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IMPLICATIONS AND FACTORS UNDERLYING  
HOSTILITY TOWARD WOMEN

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A Thesis  
Presented to the  
Faculty of  
California State University,  
San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts  
in  
Psychology

---

by  
Charlene Neighbors  
July 1992

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HOSTILITY TOWARD WOMEN

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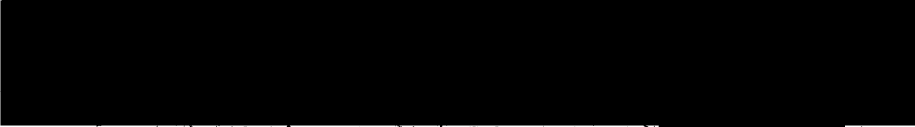
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by  
Charlene Neighbors  
July 1992

Approved by:

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Gloria Cowan, Ph. D., Chair, Psychology

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Geraldine B. Stahly, Ph.D.

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Robert E. Cramer, Ph. D.

## ABSTRACT

The effects of hostility toward women, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and exposure to pornography on intimacy and personal happiness were examined among 92 female and 45 male university students. Questionnaires were given to participants in class and completed at home. The major hypothesis that intimacy and personal happiness would be inversely related to hostility toward women was confirmed. Additionally, acceptance of interpersonal violence was positively related to pornography exposure and to hostility toward women among women. Acceptance of interpersonal violence was inversely related to intellectual intimacy, personal happiness and sexual happiness among women. Women scored significantly higher on hostility toward women and lower on exposure to pornography and acceptance of interpersonal violence than men. Finally a regression analysis was performed with hostility toward women as the dependent variable. Controlling for gender, lack of sexual happiness and acceptance of interpersonal violence contributed unique variance to the equation. To eradicate hostility toward women, we must focus on attitudes condoning sexual violence among women, as well as among men.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## INTRODUCTION

Historically, cultures and societies have used different methods to socialize masculine and feminine roles. In general, male identity has depended on separating from and devaluing women (Horney, 1932). Feminine identity has been easier to acquire, and girls have taken on mother's role immediately, but boys have been considered unnatural if they do and have feared qualities within themselves that have resulted from even partial identification with mother (Mead, cited in Chodorow, 1971). In addition, boys' identity has been more difficult to acquire because fathers work away from home and no same sex modeling had been available. Instead masculinity emerges in a process of differentiation from mother and the female role (Chodorow, 1971). Due to this diffused process of differentiation and identification, there has been no sure definition of masculinity; thus, maleness has to be reaffirmed every day (Parson, cited in Chodorow, 1971). Therefore, cultures have frequently praised achievements that women could not or would not do, simply because men have done it, not because it was of value (Mead, cited in Chodorow, 1971). To the extent that it represents dominant values in a culture, this process ultimately would be expected to result in Kohlberg's

(cited in Chodorow, 1971) findings that girls' preferential evaluation of their own sex decreases with age.

The devaluing of women expressed by callousness and hostility toward women is evidenced by high rates of rape, incest, battering, pornography, sexual harassment and the lack of equal wages and political power accorded to women. Social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) proposes that the formation of callousness and hostility toward women has derived from long standing cultural traditions and individual experiences which combine to form attitudes and scripts. The theory assumes mediating thought structures that manifest themselves in beliefs from and about primary associations with family and peers. The media, as well as socialization practices, have taught callousness and rationalizations which desensitize and lead to hostility toward women. For example, pornography, which degrades and humiliates women, continues to be a multi-billion dollar business. According to Zillmann and Bryant (1989), pornography may be viewed as the primary social institution that fosters sexual callousness by promoting self-serving male beliefs about female sexuality.

#### Feminist Theory and Violence Against Women

Brownmiller (1975) has suggested that pornography is a male invention designed to dehumanize women and reduce women to objects of sexual access. It also has been suggested that pornography supports the false perception of sexual

access as an adjunct of male power and privilege which continued to fuel a rapist mentality. Brownmiller's extensive investigation of rape cited studies that found nothing special emotionally, psychologically, or socially about rapists, including father-rapists. Brownmiller used Gebhard's (1967) analysis to sum up studies on incest: For father-rapists nearness in time and place, alcohol, and a "cultural tolerance" of rape and incest have led ordinary men to sexually victimize their own daughters. However, according to Brownmiller, silence has shrouded the intrafamilial sexual victimization of children and has prevented realistic appraisal of its true incidence.

The energy created by Brownmiller's (1975) feminist perspective has produced an abundance of research and theory, of which Sheffield's (1989) sexual terrorism theory is an example. Although feminist theory does not represent a monolithic set of beliefs, it maintains that varying degrees of patriarchal ideology form the basis of hostility toward women. The present research concerns a small part of the picture outlined by Sheffield concerning voluntary compliance to terrorism, namely, the contribution of hostility toward women, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and pornography.

Due to the prevalence of rape, incest, battering, pornography, sexual harassment and all forms of sexual violence, Sheffield (1989) put forth a model of sexual

terrorism. By comparing sexual violence with political terrorism, Sheffield outlined a system in which males frighten and by frightening, control and dominate females. Sheffield's model focuses on components that illuminate the similarities between sexual and political terrorism. These components concern ideology, propaganda, indiscriminate and amoral violence, voluntary compliance, and our perception of the terrorist and the terrorized.

Ideology is an integrated set of beliefs about the world that explains the way things have been and provides a vision of how they should be. Patriarchy, meaning the rule of the fathers, has been the ideological foundation of our society and has asserted the superiority of males and the inferiority of females. The taproot of patriarchy has been the masculine-warrior ideal. Masculinity has included not only a proclivity for violence, but also those characteristics necessary for survival: aggression, control, emotional reserve, rationality and sexual potency. Sheffield agrees with Fasteau's (1974) position that men have been brought up with the idea that there should be some part of them that thrives on violence, kept under control until released by necessity.

In Sheffield's comparison, propaganda is the methodical dissemination of information for the purpose of promoting a particular ideology. Propaganda, by definition, is biased information. Its purpose has been to present one point of

view on a subject and to discredit opposing points of view. Propaganda is essential in the conduct of terrorism. Sheffield used Watson's (cited in Sheffield, 1989) view that terrorism must not be defined only in terms of violence, but also in terms of propaganda. The two operate together. The violence of terrorism has been a coercive method for attempting to influence the thinking and actions of people. Propaganda has been a persuasive means for doing the same thing. The propaganda of sexual terrorism is found in all expression of popular culture: films, television, music, literature, advertising, pornography.

Sheffield also used Wilkinson's analysis of political terrorism which consisted of indiscriminate, unpredictable, arbitrary, ruthless destructiveness and amorality. Indiscriminate violence has also been at the heart of sexual terrorism. Any woman may be a potential target of violence. Also amorality has pervaded sexual violence in the form of child molesters, incestuous fathers, wife beaters, and rapists who often have not understood that they were doing anything wrong. This view has been routinely shared by police, lawyers, and judges. The institutionalization of such a system required the development of mechanisms other than sustained violence to achieve its goals. Voluntary compliance lies at the core of our society. Sheffield's conclusions were that sexual terrorism has been maintained by an elaborate system of sex-role socialization which has



instructed women to be passive in the name of femininity and men to be aggressors in the name of masculinity.

Sexual violence has not been "nice," we prefer to believe that nice men have not committed these acts and that nice girls and women have not been victims. We have also been taught to blame the victim and excuse the offender. In many instances, it has been thought that the perpetrator is sick and in need of help or has been acting out normal male impulses. It has also been difficult to ascertain exactly how widespread sexual violence is because of underreporting. The refusal to accept the fact that violence against women has been widespread on all levels of society has strongly inhibited the ability to develop any meaningful strategies toward the elimination of sexual violence.

#### Attitudes and Violence Against Women

Burt (1980) has also theorized that certain beliefs form part of the ideology which support an attitude structure that facilitates violence against women (Brownmiller, 1975). Burt developed five scales to measure the conceptualization of these attitudes. The first was Sex Role Stereotyping. The next was the Sexual Conservatism scale which concerns restrictions on the appropriateness of sexual partners, sexual acts, and conditions under which sex should or should not occur. It differs from sex role stereotyping in that it focused solely on sexual behavior. An extreme position on sexual conservatism holds that only

heterosexual, legally sanctioned penile-vaginal intercourse is acceptable. In Burt's view, many instances of rape violate this conservative position and threaten the conservative individual to the extent that the coercion and force involved have been overlooked and the victim has been blamed. This reasoning may be similar to the "just world" hypothesis in which observers justify misfortune by attributing responsibility to the victim (Lerner, 1970). Such a belief protects the believer from sensing his or her own vulnerability to similar events.

