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"I imagine the male isn't in the video and it is me:" A Mixed Methods Study of Internet Pornography, Masculinity, and Sexual Aggression in Emerging Adulthood

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“I IMAGINE THE MALE ISN’T IN THE VIDEO AND IT IS ME:” A MIXED METHODS STUDY OF INTERNET PORNOGRAPHY, MASCULINITY, AND SEXUAL AGGRESSION IN EMERGING ADULTHOOD

by

Christina Richardson

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
The Graduate College at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln
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(Counseling Psychology)

Under the Supervision of Professor M. Meghan Davidson

Lincoln, Nebraska

October, 2018
Research on Internet pornography has consistently found that men are more likely to view mainstream porn than women and that most men view pornography. Additionally, mainstream porn content has been found to portray highly stereotyped views of gender with men in positions of dominance over women and men engaging in aggression toward women. Despite the consistent finding that pornography is a gendered phenomenon, there is little research exploring the connection between masculinity and pornography use. Furthermore, research on the effects of pornography use on sexual aggression has been mixed, with some findings indicating that men who view porn are more likely to endorse attitudes supportive of and actually engage in aggression toward women. However, other studies report no such connection. Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model (Acquisition, Activation, and Application) posit that men learn sexual scripts and behavior from sexual media and are more likely to internalize and enact the sexual behaviors depicted in pornography if certain individual and content variables are present, such as high levels of arousal and the degree of correspondence between porn and men’s existing beliefs. The current dissertation aimed to examine this theory through a mixed-methods investigation of men’s arousal to different types of porn content and experience of masculinity as important predictors of sexual aggression perpetration. Specifically, this
dissertation hypothesized that adherence to masculine norms and gender role conflict/stress would moderate the relation between arousal to porn content and perpetration of sexual aggression, such that stronger adherence to masculine norms and more gender role conflict/stress would strengthen the relationship and predict more sexual aggression. A total 338 college-aged, heterosexual, cisgender men completed quantitative measures of the aforementioned constructs, and 149 participants with comparable demographic characteristics completed open-ended survey items about their subjective experiences with those same constructs. Arousal to *Specialized* porn content was found to be a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration, but adherence to masculine norms and gender role conflict/stress did not act as moderators as hypothesized. Qualitative results provide information about male pornography users’ arousal to pornography, experience of masculinity within pornography, and perceived impact of pornography on their lives. The current study’s limitation and implications for future research and psychological practice are discussed.
Author’s Acknowledgements

“Maybe, just maybe, we were all born with a moral obligation to leave this world a better place than the world that we found.” – Tim McIlrath, Rise Against

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Finally, to my partner in everything, Ben. You say that you didn’t sacrifice anything for me, but because of your hard work, emotional support, and perfect sense of humor, I was able to pursue my dreams wholly and completely. I would choose you again, every time. Thank you and I love you.
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Pornography speaks to men in a whisper … What brings us back, over and over, is the voice in our ears, the soft voice that says, ‘It’s okay, you really are a man, you really can be a man’… the soft voice that speaks to our deepest fear: That we aren’t man enough. (Jensen, 2007, p. 33)

Pornography is defined as “any kind of material aimed at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the viewer and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts” (Hald, 2006, p. 579). Research on young adults’ consumption of pornographic material has consistently found that a high percentage of men and a smaller percentage of women view pornography. In the United States, studies of college-age individuals found that 72 – 83% of men and 24 – 35% of women view pornography (Boies, 2002; Carroll, Padilla-Walker, Nelson, Olson, McNamara, & Madsen, 2008; Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011). Such prevalence rates indicate that pornography use is a common experience for a majority of college men. However, little research has explored the connection between pornography and masculinity. Additionally, there is limited research on how the specific content of the pornography being watched impacts the men watching it. The proposed study will explore the relations between pornographic content, masculinity, and men’s sexual and interpersonal behaviors.

Effects of Pornography Use

Researchers have investigated the effects of Internet pornography use on men’s sexual assault perpetration, sexist beliefs, risky sexual behaviors, psychological distress,
and relationship dissatisfaction. The following section will briefly review the literature on the effects of pornography use.

**Sexual assault perpetration.** Pornography has been investigated in relation to men’s commission of sexually aggressive acts. Specifically, pornography use has been positively and significantly correlated with perpetration of sexual harassment and sexual assault (Baer, Kohut, & Fisher, 2015; Bonino, Ciairano, Rabaglietti, & Catelino, 2006; D’Abrue & Krahe, 2013; Lam & Chan, 2007; Malamuth, Hald, & Koss, 2012; Rothman & Adhia, 2015; Thompson & Morrison, 2013; Thompson, Kingree, Zinzow, & Swartout, 2015). Pornography has also been investigated in relation to men’s beliefs about and behavioral tendencies regarding sexual aggression. For example, male college students who consume pornography are less likely to intervene as a bystander in order to prevent sexual assault, more accepting of rape myths, and more likely to endorse attitudes supportive of sexual assault (Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011; Hald & Malamuth, 2015; Gonsalves, Hodges, & Scalora, 2015; Wright & Tokunaga, 2016; Wright, Sun, Steffen, & Tokunaga, 2015). In sum, pornography consumption is associated with greater sexual assault behaviors, tendencies, and beliefs.

**Sexist beliefs.** Pornography has been investigated in relation to men’s sexist beliefs and beliefs about gender equality. For example, pornography use has been associated with less support of equality between men and women, greater acceptance of stereotypical gender roles, and greater acceptance of a power imbalance between men and women in sexual relationships (Hald, Malamuth, & Lange, 2013; To, Ngai, & Kan, 2012; Wright & Bae, 2015a; Wright & Funk, 2014). However, other studies have reported that pornography users were more likely than non-users to report gender
egalitarian attitudes and attitudes that support women’s reproductive choices and access to birth control (Kohut, Baer, & Watts, 2016; Wright & Bae, 2015b; Tokunaga, Wright, & McKinley; 2015). Despite the conflicting results, the literature indicates that pornography use is connected to beliefs about gender.

**Risky sexual behaviors.** Pornography’s connection with sexual behavior other than sexual assault has also been examined in the literature. Greater pornography consumption has been positively correlated with certain risky sexual behaviors such as the use of substances during sexual activity (Braun-Courville & Rojas, 2009; D’Abreu & Krahe, 2013), acceptance of extramarital sexual intercourse (Carroll et al., 2008; Wright, 2013a; Wright, 2013b; Wright & Randall, 2012; Wright, Tokunaga, & Bae, 2013), sexting (Crimmins & Seigfried-Spellar, 2014; Ouystel, Ponnet, & Walrave, 2014), unprotected or condom-less sex (Braithwaite, Givens, Bown, & Fincham, 2015) and soliciting prostitution (Wright & Randall, 2012; Wright, Tokunaga, & Bae, 2013). However, other studies have not found a significant relationship between frequency of pornography use and support for condom use (Kraus & Rosenberg, 2016). The authors of these studies have labeled such sexual behavior (e.g., prostitution, condom-less sex, sexting, etc.) as risky, which is value-laden, potentially derogatory, and thus contentious. Regardless, the research reveals a connection between pornography use and sexual behaviors more generally.

**Psychological and physical distress.** Pornography use has been examined as a potentially negative influence on viewers’ physical and mental health. Indicators of psychological distress that have been associated with pornography use include poor body image and self-esteem, concerns about ability to perform sexually with women (Albright,
2008; Stewart & Syzmanski, 2012; Sun, Bridges, Johnson, & Ezzell, 2016), greater impulsivity (Carroll et al., 2008), increased depression and anxiety (Levin, Lillis, & Hayes, 2012; Philaretou, Mahfouz, & Allen, 2005), poor family functioning, negative adolescent development (Ma & Shek, 2013), decreased general happiness (Patterson & Price, 2012), and greater feelings of loneliness (Yoder, Virden, & Amin, 2005). Research has also indicated a connection between pornography use and erectile dysfunction (Landripet & Stulhofer, 2015). Taken together, these studies suggest that pornography effects various aspects of mental and sexual health.

**Relationship satisfaction.** Pornography consumption by male heterosexual partners has been associated with problems in romantic relationships. Compared to partners of men who do not view pornography, female partners of pornography using males have reported feeling more critical of their own body, more pressure to perform the acts seen in pornography, less sexual activity with their partner, less sexual satisfaction, less satisfaction with their relationship in general, eating disorder symptomology, and body shame (Albright, 2008; Stewart & Szymanski, 2012; Tylka & Van Diest, 2015). Male users have reported feeling more critical of their partner’s body, less interested in real-life sex, and decreased feelings of intimacy with their current partner (Albright 2008; Philaretou, Mahfous, & Allen, 2005; Stulhofer, Busko, & Landripet, 2010). Male pornography users also tend to believe that sexual acts seen in pornography and condom-less sex are occurring at a higher rate in real life than non-using males (Weber, Quiring, & Daschmann, 2012; Wright, Tokunaga, & Kraus, 2016b). Finally, research has indicated that men who use pornography are more likely to request specific sexual acts seen in pornography and intentionally fantasize about pornographic images during sexual
intercourse in order to maintain their level of arousal (Sun, Bridges, Johnson, & Ezzell, 2016; Sun, Miezan, Lee, & Shim, 2015). These studies reveal a connection between pornography use and relationship satisfaction for both men and women in heterosexual romantic relationships.

**Self-reported effects.** Finally, researchers have explored how pornography users perceive the impact of their pornography consumption. Despite the literature cited above, when individuals are asked explicitly about how pornography has affected them, they usually report that it has had a positive impact. Specifically, pornography users have reported that pornography has increased their sexual knowledge, positively impacted their attitudes about sex, and improved their overall wellbeing by exposing them to new sexual behaviors and normalizing certain sexual acts (Chen, Leung, Chen, & Yang, 2013; Hald & Malamuth, 2008; Hald, Smolenski, & Rosser, 2013; Mulya & Hald, 2014; Nosko, Wood, & Desmarais, 2007; Weinberg, Williams, Kleiner, & Irizarry, 2012; Wetterneck, Burgess, Short, Smith, & Cervantes, 2012;). The inconsistency between user’s self-reported perceptions of pornography’s effects and the other research findings suggests that the impacts of pornography use are complex and likely not uniform across all viewers and types of pornography. These results also suggest that the impacts of pornography use are varied and potentially serious (e.g., sexual assault, unprotected sex). Thus, men’s pornography use remains an important area of inquiry.

**Content of Pornography**

In 2012, Short, Black, Smith, Wetterneck, and Wells implored researchers to investigate the content of pornographic material in addition to frequency and function. Content analyses of pornographic materials provide critical information about what
images and messages pornography is likely portraying. In a review of best-selling, professional pornographic videos, Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, and Liberman (2010) found that 88% of the scenes analyzed contained physical aggression, with spanking, gagging, and hair-pulling being the most common aggressive acts. Verbal aggression, such as name-calling and insulting, occurred in 48% of scenes (Bridges et al., 2010). Women were overwhelmingly the target of both physically and verbally aggressive acts (i.e., 94% of all aggressive acts), whereas men were overwhelmingly the perpetrators of aggressive acts (i.e., 70% of all aggressive acts; Bridges et al., 2010). When the recipient of aggressive acts, actors displayed pleasure or neutrality in 95% of the scenes (Bridges et al., 2010). In a review of videos from free online pornography websites, Klaassen and Peter (2015) also found that women were significantly more likely to be aggressed against (e.g., spanking and gagging) and almost always responded to acts of aggression with neutrality or pleasure. Content analyses have also examined pornography’s portrayal of unprotected sex, degradation (e.g., ejaculation on to the face, unequal nudity), imbalances of power between men and women (e.g., one person directing the sexual activity, positions of power within the plot, reciprocity of sexual pleasure), and objectification and instrumentality (i.e., focus on body parts, use of bodies only for sexual pleasure, lack of positive communication; Bridges et al., 2010, Gorman, Monk-Turner, & Fish, 2010; Klaassen & Peter, 2015; Vannier, Currie, & O’Sullivan, 2014).

The content of pornography is important because it tells a story about gender, sexuality, and sexual behavior. Sexual Script Theory posits that sexual behavior is not necessarily innate, but learned and constructed. According to this theory, people develop
their understanding of sexuality, including what is considered sex, how to identify sexual situations, and what to do in those sexual situations, from the scripts and messages about sexuality that they are exposed to (Frith & Kitzsinger, 2001). Based on Sexual Script Theory, Wright (2011) developed a more specific model to explain how people are socialized by sexual media: the acquisition, activation, application, or 3A Model.

Acquisition refers to the learning of a new script or the altering of an already existing script through exposure to media (Wright & Bae, 2016). Media can also prime, reinforce, or activate an existing sexual script, such as when an individual watches multiple pornographic scenarios of similar content or when a pornographic depiction fits with a viewer’s pre-existing beliefs (Wright & Bae, 2016). Application refers to a person using a sexual script to “inform an attitudinal judgment or behavioral decision,” either consciously or unconsciously (Wright & Bae, 2016, p. 556). In sum, the 3A Model espouses that men who view pornography will hold attitudes and engage in behaviors that have been influenced by the sexual scripts they see in pornography (Wright & Bae, 2016). Klaassen and Peter (2015) suggest that research on the effects of pornography use on viewers has been largely based on assumptions of what the pornographic images portray, instead of what is actually being viewed. The proposed study intends to remedy this omission by asking men to report the content of the pornography they watch and to explore the relations between pornographic content, attitudes about masculinity, and aggressive behaviors.

**Masculinity**

As previously stated, men use pornography more than women and content analyses of pornographic materials have demonstrated that men and women are portrayed
differently and unequally in the majority of pornographic videos. Such findings suggest that pornography sends a message to viewers about how men should behave in sexual interactions. In short, pornography espouses certain masculine norms. Masculine norms can be defined as: “dominant cultural scripts that organize and inform the development and maintenance of the traditional masculine role through social cognition and social influence processes that occur over the lifespan” (Levant & Richmond, 2016, p. 27). Essentially, the culture in which we live espouses that certain ways of behaving are appropriate for and expected of someone if they are to be perceived as a man. These ways of behaving are taught, encouraged, and rewarded, while others are not. Traditional masculine norms were first described by David and Brannon in 1976 who identified four main characteristics of traditional masculinity:

- men should not be feminine (‘no sissy stuff’), that men should strive to be respected for successful achievement (‘the big wheel’), that men should never show weakness (‘the sturdy oak’), and that men should seek adventure and risk, even accepting violence if necessary” (‘give’em hell’). (Levant, 2011, p. 769)

These characteristics have since been expanded and refined to include a desire to win, controlling one’s emotions, taking risks, engaging in violence, pursuing power over women, being sexually active and driven by sexual urges, relying on oneself and not reaching out for help, emphasizing work and financial stability over other life domains, and avoidance of any behaviors that may be perceived as gay (Parent & Moradi, 2009).

Traditional masculine characteristics are not always healthy or natural for all men, and as such, men may experience gender role strain as a result of being socialized to behave in rigid, masculine ways (Pleck, 1995). Gender role conflict and gender role
stress, and their respective measures, have been explored as types or manifestations of gender role strain. Gender role conflict is “a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences for the person or others” (O’Neil & Denke, 2016, p. 52). Gender role stress, a similar construct, is experienced when men feel distressed because they believe that they are “unable to cope with the imperatives of the male role” or they are required to behave in “‘unmanly’ or feminine” ways (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987, p. 125). Because these two constructs are defined similarly, the current study will refer to them jointly as masculine gender role conflict/stress, as they have been in prior publications (DeFranc & Mahalik, 2002; Gottert et al., 2017; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002).

Previous research has demonstrated that adherence to masculine norms and masculine gender role conflict are correlated with intimate partner violence perpetration, fear of intimacy, unwillingness to discuss condom use, decreased relationship satisfaction, decreased participation in child care, sexist and racist beliefs, sexual aggression and harassment, decreased emotional expression, decreased social support, and decreased help seeking, among other outcomes (see Levant & Richmond, 2016 for a complete review). Men may learn these norms and expectations from a variety of sources, including pornography.

**Masculinity and Pornography Use**

Pornography use, adherence to masculine norms, and the experience of masculine gender role conflict/stress have all been correlated with or statistically related to perpetration of sexual and physical aggression. However, there is little research on how masculinity relates to men’s pornography consumption, despite the consistent finding that
men use pornography more than women and that pornographic images are highly
gendered. Quantitative research has found that frequency of pornography use was
positively and significantly correlated with experiencing gender role conflict and
endorsing masculine norms (Syzmanski & Stewart-Richardson, 2014). Mikorski and
Szymaksi (2016) found that increased pornography viewing interacted with adherence to
masculine norms to predict men’s negative evaluation of women’s bodies and their
tendency to make unwanted sexual advances towards women. Qualitative research has
reported that men experienced pornography with a sense of detachment that allowed them
to use pornography with little critical thought about the sexist messages they were
receiving (Antevska & Gavey, 2015). Attwood (2005) interpreted participant’s
statements about pornography as “[pornography is] an occasion for performing gender
and sexuality” (p. 65). Finally, one qualitative study found that participants described
pornography as a portrayal of stereotypical gender norms that established expectations
and pressure to behave in gendered ways (Haggstrom-Nordin, Sandberg, Hanson, &
Tyde, 2006). In sum, masculinity is related to the content of pornography in some way,
but more research is needed to better understand the connection. Wright and Bae (2016)
specifically encouraged researchers to “explore intersections between the 3A Model and
concepts from the men and masculinity literature” (p. 562).

Proposed Study

The purpose of this mixed methods study is to examine how masculinity,
pornographic content, and perpetration of sexual aggression are related among
heterosexual men. Based on existing literature reporting connections between
masculinity, pornography use, and perpetration of sexual aggression, quantitative data
will first be used to determine if the type of pornographic content men find arousing predicts their (a) adherence to masculine norms, (b) experience of masculine gender role conflict/stress, and (c) perpetration of sexual aggression. Based on Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model of sexual socialization, it is posited that the different types of pornographic content will send different messages to viewers about what it means to be masculine and sexually active with women, and thus influence their sexual and interpersonal behavior in varying ways. Therefore, quantitative data will also be used to test the following hypotheses: (a) specific clusters of pornographic content will be better predictors of masculinity and sexual aggression than others, and (b) masculinity will moderate the relation between pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression.

Qualitative data will explore how men experience masculinity within the pornographic content they watch, and the sexual interactions they have with women. Qualitative data collected and analyzed in this study will provide additional information to explain how and/or why masculinity may moderate the relations between pornographic content and sexual assault perpetration by illuminating men’s perception of masculinity. As previously stated, the reason for collecting both quantitative and qualitative data is to obtain a more complete and contextual understanding of men’s pornography use than would be obtained by either type of research design alone.

To date, no mixed methods studies regarding these constructs have been published. Mixed methods research is the process of collecting, analyzing, and integrating both qualitative (i.e., words, stories, and expressions about constructs of interest) and quantitative (i.e., numerical representations of constructs of interest) data in
an effort to answer an overarching research question that requires “real-life contextual understandings, multi-level perspectives, and cultural influences” (Creswell, Klaassen, Plano Clark, & Smith, 2011, p. 4; Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989; Morse & Niehaus, 2009). The inconsistent research on pornography use among men indicates that pornography use is a complex phenomenon that is not yet completely understood. It also suggests that pornography may impact certain types of men more than others. In addition, the cultural experience of gender role socialization and the variety of pornographic content available requires a more contextual and multifaceted understanding. Combining the two methods will yield more complete, nuanced, and contextual understanding of pornographic content and masculinity than either of the two methods alone. In other words, combining quantitative and qualitative data can yield “complementary results about different facets of a phenomenon” (Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016, p. 81).

A convergent/concurrent mixed methods design will be used in which qualitative and quantitative data will be collected in parallel, analyzed separately, and then merged during the interpretation phase (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016). Figure 1.1 provides a methodological diagram of the proposed study. Grov, Gillespie, Royce, and Lever (2011) used a similar method to better understand the perceived impact of various online sexual activities on heterosexual relationships, and asserted that such a mixed methods approach created “well-informed empirical analyses” because “quantitative findings were mirrored and supported with qualitative insight, and vice versa” (Grov et al., 2011, p. 438).

The results of this study are intended to educate mental health practitioners who work with male clients presenting with concerns that may be related to pornography use
and masculinity. Given the prevalence of pornography use, it would be expected that clinicians would see pornography use as a presenting concern or at least an aspect of their clients’ lives. In 2009, Ayres and Haddock surveyed Marriage and Family therapists and found that approximately 75% of their sample had seen either individual or couple clients with pornography use issues. More recently, Short and colleagues (2016) found that 48% of their sample of more general mental health practitioners (e.g., masters-level therapists and clinical psychologists) had seen at least one client with problematic Internet pornography use. Additionally, Ayers and Haddock (2009) found that 47% of the therapists in their sample received no training or information about pornography use during their graduate education and 42% felt “not at all” prepared to work with such a presenting concern (p. 63). Similarly, 59% of Short and colleagues’ (2016) sample did not feel competent to treat clients presenting with problems related to pornography use. Taken together, these findings indicate that therapists do indeed work with clients who present to counseling with pornography use concerns, however, most do not feel trained or capable of helping these clients, which makes Internet pornography use an issue of great importance to the field of counseling psychology.

Results of this study are also intended to spur future research regarding pornography use, masculinity, and perpetration by identifying significant variables and relations for future inquiry. Finally, professionals who work in the field of sexual assault prevention, especially on college campuses, can benefit from understanding how pornography and masculinity interact to predict sexual aggression among college-aged men. Chapter Two of this proposal will review theories and literature regarding sexual aggression, pornography use, and masculinity. Chapter Three will present the methods
that will be used to conduct this study, including participant recruitment, measures, and planned analytical procedures. Chapter Three will also present hypothesized or expected results and implications.
Recruitment

- Convenience sampling – undergrad classes, campus organizations, 
  \( n = 338, 149 \)
- Inclusion criteria: undergraduate, cis-gender male, heterosexual, 19 -25 years old, lived 15 years or more in the US, internet access, viewed porn in the last year

Data Collection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUANTITATIVE</th>
<th>qualitative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Online survey via Qualitrics</td>
<td>• Same online survey via Qualitrics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Demographic questions</td>
<td>• Prompts with open text-entry response option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pornography use frequency</td>
<td>• Purposeful sampling from the larger data set</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• APCS (porn content)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• CMNI-46 (masculine norms)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• MGRS (gender role stress)</td>
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Data Analysis

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Integration

- Use themes from qualitative data analysis to support or explain the statistical relationships between pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression.
- Use inconsistencies between quan and qual data to provide future directions.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

The proposed study will examine pornography use and masculinity as possible factors that contribute to the perpetration of sexual aggression. As such, this chapter will review theories and literature related to sexual aggression, pornography, and masculinity. First, the Confluence Model of sexual aggression will be discussed as a framework for understanding the causes of sexual assault and sexual objectification. Then, Sexual Script Theory will be presented as a framework for understanding how pornography can impact viewers. Finally, literature regarding Internet pornography, masculine norms, and masculine gender role conflict/stress will be reviewed to provide further rationale for the proposed study.

Sexual Aggression

The Center for Disease Control (CDC; Basile, Smith, Breiding, Black, & Mahendra, 2014) provides a detailed and comprehensive definition of sexual violence as “a sexual act that is committed or attempted by another person without freely given consent of the victim or against someone who is unable to consent or refuse” (p. 11). According to the CDC, aggressive behaviors that do not constitute physically forced rape are also considered forms of sexual violence, such as “non-physically forced penetration, unwanted sexual contact, and non-contact unwanted sexual experiences” (Basile et al., 2014). The CDC goes on to list various sexually aggressive behaviors and tactics that are considered sexual violence, including, but not limited to, coercing someone to agree to sexual contact through lying, misuse of power, exploitation of vulnerabilities, degradation, repeated verbal pressure, and unwanted sexual comments or actions (Basile et al., 2014). Within psychological literature, an explicit definition a sexual aggression is
difficult to ascertain. The Sexual Experiences Survey, Short Form Perpetration (Koss et al., 2006) is a commonly used measure of various forms of unwanted sexual contact including rape and attempted rape via tactics such as lies, threats, repeated pressure, alcohol use, and physical force. Interpersonal sexual objectification refers to sexually aggressive behaviors such as unwanted sexual comments, touches, gazes, and gestures that reduces a person to a sexual object (Davidson, Gervais, Canivez, & Cole, 2013). The proposed study will operationalize the construct of sexual aggression as perpetration of sexual assault and sexual objectification, both of which are considered sexual violence according to the CDC’s definition.

The most recent estimates of sexual violence published by the CDC report that 19.3% of adult women experienced completed or attempted rape in their lifetime, while 43.9% experienced other forms of sexual violence, such as unwanted sexual contact, sexual coercion, and other unwanted sexual experiences (Breiding, Smith, Basile, Walters, Chen, & Merrick, 2014). Approximately 1.7% of men reported being the victims of attempted or completed rape and 23.4% reported experiencing other forms of sexual violence (Breiding et al., 2014). The overwhelming majority of perpetrators of sexual violence were men, regardless of the gender of the victim, with 79% of men and 99% of women reporting a male perpetrator (Breiding et al., 2014). Consequences for victims of sexual assault include physical health concerns such as chronic pain, gastrointestinal issues, gynecological issues, and migraines, as well as mental health concerns such as anxiety, depression, shame, problematic substance use, and post-traumatic stress disorder, and negative social impacts such as difficulty forming intimate, romantic, or sexual relationships (CDC, 2017; Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi, & Lozano, 2002). Unfortunately,
little if any, research has explored the consequences for perpetrators of sexual assault, but legal ramifications such as incarceration and fines, as well as difficulty forming healthy sexual relationships, are possible negative outcomes. These estimates and consequences demonstrate that sexual aggression perpetrated by men against women is a significant problem in the United States.

**Confluence Model of sexual aggression.** The Confluence Model of sexual aggression posits that sexually aggressive men possess multiple traits that can be organized into two “constellations” or paths: hostile masculinity and promiscuous-impersonal sex (Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes, & Acker, 1995, p. 353). According to this theory, sexual aggression perpetrated by men against women is best predicted by the convergence of these two paths (Malamuth et al., 1995). Hostile masculinity is defined as a personality profile characterized by “an insecure, defensive, hypersensitive, and hostile-distrustful orientation” toward women and “gratification from controlling or dominating women” (Malamuth et al., 1995, p. 354). Men high in hostile masculinity, in general, feel threatened by women or anxious about relationships with women, and thus, use control, domination, and degradation to regain a sense of power (Malamuth et al., 1995). Hostile masculinity in the context of the Confluence Model has been empirically tested in samples of college and non-criminal men, but a similar concept of hostility toward women has been identified in the separate literature on sex offender recidivism (Fernandez, Harris, Hanson, & Sparks, 2012). An actuarial measure of male sex offender’s risk to sexually reoffend, the STABLE-2007, assesses men’s stereotypical and sexist beliefs about women, as well as difficulties in interacting with and maintaining interpersonal relationships with women, because increased hostility toward women is a
predictor of future sexual offending among convicted sexual offenders (Fernandez et al., 2012).

