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IMAGES OF ETHNICITY IN PORNOGRAPHY

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

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

By
Robin Rhodes Campbell
June 1993


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A Thesis
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San Bernardino


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June 1993

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ABSTRACT

The presence of racism in interracial pornography has been suggested in non-empirical writings but has yet to be examined empirically. In the present study, racism and sexism in Black/White interracial X-rated videocassettes were examined. Five female coders with varying levels of exposure to pornography rated 476 characters in sexually explicit scenes from 54 pornographic videos. Characters were coded on aggregate measures of verbal and physical aggression, inequality, racial indicators, intimacy, as well as other specific indices. Sexism was demonstrated in the unidirectional aggression by men toward women. Racism was demonstrated by the presence of racial stereotypes in the portrayal of Black characters and was also indicated by the lower status given to Black characters. Findings indicated that there was a differential effect for racism by sex and that there was a differential effect for sexism by race. For example, Black women were the targets of more acts of aggression than White women, and Black men were portrayed as less intimate during sexual activity than White men. In addition, there was an increase in aggression during cross-race interactions. The findings of the present study indicate that interracial pornography is racist as well as sexist.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Pornography is an issue that makes us confront our political, moral, sexual, and social beliefs. The questions that it raises are myriad, including what constitutes pornography (and how do we define it), its social message, what effect, if any, it has upon men and women both as individuals and collectively, and the consideration of what we are willing to tolerate in a free society. The pervasiveness of pornography, especially on videocassette, makes it a widely-held concern. After the introduction of videocassette recorders for home use in the US, sexually explicit videotapes debuted in 1977 and accounted for the majority of sales of prerecorded tapes through the late 1970's. By the 1980's, pornography was completely transformed into big business with large scale distributors, theater chains, and technological advances (Brown & Bryant, 1989). In 1989, X-rated videotape rentals represented 12% of all rentals, with 395 million X-rated videos rented that year (Johnson, 1991).

Pornography has been empirically studied in order to better understand its possible effects, most often the effect of causing violence against women. Feminist theory, however, proposes that the effects of pornography go beyond the direct effect of causing sexual violence, proposing that as a medium it reflects and reinforces current social

standards and values, and legitimizes the sexual subordination of women.

The content of pornography's social message has been widely discussed, as well as examined in content analyses. Previous research on pornography has focused on sexual images, and little attention has been given to its implicit messages concerning race. The sexism in pornography has been demonstrated (Cowan, Lee, Levy & Snyder, 1988), but it is possible that pornography is racist as well. If so, Blacks should be portrayed as more dominated and less equal than are Whites, as women are shown to be less than men. Black women should be portrayed in the most negative manner, as they are constrained doubly by race and sex.

The Definition of Pornography

The term pornography comes from Greek, meaning "to write of prostitutes"; porne specifically denotes the lowest class of prostitute (Dworkin, 1989; Steinem, 1980). What now constitutes pornography is less clear-cut and seems to depend upon the perspective of view of the writer and viewer.

The Attorney General's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography (1970) defined it as "material (that) is predominately sexually explicit and intended primarily for the purpose of sexual arousal" (pp. 228-229). Material has been classified as pornographic by function and content. Material has been defined as pornographic when it is

primarily communication about sex or when the intent of the producer is to sexually arouse the consumer. More recently the definition of pornography has included material in which women are sexually degraded or material in which there is a fusion of degrading sexuality and violence (Donnerstein, Linz & Penrod, 1987).

Distinctions have been made by some between erotica and pornography. For example, Steinem (1980) proposed that in pornography there is an imbalance of power or coercive aspects. This coercion may be implicit, a physical attitude of conqueror and victim, or there may be the use of race or class difference to imply imbalance, or there may be unequal nudity. In this model, pornography portrays no sense of equal choice or equal power as does erotica -- sex is being used to reinforce some inequality. In contrast, erotica may be equally explicit, but there is a sense of choice and mutuality in the depictions.

Types of Pornography and their Effects

In his review of Pornography: Impacts and Influences, Check (1991) attested to the fact that research into the area of pornography has recently evolved into a general agreement to divide sexually explicit materials into three different types, sexually violent materials, nonviolent dehumanizing material, and erotica. This distinction is not necessarily found in pornography itself; Check and Guloien (1989) noted in their analysis of the effects of pornography that many of

the videos that they screened contained combinations of all three types of pornography. There has been an effort to differentiate between different types of pornography in an effort to better assess its effects and functions (Padgett, Brislin-Stultz, & Neal, 1989), but it is almost exclusively studied without regard for racial content, primarily focusing on sexual and violence components.

Erotica

Erotica, although sexually explicit, portrays mutual and positive sexual interaction -- individuals equally participate in sexual acts, with no force or domination. Gloria Steinem (1980) states that in erotica,

There is always a spontaneous sense of people who are there because they want to be, out of shared pleasure. ...Mutually pleasurable, sexual expression between people who have enough power to be there by positive choice (p. 37).

Check and Guloien (1989), in their examination of the effects of the three types of pornography, had subjects rate each classification of material. Erotica was rated as the most educational, realistic, and affectionate and least obscene. They also found that exposure to erotica had no antisocial effects. In their review of the literature, Check and Guloien examined Mosher's (1971) earlier study of the effects of pornography. Mosher described his materials as pornography, as the distinction between the various types had not yet been established. Check and Guloien noted that what Mosher called pornography was similar to what would now

be considered erotica. Mosher found that these materials led to a decrease in men's sexual callousness (in Check & Guloien, 1989).

Sexually Violent Pornography

Sexually violent pornography involves the overt use of force and infliction of pain, or the threat of either of them. It often portrays women as enjoying rape and other forms of sexual violence. According to Check and Guloien (1989), viewing sexually violent materials can lead to increased acceptance of rape myths (Malamuth & Check, 1985) and increased acceptance of violence against women (Malamuth & Check, 1981), increased rape fantasies (Malamuth, 1981) and aggressive behavior toward women in a laboratory setting (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981), decreased perception of the suffering of rape victims (Malamuth & Check, 1980; Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1984), a desensitization to sexual violence (Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1984), and an increase in reported proclivity to rape or force a woman into unwanted sex acts (Check & Guloien, 1989; Donnerstein, 1984). Research has indicated that in recent years sexual violence in pornography has increased (Malamuth & Spinner, 1980; Smith, 1976). The U.S. Attorney General's Commission on Pornography, (1986) stated that, "Increasingly, the most prevalent forms of pornography (are) material(s) featuring actual or simulated or unmistakably threatened violence in a sexually explicit fashion." Linz, Donnerstein, and Penrod

(1987) contest the idea that pornography is becoming more violent. The suspected increase in violent materials may just be a function of the greater availability of all forms of sexually explicit materials. They also present the viewpoint that it is the violence, not the sex, that is harmful in pornography.

Degrading Nonviolent Pornography

Zillmann and Bryant (1989), refer to the existence of a "standard fare of pornography", one that is different from the sexually violent. In degrading, nonviolent pornography, men and women are often verbally abused or shown in a non-human light. Zillmann (1989) proposes that it is the portrayed insatiability of women that is degrading, and Donnerstein, Linz and Penrod (1987) suggest that it is the sexual availability of women that degrades them. Cowan and Dunn (1991) investigated various prevalent themes in pornography in order to determine what women and men find degrading to women in pornography. They found that, in accord with feminist theory, subjects rated subordination as more degrading than availability.

Until recently, it was theorized that nonviolent pornography had minimal antisocial effects (Check & Malamuth, 1986; Donnerstein, 1984; Malamuth, 1984). However, Zillmann and Bryant (1990) suggested that there would be effects resulting from the portrayal of women as "socially non-discriminating", and "... hysterically

euphoric in response to just about any sexual or pseudosexual stimulation ..." (p. 209). Check and Guloien (1989) point out the fact that this description of women in pornography is similar to Kelman's (1973) and Zimbardo's (1969) characterization of a dehumanized person, in addition, they note that the dehumanization of a victim is necessary to remove inhibitions to act cruelly toward them (Bandura, Underwood, & Fromson, 1975, cited in Check and Guloien, 1989). It is easier to treat someone brutally who has been dehumanized or degraded, as demonstrated in the Nazi prison camps and in the Zimbardo prison experiment (Sabini, 1992). Sabini notes

To the degree that we make it impossible for other people to look and act that way (as civilized, decent, autonomous, moral agents), we make it easy to treat them as less than human (1992, p. 64).

