

1

Aggression against Women: Cultural and Individual Causes*

NEIL M. MALAMUTH

OVERVIEW

Analysis of the causes of male violence against women requires consideration of the interaction among three types of factors: cultural factors that affect members of the society in general, the psychological makeup of individuals who are more likely to commit such acts of violence, and situational factors that may suppress or trigger the actual expression of aggressive responses. This chapter describes data from a research program my associates and I have been conducting that is designed particularly to investigate cultural and individual causes of aggression against women, although some attention has also been given to situational factors. The primary focus of our research has been on violent inclinations in the general population rather than on individuals who were arrested for crimes such as rape. We anticipate, however, that the findings will also shed some light on the roots of aggressive acts that come to the attention of legal and mental health agencies.

*The research reported in this chapter was facilitated by grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Individual Causes

Our research on individual differences has been geared, as a first step, to identify males within the general population who show greater inclinations to aggress against females. It is our expectation that once we have succeeded in distinguishing among those with different inclinations to aggress against women, we can proceed to investigate the factors responsible for these differences. We are also interested in the extent to which individual differences mediate the effects of cultural influences.

Cultural Causes

One of the ways we have attempted to study the role of cultural factors is by focusing on the mass media. The media, according to numerous writers (e.g., Brown, 1981; Goffman, 1979), both reflect and shape cultural images, values, social scripts, etc. Our research in this area has to date dealt primarily with sexually explicit materials, that is, pornography.¹ It is important to note, however, that the effects found are likely to occur with other types of stimuli as well and that the depiction of sexual aggression in the mass media is by no means limited to pornography. For example, a content analysis of sexual interactions in television soap operas (Lowry, Love, & Kirby, 1981) indicated that aggressive sexual contact was the second most frequent type of sexual interaction (with erotic touching among unmarried persons being the most frequent). Similarly, a cover story in *Newsweek* magazine (1981, September 28) focused on the tremendous viewer attention that soap operas have attracted. Interviews in *Newsweek* with producers and actors from these shows stressed the belief that aggression against women attracts audiences, for example, "The male population started watching us because we no longer were wimps. When a woman was wrong, we'd slap her down" (p. 65). Thus, although the discussion in this chapter concerns primarily empirical findings on the effects of aggressive pornography, we expect the conclusions also apply to many other areas of the mass media.

INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES: PROPENSITY TO RAPE

Research Strategy

In this section, I describe research concerning individual differences among subjects. Attention to individual differences has unfortunately frequently been neglected in psychology and sociological research in general and in mass media research in particular (Eysenck, 1978; Eysenck & Nias, 1978). As noted earlier,

¹The terms *pornography* and *erotica* are used interchangeably in this chapter without any pejorative meaning necessarily intended.

a major part of our research in this area has been geared to identify differences among men within the general population with respect to their inclinations to aggress against women. We have placed some emphasis on this goal for two reasons. First, it is our expectation that if we can differentiate successfully among men vis-à-vis their inclinations to aggress against women, we can begin to study the background factors that may have caused these differences. These might include familial experiences with violence, male–female power relations, sex-role stereotyping, hostility toward women, sexual attitudes and experiences, sensitivity to rejection, social perceptions (or misperceptions), and the like. Second, we anticipate that the impact of mass media stimuli such as aggressive pornography may be mediated by individuals' propensity to aggress against women. This expectation was partially based on research on the effects of media violence on children (Eron, 1982; Huesmann & Eron, 1983). This research suggests a bidirectional causal relationship between aggressive tendencies and media violence (i.e., having higher aggressive inclinations causes more attraction to media violence and exposure to media violence causes increases in aggressive tendencies). We thus hypothesized similar effects, anticipating that individual differences in tendencies to aggress against women would mediate gratifications derived from and susceptibility to be influenced by media portrayals of violence against women.

To study individual characteristics related to aggression against women, we chose to focus on rape. An idea frequently suggested in feminists' writings on the subject of rape is that there are many "normal" men in the general population with a propensity to rape (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Russell, 1975, 1980). This perspective is at variance with the position taken by many psychotherapists that rape is a "form of sexual psychopathy" (Groth & Burgess, 1977, p. 406). These therapists, therefore, have focused their attention on treating the pathology of individual rapists. While feminists recognize the need to treat such individuals, they contend that the fundamental underlying causes for most rapes are rooted in traditional sex roles and misogynous forces within society. Such societal factors, according to feminists, cause many men to be inclined to aggress sexually against women, although only relatively few men may actually be convicted of the crime of rape. This view contends that it is essential also to "treat" societal factors in order to address the causes of rape fully.

To address empirically the contention that many men have a propensity to rape requires a more rigorous definition of the concept of "rape proclivity" than is currently available in the feminist literature. It is not readily apparent how one could test empirically the argument that all men are "real or potential rapists" (Clark & Lewis, 1977, p. 140). People have the potential to engage in virtually any behavior. From a scientific perspective, it is more meaningful to consider the relative probability of engaging in certain acts. Thus for the purposes of the present chapter, the degree of a person's "proclivity to rape" will be defined according to the *relative* likelihood to rape under various conditions that may or

may not actually occur (e.g., wartime, circumstances where detection is extremely unlikely, etc.).

The following four steps were undertaken in order to determine whether a procedure could be developed to identify differences among men's inclinations to rape (Step 1) and to obtain some assessment of the construct validity (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955) of such a procedure (Steps 2 through 4, inclusive):

1. A procedure of identifying males with a *relative* propensity to rape was developed.
2. Dimensions that discriminate between rapists and nonrapists were found.
3. We determined whether men identified in Step 1 as having a relative propensity to rape were more similar to rapists on the relevant dimensions identified in Step 2.
4. We assessed whether men identified as having a relative propensity to rape were actually more aggressive against women under some conditions.

The discussion that follows presents more information regarding the procedures used in each of these steps and the data obtained.

Identifying Individuals with a Propensity to Rape

In an attempt to identify individuals who may show relatively stronger inclinations to aggress against women, males (mostly college students) were asked in a series of studies (Malamuth, 1981a; Malamuth, Haber & Feshbach, 1980; Malamuth & Check, 1980a, 1981a, 1983; Malamuth, Reisen, & Spinner, 1979; Tieger, 1981) to indicate the likelihood that they personally would rape if they could be assured of not being caught and punished. The samples were derived from varied parts of North America including the Los Angeles and Stanford areas in California and the Winnipeg area in Canada. Typically they were asked to indicate their responses on a 5-point scale ranging from not at all likely (1) to very likely (5). This question was asked under a variety of conditions, such as after viewing a videotaped interview with an actual rape victim, following the reading of a pornographic description of rape, and without any prior exposure treatment at all. While, as might be expected, there was some variability in the distribution of responses across studies, in general there was a great deal of consistency showing that a sizable percentage of the respondents indicated some likelihood of raping (LR). Across these studies, an average of about 35% of males indicated any likelihood of raping (i.e., a 2 or above on the scale) and an average of about 20% reported a 3 or above.²

²Recent research suggests that in addition to differentiating among men on the basis of reported LR it is useful to consider subjects' reported likelihood to use force to coerce a woman into sexual acts. It appears that some of the men who indicate no LR will indicate some likelihood of forcing a woman into sexual acts. More specifically, of approximately 350 men who participated in a study by Briere

Without additional data, the self-report and hypothetical nature of this question (i.e., if you could be assured of not being caught) makes it difficult to judge whether it reveals any socially meaningful information. One way to begin to assess its construct validity (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955) as a measure of rape proclivity is to determine whether LR reports are associated with other responses in a theoretically expected manner.

In order to specify the responses that LR reports should theoretically be associated with, it is necessary to identify responses that distinguish known rapists from the general population. If such responses can be identified reliably, then it can be determined empirically whether those who report a greater LR are more similar to rapists than those who indicate less (or no) LR. If LR reports were found to predict responses known to be associated with rapists, this would provide some empirical support for the possibility that LR reports may reflect a propensity to rape.

Ideally, research that compared the responses of known rapists to those of nonrapists would have access to similar representative samples from both populations. Samples of rapists, however, can generally be obtained only from jails or mental institutions. Since the percentage of rapes that are reported and convicted is very small and since those rapists that are actually convicted differ markedly from those who are not apprehended (Clark & Lewis, 1977; Rada, 1978), rapist samples are probably quite unrepresentative.

This conclusion is supported by a rather unusual attempt to study the responses of rapists who have not come to the attention of the law. Smithyman (1978) placed ads in Los Angeles newspapers asking, "Are you a rapist? If so, call me." He interviewed 50 anonymous callers and found that they differed considerably from samples of convicted rapists (e.g., more of these undetected rapists were college educated).

The present analysis examines whether men who indicated greater LR were more similar to actual rapists (on responses found to characterize rapists) than men who indicated lower LR. As a function of the variables that led certain rapists to be caught and convicted (e.g., low socioeconomic level, particularly brutal act), the unrepresentativeness of rapist samples is far more likely to obscure rather than accentuate similarities that may exist between men with relatively high LR ratings and rapists. If the data nonetheless showed similarities on pertinent dimensions between men who indicated a relatively high LR and con-

and Malamuth (1983), about 30% indicated some likelihood of both raping and using force to coerce a woman into sexual acts. About an equal number of subjects indicated some likelihood of using force but no likelihood of raping and the remaining 40% indicated no likelihood of either raping or forcing. This research also suggests that subjects who indicate some likelihood of forcing a woman but who indicate no likelihood when the label "rape" is used are intermediate in their aggressive tendencies between those indicating neither force nor rape likelihood and subjects indicating some likelihood of both.

victed rapists, then it would be likely that even greater similarities would have been found in comparisons with representative samples of rapists.

In order to determine the utility of LR reports as a means of distinguishing among men with differing inclinations to rape, the following steps of the research program were taken: (1) Dimensions were sought that discriminate between rapists and nonrapists, (2) associations between LR and dimensions characterizing rapists were investigated, and (3) associations between LR and aggressive behavior were considered.