The second path of the Confluence Model, termed promiscuous-impersonal sex, refers to men who are strongly oriented to sexual activity lacking closeness or commitment, sexual activity with multiple partners, and sex with a partner only once (i.e., “one night stands;” Malamuth et al., 1995). Men who exhibit these characteristics have been described as having a “game-playing” orientation to sexual relationships, suggesting that they aim for sexual conquests and a larger number of separate sexual encounters (Malamuth et al., 1995). It is important to note that this constellation of characteristics does not equate to a high sex drive or increased amount of sexual activity, but a preference for impersonal sex and self-reported preoccupation with sex (Malamuth et al., 1995). Again, a similar construct has been identified in the research on sex offender risk to reoffend. The STABLE-2007 measures a sexual offender’s level of sexual preoccupation as a risk factor in their likelihood of committing another sexual offense, suggesting that this path is relevant for both college men and convicted sexual offenders (Fernandez, Harris, Hanson, & Sparks, 2012). In sum, Malamuth and colleagues (1995) found empirical support for this model among college men and non-college, older men in Canada, with impersonal sex and hostile masculinity significantly predicting sexual aggression.

Findings like these regarding hostile masculinity and impersonal sex have been replicated in many other samples. For example, hostile masculinity and impersonal sex have been found to predict sexual aggression among multiple samples of U.S. college men and community samples of men (Abbey, Jacques-Tiura, & LeBreton, 2011;

Hall, Teten, DeGarmo, Sue, and Stephens (2005) also found that the Confluence Model predicted sexual aggression in a sample of both White and Asian-American college men, but adding culturally-relevant variables such as loss of face and ethnic identity to the model doubled the amount of variance in sexual aggression men accounted for by the Confluence Model in the sample of Asian American men. Support for this model has also been found in a sample of Spanish college men, German men recruited from both college courses and the community, and men currently enlisted in the U.S. Navy (Martin, Vergeles, Acevedo, Sanchez, & Visa, 2005; Stander, Thomsen, Merrill, & Milner, 2017; Troche & Herzberg, 2017). Finally, in a longitudinal study of college men, hostile masculinity and peer norms supportive of sexual coercion were the strongest predictors of sexual assault perpetration over a four-year span (Thompson, Swartout, & Koss, 2013).

In conclusion, the Confluence Model of sexual aggression has been tested across many samples, with evidence suggesting it is a valid framework for understanding and predicting male sexual aggression. According to this model, sexuality in the form of impersonal sex combined with gender roles in the form of hostile masculinity work together to lead to sexual aggression. Therefore, it is important to understand how sexuality and gender roles develop in men. The following sections will discuss Sexual Script theory as a framework for understanding the development of sexuality, pornography as a significant influence on sexuality, and masculine norms and gender roles.
Sexual Script Theory

Sexuality has been a focus of psychological theory and research since Sigmund Freud posited his infamous psychosexual stages of development and supposition that the sexual libido has immense power over human thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in the early 1900s (Corey, 2013; Simon & Gagnon, 1998). Since then, more modern theories have been developed, tested, and empirically supported as frameworks for explaining and understanding human sexual behavior. Simon and Gagnon (1998) challenged the prevailing view of Freudian theorists by suggesting that sexual behavior is guided by learned scripts instead of solely on innate urges. They posited that individuals learn sexual behavior as they would learn any other behavior, that is, by organizing cognitive concepts of the self, others, situations, and behaviors in to a meaningful narrative or whole (Simon & Gagnon, 1998). They argue that the sexual scripts “give the self, other persons, and situations erotic abilities or content” (Simon & Gagnon, 1998, p. 61). Simon and Gagnon (1998) supported their theory using foreplay as an example of “sociosexual drama” in which normal behaviors, such as touching and gestures, are given sexual meaning (p. 61). They also cite examples of sexual behaviors that differ between socially constructed groups, such as men and women, and gay and heterosexual individuals, which are not biologically based. For example, they note that biologically, girls possess the same sexual drive and abilities as boys during puberty, but they are often less sexually active than boys, which they attribute to learning a sexual script that dictates that girls should not be promiscuous (Simon & Gagnon, 1998). Put another way, people learn and construct their understanding of sexuality, including what is considered sex, how to
identify sexual situations, and what to do in those sexual situations (Frith & Kitzsinger, 2001).

Specific sexual scripts have been identified in the literature. For example, Sakaluk, Todd, Milhausen, Lachowsky, and the Undergraduate Research Group in Sexuality (2014) conducted focus groups with both men and women to better understand the dominant sexual scripts of heterosexual young adults between the ages of 18 and 26. The following sexual scripts emerged: (a) “men are always ready for sex,” (b) “women inhibit their sexual expression,” (c) “men have a physical approach to sex,” (d) “women have an emotional/relational approach to sex,” (e) “men should be sexually skilled and knowledgeable,” (f) “women should be sexually skilled and knowledgeable,” (g) “men initiate sex,” (h) “women are gatekeepers,” (i) “single women who appear sexual are judged negatively,” (j) “men are rewarded for being sexual,” and (k) “men are rewarded for not being sexual” (Sakaluk et al., 2014, pgs. 519-522). Many of these sexual scripts are specific to gender, suggesting that masculine sexual scripts are unique. Murray (2017) conducted a qualitative study to understand men’s experience of masculine sexual scripts. Results from this study indicated that men often feel social pressure to enact certain sexual scripts in order to maintain an image of masculinity (Murray, 2017). For example, participants described making sexual comments to a woman in public in order to appear “manly,” saying yes to a sexual proposition because men are supposed to always want sex, thus, saying no would make his partner upset, and feeling pressure from sexual partners to be the only one initiating sex (Murray, 2017).

Littleton, Axsom, and Yoder (2006) explored rape and seduction sexual scripts. In their study, they were able to successfully prime participants’ seduction sexual script with
seduction-related words, as evidenced by participants labeling a non-violent but forced sexual encounter vignette as “seductive” (Littleton, Axsom, & Yoder, 2006). However, priming participants with rape-related words did not influence participants to label the vignette as rape, suggesting that a forced but non-violent sexual encounter was dissimilar to participants’ sexual scripts for rape, but somewhat similar to their sexual script for seduction. Emmers-Sommer (2016) explored the sexual script of token resistance, or “saying no when one means yes,” and found that men are significantly more likely than women to interpret a woman’s refusal as token resistance and not actual refusal, suggesting different sexual scripts of what saying “no” really means (p. 377).

**Acquisition, Activation, Application (3A) Model.** Much of the research on Sexual Script Theory has focused on pornography as one of the major transmitters of sexual scripts. Based on Sexual Script Theory, Wright (2011) developed a more specific model to explain how sexual scripts are influenced by sexual media: the Acquisition, Activation, Application, or 3A, Model. Acquisition refers to the learning of a new script or the altering of an already existing script through exposure to media (Wright & Bae, 2016). For example, watching pornography can expose someone to a sexual script they have never seen before, such as how to initiate anal sex, or it could modify an existing script, such as how to behave toward a partner during sex, where the already existing script is the sexual act. Regarding activation, media can also prime or reinforce an existing sexual script, such as when an individual watches multiple pornographic scenarios of similar content (Wright & Bae, 2016).

Finally, application refers to a person using a sexual script to “inform an attitudinal judgment or behavioral decision,” either consciously or unconsciously (Wright
& Bae, 2016, p. 556). Application can occur specifically, such as when an individual views a specific sexual script and then attempts to enact it, or generally, such as when an individual infers the “underlying behavioral philosophy guiding media models’ actions,” and then applies that general script to other scenarios (Wright & Bae, 2016, pp. 556-557). Wright (2011) suggested that acquisition, activation, and application are more likely to occur when various content, audience, accessibility, and situational factors are present, such as perceived arousal, plausibility, and prevalence of the sexual acts, viewers’ motivation, attention, age, and tendency to ruminate or fantasize, the frequency, duration, and vividness of the images, and correspondence between the real-world sexual situation and the pornographic situation. In sum, the 3A Model posits that men who view pornography will hold attitudes and engage in behaviors influenced by the sexual scripts they see in pornography (Wright & Bae, 2016).

Empirical research has demonstrated support for Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model. Stulhofer, Busko, and Landripet (2010) measured young adults’ acceptance of pornographic sexual scripts by asking them to rate multiple sexual activities as (a) important for “great sex” and (b) important for “pornographic presentation of sex” (p. 171). Higher scores on this measure, the Sexual Scripts Overlap Scale (SSOS), would indicate that pornographic sexual scripts overlap greatly with participants’ personal sexual scripts (Stulhofer et al., 2010). Greater sexual script overlap mediated the relationship between early exposure to pornography and decreased intimacy and sexual satisfaction, suggesting that adoption of the sexual scripts portrayed in pornography led to poor relational outcomes (Stulhofer et al., 2010). Similarly, D’Abreu and Krahe (2013) measured participants’ risky sexual scripts by asking them to read a vignette about a
potential sexual encounter and rate their probability of (a) using alcohol, (b) not knowing their sexual partner, and (c) communicating ambiguously about their sexual intentions. Higher scores indicated greater adoption of risky sexual scripts, and risky sexual scripts were found to mediate the relationship between pornography use and sexual aggression (D’Abreu & Krahe, 2013). Additionally, Tomaszewska and Krahe (2016) found that risky sexual scripts fully mediated the relationship between pornography use and attitudes supportive of sexual aggression. Relatedly, Wright, Tokunaga, and Kraus (2016b) hypothesized that pornography’s portrayal of unprotected (i.e., condomless) sex would influence U.S. college students’ sexual script of unprotected sex as “normal,” and thus, influence their tendency to engage in unprotected sex. Results supported their hypothesis: greater frequency of pornography use predicted beliefs that peers do not use condoms, which predicted decreased personal use of condoms (Wright et al., 2016b).

Finally, Sun, Bridges, Johnson, and Ezzell (2016) found that greater pornography use significantly predicted men’s reenactment of sexual behaviors and scenarios seen in pornography. Additionally, their results showed that, compared to men who view less pornography, men who view more pornography reported less engagement in and less enjoyment of intimate sexual behaviors such as cuddling and kissing, which are not prevalent behaviors portrayed in pornography (Sun et al., 2016). The authors interpreted these findings as evidence that “pornography can become a preferred sexual script for men, thus influencing their real-world expectations” (Sun et al., 2016, p. 990). Sun, Miezan, Lee, and Shim (2015) found similar findings in a sample of Korean college men and Wright, Sun, Steffen, and Tokunaga (2015) found similar findings in a sample of German men. These findings lend support for the Sexual Script Theory’s assertion that
sexual scripts are learned, they can be learned from pornographic portrayals of sex, and they impact sexual beliefs and behaviors.

Sexual Script Theory aptly connects pornography, masculinity, and sexual behavior through the concept of sexual scripts. Sexual scripts are cognitive schemas for expected sexual behavior, which often differ for men and women, and are learned from the environment. Pornography is a powerful creator and transmitter of gendered sexual scripts, which in turn, influence sexual behaviors. Literature regarding pornography and masculinity will now be reviewed.

**Pornography**

An accepted definition of pornography has been somewhat elusive in the literature due to the wide variety and subjective nature of sexually explicit materials (Fisher & Barak, 2001). For example, one person may consider still images of nude individuals art, while another considers them erotica, and still another considers them pornography. To wit, Short, Black, Smith, Wetterneck, and Wells (2012) reviewed studies regarding pornography published between 2000 and 2010, and found that 84% did not provide a definition of the pornography they were researching. Furthermore, pornography has changed dramatically since the rise of the Internet, with pornographic magazines such as *Hustler* and *Playboy*, and DVD producers such as *Vivid*, losing customers to free website such as *Pornhub* and *Youporn* (Forrester, 2016; Theroux, 2012). In a large, diverse sample of American men, 95.7% reported obtaining pornography from free websites and only 10.5% reported paying for a subscription to an online pornography website (Downing, Schrimschaw, Scheinmann, Antebi-Gruszka, & Hirshfield, 2016). Cooper (1998) posited that Internet pornography would be different
than other media formats because of its affordability, accessibility, and anonymity. The Internet is ubiquitous and pornography can be accessed free of charge, from any location, immediately. As such, with the assumption that Internet pornography is different from other media formats, the proposed study will focus only on pornography accessed via the Internet. Hald (2006) put forth a specific and comprehensive definition of pornography that will be used in the current study: material on the Internet “aimed at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the viewer and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts” (p. 579).

**Male users.** Research on the prevalence of pornography use has consistently found that a high percentage of men and a smaller percentage of women view pornography. In the United States, it has been estimated that 72 – 83% of men and 24 – 35% of women view pornography (Boies, 2002; Carroll et al., 2008; Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011; Peterson & Hyde, 2010). The prevalence rates vary within gender because the survey measures used to obtain these rates ask different questions (Regenerus, Gordon, & Price, 2015). For example, some ask respondents if they have viewed a pornographic movie in the last year, while others ask about the frequency of viewing pornographic material (Regenerus et al., 2015). In a sample of college-aged adults, men were significantly more likely than women to feel entertained and sexually aroused while viewing Internet pornography, but significantly less likely than women to feel anger and disgust when viewing internet (Goodson, McCormick, & Evans, 2001). In a sample of Danish adults, men were significantly more likely than women to be exposed to pornography at a younger age and to view pornography alone or with friends (Hald,
2006). Women in this sample were significantly more likely than men to view pornography with a regular sexual partner (Hald, 2006). In one study of adult males in the US, heterosexual men were significantly more likely to view Internet pornography while at work than gay or bisexual men (Downing et al., 2016). These results suggest that heterosexual male pornography users are a unique population.

Among college males, the average age of first exposure to pornography has been reported as 12 years old (Kraus & Rosenberg, 2014). Research suggests that adult, heterosexual men spend an average of three to four hours per week viewing internet pornography, with reported times ranging from five minutes to 33 hours (Kuhn & Gallinat, 2014; Wery & Billieux, 2016). One study of heterosexual, male adults in the US reported that 37.9% of their sample viewed pornography once per week or less, 32.6% of their sample viewed it two to three times per week, and 29.5% viewed it at least once per day (Downing et al., 2016). Additionally, 41.7% spent less than 10 minutes per session viewing pornography, 38.6% spent 30 to 45 minutes per session, and 29.5% spent at least one hour per session (Downing et al., 2016). The majority of heterosexual men view pornography at home, with 22% reporting that they also view it at work (Downing et al., 2016). Finally, reasons for pornography use include sexual arousal, learning about sex, using it to distracting from real-world challenges, using it to improve mood when sad, lonely, stressed, or angry, curiosity about sex that other people may engage in, physical pleasure and release through masturbation, avoidance of uncomfortable or painful feelings, excitement and novelty, and escaping in to a fantasy world (Brown, Durtschi, Carroll, & Willoughby, 2017; Reid, Li, Gilliland, Stein, & Fong, 2011).
These findings provide a picture of how heterosexual men are viewing pornography. They also suggest that heterosexual male pornography viewers are a unique population. It is important to note that the results summarized above were obtained from samples of men that were not specifically identified as hypersexual or sexually compulsive, unlike other studies that focused solely on men with perceived addiction to or problematic use of pornography. The current study will also not target men with perceived or clinically indicated addiction to pornography, and will instead focus on the average, heterosexual male pornography user. The next section will review the literature on what heterosexual men are viewing, or the content of Internet pornography.

**Content.** Consistent with Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model described previously, the stories, actions, and messages in pornography can form sexual scripts that impact viewers. Content analyses have been conducted in order to better understand the subject matter of pornography. In 2010, Bridges, Wosnitzer, Scharrer, Sun, and Liberman conducted a comprehensive content analysis in which they analyzed 50 randomly selected pornographic videos from Adult Video News’ best-selling and most rented video lists published in 2004 and 2005. The 50 videos yielded 304 individual scenes, with the average number of characters in each scene being three, and 82% of the main characters were White (Bridges et al., 2010). Less than 1% of the scenes portrayed discussions of safe sex practices and 10% portrayed condom use (Bridges et al., 2010). Female to male oral sex occurred in 90% of the scenes, vaginal intercourse occurred in 86% of the scenes, male to female oral sex occurred in 53% of the scenes, and anal sex occurred in 55% of the scenes (Bridges et al., 2010). Sexual activities between two women was present in 22% of the scenes, and sexual activities between two men was not present at
all (Bridges et al., 2010). Ass to mouth (ATM, “the woman performs oral sex on a man immediately after he has penetrated her anally”) was portrayed in 41% of scenes and double penetration (“one woman being…penetrated simultaneously by two men”) was portrayed in 19% of the scenes (Bridges et al., 2010, p. 1072). Male ejaculation on to a woman’s body occurred in 93% of scenes, with a woman’s mouth being the body part most commonly portrayed location for the ejaculate (58% of scenes; Bridges et al., 2010).

Bridges and colleagues (2010) also examined aggression in the pornographic videos and found that only 10% of the scenes did not portray aggressive acts. Verbal aggression was present in 48% of scenes, with insults being the most common (Bridges et al., 2010). Physical aggression was present in 88% of scenes, with spanking (75%), slapping (41%), gagging (53%), hair pulling (37%), and choking (27%) being most common (Bridges et al., 2010). Men were the perpetrator of aggression in 70% of the aggressive acts, and women were the target of the aggression in 94% of the aggressive acts (Bridges et al., 2010). The target of the aggression responded with pleasure or neutrality in 95% of the aggressive acts (Bridges et al., 2010). When men were the targets of aggression, they were four times more likely than women to respond with irritation (Bridges et al., 2010). Finally, 9% of scenes portrayed positive behaviors such as kissing, compliments, and embracing (Bridges et al., 2010). In sum, the most rented and best-selling pornographic videos (i.e., not Internet pornography video clips) are characterized by White actors, condom-less sex, female to male oral sex, vaginal intercourse, male to female oral sex, anal sex, ejaculation on to a woman’s body, verbal and physical aggression, and pleasurable responses by women to aggression perpetrated by men.
Gorman, Monk-Turner, and Fish (2010) analyzed free, online, pornographic video clips obtained by entering the search terms “sex,” “porn,” and “XXX” in to the Google search engine (p. 134). The clips were randomly selected by choosing every fifth video on the page, which resulted in 45 video clips (Gorman, Monk-Turner, & Fish, 2010). The average number of characters present was two and the majority of the actors were White (76%; Gorman et al., 2010). Female to male oral sex occurred in 79% of the clips, while oral sex in which the woman received pleasure occurred in 37% of the clips (Gorman et al., 2010). Vaginal intercourse occurred in 68% of the videos, anal sex occurred in 32%, and condom use was only present in one video clip (Gorman et al., 2010). These results are generally consistent with the content of pornographic DVDs analyzed by Bridges and colleagues (2010).

Of the 45 video clips analyzed, six showed overt acts of violence (Gorman et al., 2010). In five of the clips, the violence occurred when the woman resisted the man’s sexual behaviors. “Examples included holding a woman’s head down over the penis while a male actor thrust it into her mouth (accompanied by a gagging sound made by the female) or refusing to acknowledge when a female first protests” (Gorman et al., 2010, p. 137). One clip contained more severe acts of violence, and the authors provide a description of that video:

…included overt acts of violence against the female participant by several male actors. Multiple instances of choking and slapping, both with the male participants’ hands and penises, against the woman’s face and buttocks were shown. Multiple men engaged in choking the female actor, who appeared to reach a point where she was about to pass out. At least once the woman was pulled up
off the floor by the hair and over to a couch so that various sexual acts could continue. The woman was penetrated anally and vaginally by two different men while she was performing fellatio on the third. The female was also gagging because of the force used by some of the men during oral sex. Two male participants, who were not directly visible on camera, engaged in a brief conversation where one man made the statement to another, ‘You are so mean.’ The other participant then responded, ‘What can I say man, I hate women.’ (Gorman, Monk-Turner, & Fish, 2010, p. 137).

Given that only six of the 45 clips portrayed such violent acts, it was concluded that violence was not a common occurrence in these free clips.

Gorman et al. (2010) also explored whether the pornographic clips displayed sexual domination. Domination was operationally defined as portrayals of unequal nudity, submission of one actor to another actor’s demands, name-calling, and ejaculation on the face (Gorman et al., 2010). The authors concluded that domination was a theme in 44% of the clips (Gorman et al., 2010). In the majority of the clips labeled as having a theme of domination, women were nude while men were clothed, men gave commands and dictated the sexual acts, women complied with men’s demands with no objection, women expressed enjoyment when commanded to perform a sexual act, and men positioned women so that he could ejaculate on to her face (Gorman et al., 2010). In this sample of video clips, name-calling was not a common occurrence (Gorman et al., 2010). In conclusion, the theme of domination specifically portrayed male sexual domination over women. The authors reported that the remaining videos portrayed themes of
exploitation, reciprocity, and autoeroticism, but their operationalization of those themes was unclear, so those findings will not be summarized here (Gorman et al., 2010).

Klaassen and Peter (2015) conducted a similar content analysis of the top four free, pornographic websites: Pornhub, RedTube, YouPorn, and xHampster. They selected the 100 most viewed video clips for a total of 400 clips that had been viewed 300,000 to 52,600,000 times (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). The majority of the scenes included one man and one woman (76%), with the remaining scenes including more people, two women, and solo women (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). These videos did not include any scenes with only males or sex between two men (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). The authors coded for instrumental objectification, which they defined as using another’s body for sexual gratification and operationalized as close-up images of body parts, manual stimulation of one person’s genitals, and orgasms (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). They found that close-up shots of women’s body parts were more likely to occur than close-up shots of men’s bodies, men were more likely to be manually stimulated, and men were more likely to be shown experiencing an orgasm (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). They also coded for dehumanizing objectification, or when a person is not portrayed as being a whole person with thoughts, feelings, and choices, which they operationalized as not initiating sexual activity, not engaging in sexual activities for personal enjoyment and arousal, and close-up shots of the person’s face (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). They found that men were as likely as women to initiate sexual activity, men were more likely to be shown having sex for their own personal enjoyment, and women were more likely to have their face displayed (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). In sum, women were more likely to be instrumentalized in these videos and less likely to be shown as having sex for their own
personal enjoyment, while men were more likely to be dehumanized by not having their faces shown (Klaassen & Peter, 2015).

Peter and Klaassen (2015) also coded for power differences and operationalized it as one person having a higher status occupation or role and one person being compliant with another’s person’s sexual demands. No differences in status or power between men and women were evident in these films, but women were significantly more likely to be submissive to men’s sexual demands and men were significantly more likely to make sexual demands (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). Finally, Peter and Klaassen (2015) coded for violence in these pornographic clips and operationalized violence as perpetrator and recipient of physically violent acts, the recipient’s response to the violent acts, and acts of coercion such as lying or deceiving someone in order to have sex with them. Results indicated that women were significantly more likely to be on the receiving end of physically violent acts, with spanking and gagging being the most common (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). Women were significantly more likely to respond to violent acts neutrally or positively, with negative reactions occurring very rarely (2.8% to spanking and 6.7% to gagging; Klaassen & Peter, 2015). Men and women were equally likely to be portrayed as not initially wanting to engage in sex, but when manipulation occurred, women were significantly more likely than men to be coerced into sexual activity (Klaassen & Peter, 2015). According to this content analysis, Internet pornography objectifies men and women in different ways, but when violence and sexual coercion occurs, women are more likely to be the victims and men are more likely to be the perpetrators.

Fritz and Paul (2017) compared the content of feminist/queer, for women, and mainstream pornography on their portrayal of women being sexually objectified and
sexual agentic. They chose videos from two websites from the 2014 Feminist Porn Awards list as the sample of feminist/queer pornography (one site was deemed feminist pornography and another deemed queer feminist pornography), videos from Pornhub’s “For Women” category as the sample of for women pornography, and videos from Pornhub’s top five largest categories (i.e., containing the most content): “Teen, Big Tits, Brunette, Amateur, and Blonde” as the sample of mainstream pornography (Fritz & Paul, 2017, p. 5). They operationalized sexual objectification as double penetration of a woman’s orifices, ejaculation on to a woman’s body parts, women stripping or posing sexually for the viewer, extended camera shots of a woman’s genitals, stretching of a woman’s orifices for the camera, verbal aggression toward women, and physical aggression toward women (Fritz & Paul, 2017). They operationalized sexual agency as portrayals of women orgasming, women verbally directing the sexual activities, women touching their own sexual organs for personal sexual gratification, and women initiating sexual activities (Fritz & Paul, 2017). Results indicated that mainstream pornography contained significantly more sexual objectification acts than for women or feminist/queer pornography, and for women pornography contained more than feminist/queer pornography (Fritz & Paul, 2017). Feminist/queer pornography displayed significantly more agentic behaviors than for women or mainstream pornography (Fritz & Paul, 2017). However, the authors examined differences between heterosexual feminist pornography and queer feminist pornography and found that only the queer feminist pornography, not heterosexual feminist pornography, displayed more sexual agency on the part of women (Fritz & Paul, 2017). These results suggest that mainstream heterosexual pornography tends to portray women as sexual objects with less sexual agency.
Arakawa, Flanders, and Hatfield (2012) analyzed the content of pornography in three different countries that varied according to the United Nation’s Gender Empowerment Measure (UN GEM), a measure of women’s equality in the country. They examined still images of women from popular pornographic websites within in each country by rating them on two different content scales (Arakawa et al., 2012). Images received scores on the disempowerment scale when they portrayed women being bound or dominated, women portrayed as youthful or childlike, full-frame shots of women’s body parts, women placed in unnatural, uncomfortable, and submissive positions, and women with unrealistic bodies (Arakawa et al., 2012). Images received scores on the empowerment scale when they contained elements that were opposite of the disempowerment scale (e.g., women were in unbound and natural poses, women not portrayed as youthful; Arakawa et al., 2012). Results indicated that pornographic images from Norway, which is ranked first in gender equality according to UN’s GEM, contained significantly more elements from the empowerment scale than images from Japan, which is ranked 54th on the GEM (Arakawa et al., 2012). No significant differences emerged on the disempowerment scale or between the United States and the other two countries (Arakawa et al., 2012). The authors summarize that pornography reflects the cultural values about gender and that pornographic content can contain both empowering and disempowering elements (Arakawa et al., 2012).

Finally, researchers have also examined the pornographic content that heterosexual men self-report viewing. Downing and colleagues (2016) found that the vast majority of heterosexual men reported viewing pornographic content consistent with their reported sexual orientation (i.e., pornographic images of women), but approximately 20%...
also viewed pornography depicting same-sex sexual activity. In a sample of Danish adults, men were significantly more likely than women to prefer anal, oral, group (one man and more than one woman), lesbian, and amateur pornography (Hald, 2006). Four self-report scales have been created in an attempt to better understand the pornographic content that men are watching. Paul (2009) created a scale with three subscales: (a) standard fare, which included pornography depicting group sex, hardcore, interracial, small breasts, barely legal, amateur, female, lesbian, extremely large breasts, and ejaculation; (b) male specialized, which included pornography depicting transsexual individuals, urination, and overweight people; and (c) male-focused, which consisted of pornography including male models only and men having sex with men.

Gonsalves, Hodges, and Scalora (2015) also created a scale with three subscales: (a) mainstream heterosexual pornography, which consisted of penile-vaginal penetration, oral sex, finger-vaginal penetration, penile-anal penetration, and two males and one female; (b) group sex and fantasy pornography, which consisted of group sex, multiple males and one female, fantasy portrayal, man ejaculating on to partner, and soft-core images, and (c) fetishes, which consisted of bondage, women in a dominatrix role, sexual fetishes, women in a degrading role, and forced intercourse. Hald and Sulhofer (2016) created a scale to capture what they considered to be paraphilic pornography use, and the items described pornography that portrayed sadomasochism, fetishes, violent sex, bondage, and dominance. The fourth scale, developed by Richardson, Davidson, Bischmann, Lozano, and Gervais (in preparation), consists of four subscales: standard, objectification, Atypical Penetration, and Specialized. Taken together, these measures of
pornographic content indicate that the sexual acts portrayed in pornography can be reliably grouped together into meaningful categories that viewers can identify.