Thus, the dehumanization of women may be a precursor to violence against them.

Zillmann (1989) used nonviolent, degrading pornography when examining the effects of prolonged exposure (four or five sessions) to pornography and found that subjects manifested a significant level of trivialization of rape and sexual callousness toward women. Massive exposure (36 videos shown over a six-week period) to common pornography resulted in a loss of compassion toward women in general and as rape victims specifically. Dissatisfaction with sexual reality was predicted as a likely outcome of pornography consumption. Additionally, Zillmann (1989) proposed an

unseen effect in that the partners of those who consume pornography may compare themselves unfavorably to the women portrayed in it; the question of whether the consumer would also compare his partner unfavorably to the characters in pornography was not raised. Feminist writers have expressed concern about the possibly crippling effect for women by the internalization of the images and message of pornography (Longino, 1980). Zillmann and Weaver (1989) propose that degrading pornography has an indirect effect in that sexual callousness is created, enhanced, and sustained by cultural conventions and media.

Check and Guloien (1989) found that there was little difference in response between males who had viewed sexually violent pornography and those who viewed non-violent dehumanizing pornography. Both groups had an increased reported likelihood of rape and acceptance of forced sex acts. Borchert (1991) found that female subjects had increased negative feelings toward rape victims and gave lighter prison sentences to a fictional rapist after viewing nonviolent, degrading pornography than after viewing violent material with nonexplicit sexual activity or nonexplicitly violent material.

In summarizing the effects of all three types of pornography, Check and Guloien (1989) found that the effect of exposure to sexually explicit materials depends on the social content of the material in question rather than the

fact that sexual behaviors are portrayed. This content includes the fact that when violence is featured, females are usually victimized by males, and the consequences of sexual abuse are rarely shown (Brown & Bryant, 1989). In short, the research findings have not established a direct link between pornography and violence toward women, but there does seem to be an effect in attitudes toward women. Zillmann and Bryant (1990) appear to capture what many people think about pornography -- what Palys (1986) calls the "common wisdom" of pornography --

It would seem naive ... to believe that pornography entertains without affecting perceptions of sexuality and behavioral dispositions toward sex and gender (p.209).

The Feminist Analysis of the Effects of Pornography

Although researchers currently make a distinction between pornography that is violent and that which promotes inequality, feminists have not traditionally made this distinction, as violence and degradation are seen as interlocking, self-perpetuating systems. Although MacKinnon (MacKinnon & Dworkin, 1988) proposes that "specific pornography directly causes some assaults" (p.43), most feminists are concerned with the ideology of pornography; the idea that it reinforces rape myths and legitimizes the subordination of women with the glamorized images of bound and gagged women -- as well as fostering the idea that a woman's deepest desire is to subject herself to a man

(Russell, 1980). Feminist theory proposes that pornography need not be explicitly violent to have harmful effects (Lederer, 1980). In feminist writings, pornography is a reflection of our patriarchal society, expressing hostility toward women and celebrating domination by men and the subordination of women (Brownmiller, 1980; Killoran, 1983; MacKinnon, 1985; Morgan, 1978).

Gray (1982) advances the idea that pornography is a manifestation of popular culture. She proposes the idea that the effects of pornography are subtle; that it is attractive to men who already harbor a deep anger toward women. This view is supported by Steinberg (1990) who views pornography as a "victimless outlet for the basic sexual rage that seems to sit within so many men..." (p.57). He goes on to describe this rage as righteous male anger against having their sexual desires "twisted, stunted, denied" by "complexes of societal institutions" (p.58). In a sense, pornography not only legitimizes their anger, it directs it toward women and trivializes the effects of violence to women. It is for this reason that pornography may present a danger to women.

The Functions of Pornography

The functions of pornography are still being debated. Malamuth and Billings (1984) examined pornography from Marxist, feminist, and psychoanalytic theoretical positions and found that there are two main stances from which the

question is traditionally approached in psychology -- a psychoanalytic perspective and a social learning perspective. The first position proposes that pornography functions as a cathartic, reducing aggressive or anti-social sexual urges through the vicarious experience of a symbolic system (Malamuth & Billings, 1984; McCormack, 1988); the second is that pornography provides a model for sexual activity (Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod, 1988; Padgett et al., 1989; Silbert & Pines, 1984). Neither position has been validated empirically.

A third theoretical position is the feminist analysis. This viewpoint asserts that pornography functions primarily as a "medium for expressing norms about male power and domination", and also functions as a social control mechanism for keeping women in a subordinate status (Diamond, 1980). The impact of pornography is seen as it helps maintain the political system in which women are unequal (Cowan, Lee, Levy & Snyder, 1988). The linking of sexuality and subordination maintains patriarchy. Feminist analysis interprets pornography not as a mere reflection of men's sexual fantasies but as one of the mechanisms that has sustained the systematic domination of women by men (Diamond, 1980). Pornography also presents and reinforces the fact that women are immediately and indiscriminately available for sexual activity. This may be a secondary function of pornography; it lessens sexual antagonism

between men and creates a bond between them. Men have no need to compete with other men. As Phyllis Chesler (1980) noted,

In fantasy, then, no man has to be more "pleasing" than another man to merit sexual attention: No man has to be very sexually, economically, or socially powerful to fantasize that many kinds of women are at his disposal (p.158).

A familiar concept in the feminist analysis of the function of pornography is that it is a form of hate literature. In it women are a means only -- a means to maximize profit, a means to satisfy men's sexual fantasies. Just as hate literature justifies the abuse of people on the basis of their race, pornography justifies the abuse of people on the basis of their sex.

A final possibility is that pornography functions as a sexual script (Kimmel, 1990). Gray (1982) proposes that it may serve this function specifically for angry men and gives such men a script for acting out their anger. Russell (1980) has demonstrated that women have been victimized by partners who experiment sexually using pornography as a script for forced or coerced sex acts.

The Feminist Theoretical Perspective

Feminists have approached the issue of pornography from the aspect of its social and political messages. In feminist theory, pornography does harm to all women, as it sexualizes their subordination. Pornography is seen as a feminist issue, Brownmiller (1980) calls it "the undiluted

essence of anti-female propaganda" and equates the philosophy of pornography with that of rape. Morgan (1977) states "Pornography is the theory, and rape the practice." Andrea Dworkin views pornography as a political crime against women (1986). Anti-pornography feminists maintain that women as a class are victimized ideologically by pornography and that this leads to the actual physical victimization of individual women (Diamond, 1980). Feminist writings have typically presented the position that pornography debases, objectifies, and dehumanizes women and that the portrayal of violence and rape mythology reinforces, if not fosters, inequality (Cowan et al., 1988). It is seen as not only fostering a climate which contributes to violence against women, but in which it is accepted as normal. According to Lederer,

Pornography is the ideology of a culture which promotes and condones rape, woman-hating, and other crimes of violence against women (Lederer, 1980, p.19).

The Feminist Debate

Not all women (nor all feminists) agree with the view that pornography harms women, and the question becomes one of "who speaks for whom" (Russo, 1987). Many feminists express concern about the effects of violent and/or degrading pornography upon women and men (Ashley & Ashley, 1984; Donnerstein, Linz, & Penrod, 1987; Russo, 1987), but when it comes to the point of advocating legislative controls, there are those who view repression as the most

salient social and political problem (Philipson, 1984). There are also those who chastise all efforts to control pornography as attempts to repress sexuality and maintain the established order by those who have unenlightened and unhealthy sexual attitudes (in Diamond, 1980).

Anti-pornography feminists see harm to women as outweighing the possible restrictions of "free speech". As Ann Russo (1987) states,

I basically fail to get excited over the first amendment rights of those in a multibillion dollar business...(when) women in this country are not protected under freedom of speech, particularly those that work in the pornography industry (p.105).

MacKinnon (1985) has taken the position that pornography infringes on the civil rights of women by silencing them, rendering them powerless, and promoting inequality and violence against women. She stated, "Pornography sexualizes rape, battery, sexual harassment, prostitution and child sexual abuse; it thereby celebrates, promotes, authorizes and legitimates them" (p. 14). MacKinnon and Dworkin (1988) were responsible for drawing up antipornography civil legislation based on the argument that pornography infringes upon women's civil rights.