Finding Dimensions that Discriminate between Rapists and Nonrapists

Investigators have attempted to identify differences between convicted rapists and control groups on a variety of general measures. For example, comparisons have been made on the Rorschach Inkblot Test (e.g., Perdue & Lester, 1972), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) (e.g., Carroll & Fuller, 1971), the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (Fisher & Rivlin, 1971), the Buss-Durkee Hostility Inventory (Buss & Durkee, 1957; Rada, Laws & Kellner, 1976), and intelligence scales (Rada, 1978). As discussed by Rada (1978), these studies failed to provide reliable differences between rapists and nonrapists.

There have been, however, two types of responses that appear to discriminate between rapists and the general population. Not surprisingly, these responses seem to be more directly linked to acts of rape. It has been found that rapists are more likely than other males (1) to hold callous attitudes about rape and to believe in rape myths and (2) to show relatively high levels of sexual arousal to depictions of rape (see Malamuth, 1981b, for a more detailed description of these differences in attitudes and sexual arousal).

Likelihood of Raping and Dimensions Characterizing Rapists

LIKELIHOOD OF RAPING AND ATTITUDE

It has been found consistently that individuals with higher LR reports hold more callous attitudes toward rape and believe in rape myths to a greater degree than those with lower LR scores (Malamuth & Check, 1980a; Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980; Malamuth *et al.*, 1979; Tieger, 1981). For example, higher LR scores have been shown to be related to (1) the belief that other men would rape if they knew they could avoid being caught, (2) identification with rapists in depictions of rape, (3) perceptions that rape victims cause such assaults and derive pleasure from them (in fictionalized portrayals and in an actual interview with a rape victim), and (4) the belief that women in general secretly desire and enjoy such victimization. Also, higher LR scores have been related to scores on the Rape Myth acceptance scale developed by Burt (1980). The conclusion that

higher LR scores are strongly associated with callous attitudes toward rape and with beliefs in rape myths thus seems well supported. The magnitude of the differences between high versus low LR subjects is illustrated in data presented later in this chapter.

LIKELIHOOD OF RAPING AND SEXUAL AROUSAL

LR ratings have been found to be positively correlated with sexual arousal to rape but not with arousal to consenting depictions (Check & Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth & Check, 1980a, 1981a, 1983; Malamuth, Heim, & Feshbach 1980). This has been particularly true of self-reported sexual arousal, although similar results have been obtained with tumescence measures (Malamuth & Check, 1980a, 1981a). The sexual arousal patterns of high LR subjects to rape as compared to consenting-sex portrayals have consistently been found to be much more similar to those of rapists (e.g., Abel, Barlow, Blanchard, & Guild, 1977) than the responses of low LR subjects (Malamuth, 1981b).

The relationship between LR ratings and sexual arousal has been shown to be significantly influenced by the content of the rape depiction. In particular, the manipulation of the rape victim's reaction (i.e., the outcome variable) has been implicated as exerting a major influence on subjects' arousal (e.g., Malamuth & Check, 1980a, 1980b; Malamuth, Heim, & Feshbach, 1980; Quinsey & Chaplin, in press). Findings in this area are well illustrated in the data of Malamuth and Check (1983). In a preliminary session, male subjects were administered questionnaires concerning their sexual attitudes and behaviors. One of the items inquired about the likelihood that the subject himself would rape if he could be assured of not being caught and punished (i.e., the LR item). On the basis of this item, 62 subjects were classified as low LR (a rating of 1 being "not at all likely" on the 5-point scale). Forty-two subjects were classified as high LR (a rating of 2 or higher).

Several days later, these subjects listened to one of eight audio tapes of an interaction involving sexual acts between a man and a woman. The content of these depictions was systematically manipulated along the dimensions of consent (woman's consent vs. nonconsent), pain (woman's pain vs. no pain), and outcome (woman's arousal vs. disgust).

The data highlighted the importance of the interaction between individual differences among subjects and variations in the depiction content in affecting sexual arousal to rape portrayals. As indicated in Figure 1.1, the pattern of the data on both self-report and tumescence measures clearly indicated that when the woman was portrayed as experiencing disgust, both low and high LR subjects were less aroused sexually by the nonconsenting as compared with consenting depictions. However, when the woman was perceived as becoming aroused sexually (the myth frequently portrayed in aggressive pornography), a very different pattern emerged: Low LR subjects were equally aroused to the consenting and the nonconsenting depictions, whereas high LR subjects showed *greater*

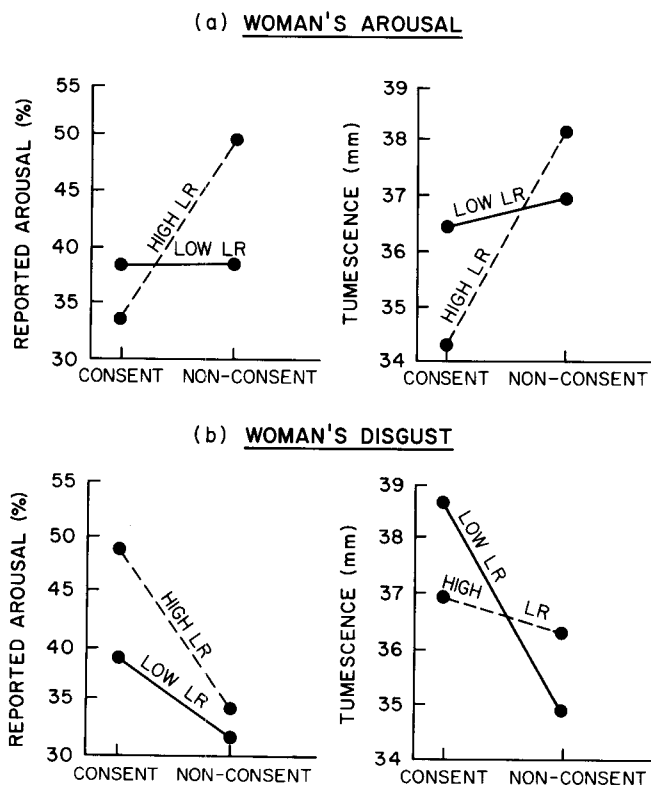


Fig. 1.1. Male subjects' sexual arousal as a function of manipulations in depiction content (consent versus nonconsent and woman's arousal versus woman's disgust) and subjects' LR classification. (From Malamuth & Check, 1983).

arousal to the nonconsenting scenes. It should also be noted that if comparisons are made between the two types of depictions employed by Abel *et al.* (1977) in their research with rapists (i.e., consenting woman's arousal vs. nonconsenting woman's disgust portrayals), the data of the high LR subjects are much more similar to those of the identified rapists than are the data for low LR subjects.

Noteworthy as well is a strong association found in several studies between LR reports and the belief that if the subject were to commit a rape he would find the experience sexually arousing (e.g., Malamuth, 1981b, 1982). These data raise the possibility that in some cases the self-perception (Bem, 1972) that one is sexually aroused by violent pornographic portrayals may result in the attribution that the actual commission of rape would be sexually stimulating. (See Malamuth, 1981b, for more detailed discussion of this issue.)

Likelihood of Raping and Aggressive Behavior

The data reviewed above indicate that LR scores are associated with rape myth acceptance and callous attitudes about rape as well as with sexual arousal to rape in a theoretically expected manner. However, it remains to be demonstrated that LR reports can predict aggressive acts. Obviously, it is impossible to examine rape within an experimental setting. An alternative is to determine whether LR ratings predict acts of aggression that can be studied within a research context. While it is not suggested that such aggression constitutes an actual analogue to the crime of rape, it is suggested that rape is an act of violence related to other acts of aggression against women (Burt, 1980; Clark & Lewis, 1977). Therefore, measures assessing rape propensity should predict other acts of aggression against women. In determining whether LR ratings are associated with aggression, we examined subjects' own self-reported acts of aggression in dating interactions, as well as a more objective measure—aggressive behavior in the laboratory.

DATE AGGRESSION

A significant association has been found consistently between LR ratings and subjects' reports that they have personally used force against females in sexual relations and may do so again in the future. This association was obtained both when subjects reported such "date aggression" on items embedded within other questions on a lengthy questionnaire (e.g., Malamuth & Check, 1981a) as well as when using a scale developed by Koss and Oros (1982) to specifically measure the incidence of sexual aggression (Malamuth, 1982).

LABORATORY AGGRESSION

In a number of recent studies (Malamuth, 1981b, 1982, 1983; Malamuth & Check, 1982), males (both students and nonstudents) were first asked how likely they would be to rape if they could not be caught (i.e., the LR report). Days later, the same subjects participated in what was ostensibly a totally different experiment; it was actually the second phase of the research. Postexperimental questionnaires verified that subjects believed they were participating in two completely unrelated experiments. In this second phase of the research, subjects were mildly rejected and insulted by a woman or by a man (confederates of the experimenter). The study used a Buss paradigm (see Buss, 1961). Subjects were allowed to choose among different levels of aversive noise and of money that they could (ostensibly) administer to the confederate as punishment for incorrect responses and rewards for correct responses. This research has generally found that higher LR ratings are associated with the delivery of higher aversive noise levels and lower rewards to the female target but not to the male target. Furthermore, self-reported likelihood of committing various violent acts (e.g., murder, armed robbery) or sexual acts (e.g., group sex, pedophilia) assessed in a similar

manner as the LR report do not show similar predictive ability of male aggression against women (Malamuth, 1982). These data suggest that higher LR ratings are predictive of male aggression against women under certain conditions (such as when aggression is to some degree sanctioned within the laboratory).

Conclusions

The data show that a substantial percentage of the male subjects indicated some likelihood that they would rape if they could be assured of not being caught. These LR reports were found to be associated with attitudes, sexual arousal, and aggressive behavior in a theoretically predicted pattern based on rapists' attitudinal and arousal patterns and on the conceptualization of rape as an act of aggression linked to other aggressive acts against women. Moreover, LR reports have recently been found to be related in a theoretically predicted pattern to a variety of other responses including sex role stereotyping, personality characteristics, cognitive misperceptions of women's behavior, hostility towards women, and power as a motive for sexuality (Check & Malamuth, 1983; Malamuth, 1982, 1984; Malamuth & Check, 1983).