The content analyses and self-report measures described above demonstrate that pornographic content can vary significantly, with some popular and commonly watched porn depicting violence, objectification, and domination of women. Sexual Script Theory would posit that viewing such treatment of women would influence men to treat women in similar ways when they interact with them in real-world sexual situations. The next section will review research on the correlates and effects of viewing pornography. Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model would also posit that the sexual scripts that viewers learn from pornography, and thus their sexual behaviors, would vary according to the sexual scripts to which they are exposed. The proposed study intends to explore the varying impact of pornographic content by measuring men’s arousal to various types of pornography, examining the statistical relations between content and behavior, and asking men to describe, in their own words, the pornographic scenarios that they watch and how they may be influenced by them.

**Pornography and sexual aggression.** Research has found that pornography use is associated with a range of potentially problematic sexual beliefs and behaviors relevant to the perpetration of sexual aggression, such as sexist beliefs, attitudes supportive of violence against women, and self-reported sexual aggression.

**Sexist beliefs.** Previous research has demonstrated associations between pornography use and sexist beliefs. For example, To, Ngai, and Kan (2012) surveyed adolescents in Hong Kong and found that frequency of online pornography viewing significantly predicted stronger acceptance of stereotypical sexual gender roles, such as
“guys should dominate girls in bed,” “by being dominated, girls get sexually aroused,” and “men should decide what should happen during sex” (p. 2159). Similarly, Hald, Malamuth, and Lange (2013) found that, for men only, a history of pornography use significantly predicted endorsement of traditional gender roles for women and hostile sexist beliefs. Finally, Wright and Funk (2014) conducted a longitudinal study of American adults and found that “prior pornography viewing predicted subsequent opposition to affirmative action for women,” but “prior opposition to affirmative action for women was unrelated to subsequent pornography viewing,” providing support for a temporal relationship between pornography exposure and subsequent sexist beliefs (p. 215).

**Attitudes supportive of violence against women.** Pornography use has also been associated with beliefs supportive of violence toward women. For example, fraternity men from the United States who reported viewing online pornographic materials in the prior 12 months reported significantly greater likelihood to commit rape or sexual harassment in a hypothetical situation, significantly more acceptance of rape myths, significantly lower likelihood of intervening as a bystander in sexually abusive situation, and significantly lower perceived self-efficacy in their ability to intervene as a bystander in such situations (Foubert, Brosi, & Bannon, 2011). However, these results differed depending on the type of pornography the men reported viewing, with only sadomasochistic and rape pornography impacting rape myth acceptance, sadomasochistic pornography impacting perceived bystander efficacy, and rape pornography impacting willingness to intervene as a bystander (Foubert et al., 2011). Moreover, all three types of pornography examined in this study increased men’s reported likelihood of engaging in
sexually aggressive behavior in hypothetical situations (Foubert et al., 2011). Similarly, in a sample of college men in Hong Kong, frequency of viewing online pornography significantly predicted likelihood of committing sexual harassment in hypothetical situations (Lam & Chan, 2007).

Additionally, pornography use has been found to impact men’s objectification of women and attitudes supportive of violence against women. Wright and Tokunaga (2016), for example, found that greater frequency of pornography use significantly predicted men’s self-reported tendency to view women as sexual objects (e.g., agreement with statements such as “an attractive woman asks for sexual advances,” “unconsciously, women always want to be persuaded to have sex;” Wright & Tokunaga, 2016, p. 958). They also found that men’s sexual objectification of women significantly predicted men’s agreement with statements supportive of violence against women (e.g., “being roughed up is sexual stimulating to many women,” “when women go around braless or wearing short skirts and tight tops, they are just asking for trouble;” Wright & Tokunaga, 2016, p. 959).

Finally, experimental exposure to pornography has also been shown to increase acceptance of violence against women. Hald and Malamuth (2015) exposed 100 men and 101 women in Denmark to either 30 minutes of a pornographic video or 30 minutes of an emotionally neutral video. The content of the videos were described in detail and the pornographic video contained content consistent with that found in the content analyses described previously (Hald & Malamuth, 2015). Results indicated that exposure to the pornographic video significantly increased acceptance of violence against women only for men who scored low on a measure of agreeableness, and this model did not hold for
women (Hald & Malamuth, 2015). The authors conclude that individual differences in men, such as agreeableness, which has been previously related to hostility and difficulty in interpersonal relationships, moderate the relationship between pornography exposure and attitudes supportive of violence against women (Hald & Malamuth, 2015).

Consistent with the 3A Model, they also posit that pornographic content primes sexually aggressive sexual scripts already held by certain men (Hald & Malamuth, 2015).

**Perpetration of sexual aggression.** Finally, pornography use has been associated with self-reported sexually aggressive behaviors. Wright, Tokunaga, and Kraus (2016a) conducted a meta-analysis of research studies that examined the association between pornography consumption and perpetration of sexual aggression. Their meta-analysis of 22 separate samples resulted in an overall effect size of $r = .28$, which was significant and indicative of a small to medium effect of pornography use on perpetration of sexual aggression (Cohen, 1992; Wright, Tokunaga, & Kraus, 2016a). Additionally, Thompson and Morrison (2013) surveyed college males in the United States about their frequency of viewing pornography in the prior week and engagement in technology-based coercive behaviors such as asking unwilling partners for sexual information, conversation, and sending unwanted sexually explicit images to others via the Internet (p. 236). Results indicated that frequency of pornography use significantly predicted sexually coercive behaviors over a span of three years (Thompson & Morrison, 2013).

Another longitudinal study of college males in the United States identified four developmental trajectories of sexual aggression over the college years: low sexual aggression group, increasing sexual aggression group, decreasing sexual aggression group, and high sexual aggression group (Thompson, Kingree, Zinzow, & Swartout,
2015). They examined trends in pornography use, measured as number of hours per week, depending on the sexual aggression trajectory and found that individuals in the low sexual aggression trajectory demonstrated a significantly smaller increase in pornography use over the four years while individuals in the high sexual aggression trajectory demonstrated a significantly larger increase in pornography use over the four years compared to the other trajectories (Thompson et al., 2015). Highly sexually aggressive individuals were found to increase their pornography consumption more drastically than less sexually aggressive individuals. Lastly, Gonsalves, Hodges, and Scalora (2015) found that men who reported viewing a greater variety of pornographic content were significantly more likely to report engaging in sexually aggressive behaviors, suggesting that content, as well as frequency and amount of pornography use, impact sexual aggression.

In conclusion, research on pornography’s association with sexual aggression has demonstrated that viewing pornography can indeed impact men’s sexually aggressive thoughts, beliefs, and behaviors. Further, the association between pornography and sexual aggression may be differentially impacted by the content of the pornography, as well as the gender of the viewer, given that many of the results differed between men and women, but also between men with differing characteristics. Additionally, the frequency and extent of use appears to be of importance. The next section will review relevant literature on masculinity, including masculine gender norms and the experience of masculine gender role conflict/stress.
Masculinity

As previously stated, gender differences are noted with regard to pornography use and effects. That is, more men than women view pornography, the impacts of pornography differ depending on the gender of the viewer, and men are more likely to be the perpetrators of sexual aggression. Therefore, gender, specifically masculinity, is likely an important factor in the relationship between pornography and sexual aggression. The current study views gender as a social construct, which has been the primary view of gender in last 40 years of the psychological science (Brooks & Elder, 2016). Gender refers to the performance of social and cultural traits associated with being male and female, while sex refers to the physical or biological traits associated with being male and female (American Psychological Association, 2015). The social characteristics associated with being a man (gender) are not determined by biology or genitalia (sex), but by the social norms, prescribed behaviors, and expectations placed on men (Brooks & Elder, 2016). According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, masculinity is defined as “having qualities appropriate to or usually associated with a man,” meaning that masculinity is not innate to men, but rather attributes typically or traditionally associated with men (Masculinity, n. d.). Further, this view asserts that men develop masculine beliefs and behaviors through social learning (Levant & Richmond, 2016). This social constructivist perspective is important because it implies that gendered beliefs and behaviors are learned, and thus, can be unlearned or altered if deemed problematic or harmful.

In 1995, Pleck coined the term gender role strain paradigm, or GRSP, to describe the harmful and problematic nature of gender roles. Levant and Richmond (2016) have since described GRSP as the “major theoretical paradigm in the field of the psychology
of men and masculinity” (p. 23). The GRSP states that the prescribed and stereotypical gender roles, for both men and women, are harmful because they (a) maintain power differences between men and women through norms that masculinity equates to strength and femininity equates to fragility, (b) allot social rewards for conforming and social punishments for failing to conform to the socially accepted and sex-congruent behaviors, and (c) exert pressure on people to conform to unrealistic and constricting expectations (Levant & Richmond, 2016). Levant and Richmond (2016) summarize some of the central propositions of the GRSP:

1. Gender roles are defined by gender stereotypes;
2. “Gender roles are contradictory and inconsistent” (p. 24);
3. Most people violate gender roles in some way;
4. “Violation of gender roles leads to social condemnation” (p. 24);
5. Violating gender roles also leads to harmful psychological consequences;
6. Violation of gender roles, either real or imagined, tends to precipitate increased and exaggerated conformity to them;
7. “Violating gender roles has more severe consequences for males than for females” (p. 24);
8. Many of the expected gender role traits, notably, male aggression, are harmful; and

In sum, the GRSP is an important theory within the field of psychology of men and masculinity, and will be used in this study as a framework for understanding masculinity and its impact on men who view pornography and perpetrate sexual
aggression. Research on the GRSP has focused on two aspects of masculinity: masculine norms or ideologies and the experience of masculine gender role conflict and stress. The following sections will review these concepts in more depth.

**Masculine norms.** Masculine norms refers to the “dominant cultural script that organizes and informs the development and maintenance of the traditional masculine role” through “social influence” over an individual’s life span (Levant & Richmond, 2016). Essentially, the culture in which we live espouses that certain ways of behaving are appropriate for and expected of someone if they are to be perceived as a man. These ways of behaving are taught, encouraged, and rewarded from childhood through adulthood, while others are punished. Traditional masculine norms in the United States were first described by David and Brannon in 1976 who identified four main characteristics of traditional masculinity:

- men should not be feminine (‘no sissy stuff’), that men should strive to be respected for successful achievement (‘the big wheel’), that men should never show weakness (‘the sturdy oak’), and that men should seek adventure and risk, even accepting violence if necessary” (‘give’em hell’). (Levant & Richmond, 2016, p. 29)

These characteristics have since been expanded and refined to include a desire to win, controlling one’s emotions, taking risks, engaging in violence, pursuing power over women, being sexually active and driven by sexual urges, relying on oneself and not reaching out for help, emphasizing work and financial stability over other life domains, and avoidance of any behaviors that may be perceived as gay (Parent & Moradi, 2009).
**Masculine norms and sexual aggression.** Conformity to masculine norms has been empirically associated with beliefs supportive of sexual aggression and actual perpetration of sexual aggression. Locke and Mahalik (2005) found that college men who strongly endorse certain masculine norms, specifically power over women, playboy, violence, risk-taking, disdain for homosexuals, and dominance, and engage in problematic drinking are more likely to report acceptance of rape myths and perpetration of sexual aggression. Similarly, Seabrook, Ward, and Giaccardi (2016) found that men in college fraternities were more likely to endorse stronger conformity to masculine norms, which significantly predicted reported sexually objectifying beliefs about women and acceptance of rape myths. In a sample of college men, higher scores on a measure of conformity to masculine norms significantly predicted less comprehension of what constitutes sexual consent, which in turn, significantly predicted perpetration of sexual aggression (Warren, Swan, & Allen, 2015). Finally, in an experimental study, Galdi, Maass, and Cadinu (2014) found that men who viewed a video of women being objectified in the lab reported stronger adherence to masculine norms of non-relational sex, dominance, and aggression. Further, the masculine norm of non-relational sex partially mediated the relationship between exposure to the objectifying video and perpetration of harassment via sexist and sexual jokes (Galdi et al., 2014). Finally, adherence to male norms of toughness was associated with decreased confidence in men’s ability to intervene to prevent hypothetical sexual aggression (Leone, Parrott, Swartout, & Tharp, 2016). These recent findings indicate that conformity to traditional masculine norms is associated with sexual aggression in men.
**Masculine gender role conflict/stress.** Gender role stress refers to the distress that a person experiences when they are faced with a situation in which they are not “living up to his internalized gender role ideals” (Levant & Richmond, 2016, p. 37). Measuring men’s experiences of gender role stress involves assessing whether they find situations in which their male norms are threatened as highly stressful, which would indicate that those men feel greater gender role stress (Eisler, Franchina, Moore, Honeycutt, & Rhatigan, 2000). The five types of situations that have been found empirically to elicit masculine gender role stress include being physically inadequate, expressing more feminine emotions, being outperformed or less powerful than a woman, being less intelligent than a woman, and failing to perform at home, at work, or during sexual activity (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). In theory, men who experience stress in such situations are more likely to respond by enacting masculine norms even more strongly to reestablish their masculinity.

Gender role conflict (GRC) is a similar, but more comprehensive concept that extends the impact of gender role adherence beyond situations in which gender roles are threatened. GRC is “a psychological state in which socialized gender roles have negative consequences for the person or others” (O’Neil & Denke, 2016, p. 52). The experience of GRC can manifest in multiple ways, including four empirically supported and commonly experienced patterns: (a) excessive focus on success, power, and competition; (b) restricted emotionality; (c) lack of affection between men; and (d) conflict between work and family (O’Neil & Denke, 2016). GRC can be experienced intrapersonally (i.e., when a man restricts, devalues, or violates himself because of masculine norms), or interpersonally (i.e., when a man restricts, devalues, or violates others or is restricted,
devalued, or violated by others because of masculine norms; O’Neil & Denke, 2016). Restricting refers to men’s attempts to control or limit themselves or others in accordance with gender roles and sexist beliefs (O’Neil & Denke, 2016). Devaluing refers to men’s negative appraisals of themselves and others based on gender roles and sexist beliefs (O’Neil & Denke, 2016). Finally, violations occur when men harm themselves or others because of gender norms and sexist beliefs (O’Neil & Denke, 2016). In theory, men may enact masculine norms to such an extent that they experience GRC in the form of harm to others through violence and sexual aggression. Both GRC and gender role stress capture the experience of gender role strain. As previously stated, these two terms have been combined to capture gender role strain more broadly (DeFranc & Mahalik, 2002; Gottert et al., 2017; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002).

**Masculine gender role conflict/stress and sexual aggression.** Masculine GRC/stress has been connected to the perpetration of sexual aggression. Broadly, men who scored high on masculine gender role stress measures reported more negative emotional and cognitive reactions, as well as more abusive behavioral responses to situations in which a woman and a man were arguing (Franchina, Eisler, & Moore, 2001; Moore & Stuart, 2004). In a sample of men arrested for violence against their intimate partner, experiencing masculine gender role stress in situations when the men felt physically inadequate or physically less manly uniquely and significantly predicted sexual coercion (Moore, Stuart, McNulty, Addis, Cordova, & Temple, 2008). Finally, men’s likelihood to sexually harass women in hypothetical work situations has been found to be significantly predicted by increased masculine gender role stress (Mellon, 2013). A similar relationship between GRC and sexual aggression has been found among
men. O’Neil and Denke (2016) reviewed and summarized 23 studies that found that the experience of masculine GRC was significantly correlated with sexual aggression including “likelihood of forcing sex, abusive behaviors, coercion, threats and intimidation, dating violence, hostile sexism, hostility toward women, rape myth acceptance, positive attitudes toward and tolerance for sexual harassment, and self-reported violence and aggression” (p. 67).

**Masculine norms, gender role conflict/stress, and sexual aggression.** Multiple studies have measured both adherence to masculine norms and GRC/stress in order to explore how masculinity in general relates to sexual aggression. Jakupcak, Tull, and Roemer (2005) combined scores on a measure of adherence to masculine norms and a measure of masculine gender role stress into one masculinity variable, which was a strong and significant predictor of hostility and anger. Similarly, in college men, both conformity to masculine norms and the experience of masculine GRC directly predicted men’s self-reported perpetration of physical aggression, above and beyond non-gendered personality traits such as agreeableness (Berke, Wilson, Mouilso, Speir, & Zeichner, 2015). Further, Jakupcak, Lisak, and Roemer (2002) found that adherence to masculine norms and the experience of GRC/stress interacted to predict aggression such that high levels of both were strong predictors of perpetration of aggression. College men who report strong adherence to the male norm of anti-femininity and high masculine gender role stress when in subordinate positions to women were significantly more likely to engage in sexual aggression, and the relationship was fully mediated by a high need for sexual dominance over women (Smith, Parrott, Swartout, & Tharp, 2015).
Finally, masculine norms and masculine GRC/stress have been found to be related to aggression more generally. In an experimental study, men who adhered more strongly to masculine norms delivered more severe and longer-lasting shocks to opponents in the laboratory setting (Cohn & Zeichner, 2006). Further, men who reported higher masculine GRC delivered shocks to their opponent more frequently than men who reported lower levels of GRC (Cohn & Zeichner, 2006). Interesting moderating effects were found such that men high in gender role stress displayed more aggression regardless of their adherence to masculine norms, whereas men low in gender role stress displayed aggression only when they strongly endorsed masculine norms (Cohn & Zeichner, 2006). These results suggest that masculine norms and masculine GRC/stress can be combined to measure overall masculinity or separated in order to explore differences between adherence to norms and experience of GRC/stress. Regardless, both have been found to be significantly and positively related to perpetration of aggression and sexual aggression.

**Pornography and Masculinity**

The previous sections reviewed the literature connecting sexual aggression both pornography and masculinity. This section will review the literature connecting pornography to masculinity. As previously stated, men are more likely to view pornography than women, and their experiences with pornography differ from women’s experiences; thus, masculinity is likely to be related to the impacts of pornography use. Based on his work as a clinical psychologist, Brooks (1997) suggested that men use pornography to validate their masculinity through sexual conquest of women, which is conceptually similar to the concept of masculine GRC/stress. Wright (2012) reviewed
empirical research that would support Brooks’ claims, and concluded that multiple studies have found that pornography use is associated with participant statements indicative of the concept of masculinity validation, such as “something is wrong with a guy who turns down the chance to have sex,” “men think about sex all of the time,” “a guy should always be ready for sex,” and “men love a challenge and often choose to pursue the seemingly unattainable woman” (p. 190-191). However, Wright’s review did not include research studies that measured specific constructs of masculinity nor did this review mention such concepts as adherence to masculine norms and masculine GRC/stress.

In 1999, Norris, George, Davis, Martell, and Leonesio conducted an experimental study with a sample of community men to explore how hypermasculinity and alcohol use would impact men’s empathic responses to written pornographic material portraying a rape. The results did not indicate a uniform effect of hypermasculinity on men’s empathy toward the rape victim, but hypermasculine men were found to display less empathy toward the victim and greater likelihood to behave as the aggressive perpetrator after consuming alcohol in the laboratory and when the victim displayed more distress (Norris et al., 1999). The authors concluded that the moderating effect of masculinity on the impact of pornography is complex (Norris et al., 1999). This early study of masculinity and pornography focused on hypermasculinity, defined as “callous sex attitudes toward women, aggression as manly, and danger as exciting,” which is a more narrow and outdated construct than the modern constructs of masculine norms and masculine GRC/stress (Norris et al., 1999, p. 684).
Syzmanski and Stewart-Richardson (2014) examined the relationship between pornography use, masculine GRC, and relationship satisfaction among heterosexual college men. Their ultimate conclusion was that “more gender role conflict leads to more anxious and avoidant attachment styles which in turn lead to more pornography use which in turn leads to less relationship quality and less sexual satisfaction” (p. 76). However, their measure of pornography use included items about frequency and perceived addiction to pornography, which may be qualitatively different aspects of pornography use and do not include a measure of arousal or content (Syzmanski & Stewart-Richardson, 2014). Regardless of this limitation, this study is one of only five to use quantitative methods to explore the relation between masculinity and pornography use, and their results suggest that masculinity and pornography are related in meaningful ways. The remaining four quantitative studies will be reviewed in an upcoming section. The next section will review the qualitative studies that have found evidence of pornography’s relation to masculinity.

**Qualitative research.** The interaction between pornography use and masculinity has also been the subject of qualitative research. In 2005, Attwood reviewed multiple qualitative research studies to better understand how pornography users talk about pornography. Unfortunately, the methods used to select and interpret the sample of studies included in the review are not explained, thus, the overall credibility of the review is not established. Regardless, Attwood (2005) states that sexually explicit media, including pornography, is “an occasion for performing gender and sexuality” (Attwood, 2005, p. 65). Additionally, Kohut, Fisher, and Campbell (2015) used open-ended survey items to obtain qualitative data about pornography use from heterosexual couples in
Canada. Many of their participants expressed concern about pornography’s portrayal of male degradation and sexual objectification of women, as well as unrealistic expectations about men and women’s bodies and comfort with all sexual acts (Kohut, Fisher, and Campbell, 2015).

Other researchers have used more extensive interviews to obtain qualitative data. For instance, Haggstrom-Nordin, Sandberg, Hanson, and Tyden (2006) interviewed Swedish adolescents and young adults about their experiences with pornography. Participants reported feeling pressure to behave in certain ways because of how men and women were portrayed in pornography (Haagstrom-Nordin et al., 2006). For example, participants reported that young men view pornography more than women, are expected to persuade young women to try the sexual acts they see in pornography, and talk about their successful persuasion with other men (Haagstrom-Nordin et al., 2006). Further, participants talked explicitly about the traditional gender stereotypes portrayed in pornography, such as men in positions of power, women in subordinate positions, thinness as a female body norm, masculinity as a male body norm, and women being called “a whore” for having multiple sexual partners (Haagstrom-Nordin et al., 2006, p. 390.)

Additionally, Lofgren-Martenson and Mansson (2010) interviewed Swedish participants between the ages of 14 and 20 about their pornography use. Participants identified that pornography use was essentially universal among their male peers, but not among young women (Lofgren-Martenson & Mansson, 2010). Participants also identified gender norms portrayed in pornography such as focusing on male sexual pleasure, women being used for men’s sexual pleasure, women being inferior to men, unrealistic
physical appearances for women, and unrealistic sexual endurance and performance for men (Lofgren-Martenson & Mansson, 2010). The men in this sample “fervently denied” being influenced by the ideals and sexual behaviors portrayed in pornography and stated that they can cognitively maintain separation between pornographic sex and real-world sex, while the women expressed concern that young men were being influenced by pornography (Lofgren-Martenson & Mansson, 2010, p. 575). These two Swedish qualitative studies demonstrate that young people, at least in Sweden, can identify the gendered aspects of pornography, but men may not experience consciously or notice any influence of the gendered messages they are seeing.

Similarly, Antevska and Gavey (2015) interviewed young adult men in New Zealand about their pornography use. According to their participants, pornography use among men was normal and expected (Antevska & Gavey, 2015). When asked to define pornography, two participants stated “naked ladies” and “any act that exploits a female’s body”, exposing the gendered nature of pornography (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 610). Participants also reported that they did not specifically search for violent pornography, but if they happen to encounter it, they would not stop watching it because they believe the women are enjoying it (Antevska & Gavey, 2015). Participants initially described pornography as an innate, normal, and biological male experience, driven by men’s naturally high sex drive (Antevska & Gavey, 2015). However, they also described a social learning process of “desensitizing yourself” and “slowly learning more and more about it” (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 615). One participant, in particular, expressed a strong pressure to view pornography as a masculine norm: “some of us weren’t actually – hadn’t actually accepted pornography yet so we were like ‘don’t show me and stuff like
that’...as we grow older I guess we just accept it... we were scared of what people would think of us” (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 615-616).

Finally, the men in this study clearly identified the power differences between men and women and possible degradation of women portrayed in pornography, but their interpretations of such portrayals were complex and contradictory. For example, one participant stated that “it’s always the dude dominating the girl” but that the domination of women occurs “kind of in the background...it’s kind of normal but it’s not why you watch it,” suggesting that it is not an important piece of the appeal (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 616). They also stated that “some men would find it appealing because of ‘domination that’s the masculine-- masculine thing’: ‘You’re doing what I want you to do, sort of buzz,’” suggesting an understanding of how men may enjoy the depiction of a dominant male (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 619). They also described the “cum shot” at the end of pornography as both normal (e.g., “a normal progression, it’s just where it ends,” “how else would you finish,” “how else are you supposed to end it though”) and “representative of the fact that the woman’s being dehumanized...so disrespectful” (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 619-620). They also expressed their belief that women would find “having shot stuff from cock on your face” as “really appealing,” “a common fantasy,” and “can really intensify the experience” but “women probably wouldn’t admit to it,” indicating a possible attempt at justifying a disrespectful behavior or an adoption of the message displayed in pornography that women like to be dominated during sex (Antevska & GAvey, 2015, p. 620). Finally, at least one participant acknowledged how long-term pornography viewing may make it difficult for him to be aware of how it has impacted him, stating “like we’ve been watching that since we’ve been ten, the cum
shots, so we can’t really talk objectively...’cause like, it’s just how it is” (Antevska & Gavey, 2015, p. 620). This qualitative study provides a unique insight into how men experience and make meaning of the gendered aspects of pornography that relate to aggression and domination of women. Taken together, both quantitative and qualitative research has indicated that pornography and masculinity are related, but the relationship is complex and still unclear.

**Pornography, Masculinity, and Sexual Aggression**

To date, four published research studies have explored the relations between the three constructs of interest in this proposed study. In 2007, Vega and Malamuth tested the addition of pornography to the Confluence Model of sexual aggression by surveying 102 college males from the United States. They assessed pornography use by asking how often they viewed fifteen different pornographic magazines on a scale ranging from “never” to “every issue” (Vega & Malamuth, 2007, p. 109). Results from regression analyses indicated that adding this measure of pornography use as an additional risk factor to risk factors identified by the Confluence Model significantly improved prediction of sexual aggression (Vega & Malamuth, 2007). However, frequent pornography use only significantly increased the likelihood of perpetrating sexual aggression among men who were already high-risk with regard to hostile masculinity and preference for impersonal sex (Vega & Malamuth, 2007). These results indicate that pornography use is related to sexual aggression and masculinity, if only for a certain group of men who report high hostile masculinity and a strong preference for impersonal sex.
In 2012, Malamuth, Hald, and Koss hypothesized that pornography would moderate the relationship between pornography use and attitudes supporting violence against women, but only for men who report high levels of hostile masculinity and a preference for impersonal sex. They measured pornography consumption with a similar scale asking participants to report how frequently they viewed nine different pornographic magazines on a scale of never to very frequently (Malamuth et al., 2012). Unlike Vega and Malamuth (2007), their outcome variable was attitudes supportive of violence against women, not self-reported perpetration of sexual aggression and their results indicated an overall correlation between more frequent pornography use and greater endorsement of attitudes supportive of violence against women (Malamuth et al., 2012). Their main hypotheses were supported such that “only men at the highest risk level showed differences in attitudes as a function of pornography consumption” (Malamuth et al., 2012, p. 435), essentially replicated the findings of Vega and Malamuth (2007).

