

Attitudes, Thoughts and Behaviors: The Relationships between Ambivalent Sexism, Sexual

Fantasies and Use of Erotica

An Honors Thesis (HONRS 499)

by
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Expected Date of Graduation: December 17, 2006

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Abstract

Limited evidence shows that viewing erotica (aka pornography) may be linked with hostile and violent attitudes and behaviors toward women. (Malamuth, Addison & Koss, 2000, Carr & VanDeusen, 2004). This study examines the relationships between sexual fantasy, ambivalent sexism and use of erotica to see if there is support for this assumption. Men and women were asked to complete a number of questionnaires including the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire (SFQ) (Wilson, 1988), Use of Erotica Scale (UoE) and Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) (Glick & Fiske, 1996). Responses to the survey indicate that while there is a positive correlation between sexual fantasies and erotica use, there are little to no correlations between these items and ambivalent sexism. This may indicate that fantasy and erotica use have little impact on attitudes toward women, meaning public negativity toward erotica may be misplaced. A low number of male respondents and difficulty relating the ASI to other measures included in the online questionnaire are limitations of this study.

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Introduction

Erotica. The word is usually met by either acceptance and arousal or rejection and disgust. There are those who are connoisseurs and those who will fight to censor even the slightest hint of erotic content. Those who object to its production and consumption often cite examples of how it can be degrading and exploitative toward women or how it may lead to aggressive behaviors directed toward women (Allen, D'Alessio, and Brezgel, 1995; Koop, 1987; Malamuth, Harber, and Feshbach, 1980; Ramos, 2000; Russell, 2000). These critics link erotica demeaning attitudes, violent sexual fantasies about women and violent behavior toward women.

While erotica has its critics, they do not do much to dissuade people from consuming both erotic images and erotic literature (Buzzell, 2005; Cooper, Mansson, Daneback, Tikkanen, and Ross, 2003). If erotica is being consumed (and it is) then its effects on those who consume it must be studied in order to assess whether the risks mentioned above are substantiated. Therefore, this study will look at the correlations between erotica use, sexism toward women and sexual fantasies. Each of these factors can be seen as a separate risk factor for sexual aggression or rape (Carr, and VanDeusen, 2004; Ramos, 2000; Russell, 2000); however, the relationship between the three has not been adequately examined. Sexual aggression and violence are terrible realities in our society and it is imperative that we find the underlying causes of it. This study cannot perform this task in full, but it can provide some of the basic frameworks by obtaining evidence of the relationships between factors that many theorize are part of this problem.

What is Erotica?

To begin we must discuss what erotica is. As defined by Russell (2000), erotica is any image, still or moving, that depicts or suggests sexual activity and/or description of this activity

that portrays all partners as equals in the sexual encounter. Erotica is not demeaning or degrading toward either men or women. Pornography, on the other hand, is any image, still or moving, or any description of sexual activity that is inherently unequal and degrading toward at least one partner, most often the female(s) (Russell, 2000).

When asking participants to fill out a survey on the sexually explicit material they have consumed over the past month it can be difficult to make them distinguish between what is erotica and what is pornography. Erotica, as it will be defined in this study, is any still or moving image that depicts or explicitly suggests any activity of a sexual nature, as well as any written story or passage that explicitly describes sexual acts. This activity can range from suggestive posing to passionate kissing to sexual intercourse and any variation thereof.

Prevalence of Erotica Use

Now that we have an operational definition of erotica it is important to know who uses it and how often usage occurs. This question is not as straightforward as one might believe as erotica can be found practically anywhere in a number of mediums. To get an accurate response it is important to look at each media and to account for those who are exposed to erotica without their consent.

There have been a small number of studies conducted in this country as well as others examine the prevalence of erotica use (Bente, Spitznogle, and Beverfjord, 2004; Boise, 2003; Buzzell, 2005; Cooper, et al., 2003). In 2002 (study published 2004), Bente, et al. found that a full 90% of the Norwegian sample questioned self-reported some exposure to erotica in their lifetime. This self-reported data, obtained through standardized telephone questionnaires, included looking at pornographic magazines, watching pornographic films and/or viewing sexually explicit material on the internet. While the percentage of individuals exposed to erotica

is very high only a small percentage reported using erotica (6.6% used magazines, 8.4% used films and 2.8% used the Internet) on a monthly or more frequent basis.

While there has not been a large-scale survey of erotica use by Americans, the General Social Survey (GSS) has included a small number of questions concerning respondents' use of erotica since 1973 (Buzzell, 2005). In his 2005 article on the demographics of pornography use Buzzell takes all the data on pornography use in the GSS from 1973 to 2002 to look at patterns over the years. During this time the GSS has looked at pornography consumption in three mediums: X-rated films in a theater, X-rated films on a VCR and X-rated material on the Internet. He found that 23% of all those surveyed from 1973-2002 (N=43,698) had reported seeing an X-rated film (in a theater or on a VCR) in the past year. While the percentage of reported erotica varied from year to year (the highest was 1987, 30%; the lowest 1980, 16%), Buzzell reports that overall reported usage is around 20-25%. Usage reported was different for men and women with 25-35% of men and 15-20% of women using X-rated movies. In 2000 and 2002 combined 14% had viewed an X-rated website.