These data support theorizing that within the general population there are many men with inclinations to commit acts of violence against women. Such findings are consistent with the idea of a continuum of aggressive inclinations placing men with relatively no propensity to aggress at one end and those who have actually aggressed (e.g., rapists) at the other end. At differing points along this continuum between the two extremes would be other men who may have some inclinations to aggress against women but who may not actually commit acts of violence. This perspective suggests that differences along this continuum may be primarily in degree of aggressive propensity and/or the existence of other attributes, such as empathy rather than, in most cases, qualitative differences. To address problems of violence against women adequately, therefore, it is insufficient to treat those men at the extreme of the continuum who are known to have committed acts of violence. It may also be essential to "treat" the factors that lead many men to be inclined to aggress against women. This may necessitate basic changes in many aspects of our culture and its socialization practices. We now turn to consider the potential role of one of the many cultural factors that may reflect and contribute to acceptance of violence against women as well as, under some circumstances, cause aggressive behavior.

CULTURAL FACTORS: AGGRESSIVE PORNOGRAPHY

Defining Aggressive Pornography

Many feminist writers argue that pornography is hate literature against women: "So we can admit that pornography is sexist propaganda, pornography is the

theory and rape the practice,” contends Robin Morgan (1980, p. 139). The content of pornography, according to these writers, is primarily intended to dehumanize and degrade women:

The most prevalent theme in pornography is one of utter contempt for women. In movie after movie women are raped, ejaculated on, urinated on, anally penetrated, beaten, and, with the advent of snuff films, murdered in an orgy of sexual pleasure. Women are the objects of pornography, men its largest consumers, and sexual degradation its theme. (Barry, 1979; p. 175).

Pornography, like rape, is a male invention, designed to dehumanize women, to reduce the female to an object of sexual access, not to free sensuality from moralistic or parental inhibition. The staple of porn will always be the naked female body, breasts and genitals exposed, because as man devised it, her naked body is the female’s “shame,” her private parts the private property of man, while his are the ancient, holy, universal, patriarchal instrument of his power, his rule by force over *her*. Pornography is the undiluted essence of anti-female propaganda. (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 443)

Feminist writers do not object to sexually explicit materials that portray men and women in humanized and positive relationships. Rather, they object to what they perceive as portrayals of unequal power relationships between men and women and the dehumanization and degradation of women (Brownmiller, 1980; Russell, 1975; 1980). They argue that as an expression of a sexist ideology such materials “promote a climate in which acts of sexual hostility directed against women are not only tolerated but ideologically encouraged” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 444). In other words, their position is that pornography contributes, although not necessarily directly, to acts of violence against women by making such acts seem less reprehensible.

The distinction between aggressive versus “positive” types of pornography is often difficult to establish operationally and conceptually. Gloria Steinem (1980) differentiated between what she considers acceptable erotica from objectionable pornography in the following way:

Look at any photo or film of people making love; really making love. The images may be diverse, but there is usually a sensuality and touch and warmth, an acceptance of bodies and nerve endings. There is always a spontaneous sense of people who are there because they want to be, out of shared pleasure.

Now look at any depiction of sex in which there is clear force, or an unequal power that spells coercion. It may be very blatant, with weapons of torture or bondage, wounds and bruises, some clear humiliation, or an adult’s sexual power being used over a child. It may be much more subtle: a physical attitude of conqueror and victim, the use of race or class difference to imply the same thing, perhaps a very unequal nudity, with one person exposed and vulnerable while the other is clothed. In either case, there is no sense of equal choice or equal power. (p. 37)

In the studies described below, aggressive pornography refers to depictions of sex that would be considered blatantly coercive by Steinem. By and large, these are portrayals in which physical force is either used or threatened to coerce a woman to engage in sexual acts (e.g., rape). At this point, therefore, conclusions and implications of the research findings concerning aggressive pornography can

be applied only to such blatantly aggressive materials. Effects of materials that portray coercion more subtly have not been adequately researched as yet. However, the findings presented in this volume by Zillmann and Bryant (Chapter 4) suggest that massive exposure to some pornography that is not blatantly aggressive can have similar effects to those documented from clearly aggressive depictions.

The President's Commission

In 1967 the U.S. Congress established the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography to conduct a thorough investigation of this issue. Based on several converging lines of evidence, the commission concluded in its report (Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, 1970) that the evidence did not support contentions that pornography has antisocial effects. When the commission conducted its research studies, however, aggressive-pornographic materials were relatively infrequent. This may partially explain why the commission's studies almost without exception did not include stimuli that involved rape or other forms of coercive sexuality. The only commission studies in which more than passing attention was paid to such materials were retrospective surveys comparing the reports of sexual offenders, sexual deviants, and comparison groups from the general population regarding their previous exposure to pornography. These studies unfortunately yielded highly conflicting conclusions (Goldstein, Kant, Judd, Rice, & Geen, 1971; Davis & Braucht, 1971).

Although aggressive pornography was relatively rare in earlier years, a number of articles in the general media (e.g., *Time*, 1976, April 5; *Village Voice*, 1977, May 9) and in pornography magazines (e.g., Thistle, 1980) observed that aggression has become increasingly prevalent in sexually explicit books, magazines, and films during the 1970s. More systematic content analyses generally corroborate these observations. For example, Smith (1976a, 1976b) analyzed the content of hard-core paperback books published between 1968 and 1974. He found that, in about one-third of the episodes, force is used, almost always by a male, to coerce a female to engage in an unwanted act of sex. Furthermore, he found that the average number of acts depicting rape doubled from 1968 to 1974. Similarly, Malamuth and Spinner (1980) analyzed the pictorials and cartoons in *Playboy* and *Penthouse* magazines. While throughout this 5-year period about 10% of the cartoons were rated as sexually violent, a change occurred in pictorials, with sexual violence increasing from about 1% in 1973 to about 5% in 1977. In 1982, Dietz and Evans classified 1760 heterosexual pornographic magazines according to the imagery depicted on the cover. Whereas in 1970, when the commission on pornography had completed its research, magazine covers depicting a woman posed alone had predominated, such imagery was found to constitute a much smaller percentage by 1981. In contrast, bondage and domination imagery increased very markedly since 1970 and in 1981 constituted 17.2%

of the magazine covers, second in frequency only to the depiction of couples in sexual activity.

Theoretical Concerns

There appears to be ample reason for concern about the effects of aggressively toned pornographic stimuli. To begin with, the antisocial effects shown to result from nonsexual depictions of aggression in the mass media (e.g., Eron, 1980, 1982; Parke, Berkowitz, Leyens, West, & Sebastian, 1977; Thomas, Horton, Lippencott, & Drabman, 1977) seem likely to also occur when the aggression is presented within a sexual context. However, there are theoretical reasons for being particularly concerned about the fusion of sexuality and aggression in the media (Malamuth & Spinner, 1980). First, the coupling of sex and aggression in these portrayals may result in conditioning processes whereby aggressive acts become associated with sexual arousal, a powerful unconditioned stimulus and reinforcer. In fact, current treatments for sexual offenders using procedures such as covert sensitization or orgasmic reorientation (e.g., Abel, Blanchard, & Becker, 1978; Brownell, Hayes, & Barlow, 1977; Hayes, Brownell, & Barlow, 1978) are based on the premise that conditioning may occur by associating fantasies of socially sanctioned arousal with masturbation or other behaviors. It is also possible that the juxtaposition of media portrayals of aggression and sexuality could lead to conditioning and thereby increase sexual arousal to aggressive stimuli, possibly leading to concomitant changes in fantasies and behavior. Second, in aggressive-pornographic depictions the victim is frequently portrayed as secretly desiring the assault and as eventually deriving sexual pleasure from it (Malamuth, Heim, & Feshbach, 1980; Smith, 1976a, 1976b). In other words, the victim supposedly likes being assaulted sexually. Such information may suggest that even if a woman seems repulsed by a pursuer, she will eventually respond favorably to forceful advances, aggression, and overpowering by a male assailant (Brownmiller, 1975; Johnson & Goodchilds, 1973).

Many subjects may recognize the fictional nature of this type of information. Still, research in cognitive psychology on the “availability heuristic” (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973) and “priming” effects (Higgins, Rholes & Jones, 1977; Wyer & Srull, 1981) suggests that such depictions may nonetheless have a significant impact. (These concepts are discussed in greater detail later in this chapter in the section entitled “Conclusions and Directions for Future Research.”) According to the availability heuristic and priming explanations, events that come relatively easily to mind or are more accessible in memory are apt to be regarded as more likely to occur. To the extent that the media presents images of women as responding favorably to male aggression, such images may easily come to people’s minds and affect their beliefs, attitudes, and behavior. This possibility is consistent with theorizing and research on the role of the mass media in “cultivating” people’s perceptions of the real world (e.g., Gerbner,

Gross, Eeey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, & Signorelli, 1977; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1982).

In the next section I summarize the research findings concerning the effects of exposure to aggressive pornography. I examine whether the data indicate that such exposure produces *changes* in a person's sexual responsiveness to aggressive-pornographic stimuli, in fantasies, in perceptions, in attitudes, and in aggressive behavior.

CHANGES INDUCED BY EXPOSURE TO AGGRESSIVE PORNOGRAPHY

Sexual Responsiveness

Little evidence at this time indicates that exposure to aggressive pornography increases a person's sexual responsiveness to such stimuli. A nonsignificant trend in one study (Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980) suggested that if subjects first read a sadomasochistic portrayal, their subsequent reported sexual arousal to a rape scene presented shortly afterwards tended to be heightened. Later research, however, did not confirm this finding. Failure to find a sexual arousal enhancement effect of exposure to aggressive pornography has occurred both with single presentations (Malamuth, 1981b; Malamuth & Check, 1980a; 1981a) as well as with repeated presentations over a period of several weeks with five aggressive-pornographic feature-length movies (Ceniti & Malamuth, in press).