The Adversarial Sex Beliefs scale referred to the expectation that sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative. Each party is considered manipulative, sly, cheating, opaque to the understanding of the other, and not to be trusted. A person who has this view of male and female sexuality would see rape as an extreme on a continuum of exploitation, but not an unexpected or horrifying occurrence, nor one to be justified with sympathy or support. The Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence scale measures the idea that force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance in interpersonal relationships. The Rape Myth Acceptance scale measures the notion that a woman is responsible for her own rape or deserves to be raped.

Burt chose three personality dimensions to test the hypothesis that much victim rejection occurs because people engage in defensive attribution: Own Sex Role Satisfaction,

Romantic Self Image, and Self-Esteem. The results revealed that the data for men and women showed the same priority of variables and had a similar magnitude of effect. The personality dimensions had the expected relationship to the attitude variables, but were not significant. Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence produced the greatest effect on Acceptance of Rape Myths; Sex Role Stereotyping and Adversarial Sex Beliefs made smaller, but significant impacts; and Sexual Conservatism had the least effect (nonsignificant).

Burt suggested three implications as a result of the findings: (1) Many Americans believed in rape myths; (2) These attitudes about rape have been supported by other attitudes, such as sex role stereotyping, distrust of the opposite sex, and acceptance of interpersonal violence; and, (3) If sex role stereotyping has been the precondition for targeting women as potential sex victims, acceptance of interpersonal violence is the attitudinal releaser of assaultive action.

Burt also noted that a combination of pressures which concerned sex role stereotyping and the availability of violence in America have helped produce a rate of rape that is the highest of any industrialized country. Burt suggested that when over half of the sampled individuals, women, as well as men, agreed with statements, such as: "A woman who goes to the home or apartment of a man on the

first date implies she is willing to have sex," and, "In the majority of rapes, the victim was promiscuous or had a bad reputation," and when the same number think that 50% or more of reported rapes are reported as rape only because the woman was trying to get back at a man she was angry with or was trying to cover up an illegitimate pregnancy, the world is indeed not a safe place for rape victims" (p. 229).

#### Empirical Evidence on Attitudes and Violence Against Women

Malamuth's (1983) study was guided by Burt's (1980) findings. Malamuth's theory was that various acts of aggression against women shared some underlying cause. His investigation concerned whether the attitudes facilitating aggression and sexual responsiveness to rape would predict men's aggression against a woman within a laboratory setting. The first phase involved two sessions in which Sexual Arousal to Rape was measured physiologically by penile tumescence, which had been assessed by a mercury-in-rubber strain gauge and recorded on a polygraph. Three depictions were read in order by subjects: woman masturbating, rape, and mutually consenting sex. A rape index had been computed for each subject in both sessions by subtracting sexual arousal to rape from sexual arousal to mutually consenting sex. Secondly an assessment of attitudes facilitating violence was made, which consisted of two of Burt's (1980) scales: Rape Myth Acceptance and Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence.

During the second phase which was an ESP experiment, a male subject (transmitter) and a female confederate (receiver) made a written evaluation of each other which was later given to the other. The confederate's negative evaluation was the same for each subject. They were sent to adjoining rooms, and the confederate wore headphones. After the subject read the confederate's evaluation, he then indicated on a scale the likelihood that they would demonstrate ESP. The subject attempted to mentally send a series of numbers, displayed on a video screen, to the confederate and delivered punishment for incorrect responses. The punishment, aversive noise, ranged from mild (1) to (7) unpleasant and irritating, but not dangerous. Unknown to the subject, the confederate had removed the headphones and recorded the level of aversive noise given by the subject. The computer gave the same series of responses for each subject, 5 correct and 15 incorrect, and also recorded the delivered level of aversive noise.

A significant path was found relating attitudes facilitating violence with aggression against women. Similarly, the path coefficient relating sexual arousal to rape with aggression against women was found to be significant. Malamuth posited that the attitudes facilitating violence, Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence and Rape Myth Acceptance, and the factor Sexual Arousal to Rape had independently contributed to the prediction of

laboratory aggression against women. He concluded that hostility toward women had been a common characteristic which underlies both of those responses.

Check, Malamuth, Elias, and Barton (1985) investigated social attitudes that had been based on hostility between the sexes. The scales, Hostility Toward Men and Hostility Toward Women, were based on Burt's (1980) Adversarial Sex Beliefs scale and had been developed by Check and Malamuth. In general, for men and women, they found: (1) age had little effect on hostility toward the opposite sex; (2) those of higher socioeconomic status tended to score slightly lower; and (3) married men and women scored lower than singles. Those who had scored higher on hostility toward the opposite sex tended to be lonely and depressed and had low self-esteem. One of the most important findings for women's scores was that those who most feared being raped had the most hostility toward men. Those women believed that the average man would rape a woman, if he could be assured that he would not be caught and punished. The findings for men revealed that male hostility toward women was closely related to attitudes about women and sexuality. High scorers had traditional sex-role beliefs. Those high scorers also believed in various rape myths. Check et al. also suggested that hostility toward women might be related to viewing pornography. Men who scored high on the hostility scale had found explicit depictions of

rape sexually arousing and had rated sexually violent films more stimulating than men who scored low. Men who had been sexually abused as children also scored higher on hostility toward women. Check et al. also reported that some of the high-hostility men admitted that they had used various levels of force in their attempts to obtain sexual access. Similarly laboratory studies of aggression (Malamuth, 1983) found that some high-hostility men react angrily when rejected by women and used high levels of physical punishment when given the opportunity to retaliate. Malamuth's 1986 study was guided by theorizing that sexual aggression is caused by the interaction of multiple factors: those that create the motivation for the act, those that reduced internal and external inhibitions, and those that provided the opportunity for the act to occur. Three predictors for motivation were used: hostility toward women; the desire to be sexually dominant; and sexual arousal in response to aggression. Two predictors assessed attitudinal releasers or factors of disinhibition: acceptance of violence against women and psychoticism. Sexual experience was assessed because the opportunity for expression of sexual aggression does not exist when a person does not engage in sexual acts.

The desire to dominate women is an important motive for sexual aggression both at the cultural and individual levels (Brownmiller, 1975). Based on clinical interviews with

convicted rapists, Groth (cited in Malamuth, 1986) found that three components were present in all cases of forcible rape: power, anger, and sexuality. Rapists have been distinguished according to the primary element that had characterized their motivation: the power rapist, the anger rapist, and the sadistic rapist. The most common type of convicted rapists has been the power rapist, whose desire has been to conquer and sexually dominate his victim. The second most frequent type of rapist has been the anger rapist, who has been characterized by hostility toward women. Malamuth posited that an interaction of motivation and social attitudes acted as psychological releasers which allowed potential rapists to turn off inhibitions against injuring others.

Malamuth studied hostility toward women primarily for its motivating functions, and also to assess whether it discriminated between men who would and men who would not be inhibited by a woman's subjective experience, such as her suffering and resistance to sexual aggression. Research on the consequences of victims' reactions to nonsexual aggression indicated that the aggressors' hostile feelings have been a very important determinant. For those feeling low hostility, the victim's suffering and resistance was likely to be unpleasant and inhibited aggression (Geen; Rule & Leger, cited in Malamuth, 1986). In contrast, for those with relatively high hostility, the victim's suffering



was reinforcing and encouraged further aggression.

In addition, it has been found that convicted rapists have a relatively high acceptance of violence against women (Scully & Marolla, cited in Malamuth, 1986). It had also been suggested that the actual act of aggression occurs only if the subject has certain antisocial characteristics or psychoticism (Rapaport & Burkhart, cited in Malamuth, 1986). The assessment of sexual experience was also a distinguishing factor, in that Kanin (cited in Malamuth, 1986) had found that sexually aggressive men were more likely to view sexuality as an establishment of their self-worth and as an arena for conquest.

The Malamuth Study used a self-report measure developed by Koss and Oros (1982) to measure sexual aggression. This Sexual Experiences Survey assessed a continuum of sexual aggression that included: psychological pressure, physical coercion, attempted rape, and rape. Factors that created motivation were examined as follows. Sexual arousal in response to rape and to mutually consenting depictions were assessed physiologically by penile tumescence. Three depictions were read in order by subjects: woman masturbating, rape, and mutually consenting sex. For a comparison of consistency with the measurement of tumescence, a self-report of sexual arousal was completed immediately after reading the story. Rape indices were computed for both of these measures by dividing maximum

arousal to rape by maximum arousal to consenting sex for the tumescence data and for the comparison self-reported arousal. Dominance as a sexual motive was assessed with a measure developed by Nelson (cited in Malamuth, 1986). This measure asked subjects their motives for sexual behavior. Hostility Toward Women was assessed with the scale utilized by Check et al. (1985).