In 2003, Cooper, et al. published a study on Online Sexual Activity (OSA) in Sweden. One of the most frequent OSA reported was accessing erotica. People were surveyed using links from a website that is visited by a wide range of Internet users. Approximately one third of women and one fifth of men reported that they did not use the Internet for sexual activities. Of those who reported OSA, 69% of men reported accessing erotica as their preferred activity, whereas only 20% of women did.

A study of Canadian college students done by Boise in 2003 found that 40% of college students reported viewing sexually explicit websites. In addition, 37.8% looked at erotic material both on and offline and 63% admitted to using erotic materials found solely offline.

When asked about frequency 19% reported using erotic materials at least once a month, 16.9% use it at least once a week and finally 5.92% reported using erotic material on a daily basis.

Boise also comments that men are more likely to use erotic material than women.

Erotica and Sexual Aggression

Some feminist writers and theorists have a very negative view of erotica. They see it as exploitative and degrading and often attempt to link erotica to violent and often sexual assaults on women. Norma Ramos (2000) writes that what stimulates people sexually is often completely determined by culture. Erotica has so invaded culture that men have learned to be aroused only by images that degrade women. She calls for a movement against erotica in the attempt to bring up a new generation that has not learned to be aroused by images of violence.

Diana Russell (2000) goes as far as claiming pornography, which in her definition is different from erotica, in some ways causes rape. Russell proposes that all men have an inner drive to rape women. Her theory is supported by research done by Malamuth, Harber, and Feshbach (1980) that indicated 53% of men surveyed admitted that they would rape a woman if they could be assured that they would not be caught. She then expands upon this theory asserting that exposure to pornography; especially violent pornography will predispose even more men to rape while also increasing these feelings in men who are already predisposed. The model does not end there. Pornography, because it can be degrading toward women, then lowers men's inhibition against rape. That is, because they are seeing woman portrayed as sexual objects in pornography they will then see real women as sexual objects that can be abused. Pornography also lowers social inhibitions because most if not all men are exposed to the same erotic messages; therefore peers are unlikely to disapprove if a man acts out a rape fantasy. Finally, pornography also harms women because they too start to view themselves and other

women as sexual objects thus making it more difficult to resist rape (Russell, 2000). In this model erotica does not cause rape in that once a man is exposed to erotica he then goes out and rapes a woman. The one to one relationship is not there; rather erotica is seen as systematically desensitizing men against violence and reshaping their attitudes toward both women and rape, these attitudes in turn affect men's behavior (Russell, 2000).

Connecting rapists to erotica material is not confined to only feminist writers; there have been hypotheses that use of erotica cause rape from others who study human sexuality (e.g. Carr, and VanDeusen, 2004; Gray, 1982; Koop, 1987; Malmuth, et al., 2000; Stein, 2004). There have been a number of psychological studies that have included erotica in the scope of studies on sexual aggression as well as a workshop devoted to the effects of pornography done by the surgeon general in 1987. Nineteen researchers who were deemed to be experts in the field of pornography gave lectures at this workshop. Topics for these lectures varied, some dealt with theory on public policy and pornography, others dealt with the effects of prolonged exposure to pornography and still others looked at whether or not certain antisocial traits could be linked with exposure to pornography (Koop, 1987). Koop summarized the workshop in a brief 1987 write up in the *American Psychologist*. In this summary Koop concluded that exposure to violent and coercive erotica is one of the leading causes of rape in American society.

Rape is an unfortunate problem on American college campuses. Carr and VanDeusen (2004) found that use of erotica, gender attitudes and alcohol abuse were all factors highly correlated with self-reported sexual aggression among males on college campuses. Nearly half of those who completed their survey used some form of erotica. It should be noted, however, that only a very small number of those surveyed admitted to using physical coercion to obtain sex (4%, N=99).

In a large meta-analysis report in 2000, Malamuth, et al. attempt to show that past research has indicated a link between erotica use and sexual aggression. In meta-analysis researchers attempt to bring together information from multiple studies and combine it in such a way that statistical tests can be run on the aggregate data to come to more specific conclusions about all past research. To be included in a meta-analysis data must meet very exact standards so that researchers know exactly what they are measuring and combining (Allen, et al., 1995).

In Malamuth, et al. (2000) meta-analysis they use other meta-analyses to support their assertion that exposure to erotica causes sexual aggression. One such study that was cited indicated that exposure to violent and/or nonviolent erotica was correlated with increased sexual aggression. Unfortunately, it is revealed that the correlation has an r -value of .13 (Allen, et al., 1995). A correlation coefficient this low does not provide much support for the link between erotica and sexual aggression.

The study examines other facets of erotica use and behavior including exposure to erotica and laboratory aggression, erotica and favorable attitudes toward sexual aggression, differences between criminal and noncriminal populations and erotica and attraction to sexual aggression (Malamuth, et al., 2000). In each case there seem to be correlations supporting the link between erotica usage and sexuality, but these correlations are all very low. The relationship between erotica use and sexual aggression does not appear to be as clear cut as the authors of this meta-analysis would like us to believe.

One interesting question raised in the Malamuth, et al. (2000) study is that of a possible difference between criminal and noncriminal populations. In two studies done by Goldstein in 1971 and 1973 sex offenders reported much lower exposure to and use of erotica than a non-offender control group. They also reported less exposure during adolescence than the non-

offender control group. Another survey done by Kant in 1971 seems to corroborate these findings—that is the offender population reported lower use of erotica material than the non-offender population. This study also found that there was no link between arousal during erotica use and sexual behavior after the erotica was viewed. It seems that the correlational relationship between erotica and rape may need to be re-examined, as much of the evidence presented was very weak.