Fantasies

Only one experiment to date has examined the effects of aggressive pornography on sexual fantasies (Malamuth, 1981a). Subjects were presented with either rape or mutually consenting-sex versions of a slide-audio show. All subjects were then exposed to the same audio description of a rape incident taken from Abel *et al.* (1977). Later in the same session, they were asked to create their own sexual fantasies and then to record them. Content analyses of subjects' self-reported fantasies indicated that those exposed to the rape version of the slide-audio show created more aggressive sexual fantasies than those exposed to the mutually consenting-sex version.

Perceptions and Attitudes

Considerable data indicate that exposure to aggressive pornography may alter observers' perceptions of rape and of rape victims. In three experiments subjects were presented first with either pornographic rape scenes in which the aggressor

perceived that the assault resulted in the female victims' sexual arousal (i.e., a "positive" outcome) or with other depictions (e.g., a rape with victim abhorrence or a mutually consenting scene). Afterwards, all of these subjects were given a different depiction of rape and asked to indicate their perceptions of the experiences of the victim. In two of these experiments (Malamuth, Haber, & Feshbach, 1980; Malamuth & Check, 1980a) those exposed to the positive outcome version of the aggressive scene, in comparison to other subjects, thought the rape victim in the second portrayal had suffered less. The third experiment (Malamuth & Check, 1981b), to be elaborated upon later in this chapter, revealed effects on general perceptions about women.

In contrast to the previously cited studies, Malamuth *et al.* (1979) found no evidence of changes in perceptions or in attitudes following exposure to aggressive pornography. In this experiment, one group of male and female subjects looked at issues of *Penthouse* and *Playboy* magazines showing incidents of sadomasochism and rape. A second group examined issues of these magazines that contained only nonaggressive pornography, and a third group was given only neutral materials. Shortly afterwards, subjects watched a videotaped interview with an actual victim of rape and responded to a questionnaire assessing their perceptions of the victim and her experience. Weeks later, in what was purported to be a general survey of public attitudes, subjects indicated their views on rape. Exposure to the aggressive pornography did not affect perceptions of rape either in response to the videotaped interview with the rape victim or to the survey of attitudes.

One of the differences between this study and the three experiments that did show significant effects on perceptions of rape concerns the content of the materials used. In the three experiments in which antisocial effects were found, the aggressive-pornographic stimuli were specifically selected because they explicitly depicted violence against women as having positive consequences. Malamuth *et al.* (1979), on the other hand, used materials that generally did not show such positive outcomes. At least with respect to cognitive changes, therefore, the antisocial effects of aggressive pornography may be limited to stimuli depicting positive consequences of sexual aggression.

In a field experiment Malamuth and Check (1981a) obtained perhaps the strongest evidence to date to suggest that depictions of sexual aggression with positive consequences can affect social perceptions and attitudes. In this investigation 271 male and female students served as subjects. Some had agreed to participate in a study ostensibly focusing on movie ratings. They watched on two different evenings either (1) the movies *Swept Away* and *The Getaway*, films that portray sexual aggression and suggest that such aggression may have positive consequences, or (2) neutral feature-length movies. These films were viewed in theatres on campus, and two of the movies (i.e., one experimental and one control) were being shown by the university as part of the campus film program.

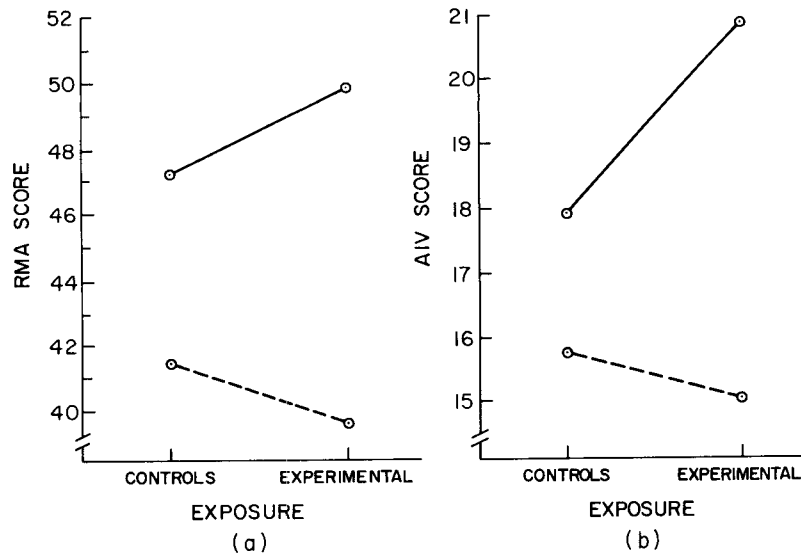


Fig. 1.2 Scores for (a) Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) and (b) Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence (AIV) as a function of media exposure and subjects' gender. (From Malamuth & Check, 1981a.) (Broken lines represent females; solid lines represent males.)

Members of the classes from which subjects had been recruited but who had not signed up for the experiment were also used as a comparison group. The dependent measures were scales assessing Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence (AIV) against women, Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA), and beliefs in Adversarial Sexual Relations (ASB). These measures were embedded within many other items in a Sexual Attitude Survey administered to all students in classes several days after some of them (i.e., those who had signed up for the experiment) had been exposed to the movies. Subjects were not aware that there was any relationship between this survey and the movies.

Results indicated that exposure to films portraying aggressive sexuality as having positive consequences significantly increased male but not female subjects' acceptance of interpersonal violence against women and tended to increase males' acceptance of rape myths (see Figure 1.2). These data demonstrated in a nonlaboratory setting, not vulnerable to criticisms of laboratory artificiality and demand characteristics (Orne, 1962), that there can be relatively long-term anti-social effects of movies that portray sexual violence as having positive consequences.

Aggressive Behavior

A number of studies examined the effects of viewing aggressive pornography on males' aggression. In an experiment by Malamuth (1978), male subjects were

assigned to one of three exposure conditions. Subjects read pictorial stories that contained aggressive pornography, nonaggressive pornography, or neutral stimuli. Both the aggressive- and nonaggressive-pornographic stimuli were taken from issues of *Penthouse* magazine and were reported by subjects to be equally sexually arousing. The aggressive-pornographic stimuli depicted a rape of a woman by a male pirate with some suggestion of a positive outcome. The nonaggressive pornography portrayed a loving interaction between a man and a woman. The neutral stimuli were taken from *National Geographic* magazine. Following exposure to these stimuli, all subjects were insulted by a female confederate and then were placed in a situation where they could aggress against her via the ostensible delivery of electric shocks under one of two assessment conditions. Half of the subjects were assigned to read a communication that suggested that it was “permissible” to behave as aggressively as they wished (disinhibitory communication); the other half were given a communication designed to make them somewhat self-conscious about aggressing (inhibitory communication). The experimental design thus consisted of a 3 (Exposure) \times 2 (Communication) factorial design.

The results revealed no significant differences in aggression following the inhibitory communication. Following the disinhibitory communication, the highest level of aggression was found in the aggressive-pornography exposure ($M = 4.20$), which was significantly greater than that following the nonaggressive-pornography exposure ($M = 2.75$). However, the neutral exposure ($M = 3.44$) was not found to differ significantly from either of the other two exposure conditions. The findings, therefore, although somewhat equivocal, pointed to the possibility that aggressive-pornographic stimuli may, under certain conditions, increase aggression against women. These data highlight the important role of situational factors in affecting aggression against women and suggest that, while cultural factors such as aggressive pornography may increase some males’ aggressive tendencies, the actual expression of aggressive responses may be strongly regulated by varied internal and external (i.e., situational) variables.

A series of experiments on the effects of aggressive pornography on aggression are discussed in detail by Donnerstein in Chapter 2 and are only summarized briefly here. These experiments used the Buss paradigm (Buss, 1961) in which the delivery of aversive stimuli (e.g., electric shock, noise) to the confederate of the experimenter constitutes the operational definition of aggression. The data show that exposure of male subjects to aggressive pornography increases aggressive behavior against *female* but not male targets in comparison to exposure to neutral, nonpornographic-aggressive (e.g., a man hitting a woman) and nonaggressive-pornographic (e.g., mutually consenting sex) media stimuli (Donnerstein, 1980, 1983; Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981). Interestingly, nonpornographic films that portrayed aggression against women were also found to increase the levels of males’ aggression against female victims, although to a lesser degree than aggressive-pornographic scenes (Donnerstein, 1983).

Increased aggression against female victims following the viewing of aggressive pornography was found both with subjects who were first angered by the confederate as well as with nonangered subjects, although the increase tended to be greater for angered subjects (e.g., Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981). Interesting differences between the effects of aggressive pornography on angered as compared to nonangered subjects emerged when the outcome of the aggression was systematically manipulated in a manner similar to the experiments described earlier (i.e., positive vs. negative victim reaction). It was found that a negative ending to an aggressive-pornographic film increased aggression only for angered subjects. In contrast, when the victim's reaction was portrayed as positive, a very clear increase in aggression was found for both angered and nonangered male subjects (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981). These data may be interpreted to suggest that positive victim reactions (those that are, as noted earlier, very common in aggressive pornography) may act to justify aggression and to reduce general inhibitions against aggression. The portrayal of negative victim reactions, on the other hand, may inhibit the aggression of nonangered subjects but may fail to restrain the increased violence of individuals in a state of anger or who are particularly inclined to aggress against women for other reasons (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981).