Next, Baer, Kohut, and Fisher (2015) continued this line of research by replicating the results of Malamuth and colleagues, exploring how the content of pornography related to sexual coercion. Participants were provided with the following definition of pornography: “sexually explicit images, videos, sound clips, or erotic fiction”, and asked to estimate how often they view it on a scale from 0 times per week to 11 or more times per week (Baer et al., 2015, pg. 164). Unlike the two previously described studies, Baer and colleagues added a measure of the proportion of participants’ pornography that can be “accounted for by different types of content (e.g., violent, consensual, BDSM, erotica, etc.)” (p. 164). The published article does not provide a
comprehensive list of the content categories included in this measure, but does state that each content category was accompanied by a description, and violent pornography was defined as “sexually explicit depictions of violent sexual activity including the use of physical force, rape, sodomy, weapons” (Baer et al., 2015, p. 164). Their results replicated the finding that frequency of pornography use is a significant predictor of sexual coercion among men who reported high hostile masculinity and sexual promiscuity (Baer et al., 2015). Additionally, they found that men who reported high hostile masculinity and sexual promiscuity, and thus considered at high-risk for perpetrating sexual aggression, viewed a significantly greater proportion of violent pornography than lower-risk men (Baer et al., 2015). The authors state that the directionality of this relationship cannot be determined such that men who are already at a high risk for sexual aggression may choose more violent pornography or violent pornography may increase men’s risk for sexual aggression (Baer et al., 2015). Regardless, this study suggests that content of pornography is an important factor in the relations between pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression.

Finally, Mikorski and Szymanski (2016) explored the relations between the more modern construct of conformity to masculine norms, pornography use, and men’s sexual objectification of women. They hypothesized that (a) men who adhere strongly to the masculine norms of playboy, power over women, and violence will report more sexual objectification of women and (b) pornography use will act as a moderating variable such that greater pornography use will strengthen those relations (Mikorski & Szymanksi, 2016). The frequency of pornography use was assessed with seven items from the Pornography Use Scale that ask how many hours per week participants spend viewing
pornographic “magazines, movies, and/or Internet sites” (Mikorski & Szymanski, 2016, p. 5; Szymanski & Stewart-Richardson, 2014). They found that adherence to the masculine norms of playboy, power over women, and violence significantly predicted perpetration of unwanted sexual advances toward women, but only for men who reported having many friends who used abusive behaviors with women and not for men who reported having fewer abusive male friends (Mikorski & Szymanski, 2016). This study provides further evidence that pornography use, masculine norms, and sexual aggression are related through a moderation model.

**Proposed Study**

The proposed study aims to add to and build upon the current literature on pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression in a variety of ways. First, the proposed study will operationalize pornography use as arousal to pornographic content. Consistent with the Sexual Script Theory, 3A Model, and social constructivist paradigm of gender, pornography in this study is understood as media that socializes men and teaches them scripts about sex and gender through the content being portrayed. Also consistent with the 3A Model, it is assumed that men are more likely to be influenced by pornography if they are sexually aroused by the pornographic content they are viewing. As such, the proposed study will focus on arousal to specific content categories of pornography, which is believed to be more relevant to sexual scripts and gender roles purportedly transmitted via pornography. Second, the proposed study will operationalize masculinity as adherence to various masculine norms and types of masculine GRC/stress, which provides a more nuanced measure of masculinity than the hostile masculinity or three masculine norms used in the existing literature. These more precise and differentiated
aspects of pornography and masculinity have not yet been examined in relation to sexual aggression and can provide more specific recommendations for practice, prevention, and future research.

Additionally, the proposed study aims to extend previous findings that men with certain high-risk characteristics (i.e., hostile masculinity and impersonal sex orientation, according to the Confluence Model) will be impacted more strongly by pornography by hypothesizing that stronger adherence to certain masculine norms and greater experience of masculine GRC/stress will strengthen the relation between pornography and sexual aggression. Again, consistent with the 3A Model, men are theorized to be impacted by pornography more if the sexual scripts match their internalized or pre-existing scripts. In the case of gender, men are theorized to be more likely to buy-in to the messages about gender in pornography if they match their internal schemas of gender. Masculinity is hypothesized to be a moderator of the relation between pornography and sexual aggression. Finally, the proposed study will use a mixed-methods design to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of men’s pornography use and sexual behavior. The qualitative research previously conducted to understand men’s pornography use has yielded important information about how men make meaning of the pornographic content they view, which is critical to understanding men’s sexual scripts and masculinity. Thus, a mixed methods design will assist in capturing multiple aspects of this intricate phenomenon. To date, no mixed methods studies have been conducted on men’s pornography use, masculinity, and sexual aggression.

Chapter 3 will provide the specific details of the methodology used to implement the proposed study, including selection and recruitment of the participant sample,
measures and procedures for data collection and analysis, and anticipated results and implications.
Chapter 3: Method

As discussed in the previous chapters, consumption of Internet pornography is a common experience for heterosexual men that has been found to influence their tendency to engage in sexually aggressive behavior and impact their beliefs about gender. The current study aims to explore how heterosexual men’s sexually aggressive behavior is impacted by the content of the pornography they are viewing and their beliefs about masculinity. A better understanding of the relations between sexual aggression, masculinity, and pornography can inform prevention and treatment efforts focused on decreasing the occurrence of sexual assault and aggression. As discussed in Chapter 1, a mixed methods design was chosen to obtain a more complete and nuanced understanding of the complex phenomena of pornography use, masculinity, and sexual aggression. More specifically, a convergent mixed methods design was used; therefore, qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously, analyzed separately, and merged for interpretation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Figure 1.1 provides a methodological diagram of the current study. This Chapter will detail the method and procedures used to conduct this research.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study investigated the moderating effects of masculinity on the relation between arousal to pornographic content and sexually aggressive behaviors among heterosexual, college men. The following research questions were used to guide this inquiry:

(a) Does the type of pornographic content men find arousing predict their perpetration of sexual aggression?
(b) Does adherence to masculine norms moderate the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and sexual aggression? Specifically, among men who adhere more strongly to masculine norms, is the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression stronger?

(c) Does experiencing gender role conflict/stress (GRC/S) moderate the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and sexual aggression? Specifically, among men who experience more GRC/S, is the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression stronger?

(d) How do men experience masculinity within the pornographic content they watch?

(e) How do men describe the impact pornography has had on their sexual interactions with women?

The quantitative hypotheses tested in this study are as follows:

1. There will be significant positive correlations between arousal to pornographic content, masculine gender role conflict/stress (GRC/S), adherence to masculine norms, and sexual aggression.

2. Arousal to certain types of pornographic content will predict men’s perpetration of sexual aggression. Specifically, arousal to Specialized, Atypical Penetration, and Body Part content, as measured by the APCS, will predict greater frequency of perpetrating sexual aggression, compared to arousal to Standard porn content.
3. Adherence to masculine norms will moderate the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression. Specifically, the stronger the adherence to masculine norms, the more influential arousal to pornographic content will be on men’s perpetration of sexual aggression. See Figures 3.1 through 3.4.

4. The experience of GRC/S will moderate the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression. Specifically, the stronger the experience of GRC/S, the more influential arousal to pornographic content will be on the perpetration of sexual aggression. See Figures 3.5 through 3.8.
Figure 3.1. Standard porn content and masculine norms moderation model.
Figure 3.2 Body Part porn content and masculine norms moderation model.
Figure 3.3. Atypical Penetration porn content and masculine norms moderation model.
Figure 3.4. Specialized porn content and masculine norms moderation model.
Figure 3.5. *Standard* porn content and GRC/stress moderation model.
Figure 3.6. Body Part porn content and GRC/stress moderation model.
Figure 3.7. Atypical Penetration porn content and GRC/stress moderation model.
Figure 3.8. Specialized porn content and GRC/stress moderation model.
Procedures

Approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln was obtained prior to participant recruitment and data collection. Convenience sampling was used to recruit participants from undergraduate courses and undergraduate campus organizations. Convenience sampling is effective for obtaining a sufficiently large sample, but is vulnerable to self-selection bias such that individuals who choose to participate in the study may be qualitatively different with regard to masculinity, pornography use, and sexual aggression than individuals who do not choose to participate. This bias may limit the representativeness of the sample. The author contacted instructors of undergraduate classes via email explaining the study and asking for their assistance in recruiting participants from their classes (see Appendix A). Some instructors elected to forward their students a digital copy of the flier, others allowed the author to attend the class in-person and distribute fliers, and others used an online research pool to which the digital flier was posted. The author also contacted undergraduate organizations via email to request their assistance with distributing information about the study. The recruitment materials described the research as focusing on “men’s relationship health” instead of explicitly stating that the research focuses on pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression in order to increase participation and limit self-selection bias. Recruitment materials also included information about the incentive being offered and a link to the online survey (See Appendix B).

The survey was administered online via Qualtrics. The hyperlink provided in the recruitment materials took participants to an online version of the Informed Consent Document (see Appendix C). This document detailed the nature of the research, possible
risks and benefits, the steps that will be taken to ensure confidentiality of participants, the
participant’s right to ask questions and withdraw at any time, information about
compensation, and contact information of the researcher, her advisor, and the IRB. Given
the sensitive nature of the focus of this research study, it was important to assure
participants that their responses will remain confidential. Confidentiality was maintained
by using Qualtrics, which is a secure and encrypted service and is only accessibly by the
author and her advisor. Additionally, any identifying information, such as names and
e-mail addresses, that were collected in order to distribute incentives, were collected in a
separate survey so that survey responses could not be connected to individual identifying
information. Once the identifying data were used to distribute incentives, it was
destroyed. Incentives included extra credit for specific classes if the instructors had
agreed to provide extra credit and inclusion in a raffle for one of ten $20 Amazon gift
cards. Students who did not meet inclusion criteria of this study were offered an
alternative extra-credit opportunities by their instructor if their instructor was providing
extra-credit to students who completed the survey.

Participants were required to provide consent in order to gain access to the survey.
After providing consent, participants were randomly selected to begin either the
quantitative survey items or the qualitative survey items using Qualtrics’ Randomizer
survey flow option. This survey flow option was later removed once a sufficient number
of participants had completed the qualitative data portion such that all participants were
initially presented with the quantitative survey items in order to increase the number of
quantitative responses. Following completion of the first survey (either the quantitative or
the qualitative items), participants could elect to end the survey at that time and be
transported to the incentive information survey, or complete an second survey (either the qualitative or quantitative items, depending on the first survey they completed) for an additional entry in to the Amazon gift card raffle. Following completion of either one or both surveys, participants were taken to a separate survey in which they provided their name, email address, and class information so that extra-credit and gift card raffle entries could be distributed. Once all data were collected, instructors were provided via email the names of the students in their class who completed the survey. Additionally, participants who provided email addresses were entered either once or twice into a raffle for one of the gift cards. Each participant was assigned a random number and then 10 numbers were selected at random. Overall odds of receiving a gift card were dependent on the total number of participants who completed the study and the number of participants who elected to complete two surveys for an additional entry in to the raffle. With a total of 339 participants providing an email address and 175 electing to complete two surveys, odds of winning a gift card ranged from one in 51 for participants who completed one survey to one in 25 for participants who completed both surveys.

**Measures**

Participants completed demographic items, pornography consumption questions, the Arousal to Pornographic Content Scale (APCS; Richardson, Davidson, Bischmann, Lozano, & Gervais, 2017, in preparation), the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory – Short Form (CMNI-46; Parent & Moradi, 2009), the Masculine Gender Role Stress scale (MGRS; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987), the Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O’Neil, & Danforth, 2012), the Sexual Experiences Survey – Short Form Perpetration (SES-SFP; Koss, et al., 2007), the Interpersonal Sexual
Objectification Scale – Perpetrator version (ISOS-P; Gervais, Davidson, Styck, Canivez, & DiLillo, 2017), the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding – Short Form (BIDR-Short.24; Asgeirsdottir, Vesteinsdottir, & Thorsdottir, 2016), and open-ended questions about their experience of masculinity, pornography, and relationships with women.

**Demographic and pornography consumption questions.** The demographic questions were developed by the author for use in the current study. This section included questions about participants’ age, gender identity, sexual orientation, religious identity, racial/ethnic background, current relationship status, year in college, and work status. Participants were also asked about the frequency and nature of their pornography use. They were provided with the following definition of pornography, based on the definition provided by Hald (2006, p. 579):

> Any kind of material aimed at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the viewer and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts. Materials containing men and women posing or acting naked but do not contain clear and explicit sexual acts are not to be considered as pornography.

The frequency item response options were *I don’t view pornography*, *daily*, *weekly*, *monthly*, *once every six months*, and *once per year*. If they selected *daily*, *weekly*, or *monthly*, further items were provided with response options corresponding to the amount of hours per day or week they spend on pornographic websites. These items can be found in Appendix D.

**Arousal to Pornographic Content Scale (APCS; Richardson et al., 2017, in preparation).** The APCS measures arousal to and frequency of viewing specific types of
pornographic content. The measure was normed on a sample of 672 male college students. The measures consists of 55 items describing specific sexual acts and pornographic content (see Appendix E). Participants are asked to rate how sexually arousing they find the types of pornography described in the items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (Not at all sexually arousing) to 3 (Very sexually arousing). Exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses resulted in four subscales: Standard, Atypical Penetration, Objectification, and Specialized. Appendix E provides each item and identifies the corresponding subscale to which the item belongs.

The Standard subscale consists of 14 items describing content that is considered common and frequently viewed (e.g., “Images of women with particularly large breasts”). The Atypical Penetration subscale consists of five items describing sexual acts focused on orifices other than the mouth and/or vagina (i.e., anus), as well extreme penetration of orifices (e.g., “Pornography that portrays vaginal double-penetration (simultaneous vaginal intercourse between one woman and two men or objects)”). The third subscale, Body Part, consists of nine items describing sexual acts focused specifically on body parts (e.g., “Male ejaculation on to his sexual partner’s breasts or chest”). The final subscale is Specialized, which contains 27 items describing sexual activities that are less common but specifically sought, such as violent pornography (e.g., “Pornography in which a person is being threatened with physical harm if he or she does not participate in sexual acts,” “One or more individuals urinating on themselves or someone else”). This subscale also contains items describing same-sex male or solo male pornography. The inclusion of both same-sex male and violent/fetishistic pornography on the same subscale reflects the outcome of exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses.
conducted by Richardson and colleagues (in preparation). The population of heterosexual, cisgender men on which the scale of normed appear to consider both violent/fetishistic pornography and same-sex male pornography as equally arousing. The inclusion of these content types on the same subscale is not a moralistic or clinical judgement of the content, users, or actors, but an outcome of statistical analysis and a product of the responses of a specific population.

The internal consistency reliability estimate for the entire scale was high in the sample of college men used for initial scale development ($\alpha = .96$). However, the APCS is designed to ascertain the type of content pornography viewers find most arousing, so total scale scores are not intended to be used. Internal consistency reliability estimates for each subscale, as reported in the initial scale development article, were also high ($\alpha = .89$-$ .94$). Internal consistency reliability for this sample was also high for each of the four subscales (Specialized $\alpha = .91$, Atypical Penetration $\alpha = .89$, Standard $\alpha = .86$, Body Part $\alpha = .93$). The APCS is scored by adding the responses to each item within each subscale and higher scores indicate greater arousal to that specific type of content. Due to the recent development of the APCS, evidence of the scale’s validity has yet to be established, aside from the confirmation of the factor structure provided by Richardson and colleagues (in preparation). The current study provides validation evidence in the form of statistically significant, high correlations between the APCS and measures of masculinity and sexual aggression, which have previously been correlated with pornography use (see Table 1; e.g., Syzmanski & Stewart-Richardson, 2014; Wright, Tokunaga, & Kraus, 2016a).
Adherence to Masculine Norms. The Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory – Short Form (CMNI-46; Parent & Moradi, 2009) was used to assess participants’ adherence to traditional masculine norms. The CMNI-46 is a shortened and updated version of the original Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI; Mahalik et al., 2003). According to the authors, the CMNI-46 is more efficient and psychometrically sound than the original CMNI, as the factor structure was refined to eliminate items and subscales with low internal consistency reliability, low factor loadings, and cross-loadings (Parent & Moradi, 2009). The CMNI-46 was initially normed on a sample of 229 college men from a large university in Canada (Parent & Moradi, 2009). The median age of participants was 19, 56% of the participants identified as White, and 92% identified as heterosexual (Parent & Moradi, 2009). A confirmatory factor analysis of the CMNI-46 resulted in nine subscales that were highly correlated with the corresponding subscales of the original CMNI ($r = .89$ to $.98$; Parent & Moradi, 2009). Additionally, the internal consistency reliability of the total scale was high, with a coefficient alpha of .88 (Parent & Moradi, 2009). The CMNI-46 has also been used with college men in the United States, which resulted in internal consistency reliability estimates ranging from .78 to .89 for the nine subscales, making it appropriate for use in the current study (Parent & Moradi, 2011). The CMNI-46 consists of 46 items and nine subscales. Participants rate each item on a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 3 (*Strongly Agree*). All items can be found in Appendix F.

The first subscale of the CMNI-46, *Winning*, consists of six items and refers to a focus on success and a strong desire to win in a general sense. This subscale demonstrated acceptable internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .83$; Parent & Moradi, 2009,
\( \alpha = .79 \) in the current sample). The second subscale is *Emotional Control*, which also consists of six items and assesses participants’ desire to inhibit emotional expression (\( \alpha = .86 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .87 \) in the current sample). The third subscale is *Risk-Taking*, which consists of five items and captures men’s tendency to voluntarily engage in dangerous activities (\( \alpha = .84 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .77 \) in the current sample). The fourth subscale, *Violence*, consists of six items and asks participants about their belief that violence is acceptable in certain situations (\( \alpha = .86 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .80 \) in the current sample). The fifth subscale, *Power Over Women*, includes four items that ask participants about their desire to have control or be dominant over women (\( \alpha = .78 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .81 \) in the current sample).

*Playboy* is the sixth subscale, which consists of four items and refers to a general desire to be highly sexually active with multiple partners (\( \alpha = .84 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .76 \) in the current sample). *Self-Reliance* is the seventh subscale, consisting of five items that assess reluctance to seek assistance or help from others (\( \alpha = .84 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .79 \) in the current sample). The eighth subscale is *Primacy of Work* and it assesses participants’ belief that work is the most important part of their lives with four items (\( \alpha = .77 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009; \( \alpha = .70 \) in the current sample). The final subscale is *Heterosexual Self-Presentation*, which includes six items focused on the importance of being perceived as heterosexual (\( \alpha = .91 \); Parent & Moradi, 2009, 2011; \( \alpha = .85 \) in the current sample). Eighteen items on the CMNI-46 are reverse-coded and scores are calculated by adding the items within each subscale. A total scale score can also be obtained by summing all of the items; however, Parent and Moradi (2011) advise caution when interpreting total scores due to the multidimensional nature of the construct.
Higher scores on a subscale indicate greater or stronger endorsement of that specific masculine norm.

The validity of the CMNI-46 has been established by correlating the scale with measures of similar and dissimilar constructs. For example, the subscales of the CMNI-46 have been adequately correlated (ranging from $r = .24$ to $.94$) with corresponding subscales of other measures of masculinity, including the Brannon Masculinity Scale, the Male Role Norms Inventory, and the Gender Based Attitudes Toward Marital Roles scale (Parent & Moradi, 2011). Additionally, the CMNI-46 was negatively correlated with the Bem Sex Role Inventory – Femininity Scale (Parent, Moradi, Rummell, & Tokar, 2011). The discriminant validity of the CMNI-46 has also been established by small correlations with measures of personality and self-esteem, which are theoretically unrelated to the construct of adherence to masculine norms (Parent et al., 2011). Finally, the construct of conformity to masculine norms, as measured by the CMNI-46, has also been statistically distinguished from measures of GRC (Levant, Hall, Weigold, & McCurdy, 2015). In sum, the CMNI-46 is a reliable and valid measure of adherence to masculine norms.

**Gender Role Conflict/Stress.** Two measures were used to obtain information about participants’ experience of GRC/stress: the Masculine Gender Role Stress scale (MGRS; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987) and the Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O’Neil, & Danforth, 2012).

**Masculine Gender Role Stress (MGRS; Eisler & Skidmore, 1987).** The MGRS scale measures the degree of distress experienced by men when they are faced with situations that they deem to be inconsistent with the stereotypical expectations of being a man (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). The MGRS was normed on 150 male college students,
but the authors did not report any other demographic characteristics of the sample (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). The total scale consists of 40 items and five subscales. In the original scale development article, the authors also did not report any reliability information, but subsequent research that used the measure and reported reliability information will be reviewed following the description of the scale.

The first subscale is *Physical Inadequacy*, which refers to situations in which men are unable to meet physical, sexual, and appearance-based expectations of masculinity (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). It is important to note that this subscale also includes items about being perceived as gay or feminine. Based on the factor analysis used to obtain the factors, the authors suggested that distress about being perceived in such ways may be more related to “appearing unmanly than to anxieties about homosexuality” (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987, p. 130). The second subscale is *Emotional Inexpressiveness*, which describes situations in which men must express vulnerable emotions (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). *Subordination to Women* is the third factor and it refers to situations in which men are inferior to women (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). *Intellectual Inferiority* is the fourth factor and it describes situations in which men may be perceived as less intelligent, rational, or ambitious (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). The final subscale is *Performance Failure* and the items describe work and sexual situations in which men are unable to achieve success (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987). Each item on the MGRS is rated by participants on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all stressful*) to 7 (*extremely stressful*). Higher scores indicate greater masculine gender role stress. All items can be found in Appendix G.
Despite the five-factor structure of the MGRS, many of the studies using this measure have conceptualized masculine gender role strain as a unitary construct and have therefore used total scale scores (Eisler, Skidmore, & Ward, 1988; Eisler et al., 2000; Leone, Parrott, & Swartout, 2017). Reliability estimates have suggested a high degree of internal consistency with alpha coefficients in the low .90s and .93 (Eisler, Skidmore, & Ward, 1988, p. 136; Leone, Parrott, & Swartout, 2017). In the current sample, internal consistency reliability estimates for subscales ranged from .75 to .91, with the total scale yielding .92. Eisler and Skidmore (1987) provided construct validity evidence for the MGRS with their findings that men scored significantly higher than women on the scale, and the MRGS was highly correlated with measures of anger and anxiety, indicating that the MGRS was tapping stress experienced by men. Additionally, the MGRS was not correlated with a personality trait measure, providing further evidence that masculine gender role stress is a unique construct (Eisler & Skidmore, 1987).

**Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form (GRCS-SF; Wester, Vogel, O’Neil, & Danforth, 2012.** The GRCS-SF is a shortened version of the original GRCS, created by O’Neil and colleagues (1986). The GRCS is designed to assess the degree to which men feel distressed by adhering too strongly to masculine gender expectations at the expense of their own well-being. Wester and colleagues (2012) conducted an exploratory factor analysis on the original GRCS with a sample of 399 males. Four items from the four subscales of the original GRCS with the strongest factor loadings were retained to create the GRCS-SF, which was then subjected to a confirmatory factor analyses with a sample of 1,031 male participants (Wester et al., 2012). The authors did not report the ages of the participants, but explained that portions of the sample were recruited from college
courses while others were recruited online and at a middle school (Wester et al., 2012). The final GRCS-SF consisted of 16 items and four subscales: restricted emotionality, success, power, and competition, restricted affectionate behavior between men, and conflict between work and family relations. All items can be found in Appendix H.

Restricted emotionality (RE) refers to the distress experienced when men have to express vulnerable emotions (α = .77; Wester et al., 2012; α = .88 in the current sample). Success, power, and competition (SPC) refers to the distress caused when men place too much importance of obtaining success and power (α = .80; Wester et al., 2012; α = .85 in the current sample). The third subscale, restricted affectionate behavior between men (RABBM) describes men’s difficulty with expressing affection in same-sex friendships (α = .78; Wester et al., 2012; α = .88 in the current sample). The final subscale is conflicts between work and family relations (CBWFR) and it refers to the difficulty men may have in balancing work and family responsibilities (α = .77; Wester et al., 2012; α = .88 in the current sample). Participants are asked to rate each item on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), with greater scores indicated greater GRC in the given domain or subscale.

With regard to the validity and reliability of the GRCS-SF, Wester and colleagues (2012) report one-month test-retest reliability coefficients ranging from “the low .70s to the mid .80s” for all four subscales of the original GRCS (p. 200). They also report that the subscales of the short form version are highly correlated with the subscales of the original (r = .90 to .96), suggesting that the validity evidence of the original version may be transferable to the short version (Wester et al., 2012). Discriminant validity of the GRCS-SF has been established by Levant and colleagues (2015), as they were able to
statistically distinguish the GRCS-SF from other measures of different aspects of masculinity (i.e., MRNI-SF and CMNI-46).

**Sexual Aggression.** Two measures were used assess perpetration of sexual aggression: the Sexual Experiences Survey – Short Form Perpetration (SES-SFP; Koss et al., 2007) and the Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale – Perpetrator version (ISOS-P; Gervais et al., 2017).

**Sexual Experiences Survey – Short Form Perpetration (SES-SFP; Koss et al., 2007).** The original SES was developed to measure victimization and perpetration of unwanted sexual experiences, with the language of the perpetration version focused on the commission of such acts (Koss et al., 2007). Koss and colleagues (2007) revised the original versions to create shorter and more targeted versions, stating that the shorter versions eliminate items about noncontact sex crimes and alcohol and drug use during sexual experiences. The SES-SFP consists of seven items describing completed or attempted sexual experiences including touching private body parts, oral sex, vaginal penetration, and anal penetration. Each of these seven items are followed by four sub-questions focused on the method used to commit the act (e.g., lying, threatening, verbal pressure, physical force, intoxication, etc.). Participants respond to each of the four sub-questions by indicating the number of times they have committed the acts (0, 1, 2, or 3 or more) in the past year (12 months) and since the age of 14. Three additional items ask about the participant’s gender, age, frequency of committing the sexual acts, gender of the victim, and whether or not they acknowledge that they have committed rape. All items can be found in Appendix I.
The current study asked participants to provide responses for only the past twelve months in order to focus on current perpetration and minimize the possibility that participants committed a sexually aggressive act as an adolescent prior to exposure to pornography. Additionally, only the frequency items were used in data analyses. A total frequency score was calculated by summing responses to items 1(a) to 7(e). Validity and reliability of the SES-SFP have been established. In a sample of 402 males from a United States university, internal consistency reliability estimates and test-retest correlations were adequate and comparable to the original SES (Anderson, Cahill, & Delahanty, 2017). Further, responses to the “since the age of 14” and “in the past 12 months” questions were significantly different, providing evidence of the measures’ temporal discretion (Anderson, Cahill, & Delahanty, 2017). The SES-SFP was also positively correlated with the Sexual Coercion subscale of the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales and the Aggression Questionnaire and negatively correlated with the Rape Empathy Scale (Anderson, Cahill, & Delahanty, 2017). Finally, internal consistency reliability in a sample of 100 undergraduate college men was high ($\alpha = .95$; Dardi, Murphy, Bill, & Gidycz, 2016). In the current sample, the internal consistently reliability of items 1(a) to 7(e) was also high ($\alpha = .98$). The SES-SFP is a valid and reliable measure for capturing attempted, completed, forced, and coerced sexual contact.

*Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale – Perpetrator version (ISOS-P; Gervais et al., 2017).* The ISOS-P is a self-report measure designed to assess frequency of perpetrating sexual objectification developed by changing the wording of the original ISOS to reflect committing instead of experiencing objectification and make the target of the behavior gender-neutral (Davidson, Gervais, Canivez, & Cole, 2013; Gervais et al.,
The measure has been normed on samples of college men ranging in size from 195 to 502 (Gervais et al., 2014; Gervais et al., 2017) The ISOS-P consists of 15 items, one general factor of perpetration (ISOP), and three group factors: body gazes (BG), body comments (BC), and unwanted explicit sexual advances (UESA; Gervais et al., 2017). The general ISOP factor includes all 15 items with an internal consistency reliability estimate of .86 (Gervais et al., 2017). In the current sample, internal consistency reliability estimates were also high (α = .88). The body gazes subscale consists of six items such as “stared at someone’s breasts/chest when you are talking to him/her.” The body comments subscale consists of three items such as “made a rude sexual remark about someone’s body.” The explicit unwanted sexual advances subscale consists of four items such as “made a degrading sexual gesture towards someone.” Participants are provided Likert-type response items ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (almost always) to indicate frequency of engaging in the sexually objectifying behaviors. Responses are summed and higher scores indicate a higher frequency of sexually objectifying behaviors. All items can be found in Appendix J.