Content Analyses of Pornographic Materials

Content analyses of pornography have often focused on violence, aggression, and sexual aggression, in keeping with the idea that the harm from pornography stems from violence. Smith (1976) studied "adults only" paperback fiction

available in adult bookstores in the U.S. and found violent themes in about one third of the 428 books he reviewed. The violence was not always physical, but included threats and coercive acts, usually committed by men against women. Typically, the woman was forced to participate in an unwanted sexual act and began by protesting but ended up pleading for more -- perpetuating a common rape myth. Of the 4,588 sexual episodes, 20% involved rape (91% of which involved the assault of a female by a male), and less than 3% of the attacks showed any negative consequences for sexual abuse or violence.

In an analysis of adult magazine covers from 1970 to 1981, Dietz and Evans (1982) found an increase in domination and bondage. In 1981 bondage and discipline was depicted in 17.2% of the magazine covers. Malamuth and Spinner (1980) examined the sexual violence contained in two popular men's magazines, Playboy, and Penthouse, over a five-year period (1973-1977). It was noted that the amount of sexual violence increased, to 10% of the cartoons and 5% in the pictorials by 1977. However this trend was not found in a 1987 analysis of the violence in pictorials and cartoons in Playboy magazine. Scott and Cuvelier found violence to be rare and concluded that it was declining (Scott & Cuvelier, 1987).

Content analyses of pornographic materials are increasingly focusing on X-rated videocassettes. It is

especially important to examine the content of adult videocassettes, as with the advent of the affordable videocassette recorder, pornographic movies are no longer confined to the adult book store or triple X-rated theaters and are now easily available. It is estimated that as many as one in four homes owns a VCR, creating a proliferation of video rental outlets and an extensive market for pornography. The Attorney General's report indicates that videocassettes are the main mode of pornography production - X-rated video cassettes accounted for 13% of the video cassette market in 1985 (U.S. Attorney General's Final Report, 1986). In 1985, 1,700 sexually explicit videos were released; 42% of video stores sell or rent adult videos, and a significant proportion of video rentals are adult films. The increased availability of pornography on videocassette is fact to be considered when discussing the issue. Zillmann and Bryant (1984) observe that there is a difference between printed and visual material, noting that the visual impact of the pornographic film gives it near-documentary status.

Palys (1986) studied the content of 150 triple-X and adult videocassettes in Vancouver, Canada. Material was considered to be triple-X rated material for various reasons, one of which was when it was found in specialty outlets. Adult videos were considered to be what is usually available over the counter in video rental outlets. Palys

concentrated on the frequency of sexual, aggressive and sexually aggressive activity. It was found that while sexual activity was more graphic in the triple-x rated material, there was significantly more aggressive and sexually aggressive content in the adult videos, and that depiction of the violence was more severe.

Because of the mixed conclusions about the amount of sexual violence in R-, X- and triple X-rated materials, Yang and Linz (1990) examined the incidence of sexual, violent, sexually violent, and prosocial behaviors in each category of film. They found that on a percentage basis, R-rated movies contained more sexual violence than did X-rated movies. R-rated movies also contained more violence in general. Yang and Linz concluded that the predominant behaviors in both types of pornography were sexual and in R-rated materials the predominant behaviors were violent, followed by prosocial behavior. It seems that it would be difficult to compare X-rated and R-rated materials, as "R-rated productions are generally more elaborate and costly than X-rated ones" (Yang & Linz, 1986, p. 31). Many X-rated movies lack even the pretense of a storyline, utilizing 15 page scripts for a video that may be shot in one day (Johnson, 1991). It would seem realistic to expect that R-rated movies would have more of almost everything except sex. The authors acknowledged the difficulty of comparing the content of two such different types of materials,

electing to measure the overall percentages of behavioral sequences rather than behaviors within scenes.

Cowan, Lee, Levy & Snyder (1988) examined the content of 45 widely available X-rated videocassettes, randomly drawn from a list of 121 adult movie titles from family videocassette rental stores in southern California. The purpose of the study was to examine the content of X-rated videocassettes from a feminist perspective, assessing the presence of dominance, physical and verbal aggression and other indices of inequality (status, age, and role), rather than focusing on sexual aggression. A significant amount of dominance and sexual inequality was found in the sample, with dominance and exploitation toward women as primary themes found in over half the total number of sex scenes. Acts of physical violence toward women occurred in 23% of the scenes, with 14% of the scenes showing women forced into sexual acts, initially resisting and finally responding with "acceptance and/or fervor." When these themes of dominance and inequality were counted by movie rather than by each scene, dominance occurred in 78% of movies, exploitation in 82%, specific acts of physical aggression in 73%, and rape in 51% of movies. Cowan et al., concluded that a viewer had a higher likelihood of seeing sex and abuse linked than the analysis of individual scenes would suggest.

The amount of violence that is measured in pornography may depend on the medium as well as the researcher and the methodology that is used. The results are not conclusive, although it is apparent that there is physical as well as verbal aggression toward women in pornography, however, whether the prevalence is increasing or decreasing is not clear.

Content analyses of pornography have focused on sexualized violence and the prevalence of dominance toward women and other forms of subordination. These studies have typically not examined pornography's implicit messages about minorities other than women. A question that has yet to be examined empirically is how race is treated in pornography, and what are the possible implications of that portrayal.

Ethnicity and Pornography

The sexism in pornography has been empirically validated (Cowan et al., 1988), but the idea that pornography may be racist has never been tested, only proposed in non-empirical writings. These sources suggest that pornography is racist based on the historical precedence of racism in this country, sexual stereotypes, and the portrayal of Black women in non-X-rated films. Black and interracial pornography came into the marketplace in 1983, and is produced and marketed for a White male audience. These films are a White man's fantasy, according to William Margold (quoted in Santiago, 1990). Margold is

the co-writer of Hot Chocolate, one of the best-selling pornographic videos of all time. Margold states that the fact that Black men watch them is purely accidental (quoted in Santiago, 1990).

Alice Walker (1980), addressed the question, "So, how does a black woman feel when her black man leaves Playboy on the coffee table?" (p. 103). That is a question that has yet to be examined empirically. There has only been one study which examined the attitudes of Black adults toward pornography. Timberlake and Carpenter (1990) surveyed a small Black middle-class sample and found that subjects were uniformly against non-violent pornography. Eighty-two percent indicated it is harmful to society, 57% believed it is a major cause of incest, child molestation, and rape, and 65% feel it should not be protected by law.

Historical Precedents for the Portrayal of Race in Pornography

There is a historical relationship between cultural models of masculinity and racial sexual conceptions. The idea that blackness is evil and whiteness is good goes back to ancient Greece, and the theme of the white hero and black beast is common throughout western myth and stories (Hoch, 1979). In White Hero, Black Beast, Hoch (1979) describes the white goddess as the object of the black beast's desires who needs to be protected by the white hero. All that is desirable and feminine is white, all that is good is white,

all that is evil and animal-like is black. The white man is seen as morally superior and necessary to protect the white woman from the dark beast. The summit of masculinity is the "white hero" who achieves his masculinity by overcoming the "black beast". This projection of animal lust upon the Black man is attributed to the sexual repression of the White man. Hoch notes that the perceived menace to the chaste White lady by the ever-erect Black buck has dominated the mythologies of the American South for more than three centuries. This fear is less for the white goddess than for the loss of masculinity (Hoch, 1979). Dworkin (1989) also links racism and sexism and examines the means by which the depiction of the Black man's sexuality as bestial justifies his oppression, and notes that every racially hated group is endowed with a bestial sexual nature.

According to Gardner, (1980) White men have projected acts of aggression and sex upon Black men and viewed them as rivals for their possessions -- women, whether Black or White. Brownmiller (1980) sees the rape of Black women by White men as an expression of racial superiority. The White man is able to take the Black man's possession, the Black woman.

During slavery, the White man invented the Black rapist who preys on White women to justify the lynching of Black men. Gardner (1980) notes that during 1889-1899, over 2000 Black men were lynched and 50% were accused of raping White

women, whereas there were virtually no reported instances of White men being punished for raping Black women -- although such attacks were common knowledge. In Louisiana, between 1900-1950, 40 Black men were given the death penalty and executed for raping White women, whereas only two White men were executed for raping White women.