There has been considerable controversy regarding the construct validity and generalizability of conclusions derived from laboratory investigations of behavioral aggression using procedures such as the Buss paradigm (Berkowitz & Donnerstein, 1982; Edmunds & Kendrick, 1980; Kaplan, in press). A series of studies (Malamuth, 1982, 1983; Malamuth & Check, 1982) were designed to address this issue vis-à-vis research on aggression against women. These experiments assessed whether attitudes facilitating aggression and sexual responsiveness to rape would predict male aggression against women within a laboratory setting. While laboratory aggression does not constitute an actual analogue to the crime of rape, we theorized that various acts of aggression against women may share some similar underlying causes (e.g., Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Clark & Lewis, 1977). It was reasoned that if the measures designed to assess attitudes condoning aggression against women and sexual responsiveness to rape are valid indicators of aggressive tendencies, then such measures should predict aggressive behavior. Furthermore, to the extent that laboratory aggression is an indicator of aggressive responses in real-world settings, the laboratory provides a feasible means of assessing aggressive acts. Therefore, if a relationship were found between measures of the factors associated with rape and laboratory aggression, support would be provided for the construct validity (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955) of the following nomological network: (1) there are common factors in the varied acts of violence against women, (2) measures of sexual arousal to rape and attitudes can predict aggressive tendencies, and (3) the methodology of assessing aggression within a laboratory context can be used as a

basis for testing theory in the area, for further refining the predictive measures of aggression, and for drawing implications to nonlaboratory settings.

The research by Malamuth (1983) was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, two factors theorized to cause rape and related acts of aggression against women were assessed. The subjects were males from the general population, mostly college students. The first factor was labeled Sexual Arousal to Rape, which was measured by the rape index developed by Abel *et al.* (1977) (i.e., sexual arousal to rape relative to arousal to consenting depictions). Two separate measurements of this index were taken several weeks apart using different rape and consenting depictions. Abel *et al.* (see also Abel, Becker & Skinner, 1980; Abel, Blanchard, & Becker, 1976) contend that this measure assesses a "proclivity to rape."

The second factor assessed in the first phase of the research was labeled Attitudes Facilitating Violence. This was measured by the Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) and Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence (AIV) against women scales developed by Burt (1980). These scales were embedded within many other items so that subjects would not be aware of their specific focus. Burt (1978, 1980) theorized that attitudes about violence against women contribute to the commission of rape and similar aggressive acts.

The second phase of the research was held several days after each subject completed the first phase. In this second phase, aggression was assessed. However, subjects were completely unaware of the relationship between the two phases of the research; they believed that they were participating in two completely unrelated experiments. This procedure eliminated the possible role of demand characteristics. In this second phase, subjects were angered by a woman (a confederate) and were given the opportunity of ostensibly punishing her with aversive noise. Also, subjects were later asked about their desire to hurt the woman with the aversive noise (Baron & Eggleston, 1972).

The results show that the measures assessed in the first phase successfully predicted aggressive behavior in the second phase of the research. This was apparent both in correlational data and in the results of an analysis using "causal" modeling with latent and manifest variables (Bentler, 1978, 1980; Bentler & Bonnett, 1980; Joreskog & Sorbom, 1978) (see Figure 1.3). Using the causal modeling approach, a latent variable named Sexual Arousal to Rape was operationally defined by the two assessments of the rape index. A second latent factor, named Attitudes Facilitating Violence, was operationally defined by the RMA and AIV scales. In addition, a latent factor labeled Aggression against Women was operationally defined by the levels of aversive noise and levels of the reported desire to hurt the woman. The model constructed had causal paths from the Sexual Arousal to Rape and from the Attitudes Facilitating Violence factors to the Aggression against Women factor. This model was tested by the LISREL IV program (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1978). The model was found to represent the

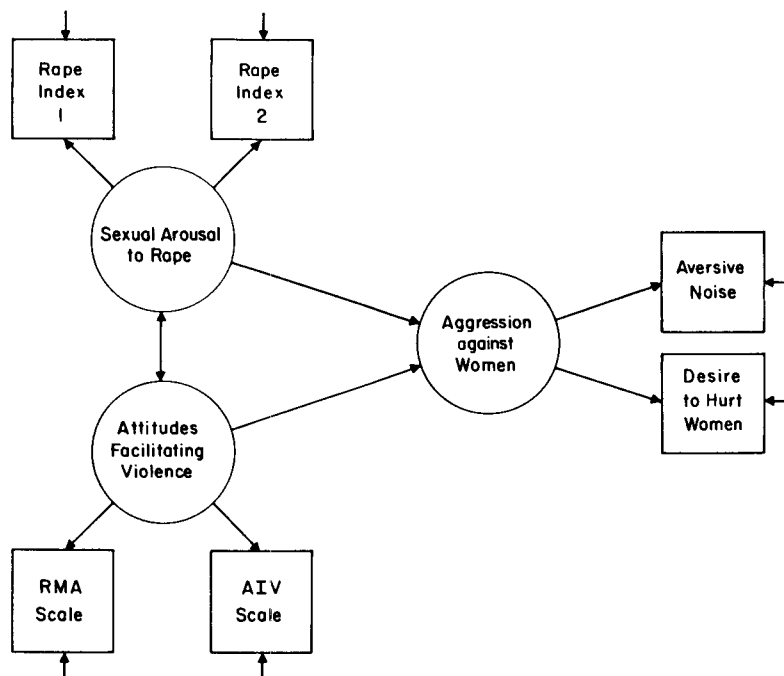


Fig. 1.3 Model of factors associated with real-world aggression against women as predictors of laboratory aggression. (From Malamuth, 1983.)

data successfully and both of the causal paths to aggression were found to be significant, indicating that better prediction of laboratory aggression could be achieved from assessing both Sexual Arousal to Rape and Attitudes Facilitating Violence than on the basis of either of these factors individually. Together, these two factors accounted for 43% of the variance of the Aggression against Women factor.

Malamuth and Check (1982) recently attempted to replicate and extend one aspect of the above findings—the prediction of aggression on the basis of scales measuring attitudes about aggression. In addition to the RMA and AIV scales, they administered to male undergraduates a scale that assessed General Acceptance of Violence (GAV) (in contrast to acceptance of violence against women). The results indicated that the RMA and AIV scales but not the GAV scale successfully predicted aggression against women. These data are in keeping with other findings in our research program suggesting that male aggression against women may be affected by processes that differ from those that affect male–male aggression, although there also are, in all likelihood, common mechanisms affecting aggression against male or female targets.

These findings provide support for the construct validity of the nomological

network described above. The data may be especially pertinent to the debate concerning the external validity of laboratory assessment of aggression (e.g., Berkowitz & Donnerstein, 1982). It is hoped that these data will encourage further empirical work in this area with particular emphasis on the development of testable theoretical models of the cultural and individual factors that cause aggression against women.

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN CULTURAL AND INDIVIDUAL CAUSES

The data presented heretofore indicate (1) that cultural factors such as the mass media can affect responses associated with aggression against women and (2) that meaningful distinctions can be made empirically among men in the general population vis-à-vis their propensity to aggress against women. Now we turn to an example of research designed to relate these two lines of investigation by assessing the interaction between cultural and individual factors. We sought to determine whether the individual characteristics of men mediate the impact of mass media messages.

In this experiment (Malamuth & Check, 1981b), male undergraduates were first classified as low versus high LR on the basis of their responses to a questionnaire administered in a preliminary session. A laboratory session was held at a later date. In this session, subjects were randomly assigned to listen to audiotapes that were systematically manipulated in their content along the dimensions of consent (women's consent vs. nonconsent) and outcome (women's arousal vs. disgust). Later, subjects completed a questionnaire about their beliefs regarding the percentage of women, if any, that would "enjoy" being raped. Ethical questions may be raised concerning the use of such questions since their use may perpetuate or strengthen existing beliefs in rape myths. However, the use of a debriefing shown to be effective at counteracting such false beliefs (Malamuth & Check, in press; Check and Malamuth, in press; Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981) may justify these inquiries within a research context.

The results (see Figure 1.4) indicated a main effect of LR reports, with high LR subjects estimating much higher percentages of women enjoying being raped in comparison with low LR subjects ($M = 24.7\%$ and $M = 6.63\%$, respectively, $p < .0001$). In addition, an interaction effect was obtained between the consent (consenting versus nonconsenting sex) and outcome (arousal versus disgust) dimensions. Whereas the manipulation of outcome (i.e., woman's arousal vs. woman's disgust) within the consenting portrayals had no significant impact on subjects' perceptions of women's reactions to rape, manipulations of the outcome dimension within nonconsenting (i.e., rape) depictions did significantly affect subjects' perceptions. However, further analyses indicated that this impact primarily occurred with high LR subjects who had earlier been exposed to

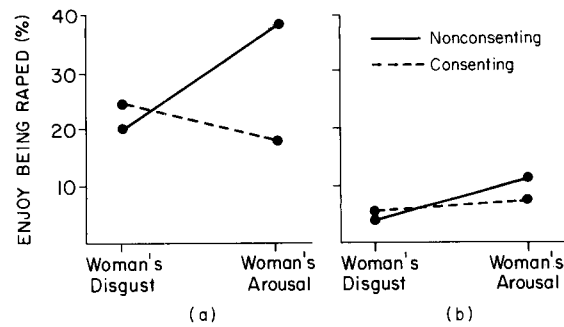


Fig. 1.4 Males' belief that women enjoy rape as a function of subjects' LR classification and exposure to manipulations in media depiction: (a) high LR subjects, (b) low LR subjects. (From Malamuth & Check, 1981b.)

the nonconsenting woman's arousal depiction. This high LR group believed that more women would enjoy being raped (mean of 36.9%) than high LR subjects presented with the other depictions (see Figure 1.4). For low LR subjects, the manipulation of outcome within the rape depictions did not have a significant effect, although the pattern of the means was in the same direction as the significant differences obtained for high LR subjects. These data suggest that men who have relatively higher inclinations to aggress against women are not only accepting of rape myths to a relatively high degree but may also be particularly susceptible to the influence of media depictions of such myths.

