOOTING R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	2
Male	2	5
Female	1	2
Not Applicable	40	91

SEX OF VICTIM SHOOTING R:1

	N	%
Male	3	7
Female	1	2
Not Applicable	40	91

SHOOTING OVERLAPS WITH SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
No overlap	4	9
Not Applicable	40	91

OTHER FORM OF VIOLENT ACT IN SCENE R:1

	N	%
Other Violence	9	21
No Other Violence	35	80

SEX OF PERPETRATOR OF OTHER VIOLENCE R:1

	N	%
Cannot code	1	2
Male	6	14
Female	1	2
Male and Female	1	2
Not Applicable	35	80

SEX OF VICTIM OF OTHER VIOLENCE R:1

	N	%
Male	1	2
Female	8	18
Not Applicable	35	80

OTHER VIOLENCE OVERLAPS WITH SEX SCENE R:1

	N	%
Cannot Code	1	2
Overlap	4	9
No Overlap	4	9
Not Applicable	35	80

RAPE R:1

	N	%
Rape	6	14
No Rape	38	86

NUMBER OF MALES RAPED R:1

Number of Males Raped: 0

NUMBER OF FEMALES RAPED R:1

Number of Females Raped: 6

SEXUAL MOLESTATION R:1

	N	%
Molestation	3	7
No Molestation	41	93

NUMBER OF MALES MOLESTED R:1

Number of males molested: 0

NUMBER OF FEMALES MOLESTED R:1

Number of Females Molested: 3

SUICIDE R:1

	N	%
Suicide	2	5
No Suicide	42	96

NUMBER OF MALE SUICIDES R:1

Number of male suicides: 1

NUMBER OF FEMALE SUICIDES R:1

Number of Female Suicides: 1

APPENDIX III

THE CODING FORMS

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

The coding scheme contains three main types of coding forms, dealing, respectively, with: (a) characters; (b) sex scenes; (c) violent actions. A separate coding form should be filled out for each character, sex scene, and violent action, as defined below.

For our purposes, a CHARACTER will be coded if he/she has a substantial speaking role (whether or not he/she is shown having sex) OR if he/she plays a substantial part in a sex scene [as defined] (whether or not he/she has a speaking role). So, although you will be asked to count how many people appear in each sex scene, you should not fill out a character coding form for people who are shown briefly during an orgy or during a "montage" scene. The character coding form will make further distinctions among characters.

Fill out a coding form for each sex scene -- i.e., each scene whose main focus is on sexual activity. In this context,

"sexual activity" implies genital stimulation -- so, a scene of a woman taking a shower wouldn't qualify as a sex scene, but a scene of a woman masturbating in a shower or a scene of a man masturbating while watching a woman take a shower would qualify. Typically, a sex scene will occur in a single location, but the participants within that location may change over the course of the scene. For example: A person who "walks in" on a sex scene may be shown joining it; or, in an orgy scene, several different groupings may be shown in sequence. An exception to the single-location rule would be a "montage" of several different sexual episodes presented as a single unit (e.g., a series of brief shots of a woman having sex with one partner after another; or: cutting BACK AND FORTH between two different couples in two different locations). With the above exception, a permanent shift to a new location and a new set of participants should be taken as the beginning of a new sex scene, regardless of whether any "non-sexual" episodes occur in between. Conversely, the interruption of a sex scene by "non-sexual" episodes (e.g., a husband trying to call his wife on the phone while she is shown having sex with another man) shouldn't cause the sex scene to be double-counted in the coding. To qualify as a sex scene, a scene must have sexual activity as its main focus. So, sexual activity shown in the background (e.g., couples copulating in the lobby of a sex spa as the heroine walks by

them to get to the registration desk) or incidentally (e.g., the heroine walks in on her two roommates in bed with each other, apologizes, and walks out again) should not be taken to constitute a sex scene. You should also not count as a separate sex scene any montage composed exclusively of material from other sex scenes in the film (e.g., an opening "preview" montage showing brief flashes from scenes which will occur later).