Regarding construct validity, Gervais and colleagues (2017) found no evidence of measure invariance among samples of men and women, suggesting that the construct of interpersonal sexual objectification is not dependent on gender. Additionally, the ISOS-P has been positively correlated with theoretically related constructs such as perpetration of sexual violence, body surveillance, other-objectification, sexist beliefs, and enjoyment of sexualization (Gervais et al., 2014; Gervais et al., 2017). However, the correlations between these measures and the ISOS-P ranged from small to medium, indicating that the
ISOS-P measures a unique construct (Gervais et al., 2017). Therefore, both the SES-SFP and the ISOS-P were used to assess both sexual objectification and nonconsensual sexual contact, as neither measure assesses both behaviors independently.

**Social Desirability.** The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding – Short Form (BIDR-Short.24; Asgeirsdottir et al., 2016) will be used to measure respondent’s tendency to respond to questions in such a way that they appear more socially appropriate. Authors of the BIDR-Short.24 revised the original BIDR (Paulhus, 1984) due to criticisms of the original scale’s factor structure and length (i.e., 40 items; Asgeirsdottir et al., 2016). The revised version was normed using two large samples (N=579 and N=471) of both college students and community members (Asgeirsdottir et al., 2016). The authors also conducted cognitive interviews with 20 participants to explore how participants were thinking about and perceiving the items of the original BIDR (Asgeirsdottir et al., 2016). The final BIDR-Short.24 consists of 24 items and two 12-item subscales: *self-deceptive enhancement* and *impression management*. The *self-deceptive enhancement* subscale refers to statements that are true about the responder but biased to be more positive. The *impression management* subscale refers to item that are blatantly not true about the responder. Participants rate each item on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not true*) to 7 (*very true*) and some of the items are reverse coded. The BIDR-Short.24 can be scored dichotomously or polytomously, with the polytomous scoring method producing slightly higher reliability estimates (Asgeirsdottir et al., 2016). Therefore, the polytomous method was used, which requires summing the items after reverse coding. Greater scores indicate a stronger impact of social desirability. All items can be found in Appendix K. The *impression management* subscale of this measure was
used to statistically control for social desirability bias, which has been theorized to more accurately reflect false responding in a research setting than the total scale or other subscale (King & Bruner, 2000).

**Open-ended Items.** Open-ended survey items were used to collect qualitative data. It has been suggested that online methods of qualitative data collection can provide a more anonymous and comfortable space for participants to provide information about sensitive topics (Nicholas et al., 2010). Tourangeau and Smith (1996) also found that participants were more likely to provide answers to questions about sexual activity and drug use when using a computer assisted self-administered interview (CASI), which is similar to an open-ended online survey. Additionally, online data collection methods can provide participants with more time to reflect and respond thoughtfully to the questions (Holland & Christian, 2009; Nicholas et al., 2010). Finally, online data collection is more efficient and cost-effective than in-person interviews (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, the following open-ended survey items were used to collect qualitative data:

1. Please explain your first time seeing porn.
2. What types of porn do you watch?
3. What scenarios in porn do you enjoy the most?
4. What about those scenarios is arousing?
5. What kinds of traits make someone manly?
6. How do you see those traits displayed in the porn you watch?
7. What have you learned about sex and how to initiate sex from pornography?
8. What have you learned from pornography about how MEN should behave sexually?
9. What have you learned from pornography about how WOMEN should behave sexually?

10. How has pornography impacted you or your relationships?

Participants

The inclusion criteria for this study included: (a) between the ages of 19 and 26, (b) identify as cis-gender male, (c) engage in or are interested in engaging in sexual activities with women, (d) have lived in the United States for at least 15 years, (e) have Internet access, and (f) report viewing Internet pornography within the last year. Participants will be excluded if they (a) report no desire to engage in sexual activity with women, (b) lived less than 15 years in the United States, (e) are younger than 19 or older than 26, (f) do not have access to the Internet, and (g) have not viewed Internet pornography in the last year. The definition of a current Internet pornography user has not been determined by the existing literature, so it was assumed that men who have not consumed Internet pornography within the last year are not current users. Further, men who do not identify as cisgender and men who are not interested in sexual activity with women are likely to have experienced masculine norms, masculine GRC/stress, pornography, and relationships with women differently than men who do identify in these ways. Finally, men who were raised in a country outside the U.S. were also be excluded, as they may have been exposed to gender norms and expectations that differ from those espoused in the culture of the United States.

Quantitative Dataset. A total of 795 participants began the survey. Participants were removed from the dataset if they did not meet inclusion criteria (n=356) and did not complete at least 95% of the quantitative survey items (n=101). The final quantitative
dataset consisted of 338 participants. The majority of the participants were 19 years old (40.5%, \( n=137 \)), followed by 21 (21%, \( n=71 \)), 20 (20.1%, \( n=68 \)), 22 (11.8%, \( n=40 \)), 23 (5.3%, \( n=18 \)), 25 (0.9%, \( n=3 \)), and 24 (0.3%, \( n=1 \)). The average age of this sample was 20 years. Additionally, the majority of the participants were freshmen in college (33.7%, \( n=114 \)), followed by junior (26.3%, \( n=89 \)), sophomore (22.8%, \( n=77 \)), senior (15.7%, \( n=53 \)), and graduate student (1.2%, \( n=4 \)). In terms of racial and ethnic identity, the majority of the participants identified as White (84.9%, \( n=287 \)), followed by Asian American or Pacific Islander (4.4%, \( n=15 \)), bi-racial or multi-racial (4.2%, \( n=14 \)), Hispanic or Latino (2.7%, \( n=9 \)), Black or African American (2.4%, \( n=8 \)), and Native American (0.3%, \( n=1 \)). Four participants (1.2%) marked “other” as their preferred racial or ethnic identity. With regard to religious preferences, the majority identified as Catholic (35.8%, \( n=121 \)), followed by Protestant (24.6%, \( n=83 \)), agnostic (8%, \( n=27 \)), atheist (7.7%, \( n=26 \)), Muslim (0.6%, \( n=2 \)), and Jewish (0.3%, \( n=1 \)). Additionally, 17.8% \( (n=60) \) of the sample reported “other” and 5% \( (n=17) \) reported “questioning” as their religious preference.

All participants in the quantitative dataset responded “yes” to at least one of two questions regarding their current sexual activity with women and their desire to have sex with women (see Appendix D for demographic items). If they did not respond “yes” to at least one of those questions, they did not meet inclusion criteria and were removed. In terms of sexual orientation identity, 94.7% of participants \( (n=320) \) identified as heterosexual, 4.4% \( (n=15) \) identified as bisexual, 0.6% \( (n=2) \) identified as “questioning,” and 0.3% \( (n=1) \) identified as “other.” With regard to romantic relationship status, 44.1% \( (n=149) \) were single, 39.2% \( (n=132) \) were in a romantic relationship but not living with
their partner, 8.3% \((n=28)\) were dating casually, 3.8% \((n=13)\) were living with their romantic partner, 3.6% \((n=12)\) had never been in a romantic relationship, and 1.2% \((n=4)\) were married. Finally, the majority of the sample reported being employed part-time \((55.6\%, n=188)\), 34% \((n=115)\) reported being unemployed, and 9.8% \((n=33)\) reported being employed full-time.

Over half of the participants reported viewing Internet pornography on a weekly basis \((54.7\%, n=185)\), 20.4% \((n=69)\) reported viewing it on a monthly basis, 17.2% \((n=58)\) reported viewing it on a daily basis, and 7.7% \((n=26)\) reported viewing it once or twice per year. Among the daily pornography viewers, 65.5% \((n=38)\) reported spending less than a half hour on pornography websites, 3.3% \((n=11)\) reported spending 30 minutes to 59 minutes on pornography websites, 1.5% \((n=5)\) reported spending one hour on pornography websites, 0.6% \((n=2)\) reported spending two hours on pornography websites, and 0.6% \((n=2)\) reported spending more than 4 hours on pornography websites. Among weekly pornography viewers, the majority spent less than a half hour on pornography websites \((44.3\%, n=82)\), 30.3% \((n=56)\) spent 30 minutes to 59 minutes on pornography websites, 14.1% \((n=26)\) spent one hour on pornography websites, 9.2% \((n=17)\) spent 2 hours on pornography websites, 0.6% \((n=2)\) spent three hours on pornography websites, and 0.6% \((n=2)\) spent more than four hours on pornography websites. Finally, among monthly pornography viewers, the majority reported viewing pornography on 1-2 days \((60.9\%, n=42)\), followed by 3-4 days \((26.1\%, n=18)\), 5-6 days \((5.8\%, n=4)\), 7-8 days \((4.3\%, n=3)\), and 9-10 days \((2.9\%, n=2)\). On those days, the majority of monthly pornography viewers reported spending less than half an hour on
pornography websites (71%, n=49), followed by 30 to 59 minutes (20.3%, n=14), one hour (7.2%, n=5), and three hours (1.4%, n=1).

**Qualitative Dataset.** Again, a total of 795 participants began the survey. Participants were removed from the data set if they did not meet inclusion criteria (n=291) and did not provide any responses to the qualitative items (n=305). Additionally, 3 participants were removed from the data set because they responded to the open-ended items with seemingly random sequences of letters, such as “asdf” and 1 participant was removed because they responded to the open-ended items with “I don’t watch porn.” Purposeful sampling was then used to identify a sample that would more completely capture the experience of male pornography viewers who have sex with women. In order to obtain such a sample, participants were removed from the data set if they reported viewing pornography less frequently than weekly (n=46). The final qualitative sample consisted of 149 participants.

Regarding age of participants, 40.9% (n=61) were 19 years old, 16.8% (n=25) were 20 years old, 23.5% (n=35) were 21 years old, 14.1% (n=21) were 22 years old, 4% (n=6) were 23 years old, and 0.7% (n=1) were 24 years old. Approximately one-third reported being in their freshman year of college (33.5%, n=50), followed by juniors (24.8%, n=37), sophomores (21.5%, n=32), seniors (18.1%, n=27), and graduate students (2%, n=3). The majority of participants identified as White (81.8%, n=122), followed by Asian American or Pacific Islander (6%, n=9), bi-racial or multi-racial (5.4%, n=8), Hispanic or Latino (3.3%, n=5), other racial/ethnic identity (2.0%, n=3), and Black or African American (1.3%, n=2). Regarding religious preference, 28.2% identified as Catholic (n=43), followed by Protestant (24.2%, n=36), “other” (14.1%, n=21), agnostic
(12.1%, n=18), atheist (11.4%, n=17), “questioning” (8.1%, n=12), and Muslim (2%, n=3). Additionally, 47.7% of the participants reported being single (i.e., not in a romantic relationship, n=71), 31.5% (n=47) reported being in a romantic relationship but not living with their partner, 10% reported casual dating (n=15), 4.7% reported living with their romantic partner (n=7), 3.4% reported never dating or having been in a romantic relationship (n=5), and 2.7% reported being married (n=4).

All participants in the qualitative dataset also responded “yes” to at least one of two questions regarding their current sexual activity with women and their desire to have sex with women (see Appendix D for demographic items). If they did not respond “yes” to at least one of those questions, they did not meet inclusion criteria and were removed.

In terms of sexual orientation identity, 94.6% of participants (n=) identified as heterosexual, 5.4% (n=8) identified as bisexual, and 0.7% (n=1) identified as “questioning” their sexual orientation.

Regarding employment status, the majority reported working part-time (58.4%, n=87), followed by not employed (32.9%, n=49), and full-time (8.7%, n=13). Finally, the majority of participants reported viewing pornography on a weekly basis (73.8%, n=110), while 26.2% (n=38) reported viewing pornography on a daily basis. Among those participants who reported viewing pornography daily, 71.8% (n=28) reported spending less than a half hour per day on pornography sites, 17.9% (n=7) reported spending between 30 minutes and 1 hour per day on pornography sites, 5.1% (n=2) reported spending one hour per day on porn sites, and 5.1% (n=2) reported spending two hours per day on porn sites. Among those who reported viewing pornography weekly, 41.8% (n=46) reported spending less than a half hour per week on pornography sites, 30.9%
(n=34) reported spending between a half hour and an hour per week on pornography sites, 18.2% (n=20) reported spending one hour per week on pornography sites, 6.4% (n=7) reported spending two hours per week on porn sites, 0.9% (n=1) reported spending 3 hours per week on porn sites, and 1.8% (n=2) reported spending more than four hours per week on porn sites.

Consistent with a convergent/concurrent mixed methods design, the two data sets are not linked or connected, but are similar with regard to sample characteristics so that results can be integrated and used to understand the same constructs. This methods is intended to collect “different but complementary data on the same topic” (Morse, 1991, p. 122). Both surveys were presented to the same population of potential participants via identical and concurrent recruitment strategies, but an individual participant could have chosen to complete either the quantitative or qualitative survey, or both, but his responses to one survey are not connected to his responses to the other survey. In this study, the two samples are indeed similar with regard to demographic characteristics and the two samples were recruited in identical ways, allowing for comparison and integration of results. One notable and intentional difference between the two samples concerns their reported frequency of pornography use. In the quantitative sample, 71.9% reported viewing pornography daily or weekly and 28.1% reported viewing it less frequently. In the qualitative sample, participants were only included in the analyses if they reported viewing pornography on a weekly or daily basis. The goal of such purposeful sampling is to select individuals who are “especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest” (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdon, Duan, & Hoagwood, 2015, p. 534). Individuals who view porn weekly or daily have more frequent contact with and
thus more experience with the phenomenon of pornography use. Further, purposeful sampling of the qualitative cases in this study was intended to decrease the amount of variation of experiences with pornography (Palinkas et al., 2015).

In conclusion, Chapter Three provided information about the methods used to conduct this research study. It included research questions, quantitative hypotheses, participant information, measures used, and recruitment and data collection procedures. Chapter Four will describe the quantitative and qualitative strategies used to analyze data and the results of such analyses.
Chapter 4: Results

The following Chapter describes the quantitative and qualitative analyses used to answer the research questions and test the hypotheses identified in Chapter 3. This Chapter also presents the results of those quantitative and qualitative analyses. Consistent with a convergent mixed-methods design, the quantitative and qualitative results were analyzed and reported separately, then integrated (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Integration of the quantitative and qualitative data will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Quantitative Analyses and Results

Quantitative data were collected through Qualtrics then transferred into SPSS 25 for data analysis. Demographic items and specific items within measures were recoded. Then, subscale scores and total scores for each measure were calculated. As previously stated, participants were removed from the data if they did not meet inclusion criteria (n=356) and did not complete at least 95% of the quantitative survey items (n=101), resulting in a final quantitative dataset consisting of 338 participants. Skewness of the data was assessed using the skewness statistic reported by SPSS and cutoff scores of ± 2. (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2014). The SES-SFP and the Specialized subscale of the APCS were positively skewed (5.25 and 2.53 respectively). The SES-SFP is consistently positively skewed in existing research and both the SES-SFP and Specialized subscale are theoretically expected to be positively skewed, with social desirability and low prevalence of the constructs creating a preponderance of zeros in the data. Further, the SES-SFP is consistently positively skewed in existing research and researchers have used log transformations to bring the distribution as close to normal as possible (Abbey, Parkhill, BeShears, Clinton-Sherrod, & Zawacki, 2006; Gervais, DiLillo, McChargue, ...
Therefore, both scales were log transformed to decrease skewness and bring the distributions closer to normal (4.94 for SES-SFP and 1.86 for Specialized). The means and standard deviations reported in Table 4.1 are that of the untransformed data, but the correlations and significance tests were performed using the log transformed data. The log transformation of the SES-SFP was not successful in creating a normal distribution. However, this is not unexpected given the L-shaped distribution and preponderance of zeros, which is notoriously resistant to normality transformations (Bradley, 1982; Delucchi & Bostrom, 2004). However, the ML estimator will be used for analyses conducted in Mplus, which has been found to be robust to moderate violations of normality (Weston & Gore, 2006).

In order to minimize Type 1 error that may result from nonnormal distributions and multiple statistical tests, the acceptable $p$ value for the quantitative analyses will be .01 (Cohen, 1982).

**Missing Data.** Parent (2013) was consulted for direction on reporting and evaluating missing data. Means were calculated for all subscales on which participants provided at least 99% complete data. On the APCS Specialized subscale, 21 data points out of 9,126 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 2 items. On the APCS Body Part subscale, 14 data points out of 3,042 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 2 items. On the APCS Standard subscale, 14 data points out of 4,732 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 3 items. On the APCS Atypical Penetration subscale, 7 data points out of 1,690 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item.
On the CMNI Winning subscale, 2 data points out of 2,028 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Emotional Control subscale, 3 data points out of 2,028 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Risk Taking subscale, 3 data points out of 1,690 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Violence subscale, 2 data points out of 2,028 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Power over Women subscale, 4 data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Playboy subscale, 3 data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Self Reliance subscale, 4 data points out of 1,690 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the CMNI Primacy of Work subscale, 4 data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. Finally, On the CMNI Heterosexual Self-Presentation subscale, 1 data point out of 2,028 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the whole CMNI-46 scale, 26 data points out of 15,548 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 2 items.

On the MGRS Physical Inadequacy subscale, 1 data point out of 3,042 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the MGRS Emotional Inexpressiveness subscale, 2 data points out of 2,366 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the MGRS Subordination to Women subscale, 3 data points out of 3,042 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the MGRS Intellectual Inferiority subscale, 4
data points out of 2,366 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the MGRS Performance Failure subscale, 1 data point out of 2,704 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the total MRGS scale, 11 data points out of 12,520 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item.

On the GRCS-SF RE subscale, 3 data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the GRCS-SF SPC subscale, 2 data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the GRCS-SF RABBM subscale, 6 data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 1 item. On the GRCS-SF CBWFR subscale, zero data points out of 1,352 possible data points were missing. Finally, on the whole GRCS-SF scale, 11 data points out of 5,408 possible data points were missing, with no participant missing more than 2 items.

On items 1(a) through 7(e) of the SES-SFP scale, no data points were missing. On the ISOS-P scale, 20 data points out of 5,408 data points were missing. One participant missed the first 5 items of the scale, possibly due to inattention or misreading of the online survey. No other participants missed more than 1 item. Finally, on the BIDR IM subscale, 5 data points were missing out of 4,056 possible data points, with no participant missing more than 1 item. Following this missing data analysis outlined by Parent (2013), pairwise deletion was used to address missing data.

**Hypothesis 1: Bivariate correlations.** Hypothesis 1 posited that significant positive correlations would be found between arousal to pornographic content, MGRC/stress, adherence to masculine norms, and sexual aggression. Table 4.1 provides
descriptive statistics (i.e., mean, standard deviation, and range) and the bivariate
correlation matrix of the total scores of each measure. As hypothesized, conformity to
masculine norms was positively and significantly correlated with arousal to Body Part ($r = .15, p < .01$) porn content, meaning that as men’s arousal to such porn content,
increases, so does their conformity to masculine norms. Also as hypothesized, total
MGRS scores were significantly and positively correlated with arousal to Standard ($r = .19, p < .01$) and Body Part ($r = .20, p < .01$) pornographic content, meaning that as
men’s reported experience of masculine gender role stress increases, so does their arousal
to Standard and Body Part porn content. Total GRCS scores were also significantly and
positively correlated with arousal to Standard ($r = .23, p < .01$) pornographic content as
hypothesized, meaning that as men’s reported experience of masculine gender role
conflict increases, so does their arousal to Standard porn content. Perpetration of sexual
assault, as measured by the SES-P, was significantly and positively correlated with
arousal to Atypical Penetration ($r = .17, p < .01$) porn content, meaning that as men’s
arousal to Atypical Penetration porn content increases, so does their reported frequency
of sexual assault perpetration. Finally, perpetration of sexual objectification, as measured
by the ISOS-P, was significantly and positively correlated with arousal to Atypical
Penetration ($r = .29, p < .01$), Standard ($r = .35, p < .01$), Body Part ($r = .29, p < .01$),
and Specialized ($r = .29, p < .01$) porn content, masculine gender role stress ($r = .39, p < .01$), gender role conflict ($r = .35, p < .01$), conformity to masculine norms ($r = .35, p < .01$), and perpetration of sexual assault ($r = .33, p < .01$), meaning that as men’s reported
frequency of sexual objectification perpetration increases, so does their scores on these
measures.
However, contrary to Hypothesis 1, not all measures were significantly correlated. Conformity to masculine norms was not significantly correlated with the other three types of porn content measured by the APCS. No significant correlations were found between measures of GRC/stress (i.e., MGRS and GRCS) and arousal to Atypical Penetration or Specialized porn content. Additionally, no significant correlations were found between perpetration of sexual assault (i.e., SES-P) and arousal to Standard and Body Part porn content. Finally, no significant correlation was found between the SES-P and GRCS/stress or CMNI. In sum, Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.
Table 4.1
Descriptive Statistics and Correlation Matrix

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<td>.24*</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note. M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation, R = Range, APCS = Arousal to Pornographic Content Scale, CMNI = Conformity to Masculine Norms, MGRS = Masculine Gender Roles Stress, GRCS = Gender Role Conflict Scale, SESP = Sexual Experiences Survey Perpetrator, ISOSP = Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale Perpetrator, BIDR IM = Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Impression Management. * p < .01
**Latent variable creation.** Three latent variables were created to represent gender role conflict/stress (GRC/S), conformity to masculine norms (CMN), and sexual aggression perpetration (SEXAG). Latent models using parcels as indicators of latent constructs have been shown to produce larger parameter estimates that are less attenuated by measurement error than models that use total scale scores instead of latent variables (Coffman & MacCallum, 2005). Additionally, the use of parcels has been recommended when the researcher is interested in the relations among latent variables, not the relation between individual items and latent variables, as is the case with the current study (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002). The SES latent variable was created using the item-to-construct balance parceling method described by Little, Cunningham, Shahar, and Widaman (2002) because both the SES-SFP and ISOS-P are considered unidimensional (Gervais et al., 2017; Koss et al., 2007). An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to determine the factor loadings of the 28 SES-SFP frequency items and the 15 ISOS-P items. The first item’s factor loading was fixed to 1.0, per Mplus default settings and Weston and Gore (2006). The three items with the highest factor loadings were used as anchors for the three parcels. Then, items were assigned to the three parcels in countervailing order to create balanced parcels (Weston & Gore, 2006). In SPSS, the items assigned to each parcel were summed to create a new parcel variable for each parcel. These parcels were then used as the indicators of the latent variables in MPlus.

The GRC/S and CMN latent variables were constructed using the internal consistency approach in order to maintain the multidimensionality of these constructs (Kishton & Wideman, 1994; Little et al., 2002). For the GRC/S latent variable, the five subscales of the MGRS and the four subscales of the GRCS were used as parcels or
indicators of the latent variable. For the CMN, the nine subscales of the CMNI were used as the indicators.

A confirmatory factor analysis of the latent variables was conducted to determine model fit of the latent variables. Weston and Gore (2006) recommend using the following fit indices: $\text{CFI} \geq .90$ (Hu & Bentler, 1995), $\text{RMSEA} \leq .10$ (Browne & Cudeck, 1993), and $\text{SRMR} \leq .10$ (Hu & Bentler, 1998). The latent variables created in this study demonstrated moderate fit to the data. Two fit indices suggested inadequate model fit:

\[ x^2(186) = 854.07, \quad p = 0.00 \quad \text{and} \quad \text{CFI} = .738. \]

Two fit indices suggested adequate model fit:

\[ \text{RMSEA} = .103 \quad (90\% \text{ confidence interval } [.096, .110]), \quad \text{SRMR} = .081. \]

All factor loadings were significant ($p < .01$).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>RMSEA</th>
<th>CFI</th>
<th>SRMR</th>
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<td>854.07</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>.10 [.096, .110]</td>
<td>.738</td>
<td>.081</td>
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</table>
Hypothesis 2: Porn content as predictor of sexual aggression. Hypothesis 2 posited that arousal to Specialized, Body Part, and Atypical Penetration porn content would predict greater frequency of sexual aggression compared to arousal to Standard porn content. Using Mplus, SEXAG was regressed on arousal to Atypical Penetration, Standard, Body Part, and Specialized porn content, with impression management included as a covariate to control for the impact of social desirability. Arousal to Specialized porn content was the only statistically significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .20$, $p < .01$), and as arousal to Specialized porn increases, the frequency of sexually aggressive behavior increases. Arousal to Atypical Penetration ($\beta = .06$, $p = .37$) and Body Part ($\beta = .03$, $p = .20$) porn content was positively but not significantly associated with perpetration of sexual aggression when arousal to other types of porn content were included in the model. Table 4.2 summarizes the results of the multiple regression analysis. In sum, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported because arousal to Specialized porn content is a significant predictor of sexual aggression, but arousal to Atypical Penetration and Body Part pornography were not.
Table 4.3

*Results of Sexual Aggression Perpetration Regressed on Arousal to Porn Content Controlling for Impression Management*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>R²</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.33*</td>
<td>41.72</td>
<td>10.06</td>
<td>.26*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atypical</td>
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<td>.06</td>
<td>.06</td>
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<td>.03</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>18.44</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Part</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>9.15</td>
<td>6.72</td>
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<tr>
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<td>.20*</td>
<td>1.84**</td>
<td>.05**</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. IM = Impression Management, M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation, *p < .01, **Special subscale log transformed
**Hypotheses 3 & 4: Moderation analyses.** Hypotheses 3 and 4 posited that CMN and GRC/S, respectively, would moderate the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression such that larger values of CMN and GRC/S would strengthen the relationship. These hypotheses were tested using moderated regression analyses containing the XWITH command in Mplus 8 software, which is used to create interaction terms when latent variables are used. Missing data was handled with full information maximum likelihood (FIML) per Mplus 8 default settings. Eight moderation analyses were conducted according to the moderation models presented in Figures 3.1 through 3.8. The Impression Management (IM) subscale of the BIDR was included as a covariate in all regression analyses to statistically control for the effects of social desirability. Table 4.3 provides the unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients, variance explained, and significance levels for each moderated regression analysis.
Table 4.4

Results of Sexual Aggression Perpetration Regressed on Arousal to Porn Content with Masculinity as Moderator and Controlling for Impression Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>R²</th>
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<td>41.77</td>
<td>10.06</td>
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<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.22*</td>
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<td>7.43</td>
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<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.06</td>
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</tr>
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<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.34*</td>
<td>41.77</td>
<td>10.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Standard</td>
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<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.21*</td>
<td>18.44</td>
<td>7.43</td>
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<td>0.29*</td>
<td>41.77</td>
<td>10.06</td>
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<td>1.84**</td>
<td>0.003**</td>
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<td>0.38*</td>
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<td>0.05**</td>
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<tr>
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<td>6.73</td>
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<td>0.05</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note. IM = Impression Management, GRC/S = Gender Role Conflict/Stress, CMN = Conformity to Masculine Norms, X = interaction, *p < .01., **Special subscale log transformed
Moderation Model 1. The first moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to Standard porn content, GRC/S, and the interaction between arousal to Standard porn content and GRC/S. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 1. Arousal to Standard porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .22, p < .01$), but GRC/S ($\beta = .21, p = .07$) and the interaction between arousal to Standard porn content and GRC/S ($\beta = .06, p = .13$) were not significant predictors. Therefore, GRC/S did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to Standard porn content and sexual aggression.