Erotica and Rape Myths

If a direct link between use of erotica and sexual aggression and rape cannot be established then what are the effects of erotica on rape myth acceptance? Rape myths are beliefs that a person holds that put the blame and responsibility of a rape on the victim, not the rapists (Allen, Emmers, Gebhardt, & Giery 1995; Burt, 1980). If an individual accepts these rape myths then he or she is less likely to believe that rape is wrong. One implication of this belief may be that it could lead to more instances of rape (Allen, et al., 1995; Hinck, and Thomas, 1999). The relationship between rape myth acceptance and erotica is complex, however. In experiments there is a positive effect of exposure to erotica on rape myth acceptance (Gray, 1982; Linz, Donnerstein, and Denrod, 1988). In nonexperimental data, however, there does not appear to be any relationship at all between the two (Allen, et al., 1995).

Erotica and Objectification

To say that erotica is a cause of rape, rape myth acceptance and other sexual violence toward women one has to assume that the erotica that the perpetrators of these acts is in some way degrading toward the women that are involved in it. At least one study holds that this wide spread objectification of women in erotica may not be as true as it sounds. In 2005, McKee published an article in which he analyzed the mainstream erotic videos of Australia. He found

that while women are objectified in some erotica they are not objectified in most of it. He also found that men were just as likely to be objectified as women. McKee does not rule out objectification by any means, it still occurs, but it may not be as gender biased, that is erotica may not only objectify women, as others (Russell, 2000) would claim.

Erotica and Sexual Fantasy

One of the aims of this study is to discern whether or not there is a link between erotica use and sexual fantasies. One of the most disturbing thoughts on erotica is how it can affect a person's sexual fantasies. The reason why that is so disturbing is that many sexual predators and killers engage in a great deal of fantasy before during and after their horrific crimes (Hazelwood, and Warren, 2000; Prentky, Burgess, Rokus, and Lee, 1989; Stein, 2004). Prentky, et al. (1989) report that 86% of serial sexual killers have overt violent fantasies and over two-thirds of them had organized crime scenes from the beginning of their criminal careers. This indicates that these men had thought about their crimes extensively before they committed them.

While this is very disturbing none of these studies provides a definitive link between erotica use and the violent sexual fantasies. It is also important to remember that both Goldstein (1971, 1973) and Kant (1971) reported lower rates of erotica usage among those in offender populations. Whether or not erotica does have a link to the sexual fantasies of predators, it is important to understand sexual fantasies themselves before we attempt to link them to either erotica or sexism.

What are Sexual Fantasies?

As defined by Leitenberg and Henning in their 1995 review of the topic, a sexual fantasy is "almost any mental imagery that is sexually arousing or erotic to the individual." (470). They go on to say that this image can be something completely fictional or a memory of a previous

encounter, something that someone wishes to do in the future or something they would never do in real life, it can be long and elaborate or it can be short and fleeting. Basically, a sexual fantasy can be whatever the individual having it wants or needs it to be.

Prevalence of Sexual Fantasy

Sexual fantasies are considered to be nearly universal, but it can be hard to tell just how prevalent they are because they are private thoughts (Leitenberg, and Henning, 1995). Knafo and Jaffe (1984) found that 90% of men and 97% of women have sexual fantasies when they masturbate. They also found that 90% of both men and women report having sexual fantasies when engaged in sexual intercourse. Finally, they also reported that 97% of men and 100% of women reported sexual fantasies when they were not engaged in any type of sexual activity at all. Corroborating this, Jones and Barlow (1990), found that 100% of men and 74% of women reported having sexual fantasies while masturbating.

Types of Sexual Fantasies

With nearly 100% of people indicating that they have sexual fantasies the next logical question to ask is what are the fantasies about? A number of studies have asked this question in a variety of ways. Zubriggen and Yost (2004) asked participants to write down two of their favorite sexual fantasies. These fantasies were then scored on a number of scales by the researchers. They found that men's fantasies tended to be more sexually explicit, involved more instances of multiple partners, were more likely to mention their partner's pleasure and were more likely to show both dominant and submissive themes. Women's fantasies on the other hand were more emotionally centered; they focused more on submissive themes and focused more on their own personal desire and pleasure than their partners. Pelletier and Herold (1988) found that 51% of women fantasized about submission. In addition, Hariton and Singer (1974)

reported that the most common fantasies for women while engaged in sexual intercourse were those centered on an “imaginary lover” and submission.

Hicks and Leitenberg (2001) conducted a study that focused on extradyadic (fantasies about someone other than an individual’s current partner) fantasies. This study provided evidence to suggest that 98% of men and 80% of women had had these types of fantasies. It was also found that regardless of sex the longer an individual was in a relationship the more likely he or she was to have had an extradyadic fantasy.

In a study detailing the sexual fantasies of men, Crepault and Couture (1980) found evidence of violent fantasies toward women—33% of the men in their study (N=94) admitted to fantasizing about rape on at least an occasional basis. All of the men in this study were between the ages of 20 and 45, many of them were married and none of them had been convicted of a sex crime so there is no way to tell whether or not they have acted on these impulses.