The sex-scene coding form will make provisions for the coding of abuse (physical or verbal) occurring during the sex scene itself. But you should also fill out a separate coding form for each act of major violence occurring at any point in the film (including sex scenes). For our purposes, major violence entails attempted or actual use of weapons or one's body to cause substantial physical pain, injury, or death. To count as violence, an act must be clearly deliberate, and it must be clearly ill-intentioned. So, for example, accidental injury to someone would not be counted. To count as a single act of violence, violent activity must be confined to one set of participants, and there must be no lapse in time or space. So, the addition of a new victim or a new perpetrator would call for a new coding form, and likewise for a break in time.

CHARACTER CODING FORM

1. Film Number: _____
2. Period of Film: _____
3. Date of film: _____
4. Coder ID #s: _____
5. Date of Coding: _____
6. Character ID #: _____

Number characters consecutively by order of appearance in film.

7. Character's sex:

- 0 cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Transsexual

8. Character's age:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 (Implied) juvenile
- 2 Young adult (18-40)
- 3 Settled adult (41-65)
- 4 Older adult (66+)

9. Character's race:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 White
- 2 Black
- 3 Oriental
- 4 Other

10. Does the character have a major speaking role?
(To have a major speaking role, the character should

appear in more than one scene or deliver more than 5 lines of dialogue.)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

11. Does the character play a substantial part in a sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If the answer to the first question is NO (i.e., the character does not have a major speaking role), ignore the rest of this coding form.

(Note: If the answer to both questions is NO, discard the coding form completely. You should not have filled one out in the first place.)

Character's occupation:

12. Socio-economic status:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Clearly upper
- 2 Middle
- 3 Clearly lower

13. Field of activity most closely related to occupation:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Entertainment, art, sports, mass media
- 2 Agriculture, farming, nature, animals
- 3 Business, industry, finance, transport, private agency
- 4 Government, courts, law, official authority
- 5 Health, medicine, social welfare and service
- 6 Education (student, teacher, etc.)
- 7 Science
- 8 Religion
- 9 Illegal activity
- 10 Sex Industry

--Occupation: Write-in: _____

14. Is the character married?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

15. If "married," is it to someone who appears in this film?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Who?

16. Character's "love life":
Is the character "in love"?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

17. If "yes," is it with another character who appears in this film?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No If so, who: _____

18. Character's "love life":
Is someone in love with this character?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

19. If "yes," is it another character who appears in this film?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No If so, who: _____

20. Is the character a virgin at the beginning of the film?
(Note: Code "yes" or "no" only if the information is made explicit through a verbal reference or other clear cue. Do not make inferences, however reasonable. For example, even if someone is a prostitute, do not assume he/she has had previous clients unless they are mentioned.)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If the character does not participate in any sex scenes, disregard the rest of this coding form.

21. How many sex scenes does the character appear in?

_____ Number

How many different sexual partners is the character shown having sex with?

22. Number of males: _____

23. Number of females: _____

24. Number of transsexuals: _____

CODING FORM FOR SEX SCENES

1. Film Number: _____
2. Period of Film: _____
3. Date of Film: _____
4. Coder ID #s: _____
5. Date of Coding: _____
6. Sex Scene ID# _____

Number scenes consecutively by order of appearance in film.

In the space below, give a brief description of the sex scene: who's in it, what they do, any distinguishing characteristics which will help you remember the scene if you need to refer back to it later.

How many participants by sex?
(To qualify as a participant, the character must be clearly involved in the sexual behavior and/or give clear signs of arousal.)

7. Number of males: _____
8. Number of females: _____
9. Number of transsexuals: _____

10. Do any of the participants know each other?
(Note: As long as SOME of the participants know each other, code "Yes," even if others DON'T know each other.)
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
11. Do any of the participants not know each other?
(Note: As long as SOME of the participants don't know each other, code "yes," even if others DO know each other.)
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No

Relationship of the participants:

12. Some of the participants are married TO EACH OTHER
(e.g., a married couple participating in an orgy)
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
13. Some of the participants are married TO OTHER PEOPLE
(e.g., a married woman participating in an orgy which doesn't include her husband -- but may include other married couples)
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
14. Some of the participants are romantic lovers of the same sex
(i.e., their relationship clearly involves mutual love and clearly precedes the sex scene -- although they need not have had sex with each other before)
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No