Factors that concerned disinhibition were examined by Malamuth as follows. To assess attitudes facilitating violence, three scales that had been developed by Burt (1980) were utilized: Adversarial Sex Beliefs, Rape Myth Acceptance, and Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence. Psychoticism was assessed with the Psychoticism scale from the Eysenck Personality Questionnaire. Eysenck had posited that psychoticism had been particularly associated with impersonal sex and sexual aggression. Claridge (cited in Malamuth, 1986) concluded that this scale primarily assesses antisocial traits that relate to aggression. Sexual experience was assessed with Bentler's Sexual Behavior Inventory, which was concerned with experiences in conventional heterosexual acts. In the first phase, all scales were completed with the exception of tumescence and the comparison self-report. The second phase consisted of tumescence in response to sexual arousal to the three stories and the self-reported comparison for arousal.

Malamuth's results for the first and second phases

combined revealed that all the variables correlated significantly with sexual aggression, as measured by the Sexual Experiences Survey, except for Psychoticism which showed a slight marginal correlation. The Tumescence Index revealed a marginally significant relation with Hostility Toward Women. However, the self-reported Arousal Index significantly correlated with Hostility Toward Women and Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence. Hostility Toward Women correlated significantly with Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence and also showed a marginal relation with Psychoticism.

A multiple regression analysis on Sexual Aggression, including the tumescence index was significant and revealed an interaction involving tumescence, dominance, hostility toward women, and acceptance of interpersonal violence. The results suggested that the presence of any variable alone was unlikely to result in high levels of sexual aggression.

Malamuth assessed the ability of a number of the predictors that had been used in this study (tumescence rape index, self-reported comparison index, dominance, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and psychoticism) to also predict laboratory aggression against male and female targets. Laboratory aggression had been measured in a procedure similar to that used by Malamuth (1983). The results showed that all predictors had significantly related to aggression against women, except for tumescence which was not

significant, but was in the expected direction. However, the data for male targets was ambiguous, with no or possibly weak relations to the predictors. On the basis of the present investigation and earlier work, it was apparent to Malamuth that the same predictors found here to relate to self-reported sexual aggression also related in similar ways to laboratory aggression against women.

Malamuth also stated that the data provided important information that pertained to recent research on the effects of sexually aggressive mass media stimuli. In several studies (Linz, 1985; Malamuth & Check, 1981, 1985), exposure to certain types of media had made men's attitudes more accepting of aggression against women. The present results had also extended earlier laboratory findings by showing that these same scales which had been used to measure the impact of media exposure on attitudes were useful predictors of actual self-reported aggression in social situations, as well as in experimental settings. Although causal relations could not be inferred on the basis of such correlational data alone, the findings were consistent with a theoretical model hypothesizing that media depictions contribute to changes in attitudes and that those depictions would under certain conditions be one of the contributing factors affecting actual aggressive behavior. Malamuth also noted that among the general population, there existed a substantial group of men who showed a pattern of sexual

arousal similar to the rapist.

Mosher and Sirkin (1984) also explored some of the factors that related to sexual aggression and mediated callousness toward women. They defined a Macho Personality, which consisted of three related components: celebration of male aggressiveness, calloused sex attitudes toward women, and fascination with danger. The Hypermasculinity Inventory was developed as the measurement for Macho Personality. According to Mosher and Sirkin, hypermasculinity is fostered in boys through contempt and humiliation for all things female, the view of women as sex objects and conquests, and the degradation of emotional and intimate disclosure in males. The hypermasculine boy was thought to experience shame and self-contempt, when he had failed to attain the masculine ideals of courage and stoicism through inhibition of fear and his cry of distress. Inculturation in the masculine value of stoicism continues during adolescence through participation in male peer group activities, and also, through less acceptable, dangerous, delinquent or aggressive behaviors.

The view of masculinity as stoic was then joined with a conception of women as dominion and as sexual objects who existed as rewards for the conquering hero. The components of the macho personality constellation have reflected the desire to appear powerful and to be dominant in interactions with other men, women, and the environment. The component

Violence as Manly for some men has been an acceptable, even a preferable, masculine expression of power and dominance toward others. Calloused Sex Attitudes have given form to some men's attitudes that sexual intercourse with women establishes masculine power and female submission; and, moreover, could be achieved without empathic concern for the woman's subjective experience. The component Danger as Exciting reflected the attitude that survival in dangerous situations was a manly display of power over the environment. The results of statistical analysis revealed a single, predominant, latent variable that was homogeneous and labeled the Macho Personality.

To investigate this constellation's relationship to sexual access, Mosher and Anderson (1986) related the Macho Personality to men's self-reported sexual aggression, in conjunction with a guided imagery of "rapist." The guided imagery described an average young woman with a flat tire on an isolated road who became the nonconsenting victim of forced-intercourse rape. Subjects were to imagine themselves committing this rape. Although the basic narrative had been constructed to clearly depict rape and rapist-force, victim-resistance cues were introduced to augment the violent reality of rape even further and to assess whether these variables had a controlling effect on the subjects' reactions to the guided imagery of rapist.

At the first session, subjects were administered the

Hypermasculinity Inventory and the Aggressive Sexual Behavior Inventory. After the subjects had finished the guided imagery of rapist, they completed three measures of sexual arousal and the Differential Emotions Scale. Correlation coefficients between scores on the Hypermasculinity Inventory and factor scales of the Aggressive Sexual Behavior Inventory supported the hypothesized relationship between the Macho Personality and Aggressive Sexual Behavior. In particular, the component Calloused Sex Attitudes accounted for most of the variance in self-reported sexually aggressive behavior, rather than "Violence as Manly" or "Danger as Exciting." Higher levels of rapist-force and victim-resistance did not decrease sexual arousal or positive affects, nor increase negative affect. Macho men experienced less intense negative emotions than nonmacho men; however, Macho scores were not related to sexual arousal.

Although the interpretation was speculative, Mosher and Anderson suggested that the guided imagery of rape revived memories of past aggressive sexual behavior in the men that reported such histories. This had seemed consistent with a view that the guided imagery had evoked sexually arousing, but guilt-tinged memories. Those men appeared to experience a conflict between their sexual arousal and interest and their guilt. This emotional constellation had appeared consistent with the retrieval of a mood-congruent, state

memory of past, personally experienced sexual aggression (Bower, cited in Mosher & Anderson, 1986). Many of the subjects had reported using force or exploitation to gain sexual access from dates on the Aggressive Sexual Behavior Inventory. A majority of the men admitted to using drugs or alcohol (75%) or verbal manipulation (69%) in order to have sex with a date. Many of the men admitted using anger expression (46%) "gripped a woman tightly and given her an angry look when she was not giving me the sexual response I wanted," or angry rejection (43%) to induce an unwilling woman to have sex. A minority of the men threatened to use force (13%) "promising a woman that I wouldn't harm her if she did everything that I told her to," or had used force (20%) to gain sexual access.

The self-reported use of aggressive sexual behavior by those college men who have not been identified as criminals was consistent with the high rates of reported victimization by women who have not been identified by police as victims (Koss & Oros, 1982). Approximately 50% of college women have reported being "raped" or "offended" (Mosher & Anderson, 1986). The socialization of the macho male may have scripted him to overvalue a definition of masculinity as tough and unfeeling which had created proclivities toward forceful and exploitative tactics to gain sexual access.

#### Sexual Callousness and Pornography

Zillmann and Bryant's (1989) book, concerning sexual



callousness and pornography, presented pornography as a reinforcing factor that underlies the Macho Personality. The emphasis on power, dominance, strength, toughness, objectification, and aggression in the emotional socialization of males encourages sexual exploitation and hostility toward women. The characterization of women as sexual gate-keepers appears to be misleading, since regulations for sexual access have served mainly to protect women as properties of men, but have failed to afford women much choice.

Zillmann and Bryant proposed that whatever the biological determinants were that inspired men's sexual callousness toward women, cultural conventions appeared to have considerable control over them. Although rape has been considered a cultural universal, comparisons of tribal societies indicated that high rates of rape have been associated with cultures that were marked by ideologies of male dominance and male violence (Sanday, 1981). However, the power of cultural sanctions against the use of force in achieving sexual access has been limited, suggesting to some that archaic forces must be at work. In proposing this view, Freud (cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989) suggested that male sexuality would naturally entail a strong component of aggression. Freud argued that there is an urge to overpower the sexual object, and that the incorporation of aggression in male sexuality should not surprise us

because persuasive skills have been evolutionarily too  
vernal to be highly developed and, thus, would not be relied  
on in the male struggle for sexual access.