Erotica, Sexual Fantasies and Attitudes

With the definitions of erotica and sexual fantasy as well as the examples of each that have been given a connection between the two is probably not that difficult to make. One could make the assumption that if a person fantasizes about a situation, and he or she has the inclination to watch erotica, he or she would probably be likely to watch erotica depicting that same situation. A researcher could happily stop there and analyze the connections between these two subjects, but this study also looks at the relationships between these two variables and sexist attitudes toward women. It is these attitudes, as well as the possible actions that they can produce that turns people away from erotica (Ramos, 2000; Russell, 2000). Many studies have already been conducted on the effect certain themes of erotica and/or sexual fantasies have had on the attitudes and beliefs of those who partake in each.

A 1988 study by Demare, Briere, and Lips looked at the relationship between erotica and the likelihood of college age men to use force or rape to obtain sex. They found that 81% of those studied had used nonviolent erotica in the past year, in addition 41% admitted to using violent erotica and 35% used sexually violent erotica. To determine whether or not these men were likely to use force and/or rape to obtain sex they were given questionnaires with hypothetical situations. Twenty-seven percent of those surveyed were determined to be likely to both use force and/or rape to obtain sex. Almost all of the men deemed likely to use force and/or rape used violent and/or sexually violent erotica.

This response to erotica and rape is not alone. Garcia (1996) found that the more erotica a man is exposed to the more traditional attitudes he would have toward women. Traditional attitudes are those that put women in the home rather than the workplace and see women as in need of protection from men. Garcia also found that the more violent erotica a man was exposed to the more he believed that the female rape victim was responsible for her rape, that rapists should not be severely punished and that women should not resist rape.

Attitudes associated with sexual fantasies were not as negative as those reported above. Women who have submissive fantasies were found to have more varied sexual experience and were overall more positive about sex (Strassberg, and Lockerd, 1998). Men who reported fantasies about dominance were more likely to exhibit rape myth acceptance whereas men who reported submissive fantasies were less likely to endorse those beliefs. Men who fantasized about their partner's pleasure were least likely to exhibit rape myth acceptance (Zubriggen, and Yost, 2004). Women whose fantasies were centered on emotional or romantic themes tended to have more traditional views on women's place in society (Zubriggen, and Yost, 2004). So while

there may still be a link with the attitudes that can lead to rape, in these cases there is no indication that the men surveyed would or ever have committed rape.

While the aforementioned studies indicate that there may be a link between certain types of attitudes (rape myth acceptance and traditional attitudes toward women) and erotica and/or sexual fantasies, none of them establish a clear link between erotica and/or sexual fantasy and sexism. While traditional attitudes can sometimes be construed as sexism it is not always the case, therefore it is imperative to find a study that uses a clear measure of sexism.

Sexism and Erotica

Garos, Beggan, Kluck, and Easton (2004) attempt to explain why there have been few clear results on the topic of sexism and erotica. The authors claim the reason for a lack of a clear connection lies in the failure of previous research to adequately define sexism, and their subsequent inability to use a measure that adequately determines sexist attitudes. Despite using a number of measures for sexism (e.g. *Exposure to Sexual Materials Questionnaire*, *Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale*, *Modern Sexism Scale*, *Attitudes Toward Women Scale*, and *Ambivalent Sexism Inventory*) Garos, et al. came out with mixed results for their study finding that those with the least reported sexism had a higher instance of erotica use, those who endorsed hostile views toward women were less likely to use erotica, and that those who were subjectively positive toward women but still held prejudicial beliefs were most likely to use erotica.

Present Study

If previous research has indicated a mixed bag of results it is imperative that we start with clear definitions of what we want to measure. Erotica and sexual fantasy have been defined above which leaves only sexism. Merriam-Webster defines sexism as: "1 : prejudice or discrimination based on sex; *especially*: discrimination against women 2 : behavior, conditions,

or attitudes that foster stereotypes of social roles based on sex.” (<http://www.m-w.com/dictionary/sexism>). While this definition may be accurate, it is hard to operationalize. Sexism of this type may be overt—that is a person may physically, mentally or financially prevent a man or woman from holding a position in society that individual does not think he or she should hold. Or it could be more subtle, comments about a man or woman’s character if she does not adhere to the roles that are prescribed to him or her.

This problem with definition of sexism as well as sexism’s evolution because of the women’s movement has led to many measures being constructed over the years. These measures include the Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) and the Old-Fashioned Sexism Scale (OFSS) both developed by Swim et al in 1995. The MSS measures less overt forms of sexism that dominate its definition since the women’s movement. The OFSS was developed to measure the more overt instances of sexism that still occur. The Attitudes Toward Women Scale (ATWS; Spence, Helmreich, and Stapp, in 1973) is a 15-item scale that measures egalitarian attitudes toward women such as “Swearing and obscenity are more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man.” Finally, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) created by Glick and Fiske in 1996. This final measurement is a 22-item scale that measures sexism along two dimensions: Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism.

The ASI is different from the other measures because it seeks to measure both the overt sexism of the OFSS and the more subtle sexism of the MSS. This more traditional and overt sexism, which is characterized by a negative affect toward women, is called Hostile Sexism (HS; Glick, and Fiske, 1996). Hostile sexism is based on three different factors; dominant paternalism which is the desire to control women; competitive gender differentiation, which focuses on the differences between genders and consistently sees the male as superior and the female as inferior

and devalued; and finally hostile heterosexuality, which believes that women control men's access to sex and they use this control to manipulate men.