15. Some of the participants are romantic lovers of the opposite sex
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
16. Some of the participants are friends of the same sex
- 0 Cannot Code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
17. Some of the participants are friends of the opposite sex
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
18. Some of the participants are incestuous: siblings
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
19. Some of the participants are incestuous: father-daughter
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
20. Some of the participants are incestuous: mother-son
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
21. Some of the participants are incestuous: other
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
22. Some of the participants are co-workers of the same sex
- 0 Cannot code

- 1 Yes
 - 2 No
23. Some of the participants are co-workers of the opposite sex -- woman superior
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
24. Some of the participants are co-workers of the opposite sex -- man superior
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
25. Some of the participants are co-workers of the opposite sex -- equal
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
26. Some of the participants are being paid -- Male prostitute
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
27. Some of the participants are being paid--Female prostitute
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
28. Some of the participants have clearly had sex with one another before
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
29. Some of the participants are clearly having sex with one another for the first time
- 0 Cannot code

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

30. Some of the participants are clearly being coerced materially.

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

(Note: Mark as many of the above categories as apply. If no category applies, simply do not code.)

Location(s) of the sex scene:

31. Is it indoors or outdoors?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Indoors
- 2 Outdoors
- 3 Both (e.g., a scene involving cross-cutting between 2 locations)

32. If "indoors," is it in a:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Bedroom
- 2 Other
- 3 Both

33. If "other," is it:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Residential
- 2 Non-residential
- 3 Both

State Location: _____

PERIOD OF INITIATION

(The period of initiation is a period of non-sexual activity that precedes foreplay or genital contact. It must be explicitly portrayed, not inferred by the coder in terms of a state prior to the beginning of the scene as observed.)

(Note: Mark as many of the above categories as apply.
If no category applies, simply do not code.)

41. Are they reciprocated?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

42. Does any participant address any other by name?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

43. Who initiates the sexual activity?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Mutual

44. Is the initiation:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Verbal
- 2 Physical
- 3 Both

45. Does the initiation involve abuse? (If no, skip to
question 57)

(Note: The abuse need not be on the part of someone who is
a participant in the sex scene.)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

46. Is the abuser:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female

3 Both (i.e., two or more people)

47. Is the abused person:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both (i.e., two or more people)

Forms of abuse:

48. Verbal threats CONTENT

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

49. Verbal threats INTONATION

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

50. Verbal insults CONTENT

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

51. Verbal insults INTONATION

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

52. Striking or slapping

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

53. Physical restraint

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

54. Coercion of sex for material favors

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

55. Other. Specify: _____

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

(Note: Mark as many categories as apply.
If no category applies, simply do not code.)

56. Does abused person become sexually aroused?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

57. Is there resistance to the initiation?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

58. By:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both males and females

59. Form of resistance:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Verbal
- 2 Physical

At the beginning of the scene:

(Note: Code for the scene as it begins, whether any period of initiation has occurred or not. Some guidelines for clothed and semi-clothed: Semi-clothed involves a state of partial

dress. A man with his shirt fully unbuttoned, exposing his chest, would be coded as semi-clothed. Conversely, a woman with a low cut dress that was still fully buttoned or zippered would be considered as clothed. Underwear or lingerie should be coded as semi-clothed. A person wearing a bikini, because of the amount of skin visible, should be coded as being semi-clothed. To code for nudity, a state of undress should be total (excepting such adornments as earrings or a string of pearls worn by someone without any clothes). If a character wears socks or stockings and nothing else, he/she is semi-clothed.)