The projected inevitability of the use of force by  
sexually excited men who have met resistance in women has  
been challenged by the observation that the incidence of  
rape and coercive actions against women has varied  
profoundly as a result of cultural sanctions. Where rape  
has been severely punished, as in China, Japan, and many  
Islamic nations, the incidence of rape has been extremely  
low (Groth, cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989). Since the  
regulation of sexual access has also been a cultural  
universal, an important universal assumption was that  
aggressive actions to gain sexual access were under  
volitional control. However, the regulation of sexual  
coercion has focused mainly on the use of physical force.  
This has left considerable ambiguity in judgments about the  
coercive nature of other actions for sexual access. The  
circumstances that have surrounded the exploitation of  
economic dependence in lieu of sexual favors has been deemed  
coercion, but not rape. This exploitation has been  
construed as sexual bargaining or service bartering.  
Similarly, usage of an agreed-on consumption of intoxicating  
substances, for the attainment of not-agreed-on sex, has  
been considered coercive behavior, but not rape. The most  
ambiguous situations, however, arise on dates when women who

have been unwilling to have intercourse with their companions have consented to touching and fondling. The apparent enticement of touching and fondling has been justification enough for ignoring protestations.

It is the exploitation of the indicated ambiguities in consent signaling, as well as the deliberate misinterpretation or neglect of expressed nonconsent, that defines the domain of sexual callousness. The common element in these behaviors is men's disregard and contempt for women's right to deny sexual access for whatever reason. Such disregard is what characterizes sexually calloused men, and such men have been numerous in contemporary western society (Briere; Malamuth, cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989). The focal point of sexually calloused dispositions has been the perception of women and their sexuality, and calloused dispositions have been justified when they concerned women who were sexually active. According to Zillmann (cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989), men have behaved as though they have been entitled to sexual access with women who granted it to other men. Those who felt entitled view coercive action to overcome resistance as a misdeed rather than a criminal offense. The justification of coercive sexual action has been much more difficult when the target person is not known to be promiscuous. Zillmann and Bryant (1989) considered those sexual advances to be a poor male rationalization of actions due to callousness.

Mosher (cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989) first established calloused sex attitudes toward women in an investigation, where men had judged the degree considered justifiable when using physical and nonphysical exploitative techniques to obtain sexual intercourse with women. Dates were described as loved girls, nice girls, loose girls, gold-diggers, or teasers. Sexual access by means of physical force has been deemed most justifiable for the teasers, gold-diggers and loose girls. It was deemed least justifiable for loved girls. The differentiation has been identical for the use of nonphysical, but coercive techniques which had been more justified than the use of physical force. These findings demonstrated that the perception of women's sexual openness or promiscuity has a profound influence on men's sexual callousness. Zillmann's own research has also shown that as sexual callousness grows stronger, rape is considered a lesser transgression.

There has been a tendency in men to broadcast their intimate accomplishments to their peers. Men have to "score" in order to prove their masculinity to themselves and to those with whom they compete (Gallup, cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989). Empathetic sensitivities have only been in the way and have needed to be suppressed. Lack of empathy has been further implicated by recent research on sexual harassment. Those who have frequently harassed women for sexual favors have been found to be deficient in the

ability to take another person's perspective (Pryor, cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989).

Zillmann and Bryant (1989) posited that the power of the concept of sexual callousness lies in its specificity. Men's callousness has been specific to the welfare of women, and their sexual callousness has been particularly specific to women's sexual behavior. The creation and maintenance of such callousness has been specific to affective experiences in which women have been dominated, have been treated as dominion, and have not been granted the choices to which they were entitled (Mosher & Sirkin, 1984). Historically human society has had institutions or rites of passage that encouraged young men to form calloused dispositions toward women (van Gennep, cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989). Zillmann and Bryant espoused that social indoctrination now appeared to come from pornography, where sexual behaviors have been exhibited in social situations that are in agreement with callousness-promoting perceptions of female sexuality.

Berkowitz (cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989) hypothesized that callous and aggressive behaviors have been influenced in an automatic fashion by the stimulus characteristics of target persons. Once groups of legitimate target persons have been identified, inhibition of hostile responses relax; and the readiness for overt aggression against these targets increases accordingly.

Tacit knowledge of the appropriateness of targets has been developed by witnessing the behavior of others. It has been suggested by Donnerstein and Berkowitz (cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989) that women in our society constitute an appropriate target class because they have been witnessed as recipients of violent action rather than as perpetrators. The paradigm applies in a straightforward fashion to men's sexual callousness toward women and the modification of callousness by pornography. Given the abundance of calloused actions against women and the lack of regard for women, calloused attitudes appear normal and appropriate, as well as safe. Promiscuous women have been branded as lewd, but nonetheless have been actively pursued as sex objects. The persona of a woman has become immaterial, as attention focused on the faceless body, and its prospective actions. Men's moral condemnation of these promiscuous women has appeared to depersonalize women in general.

Zillmann and Bryant (1988) studied the effects of pornography on personal gratification. The Inventory of Personal Happiness revealed the uniform impact of pornography on all measured aspects of happiness and satisfaction, with the exception of scholastic or professional accomplishments. Exposure to pornography negatively affected both men and women's attitudes toward relationships. Pornography diminished satisfaction with the physical appearance of sexual partners, reduced satisfaction

with partner's affection, sexual behavior, and sexual inquisitiveness, reduced the importance of faithfulness; enhanced the importance of sex without emotional involvement, and diminished the importance of good family relations.

The priming effects in different forms of pornography were examined by Weaver (cited in Zillmann & Bryant, 1989). Female and male subjects were exposed to neutral, sexual, or aggressive-sexual film segments and responded to portraits of women and men. The results revealed that for women and men the perception of sexually nonpermissive women was most strongly influenced by prior exposure to pornography. Exposure to consensual and female-instigated sex, when compared to neutral stimuli, prompted men to perceive those women as more permissive. Female subjects responded differently. They did not project permissiveness from women's sexual initiative. Male subjects generalized the witnessed sexual actions of sexually initiating women and projected the traits of those women onto female peers who had been considered nonpermissive by others.

In male subjects, exposure to nonviolent erotica, especially to erotica that depicted women as sexually initiating and insatiable, not only activated male libido, it also made women appear more receptive to sexual advances. Female subjects tended to project it after exposure to rape, and the harshness of judgments about rapists were softened.

After exposure to any of the erotica, female subjects had tended to perceive less innocence in their female peers. Males also saw sexually nonpermissive women as less innocent after exposure to rape and eroticized violence. This also affected judgments about rapists and trivialized rape.

In summation, Zillmann and Bryant's (1989) extensive review of pornography studies found that for women, as well as men, exposure to both nonviolent and violent pornography changed the perception of nice girls significantly closer to the sexually promiscuous prototypes. The influence of presumed sexual permissiveness and promiscuity mediated calloused dispositions toward the sexual victimization of women, as well as leniency toward the perpetrators of calloused and coercive sexual actions against them. John Stoltenberg (1990), a co-founder of Men Against Pornography, has seen pornography as a window into acculturated male sexuality which portrays the eroticization of male supremacy. The picture pornography has exposed is not a good one; it reveals the sexuality of men as an addiction to force and coercion for arousal, a despoliation of the female, a fetishizing of erection and devotion to penetration, an obsession with interpersonal power differentials, an eroticized commitment to violence, and throughout all pornography there had been a striving to assert masculinity over and against femininity. Stoltenberg emphasizes that pornography is the most reliable evidence



available about male sexual identity, and the sexuality that reinforces it, and the values that construct it.

Stoltenberg believes there are many men who are sick at heart over male sexual identity as he defines it. Some men want sexual relationships that are about intimacy and joy, ecstasy and equality, not antagonism and alienation. Stoltenberg's commitment is to the men who have struggled for women's equality under male supremacy and have made a vow not to abandon her. These men have struggled for freedom and bodily integrity because they know everyone should have it. For such men, loyalty to a woman's life experience is a profound form of intimacy. Theirs is a sexuality that desires partnership and tenderness. These men are dissidents from the sex-class hierarchy in intimacy.

### Intimacy

Schaefer and Olson (1981) have reviewed and conceptualized intimacy. Intimacy has been a term widely used by counselors and educators since the human potential and growth movement produced an increased awareness of intimacy in relationships. These movements also precipitated an explosion of family enrichment programs which implied change, growth, enhancement and development of the ingredients already present in a relationship toward intimacy. Historically, intimacy was considered to be the reward and benefit of friendship, and most of those who married did so to seek it.