Alice Walker (1980), in her historical analysis of the treatment of the Black woman during slavery, sees slavery as the root of the Black woman's portrayal in modern pornography. She noted that slave women were bred, raped, and profited their owners, and proposed a qualitatively different depiction of Black women in pornography from that of White women. Walker maintained that in pornography, White women are seen as objects, but Black women are seen as animals. Precedent for this image emanates from slavery. While Black males were working in the cotton fields, Black females were undergoing another type of enslavement by White masters in the bedrooms of plantation houses (Mapp, 1982). Teich (1980) states that the treatment of the Black women is the historical basis for the modern abuse of women in pornography and prostitution. It is not the fact that pornography portrays Black people that makes it racist, but the fact that it exploits the history of slavery and myths surrounding and oppressing people of color in this country that makes it racist (Gardner, 1980).

Some authors have questioned the absence of Black women as well as the failure of the Civil Rights Movement in protesting such overtly racist pornographic material. Davis (1981) suggests that the absence of Black women in the anti-violence (and anti-pornography) movement may be due to the movement's indifference toward the historical use of the false rape charge as a component of racism. In addition, there is a traditional schism between the Women's Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. White women's rights advocates were often abolitionist, not anti-racist. White women became aware of their own limited rights by working for abolition, and many ignored the plight of Black women, ironically, perhaps because of the sexual stereotype of Black women (Hooks, 1981) as sexual savages. There are those who see the goals of the two movements as dissimilar. For example, Mapp states,

The women's movement is a white family quarrel in which the black woman merely becomes a useful pawn to be discarded when white feminists achieve their goals (Mapp, 1982, p.38).

The White feminist critique of masculinity may be seen as diverting attention from racism and laying another burden upon the already heavily-burdened Black man. Black women may also fear betraying Black men if they support the feminist movement. It has been noted that if the Civil Rights Movement continues to fail to treat pornography as a civil-rights issue, the inequality between White men and men

of color will be the only inequality that this country confronts (Santiago, 1990).

It is difficult to discuss racism and sexism as if they were completely different systems. Bell Hooks (1990) confronted the sexism inherent in the White cultural model of masculinity, proposing that sexism politically mediates racial domination. It would seem, therefore, impossible to invest in one and fight the other. The exploitation of and abuse of women in pornography creates a male collaboration in which men identify with being male, and race is secondary. In this context, pornography may become a bond between men (Hooks, 1990; Santiago, 1990). Alice Walker (1980) suggests that many Black men see pornography as progressive as the previously forbidden White woman is made available to them. This perception diminishes the importance and power of color for Black men and permits a bonding with White men as men; "(It) ... allows a solidarity of gender but promotes a rejection of race" (p.95). This assertion does have some empirical support. Johnson's (1984) doctoral dissertation examined White male subjects' perceptions of rape victims after subjects read a pornographic written passage which depicted a rape. The level of enjoyment of the woman in the pornography was varied; in the non-enjoyment condition the woman was unwilling throughout the passage and did not evidence any pleasure from the episode, and in the enjoyment condition,

the woman did appear to enjoy the rape. The race of the woman in the passage and the race of the rape victim in the simulated rape trial were also varied. Subjects were then asked to rate how much they thought that the rape victim in the trial had enjoyed the rape. No effect was found for the race of the rape victim, but the race of the stimulus person was found to be significant. Specifically when the female stimulus person in the written passage was White in the non-enjoyment condition, subjects were more likely to perceive the rape victim as enjoying the act more than when the female stimulus person was Black. In the enjoyment condition, when the stimulus person was Black, the rape victim was perceived as enjoying the act more than if the stimulus person was White. This effect could be a function of the perception of Black female sexuality. If Black women are seen as more sexual, the sexual double standard (which makes the expression of female sexuality unacceptable) may not apply to them as it does to White women. One unexpected finding was that White males perceived males (Black or White) as the in-group and females (Black or White) as the out-group. Whether this applies to Black men as well is not clear, but seems possible. If this is true, what implications does this have when one examines the portrayal of Black men in pornography?

Hooks (1989) analyzed Spike Lee's film, She's Gotta Have It, and noted that the White model of masculinity has

been adopted by Black men as well, a model that includes an entitlement to women's bodies. Hooks (1990) also pointed out the use of sexual metaphors in the Black Power movement of the 1960's and 1970's, such as "emasculatation", and "castration", and maintains that Black men and women must reject the sexualization of the Black liberation movement, as it buys into a racist, sexist model of masculinity that relegates the Black man to the status of a rapist and furthers oppression.

Black Sexuality and Sexual Stereotypes

The image of contemporary Black sexuality is different than that of Whites, and the sexual stereotypes endure. Additionally, African-Americans have been excluded from the study of human sexuality or have been the subject of black/white comparisons (Wyatt & Lyons-Rowe 1990; Weinberg & Williams, 1988). In one such comparison, Weinberg and Williams found that Blacks were seen as more involved with sex than were Whites (1988). The history of slavery, oppression, and low social class have been used to explain this assumption (Weinberg & Williams, 1988). The sexual image of Black men differs from that of White men in that various aspects of "masculinity" have been exaggerated in order to produce a stereotype of Black sexuality. This sexuality is supposedly characterized by sex at an early age, many partners, high frequency, little foreplay, and genital focus (Davis & Cross, 1979; Hernton, 1971; Wyatt,

Strayer, & Lobitz, 1976). The underlying assumption, of course, is that this sexuality is deviant from White sexuality.

The Black woman is subject to an image that portrays her as sexually loose. The roots of this stereotype are found in the disorganization of the Black family that began with slavery and continued under conditions of economic and social deprivation. These conditions made the Black woman particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation by both Black and White men (Mapp, 1982). The treatment of Black women during and after slavery led to the devaluation of Black womanhood that continues until the present. All Black women are viewed as "sexual savages", as "sexually depraved, immoral, and loose" (Hooks, 1981, p. 52). By the 1950's the Black women's image was still as a "slut" who could take anything sexually. The sexuality of women of color has been seen as uncivilized (Dworkin, 1989; Gardner, 1980). Dworkin (1989) proposes a historical precedent for the sexual stereotype of Black women,

...The reputation of lasciviousness and promiscuity that haunts black women in America today may be attributed to (a) high degree of historical forcible rape (p. 144).

The Treatment of Black Men in Films

The sexual stereotype of Black men concerns their sexual endowment and prowess. According to Walker (1980) "the black man is defined solely by the size, readiness and

unselectivity of his (penis)" (p. 103). Literature and films are replete with the image of the "Frothing-at-the-mouth-for-a-white-woman, strongbacked, sixty-minute hot black" (Lincoln, 1970, p. 84). In Spike Lee's film Jungle Fever, the characters explore interracial attraction and sexual myths. It is the opinion of some of the characters that White women have sex with Black men because of their sexual prowess and large penises. Gardner (1980) proposed that Black men are defined by the size of their penis and that Black men are themselves a phallic symbol; black skin means a large penis. Size connotes power and a threat; masculinity is measured by power over other men and women. Black men are therefore rivals for the possession of women.

The Treatment of Black Women in Films

Women of color have often been doubly constrained by racism and sexism. Both aspects have been exploited in films for as long as there has been a movie industry. Films are one place it is easy to see the sexual aspect of racism. The depiction of the Black woman as a seductress was in the earliest Hollywood films, and the Black woman has often been portrayed as a sex object to be exploited without explanation by any male (Mapp, 1982). It was proposed that in pornography, the Black woman is the "figment of white male fantasy" (Mapp, 1982, p.36). In interracial pornography,

... The plantation is presented as a form of sexual gratification for the black woman slave who asks please to be abused, please to be raped, please to be hurt (Dworkin, 1986, p. 277).

As Mapp (1982) stated, in films the "social depth of black femininity is the whorehouse" (p. 39). This does not seem to be much different from the way that all women are portrayed in pornography.

The portrayal of White women has been a much debated topic, but "scholarly neglect and racist assumptions have made black women as invisible in motion pictures as they are in society" (Mapp, 1982, p. 40). This should not be surprising, as the concerns of Black women have been, at various times, ignored by the Black Liberation movement and by the Women's movement.