Moderation Model 2. The second moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to Standard porn content, CMN, and the interaction between arousal to Standard porn content and CMN. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 2. Arousal to Standard porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .21, p < .01$), but CMN ($\beta = .24, p = .09$) and the interaction between arousal to Standard porn content and CMN ($\beta = .06, p = .23$) were not significant predictors. Therefore, CMN did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to Standard porn content and sexual aggression.

Moderation Model 3. The third moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to Specialized porn content, GRC/S, and the interaction between arousal to Specialized porn content and GRCS. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 3. Arousal to Specialized porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .26, p < .01$). However, GRC/S ($\beta = -2.7, p = .07$) and the interaction between arousal to Specialized porn content and GRC/S ($\beta = .09, p = .04$)
were not significant. Therefore, GRC/S did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to *Specialized* porn content and sexual aggression.

**Moderation Model 4.** The fourth moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to *Specialized* porn content, CMN, and the interaction between arousal to *Specialized* porn content and CMN. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 4. Arousal to *Specialized* porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .21, p < .01$). However, CMN ($\beta = -2.54, p = .29$) and the interaction between arousal to *Specialized* porn content and CMN ($\beta = .08, p = .23$) were not a significant predictors of sexual aggression. Therefore, CMN did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to *Specialized* porn content and sexual aggression.

**Moderation Model 5.** The fifth moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content, GRC/S, and the interaction between arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content and GRC/S. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 5. Arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .21, p < .01$). The experience of GRC/S was also a significant predictor of sexual aggression ($\beta = .30, p < .01$). The interaction between arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content and GRC/S ($\beta = .09, p = .07$) was not significant. Therefore, GRC/S did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content and sexual aggression.

**Moderation Model 6.** The sixth moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content, CMN, and the interaction between arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content and CMN. Table 4.3
summarizes the results of Model 6. Arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .18, p < .01$). CMN was also a significant predictor of sexual aggression ($\beta = .37, p < .01$). The interaction between arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content and CMN ($\beta = .09, p = .62$) was not significant. Therefore, CMN did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to *Atypical Penetration* porn content and sexual aggression.

*Moderation Model 7.* The seventh moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to *Body Part* porn content, GRC/S, and the interaction between arousal to *Body Part* porn content and GRCS. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 7. Arousal to *Body Part* porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .16, p < .01$). The experience of GRC/S was also a significant predictor of sexual aggression ($\beta = .31, p < .01$). The interaction between arousal to *Body Part* porn content and GRC/S ($\beta = .03, p = .28$) was not significant. Therefore, GRC/S did not function as a moderator of the relationship between arousal to *Body Part* porn content and sexual aggression.

*Moderation Model 8.* The final moderation model regressed SEXAG on impression management, arousal to *Body Part* porn content, CMN, and the interaction between arousal to *Body Part* porn content and CMN. Table 4.3 summarizes the results of Model 8. Arousal to *Body Part* porn content was a significant predictor of sexual aggression perpetration ($\beta = .14, p < .01$). CMN was also a significant predictor of sexual aggression ($\beta = .34, p < .01$). The interaction between arousal to *Body Part* porn content and CMN ($\beta = .05, p = .38$) was not significant. Therefore, CMN did not function as a
moderator of the relationship between arousal to *Body Part* porn content and sexual aggression.

In conclusion, Hypothesis 3 was not supported because CMN did not moderate the relationship between arousal to porn content and sexual aggression perpetration, Hypothesis 4 was not supported because GRC/S did not moderate the relationship between arousal to porn content and sexual aggression.

**Qualitative Analyses and Results**

The qualitative data obtained from the open-ended survey items was analyzed after the quantitative analyses were completed. Qualitative responses were downloaded from Qualtrics and analyzed in an Excel spreadsheet. Thematic analysis, as described by Braun and Clarke (2006) was chosen as the qualitative analytic method for this study. Thematic analysis is “a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). This method of qualitative analysis was selected because it is a comprehensive and nonspecific way to obtain patterns and meaning from qualitative data. Thematic analysis has been described as the generic, basic, or core skill set needed for any qualitative analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Additionally, thematic analysis can be used independent of the theory, rigid structure, and requirements of other qualitative methods, such as phenomenology or grounded theory (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Finally, thematic analysis allows for a variety of processes and products of analysis, depending on the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Given that the qualitative data in this study was collected via open-ended items in an online survey and intended to supplement the quantitative results, the procedures required of other types of quantitative analyses were not used and the responses do not have the
richness of interviews. Therefore, the simplicity and flexibility of thematic analysis was a perfect fit for this specific study.

Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that researchers using thematic analysis must make certain decisions regarding the products they would like obtain and the processes they intend to enact prior to data analysis. First, thematic analysis can provide a description of the entire dataset or a description of specific aspects of the data, and researchers must decide which product they intend to obtain through the analysis process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Because the qualitative data in this study are intended to further explain the results of the quantitative analyses, the constructs examined in the quantitative analyses were used to determine which specific aspects of the qualitative data to analyze. The constructs of interest in this study are masculinity, pornographic content, and sexual aggression. Therefore, only the portions of the data that reflected those three constructs were analyzed. Phase 1 of Braun and Clark’s (2006) guide for conducting a thematic analysis is to complete an initial reading of the qualitative data in order to familiarize yourself with the entire dataset. After this phase was completed, the following questions were chosen for analysis because they elicited responses related to masculinity, pornographic content, and sexual behaviors:

4. What about those [porn] scenarios is arousing?
6. How do you see [masculine] traits displayed in the porn you watch?
8. What have you learned from pornography about how MEN should behave sexually?
10. How has pornography impacted you or your relationships?
Additionally, Braun and Clark (2006) assert that qualitative researchers using thematic analysis should decide if their analysis will be inductive or deductive. A deductive approach was used during the qualitative analysis because concepts from the theory and literature on masculinity, pornography, and sexual behavior informed the codes and themes. Similarly, themes were identified at the latent level because data were coded based on “underlying ideas” from extant literature on masculinity, pornography, and sexual behavior (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 13). Phase 2 of thematic analysis requires the generation of initial codes that “identify a feature of the data that appears interesting” (Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 18). The data were coded by question, such that all responses to a given question were generally independent of and separate from the other questions. As previously stated, data analysis was deductive, so codes were informed by extant literature and theory. Multiple pieces of data were extracted from one participant’s response if the response contained multiple ideas, and a data extract was assigned multiple codes if appropriate, consistent with Braun and Clark’s (2006) recommendations. Some individual responses were discarded if they were unreadable or inscrutable due to typos or other unknown words or characters.

In Phase 3, the researcher begins searching for themes by sorting and differentiating the various codes into conceptually broader themes (Braun & Clark, 2006). In this step, initial themes were created to organize and describe the data. Clarke and Braun (2018) clarify that themes in thematic analysis are not simply summaries of the data or “collection pots in to which we place everything that was said about a particular domain” (p. 108). Themes are conceptualized as “central organizing concepts” or “key characters in the story we are telling about the data” (Clarke & Braun, 2018, p.
Therefore, the initial themes were reviewed multiple times and data extracts were sometimes recoded, in accordance with Braun & Clark’s (2006) guidelines for Phase 4 of thematic data analysis. The initial themes were reviewed and recoded to ensure that (a) all coded extracts “form a coherent pattern” within a theme, (b) all relevant data extracts are indeed coded and thus not missed, and (c) the resulting thematic map (“an overall conceptualization of the data patterns, and relationships between them;” Braun & Clark, 2006, p. 19) is consistent with theory. The fifth phase of thematic analysis is to further define, name, and describe the themes, by reviewing all of the themes, codes, and data extracts again for coherence and essence (Braun & Clark, 2006). Initial and final themes were named and described based on the overarching research questions, extant literature and theory, and the questionnaire item being answered. It is important to note that some initial themes contain significantly fewer data extracts than other initial themes. Because the data was obtained using open-ended survey items, responses could not be further explained or described by the participants through follow-up questions. Some of the responses may have been explained by participants in a way that would allow them to fit with other responses in larger initial themes. However, this author did not want to remove responses simply because they were rare in order to preserve all participants’ voices and experiences. The small initial themes were thus retained. The final thematic maps and results, organized by question, are presented below.

**Porn content.** In order to better understand the aspects of pornographic content that men find arousing, participants were asked to explain what specifically is arousing about the pornography that they view. Eight initial themes were identified and are listed in order of prevalence (see Table 4.4). The first initial theme, *Self in Sexual Scenarios,*
encompassed responses that attributed arousal to the aspects of the pornography that related to them as the male viewer. Participants reported being aroused by imagining themselves in the porn scene, by more realistic situations or situations that “could potentially happen” to them, and by situations reminiscent of previous sexual encounters they have experienced in real-life. The second initial theme, *Physically Attractive Bodies*, included responses that attributed arousal to the physical body parts of the actresses, including breasts, “ass,” facial expressions, vaginas, multiple female bodies, more general beauty, nakedness, and “uncovering” of the female body. The third initial theme, *Women’s Behavior*, consisted of responses that attributed arousal to certain behaviors or acts exhibited by the female actresses, such as moaning, “squirting,” being dominant, and “taking control.” This theme also included responses that attributed arousal to the male viewers’ interpretations of actress behaviors, such as believing that the woman was sexually aroused, “enjoying it,” sexually satisfied, “happy to engage in it,” and wanting to have sex. The fourth initial theme, *Thrill*, refers to responses that attributed arousal to the excitement, taboo, spontaneity, risk of getting caught, urgency, surprise, and secrecy of the sexual acts portrayed in pornography.

The fifth initial theme, *Mutual Engagement*, encompasses responses that attributed arousal to the reciprocal or shared action among porn actors and actresses, including consent, willingness, passion, caring, enjoyment, and pleasure. The next initial theme, *Unrealistic*, included responses that attributed arousal to the fantasy and improbability of the sexual acts portrayed in the porn. Participants reported that certain sexual acts are exciting because they are “not like that in the real world” and a “fantasy that I know I would never act on in real life.” The next initial theme, *Power*, consists of
responses in which participants identify power and authority dynamics between porn actors and actresses as the main arousing feature. One response did not explicitly refer to power or dominance, but was coded as indicative of dominance based on previous operational definitions of power and dominance within pornographic content. This response was “seeing the bounce as they are fucked and them covered in cum.” Prior research has defined power and dominance in pornographic content as directing the sexual acts, moving the female body or doing things to the female body as if it were an object, and ejaculation on to the face (Gorman et al., 2010; Klassen & Peter, 2015). The selected data excerpt in question describes the woman’s body as an object having something done to it (i.e., “they are fucked”) and being ejaculated on to (i.e., “covered in cum”), therefore, it was coded as relating to power. The final initial theme, Heterosexual Sex, refers to responses in which participants highlight the importance of male-female sexual interactions as the arousing aspect of pornographic content. In addition to the identified themes, seven participants reported that they did not know what aroused them about the pornography they viewed.
## Table 4.5. Arousing aspects of porn content

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Theme</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Illustrative Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Self in Sexual Scenarios</strong></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>“I imagine the male isn’t in the video and it is me. I like to imagine [being] wanted/able to seduce” “they’re more realistic, easier to imagine myself in the situation” “I enjoy threesome porn because of previous sexual experiences that I have had with two women and myself, it was just a really arousing experience”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physically Attractive Bodies</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>“The girl has to be hot” “Twice the tits” “Bodies and facial expressions of the women”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women’s Behavior</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>“The girls are very happy to engage in it” “When the women enjoy the cum on them” “I guess I just like the woman taking control of the situation” “I like squirting because it shows that to woman is having such an intense orgasm that they can't control themselves”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrill</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>“It's kind of taboo with the aspect that they are family but technically not” “Just the idea of watching something that isn't supposed to be seen/is private” “The sense of urgency and mild risk in getting caught”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual Engagement</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>“The passion and seaming willingness by both parties” “It’s more caring and loving” “Consent, consent is really hot to me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrealistic</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>“How unrealistic gangbangs are make it exciting” “I know that it's not like that in the real world so it makes it more exciting to see it” “They are all just like a fantasy that I have”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>“I guess just the power dynamic of the situation” “I never had strong parental or other authority figures in my life and I suspect the desire to have someone else be in charge has spilled over into my sexual desires” “Seeing the bounce as they are fucked and them covered in cum”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual Sex</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>“It is straight sex” “Male and female making out before they start having sex” “Personally it is a turn off to see the men in the videos”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>“I honestly have no idea why I’m aroused by this”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>n=130</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These initial themes can be better understood by organizing them into two distinct concepts: *Self* and *Others*. Figure 4.1 provides a thematic map of how these two themes organize the data. When asked to explain what they find around about the pornography they view, men provide responses that referred to imagining themselves in the scenario, the sexual pleasure they experience when enacting the sexual acts they see in porn, and aspects of their history and psychological functioning that relate to the behaviors portrayed in porn. In other words, what these men found most arousing about the pornographic content they watched was how it related to their own identity, experiences, and desires. When asked the same question, other men provided responses that referred to the bodies and behaviors of the actors in pornography with no reference to the self. These men identified physical aspects of the women’s bodies that they found aesthetically pleasing, specific behaviors of the women and men in the videos that they enjoyed, and aspects of the situation or environment portrayed in the scene that they found exciting, such as issues of power, risk of getting caught, and taboo relations. In sum, the what these men found most arousing about the porn they watched was other things separated from themselves. The *Thrill*, *Power*, and *Unrealistic* initial themes did not uniformly fit into the *Self* or *Others* final themes because some codes represented the *Self* theme while others represented the *Others* theme. This overlap between initial and final themes illustrates that men may be aroused by similar aspects of pornography, but for different reasons.
Figure 4.1. Arousing aspects of porn content thematic map.
**Masculine traits in pornography.** In order to better understand men’s experience of masculinity within the pornography they watch, men were first asked to identify masculine traits generally (i.e., not specific to pornography) by answering open-ended item #5: “What kinds of traits make someone manly?” Then, they were asked to explain how those masculine traits are portrayed in the pornography they watch (i.e., #6. “How do you see those traits displayed in the porn you watch?”). Eleven initial themes were identified and are presented in order of prevalence in Table 4.6. In the first initial theme, *Physical Appearance*, participants report seeing traditionally or stereotypically masculine physical attributes in pornography, such as muscular builds and large penises. In the second initial theme, *Aggressive/Dominant*, participants report seeing men in pornography as more dominant than women, aggressive or rough toward women, and in control of the woman and the sexual acts. The third initial theme, *Heterosexual Focus*, includes responses in which the participants explicitly address the male-female sexual interaction either as indicative of the male actor’s masculinity, or as an explanation for their lack of information about the men and masculine traits in pornography (e.g., “I usually don’t give a shit about the dude”). In the fourth initial theme, *Confidence*, participants describe men in pornography as confident in the physical attractiveness of their bodies, in their ability to seduce women into sexual activity, and in their sexual abilities. The fifth initial theme, *Playboy*, describes the men in porn as promiscuous, sexually skilled, and focused solely on sex. It is named after the Playboy masculine norm in the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory, and refers to the expectation that men be highly sexually active, desire sex almost constantly, and want multiple sexual partners (Mahalik et al., 2003; Parent & Moradi, 2009).
The sixth initial theme is *Tough/Strong*, which describes men in pornography as tough and strong, but participants did not specify whether those descriptors referred to physical characteristics, or other types of strength such as emotional and mental strength. The seventh initial theme was labeled *Caring*, and includes descriptions of men in pornography as respectful toward female actresses, responsive to the sexual needs of female actresses, and valuing consent from their female counterparts. The eighth initial theme, *Pervasive*, includes responses in which participants describe masculine traits as inescapable and omnipresent in pornography, without providing details about the specific masculine traits to which they are referring. The ninth initial theme, *Emotional Control*, consisted of only two responses that described men in pornography as showing limited emotions by not smiling or moaning. The tenth initial theme, *Hypermasculine*, also consisted of only two responses, and participants described the men in pornography as exhibiting heightened masculine traits compared to men in real-life. Finally, one response described men in pornography as taking risks, constituting the final initial theme of *Risk-taking*. In addition to the initial themes presented in table 4.5, four responses were coded as none because they reported not seeing masculine traits in pornography.
Table 4.6. Masculine traits in pornography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Theme</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Illustrative Excerpts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Appearance</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>“There usually aren't unattractive or wimpy looking guys”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Men are very built and have large penises”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Most men are very muscular in porn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive/Dominant</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>“Males over females, tricking females into sex”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Will go rough to show that they're in control”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“They always take control in the videos and have the woman do what they want”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“make men seem too forceful”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual Focus</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>“Well they're with girls, so obviously they're not gay”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I usually don't really give a shit about the dude in the video unless they're noticeably fat or short or if they are louder than the girl”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>“They're in the nude, fully exposed for everyone to see. That's pretty confident”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“When men seduce the women, they do so with the utmost confidence that they are wanted and can win their affection”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Most men usually are very confident about what they are doing, and take the lead”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>“The man is only worried about having sex, nothing else”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Make the one he fucks scream out loud through fucking her”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Most porn I’ve seen includes smooth talking males”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Obviously these men are sexually active”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tough/Strong</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>“most of the guys are strong”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“The only ones I really see is the tough and strong”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>“Consensual sex”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I guess respecting the women in bed? Even though you could argue the pornography industry doesn't really respect women at all”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I see the man in the porn pleasuring a woman the way she wants/needs”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pervasive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“Those traits are displayed in almost every porno just naturally”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“You can just see it”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Control</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>“The dudes are always in great shape, but they rarely ever smile”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypermasculine</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>“Men are much manlier in porn than what an everyday man looks like”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risk Taking</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>“Men taking risks”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>n=135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, these initial themes were further analyzed to generate broader organizing concepts to explain the aspects of masculinity that men see portrayed in pornography. Three final themes explain the aspects of masculinity that respondents identified in pornography: *Attitudes Toward Women*, *Beliefs About Self*, and *Attitudes Toward Sexuality*. Men reported seeing certain masculine traits or expectations related to how men should treat women during sexual interactions. The vast majority of responses in this *Attitudes Toward Women* theme reported that men in porn display aggression, violence, and dominance toward women, while a smaller portion of respondents reported seeing men displaying caring attitudes toward women. Men also identified masculine norms related to men’s view of themselves, creating the *Beliefs About Self* theme. Specifically, men in pornography fit the stereotype of men being tall and muscular with a large penis. Additionally, men in pornography are consistently self-confident in sexual interactions with no indication of nervousness or other emotional experience during a sexual encounter. Finally, men in pornography exhibit stereotypically masculine *Attitudes Toward Sexuality* such as being strictly heterosexual, hyper-focused on sex, and sexually skilled. Figure 4.2 provides a thematic map of the qualitative responses to this item.
Figure 4.2. Masculine traits in pornography thematic map.
What porn says about men’s sexuality. Participants were also asked to respond to questions asking what they have learned from pornography about how men should behave sexually. The fourteen initial themes are presented in table 4.7. The first initial theme is titled Aggressive/Dominant, and includes responses that associate men’s sexual behavior with aggression toward or domination of women (e.g., “that they should be rough and in charge of women in bed”). The second initial theme, Nothing, includes responses in which participants report they have learned nothing from pornography. It is important to note that many of the responses in this category read only “nothing,” while many others included an explanation of how pornography and real sex in their own life are very different (e.g., “I don’t find that the real world operates like it does in porn”). The third initial theme, Mutual Pleasure, consists of responses in which participants explain they learned how to provide sexual pleasure for their female partners from pornography. The fourth initial theme, Sexual Performance, consists of responses that highlight the expectations of men’s sexual abilities learned from pornography, including duration of erection, size of penis, and ability to pleasure female partners. The fifth initial theme, Playboy, is also named after the Playboy masculine norm in the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (Mahalik et al., 2003; Parent & Moradi, 2009). As an initial theme in this data set, Playboy refers to responses that refer to the expectation, learned from porn, that men be highly sexually active and “sexual beasts” (e.g., “If I listened to porn I would fuck everything that moves which I don’t”).

The next initial theme, Emotional Control, includes responses in which participants report learning to limit their verbal expressions of pleasure, such as moaning and other noises. This theme was also named after a masculine norm in the Conformity
to Masculine Norms Inventory that encompasses the expectation that men should inhibit their emotional expression (Mahalik et al., 2003; Parent & Moradi, 2009). The seventh initial theme, Confident/Assertive, consists of responses in which men report learning to be more confident in their sexual endeavors and forthright in their sexual requests (e.g., “They should be confident and just do what they want. They can have anything”). The eighth initial theme is Male Pleasure, encompassing responses that identify the importance of male sexual pleasure as something learned from pornography (e.g., “Men should enjoy it, women enjoying sex is something extra in porn”). Respect is the ninth initial theme and includes responses in which participants report learning from pornography that men should respect their female partner during sex. The next initial theme, Men Initiate, includes responses that describe learning that men should be the ones to initiate sexual activity, in contrast to women initiating sexual activity.

The remaining initial themes account for a small portion of the data excerpts. Caring and Consent include responses that describe the male participants learning to be caring and affection toward their partners and valuing partner consent during sexual activity. Two data excerpts were included in the Heterosexual Focus initial theme because they highlighted the salience of heterosexuality for the participants. In this theme, participants explained that they did not focus on how men were behaving because they are only sexually interested in women. Finally, only one data excerpt stated that the participant learned that men should be sexually submissive from the pornography that he watched.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial Theme</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Illustrative Excerpt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aggressive/Dominant</td>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>“Men when having sex with women are the dominant one just like in life”“That they should be rough and in charge of women in bed”“They should be aggressive and in control”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=59)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>“Nothing positive”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=38)</td>
<td>“When I became sexually active in high school, I figured that the guy is in control based on the type of porn I had seen. When I got to college and been with other partners I realized that this is not the case at all”“Not much really, I don't find that the real world operates like it does in porn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual Pleasure</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>“Always make sure the woman is enjoying herself. It's not a one way street” “That man should be able to satisfy their woman every time” “Men should be flexible with what their partners want, also that performing oral sex can heighten sex”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual Performance</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>“They should be able to last a long time and bring a woman to orgasm” “Men should be extremely good in bed and have moose cocks” “What porn taught me was men are supposed to last at minimum 30 min”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=12)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playboy</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>“Always willing to have sex” “Depicts men as dominate sexual beasts. They crave sex and power” “If I listened to porn I would fuck everything that moves which I don't”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Control</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>“I believe that pornography has taught me to moan somewhat less” “That they shouldn’t be too emotional or anything like that” “Should be quiet”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confident/Assertive</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>“Men should generally be assertive but generally uncommunicative during sex” “They should be confident and just do what they want. They can have anything”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Pleasure</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>“The man is who is constantly being pleasured” “Men should enjoy it, women enjoying sex is something extra in porn” “Insert their penis in whatever hole is pleasurable”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(n=4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theme</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Illustrative Excerpt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>“They should be respectful”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“They should respect the girl”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Fuck her hard while treating her with respect and care”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men Initiate</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>“Men should initiate; female initiation is often a sign of weirdness”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Men generally initiate sexual activity”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>“Care about woman”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I think what I have learned is how to be in charge and show affection”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consent</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>“With partner consent”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Men should first and foremost ensure the female is consenting to the sexual activities. They should be just as involved as the man”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual Focus</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>“I don't really watch the dudes. I just admire the ladies”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“I don't really notice how men should behave sexually from porn. I notice how women should behave”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total: n=163</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The initial themes identified in the responses to this item were further analyzed to obtain broader, organizing final themes, which follow a similar pattern to the previous item because both items refer to masculine traits in pornography. This item, however, adds an additional layer of what men have learned about masculinity from pornography, not simply what is portrayed in pornography. Participants generally reported learning *Something* about how men should behave sexually from porn or learning *Nothing* from porn. Those who reported learning *Something*, generally reported learning certain *Attitudes Toward Women, Expectations of Self, and Attitudes Toward Sexuality*. *Attitudes Toward Women*, for this open-ended item, refers to the approaches toward women that men learned from the pornography they watch. The most common response in this theme indicated that men learned to be aggressive toward and dominant over women during sex. Less common responses indicated that men learned to be respectful and caring toward women during, which included ensuring that the woman in consenting to the activities. Men reported learning certain *Expectations of Self* as men during sexual encounters, including being highly sexually skilled, in control of their emotions during sex, confident, commanding, and always ready for sex, Finally, men reported learning *Attitudes Toward Sexuality*, including who’s sexual pleasure should be most important, how much men should focus on sex and obtaining sexual encounters, and who should initiate sexual activity. It is important to note that the *Playboy* initial theme did not uniformly fit in to one final theme. Instead, some responses reflected *Expectations of Self*, such as the belief that men should be “always willing to have sex” while others reflected *Attitudes Toward Sexuality*, such as the belief that sex be the most important thing to a man. *Figure 4.3* provides a thematic map of the qualitative data obtained by this open-ended item.
Figure 4.3. How men should behave sexually, learned from porn, thematic map
The impact of porn. Participants’ were asked to describe how pornography viewing has impacted them personally, or their relationships. It is important to note that the question did not specify which relationships participants should be considering when answering the question. Six final themes were identified that equate to life domains that have been impacted by pornography viewing. Each theme consists of initial themes that illuminate on how those life domains have been impacted. All final themes, initial themes, and illustrative data excerpts are displayed in table 4.8. The first theme, No Impact, includes responses asserting that pornography use has had no identifiable impact on the participant. The majority of these responses clarified that the participants do not believe they have been impacted by pornography because they can separate the messages in pornography from “sex in real life.” Other responses in this domain state that pornography does not impact them because “everybody watches it,” suggesting that the normality and universality of the experience prohibits any discernible impact.

The second domain, Sexual Scripts, includes responses that highlight how pornography has impacted the viewer’s understanding of sexual encounters. One way in which viewers report that their sexual scripts have been impacted by pornography is through the acquisition of new sexual behaviors from what is seen in pornography. Other excerpts identify the acquisition of more general sexual knowledge, not just specific behaviors, as an outcome of pornography use. These include self-knowledge of what the viewer finds attractive, knowledge of “what women like” in sexual encounters, and sexual “tips/pointers.” Participants reported that pornography use has also impacted their expectations of sex by informing their understanding of what sex should “be like” and “how real sex should actually be.” Finally, participants reported noticing that
pornography had a negative impact on their view of women by heightening their standards for the attractiveness of a woman’s physical appearance and increasing their sexual objectification of women.

The third theme, *Romantic Relationships*, encompasses responses that point to the impact of pornography viewing on participants’ romantic relationships. The first initial theme of this domain, *Negative*, consists of responses that articulate the negative impact pornography use has had on romantic relationships, including decreased closeness with partners, difficulty with intimacy, desensitization to sexual contact, diminished interest in romantic relationships, and increased avoidance of other issues in the relationship. The second initial theme, *Partner Dislikes*, includes responses that describe a generally negative impact of pornography use because their romantic partner dislikes or does not approve of the participant viewing pornography, which engendered “issues” and secrecy in the relationship. The third initial theme, *With Partner*, consists of responses that suggest a generally positive impact of viewing pornography with their female romantic partners as a way to improve their sexual relationship and be “sex positive.” The next initial theme, *Increased Sex Focus*, includes responses in which participants report feeling more strongly focused on sexual aspects of their relationships, but they do not characterize this impact as either positive or negative. Finally, one response reported the possibility of general improvement in relationships due to pornography viewing, but did not provide any further explanation.