Schaefer and Olson found that many theorists have included intimacy as a vital ingredient in their conceptualization of a healthy personality. Maslow (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) indicated that highly developed individuals usually have several significantly intimate friendships. Erikson (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) has referred to it as a critical developmental task when making the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Sullivan (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) also associated the need for intimacy with adolescence, and viewed it as the need for collaboration with peers. Angyal (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) emphatically posited the establishment and maintenance of a close relationship as the crux of our existence. Angyal outlined the "need to be needed" in an intimate relationship, as a fundamental precept of his theory. Intimacy has also been defined in terms of sexual involvement or courtship, the greater the sexual involvement, the more intimacy. However, Gilbert (in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) distinguished intimacy as the depth of exchange, verbal and non-verbal, between two persons which implied a deep form of acceptance and commitment to each other and to the relationship. Gilbert also posited several conceptual links to intimacy: the level of reciprocity of disclosure, self-esteem, as well as the ability to resolve conflict within the relationship.

Schaefer and Olson found that research literature also

mentioned intimacy with some frequency, but had barely begun to conceptualize it, or even validate the nature of its presence in relationships. The most extensive and refined conceptual definitions have purported intimacy to be a mutual need satisfaction and a closeness to another human being on a variety of levels. Clinebell and Clinebell (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) identified several facets of intimacy: sexual, emotional, esthetic, creative, recreational, work, crisis, conflict, commitment, spiritual, and communication. Dahms (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) had proposed a hierarchy with three dimensions of intimacy: intellectual, physical, and emotional. Inherent in Dahms' concept of intimacy were the qualities of mutual accessibility, naturalness, non-possessiveness, and the need to view intimacy as a process. An intact relationship has also appeared to involve some degree of idealization. The enhancement of each other's value through idealization allows the partners to continue to be a source of positive reinforcement for beliefs, attitudes, and values. Behaviorists have also demonstrated that the primary focus of long-term relationships should be on the positive.

Olson (cited in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) has focused on the process aspects of intimacy and provided a conceptual definition that integrated the approaches found in the literature. Olson developed an assessment of intimacy, the PAIR (Personal Assessment of Intimacy in Relationships).

His measurement assessed five types of intimacy: (1) emotional intimacy - experiencing a closeness of feelings; (2) social intimacy - the experience of having common friends and similarities in social networks; (3) intellectual intimacy - the experience of sharing ideas; (4) sexual intimacy - the experience of sharing general affection and sexual activity; (5) recreational intimacy - shared experiences of interests in hobbies, mutual participation in sporting events. Rather than equating intimacy with only sexual sharing, it may be viewed as sharing in several different areas.

#### Relations Between Hostility, Calloused Attitudes, and Intimacy

The present study is guided by social learning theory in that various attitudes share long standing cultural traditions and common personal experiences which have resulted in hostility toward women. A relation found between the following measures will support the rationale that there are a set of interrelated attitudes, including hostility and callousness toward women and interpersonal violence which contribute to sexual terrorism and are basically destructive to intimate human relationships. These background concepts are also sustained by pornography.

The attitudinal factors of Hostility Toward Women, Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence and the behavioral factor of consumption of pornography function as predictors

for indices of psychological well-being, defined by the level of intimacy in relationships. Therefore, this study has been designed to determine whether increased levels in Hostility Toward Women, Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence and pornography exposure would decrease intimacy in various domains of experience: sexual, social, emotional, intellectual, recreational, and interpersonal. The following hypotheses were utilized.

1. Measures of personal well-being, happiness, and intimacy would be negatively related to hostility toward women.
2. Measures of personal well-being, happiness, and intimacy would be negatively related to acceptance of interpersonal violence.
3. Measures of personal well-being, happiness, and intimacy would be negatively related to pornography exposure.
4. Measures of hostility toward women, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and pornography exposure would be positively related.

## METHOD

### Subjects

The sample consisted of 137 participants, 92 females and 45 males, 18 years or older, and were recruited from lower and upper division classes at a California State University. Participant's average age was between 25 and 30 years old, with 43% below 25 years and 87% over 25 years old. There were 42 on the low income level, 86 middle income, and 6 high income, they had 3.5 years of college education. Regarding marital status, 65 were unmarried, 42 married, 11 lived together, 6 were separated, 12 were divorced, none had been widowed. Regarding type of relationship, 84 were in on-going relationships, 18 were dating couples, 7 were dating others frequently, 28 were not dating anyone now, none had never dated. No significant differences were found between men and women on age, income, marital status, or relationships. Participants were treated in accordance with the ethical standards of the American Psychological Association.

### Measures

A questionnaire was compiled and all answers were recorded on a 7-point scale, from "not at all" to "always", with the exception of the exposure to pornography scale which used a 5-point scale and different response choices

(see Appendix). The questionnaire began with written instructions for completion and demographics, followed by: (1) the PAIR; (2) the Personal Happiness scale; (3) the Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence scale; (4) the Hostility Toward Women scale; (5) the Index of Well-Being; (6) the Pornography Scale; and, (7) the Conflict Tactics Scale, which was dropped from the final analysis.

The questionnaire consisted of 196 items including the Conflict Tactics Scale. Length of time for completion was approximately a half-hour. Two hundred and fifty questionnaires were given out and 147 were returned; 2 were discarded due to incompleteness.

Demographic measures concerned participant's sex, age category, religion, income, years of education, country/region where raised, marital status, type of relationship, and sexual preference.

The PAIR was composed of 5 subscales: Sexual Intimacy, 6-items; Emotional Intimacy, 6-items; Social Intimacy, 6-items; Intellectual Intimacy, 6-items; Recreational Intimacy, 6-items (Schaefer & Olson, 1981). Schaefer and Olson, (1981) reported that Pearson Correlations with the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment scale consistently exceeded .30 with each PAIR subscale, range .34 to .98. Also every PAIR subscale correlated significantly in a positive direction with Moos' cohesion and expressiveness scales. An item analysis and factor analysis

were conducted to test for adequacy of the items. Six categories were delineated, with nearly half the items having a factor loading of .50 or more. Those items having a frequency split in responses closest to 50%-50% were considered the best discriminators. In addition to the validity analysis the PAIR was analyzed for its ability to discriminate and converge with other variables. This self-report inventory of intimacy may be used at all levels of dyadic heterosexual relationships, from friendship to steady dating to marriage. The PAIR may be successfully used to focus on the specific strengths and limitations of their relationship. The PAIR brings the concept of intimacy into the realm of realistic perception and provides for the specific delineation of the various types of intimacy. The PAIR is primarily a method of information gathering and may be used for an examination of unmet needs. The highest score possible on the PAIR was 210 points, scores ranged from 80 to 200. High scores indicated an intimate relationship.

The Inventory of Personal Happiness consisted of 17-items. The Inventory was designed to measure perceptions and evaluations about the sexuality of others and self, as well as attitudes and dispositions about sexuality and has been utilized in pornography research. For reliability, general happiness (Items 1-5) obtained Cronbach's alpha=.76, and sexual happiness (Items 6-11) obtained Cronbach's



alpha=.82, (Zillmann & Bryant, 1988). The highest score possible on the Inventory of Personal Happiness was 119 points, scores ranged from 56 to 110. High scores indicated high levels of personal happiness. The Index of Well-Being consisted of an 8-item semantic differential scale, combined with a single-item assessment of life satisfaction, and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .89. This Index correlated .55 with the life satisfaction question, (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976). The high score on the Index of Well-Being was 63, range 1 to 55. Many participants incorrectly completed this scale, therefore it was dropped from the analysis.

A Pornography Scale was developed and consisted of 5 items related to pornography in the media which asked how frequently participants had viewed pornographic magazines and movies on the Playboy channel, the VCR or at theaters during the year. Response alternatives to the 5 questions included "never," "once or twice," "3-5 times," "5-10 times," "more than once a month." The high score on the Pornography Scale was 25 points, range 5 to 22. High scores indicated high levels of exposure to pornography. This measure was dichotimized because very few participants had been exposed to these forms of pornography, 63 responded "never" to every item, the mean was 7.19 and the median score was 6.0.

The Hostility Toward Women Scale was composed of 30-

items concerning resentment and mistrust of women, and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .89 (Malamuth, 1986). The high score on Hostility Toward Women was 210, range 37 to 145. High scores indicated devaluing and/or hostility toward women. The Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale consisted of 6-items, concerning the treatment of women in regard to battering and rape, and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .58 (Burt, 1980). The high score on Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence was 42, range 6 to 33. High scores indicated high levels of acceptance of violence in personal relationships. The Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1979) was also completed by participants, but not included in the analysis.

### Procedure

Subjects were recruited by announcements in under/upper-division classes. Subjects were asked to participate in research involving sexual and social attitudes. An Informed Consent form and questionnaire were given to participants in class which contained written instructions for completion at home. Completed Consent Forms and questionnaires were collected during the next class period, and participants were debriefed (see Appendix).