The flip side of sexism is termed as Benevolent Sexism (BS). This form of sexism is characterized by a positive affect toward women and the belief that men should cherish and protect them. BS can also be attributed to three underlying factors. Firstly, protective paternalism is the desire to cherish and protect women. Complementary gender differentiation focuses on how the differences between the sexes compliment each other for the good of society. Women are supposed to have a higher sense of morality for which they are to be commended. Finally, heterosexual intimacy seeks to worship women and desire them for intimate sexual relationships. While BS is subjectively positive it is still considered sexism because it limits the roles and abilities of women based on cultural ideals (Glick, and Fiske, 1996).

With these definitions of erotica, sexual fantasy and sexism this study will look at the relationships between these three concepts by first looking at individual's self-reported levels of sexism as measured by the ASI. Then I will correlate these finding with the Use of Erotica Scale, a measurement of both the frequency of erotica use in three different media (magazines, video and internet) and the frequency of certain genre or themes of erotica. Finally, I will use the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire (SFQ) to determine the frequency of certain themes in each individual's sexual fantasies to determine the relationship between these themes and reported erotic themes used as well as whether certain themes are connected to Hostile and Benevolent Sexism.

Methods

Participants

Four hundred-three women and one hundred eighty-seven men completed the online survey. Participants for this study were recruited from introductory Psychology classes at a large midwestern university. Students received class credit for their participation in this survey. Age range was 18-42 years old with 99.2% of participants between the ages of 18 and 23. Racial composition of the sample was 93% Caucasian; 3.2% African American; 1.5% Bi-racial; 1% Hispanic; .5% Asian and .7% other. Ninety-five percent of the sample reported to be heterosexual with 96.8% reporting to be single. The majority (79.8%) was Christian.

Procedure

Participants logged on to an on-line survey set up through the Department of Psychological Science. After registering for the survey and completing an informed consent form the participant was admitted into the survey. This survey contained over twenty questionnaires, many of them dealing with sexuality related themes. The questionnaires being examined in this study were demographics, the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Use of Erotica Scale and the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire. All information given by the participants was anonymous.

The data was then compiled and analyzed using a correlational design to examine whether the themes people fantasize about were also themes they watched in erotica and whether these themes correlate in a meaningful way with Hostile and Benevolent Sexism.

Measures

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI) is a 22-item questionnaire that measures levels of sexism along two dimensions: Hostile Sexism (HS) and Benevolent Sexism (BS). (Glick, and Fiske, 1996). HS is characterized by overtly negative and hostile attitudes toward women; especially women who do not follow traditional gender roles. BS, on the other hand, is

characterized by a subjectively positive view of women, especially those in traditional gender roles, and the belief that women need to be protected and cherished. Individuals are presented with a list of 22 statements and instructed to indicate how much they agree or disagree with each statement on a scale of 0 to 5 with 0=disagree strongly and 5=agree strongly. The ASI can be found in Appendix A.

While scoring the ASI, Cronbach Alpha coefficients were calculated for each subscale and gender. Alpha coefficients for the hostile sexism subscale were .78 for men and .77 for women. The coefficients for the benevolent sexism subscale were .68 for men and .74 for women.

The Use of Erotica Scale (UoE) was created for this study. It combined questions from a previous Use of Erotica measure that tapped the prevalence of erotica use across different media and new questions designed to measure the frequency an individual uses erotica of a certain theme. The first part of the questionnaire asked individuals to indicate if they had ever watched erotica in a specific medium (ex: a magazine such as Playboy), then to indicate how often he or she had viewed this specific medium in the past three months. Frequency was measured through an open-ended response, participants were asked to list how frequently in the past three months they had viewed each medium. The second part of the questionnaire required the individual to indicate how often the erotica they have viewed in the past month exhibits a certain theme (e.g., sexual relations between strangers, oral sex performed on a male, etc). Responses of this frequency were indicated in a likert scale with 1=never; 2=almost never; 3=sometimes; 4=frequently and 5=always. The UoE can be found in Appendix B.

The Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire (SFQ) measures the frequency an individual has sexual fantasies along a certain theme. (Wilson, 1988). Respondents are asked indicate how

often they fantasize about a particular theme on a likert scale ranging from 0-5 with 0 being never and 5 being regularly. Themes include: Sex with two other people, forcing someone to do something and being seduced as an “innocent”. The SFQ is a forty-item inventory, however, it was decided in the planning of this survey that some items were excluded for a couple of reasons firstly, some were condensed from two questions to one, secondly, some were so out of the mainstream that they may cause participants to be uncomfortable. Our modified version of the SFQ contained thirty-four themes. The SFQ can be found in Appendix C.

Results

Gender Differences in Erotica Use

Past research indicates that there is a difference in frequency and kind of erotica used between men and women (Bente, Spitznogle, and Beverfjord, 2004) as well as a difference in levels of sexism toward women (Glick, and Fiske, 1996). My first hypothesis was that men would report consuming more erotica than women. The data from this sample tends to support this hypothesis. To see whether or not this was true I performed a one-tailed z test.