*Wellbeing* is the fourth theme and includes responses that highlight how the male pornography viewer has been impacted by his pornography use. Some responses referred to pornography addiction, either directly or indirectly, as a negative impact of
pornography use, so they were included in the *Addiction* initial theme. An example of direct reference to pornography addiction is “I actually received counseling from CAPS [the university’s Counseling and Psychological Services center] for what I believed to be a pornography addiction.” Examples of indirect references to pornography addiction include “it is on the front of my brain most of the day…Way more than it would be if I didn’t watch pornography,” suggesting preoccupation with sex, and “I tend to watch too much porn and masturbate too often than I would really want,” suggesting a compulsion to watch porn over other activities. Other responses described pornography use as a helpful coping skill to decrease stress, which are included in the *Coping* initial theme. Finally, some data excerpts describe an experience of shame in response to pornography viewing. The decision to title this initial theme *Shame* was informed by extant literature describing shame as a painful, self-conscious feeling focused on the self as a bad person being judged negatively by others that often elicits a desire to “escape, hidey, deny responsibility, and blame others” (Proeve & Howells, 2002; Tangney, Stuewig, & Martinez, 2014). The data excerpts included in this initial theme express a desire to hide their pornography use from those closest to them, their belief that it is at odds with their sense of self, and concerns about judgement from parents.

The fifth theme, *Sexual Satisfaction*, encompasses responses that report pornography’s impact on the participant’s sexual satisfaction. The impact is generally positive as participants describe using pornography when they are single or without a romantic or sexual to obtain sexual satisfaction. Participants also report a generally positive impact of using pornography to obtain sexual satisfaction when their romantic or sexual partner cannot meet their sexual needs due to differences in sexual drive and fear
of being “shot down” when initiating sex. The final theme, *Sexual Performance*, includes responses that report a generally positive impact on the participant’s sexual performance including longevity of erections, increased comfort and confidence, and increased sex drive. In sum, participants report a variety of positive, negative, neutral, and ambiguous impacts of their pornography use, while others report no impact.
Table 4.8. *Impact of pornography use on self and relationships*

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<th>Final Theme</th>
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<th>Initial Theme</th>
<th>Illustrative Excerpts</th>
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| No Impact         | 27.5| Separate from Reality  | “Not much at all I know that there is a difference between sex in porn and sex in real life.”  
“If anyone thinks that they can learn about the reality of sex or relationships from porn, I would consider them to end up troubled with attaining a healthy relationship and sex life.”  
“Something that provides some escape from the real world, I suppose I do have quarrels with the morality of porn, but I myself am able to distinguish real life and from porn.” |
| None              |     |                        | “Pornography has had zero impact on my relationships, and has not changed me as a person.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Everyone Does It  |     |                        | “I don’t really see it as an impact on my relations. I think in this day and age everybody watches it so it is not that big of a deal.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Sexual Scripts    | 21.9| New Behaviors          | “I have asked past girlfriends to try different things. It has given me some bad ideas (like cumming on the face) which didn’t work…but it did give me some good ideas like rubbing my penis between my gf’s breasts”  
“I integrate what I learn from porn into actual sex.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Increased Sexual  |     |                        | “I know exactly what I’m attracted to and what I’m not attracted to.”  
“I’ve learned what women like in the bedroom”  
“Positively because I sometimes get some tips/pointers out of it.”                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| Knowledge         |     |                        | “Porn has created a different sense of how real sex should actually be… the only thing it shows is the stuff guys want to see.”  
“Probably shaped what I thought sex should be”  
“I’m aware of how much it can potentially warp views on sex and I’m always trying to be mindful of that in my use of it.”                                                                                                                                                             |
| Negative View of  |     |                        | “It makes me lose interest in specific girls quicker.”  
“Perhaps it has made me more objectifying of women.”  
“It has set my standards for physical appearance far too high. It makes it tough for me to want to be with a girl because she isn’t as perfect as the women in porn.”                                                                                                       |
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<tr>
<td>Romantic Relationships</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>“In periods of stress in my relationship it has been a way to distract myself which causes me to not address the issue.” “It has made it difficult to be intimate with someone” “There was a time where I was too dependent on using it regularly and it made me unambitious in actually trying to have legitimate relationships with girls in high school.” “It likely has made me less close to my partner.”</td>
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<td>Partner Dislikes</td>
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<td>“It hasn't. However, my current girlfriend does not like porn at all” “It hasn't other than I have to hide if from her.” “It's caused issues when my significant other found out I watched porn.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>With Partner</td>
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<td>“Me and my girlfriend watch porn together sometimes. It spices up the sexual activity and gives us ideas.” “Very little, my girlfriend and I are both pretty sex positive, we've watched it together before”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Increased Sex Focus</td>
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<td>“Focus more on physical contact than the relationship” “It has made my relationships more sex driven especially kinky sex.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wellbeing Addiction</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>Addiction</td>
<td>“I actually received counseling from CAPS for what I believed to be a pornography addiction. Telling my girlfriend this almost ruined our relationship and trust.” “I would say negatively, because it is on the front of my brain most of the day it seems. Way more than it would be if I didn't watch” “Sometimes I tend to watch too much porn and masturbate too often than I would really want.”</td>
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<td>Coping</td>
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<td>“It can be negative, but I think it is a healthy stress relief” “Great way to lose some stress”</td>
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<td>Shame</td>
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<td>“It hasn't. No one knows, not even people closest to me. I'm trying to stop.” “My parent does not approve of it” “Almost daily I wish I had never viewed porn. It’s not a good representation of who I am and it goes against my religious beliefs.”</td>
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<td>Final Theme</td>
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<td>Illustrative Excerpts</td>
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| Sexual Satisfaction | 11.3  | Alone         | “It is mainly a tool to get aroused when I am alone”  
“Allowed me not need to be in a relationship to have sexual satisfaction--leaving me more able to focus on my personal life”  
“I usually only view porn while single” |
|                     |       | Partner Can’t | “We tend to have sex based on when she wants to (usually) or feels able to (less usually), which is significantly less than when I want to or feel able to (pretty much always outside of falling asleep or being too drunk). Porn helps fill the need when she's not feeling up for sex and I am, but I watch it on my own time and not when we're hanging out together.”  
“I watch it by myself so I don't have to ask for sex or initiate only to be shot down since my sex drive is a lot higher than my partner’s.”  
“I am in a long distance relationship and it helps me stay faithful” |
| Sexual Performance  | 8.8   | Improved      | “I last longer in bed”  
“It builds sexual endurance” |
|                     |       | Increased     | “Pornography has made me more adventurous in sex, I think it has strengthened some of my relationships in that it builds a sense of comfort and I can share my interests and wants and desires with my partner without fear of being judged.”  
“Has made me comfortable with sex”  
“Helps me with girls” |
|                     |       | Comfort & Confidence | |
| Sex Drive           |       |               | “There is probably less sex because of it.”  
“It has made me more interested in being sexually active.” |
|                     |       |               | |
| **Total:**          | **n=160** | **Improved**  | **Increased**  
**Comfort & Confidence**  
**Sex Drive** |


In conclusion, this Chapter described the quantitative and qualitative analytic procedures followed and provided the results of those analyses. Hypotheses and research questions were addressed and answered. Chapter 5 will integrate the quantitative and qualitative results in order to generate a more complex, nuanced, and complete understanding the relations between pornography content, masculinity, and sexual aggression. Directions for future research, clinical practice implications, and limitations of the current study will also be provided.
Chapter 5: Discussion

The vast majority of Internet pornography viewers are heterosexual men and research has shown that pornography consumption is correlated with sexual assault perpetration and sexist beliefs (e.g., Baer, Kohut, & Fisher, 2015; Hald & Malamuth, 2015; Hald, Malamuth, & Lange, 2013). Additionally, analyses of pornographic content has demonstrated that the scenarios and images portrayed in some pornographic genres depict highly gendered and stereotypical views of men and women, as well as violence toward and objectification of women (e.g., Bridges et al., 2010; Gorman, Monk-Turner, & Fish, 2010; Klaassen & Peter, 2015). Despite these findings, there is limited research on the relations between pornographic content, masculinity, and sexual aggression. It is critical that professionals interested in sexual assault prevention, the treatment of sexual offenders, and/or the psychological wellbeing of heterosexual men understand the impact of pornography and masculinity on men’s sexual behavior. The present study addresses this gap in the literature by (a) examining the relations between arousal to pornographic content, adherence to masculine norms, the experience of masculine gender role strain, and the perpetration of sexual aggression; (b) determining if adherence to masculine norms and the experience of masculine gender role strain moderated the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and perpetration of sexual aggression; and (c) exploring the subjective experience of heterosexual, male pornography viewers to better understand the impact of pornography and masculinity on sexual aggression.

Consistent with a convergent mixed-methods design, the quantitative and qualitative results were merged after each were analyzed separately (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). The goal of integration in this type of mixed-methods research is to
compare the two databases of results and illuminate or better understand complex relationships (Fetters, Curry, & Creswell, 2013). Therefore, at the end of the data analysis procedures for both the quantitative and qualitative data, the statistical relations between pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression were compared with the themes derived from the qualitative data. For this study, it was anticipated that results from the qualitative data would correspond with, explain, or support the results from the quantitative analyses. This Chapter will review the results of the quantitative analyses and integrate the qualitative results to better understand the quantitative findings. Then, implications for research and practice, as well as the limitations of the present study will be discussed.

**Review and Integration of Results**

**Hypothesis 1.** The first quantitative hypothesis predicted that there would be significant positive correlations between all variables: arousal to pornographic content, adherence to masculine norms, the experience of MGRC/stress, and perpetration of sexual aggression. This hypothesis was partially supported. Arousal to Atypical Penetration and Specialized pornography content were significantly and positively correlated with perpetration of sexual assault (SESP-P) and objectification (ISOS-P), but not to MGRC/stress (MGRS and GRCS) or CMN. Participants who reported being aroused by Atypical Penetration and Specialized porn content reported greater perpetration of both sexual assault and sexual aggression, but they did not report experiencing more gender role conflict/stress or greater adherence to masculine norms. Arousal to Standard pornographic content was positively and significantly correlated MGRC/stress (MGRS and GRCS) and perpetration of sexual objectification (ISOS-P),
but not adherence to masculine norms (CMNI) or perpetration of sexual assault (SES-P). Participants who reported arousal to Standard porn content reported experiencing more gender role conflict and stress and more perpetration of sexual objectification, but not greater perpetration of sexual assault or stronger adherence to masculine norms. Arousal to Body Part porn content was positively and significantly correlated with the CMNI, MGRS, and ISOS-P, but not with the GRCS or SES-P). Participants who reported more arousal to Body Part porn content also reported stronger adherence to masculine norms, greater masculine gender role stress, and greater perpetration of sexual objectification, but not greater gender role conflict or perpetration of sexual assault. Perpetration of sexual objectification (ISOS-P) was significantly and positively correlated with adherence to masculine norms (CMNI) and gender role conflict/stress (MGRS and GRCS), but perpetration of sexual assault (SES-P) as not significantly correlated with any measure of masculinity. In sum, not all variables were positively and significantly correlated as expected.

Although Hypothesis 1 was only partially supported, the results of the bivariate correlation analyses are generally consistent with previous research. For example, in previous studies, frequency of pornography use has been correlated with sexual objectification of women and perpetration of sexual assault against women (i.e., Thompson et al., 2015; Wright & Tokunaga, 2016). Previous research has also found a positive correlation between pornography use, masculine gender role stress, and beliefs about masculinity (i.e., Syzmanski & Stewart-Richardson, 2014; Wright, 2012). Adherence to masculine norms and MGRC/stress has also been positively correlated with sexual aggression (i.e., Locke & Mahalik, 2005; O’Neil & Denke, 2016).
However, in the present study, MGRC/stress and CMN was only positively and significantly correlated with sexual objectification, not sexual assault. This finding is not wholly surprising given that Anderson and Anderson (2008) found that masculine gender role stress was not a significant predictor of sexual assault. Further, the most recent analysis of the CMNI-46 as a measure of a general conformity to masculine norms found that the measure is best used to assess specific masculine norms, as measured by the subscale of the CMNI-46, instead of the total scale score (Hammer, Heath, & Vogel, 2018). It is likely that using the total scale score confounded the results and that correlations between CMNI subscales and the other constructs of interest in this study would have resulted in more significant correlations than the total scale score.

Overall, these correlations elucidate important but subtle differences between the constructs of interest in this study, such as the unique characteristics of varying porn content genres, the distinctions between adherence to masculine norms and experiencing gender role strain, and divergency between sexual assault and sexual objectification.

**Hypothesis 2.** The second hypothesis predicted that arousal to *Specialized, Body Part, and Atypical Penetration* porn content, would significantly predict more perpetration of sexual arousal. As discussed in Chapter 1, there is limited research on the discrepant impact of varying types of porn content, so this hypotheses was based on the simple idea that arousal to violent, extreme, or specific sexual acts would be more predictive of sexual aggression than arousal to more mainstream or common sexual acts. Additionally, Gonsalves et al., 2015 found that men who reported viewing a wider variety of porn content (e.g., mainstream, fetishistic, forced, and degrading) were more likely to report engaging in sexual aggression. The current study found that arousal to *Specialized*
porn content was the only statistically significant predictor of more frequent of sexual aggression perpetration. Contrary to the hypothesis, arousal to Body Part and Atypical Penetration porn content were not significant predictors of sexual aggression.

Qualitative results regarding the aspects of pornography that viewers find arousing provide additional information to better understand the connection between Specialized content and sexual aggression perpetration. When participants were asked to explain what they find arousing about the pornography they watch, some responses centered around the idea that the content that they can associate with themselves, by imagining themselves as the male porn actor in the sexual encounter, for example, is the most arousing. If an individual is aroused by Specialized content that is violent or coercive, and imagining themselves in the scenario is the most appealing aspect of viewing, then consistent with Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model, they may be more likely to apply the sexual scripts to their sexual behavior because they are mentally rehearsing or fantasizing about actually engaging in the act (Simon & Gagnon, 1998; Wright & Bae, 2016). This supposition posits that individual differences in how men interact with or interpret the content they are viewing, and thus how it impacts their sexual scripts, is an important factor in the connection between porn use and sexual aggression. It is also consistent with previous findings that adoption of the sexual scripts portrayed in pornography led to real-world impacts on sexual behavior and attitudes toward sexual aggression (e.g., D’Abreu & Krahe, 2013; Tomaszewska & Krahe, 2016; Sun et al., 2016; Wright et al., 2016b).

The present study is the first to compare the predictive influence of specific porn content types on sexual aggression and these results emphasize the importance of
considering porn content because (a) only *Specialized* content was found to predict sexual aggression and (b) qualitative responses identified multiple aspects of porn content that male viewers may find arousing.

**Hypotheses 3 and 4.** The final hypotheses predicted that adherence to masculine norms (hypothesis 3) and the experience of masculine gender role strain (hypothesis 4) would moderate the relationship between arousal to porn content and perpetration of sexual aggression, such that for participants reporting greater adherence to masculine norms or greater masculine gender role strain, the relationship between arousal to porn content and sexual aggression perpetration would be stronger. These hypotheses were not supported. One potential explanation for the lack of significant results is that adherence to masculine norms and the experience of gender role conflict/stress may act as mediators, explaining the relationship between arousal to *Specialized* porn content and perpetration of sexual aggression. It is also possible that combining measures of sexual assault (SES-P) and sexual objectification (ISOS-P) in to one construct of sexual aggression masks the distinct relations between masculinity, porn content, and sexual assault perpetration and sexual objectification perpetration evident in the bivariate correlations. The SES-P and ISOS-P were correlated with arousal to different types of porn content and different measures of masculinity. Perhaps separating the two forms of sexual aggression as separate outcome variables would have resulted in significant findings.

Also, it is likely that the conceptualization of these two latent constructs (conformity to masculine norms and masculine gender role conflict/stress) as two latent constructs was inaccurate. Indeed, the measurement model of the latent variables used in this study demonstrated only moderate fit to the data, with some fit indices falling outside
of the recommended ranges (see Table 4.2), suggesting a possibly mis-specified measurement model. In this study, conformity to masculine norms was measured by the observed sub-scale scores of the CMNI-46, but there is research to suggest that using the CMNI-46 to measure a unidimensional construct of overall adherence to masculine norms is misguided, and that the CMNI-46 is best used to measure adherence to specific masculine norms identified by the subscales (Hammer, Heath & Vogel, 2018). Perhaps the latent variable of CMN did not act as a moderator because it is not a unidimensional construct. It is possible that specific masculine norms measured by the subscales of the CMN, such as Playboy, Power over Women, Risk Taking, and Violence, would act as moderators as they have been previously associated or hypothesized to be associated with pornography use and sexual aggression (e.g., Locke & Mahalik, 2005; Mikorski & Szymniski, 2016).

Additionally, the construct of masculine gender role conflict/stress was conceptualized as a latent variable measured by the observed subscales of the MGRS and GRCS. This may have also been an inaccurate conceptualization of the construct. Although prior studies have used measures of masculine gender role conflict and masculine gender role stress jointly to measure gender role strain (e.g., DeFranc & Mahalik, 2002; Gottert et al., 2017; Jakupcak, Lisak, & Roemer, 2002), Levant and Richmond (2016) describe them as separate and unique types of masculine gender role strain. Masculine gender role stress is considered a type of “discrepancy strain” that occurs when “one fails to live up to one’s internalized manhood ideal, which may closely approximate traditional norms” (Levant & Richmond, 2016, p. 35). Masculine gender role conflict, however, is categorized as a type of “dysfunction strain” that occurs when
“one fulfills the requirements of the masculine norms” which then have “negative side effects” on men and those around them (Levant & Richmond, 2016, p. 37). Perhaps, in the current study, the latent variable of MGRC/S did not moderate the relationship between arousal to porn content and sexual aggression because it was too broad of a construct, consisting of multiple types of stress, stress, conflict, and distress.

Qualitative results regarding the masculine norms and messages about male sexuality found in pornography provide further information about the connection between porn content, masculinity, and sexual aggression. Most importantly, participants identified male aggression and dominance as a prominent masculine trait portrayed in pornography, suggesting that pornography contains enough male sexual aggression to be noticed and identified by viewers as a common masculine characteristic. Additionally, participants reported learning from pornography that men should be aggressive and dominant in sexual interactions with women. These responses clearly indicate that male sexual aggression is prevalent in pornography and that some men learn to behave more aggressively in sexual activity from pornography.

Qualitative results also indicted that male participants believe that they have learned nothing from porn about male sexual behavior because what is portrayed in porn content is vastly different from their real-world experiences. Male porn users also reported observing multiple masculine norms in pornography other than aggression, as well as stereotypically non-masculine norms such as caring, and that they learned a variety of lessons about how men should behave sexually from pornography. Participants also reported a variety of impacts of pornography on their sexual behavior, their relationships with women, their personal wellbeing, and their sexual scripts. The
qualitative results of this study highlight the complex, nuanced, and complicated relationships between masculinity, pornography, and sexual aggression, but also between male porn users and the porn they watch. The most important qualitative finding related to the impact of masculinity and pornographic content on sexual aggression is that some male porn viewers are aroused by relating the pornographic content to themselves, while others are aroused by the bodies and behaviors of the porn actors. Perhaps this is a critical difference between men who view porn and are influenced to engage in more sexual aggression and men who view porn but do not subsequently engage in more sexual aggression. In fact, Wright and Bae (2016) posit that audience factors such as “psychological involvement with characters and content, perceived similarity to characters, self-efficacy to act on the scripts presented, and propensity to ruminate on and fantasize about sexual media depictions” could influence the adoption of aggressive sexual scripts from pornography (p. 562). Qualitative results of this study provide support for this theory.

**Implications for Research**

Results of the present study have great significance for further study of pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression among men. This is one of the first studies to explicitly investigate the relations between arousal to types of porn content, adherence to masculine norms, the experience of gender role strain, and perpetration of sexual aggression. It is also the first study of masculinity’s role as a moderator in the relationship between arousal to porn content and sexual aggression. Results of the current study emphasize the importance of examining the content of pornography as an important predictor of sexual aggression among this population and the connection between porn
content and masculinity. Additionally, this is the first mixed methods study of the constructs of interest and the qualitative results provide context and additional details of men’s pornography use and experience of masculinity in pornography that assist in the interpretation of the quantitative results. The quantitative results highlight the importance of understanding the dimensionality of constructs related to masculinity and sexual aggression, especially for the measures used in this study (CMNI-46, MGRS, and GRCS).

The qualitative results also provide support for Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model, both of which assert that individuals are not uniformly impacted by sexual media and that the magnitude and direction of the impacts are influenced by individual, environmental, and content-specific factors. Qualitative results of this study also indicate that pornography does indeed impact viewer’s sexual scripts by teaching new sexual behaviors, increasing sexual knowledge, altering their expectations of sex, and engendering negative views of women. The qualitative results also indicate that what men find arousing in pornography, how they interpret the messages they are receiving from pornography, and the impacts they experience from pornography are diverse and far from homogenous. In sum, this study directly corresponds with Wright and Bae’s (2016) call for research on how content, audience, and situational factors of pornography use, specifically viewers’ self-reported arousal to porn and adherence to masculine norms, influence the effects of pornography on said viewers. Future research should continue to explore how other factors of pornography use theorized by the 3A Model impact the effects of porn use on viewers, such as motivations for viewing, similarity between self
and characters, tendency to fantasize, ability to think critically about pornography, etc. (Wright & Bae, 2016).

Furthermore, this study examined only one effect of pornography use: sexual assault perpetration. The qualitative results of this study affirm that men have noticed varied effects of porn use, including no impact because they are able to separate pornographic fantasy from real-world sexual encounters as well as positive and negative impacts on their romantic relationships with women, their personal wellbeing, their sexual satisfaction, and sexual performance. Future research should explore these and other possible impacts of pornography use by including them as an outcome variable. The current study also assessed only arousal to porn content as a measure of pornography use. Future research should examine different or multiple operationalizations of pornography use, such as frequency, lifetime duration of use, and age of first exposure to pornography, all of which may have differential effects and lead to a greater understanding of the complex phenomenon of pornography use. Finally, future research on men's pornography use should consider protective factors or healthy uses of pornography. The qualitative results demonstrate that many male viewers perceive a positive impact on various aspects of their life, and research could illuminate what variables related to porn viewing beget favorable or desirable effects of porn use. The positive psychology-positive masculinity paradigm (PPPM) offers a framework for understanding the positive and pro-social masculine norms that function as personal strengths that can be used to inform this type of research (Kiselica, Benton-Wright, & Englar-Carlson, 2016).

The use of alternative research designs and methodologies may also prove to be a fruitful endeavor to advance the understanding of pornography use among male viewers.
For example, experimental exposure to different types of pornographic content, hypothetical sexually aggressive scenarios, or priming masculine gender role stereotypes or stress in a lab setting may glean a more realistic picture of men’s behavior than the self-report measures used in this study. Additionally, longitudinal designs may provide important information about the long-term effects of pornography use, relative to content and masculinity. The use of more extensive qualitative interview questions about arousal to porn content, adherence to masculine norms, the portrayal of masculinity in porn, and the self-perceived effects of porn use would allow for more probing questions, longer responses, and thus more rich data than the open-ended survey items used in this study. Finally, a sequential mixed methods design that connects the quantitative data with the qualitative data of individual participants would allow for a more detailed understanding of how individual differences produce or relate to divergent effects. For example, such a design may be especially useful in exploring qualitative accounts of male viewers’ ability to think critically about the porn messages they are consuming, their internal motivations for seeking pornography, and the relation of their own masculine identity to the masculine norms presented in pornography, and how those psychological processes correlate with quantitative measures of porn use and outcome variables.

Lastly, more research is needed on pornography use among diverse samples. The sample of the current study was largely, if not solely, White, male, heterosexual, cisgender, and college-age. While the decision to examine mainstream pornography use among heterosexual, cisgender, male college students in the current study was intentional in order to focus on a specific group and phenomenon, the lack of diversity among the sample means that the results may not be generalizable to gay men, trans men, men of
color, international students, community samples, older men, adolescent boys, and other subgroups. Porn use trends and masculine ideologies may be vastly different for such populations and the intersection of multiple social identities with a male gender identity generates unique experiences (Brooks & Elder, 2016). The current study should be replicated with diverse samples to better understand pornography’s impact and interaction with masculinity for all men. The current study should also be replicated with a sample of convicted sexual offenders to better understand the links between pornography use, masculinity, and sexual aggression among men receiving consequences and treatment for severe acts of sexual aggression.

**Implications for Practice**

Results of the current study can provide important information for clinicians working with male clients and professionals in the field of sexual assault prevention. As stated in Chapters 1 and 2, the vast majority of men in the United States view pornography and most mental health providers will work with a client reporting problematic Internet pornography use (Ayres & Haddock, 2009; Short et al., 2016). However, therapists and psychologists report little to no training on the issues of pornography use and limited competence in addressing issues related to pornography with their male clients (Short et al., 2016). The results of the current study can provide clinicians serving college-age, heterosexual, cisgender males with important information about how arousal to porn content, the type of porn content, and the experience of masculinity might impact clients’ sexual and overall wellbeing. Qualitative results may be especially useful for therapists when considering how clients’ intimate relationships, sexual satisfaction, personal wellbeing, and risk for sexual aggression may be impacted.
by pornography use and adherence to masculine norms. Men entering into therapy or other types of mental health services may not initially offer information about their porn use or sexual issues due to feelings of shame, fear of being judged as feminine, and other issues associated with men’s involvement in mental health services (see Strokoff, Halford, and Owen, 2016 for a full review of men as therapy clients). It is the author’s hope that results of this study will provide clinicians with some possible lines of inquiry and issues to be explored with male clients that may present with a variety of issues.

Further, psychologists and other experts involved in the treatment, management, and supervision of convicted sexual offenders can also benefit from the results of the current study. It is already known that hostility toward women is a predictor of sexual recidivism among convicted sexual offenders (e.g., Fernandez et al., 2012), but less is known about how incorporating issues of masculinity into sex offender treatment would impact the efficacy of treatment, thus potentially decreasing re-offense. Incorporating masculinity into sex offender treatment would be consistent with the Association for the Treatment of Sexual Abuser’s practice guidelines (2014) that recommend treatment tailored to individual differences in gender and culture, which would include adherence to masculine norms.

Finally, the results of the current study could also inform sexual assault prevention efforts. Malamuth, Huppin, and Linz (2018) reviewed the existing prevention programs used by colleges and universities and found a concerning absence of effectiveness evidence. Many of these programs target bystanders with the potential to intervene in situations that may become sexually aggressive, but they do not target men who are at a unique, high-risk of perpetrating sexual aggression (Malamuth et al., 2018).
In fact, such prevention programs have been shown to produce boomerang effects, such that men with certain risk factors for sexual violence, including hostile masculinity and arousal to sexual violence, actually report an increase in sexual aggression following the intervention (Malamuth et al., 2018). Sexual assault prevention programs targeting men as potential perpetrators that simply provide didactic information about the harms of pornography use and masculinity may be perceived as a challenge to men’s independence, resulting in a reaction of anger and increased aggressive behaviors (Malamuth et al., 2018). The results of the current mixed-methods study can assist in future prevention efforts by (a) providing further evidence of a unique high-risk group of males for whom arousal to Specialized porn content predicts more sexual aggression perpetration that may experience boomerang effects of traditional prevention programs and (b) providing qualitative data to better understand the lived experiences of potentially high-risk males and their subjective perspective of masculinity, pornography, and impacts on their interactions with women.