## RESULTS

The results were analyzed using correlations for the sample as a whole, and men and women separately. Gender differences on background variables, attitudinal variables and intimacy variables were also examined by means and standard deviations. Finally a regression analysis was performed with hostility toward women as the dependent variable for the sample as a whole.

### Means and Standard Deviations

Table 1 presents the means and standard deviations of gender comparisons for the callousness scales and the intimacy and personal happiness scales for men and women separately. The callousness scales represent hostility toward women, acceptance of interpersonal violence and pornography exposure. The intimacy scale consisted of 5 subscales: recreational, emotional, social, intellectual, and sexual, and one item from the Index of Well-Being (life satisfaction). The personal happiness scale consisted of general happiness, sexual happiness, and the importance of general and sexual happiness. As can be seen on Table 1, women scored higher on hostility toward women than men,  $F(1,114)=7.37, p<.008$ . Men scored higher on acceptance of interpersonal violence and pornography exposure than women

did,  $F(1,131)=6.76$ ,  $p<.01$ ;  $F(1,133)=22.16$ ,  $p<.0001$ , respectively. No significant differences were found between men and women on intimacy or personal happiness scores.

#### Sample as a Whole

Table 2 presents correlations between the callousness scales and the complete personal happiness scale and one of its components, sexual happiness, and the intimacy subscales. As can be seen on Table 2 for the sample as a whole, hostility toward women was inversely related to personal happiness, sexual happiness, recreational intimacy, emotional intimacy, social intimacy, intellectual intimacy, and life satisfaction. Acceptance of interpersonal violence was also inversely related to intellectual intimacy. Exposure to pornography was positively related to intellectual intimacy and emotional intimacy. In an attempt to determine whether the significant relationship between exposure to pornography and emotional intimacy was confounded by (or based on) subjects participating in an intimate relationship, a partial correlation between pornography and emotional intimacy was performed, controlling for level of relationship did not remove the significant correlation ( $r=.15$ ,  $p<.04$ ). A significant correlation not shown was acceptance of interpersonal violence and exposure to pornography ( $r=.29$ ,  $p<.0001$ ).

Table 1

Gender Differences on Callousness Scales and Intimacy/Personal Happiness Scales

	Men			Women		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
HAP	40	88.55	12.68	85	89.01	12.63
GENH	43	26.20	3.78	89	26.43	4.30
SEXH	43	31.35	7.79	88	30.42	8.80
IMPOR	43	31.23	4.06	92	31.93	3.78
INTIM	41	148.05	25.47	81	147.68	26.66
REC	44	29.77	4.83	88	29.84	6.48
EMO	44	30.98	6.73	88	29.59	7.70
SOC	43	25.44	7.04	91	25.92	6.69
INTEL	43	30.79	6.26	90	29.05	6.80
SEXUL	43	32.00	7.84	87	32.01	6.66
LIF	36	5.39	1.15	78	5.42	1.04
HTW	40	86.90	21.29	76	98.45**	22.03
AIV	43	15.28*	4.56	90	12.97	4.91
PORN	45	1.80***	.40	90	1.40	.49

Note. HAP=personal happiness; SEXH=sexual happiness; REC=recreational intimacy; EMO=emotional intimacy; SOC=social intimacy; INTEL=intellectual intimacy; SEXUL=sexual intimacy; LIF=life satisfaction; HTW=hostility toward women; AIV=acceptance of interpersonal violence; PORN=pornography exposure dichotomized.

Correlations between hostility toward women and acceptance of interpersonal violence ( $r=.14$ ), and between hostility toward women and pornography ( $r=-.06$ ) were not significant. There were no significant relationship between acceptance of interpersonal violence and the personal happiness scale ( $r=-.14$ ) for the sample as a whole.

Table 2

Correlations Between Callousness Scales and Intimacy/Personal Happiness Scales for the Whole Sample

	HAP	SEXH	REC	EMO	SOC	INTEL	SEXUL	LIF
HTW	-.28**	-.37**	-.21*	-.28**	-.19*	-.25**	-.21*	-.23*
AIV	-.14	-.13	.02	-.17	-.03	-.18*	.10	-.11
POR	.01	.02	.08	.18*	.08	.14*	.06	-.01

\* $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$  (1-tailed).

Note. HTW=hostility toward women; AIV=acceptance of interpersonal violence; POR=pornography exposure; HAP=personal happiness; SEXH=sexual happiness; REC=recreational intimacy; EMO=emotional intimacy; SOC=social intimacy; INTEL=intellectual intimacy; SEXUL=sexual intimacy; LIF=life satisfaction.

Correlations for Women and Men

Table 3 presents correlations between the callousness variables and intimacy/personal happiness variables for

women. As can be seen on Table 3 for women, hostility toward women was inversely related to personal happiness, sexual happiness, recreational intimacy, emotional intimacy, social intimacy, intellectual intimacy, and life satisfaction. Acceptance of interpersonal violence was also inversely related to personal happiness, sexual happiness, intellectual intimacy, and life satisfaction. Pornography was positively related to social intimacy. Additional significant correlations not shown were found between ongoing relationships and exposure to pornography ( $r=.23$ ,  $p<.01$ ), hostility toward women and acceptance of interpersonal violence ( $r=.29$ ,  $p<.006$ ), and acceptance of interpersonal violence and pornography ( $r=.26$ ,  $p<.007$ ).

Table 3

Correlations Between Callousness Scales and Intimacy/Personal Happiness Scales for Women

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	HAP	SEXH	REC	EMO	SOC	INTEL	SEXUL	LIF
HTW	-.37**	-.43**	-.31**	-.37**	-.30**	-.32**	-.18	-.20*
AIV	-.26*	-.24*	-.13	-.06	-.03	-.23*	.10	-.18*
POR	-.05	-.04	.07	.15	.17*	.10	.07	.01

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Note. \*  $p <.05$ , \*\*  $p <.01$  (1-tailed).

Correlations for Men

Table 4 presents correlations between the callousness

variables and the intimacy/personal happiness variables for men. As can be seen on Table 4 for men, hostility toward women was inversely related to sexual happiness, sexual intimacy, and life satisfaction. There were no significant relationships between hostility toward women and acceptance of interpersonal violence ( $r=.09$ ), or between hostility toward women and exposure to pornography ( $r=-.03$ ), or between acceptance of interpersonal violence and pornography ( $r=.14$ ).

Table 4

Correlations Between Callousness Scales and Intimacy/Personal Happiness Scales for Men

	HAP	SEXH	REC	EMO	SOC	INTEL	SEXUL	LIF
HTW	-.17	-.27*	.01	-.09	-.01	-.02	-.31*	-.32*
AIV	.18	.13	.07	-.14	-.09	-.19	.04	.06
POR	.15	.13	.11	.16	-.06	.07	.03	-.02

Note. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$  (1-tailed).

Regression for the Whole Sample

A regression was performed with hostility toward women as the dependent variable. As can be seen on Table 6 for the sample as a whole, the equation was significant. Gender, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and lack of sexual happiness contributed unique variance.



Table 5

Regression of Predictors on Hostility Toward Women

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Variables	Beta	F	p
SEXUL	-.17	1.32	.25
INTEL	-.11	.83	.36
REC	-.17	.01	.92
GENDER	.35	15.36	.00
AIV	.17	7.63	.00
EMO	-.11	.44	.51
POR	.06	.23	.63
SOC	-.12	.25	.61
SEXH	-.51	11.16	.00

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R = .56, p < .0001

R<sup>2</sup> = .31, p < .0001

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Note.SEXUL= sexual intimacy; INTEL=intellectual intimacy;  
 REC=recreational intimacy; GENDER=male (1) female (2);  
 AIV=acceptance of interpersonal violence; EMO=emotional  
 intimacy; POR=pornography exposure; SOC=social intimacy;  
 SEXH=sexual happiness.

## DISCUSSION

The focus of this thesis has been the relationship between callous psychosocial attitudes that devalue women and the quality of intimate relationship. A particular interest was the effect of an interrelated set of attitudes, namely hostility toward women, acceptance of interpersonal violence, and exposure to pornography. These calloused attitudes interfere with intimacy, as well as personal happiness and undermine quality of life and mental well-being. The goals of this thesis were to provide a foundation for future study and data that clinicians might find useful, as well as contribute to the body of literature concerned with these areas. The central hypothesis, in accord with social learning theory, assumed that the development of adult attitudes mediates female and male responses to women in general. Several hypotheses tested the relationships between the interrelated calloused attitudes and measures of intimacy, personal happiness, and well-being.

The hypothesis that measures of personal well-being, happiness, and intimacy would be negatively related to hostility toward women was confirmed. For the sample as a whole, hostility toward women was significantly negatively

related to well-being, personal happiness, sexual happiness, sexual intimacy, recreational intimacy, emotional intimacy, social intimacy, and intellectual intimacy. In a separate correlation for women, the findings had a similar pattern of significance, with the exception of sexual intimacy. In separate analyses for men, hostility toward women had significantly negative relationships with well-being, sexual happiness, and sexual intimacy.