Content Analysis and Predictions

Previous research has not examined the appeal, social message, or effects of ethnicity in pornography. Content analyses have not examined how race is portrayed. A logical extension of previous research is to examine the addition of ethnicity to pornography. A content analysis of pornography was performed in order to assess the implicit and explicit messages concerning race in pornography. This analysis was in accordance with Cowan et al.'s (1988), themes of dominance, inequality and mutuality as well as the three main types of pornography. It was predicted that women are depicted as subordinate to men in all indices of inequality;

physically, verbally, and in status. It was further predicted that Blacks are presented in such a way as to reinforce their subordinate status in society and to reinforce sexual stereotypes (i.e., Blacks should be portrayed with more indicators of inequality than Whites, and Black men should be defined in terms of their sexual prowess). Because of the racist history of this country in the sexual stereotypes of Blacks, it was predicted that Black men would be portrayed as distinctly different from White men in terms of equality, status, and sexuality. A final prediction was that the combined effects of racism and sexism are shown in that Black women should be most negatively portrayed; Black women should receive a greater number of physical and verbal domination acts, and should be shown as lowest in status and equality.

METHOD

Materials

Raters visited a local southern California videocassette rental store to establish the selection criterion. Material selection was based on the probability of interracial themes as portrayed in either the title (e.g., Black Taboo, Blacks and Blondes), or when non-White or interracial couples were displayed on the videocassette box. Materials were 63 X-rated interracial videocassettes obtained from the adult section of independently-owned and national-chain video rental stores by student coders. The titles of these materials can be found in Table 1.

TABLE 1

TITLES OF X-RATED VIDEOCASSETTES

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. DEEP ASS | 25. BLACK TABOO |
| 2. BACHELOR PARTY | 26. AFROEROTICA 5 |
| 3. DRAGON LADY | 27. HOT CHOCOLATE 2 |
| 4. ORIENTAL SPICE | 28. LOVING BOTTOM |
| 5. AFRODISIAC | 29. SAKIS PARTY |
| 6. BLACK MAGIC | 30. BACK DOOR BLACKS |
| 7. DANCE LIKE A VIRGIN | 31. LADY AND THE CHAMP |
| 8. DEEP CHILL | 32. KIMIS SEX APPEAL |
| 9. EROTICISM IN BLACK | 33. MYSTERY GIRL |
| 10. BLACK IN THE SADDLE | 34. DANCE FIRE |
| 11. THE SEDUCTION OF TESSA | 35. BLACK TAIL |
| 12. ISLAND GIRLS IN THE SUN | 36. BLACK BAD GIRLS |
| 13. ORIENTAL HAWAII | 37. HOT FUDGE |
| 14. SOUTH OF THE BORDER | 38. BLACK TOUCH |
| 15. EBONY HUMBERS | 39. EBONY LUST |
| 16. ORIENTAL TREATMENT | 40. JUNGLE JUICE |
| 17. EBONY HUMBERS 3 | 41. CHINA LUST |
| 18. FOXY BROWN | 42. SWITCH HITTER |
| 19. SALT AND PEPPER | 43. SOUTHERN COMFORT |
| 20. BEYOND DESIRE | 44. DOUBLE GEM |
| 21. BUT CAN SHE TYPE | 45. BLACK RAGE |
| 22. CHINA CUT | 46. BLACKS AND BLONDES |
| 23. BLACK IS BACK | 47. THE GIRL FROM CHINA |
| 24. FILTHY RICH | 48. BLACK VIXENS IN HEAT |

49. SATIN SUGAR
50. WHITE DICKS BLACK CHICKS
51. BLACK CHICKS IN HEAT
52. BLACK ROSEBUTT OF TEXAS
53. BEST OF VANESSA DEL RIO
54. DRIVING MISS DAISY CRAZY
55. FOR THE LOVE OF BLACK COCK
56. ORIENTAL MADAM
57. LET ME TELL YOU 'BOUT BLACK CHICKS
58. MAGIC IN THE AIR
59. CHOCOLATE AND CREAM I
60. BLACK CHICKS IN HEAT
61. CHOCOLATE AND CREAM II
62. BLACK SISTER BLACK BROTHER
63. BLACK BUN BUSTERS

These videos would be typically available to any patron over the age of 21. Each coder selected 20 videos at their local video rental stores (a list of 15 plus five alternate choices) and gave the list to a faculty member who was supervising the research. A catalog of widely distributed adult videos was obtained and was used to ensure that the videos selected were easily obtainable by the average adult patron. The faculty member also checked the selections to avoid producing overlapping lists.

Student Coders

Five students coded materials. Four upper-division undergraduates and one graduate Psychology student of differing ages, races, marital statuses, and religious affiliation volunteered to assist in coding. The age range of coders was from 22-40, all were female, one was married, and two were Black, three were White. Coders had varying levels of exposure to X-rated materials; two had little or no exposure, one had moderate exposure, and two had more extensive exposure to pornographic materials. Raters attended three training sessions, one to review the various categories and examples of behaviors (see Appendix A) and two to determine inter-rater reliability (reliability = .76). Rater agreement on coded behaviors ranged from 100% to 77%; categories with rater agreement 76% or less were not used in the analysis (i.e., the darkness of skin color, whether the character was portrayed as a prostitute or as virginal, racial cues in the setting or on the character and clothing color).

Reliability

The videos used in the training session were Let Me Tell Ya 'Bout Black Chicks, Cream Puff, and Black is Back. The films used in the reliability assessment session were Chocolate and Cream II, Knights in White Satin, and Black Moon Rising. After these training sessions, students were directed to watch no more than one video per day, and no

more than three a week to counter the possible aversiveness of the material and fatigue.

Coding

A coding sheet was created, using Cowan et al's themes of dominance and inequality (see Appendix B). Only sexual scenes were coded and were defined as beginning when sexual activity started (not necessarily intercourse) and ending after the ejaculation of the male(s) in the scene and/or there was a change of characters. Coders recorded the absence or presence of each behavior in a given scene. A separate coding sheet was used for each scene and was used to record data that included the coder's name, the name of the video, the number of characters in the scene, the characters' race and sex, and which character initiated sexual activity. Various dominance behaviors, inequality, racial themes, intimacy, objectification (the portrayal of women as things), and the order and types of sexual activity as well as the part of the body upon which the male(s) ejaculated were recorded. For each instance of a recorded behavior, the race and sex of both the perpetrator and the recipient were noted.

Behaviors that would be coded as "dominance" were physical acts including, hitting, hair-pulling, penis-slaps, physical restraint and rape, and coercive acts such as threats or inducements, and instances of verbal aggression; name-calling (insults) and ordering. The dominance category was

also used to indicate the presence of dominance cues or props such as leather clothing, whips, chains, gags, and any sort of bondage paraphernalia. Dominance that was met with initial resistance and subsequent submission was also recorded, as was the presence of coercion which included threats or inducements such as drugs or money.

Inequality was coded on a variety of dimensions where a power/status imbalance was a prominent feature of the scene -- master/slave, boss/secretary, adult/child. Age, role (e.g. pimp, innocent), and occupational difference references were used to assess inequality. The interpersonal aspect of inequality was measured by submissive acts such as performing fellatio on the knees and a lack of expression or interest on the part of the male.

The degree to which race was a salient feature of the scene was also recorded. The skin color of the characters was noted (but not retained in the analysis), whether the character's name connoted race (e.g., a Black female named "Ebony") as was mention of race was noted, whether positively (as a compliment) or negatively (as an insult). In order to assess the sexual stereotype of "the big black buck", if the size of the male's penis was mentioned and if the reference was racial, as well as the character having a larger than average penis (if the female character was unable to span the length of the penis with both hands, this was considered to be larger than average). Other items in

the racial category were having a stereotyped manner of speech (e.g., exaggerated Black dialect), clothing cues (e.g., a Black male dressed as a pimp, Black woman dressed as a voodoo woman), or other props, such as jewelry (e.g., a lion-claw necklace). If the character was dressed to portray a role such as a virgin or a prostitute, this was recorded, as well as the colors of clothing, types of music (e.g., rap or gospel) and any stereotypical props or settings were noted (e.g., African prints, animal skins, spears).