Limitations

As is the case with all scientific exploration, the present study possesses important limitations. As stated previously, the sample of male college students in this investigation lacked diversity, thus, the results cannot be generalized to other populations of men with different racial, ethnic, religious, sexual, and gender identities. Similarly, the sample consisted of men attending classes at a large, four-year university and likely have a different socio-economic and educational background than men enrolled in other educational and training programs (e.g., military, community college, trade school) or non-student men in the workforce. Another salient demographic variable of the
participants that could impact the results is age, as older adults have likely had a different experience with Internet and non-Internet pornographic materials (e.g., films and magazines) than younger men. Older men are also more likely to be in a different developmental stage with regard to identity, masculinity, sexuality, and romantic relationships than their younger counterparts. The possibility of selection bias is another limitation that may have impacted the results of the current study. Participants who completed the survey items may be altogether different than the men who chose not to participate in the study. Perhaps those who chose to participate were more interested in pornography, more willing to discuss pornography, or consumed more pornography and thus not representative of the male population. It is critical that readers consider the sample when interpreting the results, as other populations may have distinctly different experiences with pornography, masculinity, and sexually aggressive behaviors.

Methodological limitations also exist for the present study. First, this study used a cross-sectional design that can only describe the variables of interest at a given point in time. A cross-sectional design such as this cannot determine causality among arousal to porn content, masculinity, and sexual aggress. Second, this study relied on self-report measures completed via an online survey, which are susceptible to distorted and inaccurate responses due to social desirability and self-report bias. Although all analyses used in this study statistically controlled for social desirability, as measured by the Impression Management scale of the BIDR-Short.24 (Asgeirsdottir, Vesteinsdottir, & Thorsdottir, 2016), this is only one way to conceptualize and operationalize social desirability and thus cannot fully account for all possible effects of an individuals’ desire to present themselves inaccurately. Additionally, the APCS (Richardson et al., 2017, in
preparation) is currently an unpublished scale that has not been used in previous research other than the development article. Therefore, the measure has not been fully validated and may contain measurement errors not yet known. One known limitation of the scale is that it does not and cannot account for all possible types of porn content that viewers may consume or find arousing. However, it was based on current knowledge of mainstream pornography and is the most comprehensive measure of porn content available (Richardson, et al., 2017, in preparation).

As previously stated, this study conceptualized conformity to masculine norms and gender role conflict/stress as a latent variables indicated by observed subscales of the CMNI-46, the MGRS, and the GRCS, which may have resulted in a misspecified and inaccurate measurement model. The same may be said for combining sexual assault perpetration (SES-P) and sexual objectification perpetration (ISOS-P) in to one sexual aggression construct. Future research should assess the relations of interest in this study with alternative measures, conceptualizations, and operationalizations, such as specific subscales. Finally, the open-ended items used to gather qualitative data resulted in qualitative responses that varied in length, complexity, and richness. More detailed and descriptive qualitative responses could be obtained by using a different qualitative research method, such as interviews, that would allow for follow up questions to participant responses. As such, the qualitative data had to be analyzed and coded as-is, leaving room for erroneous researcher interpretation.

Conclusion

The current study aimed to add to the existing literature on male Internet pornography use and sexual aggression against women by examining the relations
between arousal to specific porn content, adherence to masculine norms, the experience of masculine gender role strain, and perpetration of sexual aggression. Specifically, this study investigated the moderating role of masculine norms and masculine gender role conflict/stress on the relationship between arousal to pornographic content and sexual aggression among college-age, heterosexual, cisgender, males in the United States. Results demonstrated that arousal to Specialized porn content is a significant predictor of sexual aggression, but adherence to traditional masculine norms and the experience of gender role conflict/stress as operationalized in this study did not moderate the relation between arousal to certain porn content and perpetration of sexual aggression. Further, other types of porn content, including Standard, Atypical Penetration, and Body Part were not found to significantly predict sexual aggression.

This study also aimed to generate a more complete and nuanced understanding of the men’s experiences with pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression through the use of a mixed-methods study design. Overall, the qualitative results express the diversity of men’s experiences with pornography, including what arouses them about pornography, how they see masculinity portrayed in pornography, what they learn from pornography, and how pornography has impacted various aspects of their lives. Taken together, the results of this study provide support for Sexual Script Theory and the 3A Model by demonstrating that men learn masculine sexual scripts from pornography that impact their behavior, but what is learned and enacted may depend individual and content factors, such as personal adherence to masculine norms, arousal to certain content, the correspondence between pornographic messages and men’s existing beliefs, and men’s perceived relation between self and porn content (Wright & Bae, 2016). Researchers can
build upon this research to better understand pornography, masculinity, and sexual aggression among men, and clinicians can use this research to inform psychotherapy with male clients, treatment for sexual offenders, and sexual assault prevention programs.
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Appendix A
Recruitment Email to Instructors/Professors

Dear [INSERT NAME],

My name is Christina Richardson and I am a doctoral candidate in UNL’s Counseling Psychology program. I am seeking college student participants for my dissertation, which is under the supervision of Dr. M. Meghan Davidson. The purpose of this study is to better understand the relations between masculinity and sexual behavior. Participation is completely voluntary and involves completing online surveys. Students have the opportunity to enter a raffle to win 1 of 10 $20 Amazon gift cards. This project has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB # [INSERT APPROVAL NUMBER]). For questions regarding the IRB approval, please contact the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board by phone at (402) 472-6965.

I am writing to ask if you would be willing to offer students who participate in this research study extra credit in your class. If you agree to offer extra-credit for their participation, you could determine the amount of credit they would receive. Additionally, you would need to offer an alternative extra credit opportunity for those individuals who do not qualify for participation or do not wish to complete the survey. This alternative opportunity would ensure that students are not unduly coerced in to participation in this study and is required by the university UNL Human Research Protection Policy #5.006 titled, Research Involving Extra Credit Compensation (available here: http://research.unl.edu/researchcompliance/policies-procedures/ under the Pre-2018 column). The alternative activity should require approximately 30 minutes of their time and credit should be awarded only on a completed/not completed basis. Examples of appropriate alternative activities include reading an article, watching a video, or a short writing assignment.

For those individuals who qualify and complete the survey, I would collect their name and course information and communicate that information to you prior to the end of the semester. I could visit your class to provide a very brief (approximately 5 minutes in duration) informational talk and fliers to recruit your students as possible participants. If that is not an option, I will send a digital flier for you to distribute to students via email.

Please let me know if you are willing to offer extra credit and what the alternative extra credit activity would be for your class, so that I can inform potential participants. If you would like me to visit your class, let me know the days and times you would have available. I will then send you a flier to distribute to your class or distribute the flier when I visit your class.

Even if you are not able to offer extra credit, distributing information about the survey to your students via email would also assist in my recruitment efforts. Please let me know if you would be willing to do that, and I can send you a different digital flier for that purpose.
Appendix B
Recruitment Fliers

Classes not offering extra credit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Study – Participants Needed!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Healthy Masculinity &amp; Relationships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you are interested in participating in this study, please go to the following website:

[INSERT LINK TO SURVEY]

All you have to do is fill out a survey or two and you could win a $20 Amazon gift card!

Select Eligibility Criteria:

• Male
• Aged 19 to 25
• Additional eligibility criteria included in online survey

Classes offering extra credit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Study – Participants Needed!</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Healthy Masculinity &amp; Relationships</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you are interested in participating in this study, please go to the following website:

[INSERT LINK TO SURVEY]

All you have to do is fill out a survey or two and you could win a $20 Amazon gift card!

You will also receive EXTRA CREDIT for [INSERT CLASS NAME]. If you are unable or unwilling to participate in the survey, alternative extra credit opportunities provided by your instructor include [INSERT ONCE INFORMED BY INSTRUCTOR].

Select Eligibility Criteria:

• Male
• Aged 19 to 25
• Additional eligibility criteria included in online survey
Appendix C
Informed Consent Document
Healthy Masculinity and Relationships

Purpose of the Research:
The purpose of this research project is to understand men’s experience of masculinity, pornography, and relationships.

Procedures:
Participation will include the completion of one or two online surveys. Participants will have the option of completing a second survey. Participants will be eligible to participate in this study if they (a) identify as cisgender male (gender identity congruent with gender assigned at birth), (b) are between the ages of 19 and 25, (c) have lived at least 15 years of their life in the United States, (d) report viewing Internet pornography in the last year, (e) have access to the Internet, and (f) are proficient in English. First, you will be asked to provide informed consent via the online survey. After you consent to take part in this study, you will be directed to an online survey to answer initial demographic characteristics to determine your eligibility to participate in the study. If you do not meet the previously mentioned eligibility criteria, you will be automatically informed of your ineligibility and you will be unable to complete the surveys. If you do meet the previously mentioned eligibility criteria, you will be randomly selected to complete either a closed-ended survey or an open-ended survey. You will have the opportunity to complete an additional survey for an additional incentive. Both the open-ended and closed-ended surveys will take approximately 30 minutes each to complete. Following completion of one or both surveys, you will be taken to a separate survey where you can enter your email address, name, and class information that will only be used to distribute incentives.

Risks and/or Discomforts:
As a result of participating in this study, you will have an opportunity to reflect on your current and/or previous sexual experiences and relationships and you may experience feelings of discomfort. In an effort to minimize these risks, you will be given the opportunity to withdraw from the survey at any time by simply closing the browser or navigating away from the website. You may also skip any questions on the closed-ended survey that you do not feel comfortable answering. You will not be able to skip any questions on the open-ended survey due to the depth of responses needed to the open-ended items. If you do experience any distress following the completion of this survey, psychological and counseling services are offered at free or reduced cost through the UHC Counseling and Psychological Services Center, which can be reached at 402-472-7450, the UNL Counseling and School Psychology Clinic available at 402-472-1152, or the UNL Psychological Consultation Center available at 402-472-2351.

Benefits:
There are no direct benefits to participating in this study. However, you may benefit from the therapeutic outcomes of sharing your experiences and reflecting on your actions. This study could also provide helpful information for many disciplines including mental health treatment and prevention.
Confidentiality:
All responses will remain confidential. The online survey is administered by a password protected, encrypted, secure, and university approved platform. Additionally, all information gathered will be stored via secure and encrypted servers that only researchers will have access to. Any identifying information provided will only be used to distribute incentives and thus will not be connected to survey responses in any way.

Compensation:
If you complete one survey, you will be entered once in to a raffle to win one of 10 Amazon gift cards. If you complete both surveys, you will be entered in to the raffle twice. Odds of winning the gift card depend on the number of participants who elect to complete two surveys. For example, if all participants elect to enter the raffle and half agree to complete the additional survey, odds of winning for those who completed only one survey will be 1 in 30. Odds of winning for those who completed both surveys will be 1 in 15. In order to receive the gift card, you must have an active email account and provide it in the survey. The raffle winners will be drawn by the researcher. Participants will be notified via email if they won a gift card within one month following data collection completion. This notification is estimated to occur in the summer of 2018.
Additionally, participants who were informed about the research project through an academic course may be eligible to receive extra credit for completing the surveys. Eligibility and amount of extra credit will be determined by the individual instructors. Additionally, alternative extra credit opportunities are being provided by instructors offering extra credit if you are unable or unwilling to complete the survey. Information about the alternative extra credit opportunities was provided at recruitment and can be provided again by contacting your instructor or the researcher. Professors that are offering class credit will be notified of the students that completed the surveys at least one-week prior to the end of semester to ensure that the credit can be applied to the student's grade.

Opportunity to Ask Questions:
You have the right to ask questions pertaining to the current study and be provided complete answers prior to participation. For specific questions or concerns regarding rights as a research participant, you may contact the primary investigator (see below), as well as the University of Nebraska-Lincoln Institutional Review Board by phone at (402) 472-6965.
Primary Investigators
Christina Richardson, M.A. – masculinityandrelationships@gmail.com
Supervising Faculty Advisor
M. Meghan Davidson, PhD. – mdavidson2@unl.edu

Freedom to Withdraw:
You have the right to withdraw from this study at any point without affecting your relationship with the researchers or the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. You may refuse to answer any question(s) that you do not wish to answer, but not answering the open-ended items may negatively impact your eligibility to receive compensation.

Consent, Right to Receive a Copy:
You are independently deciding whether or not to participate in this research study. By clicking “Yes” below, you certify that you have voluntarily decided to participate after
fully reading, understanding, having the opportunity to ask questions and have them fully answered, and consenting to the information presented in this document. You can print a copy of this consent form to keep for your records. By clicking “Yes” below, I agree that I have had the study explained to me and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have read the description of this project and give my consent to participate.
Appendix D
Demographic and Pornography Use Items

1. Please select your current age:
   - 18 or younger
   - 19
   - 20
   - 12
   - 22
   - 23
   - 24
   - 25
   - 26 or older

2. Gender
   - Man
   - Woman
   - Transgender F - M
   - Transgender M - F

3. What year in school are you?
   - Freshmen
   - Sophomore
   - Junior
   - Senior
   - Graduate Student

4. Racial or ethnic background:
   - Black/African American
   - Asian American or Pacific Islander
   - Caucasian (White)
   - Hispanic, Chicano, Latino or Latina
   - Native American or American Indian
   - A mixture of more than one ethnic identification (bi-racial or multi-racial)
   - Other

5. What is your religious preference, if any?
   - Protestant
   - Catholic
   - Jewish
   - Islamic
   - Hindu
   - Agnostic
   - Atheist
   - Questioning
   - Other

6. Please indicate your sexual orientation
   - Bisexual
   - Gay/Lesbian
   - Heterosexual
Queer
Questioning
Other

7. Your current romantic relationship status:
   - Never dated or been in a romantic relationship
   - Single
   - Dating casually
   - In a romantic relationship but not living w/ partner
   - In a romantic relationship and living w/ partner
   - Married
   - Separated
   - Divorced
   - Widowed

8. What is your work-status (including work-study)?
   - full time
   - part time
   - not employed

9. How many years have you lived in the United States?
   - 14 or less years
   - 15 or more years

10. Thinking about your usual sexual activities, do you have sex with women?
    - Yes
    - No

11. Do you or do you want to have sex with women?
    - Yes
    - No

For the following questions, pornography refers to: any kind of material aimed at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the viewer and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts, such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, oral sex, masturbation, bondage, sadomasochism, rape, urine sex, animal sex, etc. Materials containing men and women posing or acting naked but do not contain clear and explicit sexual acts are not to be considered as pornography.

12. Based on the above definition, have you viewed pornography in the past year?
    - Yes
    - No

13. How frequently do you view pornography?
    - I don't view pornography
    - Daily
    - Weekly
    - Monthly
    - Once every 6 months
    - Once a year

14. How many hours per day do you spend only on pornography sites?
    - Less than half an hour
15. How many hours in a week do you spend only on pornography sites?
- Less than half an hour
- 30 minutes to 59 minutes
- 1 hour
- 2 hours
- 3 hours
- 4 hours
- More than 4 hours

16. How many days in a month do you spend only on pornography sites?
- 1-2 days
- 3-4 days
- 5-6 days
- 7-8 days
- 9-10 days
- More than 10 days

17. How many hours on those days do you spend only on pornography sites?
- Less than a half hour
- 30 minutes to 59 minutes
- 1 hour
- 2 hours
- 3 hours
- 4 hours
- More than 4 hours
Appendix E
Arousal to Pornographic Content Scale (APCS)

For the following questions, pornography refers to: any kind of material aimed at creating or enhancing sexual feelings or thoughts in the viewer and, at the same time containing explicit exposure and/or descriptions of the genitals, and clear and explicit sexual acts, such as vaginal intercourse, anal intercourse, oral sex, masturbation, bondage, sadomasochism, rape, urine sex, animal sex, etc. Materials containing men and women posing or acting naked but do not contain clear and explicit sexual acts are not to be considered as pornography.

Please rate how sexually arousing you find the following pornographic content. When answering each item, please imagine the act as part of a pornographic video or clip. All of your answers will be completely confidential and anonymous.

0 - Not at all sexually arousing, 1 - Somewhat sexually arousing, 2 - Sexually arousing, 3 - Very sexually arousing

Content Items:

1. Nonprofessional, sexually explicit images or movies of everyday people [F3]
2. Particularly youthful-looking females naked, engaged in sexual behaviors, or both [F3]
3. Barely legal pornography [F3]
4. Depictions of male ejaculation (also known as cumshots) [F2]
5. Images of women with particularly large breasts [F3]
6. Images of women with particularly small breasts [F3]
7. Images of nude women without a sexual partner (e.g., masturbation) [F3]
8. More than three people participating in sexual behaviors [F3]
9. Pornography in which the focus of the work is on penetration [F3]
10. Two or three people engaging in rough sex (e.g., spanking, hair pulling) [F3]
11. Males participating in sexual behaviors with each other [F1]
12. Individuals of apparently different racial/ethnic backgrounds participating in sexual behaviors with each other [F3]
13. Females participating in sexual behaviors with each other [F3]
14. Images of only nude men without a sexual partner (e.g., masturbation) [F1]
15. Sexual depictions of obese people (e.g., big beautiful women) [F1]
16. Sexual depictions of a transgender or person of apparently mixed gender [F1]
17. One or more of individuals urinating on themselves or someone else [F1]
18. Sexual videos or images posted by individuals as a way to "get back" at their significant other (e.g., ratemybitch.com, isanyoneup.com) [F1]
19. Pornography in which the person is not aware that he or she is being watched [F1]
20. Participants drawn in the style of manga or anime (e.g., hentai pornography) [F1]
21. Pornography in which one individual is forced to have sex [F1]
22. Pornography in which a male partner watches another male have sex with his significant other [F1]
23. Sexual depictions of extremely thin women [F1]
24. Pornography in which an object or body part (e.g., penis, sex toy) is used to gag or
choke another person [F1]
25. One person visibly placing his or her hands around another person's throat with
applied pressure (e.g., strangling) [F1]
26. One person threatening another person with a weapon [F1]
27. One person kicking another person [F1]
28. One person using his or her hands or body to push, shove, or physically move another
person with force [F1]
29. One person biting another person during sexual activity with more force than playful
nibbling [F1]
30. One person using his or her hands to pinch another person during sexual activity [F1]
31. One person using his or her hands to pull another person's hair during sexual activity
[F3]
32. One person using his or her hand to spank another person during sexual activity [F3]
33. One person using an open hand to slap another person during sexual activity [F1]
34. One person punching another person during sexual activity [F1]
35. One person using a weapon against another person for sexual arousal [F1]
36. One person torturing another person for sexual pleasure during sexual activity [F1]
37. One person mutilating another person for sexual pleasure [F1]
38. Pornography in which one person is forced to participate in sexual acts that he or she
does not want to participate in [F1]
39. Name calling during sexual activity [F1]
40. Pornography in which a person is being threatened with physical harm if he or she
does not participate in sexual acts [F1]
41. Male ejaculation on to his sexual partner's mouth or face [F2]
42. Male ejaculation on to his sexual partner's hair [F2]
43. Male ejaculation on to his sexual partner's breasts or chest [F2]
44. Male ejaculation on to his sexual partner's stomach [F2]
45. Male ejaculation on to his sexual partner's back or buttocks [F2]
46. Male ejaculation in to his sexual partner's anus or vagina [F2]
47. Male ejaculation around his sexual partner's anus or vagina [F2]
48. Pornography in which one partner expresses pain or discomfort in response to rough
sexual activity [F1]
49. Pornography in which one partner expresses pleasure in response to a rough sexual
act [F3]
50. Pornography that portrays vagina double-penetration (simultaneous vaginal
intercourse between one woman and two men or objects) [F4]
51. Simultaneous vaginal and anal penetration (one woman being penetrated
simultaneously, anally and vaginally, by two men or objects) [F4]
52. Anal penetration [F4]
53. Anal double penetration (one woman or man being anally penetrated simultaneously
by two men or objects) [F4]
54. Ass-to-mouth (ATM) (where the woman or man performs oral sex on a male
immediately after he has penetrated him or her anally) [F4]
55. A man rubbing his penis between the cleavage of a woman [F2]
Appendix F
Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory – 46

Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much you personally agree or disagree with each statement. There are no right or wrong responses to the statements. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

0 = Strongly Disagree 1 = Disagree 2 = Agree 3 = Strongly Agree

1. In general, I will do anything to win
2. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners
3. I hate asking for help
4. I believe that violence is never justified
5. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing
6. In general, I do not like risky situations
7. Winning is not my first priority
8. I enjoy taking risks
9. I am disgusted by any kind of violence
10. I ask for help when I need it
11. My work is the most important part of my life
12. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship
13. I bring up my feelings when talking to others
14. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay
15. I don't mind losing
16. I take risks
17. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay
18. I never share my feelings
19. Sometimes, violent action is necessary
20. In general, I control the women in my life
21. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners
22. It is important for me to win
23. I don't like giving all my attention to work
24. It would be awful if people thought I was gay
25. I like to talk about my feelings
26. I never ask for help
27. More often than not, losing does not bother me
28. I frequently put myself in risky situations
29. Women should be subservient to men
30. I am willing to get in to a physical fight if necessary
31. I feel good when work is my first priority
32. I tend to keep my feelings to myself
33. Winning is not important to me
34. Violence is almost never justified
35. I am happiest when I'm risking danger
36. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time
37. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay
38. I am not ashamed to ask for help
39. Work comes first
40. I tend to share my feelings
41. No matter what the situation, I would never act violently
42. Things tend to be better when men are in charge
43. It bothers me when I have to ask for help
44. I love it when men are in charge of women
45. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings
46. I try to avoid being perceived as gay
Appendix G
Masculine Gender Role Stress

The following items represent experiences that some people may find stressful while others may not. Using the following scale, please indicate how stressful each experience would be for you.

1 = Not at all stressful, 7 = Extremely stressful

1. Feeling that you are not in good physical condition
2. Not being able to find a sexual partner
3. Having your lover say that she/he is not satisfied
4. Being perceived by someone as "gay"
5. Losing in a sports competition
6. Being perceived as having feminine traits
7. Appearing less athletic than a friend
8. Being compared unfavorably to men
9. Knowing you cannot hold you liquor as well as others
10. Telling your spouse that you love him/her
11. Telling someone that you feel hurt by what she/he said
12. Admitting that you are afraid of something
13. Having your children see you cry
14. Talking with a woman who is crying
15. Comforting a male friend who is upset
16. Having a man put his arms around your shoulder
17. Being outperformed at work by a woman
18. Having a female boss
19. Letting a woman take control of the situation
20. Being married to someone who makes more money than you
21. Being with a woman who is more successful than you
22. Being out performed in a game by a woman
23. Needing your spouse to work to help support the family
24. Admitting to your friends that you do housework
25. Being with a woman who is much taller than you
26. Having to ask for directions when you are lost
27. Working with people who seem more ambitious than you
28. Talking with a "feminist"
29. Having people say that you are indecisive
30. Having others say that you are too emotional
31. Working with people who are brighter than yourself
32. Staying home during the day with a sick child
33. Being unemployed
34. Not making enough money
35. Finding you lack the occupational skills to succeed
36. Being unable to perform sexually
37. Being too tired for sex when your lover initiates it
38. Being unable to become sexually aroused when you want
39. Getting passed over for a promotion
40. Getting fired from your job
Appendix H
Gender Role Conflict Scale – Short Form

Using the following scale, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. There is no right or wrong answer to each statement; your own reaction is that is asked for.

1 = Strongly disagree, 6 = Strongly agree

1. Talking about my feelings during sexual relations is difficult for me.
2. I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.
3. I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
4. I do not like to show my emotions to other people.
5. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.
6. I strive to be more successful than others.
7. Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
8. I like to feel superior to other people.
9. Affection with other men makes me tense.
10. Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.
11. Hugging other men is difficult for me.
12. Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.
13. Finding time to relax is difficult for me.
14. My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.
15. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, health, leisure, etc.).
16. Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.
Appendix I
Sexual Experiences Survey – Short Form Perpetrator Version

The following questions concern sexual experiences. We know these are personal questions, so we do not ask your name or other identifying information. Your information is completely confidential. We hope this helps you to feel comfortable answering each question honestly.
Please select the number of times each experience has happened. If several experiences occurred on the same occasion—for example, if one night you told some lies and had sex with someone who was drunk, you would select a number for both items a and c. The past 12 months refers to the past year going back from today.

1. I fondled, kissed, or rubbed up against the private areas of someone’s body (lips, breast/chest, crotch or butt) or removed some of their clothes without their consent (but did not attempt sexual penetration) by:
2. I had oral sex with someone or had someone perform oral sex on me without their consent by:
3. I put my penis or I put my fingers or objects into a woman’s vagina without her consent by:
4. I put my penis or I put my fingers or objects into someone’s butt without their consent by:
5. Even though it did not happen, I TRIED to have oral sex with someone or make them have oral sex with me without their consent by:
6. Even though it did not happen, I TRIED to put in my penis or I tried to put my fingers or objects into a woman’s vagina without their consent by:
7. Even though it did not happen, I TRIED to put in my penis or I tried to put my fingers or objects into someone’s butt without their consent by:

   a) Telling lies, threatening to end the relationship, threatening to spread rumors about them, making promises about the future I knew were untrue, or continually verbally pressuring them after they said they didn’t want to.
   b) Showing displeasure, criticizing their sexuality or attractiveness, getting angry but not using physical force after they said they didn’t want to.
   c) Taking advantage when they were too drunk or out of it to stop what was happening.
   d) Threatening to physically harm them or someone close to them.
   e) Using force, for example holding them down with my body weight, pinning their arms, or having a weapon.

How many times in the past 12 months?
0  1  2  3+

Did you do any of the acts described in this survey 1 or more times?
Yes/No

If yes, what was the sex of the person or persons to whom you did them?
Female only/Male only/Both females and males/I reported no experiences

Did you do any of the these acts described in this survey to someone you were dating or in a romantic relationship with?
Yes/No

Did the acts described in this survey occur with more than 1 person?
Yes/No

If yes, how many people did these acts occur with?
1-21+

Do you think you may have ever raped someone?
Yes/No
Appendix J
Interpersonal Sexual Objectification Scale – Perpetrator

Please think about how frequently you have performed the following behaviors in the past year.

1 = Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Occasionally, 4 = Frequently, 5 = Almost Always

1. How often have you whistled at someone while she/he was walking down a street?
2. How often have you stared at someone's breasts/chest when you are talking to him/her?
3. How often have you evaluated someone's physical appearance?
4. How often have you stared at someone's body?
5. How often have you leered at someone's body?
6. How often have you made a rude, sexual remark about someone's body?
7. How often have you honked at someone when she/he was walking down the street?
8. How often have you stared at one of more of someone's body parts?
9. How often have you made inappropriate sexual comments about someone's body?
10. How often have you gazed at someone's body or a body part, instead of listening to what she/he was saying?
11. How often have you made sexual comments or innuendos when noticing someone's body?
12. How often have you touched or fondled someone against her/his will?
13. How often have you perpetuated sexual harassment (on the job, in school, etc.)?
14. How often have you grabbed or pinched someone's private body areas against her/his will?
15. How often have you made a degrading sexual gesture towards someone?
Appendix K
Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding – Short Form (BIDR.24)

Using the scale below, indicate how true each statement is.

1 = Not true, 4 = Somewhat true, 7=Very true

1. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
2. I never cover up my mistakes.
3. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
4. I never swear.
5. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
6. I have said something bad about a friend behind his/her back.
7. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
8. I always declare everything at customs.
9. I sometimes drive faster than the speed limit.
10. I have taken sick-leave from work or school even though I wasn't really sick.

11. I have some pretty awful habits.
12. I don't gossip about other people's business.
13. It would be hard for me to break any of my bad habits.
15. When my emotions are aroused, it biases my thinking.
16. I am fully in control of my own fate.
17. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.
18. I never regret my decisions.
19. I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.
20. I am a completely rational person.
21. I rarely appreciate criticism.
22. I am very confident of my judgements.
23. It's all right with me if some people happen to dislike me.
24. I don't always know the reasons why I do the things I do.