Intimacy has been defined by Gilbert (in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) in terms of level of reciprocity of disclosure, self-esteem, the ability to resolve conflict within the relationship, and a deep form of mutual acceptance and personal commitment between both parties. Intimacy has also been defined by the level of sexual involvement. Clinebell and Clinebell (in Schaefer & Olson, 1981) conceptualized these definitions to be a mutual need satisfaction and closeness to another human being on a variety of levels. Intimacy has also been included by numerous theorists in their conceptualization of a healthy personality. Most important, intimacy involves some degree of idealization. This allows the partners to be a source of positive reinforcement for beliefs, values, and attitudes. Women are particularly affected by these attitudes which created unfulfilled emotional needs, social needs, intellectual needs, recreational needs, and sexual needs. Women must love themselves to be able to experience a closeness with

another individual. Women need to love themselves even to be sexually satisfied. Women who do not love themselves or reject members of their own group may have a negative collective self-esteem (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). According to Tajfel (in Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990), two aspects of identity exist: personal identity and social identity. Social identity is defined as "that aspect of the individual's self concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 255, cited in Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). Crocker and Luhtanen (1990) developed a measure of individual differences in private collective self-esteem which assesses global evaluations of one's ascribed social groups, the group-level equivalent of global personal self-esteem. Thus, women who reject their own group may find it difficult to accept themselves and thereby limit the sharing of their ideas, interests, and leisure activities. For women, devaluing other women does not exist in isolation from the life satisfaction and intimacy to be gained with specific others.

For men, devaluing women is just as painful. Their sexual happiness, sexual intimacy and well-being are seriously affected, as well as their intimate relationships which create unmet needs. Their sexual happiness is also dependent on their lack of hostility toward women. Men need

to like and value women to be sexually happy, as suggested by Stoltenberg (1990). Stoltenberg's supposition is that some men want sexual relationships that are about intimacy and joy, ecstasy and equality. These men have struggled for women's freedom and bodily integrity. For such men, loyalty to a woman's life experience is a profound form of intimacy. These men are dissidents from the sex/class hierarchy of male dominance. Stoltenberg emphasized that pornography was the most reliable evidence available about male sexual identity, the sexuality that reinforces it, and the values that construct it. According to Mosher and Sirkin (1984), the socialization of men includes calloused sex attitudes, as well as the attitude that violence is manly. In the Macho personality constellation, calloused sex attitudes have given form to male attitudes that sexual intercourse with women establishes masculine power and female submission without empathic concern for a woman's subjective experience. The attitude that violence is manly has established violence as an acceptable masculine expression of power and dominance toward others. Check et al. (1985) found that men who scored high on the hostility toward women scale reported that explicit depictions of rape were sexually arousing and rated sexually violent videotapes more stimulating and entertaining than did men who scored low on hostility toward women. These men also had traditional sex role beliefs.

The hypothesis that measures of well-being, personal happiness, and intimacy would be negatively correlated with acceptance of interpersonal violence was partially confirmed. For women, well-being was significantly negatively related to acceptance of interpersonal violence, indicating the negative nature of the impact that an accepting attitude toward interpersonal violence has on life satisfaction. For women, acceptance of interpersonal violence also had a significant negative relationship with personal happiness, sexual happiness, and intellectual intimacy. Personal happiness includes private life, immediate family, same sex friends, sexual partner, and scholastic accomplishments. Sexual happiness includes satisfaction with sexual partner's physical appearance, behavior during sexual activity, affectionate nature, and emotional commitment. These areas concern the core of women's lives and demonstrate the damage involved when women have accepted attitudes supporting violence against women.

For the sample as a whole, acceptance of interpersonal violence had a significant negative relationship with intellectual intimacy which provides some evidence and men and women alike suffer alienation as a result of acceptance of interpersonal violence. Although men scored higher than women on acceptance of interpersonal violence, there were no significant correlates among men. For the men, this may be due to the small sample size of men relative to women.

Also, hostility toward women is more subtle and predicts lack of well-being, personal happiness, and intimacy more extensively than the extremes involved in acceptance of interpersonal violence, and may underlie acceptance of interpersonal violence and pornography consumption. The hostility toward women scale measures negative assumptions about female characteristics, and the acceptance of interpersonal violence scale measures the idea that force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance in interpersonal relationships. In a regression, controlling for gender, acceptance of interpersonal violence and lack of sexual happiness contributed independently to hostility toward women. This indicates that personal satisfaction and acceptance of interpersonal violence are related to hostility toward women.

The hypothesis that measures of personal well-being, happiness, and intimacy would be negatively related to pornography exposure was not confirmed. To the contrary, the sample as a whole obtained significantly positive, though small, relationships between both emotional and intellectual intimacy and pornography. Among women, a significant positive correlation between social intimacy and pornography was found. It is possible that those respondents who viewed no pornography at all in any context, a large percent of the sample, are more rigid and less exploring than those who have had at least some exposure to

sexually explicit materials. Women in on-going relationships had more exposure to pornography than women who were not in on-going relationships. Some wrote that they viewed pornography with their partners. However, pornography was not related to sexual happiness or sexual intimacy.

The hypothesis that hostility toward women and acceptance of interpersonal violence would be positively related was confirmed for women only. For women, the positive correlation between hostility toward women and acceptance of interpersonal violence appears to support the voluntary compliance component of sexual terrorism as defined by Sheffield (1989), who maintains that sex-role socialization instructs women to be passive and men to be aggressive. Rejection of one's gender group appears to be a significant factor in women's acceptance of interpersonal violence against women. Perhaps, women who devalue other women see themselves as the exceptions, thereby making it possible for them to accept violence against (other) women.

For men there were no significant correlations among the callousness variables themselves. These data fail to support Malamuth's (1983) suggestion that hostility toward women is an underlying factor in men's sexual arousal to depictions of rape and aggression toward women. Although men scored lower than women on gender comparisons of hostility toward women, they scored higher on acceptance of



interpersonal violence. However, it is counter-intuitive to assume that men as a group have less hostility toward women than do women. Again, this may be due to the smaller sample size of men. Also, it may be less socially acceptance for men to be hostile to women than women to women. if one is a member of a lower-status group, such as women or people of color, one may be able to complain about one's own group. When the higher-status group derogates the lower-status group, the terms racism or sexism are more likely to be applied. Although the hostility toward women scale was designed to be used with men, social learning theory assumes that because socialization contributes to similar cultural attitudes in both men and women, the measurement of women's hostility toward women seems appropriate.

The hypothesized positive relationship between acceptance of interpersonal violence and pornography was confirmed for the sample as a whole, and for women in a separate correlation. This positive relationship between pornography and acceptance of interpersonal violence may parallel Brownmiller's (1975) conclusion that pornography supports the false perception of sexual access as an adjunct of male power and privilege. From the just-world hypothesis point of view, calloused sex attitudes would result in victim blame and reinforce hostility toward women as well as acceptance of interpersonal violence. Although men scored higher than women on exposure to pornography and acceptance

of interpersonal violence, men did not show a significant correlation between pornography and acceptance of interpersonal violence. Again, This may be due to the small sample size and the minimal exposure to pornography among both men and women.

The hypothesized positive relationship between hostility toward women and pornography was not confirmed. Although men scored higher than women on exposure to pornography, frequency of viewing in this sample was minimal for men as well as for women. Approximately 67% of the sample had not viewed or read any pornographic material and the mean score on exposure to pornography was 7 with a possible range of 5 to 25. The pornography measure was dichotomized on the basis of no exposure versus any exposure to prevent the effects of a few extreme scores on the pornography exposure scale from unduly influencing the findings. In order to more fully test the relations of pornography exposure to other variables, a sample with more variability in pornography exposure would be needed. Since few subjects had more than minimal, if nay, exposure to pornography, the effects found by Zillmann and Bryant (1989) on prolonged exposure to pornography could not be assessed in the present study. Future studies should include a larger male sample or women only. it would be of interest to observe the relationship between hostility toward women, collective self-esteem, the association of violence and

masculinity, and mental illness.

Hostility toward women and acceptance of interpersonal violence not only decrease intimacy, personal happiness, and well-being for men and women, there are also other negative side effects. The negative assumptions about women involved in hostility toward women combined with accepting force and coercion as legitimate ways to gain compliance in interpersonal relationships may contribute to the trivialization of male violence. Social attitudes, such as violence is manly, may contribute to the present findings of a relationship between hostility and acceptance of interpersonal violence and may also contribute to high rates of sexual victimization. The socialization of these attitudes have taught us to blame the victim and to excuse the offender. Women's hostility toward women also prevents women from bonding together in action against sexual violence. Knowledge of the value and emotional significance attached to membership in their own gender group may influence women to see themselves as exceptions to their group, and they may come to believe that other women deserve to be raped or abused. The results of this thesis suggests that women's attitudes, not only men's attitudes, are important in providing a social movement that works to eliminate violence against women.