The types and order of the occurrence of various sex acts were recorded to see if there was a difference in the order or frequency by race. Which sex act occurred first, (cunnilingus, fellatio, or intercourse) instances of genital close-ups, whether there was anal intercourse, whether fellatio occurred when the female was on her knees (in an obviously submissive posture). Exaggeratedly expressive noises were coded as indicators of animal-like sexuality, as well as lack of interest of expression and objectification. The culmination of the scene -- the ejaculation of the male -- was recorded, and the part of the female that he ejaculated on was recorded (buttocks, face, chest, stomach), as well as the use of any objects in sexual activity (dildos, food items, etc).

Intimacy was measured by the presence of face-to-face intercourse, kissing, caressing, and whether characters called each other by name or spoke during sexual activity.

Analysis

When the data were transferred to data sheets for data entry, each character in the scene was coded, rather than each scene. When preliminary frequencies of the number of characters in each racial category were computed, (White, Black, Asian, Hispanic), it was found that the number of characters in the Asian and Hispanic categories were too small to analyze and so were recoded as missing data, thus only Black and White characters were used in the final analysis. In the analysis aggregate scales were created, and these aggregate scales were used to assess dominance, inequality, intimacy and racial indicators. The computed scales are found in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Computed scales

Dominance scale = name-calling, verbal ordering, hair pulling, physical restraint, hitting, penis slapping, pinching, rape, forcing submission, coercion, other acts of dominance.

Receiving dominance scale = being called names, being verbally ordered, having hair pulled, being held down, being hit, receiving penis slaps, being pinched, being forced to submit, being coerced, being raped, receiving other acts of dominance.

Physical aggression scale = pulling hair, raping, physical restraint, penis slapping, hitting, pinching.

Verbal aggression scale = verbal ordering, name calling, coercion, giving racial insults.

Inequality scale = low status, lower in age, lower in role, portrayed as exaggeratedly stupid, other indicators of inequality.

Racial indicators scale = mention of race, racial name, racial insult, racial compliment, exaggeratedly stereotyped speech, stereotypical music.

Intimacy scale = kissing, calling by name, caressing, intercourse face-to-face, talking during sexual activity.

Submission score = performing fellatio on the knees, receiving acts of aggression, and forced coercion.

Racial sexual stereotype scale = characters mentioning penis size, character has unusually large penis.

Objectification scale = objectification and use of objects during intercourse.

RESULTS

Overall Percentages

In the examination of the perpetration of physical aggression, the following percentages for more than 476 characters were found: 8.4% hitting, 2.9% hair pulling, 9.5% physical restraint, 5% penis slaps, 4% pinches. When the nonphysical acts of dominance were examined, the following percentages were found: 3.2% of characters used coercion, 33% verbal ordering, 9.2% racial insults, and 6.3% name calling or insults. When the indicators for intimacy were examined: 14.3% of characters kissed, 28.4% used the other character's first name, 14.1% caressed the other character, 5.3% had intercourse face to face, and 4.8% spoke to the other character during sexual activity. 52.5% of characters engaged in anal intercourse. Mention of penis size occurred for 10.7% of characters, and 14.3% of the characters were coded as having a large penis. Racial compliments were used by 21% of characters and racial insults by 9.2% of characters. Fellatio was the initial sexual activity for 29% of characters, 8.4% started with cunnilingus, and 31.7% of characters began sexual activity with intercourse. Thirty-two percent of the male characters ended the scene by ejaculating on the female character's face or mouth.

Analysis

Four dimensions were analyzed: dominance, inequality, intimacy and the presence of racial stereotypes, using

SPSSPC+. For each dimension an ANOVA was performed on the aggregate scales that measured that dimension, as well as chi-square analyses on each variable within the dimension. Each ANOVA was performed on the aggregate scales by race (Black or White) and sex, and also by the race of the character by the race of the opposite sex partner, controlling for sex. In these analyses, the coded behaviors were those of the Black and White characters, not those of the opposite sex partner. Chi-square analyses of each individual indicator were run, first by race and sex, and then by race and by sex separately.

In Table 3, the means, standard deviations, and F values are presented for the race and sex main effects for all analyses. In Table 4 the cross-race interactions for the male characters and then for the female characters by the race of the opposite sex partner are presented.

TABLE 3

Means, Standard Deviations and Main Effects for Aggregate Measures by Sex and Race

Measure	Sex		Race	
	Female	Male	Black	White
Total Agg. Given				
Mean	.53	1.23	.91	.81
SD	.83	1.39	1.20	1.15
<u>F</u>	45.04***		.50	
Total Agg. Received				
Mean	1.16	.32	.83	.69
SD	1.48	.62	1.36	1.05
<u>F</u>	63.65***		2.72	
Physical Agg.				
Mean	.09	.66	.40	.30
SD	.32	1.09	.90	.75
<u>F</u>	62.54***		1.15	
Verbal Aggression				
Mean	.42	.63	.55	.48
SD	.66	.72	.70	.69
<u>F</u>	11.03***		.94	
Inequality				
Mean	.33	.35	.53	.11
SD	.61	.59	.69	.34
<u>F</u>	.02		67.23***	
Race Stereotyping				

Mean	.81	.72	.85	.67
SD	1.04	.59	.69	.34
<u>F</u>	1.01			3.95*
Intimacy				
Mean	.71	.62	.60	.75
SD	.87	.89	.85	.90
<u>F</u>	1.34			3.44+

+ = $p < .10$ * = $p < .05$ *** = $p < .001$ df = 1,473

TABLE 4

Cross Race Effects for Aggregate Measures: Means, Standard Deviations and Interactions

Measure	Male Actors			
	Same Race		Cross Race	
	WM-WF	BM-BF	WM-BF	BM-WF
Total Aggression Given				
Mean	.99	.91	1.79	1.41
SD	1.15	1.22	1.79	1.37
Interaction F	10.70**			
Total Aggression Received				
Mean	.30	.24	.46	.38
SD	.57	.61	.66	.70
Interaction F	2.42			
Physical Aggression				
Mean	.45	.40	1.04	.82
SD	.77	.89	1.43	1.15
Interaction F	11.06**			
Verbal Aggression				
Mean	.51	.53	.79	.73
SD	.65	.60	.88	.75
Interaction F	5.36*			
Inequality				
Mean	.07	.47	.00	.68
SD	.31	.72	.00	.61
Interaction F	.74			

Race Stereotyping

Mean	.51	.67	.58	1.00
SD	.65	.61	.97	1.21
Interaction <u>F</u>	2.36			

Intimacy

Mean	.73	.65	1.04	.43
SD	.96	.97	1.08	.63
Interaction <u>F</u>	.09			

Female Actors

Measure	Same Race		Cross Race	
	WF-WM	BF-BM	WF-BM	BF-WM
Total Aggression Given				
Mean	.46	.32	.40	.58
SD	.72	.57	.81	.72
Interaction <u>F</u>	1.03			
Total Aggression Received				
Mean	.84	1.05	1.92	1.87
SD	1.11	1.38	1.47	1.88
Interaction <u>F</u>	18.45***			
Physical Aggression				
Mean	.04	.04	.00	.08
SD	.21	.19	.00	.27
Interaction <u>F</u>	.96			
Verbal Aggression				
Mean	.35	.21	.48	.49
SD	.61	.41	.77	.61

Interaction <u>F</u>			5.45*	
Inequality				
Mean	.20	.35	.12	.55
SD	.44	.52	.44	.93
Interaction <u>F</u>		.37		
Race Stereotyping				
Mean	.54	.68	1.24	.92
SD	.68	.71	1.39	1.00
Interaction <u>F</u>		12.43***		
Intimacy				
Mean	.64	.68	.64	.74
SD	.86	.89	.87	.96
Interaction <u>F</u>		.04		

* = $p < .05$ ** = $p < .01$ *** = $p < .001$

Dominance

Analyses of variance were used to analyze dominance, both the acts given and acts received by race and sex. In this scale, both physical aggression and verbal aggression were included. For dominance acts given there was no interaction or main effect for race, although there was a significant main effect for sex, $F(1,470) = 45.04, p < .001$. Male characters were significantly more likely to perpetrate aggressive acts than were women; the mean number of dominance acts perpetrated by men was 1.23, SD 1.39, and for women was .53, SD .83.