Of the 187 male and 403 female participants who completed the survey, 82.4% of males indicate that they have viewed a sexual magazine such as Playboy in their lifetime where as only 52.1% of females did. Men's exposure to magazine erotica was significantly higher, $z=7.03$, $p<.001$. Similarly, when asked if they had ever looked at magazines found only in adult book stores men reported significantly more exposure (69%) than women (43.7%), $z=5.72$, $p<.001$. A total of 83.4% of men have seen a movie that depicted simulated sex and/or sex acts which is significantly more than the 67% of women who reported the same activity, $z=4.14$, $p<.001$. A higher percentage of men report having watched videos that show actual sexual intercourse (80.2% for men 60.5% for women), $z=4.71$, $p<.001$. Finally, significantly more men (91.6%)

report having viewed sexually explicit pictures on the Internet than did women (55.3%), $z=9.23$, $p<0.001$

t-Test

A *t* test for each subscale was conducted to determine whether or not there was a difference in sexism between men and women. Men's hostile sexism score was found to be significantly higher than women's, $t(637)=4.16$, $p<.001$. No difference was found between men and women's benevolent sexism scores, $t(639)=1.068$, $p>.05$. These findings are consistent with previous research, which found that men scored significantly higher on the hostile subscale but not the benevolent. (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick, et al., 2000). This also partially supports my hypothesis that men would show higher incidence of sexism.

Table 1.

Mean Sexism by Gender and Ambivalent Sexism Subseales

	Hostile <u>M</u>	Benevolent <u>M</u>	Total <u>M</u>
Male	2.60	2.70	2.65
Female	2.35	2.64	2.50
Mean	2.48	2.67	

Factor Analysis

I used a modified version of the SFQ in this particular study therefore the established subseales that had been published with the questionnaire were no longer valid. In order to obtain meaningful subseales a factor analysis of the SFQ was run. This analysis yielded six coherent subseales, which we labeled: Conventional, Sex with Other, Novelty, Fetish, Humiliation, and Innocence. To be able to compare the SFQ to the UoE I needed to be able to use the same

subscales for each. While the UoE had been partially constructed from the SFQ, themes did not always directly line up and the number of themes on the UoE was far less than those on the SFQ. To remedy this issue I combined Fetish and Humiliation and divided Novelty into Sex with other and Innocence. This gave me four subscales that had reasonable reliability for both measures: Conventional, Sex with Other, Humiliation and Innocence. (See Table 2 for reliability estimates).

The conventional theme consists of typical sexual behaviors such as passionate kissing, sex outdoors, oral sex and masturbation. The Sex with Other subscale consists of themes relating to group sex, homosexuality, mate swapping and overall novelty of partners. The Humiliation subscale is characterized by themes of force, pain and embarrassment of one's self or one's partner. Innocence is centered on one partner being sexually innocent, whether they are the seducer or the seduced. Table 2 displays the Cronbach Alpha coefficients for each subscale for both the SFQ and the UoE. The reliability for the SFQ is very strong in both men and women. The reliability for the UoE is somewhat lower than that of the SFQ and shows higher coefficients for women as opposed to men in every subscale. The lower reliability for the UoE may be attributed to the smaller number of themes.

Table 2.

Reliability scores for the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire and the Use of Erotica Scale byGender.

	Male	Female
Conventional SFQ	.87	.92
UoE	.65	.81
Sex with Other SFQ	.85	.86
UoE	.63	.82
Humiliation SFQ	.86	.84
UoE	.66	.75
Innocence SFQ	.82	.83
UoE	.60	.77

Bivariate Correlations

To determine what possible relationships there were between the Ambivalent Sexism and both erotica use and sexual fantasies correlations were conducted between each subscale of the ASI and the subscales of both the SFQ and the UoE. Table 3 displays the correlations among these subscales. I hypothesized that those high in hostile sexism would have fantasies centered on pain, humiliation and bondage. This was not supported by the data. I also hypothesized that those who are high in benevolent sexism would prefer fantasies that center on innocence. This

hypothesis was also rejected. As expected there are little or no significant correlations between Ambivalent Sexism and conventional sex or novelty of partner.

Table 3.

Correlations between the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire and the Use of Erotica Scale.

	Hostile Sexism- Male	Hostile Sexism- Female	Benevolent Sexism-Male	Benevolent Sexism-Female
Conventional				
SFQ	.10	.12*	-.06	.11*
UoE	.04	.15**	-.15*	.07
Sex with Other				
SFQ	.15*	-.07	-.10	-.09
UoE	.07	.06	-.20	.01
Humiliation				
SFQ	-.00	.07	-.11	.02
UoE	.10	.12*	-.18*	.05
Innocence				
SFQ	.12	.01	-.13	-.02
UoE	.12	.14**	-.04	.08

* Correlation is significant at the .05 level. (two-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the .01 level. (two-tailed)

A comparison of the SFQ and the UoE show that there are small to moderate positive correlations between the two scales. This indicates that the themes that people fantasize about tend to be similar to the ones in the erotica they view. This agreement could be partially

explained by the construction of the UoE, however, the presences of a less than 1.00 correlation indicates that people do not always fantasize about the same themes that they consume while watching erotica. Table 4 displays these correlations for men while Table 5 displays them for women.

Table 4. Correlations between the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire and the Use of Erotica Scale-Men.

	Conventional-SFQ	Sex with Other-SFQ	Humiliation-SFQ	Innocence-SFQ
Conventional-UoE	.40	.37	.37	.29
Sex with Other-UoE	.38	.51	.51	.41
Humiliation-UoE	.29	.39	.39	.41
Innocence-UoE	.28	.35	.26	.46

All correlations are significant at the .01 level (two-tailed).