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The overall pattern of the data across the various laboratory and field experiments discussed in this chapter strongly supports the assertion that the mass media can contribute to a cultural climate that is more accepting of aggression against women. This is not to suggest that the mass media is the most or even one of the most powerful influences in this area. Rather, it may be only one of the many factors that interact to affect responses. The nature of the effects and the degree of influence may depend, among other things, on the background and psychological makeup of the persons exposed to the media stimuli and the sociocultural context in which exposure takes place. The data are consistent with a bidirectional causal relationship also identified elsewhere in research on media violence (Huesmann & Eron, 1983) such that individuals with higher inclinations to aggress against women may derive more gratification from media portrayals of violence against women and may also be more susceptible to the influence of such messages. The latter conclusion, that individuals with higher aggressive

tendencies are more susceptible to media influences, is consistent with the findings of other research on the effects of television violence on children's aggression (for a review of these data see Dorr & Kovacic, 1980).

If a point is reached at which we conclude that the weight of the evidence is sufficiently compelling to justify social action to bring about changes in the content of the mass media, how can this be accomplished? We should be cognizant of the reality that demonstrating scientifically the existence of negative effects is unlikely to be sufficient to prompt changes when strong economic and structural-institutional factors resist such changes. This is aptly documented in discussions of the limited success of attempts to bring about modifications in media content based on research on the negative effects of television violence (Siegel, 1980) and of children's advertising (Choate, 1980).

There are, however, some indications that the research reported herein is directly affecting social policy in some countries. For example, this research was cited as the basis for the British Board of Film Censors' decision to cut 4 minutes from the film *Death Wish II*. These 4 minutes depicted a rape scene. Moreover, this board indicated that the present research has increased the likelihood of further restrictions on violent portrayals in television and in cinemas (see *New Zealand Herald*, March 24, 1982, and *Auckland Star*, July 4, 1982). These events should not be interpreted as necessarily indicating my endorsement of censorship. Also, as discussed in Chapter 10 by Penrod and Linz, the laws relevant to censorship differ greatly in the United States as compared with countries such as Great Britain.

There are a variety of strategies that may be used to introduce changes in media content. Elsewhere, I have discussed legal, political-economic, and educational strategies (Malamuth, 1984). My intent has *not* been to advocate specific changes or particular strategies. Rather, as an investigator conducting research in an area relevant to social policy decisions, I believe that it is important to explore such policy options in order to highlight issues that merit further research. While I shall not discuss specific policy alternatives here, I briefly outline some research issues that are likely to be relevant to various social policy options. These consist of research on the type of stimulus, context of presentation, setting of exposure, and educational interventions.

Type of Stimuli

A need clearly exists to investigate systematically the type of mass media stimuli that may have antisocial effects. The aggressive-pornographic stimuli used in the research discussed in this chapter fall, as noted earlier, into the blatantly coercive category according to the distinctions suggested by Steinem (1980). Are the effects found limited to such materials or might similar effects be obtained with stimuli that more subtly or indirectly portray unequal power relationships between males and females? In other words, is there a clear distinction

to be made between aggressive and nonaggressive pornography, or is it more accurate to distinguish sexually explicit stimuli that place emphasis on "shared pleasure" (Steinem, 1980) from aggressive pornography that varies on a continuum of blatancy? Future research should assess the impact of varied types of sexual materials including those that portray unequal power relations between males and females without the explicit depiction of aggression.

Context of Presentation

The increased acceptance of aggression against women found by Malamuth & Check (1981a) occurred following exposure to movies that have been shown on national television and were clearly not X-rated pornographic films. Moreover, the primary theme of the films was not aggressive sexuality. It may be that a film that is explicitly pornographic is perceived as highly unrealistic and stimulates subjects' defenses against accepting the information conveyed uncritically. In contrast, the type of film used by these investigators may communicate more subtly false information about women's reactions to sexual aggression and thus may have a more potent effect on viewers who are not "forewarned" (Freedman & Sears, 1965) by the label "X-rated" or "pornographic." Similarly, the portrayal of sexual aggression within such "legitimate" magazines as *Playboy* or *Penthouse* may have a greater impact than comparable portrayals in hard-core pornography. Research is needed that examines specifically the impact of the context within which aggressive pornography appears.

Setting

In concluding their discussion of research on the effects of mass media violence on children's aggression, Parke *et al.* (1977) stress the need to address the question "How does this influence occur in naturalistic settings?" A similar emphasis is needed in research on aggressive pornography. While laboratory experiments provide a useful framework for determining whether aggressive pornography *can* affect aggressive tendencies (Berkowitz & Donnerstein, 1982), there is a need at this point to extend the examination of influences that mass media stimuli may have to naturalistic settings. To accomplish this goal a multi-method approach including correlational analyses using statistical controls must be employed (e.g., causal modeling [Bentler, 1980]) as well as laboratory and field experiments.

We also need to obtain survey data regarding the use of aggressive and other types of pornography by differing subject populations in naturalistic settings. These data should be gathered in the context of developing theoretical models concerning the "uses and gratifications" (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973) of such media stimuli as well as concerning the effects of exposure. The development of models will require information not only about pornography consumption, but about other aspects of the person. The testing of these models may require experimental research to move beyond single exposures to measure im-

fact over long time periods of differing “dosages” of aggressive pornography in the context of other media stimuli. Causal modeling may prove particularly useful in testing aspects of theoretical models not amenable to experimental manipulations (e.g., the hypothesis that childhood experiences mediate the impact of pornography).

Mediating Processes

It is important that future research analyzes the mediating processes responsible for the effects found as a result of exposure to mass media stimuli that brigade sexual and aggressive elements. One of the effects consistently found is that exposure to media depictions that suggest that women derive some pleasure from being sexually assaulted increases men’s acceptance of such a myth (Malamuth & Check, 1980a; 1981a, 1981b). To consider some potential mediating processes, let us focus on the findings of Malamuth & Check (1981b) described in this chapter in the section entitled “The Interaction between Cultural and Individual Causes.”

There appear to be three types of processes or explanations that may be relevant to the findings of that and similar studies. The first is that the effects found were not due to any change in subjects’ beliefs or perceptions but to a greater willingness to report a belief that may be judged as socially inappropriate (e.g., that women enjoy being raped). Such a change in willingness to report may have been due to disinhibitory (Bandura, 1973) or demand characteristic (Orne, 1962) effects. The former suggests that when subjects were presented with a pornographic portrayal that implied victim arousal they became less concerned about the adverse consequences, such as the experimenter’s disapproval, of expressing a rape myth. The latter explanation contends that subjects were merely responding in accordance with the experimenter’s perceived expectations. The anonymity of subjects’ responses (i.e., no names were indicated and questionnaires were administered in relatively large groups) argues against any fear of consequences by subjects. Similarly, the postexperimental questionnaire data indicating no subject awareness of the hypotheses weakens the demand characteristics explanation. Moreover, similar data in one of the earlier studies in this line of investigation (i.e., Malamuth & Check, 1981a) are extremely unlikely to have been caused by a demand-characteristics process.

A second type of explanation suggests that some new information contained in the nonconsenting woman’s arousal depiction changed subjects’ perceptions of women’s reactions to sexual violence. Such an explanation appears unlikely since it is doubtful that subjects had not previously encountered the type of myth portrayed in the woman’s arousal version of the rape depiction. Further, no arguments relevant to changing attitudes were presented.

A third and the most compelling explanation is not based on the acquisition of new information but on the processing of information and its retrieval from

memory. Particularly relevant is the growing body of research on “priming effects” mentioned earlier (Higgins, Rholes, & Jones, 1977; Wyer & Carlston, 1979; Wyer & Srull, 1981). According to the priming theoretical framework, when subjects are faced with a judgment, they do not perform a complete search of memory for all relevant information. Instead, they sample only a subset of the relevant information that is most easily accessible in memory, and given that the implications of the information are sufficiently consistent, they may base their judgments on these implications only. One of the factors that has been shown to affect accessibility in memory is the recency with which the concept has been used in the past. Exposure to a communication may make certain cognitions more easily accessible in memory due to the activation (or priming) of these cognitions in the course of processing the information contained in the communication. The primed cognitions may then be used in making subsequent judgments to which these cognitions are relevant. Thus, in the experiment by Malamuth & Check (1981b), exposure to a portrayal of a rape resulting in the victim’s arousal may have primed cognitions relevant to such a rape myth. These cognitions might have been used in subsequent inferences (e.g., in judging the frequency of women’s pleasurable reactions to being raped).

The use of a priming explanation raises two important issues relevant to the significance of the present findings. The first concerns the fictitious nature of the depictions used and the second the generalizability of priming effects beyond brief durations. It may be argued that priming based on fictitious stories is unlikely to affect judgments about events in the real world. However, considerable evidence suggests that even when subjects are clearly aware of the fictional nature of ideas or information, the greater accessibility of these cognitions in memory may have a significant impact on their real-world judgments (e.g., Carroll, 1978). With respect to the question of the generalizability of priming effects, it is essential to note that while the priming of cognitions used in making judgments may be limited to a relatively short time span, the effects of the inferences affected by the primed cognitions may be of indefinite duration (Srull & Wyer, 1979; Wyer & Srull, 1980, 1981).

One aspect of the data that fits well within a priming theory is the finding that high LR subjects’ judgments regarding women’s reactions to rape were more affected than those of low LR subjects by exposure to the nonconsenting woman’s arousal portrayal. Theory and research on priming effects (e.g., Wyer & Hartwick, 1980) suggest that a communication is more likely to affect attitudes when the audience’s existing beliefs are consistent with the information contained in the communication than when the existing beliefs and the communication have inconsistent implications. The data clearly suggested that the beliefs of high LR as compared to those of low LR subjects were initially more in keeping with the myth that many women would enjoy being raped. A priming explanation would therefore predict, as found, that high LR subjects would be more

susceptible than low LR individuals to the influence of the nonconsenting woman's arousal depiction.

Educational Interventions

Growing interest in educational interventions to modify the impact of the mass media on the audience is apparent (e.g., Doolittle, 1976; Feshbach, 1978; Singer, Singer, & Zuckerman, 1980). With respect to the media and aggression against women, there are varied educational endeavors that would prove effective. These may be analyzed along two dimensions: indirect versus direct and individual versus mass.