60. Are any male participants clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

61. Are any male participants semi-clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

62. Are any male participants nude?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

63. Are any female participants clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

64. Are any female participants semi-clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

65. Are any female participants nude?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

PERIOD OF FOREPLAY

66. Is there any foreplay (i.e., PRELIMINARY physical activity clearly intended to INDUCE arousal -- e.g., woman fondling penis to erection, man kissing woman's breasts. Oral sex -- fellatio or cumilingus -- is not to be considered foreplay but rather to constitute the phase of genital contact.)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

67. Is the foreplay accompanied by verbal expressions of arousal (including cries, moans, etc.)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

68. Does any woman make a display out of disrobing?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

69. Does any man make a display out of disrobing?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Attire:

Is any male/any female wearing any of the following:
(Check as many as apply. If none, skip to #78)

70. None

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes

- 2 No
71. Garters and stockings
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
72. Lingerie
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
73. B & D outfits
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
74. Masks and/or blindfolds
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
75. Leather
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
76. Rubber
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
77. Worn by:
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Male
 - 2 Female
 - 3 Both male and female

PERIOD OF GENITAL CONTACT

78. In the course of the sex scene, does any woman tell any man what sexual activities she desires?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

79. Does any man ever comply?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

80. Does any man ever not comply?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

81. In the course of the sex scene, does any man tell any woman what sexual activities he desires?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

82. Does any woman ever comply?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

83. Does any woman ever not comply?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

84. If this encounter involves lesbian activity, does any woman tell her partner what sexual activities she desires?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

85. Does any partner ever comply?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

86. Does any partner ever not comply?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

At the point of genital contact (i.e., the point at which at least ONE participant receives genital stimulation):

87. Are any male participants clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

88. Are any male participants semi-clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

89. Are any male participants nude?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

90. Are any female participants clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

91. Are any female participants semi-clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

92. Are any female participants nude?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Use of paraphernalia -- Are any of the following used?
(Note: Code as many as apply. If none, skip to #103.)

93. None

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

94. Vibrators

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

95. Dildoes

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

96. Other. Specify: _____

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Applied by:

97. Applied by male to female

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

98. Applied by female to male

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

99. Applied by female to female

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

100. Applied by male to male

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

101. Applied reciprocally

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

102. Applied to oneself

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Which of the following SEXUAL BEHAVIORS are present in the scene? Code as many as apply.

103. Fellatio

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

104. Cunnilingus

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

105. Vaginal Intercourse

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

106. Anal Intercourse

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

107. Multiple penetration

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

108. Penetration using a dildo or other object(s)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

109. Whipping or beating

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

110. Male masturbation

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

111. Female masturbation

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

112. Masturbation of male by female

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

113. Masturbation of female by male

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

114. During any of these acts, is a woman shown kneeling before a man?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
115. During the sexual activity, does any of the participants express pleasure vocally (through words, moans, etc.)?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
116. Does a woman do so?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
117. Does a man do so?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
118. During the sexual activity, does any participant express pleasure through a close-up facial expression?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
119. Who is shown in such a close-up?
- 1 Male
 - 2 Female
 - 3 Both male and female
120. Do the participants kiss during the period of genital contact?
- 0 Cannot code

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

121. Is there a graphic ejaculation shot (i.e., ejaculation outside the vagina)? If this is a lesbian scene, or a scene of a woman masturbating alone, skip to number 126.

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

121a. If ejaculation occurs, does any male ejaculate onto the face of any female?

- 0 Cannot Code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

122. Is a woman shown swallowing semen?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

123. Does a woman request that a man ejaculate on her?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

124. Is a woman shown smearing semen on her body?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No (ejaculation shown, but woman does not smear)

125. Is a man shown smearing semen on a woman's body?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No (ejaculation shown, but no smearing by man)

126 Is any woman portrayed as having an orgasm?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

127. Is the sexual activity witnessed or watched by someone who becomes aroused and who does not participate physically at any point.

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

How many non-participants (as defined above) witness the sex scene?

128. Number of males: _____

129. Number of females: _____

130. Number of transsexuals: _____

131. Is the sex scene:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Real
- 2 Fantasy
- 3 Dreamed

132. Are there close-ups of genitals or of genital stimulation in this scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

133. Does any abuse occur during the period of foreplay (if any and/or during the period of genital contact? (Note: The answer to this question should be independent of whether any abuse occurred during initiation.