Table 5. Correlations Between the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire and the Use of Erotica Scale-Women.

	Conventional-SFQ	Sex with Other-SFQ	Humiliation-SFQ	Innocence-SFQ
Conventional-UoE	.50	.45	.31	.24
Sex with Other-UoE	.38	.43	.29	.26
Humiliation-UoE	.29	.33	.27	.27
Innocence-UoE	.26	.28	.20	.24

All correlations are significant at the .01 level. (two-tailed)

Discussion

Implications

In line with past research I found that there are gender differences in the use of erotica. In the present study, men report higher consumption of erotica in all media. The extremely high percentage of men who have viewed sexually explicit pictures on-line is consistent with the belief that people find online erotica attractive because it is accessible, affordable, anonymous, acceptable and approximates the real thing (Cooper, et al., 2003). Access to erotica through the Internet is now so easy and anonymous it will be interesting to examine whether or not women begin to view more erotica. This depends, of course, on the reasons why women do and do not view erotica, if it is a question of not wanting to break social norms, then the anonymity of the Internet may bring more women to consumption of erotic media. If the reason for not viewing erotica has more to do with internal motivation and satisfaction the gap between the sexes is unlikely to change.

The gender difference in Ambivalent Sexism was also unsurprising as it is also in line with previous research. Men scored significantly higher on hostile sexism, but not on benevolent. (Glick, and Fiske, 1996; Glick, et al., 2000). It seems natural that women would report less negative views toward women because they are members of that group. They do not differ in scores of benevolent sexism because it is subjectively positive and puts women in a position to be cherished and protected even though it is also restricting their freedom. It appears that women do not mind these restrictions as long as they have a privileged status.

The lack of stronger correlations between Ambivalent Sexism and both the Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire and the Use of Erotica Scale was unexpected. These findings imply that there may not be as strong of a link between consumption of erotica and sexism *and* they imply

that fantasies may not be strongly connected with attitudes. What does this mean for the real world? Viewing erotic pictures in a magazine may not be linked with rape, aggression and an overall negative, hostile and potentially violent attitude toward women. The feminist outrage directed at erotica may possibly be misplaced. The same goes for sexual fantasies. Having a fantasy that involves hurting a partner does not guarantee that an individual has hurt or will hurt his or her partner. While it may be true that many sex offenders use erotica to fuel violent and destructive fantasies that when lived out devastate another individual, we cannot say that erotica and fantasies are necessarily correlated with hostile views of women. This is not to say that they have nothing to do with the process, this area has yet to be even partially explored and this one study cannot explain the complex interactions between all of these variables.

Development of the Use of Erotica Scale

The UoE that was used in this particular study was the beginning of a step toward a scale that examines the everyday consumption of erotica. There is a need for a good scale of this kind if research on erotica is to proceed. The reliability for this scale is relatively low at this time, however it is a small scale to begin with. Adding more themes to round out each subscale should help to give a more reliable view of each area of erotica use. Adding to this scale could be done in a couple of ways, first the SFQ could continue to be the model and more items from that scale could be adapted. Secondly, content analysis of erotica in a variety of mediums could be conducted to try to capture what is available, this content analysis could then be used to add to or remake this scale. While the Use of Erotica Scale is imperfect, it is a step in the direction of making a useful measure of erotica consumption.

Limitations

Limitations to this study include sample demographics, difficulty correlating the ASI to other measures in the larger questionnaire and the overall length of the survey. Demographics that limit this study include a low number of male respondents, age of the respondents, homogeneity of race and the fact that only college students were used. These factors taken together make this sample very representative of the young, white, female college student, but may not generalize to the rest of the population.

The youth of college students may also present a limitation. Because my sample was so young rates of erotica use may be much lower than they are in the general adult population, therefore it may have been impossible to see possible effects. If this study were to be conducted on an older population the results could be very different as older individuals may have had more access to erotica and may be more in control of the erotica they choose to use.

Colleagues in my research team have analyzed this data for projects of their own, a number of them have used the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory and all of them have had difficulty relating this particular scale to others in the survey. The reliability we obtained for this scale is lower than in previous studies. The scale itself is now ten years old; perhaps sexism has changed enough in those ten years to make the scale less effective. It is, however, one of the best measures to use when trying to make a distinction between overt and subtle sexism (Glick, and Fiske, 1996).

Respondents to this survey were asked to fill out nearly twenty different questionnaires in one sitting it is possible that fatigue affected their responses. The questionnaires used in this study were spaced out in the survey with the UoE being one of the first questionnaires and the SFQ and ASI both near the end, so the difficulty in correlating them could be due to levels of fatigue building toward the end of the survey.

Future Research

As mentioned with the development of the UoE, this area has yet to be fully explored, the relationships that I have begun to examine need to be studied in great detail before they can be fully explained. The expansion and development of the UoE or another measure of erotica use and consumptions can and should be done. A replication survey containing only the questionnaires to be examined will cut down on fatigue and possibly yield clearer results. In addition, a survey that takes into account use of erotica, sexual fantasy *and* sexual behavior to see whether the first two factors are strongly correlated to behavior will shed more light on whether or not erotica use can be dangerous.