INDIRECT APPROACHES

Indirect educational interventions do not specifically address the content of media depictions but deal with topics or issues that may reduce a person's vulnerability to undesirable media influences. For example, a general sex education program may make a participant sufficiently knowledgeable that he or she would be less likely to be influenced by myths depicted in the media. Such educational programs should teach about similarities and differences in male-female responses, sex-role rigidity and role alternatives, differences in males' and females' interpretations of various "signals" (Abbey, 1982; Henley, 1977), and communication skills. The study by Malamuth and Check (1981b) discussed earlier, which suggested that certain men may be more susceptible to media portrayals of rape myths, may provide a starting point for exploring systematically differences in educational backgrounds that affect vulnerability to media influences.

Another example of indirect educational efforts is the creation of positive alternatives to aggressive pornography. Scandinavian sexologists Drs. Phyllis and Erberhard Kronhausen produced a feature-length X-rated film entitled *The Hottest Show in Town*, which was shown in regular adult theatres throughout North America. This movie was designed to portray sex in a manner much more akin to the desirable erotica advocated in the quote by Steinem (1980) cited earlier in this chapter. Ironically, this movie was sometimes shown in adult theatres as part of a double feature with such films as *Femmes de Sade*, which focused on sadomasochistic relationships between women. Nonetheless, it may be that the availability of "desirable erotica" that portrayed "shared pleasure" (Steinem, 1980) could indirectly counteract the impact of aggressive pornography by providing an alternative to those seeking sexual stimulation via media depictions.

DIRECT APPROACHES

In contrast to indirect approaches, direct educational interventions could address specifically the myths portrayed in the media. As noted earlier, some recent

research in this area (Check & Malamuth, in press; Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981; Malamuth & Check, in press) presented subjects with information designed to dispel rape myths. This information was presented to subjects who were first exposed to aggressive pornography portraying rape myths as well as to subjects who were not first exposed to such pornography. Assessment of the effectiveness of such educational intervention was conducted as long as 4 months following research participation (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981) and without subjects' awareness that this assessment was related to the earlier exposure to the educational materials (Check & Malamuth, in press; Malamuth & Check, in press). The findings of these studies indicated consistently that the educational interventions were successful in counteracting the effects of aggressive pornography and in reducing beliefs in rape myths. These studies, however, can only be construed as a first step in an area that requires considerable additional work.

INTERVENTIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS

Educational interventions may be designed for individuals judged particularly likely to benefit from such interventions. Educational programs geared to individuals who have already committed crimes such as rape (Burt, 1978) are clearly desirable. It may be ethically questionable, however, to select individuals who have not come to the attention of the law but who according to attitude surveys and self-reported inclinations to aggress against women may be particularly susceptible to media and other influences. Ethical concerns arise because such selection for educational programs may result in undesirable labels applied to the participants.

There is clearly a need, however, for the development of educational interventions that can be applied to individuals. I vividly remember my own experience as a child while waiting for my mother at a magazine counter. I became aware that some respectable-looking men were viewing magazines with aggressive pornographic images. My own confusion was not alleviated by my mother's obvious embarrassment and loss of words when I asked her about the reasons for these images. There is a need for the development of educational guidelines that would help parents to explain aggressive pornography and related media portrayals to both girls and boys. Such efforts may be somewhat facilitated by parental guidelines for dealing with violence in other areas of the media (e.g., Singer *et al.*, 1980).

MASS AUDIENCE INTERVENTIONS

Educational efforts addressing mass audiences are well exemplified by recent media programs (documentaries, docudramas, and fictional drama) concerning subjects such as rape and rape myths (e.g., *Cry Rape*, *Why Men Rape*, *A Scream of Silence*) and aggressive pornography (e.g., *Not a Love Story*). These programs were designed to raise the viewers' consciousness about these issues. Such

programs may be important in affecting large segments of the population and thereby contributing to a cultural climate that is less accepting of aggression against women. However, trying to reach a large audience without tailoring the information to particular individuals may result in unintended and undesirable effects. For example, such films may include segments showing explicit sexual depictions and rape scenes. These may be sexually stimulating to some members of the audience. Such arousal may interfere with the attitude changes sought by the film's producers. Similarly, such educational films may include interviews with rapists or other men who express rape myths. In light of research that indicates that selective processing of information may lead viewers to strengthen their preexisting beliefs if any supportive information is presented (Lord, Ross, & Lepper, 1979), it is essential to investigate the impact of such media programs. In this area as well as with the other educational endeavors described previously, there is a clear need for research designed to improve the development of a program (i.e., formative evaluation) as well as for research concerned with judging the overall effectiveness of a developed program (i.e., summative evaluation).

In concluding this chapter, I reiterate that it is unlikely that social scientific research on the present topic, or for that matter on most subjects, is likely by itself to be responsible for major social changes. Nonetheless, there is an important role for the researcher in providing data that will aid those engaged in efforts to reduce and prevent violence against women.

REFERENCES

- Abbey, A. (1982). Sex differences in attributions for friendly behavior: Do males misperceive females' friendliness? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *42*, 830-838.
- Abel, G. G., Barlow, D. H., Blanchard, E., & Guild, D. (1977). The components of rapists' sexual arousal. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, *34*, 895-903.
- Abel, G. G., Becker, J. V., & Skinner, L. J. (1980). Aggressive behavior and sex. *Psychiatric Clinics of North America*, *3*, 133-151.
- Abel, G. G., Blanchard, E. B., & Becker, J. V. (1978). An integrated treatment program for rapists. In R. Rada (Ed.), *Clinical aspects of the rapist*. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Abel, G. G., Blanchard, E. B., & Becker, J. V. (1976). Psychological treatment of rapists. In M. Walker & S. Brodsky (Eds.), *Sexual assault: The victim and the rapist*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Auckland Star*, July 4, 1982.
- Bandura, A. (1973). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Baron, R. A., & Eggleston, R. J. (1972). Performance on the "Aggression Machine:" Motivation to help or harm? *Psychonomic Science*, *26*, 321-22.
- Barry, K. (1979). *Female sexual slavery*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bem, D. (1972). Self-perception theory. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 6). New York: Academic Press.
- Bentler, P. M. (1978). The interdependence of theory, methodology and empirical data: Causal

- modeling as an approach to construct validation. In D. B. Kendel (Ed.), *Longitudinal research on drug use*. New York: Wiley.
- Bentler, P. M. (1980). Multivariate analysis with latent variables: Causal modeling. *Annual Review of Psychology, 31*, 419–456.
- Bentler, P. M., & Bonnett, D. G. (1980). Significance tests and goodness of fit in the analysis of covariance structures. *Psychological Bulletin, 88*, 588–606.
- Berkowitz, L., & Donnerstein, E. (1982). External validity is more than skin deep: Some answers to criticisms of laboratory experiments (with special reference to research on aggression). *American Psychologist, 37*, 245–257.
- Briere, J., & Malamuth, N. M. (1983). Self-reported likelihood of sexually aggressive behavior: Attitudinal vs. sexual explanations. *Journal of Research in Personality, 17*, 315–323.
- Brown, B. C. (1981). *Images of family life in magazine advertising*. New York: Praeger.
- Brownell, K. D., Hayes, S. C., & Barlow, D. H. (1977). Patterns of appropriate and deviant sexual arousal: The behavioral treatment of multiple sexual deviations. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 45*, 1144–1155.
- Brownmiller, S. (1975). *Against our will: Men, women and rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Brownmiller, S. (1980). Let's put pornography back in the closet. In L. Lederer (Ed.), *Take back the night: Women on pornography*. New York: William Morrow and Co.
- Burt, M. R. (1978). Attitudes supportive of rape in American culture. *House Committee on Science and Technology, Subcommittee Domestic and International Scientific Planning Analysis and Cooperation, Research into violent behavior: Sexual Assaults* (Hearing, 95th Congress, 2nd session, January 10–12, 1978). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, pp. 277–322.
- Burt, M. R. (1980). Cultural myths and support for rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38*, 217–230.
- Buss, A. (1961). *The psychology of aggression*. New York: Wiley.
- Buss, A. H., & Durkee, A. (1957). An inventory for assessing different kinds of hostility. *Journal of Consulting Psychology, 21*, 343–349.
- Carroll, J. S. (1978). The effect of imagining an event on expectations for the event: An interpretation in terms of the availability heuristic. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 14*, 88–96.
- Carroll, J. L., & Fuller, G. B. (1971). An MMPI comparison of three groups of criminals. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 27*, 240–242.
- Ceniti, J. & Malamuth, N. M. (in press). Effects of repeated exposure to sexually violent or sexually nonviolent stimuli on sexual arousal to rape and nonrape depictions. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*.
- Check, J. V. P., & Malamuth, N. M. (1983). Sex-role stereotyping and reactions to stranger vs. acquaintance rape. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 45*, 344–356.
- Check, J. V. P., & Malamuth, N. M. (in press). Can participation in pornography experiments have positive effects? *The Journal of Sex Research*.
- Choate, R. B. (1980). The politics of change. In E. L. Palmer and A. Dorr (Eds.), *Children and the faces of television*. New York: Academic Press.
- Clark, L., & Lewis, D. (1977). *Rape: The price of coercive sexuality*. Toronto: The Women's Press.
- Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. (1970). *The report of the commission on obscenity and pornography*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Cronbach, L. J., & Meehl, P. (1955). Construct validity in psychological tests. *Psychological Bulletin, 52*, 281–302.
- Davis, K. E., & Braucht, G. N. (1971). Exposure to pornography, character and sexual deviance: A retrospective survey. *Technical reports of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography* (Vol. 7). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Dietz, P. E., & Evans, B. (1982). Pornographic imagery and prevalence of paraphilia. *American Journal of Psychiatry, 139*, 1493–1495.