If NO, skip to question 149)

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

724. If YES, is any abuser:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

135. If YES (on abuse), is any abused person:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

Forms of abuse:

136. Verbal threats CONTENT

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

137. Verbal threats INTONATION

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

138. Verbal insults CONTENT

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

139. Verbal insults INTONATION

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

140. Striking or slapping

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

141. Physical restraint

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

142. Coercion of sex for material favors

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

143. Other. Specify: _____

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

144. Is there resistance to the abuse?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

145. If YES, by whom:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 A Male
- 2 A Female
- 3 Both male and female

146. If YES (on resistance), form of resistance:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Verbal
- 2 Physical
- 3 Both verbal and physical

147. Does any abused person respond to the abuse with clear signs of sexual arousal?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

148. If YES, is this done by:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 A male
- 2 A female
- 3 Both male and female

149. Was there evidence of unwilling participation in genital activity?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If "yes," how many participants were unwilling, by sex:

150. Number of males: _____

151. Number of females: _____

152. Number of transsexuals: _____

At the end of the scene:

153. Are any male participants clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

154. Are any male participants semi-clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

155. Are any male participants nude?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

156. Are any female participants clothed?

- 0 Cannot code

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

157. Are any female participants semi-clothed?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

158. Are any female participants nude?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

POST-SEX ACTIVITY

159. Is post-sex activity included in the sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Does the post-sex activity involve:

160. Talking

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

161. Embracing

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

162. Kissing

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

163. If the scene was coded for abuse, is an abused participant presented as suffering in its aftermath?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

164. If yes, is the person in question:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

165. If "yes," the suffering is expressed:

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Verbally
- 2 Physically
- 3 Both verbally and physically

CODING FORM FOR VIOLENT ACTS

Fill out a separate form for each violent act (as defined in general instructions.)

1. Film Number: _____
2. Period of Film: _____
3. Date of Film: _____
4. Coder ID #s: _____
5. Date of Coding: _____
6. Violent Act #: _____

Number violent acts consecutively by order of appearance in film.

Killings:

7. Number of killings during the course of this violent act: _____
8. How many of the killers are male: _____
9. How many of the killers are female: _____
10. How many of the victims are male: _____
11. How many of the victims are female: _____
12. Does any of the killing overlap with a sex scene?

0	Cannot code
1	Yes
2	No

Physical, Non-Lethal Violence

Code for the presence of any of the violent activities noted below, whether these are successful or not (i.e., whether or not the perpetrator succeeds in causing

pain or injury).

In coding for sex of perpetrator or victim, you may check both male and female whenever necessary.

13. Does any character hit another character with hands?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

14. Sex of perpetrator(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

15. Sex of victim(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

16. Does any of the hitting overlap with a sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

17. Does any character hit another character with an object?

- 0 Cannot Code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

18. Sex of perpetrator(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

19. Sex of victim(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

20. Does any of the hitting overlap with a sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

21. Does any character knife another character?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

22. Sex of perpetrator(s):

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

23. Sex of Victim(s):

- 0 Cannot Code
- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

24. Does any of the knifing overlap with a sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

25. Does any character shoot another character?

- 0 Cannot Code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

26. Sex of Perpetrator(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

27. Sex of victim(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

28. Does any of the shooting overlap with a sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

29. Does this violent act involve any other type of violence than what has been recorded above?

- 0 Cannot Code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

If YES, specify: _____

30. Sex of Perpetrator(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

31. Sex of victim(s):

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Both male and female

32. Does the "other" activity overlap with a sex scene?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

33. Does this scene involve any rape, i.e., clear evidence of a character(s) unwilling participation in genital sexuality?

- 0 Cannot code
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

34. If yes, how many of the unwilling participants are male: _____

35. If yes, how many of the unwilling participants are female: _____
36. Does this scene involve any sexual molestation, i.e., clear evidence of a character(s) unwilling participation in non-genital sexuality?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
37. If yes, how many of the unwilling participants are male: _____
38. If yes, how many of the unwilling participants are female: _____
39. Does this violent act involve suicide?
- 0 Cannot code
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
40. If yes, how many men attempt or commit suicide: _____
41. If yes, how many women attempt or commit suicide: _____

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