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Appendix A

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the following scale: 0 = disagree strongly; 1 = disagree somewhat; 2 = disagree slightly; 3 = agree slightly; 4 = agree somewhat; 5 = agree strongly.

B(I)

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.

H

2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."

B(P)*

3. In a Disaster, Women ought not necessarily be rescued before men.

H

4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

H

5. Women are too easily offended.

B(I)*

6. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.

H*

7. Feminists are not seeking for women to have more power than men.

B(G)

8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.

B(P)

9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.

H

10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

H

11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

B(I)

12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

B(I)*

13. Men are complete without women.

H

14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.

H

15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.

H

16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.

B(P)

17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.

H*

18. There are actually very few women who get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.

B(G)

19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.

B(P)

20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financial for the women in their lives.

H*

21. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men.

B(G)

22. Women, as compared to men tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

Note. Copyright 1995 by Peter *Glick* and Susan T. *Fiske*. Use of this scale requires permission of one of the authors. A Spanish-language version of the ASI is available from the authors. H = Hostile Sexism, B = Benevolent Sexism, (P) Protective paternalism, (G) = Complementary Gender Differentiation, (I) = Heterosexual Intimacy, * = reverse-scored item.

Scoring Instructions

The ASI may be used as an overall measure of sexism, with hostile and benevolent components equally weighted, by simply averaging the score for all items after reversing the items listed below. The two ASI subscales (Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism) may also be calculated separately. For correlational research, purer measures of HS and BS can be obtained by using the following items (0 = 5, 1 = 4, 2 = 3, 3 = 2, 4 = 1, 5 = 0): 3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 21. Hostile Sexism Score = average of the following items: 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21. Benevolent Sexism Score = average of the following items: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 17, 19, 20, 22.

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Appendix B

Use of Erotica Scale

Use of Erotica

Please answer the following questions by circling your response or writing in your response as requested.

1. *Have you ever viewed sexual magazines available at outlets such as convenience stores and newsstands? Examples include Playboy, Playgirl, Penthouse, and Hustler. Yes No*

If yes, about how many times have you done so in the past month? _____

2. *Have you ever viewed sexual magazines or books that show actual sexual intercourse and other sexual acts, such as those usually available in "adults only" bookstores? Yes No*

If yes, about how many times have you done so in the past month? _____

3. *Have you ever viewed movies or videos that include graphic but simulated sexual acts, such as those rated X or NC-17? Yes No*

If yes, about how many times have you done so in the past month? _____

4. *Have you ever viewed movies or videos that show actual sexual intercourse and other sexual acts, such as those usually found only in "adults only" (XXX) sections of video rental stores? Yes No*

If yes, about how many times have you done so in the past month? _____

5. *Have you ever viewed web sites that contain sexually explicit pictures (i.e., pictures of nude men, nude women and/or sexual acts including sexual intercourse? Yes No*

If yes, about how many times have you done so in the past month? _____

6. *Of the Erotica you have viewed in the past month how frequently do these themes occur?*

1-Never 2-Almost Never 3-Sometimes 4-Frequently 5-Always

1. Passionate kissing _____
2. Someone being forced into sexual relations _____
3. Seduction of an innocent (virgin) _____
4. Sexual relations between strangers _____
5. Oral sex performed on a female _____
6. Sexual relations between two people in a committed relationship _____
7. Group sex (ffm, mmf, etc) _____
8. Sexual relations where at least one partner is clearly physically hurt _____
9. Sexual relations outdoors _____
10. Mixing alcohol and/or drugs with sexual relations _____
11. Sexual relations between two or more women _____
12. Oral sex performed on a male _____
13. Sexual relations in which the woman is much older than the man _____
14. Anal Sex _____
15. Someone being tied up or restrained _____
16. Sexual relations between two or more men _____
17. Masturbation _____
18. Sexual relations in which the man is much older than the woman _____

Appendix C

Wilson Sex Fantasy Questionnaire (Modified)

Indicate how often you fantasize about the following themes using the scale:

0-Never 1-Seldom 2-Occasionally 3-Sometimes 4-Often 5-Regularly

1. Making love out of doors in a romantic setting, e.g., field of flowers, beach at night
2. Intercourse with someone you know but have not had sex with
3. Intercourse with an anonymous stranger
4. Sex with two other people
5. Participating in an orgy
6. Being forced to do something
7. Homosexual activity
8. Receiving oral sex
9. Giving oral sex
10. Watching others have sex
11. Whipping or spanking someone
12. Taking someone's clothes off
13. Having your clothes taken off
14. Making love elsewhere than bedroom (e.g. kitchen or bathroom)
15. Being excited by material or clothing (e.g. rubber, leather, underwear)
16. Hurting a partner
17. Being hurt by a partner
18. Mate-swapping
19. Being tied up
20. Tying someone up

21. Exposing yourself provocatively
22. Transvestism (wearing clothes of opposite sex)
23. Being promiscuous
24. Having sex with someone much younger than yourself
25. Having sex with someone much older than yourself
26. Being much sought after by the opposite sex
27. Being seduced as an "innocent"
28. Seducing an "innocent"
29. Being embarrassed by failure of sexual performance
30. Having sex with someone of a different race
31. Using objects for stimulation (e.g., vibrators, candles)
32. Being masturbated to orgasm by partner
33. Looking at obscene pictures or a film
34. Kissing passionately