- Donnerstein, E. (1980). Aggressive-erotica and violence against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *39*, 269–277.
- Donnerstein, E. (1983). Erotica and human aggression. In R. Geen and E. Donnerstein (Eds.), *Aggression: Theoretical and empirical reviews* (Vol. 2). New York: Academic Press.
- Donnerstein, E., & Berkowitz, L. (1981). Victim reactions in aggressive-erotic films as a factor in violence against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *41*, 710–724.
- Doolittle, J. (1976). *Immunizing children against the possible anti-social effects of viewing television violence: A curricular intervention*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Dorr, A., & Kovacic, P. (1980). Some of the people some of the time—but which people? Televised violence and its effects. In E. L. Palmer & A. Dorr (Eds.), *Children and the faces of television*. New York: Academic Press.
- Edmunds, G., & Kendrick, D. C. (1980). *The measurement of human aggressiveness*. New York: Wiley.
- Eron, L. D. (1980). Prescription for the reduction of aggression. *American Psychologist*, *35*, 244–252.
- Eron, L. D. (1982). Parent-child interaction, television violence and aggression of children. *American Psychologist*, *37*, 197–211.
- Eysenck, H. J. (1978). *Sex and personality*. London: Sphere Books.
- Eysenck, H. J., & Nias, D. K. B. (1978). *Sex, violence and the media*. London: Granada.
- Feshbach, S. (September 1978). *Television advertising and children: Policy issues and alternatives*. Paper presented at the 86th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.
- Fisher, G., & Rivlin, E. (1971). Psychological needs of rapists. *British Journal of Criminology*, *11*, 182–185.
- Freedman, J., & Sears, D. (1965). Warning, distraction and resistance to influence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *1*, 262–266.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Eleey, M. F., Jackson-Beeck, M. Jeffries-Fox, S., & Signorelli, N. (1977). TV violence profile No. 8: The highlights. *Journal of Communication*, *27*, 171–180.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., & Signorielli, N. (1982). Charting the mainstream: Television's contributions to political orientation. *Journal of Communication*, *32*, 100–126.
- Goffman, E. (1979). *Gender Advertisements*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Goldstein, M. J., Kant, H. S., Judd, L. L., Rice, C. J., & Geen, R. (1971). Exposure to pornography and sexual behavior in deviant and normal groups. *Technical reports of the Commission on Obscenity and Pornography* (Vol. 7). Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Groth, A. N., & Burgess, A. W. (1977). Rape: A sexual deviation. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *47*, 400–406.
- Hayes, S. C., Brownell, K. D., & Barlow, D. H. (1978). The use of self-administered covert sensitization in the treatment of exhibitionism and sadism. *Behavior Therapy*, *9*, 283–289.
- Henley, N. M. (1977). *Body politics: Power, sex and nonverbal communication*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Higgins, E. T., Rholes, W. S., & Jones, C. R. (1977). Category accessibility and impression formation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *13*, 141–154.
- Huesmann, L. R., & Eron, L. D. (1983). Factors influencing the effect of television violence on children. In M. J. A. Howe (Ed.), *Learning from television: Psychological and educational research*. London: Academic Press.
- Johnson, P., & Goodchilds, J. (1973). Pornography, sexuality, and social psychology. *Journal of Social Issues*, *29*, 231–238.
- Joreskog, K. G., & Sorbom, D. G. (1978). *LISREL IV: Estimation of linear structural equation systems by maximum likelihoods methods*. Chicago: National Educational Resources.
- Kaplan, R. (in press). The measurement of human aggression. In R. Kaplan, V. Koencni, & R.

- Novaco (Eds.), *Aggression in children and youth*. Rijn, Netherlands: Sijthoff & Noordhoff International Publishers.
- Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1973). Uses and gratifications research. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *37*, 509–523.
- Koss, M., & Oros, C. (1982). Hidden rape: A survey of the incidence of sexual aggression and victimization on a university campus. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *50*, 445–457.
- Lord, C. G., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. R. (1979). Biased assimilation and attitude polarization: The effects of prior theories on subsequently considered evidence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *37*, 2098–2109.
- Lowry, D. T., Love, G., & Kirby, M. (1981). Sex on the soap operas: Patterns of intimacy. *Journal of Communication*, *31*, 90–96.
- Malamuth, N. M. (September 1978). *Erotica, aggression & perceived appropriateness*. Paper presented at the 86th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Canada.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1981a). Rape fantasies as a function of exposure to violent sexual stimuli. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, *10*, 33–47.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1981b). Rape proclivity among males. *Journal of Social Issues*, *37*, 138–157.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1982). *Predictors of aggression against female as compared to male targets of aggression*. Paper presented at the 90th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, DC.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1983). Factors associated with rape as predictors of laboratory aggression against women. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *45*, 432–442.
- Malamuth, N. M. (1984). The mass media and aggression against women: Research findings and prevention. In A. Burgess (Ed.), *Handbook of research on pornography and sexual assault*. New York: Garland Publishers.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1980a). Penile tumescence and perceptual responses to rape as a function of victim's perceived reactions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *10*(6), 528–547.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1980b). Sexual arousal to rape and consenting depictions: The importance of the woman's arousal. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *89*, 763–766.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1981a). The effects of mass media exposure on acceptance of violence against women: A field experiment. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *15*, 436–446.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1981b). The effects of exposure to aggressive-pornography: Rape proclivity, sexual arousal and beliefs in rape myths. Paper presented at the 89th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles, CA.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1982). *Factors related to aggression against women*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association, Montreal.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (1983). Sexual arousal to rape depictions: Individual differences. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, *92*, 55–67.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Check, J. V. P. (in press). Debriefing effectiveness following exposure to pornographic rape depictions. *The Journal of Sex Research*.
- Malamuth, N. M., Haber, S., & Feshbach, S. (1980). Testing hypotheses regarding rape: Exposure to sexual violence, sex differences, and the "normality" of rapists. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *14*, 121–137.
- Malamuth, N. M., Heim, M., & Feshbach, S. (1980). Sexual responsiveness of college students to rape depictions: Inhibitory and disinhibitory effects. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *38*, 399–408.
- Malamuth, N. M., Reisin, I., & Spinner, B. (1979). *Exposure to pornography and reactions to rape*.

- Paper presented at the 86th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, New York.
- Malamuth, N. M., & Spinner, B. (1980). A longitudinal content analysis of sexual violence in the best-selling erotic magazines. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 16(3), 226–237.
- Morgan, R. (1980). Theory and practice: Pornography and rape. In L. Lederer (Ed.), *Take back the night: Women on pornography*. New York: William Morrow and Co.
- New Zealand Herald*, March 24, 1982.
- Orne, M. (1962). On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: With particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications. *American Psychologist*, 17, 776–783.
- Parke, R. D., Berkowitz, L., Leyens, J. P., West, S. G., & Sebastian, R. J. (1977). Some effects of violent and non-violent movies on the behavior of juvenile delinquents. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 10). New York: Academic Press.
- Perdue, W. C., & Lester, D. (1972). Personality characteristics of rapists. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 35, 514.
- Quinsey, V. L., & Chaplin, T. C. (in press). Stimulus control of rapists and non-sex offenders sexual arousal. *Behavioral Assessment*.
- Quinsey, V. L., Chaplin, T. C., & Carrigan, W. F. (1980). Biofeedback and signaled punishment in the modification of inappropriate sexual age preferences. *Behavior Therapy*, 11, 567–576.
- Rada, R. T. (1978). *Clinical aspects of the rapist*. New York: Grune & Stratton.
- Rada, R. T., Laws, D. R., & Kellner, R. (1976). Plasma testosterone levels in the rapist. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 38, 257–268.
- Russell, D. (1975). *The politics of rape*. New York: Stein & Day.
- Russell, D. (1980). Pornography and the women's liberation movement. In L. Lederer (Ed.), *Take back the night: Women on pornography*. New York: William Morrow and Co.
- Siegel, A. E. (1980). Research findings and social policy. In E. L. Palmer and A. Dorr (Eds.), *Children and the faces of television*. New York: Academic Press.
- Singer, D. G., Singer, J. L., & Zuckerman, D. M. (1980). *Teaching television: How to use TV to your child's advantage*. New York: Dial Press.
- Smith, D. G. (1976a). *Sexual aggression in American pornography: The stereotype of rape*. Presented at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association, New York.
- Smith, D. G. (1976b). The social content of pornography. *Journal of Communication*, 26, 16–33.
- Smithyman, S. D. (1978). *The undetected rapist*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, Claremont, CA.
- Steinem, G. (1980). Erotica and pornography: A clear and present difference. In L. Lederer (Ed.), *Take back the night: Women on pornography*. New York: William Morrow and Co.
- Strull, T. K., & Wyer, R. S. (1979). The role of category accessibility in the interpretation of information about persons: Some determinants and implications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 1660–1672.
- Thomas, M. H., Horton, R. W., Lippencott, E. C., & Drabman, R. S. (1977). Desensitization to portrayals of real-life aggression as a function of exposure to television violence. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 35, 450–458.
- Thistle, F. (1980). Hollywood goes ape over rape. *Game*, 7, 23–25, 84.
- Tieger, T. (1981). Self-reported likelihood of raping and the social perception of rape. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 15, 147–158.
- Time* (1976, April 5). *The Porno Plague*, 58–63.
- Tversky, A., & Kahneman, D. (1973). Availability: A heuristic for judging frequency and probability. *Cognitive Psychology*, 5, 207–232.
- Village Voice*. (1977, May 9) *Pretty Poison: The selling of sexual warfare*. 18–23.
- Wyer, R. S., & Carlston, D. E. (1979). *Social Cognition, inference and attribution*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Wyer, R. S., & Hartwick, J. (1980). The role of information retrieval and conditional inference processes in belief formation and change. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 12). New York: Academic Press.
- Wyer, R. S., & Srull, T. K. (1980). The processing of social stimulus information: A conceptual integration. In R. Hastie, T. M. Ostrom, E. B. Ebbesen, R. S. Wyer, D. L. Hamilton, & D. E. Carlston (Eds.), *Person memory: The cognitive basis of social perception*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 225–300.
- Wyer, R. S., & Srull, T. K. (1981). Category accessibility: Some theoretical and empirical issues concerning the processing of social stimulus information. In E. T. Higgins, C. P. Herman, & Mark P. Zanna (Eds.), *Social cognition: The Ontario symposium*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.