For dominance acts received there was a significant main effect for sex with no effect for race. A significant interaction between race and sex was found for dominance acts received, $F(1,470) = 3.50, p < .05$; Black women were more often the recipients of dominance than were White women, $F(1,249) = 8.66, p < .05$ (mean for Black women = 1.34, SD = 1.65; mean for White women = .97, SD = 1.24). The mean number of dominant acts received for women were 1.16, and for men .32.

Dominance was also analyzed by examining the race of the male and female separately by the race of the opposite sex partner. For female characters there was no main effect for race by the race of the male character. When dominance acts received was examined, there was a significant interaction between the race of the perpetrator and the race

of the target; it was found that Black women were the recipients of more acts of dominance by White men than by Black men, $F(1,108) = 6.78, p < .02$, and that White women were more often the targets of domination by Black men than by White men, $F(1,91) = 14.41, p < .001$. This cross race interaction was also found when examining domination given for men, with no main effects of race. White men showed more total aggression toward Black women, $F(1,92) = 6.48, p < .02$, and Black men showed more total aggression toward White women, $F(1,109) = 4.13, p < .05$. The results of the analysis for dominance given and received may not be the same because of the presence of third characters in scenes that may have been perpetrating or receiving dominance.

Although dominance was comprised of both physical and verbal aggression, both of these scales were examined separately. An ANOVA was performed on the computed physical aggression scale by race and sex; there was no main effect for race alone, nor was there an interaction. However, there was a significant main effect for sex, (see Table 3 for main effects and means) in that males were portrayed as significantly more physically aggressive than were females. When analysis of this scale was performed by the race of the male perpetrator by the race of the female target, there was a significant interaction, with White men more physically aggressive toward Black women, $F(1,92) = 7.18, p < .009$, and Black men more physically aggressive toward White women,

$F(1,109) = 4.65, p < .05$. The incidence of rape was not frequent enough to be analyzed; however, it should be noted that of the five rapes, four of the targets were White women.

When verbal aggression was examined by race and sex, a significant main effect for sex resulted, (see Table 3 for main effects and means) with men significantly more verbally aggressive than women; no significance was found for race alone nor an interaction, $p > .05$. When verbal aggression indices were examined by the race of the character by the race of the opposite sex character, an interaction was found when looking at both men and women. The means for these analyses are displayed in Table 4. As can be seen, characters were more verbally aggressive with opposite sex characters who were not of their own race. When examining women, although Black women were found to be more verbally aggressive toward White men than Black men $F(1,108) = 8.10, p < .005$, this did not hold true for White women or for males, $ps > .05$.

Inequality

Inequality was examined using ANOVAs, first by race and sex, and then by examining the effect of race for men and women by the race of the opposite race partner. A main effect for race was found in the analysis of race and sex (see Table 3) in that Blacks were portrayed as having lower status than were Whites. In addition, a marginally

significant interaction was revealed, $F(1,472) = 3.69$, $p < .055$. Black men and women were not significantly different, $F(1,257) = 1.29$, $p > .05$, but White women were portrayed with more inequality cues than were White men, $F(1,215) = 4.83$, $p < .03$.

Each inequality indicator was examined using a chi-square analysis, first by sex and race followed by an analysis by sex alone and then by race alone. The first set of analyses revealed that Black women performed fellatio on their knees more often than did White women (White women = 53.1%, Black women = 68.3%), $X^2(1, N=264) = 5.23$, $p < .02$. White women (43%) had their faces ejaculated upon more often than did Black women (28%), $X^2(1, N=252) = 6.25$, $p < .05$, especially by White men (42% of White men as opposed to 23% of Black men), $X^2(1, N=122) = 5.05$, $p < .05$. Black women were treated as objects more often by White men than by Black men (34% vs 17%), $X^2(1, N=122) = 4.44$, $p < .05$, and White women were treated as objects more by Black men than by White men (40% vs 19%), $X^2(1, N=82) = 3.91$, $p < .05$.

No differences were found in the types of sexual acts performed nor was there a differential frequency or order of sexual acts, $ps > .05$.

Intimacy

Intimacy was examined by race and sex using analyses of variance. A marginally significant main effect for race was found, with Blacks scoring as lower on intimacy than Whites,

as well as a marginally significant interaction, $F(1,472) = 3.13$, $p < .08$, indicating that Black men were shown to demonstrate few acts of intimacy than did White men, $F(1,222) = 6.47$, $p < .02$. No difference was found between White and Black women. When this scale was analyzed looking at males by the race of males by the race of their partner, a significant effect for race was found, $F(1, 202) = 6.59$, $p < .02$; the mean intimacy score for White men was .81, SD .99, and the mean score for Black men was .54, SD .82). No effects or interactions were found when the scale was analyzed using the race of women and the race of their partner, $p > .05$.

The Presence of Racial Stereotypes

The presence of racial stereotypes was assessed using an ANOVA, looking at race and sex. A significant main effect for race was found, indicating that there was racial stereotyping in the presence of Black characters (see Table 3 for main effects and means).

When the analysis was performed using the race of females by the race of their male partners a significant interaction was found, $F(1,92) = 10.76$, $p < .001$, indicating that more racial stereotyping occurred when White women were with Black men than when they were with White men. However, when looking at Black women, racial stereotyping was not dependent on the race of their partner, $p > .10$. When the computed racial scale was examined by the

race of the male by the race of the female partner, a significant main effect for race was found, $F(1,202) = 7.95$, $p < .005$. More racial stereotypes were found with Black men (.84) than with White men (.53) and no interaction was found.

The racial stereotype of the Black man being portrayed as having a large penis was assessed and was significant (White men = 3.4 %, Black men = 21.6%), $X^2(1, N=224) = 14.82$, $p < .001$. The mention of having a large penis was not found to be significant, $p > .05$.

DISCUSSION

There are several conclusions that can be drawn from the results of this content analysis. One is that there are definite indicators of sexism and racism in pornography, and another is that there is an effect for these two aspects when they are combined that is qualitatively different from either feature alone.

The sexism in pornography has been demonstrated (Cowan et al., 1988), and this is corroborated by the present research. Men were more dominating, physically aggressive and verbally aggressive than were women. Women were the recipients of this aggression and domination. This supports the prediction that women would be subordinate to men physically and verbally. The prediction that they would be lower in status, however, was not supported. This validates, in part, Diamond's (1980) viewpoint that one of the major functions of pornography is to express norms about male domination and female subordination. However, the more active dominance/submission was gender-differentiated but not the less obvious status indicators.

One of the purposes of this content analysis was to assess the manner in which race is portrayed in pornography and to look at its explicit and implicit messages concerning ethnicity. Pornography contains an explicit message concerning race; for example, Blacks are shown as less equal and less intimate than Whites. It reinforces racial sexual

stereotypes (i.e., the idea of the "big black buck", who is prodigiously sexually endowed and emotionally detached). More racial indicators were present in a scene when Black women were present than any other character.

This content analysis addresses two issues. The first is the question of racism in pornography, the other is whether there is a difference in the way that Black men and women are treated in pornography. The first is the difference between Blacks and Whites, whereas the other refers to the combined effects of racism and sexism. The implicit messages about race are inextricably intertwined with those about sex. When many of the aggregate scales were used, the result of the analysis was dependent upon the race and sex of both of the characters involved. For example, when examining dominance, women were dominated by men, but Black women were most dominated by White men and White women were most dominated by Black men. White women received more physically aggressive acts when with Black men and Black women were the recipient of aggression more often when they were with White men, and both sexes were more verbally aggressive when with a partner not of their own race. Black men were shown as similar to White men to the extent that they were more aggressive than women. The difference was in to whom they were aggressive. There was an effect for racism and sexism that is more than the sum of its parts.

There is a difference between the depiction of White women and Black women, and between Black men and White men. Whether this difference is qualitative or quantitative is debatable. Women are dominated in pornography, but Black women are more so, especially when they are having sex with White men. Women were subjected to physical and verbal aggression, but Black women received more acts of physical and verbal aggression (with the exception of hair pulling) than did White women. Blacks were shown as lower in equality, the greatest difference was between Black men and White men.