## APPENDIX

### INFORMATION SHEET I

Please retain this information sheet for your files.

Dear participant,

This study investigates the effects of social and sexual attitudes in the relationships of people over 18 years of age. These attitudes are very important to the understanding of relationships. Therefore a clearer understanding of these aspects of a relationship may designate a direction in counseling for those who are having difficulties forming and maintaining satisfactory intimate relationships. Thank you for your participation. Please return the questionnaire even if you decide not to complete it.

Please contact one of the following centers should you become upset.

- 1) Counseling Center: 714/880-5040  
California State University, San Bernardino: PS 227
- 2) Crisis Intervention 1-800-444-9999

If you have any questions please contact me.

Charlene Neighbors, researcher  
M. A. General-Experimental Program  
Department of Psychology: PS 219  
California State University, San Bernardino

Faculty sponsors:

Gloria Cowan, PhD; Geraldine Stahly, PhD; Bob Cramer, PhD.  
Department of Psychology: PS 219 Phone: 880-5570  
California State University, San Bernardino.

## Social and Sexual Attitudes Questionnaire

The following questionnaire asks about your experiences and attitudes regarding different forms of social behavior and sexual intimacy. In order to understand your situation, some personal questions are asked. Your participation is completely voluntary and your answers are completely private. Please do not put your name on any part of the questionnaire.

Thank you for your assistance with this important project.

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR RESPONSES

- (1) Sex:        Male                      Female
- (2) Age:    18-24            25-30            31-35            36-40            41-50  
          51-60            61-70            71+
- (3) Religion:    Christian            Other \_\_\_\_\_  
                  Atheist
- (4) Income Bracket:    Low income            Middle income  
                          Upper income
- (5) Years of college education:    1st            2nd            3rd            4th  
    Over
- (6) Country/Region where raised:            USA  
    Other \_\_\_\_\_  
    East    West            North            South            Mid-West
- (7) Single            Live-in            Married            Separated  
          Divorced            Widowed

Please differentiate your present relationship.

- (8) On-going relationship            Dating couple  
          Dating others frequently    Not Dating anyone now  
          Never Dated
- (9) Sexual preference:    Heterosexual            Bisexual  
                                  Homosexual

Please respond in the way you feel about your present romantic partner. If you are not presently in a romantic relationship, think about the last romantic relationship you were in.

Indicate past----- or present----- relationship.

1. I think that we share some of the same interests.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
2. I can state my feelings without him/her getting defensive.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
3. We enjoy spending time with other couples.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
4. My partner frequently tries to change my ideas.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
5. We seldom find time to do fun things together.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
6. I am satisfied with our sex life.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
7. We usually "keep to ourselves."  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
8. I feel it is useless to discuss some things with my partner.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
9. We enjoy the out-of-doors together.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
10. My partner listens to me when I need someone to talk to.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
11. I feel "put-down" in a serious conversation with my partner.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
12. I feel our sexual activity is just routine.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
13. We have very few friends in common.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
14. We like playing together.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always
15. I am able to tell my partner when I want sexual intercourse.  
Not at all      1      2      3      4      5      6      7      Always

16. I often feel distant from my partner.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
17. I "hold back" my sexual interest because my partner makes me feel uncomfortable.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
18. I share in very few of my partner's interests.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
19. My partner can really understand my hurts and joys.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
20. When it comes to having a serious discussion it seems that we have little in common.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
21. Having time together with friends is an important part of our shared activities.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
22. Many of my partner's closest friends are also my closest friends.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
23. We enjoy the same recreational activities.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
24. Sexual expression is an essential part of our relationship.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
25. I feel neglected at times by my partner.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
26. My partner disapproves of some of my friends.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
27. We have an endless number of things to talk about.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
28. I sometimes feel lonely when we're together.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
29. My partner seems disinterested in sex.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
30. My partner helps me clarify my thoughts.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always

Please think about your personal happiness.

1. Generally speaking, how happy a person are you?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
2. How satisfied are you with your scholastic/professional accomplishments?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
3. How satisfied are you with your personal, private life?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
4. How good is your relationship with your immediate family?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
5. How happy are you with your friends of the same sex?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
6. How satisfied are you with your present/past sexual partner?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
7. How satisfied are you with your present/past sexual partner's physical appearance?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
8. How satisfied are you with your present/past sexual partner's affectionate behavior towards you?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
9. How satisfied are you with your present/past sexual partner's sexual behavior?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
10. How satisfied are you with your present/past sexual partner's emotional commitment to you?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
11. How satisfied are you with your present/past sexual partner's desire to explore novel sexual practices?  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always

How important are the following to your personal happiness?

12. Having good relations with one's family.  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always
13. Having good same-sex friends.  
Not at all    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    Always



14. Doing well academically/professionally.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
15. Having a good sexual partner, with commitment and faithfulness that goes both ways.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
16. Having many good sexual relationships, without any strings attached (i.e., without great emotional involvement).  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
17. Financial security.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always

Please evaluate the following statements by agreeing or disagreeing.

1. People today should not use "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" as a rule for living.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
2. Being roughed up is sexually stimulating to many women.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
3. Many times a woman will pretend she doesn't want to have intercourse because she doesn't want to seem loose, but she's really hoping the man will force her.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
4. A wife should move out of the house if her husband hits her.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
5. Sometimes the only way a man can get a cold woman turned on is to use force.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
6. A man is never justified in hitting his wife.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
7. I feel that many times women flirt with men just to tease them or hurt them.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
8. I feel upset even by slight criticism by a woman.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
9. It doesn't really bother me when women tease me about my faults.  
 Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always

10. I used to think that most women told the truth but now I know otherwise.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
11. I do not believe that women will walk all over you if you aren't willing to fight.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
12. I do not often find myself disagreeing with women.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
13. I do very few things to women that make me feel remorseful afterward.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
14. I rarely become suspicious with women who are friendlier than I expected.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
15. There are a number of women who seem to dislike me very much.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
16. I don't agree that women always seem to get the breaks.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
17. I don't seem to get what's coming to me in my relationships with women.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
18. I generally don't get really angry when a woman makes fun of me.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
19. Women irritate me a great deal more than they are aware of.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
20. If I let women see the way I feel, they would probably consider me a hard person to get along with.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
21. Lately, I've been kind of grouchy with women.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
22. I think that most women would not lie to get ahead.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
23. It is safer not to trust women.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always

24. When it really comes down to it, a lot of women are deceitful.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
25. I am not easily angered by a woman.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
26. I often feel that women probably think I have not lived the right kind of life.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
27. I never have hostile feelings that make me feel ashamed of myself later.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
28. Many times a woman appears to care but just wants to use you.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
29. I am sure I get a raw deal from the women in my life.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
30. I don't usually wonder what hidden reason a woman may have for doing something nice for me.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
31. If women had not had it in for me, I would have been more successful in my personal relations with them.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
32. I never have the feeling that women laugh about me.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
33. Very few women talk about me behind my back.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
34. When I look back at what's happened to me, I don't feel at all resentful toward the women in my life.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
35. I never sulk when a woman makes me angry.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always
36. I have been rejected by too many women in my life.  
Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Always



INFORMATION SHEET II

(debriefing)

Please retain this information sheet for your files.

This study is investigating the effects of certain adversarial attitudes and behaviors on the following: sexual relationships, the level of intimacy in relationships, and state of well-being. Understanding the affects of adversarial attitudes between men and women on intimacy and sexuality is related to the duration and satisfaction involved in relationships. The degree of negative attitudes concerning women are measured by levels of mistrust of women and acceptance of interpersonal violence and behaviorally by consumption of pornographic material. It is hypothesized that high levels of negative attitudes toward women will decrease satisfaction in intimate relationships for men, as well as women. A clearer understanding of the relations that exist between these aspects and the formation and maintenance of satisfactory interpersonal relationships may designate a direction in counseling for those who are having difficulties involving loneliness, isolation, self-worth or despair. Thank you for your help.

Group results will be ready in about three months. If you are interested in these results, please contact the researcher and provide a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

Charlene Neighbors, researcher  
M. A. General-Experimental Program  
Department of Psychology: PS 219  
California State University, San Bernardino

Faculty sponsors:  
Gloria Cowan, PhD; Geraldine Stahly, PhD; Bob Cramer, PhD.  
Department of Psychology: PS 219  
California State University, San Bernardino.

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