One possible interpretation of the present findings is that racism is expressed differentially by sex. Perhaps it is not possible to separate sex from race, but it may be necessary to look at the point where the two intersect. Hooks (1990) sees racism and sexism as interlocking systems of domination that maintain each other -- a view supported by the present findings.

In this study, intimacy was examined because it was conceptualized as the flip side of dominance and inequality. The fact that Black men scored lowest on intimacy measures shows the reduced humanity of Black men in pornography -- they are not shown as people, but as sex machines, even more so than other characters. As little intimacy as there is in pornography, Black men are shown as devoid of this humanizing element. Black men may not be violated, but they

can be brutalized nonetheless. Possibly the Black man is shown as not quite human because, according to Hoch (1979), the Black man embodies the bestial in White male sexuality, as well as the fear of the loss of masculinity. Perhaps, as proposed by Dworkin (1989) the depiction of the Black man's sexuality as subhuman justifies his oppression.

There are many possible explanations for the cross-race effect, but they are all purely speculative. The history of slavery in this country provides an interpretative context for Black female-White male interactions. One supposition here is that race exaggerates sex roles in pornography. Women are dominated, but Black women are particularly so. Men are shown as emotionally detached, but Black men are particularly so. One possible reason for the cross-race effect may be that it is an expression of interracial hostility. Another is that when one engages in a "forbidden" relationship, the participants lose the protection of society, and the doors are opened for other non-sanctioned acts. It may be that Black women as being the lowest in status and value are more dominated, but for White women domination and aggression may be seen as a punishment for having sex with a Black man. It is conceivable that the Black man serves vicariously as the punisher of erring White women.

Questions that must be asked when looking at the results of this study are what are the functions of

pornography in general, and racist pornography specifically? This is an important question, and one that is beyond the scope of this study. Research has yet to examine the appeal of racist pornography or of the role ethnicity in pornography. If one questions the functions of pornography, one must ask its consumers -- predominantly middle-aged, middle-class, married White men (Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, 1970). Kimmer (1990) states that the purpose of pornography is sexual arousal. If this is true, what is the purpose of racist pornography? One possibility that it functions to reinforce racial and sexual stereotypes. Brod (1990) proposes that

The purpose of pornography is to obliterate specific differences among people in order to achieve a standard uniformity in the objects of desire ... (p.194).

If it is true that the portrayal of the Black man is based on the threat to a White man's masculinity (Hoch, 1976), this description could apply to the objects of fear as well. Steinberg (1990) asserts that in order to be effective, pornography must address men's fears; fears of sexual scarcity, rejection, undesirability and performance. Perhaps the racism in pornography is a reflection of those sexual fears, both sexual and racial. It has been proposed that pornography functions as a bond between men (Hooks, 1990; Santiago, 1990). Given the present findings of clear inequality between Black and White men in pornography, the nature of this bond is an interesting one.

The present study had methodological flaws that should be commented upon; some are correctable, and some are inherent in the material studied and the use of content analyses. The first is that there were some indicators which were only analyzed as absence/presence, and did not take into account the actor, speaker or recipient of actions or words. For example, the variable of mentioning race was intended to measure the instances in which a non-White character used an exaggerated, stereotyped manner of speech or dialect. When this variable was examined by race, there were Whites that were coded as having stereotyped speech. Such errors could have been avoided by having coders attend more training sessions. Unfortunately, if the coders were not clear about the function of an indicator, this was not known until the data had been analyzed. This could have been avoided by running a preliminary analysis after a certain amount of data had been collected, or by having recurring reliability measurements.

There are two difficulties in this study that could not be controlled. One was the nature of the data collection, and one was the nature of the data collected. Content analyses can be very time-consuming, detailed and tedious -- this increases the chances of rater error. In addition, pornography is difficult to view objectively. Zillmann (1989) found the effects of prolonged and massive exposure to pornography were sexual callousness and a decrease in

compassion toward women in general (in his study subjects were exposed to four or five sessions of viewing pornography; coders in this study were exposed to more than three times as many). It seems possible that the effect was similar for coders. Although coders were aware of this possibility, there were those who expressed dismay at their level of desensitization, and this may have influenced the findings somewhat.

Future areas of study should include content analyses with characters of other ethnicities, especially Asians, as they seem to be fairly common subjects in pornography. Another potentially important area of research is looking at how men are portrayed in pornography. Men in pornography research have been, for the most part, relegated the status of spectators, but as Kimmel (1990) states,

Although most pornographic images are of women, pornography is, at its heart, about men. ... It is about women as men want them to be, and about our own sexual selves as we would like to be (p.13).

Although Cowan and Dunn (1991) have examined what men find degrading to women in pornography, it seems reasonable to find what men themselves find degrading, how they perceive men in pornography, and what effects pornography have on them as men. As Brod (1990) submits, pornography distorts men's self-images. Zillmann and Bryant (1990) note that the effects of massive exposure to standard pornography on men may include disappointment with sexual reality and a lessening of commitment to extended relationships. Further,

if men internalize the image of women as hypersexual and nondiscriminating, viewers may come to distrust their partner's sexual fidelity;

... As distrust grows and caring diminishes, it is the thing called 'love' that is being undermined. Pornography thus might not only victimize women, but -- through the erosion of love -- harm men as well. (Zillmann & Bryant, 1990, p. 216)

Another area that merits further investigation is how non-White communities view pornography. Staples (1990) proposes that Blacks have traditionally had a more naturalistic attitude toward sexuality and that the Black community sees objections to pornography as a continuation of the White male's traditional double standard and paternalism. He states that the Black community's lack of involvement in the antipornography movement is because they do not find attractive the idea that women are "exploited by showing their nude bodies or engaging in heterosexual intercourse" (p. 112). It may be that the possible effects of pornography are mediated by community standards and perceptions. A final question left unanswered is the extent to which pornographic images either mirror or mold behavior. Perhaps it is not an either/or proposition, as Tucker (1990) submits, it may be that

Ideas and images have consequences: they do not merely reflect reality, they also help to shape it (p.268).

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Appendix A.

Category Definitions and Examples of Coded Behavior

Scene changes: the scene changes when the setting changes.

If another character enters the scene it is not a change.

The scene changes when the male ejaculates or when there is a shift to a totally different scene.

Clothing: animal prints, tribal make-up, racial jewelry (lion's claw necklace, etc), anything stereotypical such as costumes.

Stereotyped behaviors: any stereotyped behavior (practicing voodoo), role behaviors (pimp, Mr. Cool, rapper), food (fried chicken, watermelon).

Music: jungle drums, rap, gospel.

Setting: African props (shield, spears), animal-skin rugs.

Expressive noises: Noise has to be salient. The person makes exaggerated or animalistic noises.

Inexpressive: if the person is exaggeratedly inexpressive, detached, withdrawn during sexual activity. Can include the person wearing props such as sunglasses, hoods.

Closeups: if you can see the veins on a penis or if the genitalia take up the entire screen.

Physical aggression: includes penis slaps, also note if the woman's legs are held down.

Submission: initial resistance, final capitulation.

Intimacy: kissing, intercourse when there is some expression of mutuality, or when there is something more than a genital focus or orientation.

Color of skin: code relative darkness of Black characters' skin.

Fellatio on the knees: the woman must clearly be on her knees.

Coercion: offering threats or inducements to engage in sexual activity. This could be threats, money, drugs.

Appendix B.
Coding Sheet

Name of movie _____ Scene# _____ Coder _____

Characters 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

1

2

3

Who initiates

Domination:

Name calling

Verbal ordering

hitting

hair pulling

holding down
(physical restraint)

Rape

other (describe)

Submission
(initial resistance)

Coercion
(threats or inducements)

dominance clothing/props

Inequality:

Status (occupation)

age

acts stupid

other (describe)

Characters 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

race:

Skin color

mention of race

racial name

racial insult

racial compliment

mention of "big"

larger than avg penis

stereotyped speech

racial or other
clothing cues

color of clothing

virginal

whore-looking

music

setting

sex act
fellatio first

cunnilingus first

intercourse first

anal sex

Expressive noises

Characters 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

lack of interest
or expression

objectification

semen face

semen stomach

semen buttocks

use of objects

intimacy:

kissing

name

caressing

intercourse
face to face

comments: